

## Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster

# Ottoman and European Music in 'Alī Ufukī's Compendium, MS Turc 292: Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context

Monograph

Judith I. Haug



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Ottoman and European Music in  
‘Alī Ufuḳī’s Compendium, MS Turc 292:  
Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context

Monograph

Judith I. Haug

Meinen Eltern und Großeltern

Habilitationsschrift  
zur Erlangung der *venia legendi* im Fach Musikwissenschaft  
Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Fachbereich 8  
Erteilung der *venia legendi* am 12. Juni 2017

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# Preface

In his boundless thirst for knowledge, his vast erudition and his indiscriminating curiosity, ‘Alī Ufuḳī/Ufḳī has been a continuous source of inspiration. I am grateful for having had the opportunity to dedicate the past years of intense research to an intriguing personality and an exceptional manuscript of inestimable value. The present study was enabled by a generous grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (project HA 5933/3), allowing me not only to devote my entire time to this topic, but also making possible the necessary trips to libraries. I have received additional support as a member of the *Junges Kolleg* in the North Rhine-Westphalian Academy of Sciences, Humanities and the Arts. Furthermore I express my gratitude to the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes who funded my undergraduate, graduate and doctoral studies.

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for their hospitality. Between the submission of my thesis and its publication, I have received invaluable support from Martin Greve, Janina Karolewski, Harun Korkmaz, Raoul Motika and Christoph K. Neumann.

In matters of language (as ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s linguistic talent remains out of reach), I am indebted to Eckhard Neubauer (Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish), Hakan Özkan (Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish), Branka Ivušić (South Slavic), Bardhyl Demiraj (Albanian), Hermine Buchholz-Nazaryan and Armenuhi Drost-Abgaryan (Armenian), David Assatiani and Stephan Kolassa (Georgian) as well as Dominik Kawa and Agnieszka Ayşen Kaim (Polish) for their generous help with predominantly highly problematic texts. Andreas Bußmann diligently proofread the book, Sarah Mandel took wonderful care of my English.

The support of libraries was crucial for the present work. I would like to express my gratitude to the staff in the manuscript collections and reading rooms of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the British Library, London, the Süleymaniye Library and the Manuscript Library of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul, and most of all the home of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s compendium, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. In particular, Sara Yontan Musnik has been extraordinarily helpful in allowing me the required access to the source.

Gratitude towards my family: my parents Susanne and Siegfried Haug, who taught me to “consider all, be grateful for everything, and to understand the freedom to set out to where I want”;<sup>1</sup> my grandparents, and my “mişli-‘anḳā yār-i şādīḳ”.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Paraphrasing the poem by Friedrich Hölderlin, *Lebenslauf* (1800): “Alles prüfe der Mensch, sagen die Himmlischen, / Daß er, kräftig genährt, danken für Alles lern, / Und verstehe die Freiheit, / Aufzubrechen, wohin er will”. Hölderlin, Friedrich (1970). *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*. Ed. by Mieth, Günter. Vol. 1. München: Hanser, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Turc 292*[*Turc 292*], f. 278a/124a.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Scope and method of the study

‘Alī Ufukī’s so-called Paris manuscript, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Turc 292, is undoubtedly an exceptional and highly individual document, which allows unprecedented insights into the life and work of an Ottoman with European roots, a musician and interpreter. While it is in some regards singular (together with its companion *Mecmū‘a-yı Sāz ü Sōz*, MS London, British Library, Sloane 3114), in others it is quite well rooted in existing heritage, both European and Ottoman. Its external features as well as its rich contents show connections with diverse cultural traditions and currents of thought.

The present work, a combination of the musicological study at hand and a forthcoming critical edition, aims at making accessible the music-related contents of the manuscript, which form only a part of its vast subject matter. In accordance with this aim, the decision has been taken to edit the notations, effectively “translating” them into modern staff notation.<sup>1</sup> This includes, for example, changing the reading direction of the sinistrograde notations and placing all accidentals in the staff to distinguish them from editorial conjecture, even if they appear above the staff. The reader and performer of the edition is entrusted with the task of stripping this modern notation of its modern connotations and understanding that similar-looking symbols do not necessarily signify the same thing. In the accurate words of Margaret Bent, we “cannot transfer a clean original text to modern notation, with its very different connotations, and assume that it means

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<sup>1</sup> On the metaphorical concept of edition as (re-)translation see Haug, Judith I. (2018a). “Critical Edition as Retranslation: Mediating ‘Alī Ufukī’s Notation Collections (c. 1630–1670)”. In: *Perspectives on Retranslation. Ideology, Paratexts, Methods*. Ed. by Berk Albachten, Özlem and Tahir Gürçağlar, Şehnaz. Routledge Advances in Translation and Interpreting Studies. New York/London: Routledge, pp. 107–128.

the same thing”.<sup>2</sup> Superimposition of later concepts has been cautiously avoided, and constant reference to the readily available high-quality digital copy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France is strongly advised.<sup>3</sup>

“Music-related contents” comprises the following types of material: All notated instrumental and vocal compositions, all sketches of notation, all verbal notes concerning music, music theory, performance and other related topics, and last but not least all lyric texts without musical notation which can be assumed to have been performed vocally. A guideline in determining those genres is provided by ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s contemporary Evliyā Çelebi,<sup>4</sup> who describes a performance at Sultan Murād IV’s court in 1636,<sup>5</sup> enumerating the following genres, which also appear in Turc 292, as “musical forms”: Türki, Şarkı, Varsağı and Kār. The İlāhī is named as a “verse form” there, but included in the present study, as İlāhī texts repeatedly occur with musical notation. Limiting the scope of the study seemed reasonable on the grounds of the researcher’s expertise and the vast extent of the source. The compendium offers much more, and I express my hope that in the near future specialists such as linguists or medical historians will occupy themselves with the treasures contained in it.<sup>6</sup>

This study is clearly document-oriented.<sup>7</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s compendium is so rich and significant, but at the same time so complex and multilayered that making it accessible at least from the viewpoint of one discipline seemed a logical first step. In fact, Turc 292 is so vast and diverse a receptacle of knowledge that an individual researcher is unable to deal with it all. From

<sup>2</sup> Bent, Margaret (1994). “Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation”. In: *Early Music* vol. 22, pp. 373–392, pp. 382ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Turc 292*.

<sup>4</sup> 1611–after 1683; Boyar, Ebru and Fleet, Kate (2010). *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. xiv. On Evliyā Çelebi as a historical source see Faroqhi, Suraiya (1999). *Approaching Ottoman History. An Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 160ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dankoff, Robert (2004). *An Ottoman Mentality - The World of Evliya Çelebi*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 35ff.

<sup>6</sup> Haug, Judith I. (2018b). “Medical knowledge in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s musical notebook (mid-17th century)”. In: *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* vol. 6, pp. 117–143. An article dealing with heterodox texts is in preparation.

<sup>7</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi distinguishes between “document-oriented” and “problem-oriented” studies, relegating the former to the past and favoring the latter: “But when historical research has progressed beyond a certain stage, many historians will feel that the explication of texts cannot be their only aim in life”. Faroqhi (1999), p. 38.

a musicological point of view and with the philological method of historical musicology combined with an outlook on transcultural history, it is my aim to open as many dimensions and initiate as many discussions as possible. Deep analyses of compositional style are mostly excluded on account of the sheer amount of material; making this material accessible was the priority.

The source as such is multicultural and multileveled in every regard, uniting the *güfte mecmû'ası* or *cönk* (song-text collection) of the Islami-cate world<sup>8</sup> with the European notebook.<sup>9</sup> According to Harun Korkmaz, individuality is a distinguishing trait of the *güfte mecmû'ası* which mirrors a certain singer's personal repertoire,<sup>10</sup> while Hülya Çelik found the fitting description, "personalised one-volume libraries".<sup>11</sup> For this reason, the term "compendium" has been chosen to describe a manuscript that encompasses an entire world of experience and knowledge. In this regard the Paris source differs from the London manuscript, which is almost entirely dedicated to Ottoman music and, to a lesser extent, poetry. Concerning conventions of literary genre, Suraiya Faroqhi has pointed out that in order to "critically evaluate [sources], we must know something about the manner in which they were composed".<sup>12</sup> This caution must certainly be applied to the

<sup>8</sup> On the *mecmû'a* as a source genre see Kuru, Selim S. (2012). "Mecmû'aların içine, edebiyatın dışına doğru..." In: *Mecmû'a: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*. Ed. by Aynur, Hatice, Çakır, Müjgan, and Koncu, Hanife. İstanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, pp. 17–29; Buzov, Snjezana (2012). "Osmanlı'da karışık içerikli mecmû'alar: bir başka arşiv". In: *Mecmû'a: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*. Ed. by Aynur, Hatice, Çakır, Müjgan, and Koncu, Hanife. İstanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, pp. 33–42; Koz, M. Sabri (2012). "Cönk ve mecmû'a yapraklarında âşık aramak". In: *Mecmû'a: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*. Ed. by Aynur, Hatice, Çakır, Müjgan, and Koncu, Hanife. İstanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, pp. 157–200. More specifically, on the genre of the Ottoman song-text collection see Wright, Owen (1992). *Words Without Songs. A Musicological Study of an Early Ottoman Anthology and its Precursors*. SOAS Musicological Series vol. 3. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

<sup>9</sup> Yeo, Richard (2014). *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 13–25 and passim.

<sup>10</sup> Korkmaz, Harun (2015). *The Catalog of Music Manuscripts in Istanbul University Library*. The Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures vol. 128. Harvard: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations, p. 53.

<sup>11</sup> Çelik, Hülya (2016b). "*Mecmû'as: Personalised One-Volume Libraries*". In: *Manuscript Cultures* vol. 9. Ed. by Karolewski, Janina and Köse, Yavuz, pp. 240–243, p. 241. For an overview of the contents see Behar, Cem (2008). *Saklı Mecmua. Ali Ufkî'nin Bibliothèque Nationale de France'taki [Turc 292] Yazması*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 49ff.

<sup>12</sup> Faroqhi (1999), p. 22.

Paris compendium, as various conventions of genre come into play and are confronted with individual and spontaneous decisions on the part of a transculturally operating author.

In musical analysis, an approach from within the source is understood as a safeguard against an Orientalist view that perceives the cultural produce of the “Orient”, the “eternal ‘other’”, as history-less and passive.<sup>13</sup> Other than most of the Europeans who knew him and wrote about him, ʿAlī Ufukī was not an Orientalist: Taking possession of his new culture, he was able to use knowledge from both spheres without weighing them against each other.

## 1.2 Preliminary Remarks

☞ Author’s name: The first issue to be addressed is the spelling of his name adopted in the present study. The two-syllable reading of the *mahlās* (pen name), “Alī Ufkī”, is widely used. Early in the 1980’s, discussion flared up in the Turkish musicological community as exemplified by H. İbrahim Şener’s article “Ufkî mi, Ufukî mi”. Şener harshly criticized a publication of the same title by Muammer Uludemir, which had been published the previous year. Uludemir had propagated the three-syllable reading as the correct version and demanded a change in common usage. Gültekin Oransay seems to have supported this claim.<sup>14</sup> Even before this controversy, “Ufkî” had been adopted generally. The core of the problem is that the *mahlās*, which is derived from the Arabic *ufuq*, “horizon”, can be read “Ufkī” and “Ufukī” without change or loss of meaning or morphological correctness. In his edition of Charles Fonton’s *Essai sur la musique orientale*, Eckhard Neubauer stated that “Ufukī” seemed more convincing to him.<sup>15</sup> Indeed,

<sup>13</sup> Faroqhi (1999), p. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Şener, H. İbrahim (1981). “Ufkî mi, Ufukî mi”. In: *Musiki Mecmuası* vol. 380, pp. 4–9. Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain Uludemir’s book. See also Albert Bobowski (ʿAlī Ufukī) (1992). *Mecmuâ-i Saz ü Söz. Türküler*. Ed. by Uludemir, Muammer. İzmir: Muammer Uludemir, p. i.

<sup>15</sup> Fonton, Charles (1986). “Der *Essai sur la musique orientale* von Charles Fonton mit Zeichnungen von Adanson”. In: *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* vol. 3. Ed. by Neubauer, Eckhard, pp. 335–376, p. 341, and personal communication.

both variants are encountered in MS Turc 292 (henceforth: P) and MS Sloane 3114 (henceforth: L) according to the respective metric exigencies. The three-syllable variant is prevalent:

- “Ufķī”: L f. 27b, L f. 82a, L f. 119b.
- “Ufuķī”: L f. 31b (2x), L f. 34a and P f. 408b/236b, L f. 36b (2x),<sup>16</sup> L f. 38a and Hyde 43 f. 89a (vocalized and Latinized), L f. 39b and P f. 220a/ 66a, L f. 40a (vocalized), L f. 65b, L f. 130b.<sup>17</sup>
- Two unvocalized statements in prose (L ff. 108a, 112a) remain open to interpretation.
- Two transliterated statements in the Latin index to L, which was written by a person with limited knowledge and most probably no relationship to ‘Alī Ufuķī: “Aofqui” (index f. 5b) and “Ofqui” (f. 4a).

Behar acknowledges the variations in syllable count which sometimes require “Ufķī”, sometimes “Ufuķī” (which is a widespread phenomenon in Ottoman poetry), but decided to maintain the two-syllable variant already in common use and in accordance with Turkish linguistics.<sup>18</sup> The present author’s decision in favor of “Ufuķī” –which of course does not disparage others preferring “Ufķī”– rests on the following arguments: 1. The *Türkī Badiʿbahijm kullarinie eile daim hummetuḡ* on f. 220a/66a is not originally ‘Alī Ufuķī’s creation but was appropriated by him. In the last stanza he deleted the verse containing the *taḡalluṣ* (statement of the author’s pen name, the *mahlāṣ*), “Szahijñ oḡlu muntazijrdur meç gemalin ghiormeghe” and replaced it with “Vfuki pek muntazijrdur arzuḡalijñ wirmeghe”. If the two-syllable variant of his name had been crucial for ‘Alī Ufuķī, he would have found a way to replace it accordingly. The original *taḡalluṣ* has four syllables, hence a wording such as “Ufķī dēr ki” etc. would have been possible. 2. The notation of the “*Türkī berāy-ı fenā-yı cihān*” *Dād elinden šu fenānıñ* in the *Grammatica Turcicolatina*<sup>19</sup> is not only fully vocalized, being intended for one of ‘Alī Ufuķī’s language students. It is

<sup>16</sup> The second occurrence, *Turnam bizim yerde bize šorana*, appears three times in P but never with the stanza that carries the *mahlāṣ*.

<sup>17</sup> The P concordance (f. 379\*b/225b) is untexted.

<sup>18</sup> Behar, Cem (2005). *Musikiden müziḡe. Osmanlı/Türk Müziḡi: Gelenek ve Modernlik*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, p. 19.

<sup>19</sup> MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hyde 43, f. 89a.

also accompanied by a translation into Latin. The first verse of the last stanza, carrying the *mahlās*, is translated as “Vfuki (nomen Poetae) dicit quod cor eius comburitur” (“Ufuḳī (the name of the poet) says that his heart is burning”). Evidently, the poetic meter requires the three-syllable reading. But if ʿAlī Ufuḳī had regarded the two-syllable reading as correct and had wanted to ensure this, he could have spelled it differently in the Latin prose.<sup>20</sup> To conclude the discussion: The present author uses the three-syllable form without denying the two-syllable variant its legitimacy or discouraging its use.

📖 Transliteration: The romanization of Ottoman Turkish written in Arabic characters follows the standards set down by the Library of Congress<sup>21</sup> with a few modifications: Arabic words which end with a consonant bearing the *teṣḍād* are spelled with double letters (ḡamm, ṭıbb). Final consonants are not hardened (reng, ḳalb). The same system is applied to Persian texts in the compendium. For Arabic, the standard of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft has been applied; deviations from the LOC Ottoman system are listed in the right column of the table.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This point was first made in a paper presented at the CIEPO meeting in Budapest in 2014 and was published in 2016; Haug, Judith I. (2016a). “Being More than the Sum of One’s Parts: Acculturation and Biculturality in the Life and Works of Ali Ufuḳī”. In: *Archivum Ottomanicum* vol. 33, pp. 179–190. It is an interesting detail that ʿAlī Ufuḳī makes no mention of the fact that he himself is the “poeta”.

<sup>21</sup> Library of Congress, ed. (2016). URL: <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsa/romanization/ottoman.pdf> (visited on 10/13/2016).

<sup>22</sup> Brockelmann, Carl et al., eds. (1935). *Die Transliteration der arabischen Schrift in ihrer Anwendung auf die Hauptliteratursprachen der islamischen Welt. Denkschrift dem 19. Internationalen Orientalistenkongreß in Rom, vorgelegt von der Transkriptionskommission der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, p. 9.

Letter	Ottoman Turkish	Arabic
ا	ʾ, a, ā in words of Persian and Arabic origin	
ب	b	
پ	p	
ت	t	
ث	ṣ	ṭ
ج	c	
چ	ç	ğ
ح	ḥ	
خ	ḫ	
د	d	
ذ	z	d
ر	r	
ز	z	
ژ	j	
س	s	
ش	ṣ	
ص	ṣ	
ض	ẓ	ḍ
ط	ṭ	
ظ	ẓ	
ع	ʿ	
غ	ğ	
ف	f	
ق	q	q
ك	k, g, ñ, ğ	
گ	g	
ل	l	
م	m	



Letter	Ottoman Turkish	Arabic
ن	n	
و	v ō in words of Persian origin ū in words of Arabic and Persian origin	w
ه	h	
ی: ی	y ī in words of Arabic and Persian origin	

Table 1.1: Transliteration table

‘Alī Ufukī’s own, possibly self-invented transliteration system is a dynamic entity deserving the attention of specialists. Some phonemes can be represented by different letters or combinations of letters as he may have been unsure which choice would be the most suitable. In the *Grammatica Turcicolatina* of 1666 he proposes a slightly different system, adding important information concerning phonetics.<sup>23</sup>

Grapheme	Transliteration	Example
ch	ḥ / ħ	bachcia (baḥçe) / ichtiar (iḥtiyār)
ci	ç	cielebi (çelebi)
cz	ç	czare (çāre)
dz	c	gurdzice (gürcüce)
dzi	c	gondzie (ğonca)
e	ı	kowarem (kōvarım)
ge / gi	c	gefa (cefā), higiaz (Ḥicāz)
ğ	c	meğruh (mecrūḥ)
gh	g	ghidelim (gidelim)
i or j	y (initial)	iai (yay)
gh	ğ	egher (eğer)

<sup>23</sup> Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Hyde 43*[*Hyde 43*], ff. 3b–4b.

Grapheme	Transliteration	Example
ij	ı	aklijm (‘aqlım)
io	ö	ghioz (göz)
iu	ü	ghiuzel (güzel)
ł	“dark l”	kuł (kul)
ŋ	ñef (final)	iołunuŋ (yolunuñ)
sch	ş	peschrew (peşrev)
ß/ sz	ş	kaß (kaş)
tz	ç	kotz (koç)
u	ü	dunia (dünyā)
u	v	seumek (sevmek)
ui	öy	buile (böyle)
v (initial)	ö	vmrum (‘ömrüm)
w	v	owa (ova)

Table 1.2: ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s transliteration system

The interpretation of vowels is not always consistent in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s transliteration (e.g. “bumeder”, “bumijdur” and “bumidur” for “bu midur” or “bu mudur” in the same text, f. 61a/271b); a further problem is posed by the inability of his system to coherently represent ı, ö and ü. The following cases occur:

- If there is no transliteration by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, *plene* spelling and *teşkil* (vocalization signs) are observed.
- If there is no transliteration by ‘Alī Ufuḳī and the Arabic spelling is neither *plene* nor with *teşkil* (vocalization signs), the general tendency as presented in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s spelling is emulated (e.g. bufursin, soiunurem, wermiβdur, artuk, biliruz).
- If there is a transliteration by ‘Alī Ufuḳī and the spelling is neither *plene* nor with *teşkil*, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s vocalization is employed.

- If there is a transliteration by ‘Alī Ufuḳī contradicting the *plene* spelling or *teşkil* of the Arabic-script version, both are retained as presented in the source.

The attachment or separation of “ile”, “ise” and “iken” depends on the metric context. Whenever exigencies of the meter, especially in ‘Āşık poetry, require the contraction of syllables (e.g. “iyilik” as a two-syllable word) or an elision (as generally in the name *Çaraca-oğlan*), this is stated in the Critical Report. Additions are marked with square brackets, deviating readings are recorded in the Critical Report. In texts with or without notation, written in Arabic or Latin characters, excess syllables occur frequently. As elisions are a regularly encountered phenomenon even today,<sup>24</sup> they are accepted as valid. If a metric error is not directly evident and can be repaired –as in the case of a forgotten suffix–, the deviation is merely accounted for in item 11 of the respective Critical Report.

Transliterations of Ottoman-Turkish and Persian texts have to deal with the problem of incorrect treatment of the *izāfet*. Here, the following principles have been decided on: If the *izāfet* is not written or indicated with a *hemze*, it is added with a hyphen (“yār-i şādık”, after vowels “ğonca-yı ḥandān”); if it is erroneously written out with a final ye, the edition follows (“nesīmi şubūhile”).

The *teşdid* mark for double consonants in words of Arabic origin is not used consistently by any of the scribal hands; the edition follows Meniński.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, diversity in the spelling of certain consonants is not standardized, especially the confusion in the use of h, ḥ and ḫ: ḫūy instead of ḥūy, ḥalk instead of ḥalk, and, concerning musical terminology, muḥammes instead of muḥammes, muḥālif and muḥālif instead of muḥālif and muḥayyer instead of muḥayyer. Another recurring deviation is zālīm instead of zālīm. Less frequently but regularly, especially in the *Türkī* repertoire, ṭ and d are interchangeable in Turkish words (ṭağlar and dağlar, ṭolu and dolu). The name of the ‘Āşık *Ṭās-bāz* is sometimes also spelled with a te instead of a ṭa. In all those instances, the edition follows the original spelling, acknowledging variance. In texts transliterated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, a specifically European phenomenon regularly occurs: endings involving a vowel and a nasal con-

<sup>24</sup> Reinhard, Kurt and Reinhard, Ursula (1984a). *Musik der Türkei. Die Kunstmusik*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, p. 145.

<sup>25</sup> Meniński, François a Mesgnien (1680a). *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae [...]* 4 vols. Vienna: Franciscus a Mesgnien Meninski.

sonant, e.g. “-um” or very frequently “-en”, are abbreviated in a ligature resembling a downward loop. Those ligatures as well as other abbreviations are resolved in square brackets without further reference because they are not a special feature of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s writing. In prose texts such as theoretical treatises or music-related marginalia, line breaks are marked with “[”.

To conclude this section, mention must be made of a few special words and their spelling:

- *Maḳām* names are capitalized in order to distinguish them from identical *perde* names, which are in lower case.
- “Peşrev” is not transliterated as “Pêşrev” (or “Pîşrev”) because ʿAlī Ufuḳī does not spell the word as such, neither in Arabic characters nor in transliteration. The case is different for L, where the calligraphied headings have *teşkil* to be read as “Pêşrev”; nevertheless, the spelling of P is retained throughout in order to avoid confusion.
- Frequently occurring place names are spelled according to English custom in the text (“Istanbul”). In the bibliography, however, the Turkish spelling is used (“İstanbul”).
- Plurals are formed according to the original language, e.g. *segni*, *maḳāmlar*.

In texts transliterated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, [sic] is added only in cases where the intelligibility of the passage is compromised, e.g. the performance instruction on f. 249a/140a, “in ton del badiḳahij ghiomeienler [sic, read ghiormeienler]” or the song text on f. 126b/297b, “Czikamadim kaia narim [sic, read kaialarin] başına”. Neither are there emendations or [sic] in Italian text, except for cases of distorted meaning. Latin and Italian text ligatures such as -um or, very frequently, -en in closing position, are resolved in square brackets.

All translations from Ottoman Turkish, modern Turkish, Italian, French and German are the present author’s unless stated otherwise. It has been attempted to reflect the original context and style without, for instance, straightening out the sometimes clumsy or confused expressions or rounding off the condensed style of many marginalia.

✍ Italicization: Ottoman-Turkish musical terms (*maḳām, uşul*) and formal units (*hāne, mülāzime*) are italicized. Genre names, which often also appear in titles (Peşrev, Türki) are not for the sake of clarity. Incipits of vocal pieces are in italics when written in Arabic characters or copied from a preexistent source, and in quotation marks when they are transliterated; the same applies to titles of instrumental pieces. Further, terminology of European origin which is not part of everyday language (*segno, volta*) as well as non-musical, e.g. linguistic, terminology (*teşdid, mater lectionis*) is set in italics.

✍ Terminology: Terminology is a sensitive issue and has to be handled with care in order to avoid methodological traps such as the retroactive projection of later ideas, introduction of foreign concepts and general Orientalism. The problem starts with the designation of time and locale. The time is the best part of the seventeenth century; periodizations are generally avoided both for the Ottoman Empire and for Europe. The locale is Istanbul, the capital of the Empire, and possibly also Edirne, where Sultan Mehmed IV resided for extended periods;<sup>26</sup> but if we want to address the larger picture, the choice extends to “Ottoman”, “Ottoman Turkish”, “Turkish” or “in the Ottoman lands”. All those labels can be understood in an ethnic and/or a political sense. It is important to find a designation that includes and affirms the diversity presented by ‘Alī Ufuḳī. The present author chose “Ottoman” as the Ottoman Empire as superstructure stands for the cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity encountered in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s writings, most strikingly in P. The music he records is not “Turkish” as the present author understands “Turkish”, as a cultural, ethnic and later also political designation with which not all the material in P concurs.<sup>27</sup> In the index, for the sake of simplicity but with full recognition of its disadvantages, regions and ethnicities which formed part of the Ottoman Empire such as Greek or Georgian are listed under “Greece” and “Georgia”. They are historically understood as regions and ethnicities of the Ottoman Empire and are not to be conflated with the respective modern nation states.

<sup>26</sup> Baer, Marc David (2008). *Honored by the Glory of Islam. Conversion and Conquest in the Ottoman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> For this discussion see e.g. Ayangil, Ruhi (2015). “Thoughts and Suggestions on Writing Turkish Music History”. In: *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Ed. by Greve, Martin. *Istanbuler Texte und Studien* 33. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 51–56, pp. 52f.

Stylistic and genre attributions pose another problem to whose discussion chapter 4.1 is dedicated. In any case a rigid division between “art”, “classical”, “court” or “elite”<sup>28</sup> on the one hand and “folk” spheres on the other should be avoided, as borders are not clear-cut at all (in fact the relevance of such borders must be doubted for the time of ʿAlī Ufuḳī). Genre designations are adopted as stated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī himself.

European phenomena, such as the durational values of the note symbols, are designated with the seventeenth-century terminology:

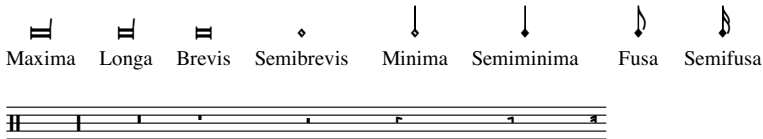


Figure 1.1: Mensural note and rest values

The Fusa and Semifusa also appear as Croma and Semicroma, especially in Italian sources.<sup>29</sup>

Some elements of Italian musical terminology are employed although they are alien to Ottoman-Turkish music. However, there are several cases where those well-established terms are not at odds with the phenomena they describe and do not result in the intrusion of foreign concepts (ʿAlī Ufuḳī thought in Italian as well). One example are the navigation marker, *segno* or *dal segno* instructing the performer to return to a previous section and repeat it, or *volta* for first and second endings.

🍂 Editorial procedure: The following paragraphs give a concise overview of the editorial principles concerning music and text. A more in-depth description of the editorial procedure can be found in the preface to the forthcoming Critical Report.

- Emendations and conjectures in music: Emended or conjectured notes or passages are marked with an asterisk (\*) or set between two asterisks (\*\*). Alternative versions supplied in additional staves or following the main notation are added as *ossia* staves in a smaller font size.

<sup>28</sup> Behar uses the terms “halk” and “seçkinler”; e.g. Behar (2008), p. 66.

<sup>29</sup> Paulsmeier, Karin (2012). *Notationskunde 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Schola Cantorum Basiliensis Scripta vol. 2. Basel: Schwabe, pp. 13f.

- Annotations in the edition: In instrumental music, sections are marked with a bold capital letter for their type (*hāne*, *mülāzime*, *zeyl*, *serbend*) followed by a number if there is more than one, and a small letter for the subsection, placed below the first note of the section.<sup>30</sup> In vocal music, sections are marked with a bold capital letter placed above the staff in order to avoid collision with stanza numberings and text. If ʿAlī Ufuḳī uses a capital A in the role of a *segno*, the mark will be moved one or two notes further to the right. Further, line breaks in the manuscript are identified by small numbers above the *uṣūl* boundary line or the clef in case they coincide with a line break in the edition. If a notation extends over a spread or more, the staves of the page where the notation begins are marked “a”, the second page, with “b”. A small number of compositions takes more space than one spread; then, the numbering of the staves continues, but the letters are reset to a and b.
- Reference system:  
H1 b 3: 1  
In instrumental works: Refers to the first beat in the third *uṣūl* of the second section of the first *hāne* of a Peşrev.  
A 4: 2  
In vocal works: Refers to the second beat in the fourth *uṣūl* of the A section. Texts are referred to by their stanza (Roman numeral) and verse (European numeral)<sup>31</sup>, separated by a comma. If the text is not divided into stanzas, only an European numeral is given (this pertains also to all kinds of prose). Small letters indicate the rhyme, “T” stands for *terennüm*.
- Transcription and transposition: Note values are not reduced,<sup>32</sup> even if the values may seem unfamiliarly long to the modern performer. Modern conceptions of performance speed should not be brought into

<sup>30</sup> This practice follows Owen Wright’s edition of C; Cantemir, Demetrius (1992). *Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection of Notations. Part 1: Text*. Ed. by Wright, Owen. SOAS Musicology Series vol. 1. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

<sup>31</sup> For the sake of simplicity, “Arabic numerals” is hereafter used instead of “Eastern Arabic”. “Western Arabic” numerals are hereafter called “European” numerals.

<sup>32</sup> Ayangil, Ruhi (2008). “Western Notation in Turkish Music”. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. 18, pp. 401–447, p. 411.

a proportional relation with the note values employed by ‘Alī Ufuḳī. The original clefs (which predominantly means the c1 clef) have been replaced by the modern g2 clef as usual in many modern editions. Newer critical editions of early European music tend to maintain the original clefs and clef combinations, but in the present edition a decision in favor of accessibility was made. Transposition, however, has been avoided as ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s system is coherent and logical: According to him, the *perde rāst* equals c’, as he explains in his own words on f. 184a in Sloane 3114. A transposition as common in modern Turkish music editions is thus not appropriate. While ‘Alī Ufuḳī does show awareness of transposition practices (ff. 287b/133b–288a/134a), he consciously designed his notation to represent *rāst* with c’.<sup>33</sup>

- Melodic mode: *Maḳām*-related alterations are not added. The reason for this decision is that ‘Alī Ufuḳī gives practically no usable information on *maḳām* theory, the validity of other theoretical sources can never be ascertained and retroactive attribution on the basis of the scanty information at hand is doubtful. Other issues are the incoherence in the use of alteration signs and –in the case of much of the vocal repertoire– a shortness of the compositions that makes it nearly impossible for a *seyir* to unfold in a recognizable way. It becomes clear from ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s treatment of alterations that he assumed a general concept and knowledge of *maḳām* interpretation. There is reason to suppose that he only added alterations if he found them indispensable (see Chapter 4.2.3 and 4.2.4). Ottoman performers worked with much less information while keeping a satisfactory degree of coherence in the long history of oral tradition. In the edition, all accidentals given by ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself are set into the staff regardless of their actual placement in the manuscript, in order to distinguish them clearly from editorial interference. The location of the alteration signs in the manuscript is discussed under item 8 of the respective Critical Report. In many cases, the extent of an accidental’s or a *maḳām* signature’s validity is unclear; conjectures have not been made on account of insufficient data.

<sup>33</sup> See also chapters 4.1.2 and Ekinci, Mehmet Uğur and Haug, Judith I. (2016). “Alī Ufuḳī’s Notational Technique: Its Development, Systematization and Practices”. In: *Maḳām Traditions Between Theory and Contemporary Music Making*. Ed. by Elsner, Jürgen, Jähnichen, Gisa, and Güray, Cenk. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, pp. 79–104.



- Rhythmic mode: In instrumental music, the *uṣūl* is stated in many cases; if not (and if there is no parallel version in P or C), it can sometimes be assumed on the grounds of beats per section or the graphic arrangement of notes in groups. In vocal music, information is much more scarce. According to the present edition’s general policy of avoiding superimposition, conjectures are made cautiously: If the number of beats per cycle is known, it is stated as a “time signature” in brackets as an editorial addition. This practice was partly inspired by Gerhard Kubik’s terminology for Ugandan *amadinda* xylophone music. He uses the terms “elementary pulsation” for the underlying beat of the piece and “form number” for the amount of elementary pulsations per cycle or rhythmical unit. This approach which consequently steers clear of the superimposition of European concepts while being readily accessible has proved useful for the present study.<sup>34</sup> Fractions are avoided because of the inappropriate connotations of proportion or performance speed they carry. If there is no reliable information on the intended *uṣūl*, but the melody clearly displays regular units of beats or at least a reasonable tendency, those units are marked off with breath signs (short vertical lines crossing the top of the staff); beat numbers again are added in square brackets for higher accessibility. The basic counting unit –known or conjectured– is referenced in the Critical Report. *Uṣūl* staves are added to vocal and instrumental pieces if one of the following conditions is met: 1. The *uṣūl* structure (time values, sometimes also stroke pattern) is described by ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself, and 2. Either a piece has a verbal *uṣūl* designation in P or the *uṣūl* information can be taken from a parallel version in L. In the latter case, the *uṣūl* staff is set in square brackets. Exclamations (“dōst”, “hey”) in vocal music are almost always exempt from the regular rhythmic structure. This phenomenon is described as “exterritoriality”, and their durations are not counted.
- Text distribution: Especially in the case of Arabic script, text distribution can be problematic as the words are not segmented into syllables and placed under the respective intended notes.<sup>35</sup> Yet this practice is concurrent with the European style of writing and printing

<sup>34</sup> Kubik, Gerhard (2010). *Theory of African Music*. Chicago, pp. 308-324.

<sup>35</sup> Ayangil (2008), p. 411.

vocal music: It was expected of the performer to place the syllables correctly and sometimes even to insert repetitions of words or entire poetic lines as required. In the edition, syllable distribution follows the manuscript as ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s intention is usually recognizable. Evidently, in performance many cases would be solved differently by experienced singers. If a text is not directly underlaid but obviously belongs to a certain notation, it is set in square brackets in the edition in order to facilitate performance. The type of presentation (Arabic characters, transliteration or Latin characters in the case of languages other than Ottoman-Turkish) and the scribal hand are referred to under comment 4. Hyphenation is supplied most of the time; if ‘Alī Ufuḳī gave his own hyphenation, which rarely occurs, a remark is made under comment 3. In many cases, text which is not directly underlaid is presented in continuous lines, sometimes even with the line break not corresponding with the stanza borders. For the sake of readability, a line break is inserted after each verse.

- Form: ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s repeat signs predominantly point in the same direction, ie. to the left, regardless of the direction of writing.<sup>36</sup> This is in accord with seventeenth-century European practice.<sup>37</sup> *Volte* are a frequently encountered phenomenon, though ‘Alī Ufuḳī does not use a certain symbol in a consistent way –sometimes a long tie, a dotted or dashed line or no indication at all.<sup>38</sup> The last case –in which often the parallel version in L can be helpful in determining the length of the *volte*– is specially referred to under item 9 of the respective Critical Report. *Segni* (recourse marks) appear in different shapes, one of them being Latin letters (most often capital and lower case A and B). The most common sign is a kind of circle with a crown or a more complicated variant with something resembling foliage on top used to mark the beginning of the *mülāzime*. Its upside-down version usually designates the *zeyl* (Critical Report: “segno 2”). Arabic letters –mīm for *mülāzime*, ze for *zeyl*– occur repeatedly but not

<sup>36</sup> Arel mentions this peculiarity in his description of the notation technique of L. He thinks that ‘Alī Ufuḳī, while inverting the notation itself, kept the repeat signs “in the old way”. Arel, H. Sadettin (1951). “300 küsur senelik nota mecmuası hakkında”. In: *Musiki Mecmuası* vol. 4, pp. 3–6, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Paulsmeier (2012), p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> This phenomenon was also described and interpreted correctly early on by Arel. Arel (1951), p. 5.

frequently. They all have the same meaning; references are made in the Critical Report. The closing signs, usually flourishes of decreasing size, are represented by today's thick bar line; if the closing sign is missing for some reason, reference is made in the Critical Report and a thick bar line added in the edition.

- Genre: Genre statements are added to the titles of the pieces as provided by ʿAlī Ufuḫī. If the genre can be attributed with the help of L, C or on the grounds of obvious formal characteristics, it is set in square brackets. Empty square brackets designate an unknown or unidentified genre.
- Stanza and verse numbering: Even though ʿAlī Ufuḫī often uses Eastern Arabic (hereafter: Arabic) numerals, all stanza numberings are given in Roman numerals for the sake of practicality, so as to avoid confusion with verse numbers in Western Arabic (hereafter: European) numerals; if they were added by the editor, they are set in square brackets. In non-stanzaic poetry such as Murabbaʿ texts or in prose, European numerals in square brackets are added.

🍃 Abbreviations:

Br	Brevis (in modern usage: double whole note, breve)
c1, g2, etc.	Type of clef (c, g, f) and position on the lines of the staff
C	Cantemir, Demetrius (1992). <i>Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection of Notations. Part 1: Text</i> . Ed. by Wright, Owen. SOAS Musicology Series vol. 1. London: School of Oriental and African Studies
Fu	Fusa (in modern usage: eighth note, quaver)
H	<i>hāne</i>
HP	MS İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, <i>Revan Köşkü Kitaplığı 1724</i> [R 1724]; edition Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık, Nilgün (1993). “Hâfız Post Güfte Mecmuası (Türkçe Güfteler)”. PhD thesis. İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
i, i/d	<i>tempus imperfectum, tempus imperfectum diminutum</i>
K	Ekinci, Mehmet Uğur, ed. (2016). <i>Keuserî Mecmuası. 18. Yüzyıl Saz Müziği Külliyyatı</i> . İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık

L	London: British Library, <i>Sloane 3114</i> [ <i>Sloane 3114</i> ]; edition Bobowski, Albert (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (2003). <i>Hâzâ mecmûa-i sâz ü söz</i> . Ed. by Cevher, M. Hakan. İzmir: M. Hakan Cevher; facsimile Bobowski, Albert (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1976). <i>Mecmûa-i sâz ü söz: tıpkıbasım</i> . Ed. by Elçin, Şükrü. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi
Lo	Longa (in modern usage: long)
M	<i>mülâzime</i>
Mi	Minima (in modern usage: half note, minim)
P	Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <i>Turc 292</i> [ <i>Turc 292</i> ]
p, p/d	<i>tempus perfectum, tempus perfectum diminutum</i>
Sb	Semibrevis (whole note, semibreve)
Sf	Semifusa (in modern usage: sixteenth note, semiquaver)
Sm	Semiminima (in modern usage: quarter note, crotchet)
v. (vv.)	Verse, verses

Table 1.3: Abbreviations

### 1.3 Current state of research

Research on and scholarly documentation of ‘Alī Ufuḳī began during his lifetime, but seems to have diminished during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Modern musicological and historical efforts start as early as the 1930’s, a time when the two branches of learning were largely unconnected. Hence different interpretations of his life and work can be found in these respective fields. The focus of this section is on the time when personal knowledge of ‘Alī Ufuḳī had expired, leaving the accounts by his acquaintances to the section titled “Author”. In addition to special research on MS Turc 292, studies on ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a person and his work in general are taken into account.

In the second volume of his *Oriental Collections*, the British Oriental scholar William Ouseley printed a facsimile from the London manuscript, f.104a, accompanied by a transcription of the Ğazel “Ne Süleymāna esīriz ne Selīmiñ kuluıuz”. He erroneously supposed that the Ğazel was meant

to be sung to the notated melody, which actually is a Semā'ī in *maḳām Segāh* (the same poem appears in P on f. 375a/218b, written by 'Alī Ufuḳī himself and not accompanied by notation):

A Turkish tune [...]; it is taken from a large collection of songs, set to musick, in a thick oblong volume, [...] fairly written, belonging to the British Museum, and marked 3114 Plut. xxx. d. The tunes begin from the right; the word [Semā'ī] corresponds to the *allegro* prefixed to European airs; and the [maḳām-ı mezbūr] signifies that this tune is in the same mode or key as the preceding; the beginning is marked by the Persian words [ser-ḥāne], the top of the house, or where the first verse or part begins: some tunes are divided into three parts, and are marked [ḥāne-yi sānī] the second part, [ḥāne-yi sālis] third part: near the conclusion of several we also find the Persian word [serbend] *ser-a-band*, from which, without doubt, our *saraband* has been derived. All these marks are such as the modern Persians use, from whom, indeed, the Turks have borrowed their musical system.<sup>39</sup>

This he owes to Giambattista Toderini, whose famous *Litteratura Turchesca* he quotes.<sup>40</sup> Ouseley must have been aware of the concept of *maḳām*. Until the 1920's, this short and flawed paragraph is the only known scholarly treatment of 'Alī Ufuḳī's musical heritage. Yet, Ouseley does not connect the manuscript to 'Alī Ufuḳī, which would probably have been very difficult for him. Not entirely impossible however, as the connection could have been established via the writings of John Covel and the documents in his legacy.

While in England the knowledge of 'Alī Ufuḳī as a person seems to have decreased, in France the tradition was kept alive. For example, an article on 'Alī Ufuḳī in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*<sup>41</sup> was reprinted with subsequent editions until the last complete edition in

<sup>39</sup> Ouseley, William (1798). *The Oriental Collections: Consisting of Original Essays and Dissertations, Translations and Miscellaneous Papers; Illustrating the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia*. Vol. 2. London: Cadell and Davies, pp. 195ff. Words in Arabic characters are set in square brackets.

<sup>40</sup> Toderini, Giambattista (1787). *Litteratura Turchesca*. Vol. 1. Venice: Giacomo Storti. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10251539-2> (visited on 03/21/2016). Ouseley refers to p. 232; the extensive section on music fills pp. 222–252.

<sup>41</sup> Bayle, Pierre (1697). *Dictionnaire historique et critique: Par Monsieur Bayle*. 2,1. Rotterdam: Reinier Leers. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10936699-4> (visited on 08/13/2015), pp. 17f.

1820.<sup>42</sup> This article draws on English and French sources such as Rycaut, Smith and Guillet (see below). *De Turcarum Liturgia*, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s famous introduction to the Islamic religion printed in 1690<sup>43</sup> continues to be referenced as an authority on Islam in the *Histoire universelle*<sup>44</sup>, by Johann Oelrichs in 1768<sup>45</sup> and is still considered relevant in 1884.<sup>46</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī features briefly in Josef von Hammer-Purgstall’s influential history of the Ottoman Empire: In the fifth volume, ‘Alī Ufuḳī is described as author of valuable treatises on the Ottoman Empire and interpreter of the Sublime Porte (“Pfortendolmetsch”), without chronological details.<sup>47</sup> Volume 6 relates ‘Alī Ufuḳī sending a manuscript to the Jesuits in his hometown, Lwów (“[...] Handschrift des Hedajet, [...] welches der Renegat Bobovski den Jesuiten seiner Vaterstadt Lemberg sandte”).<sup>48</sup> The Polish national biographic dictionary, begun in 1935, contains an entry on ‘Alī Ufuḳī by Franz Babinger. He mentions other works in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but not the notation collection. Two details first found in Babinger’s article are ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s noble descent and his alleged contribution to a translation of the *Ḳurʾān*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Bayle, Pierre (1820). *Dictionnaire historique et critique de Pierre Bayle*. 6th ed. Vol. 7. Paris: Denoer. URL: <http://gallicalabs.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k504394> (visited on 08/13/2015), pp. 479f.

<sup>43</sup> Bobowski, Albert (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1690). *Tractatus Alberti Bobovii [...] de Turcarum Liturgia*. Ed. by Hyde, Thomas. Oxford: Theatrum Sheldonianum.

<sup>44</sup> Société de Gens de Lettres (1782). *Histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusq’au present*. Vol. 5. Paris: Moutard. URL: <http://gallicalabs.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k29802f> (visited on 08/13/2015), p. 104, footnote a.

<sup>45</sup> Oelrichs, Johann, ed. (1768). *Collectio opusculorum historico-philologico-theologicorum. Selecti argumenti imprimis in Germania et Belgio separatim editorum curante Io. Oelrichs*. Vol. 1. Bremen: Johann Heinrich Cramer. URL: <http://gallicalabs.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6220149t> (visited on 08/13/2015), pp. 52–56.

<sup>46</sup> Horoy, César-Auguste (1883). *Des rapports du sacerdoce avec l’authorité civile à travers les ages et jusqu’au nos jours au point de vue légal*. Vol. 1. Paris: Chevalier-Marescq. URL: <http://gallicalabs.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56798124> (visited on 08/14/2015), p. 88, footnote 8.

<sup>47</sup> Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von (1829). *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*. Vol. 5. Pest: C.A. Hartleben, p. 492.

<sup>48</sup> Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von (1830). *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*. Vol. 6. Pest: C.A. Hartleben, p. 80.

<sup>49</sup> Babinger, Franz (1936). “Bobowski Wojciech z Bobowej”. In: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Ed. by Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Vol. 2. Kraków: Instytut Historii, pp. 156–157. In this context it should be mentioned that the compendium contains the translation of a short religious text from Arabic into Latin (f.211\*b).

Although information about the Paris manuscript was available long before the London sister source was publicized in Turkish musicology circles, it is paid much less attention:<sup>50</sup> Since Rıza Nur mentioned the compendium for the first time in 1931,<sup>51</sup> it has received only sporadic attention until Cem Behar published his groundbreaking study, *Saklı Mecmua. Ali Ufkî'nin Bibliothèque Nationale de France'taki [Turc 292] Yazması*, in 2008.<sup>52</sup> Without any further information on the source except for the vague but correct dating “entre 1600 et 1650”, Nur printed f.264b/110b (*Ḳaṭar ḳaṭar gelen ṭurnam*) in his article and listed most of the ʿAṣıḳ (singer-poet) authors present in the manuscript.<sup>53</sup> Only one year later, a more comprehensive codicological description followed.<sup>54</sup> In this second article, Nur analyzed the names of persons and places as well as dates appearing in the manuscript and pointed to the source’s great importance and its deteriorated state. He tentatively identified the author of the manuscript –who in his opinion had to have European roots on account of his command of staff notation– as the Portuguese Emanoel Alphonso de Setual (f. 151b/22b), equating him with a certain Yūsuf Pāṣā who is mentioned in various places in the source.<sup>55</sup> The localities occurring in Turc 292 (see below) and the presence of several scribes led him to the conclusion that the manuscript went through the hands of various owners who took it with them wherever they went. The facsimile edition advertised at the end of the text unfortunately never appeared. In the catalog of the Bibliothèque Nationale’s Turkish collections likewise published in 1932, Edgar Blochet entered Turc 292 as follows:

Album de poésies turques, la plupart sans aucun nom d’auteur, quelques-unes de Nédjati, dans les marges duquel, ainsi que sur les pages restées en blanc, un possesseur de ce livre a écrit des extraits de la *Jérusalem délivrée*, des notes médicales ou botaniques, en italien,

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My thanks to Hakan Özkan for making the Arabic text accessible. Similar efforts in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Turc 221, another mixed manuscript from ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s legacy, certainly deserve study by experts.

<sup>50</sup> Arel (1951), p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Nur, Rıza (1931). “Keuroghlou. Poète populaire turc”. In: *Revue de Turcologie / Türk Bilik Revüsü* vol. 1, pp. 105–110, p. 110.

<sup>52</sup> Behar (2008).

<sup>53</sup> Nur (1931), p. 110. Additionally to Kör-oğlu, he names “Karadjaoghlan, Démuroghlou, Châhinoghlou, Kâtibi, Kouloghlou, etc”.

<sup>54</sup> Nur, Rıza (1932). “Un manuscrit du milieu du XVIIe siècle sur la musique et la poésie turques”. In: *Revue de Turcologie / Türk Bilik Revüsü* vol. 2, pp. 26–31.

<sup>55</sup> Yūsuf Pāṣā was ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s sponsor; see below and f. 221b/67b.

de la musique italienne et allemande, et la notation, quelquefois avec transcription, de chansons turques. Écritures médiocres, du début du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle. 313 feuillets. 24 sur 13 centimètres. Reliure en maroquin rouge, aux armes de Louis XV. – Galland. – Regius, 1623.<sup>56</sup>

Four details of this description should be pointed out: 1. Blochet stresses the textual, poetic content, relegating the musical notation to the very end of his catalog entry, attributing it to the European sphere and understanding it as a subsequent addition by one of several owners. 2. He does not mention Ottoman instrumental music, possibly not recognizing it as Ottoman. Furthermore, there is no Italian-language repertoire among the European pieces in Turc 292. 3. Probably on account of the many scribes present in the source, Blochet –like Nur– deduced that the manuscript went through the hands of more than one proprietor. It seems as though he imagines a (final?) European owner adding the contents he identified as European. 4. On the basis of the *termini post quem* he could extract, Blochet dated Turc 292 to the early seventeenth century. Other dates emerging from the source itself and information about its author locate it half a century later.

Strikingly, Nur’s research has not been taken up widely: For example, Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal does not mention ‘Alī Ufuḳī in the first volume of his *Türkiye-Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri*.<sup>57</sup> In the following decades, Turc 292 was usually only stated in catalog entries, work lists or comparable text genres. One exception is Amnon Shiloah, who included a short paragraph on ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s *uṣūl* descriptions in P into his study on *Music in the World of Islam*.<sup>58</sup> Deeper analyses were not carried out, although, in principle, its exceptional and potentially highly insightful contents were

<sup>56</sup> “Album of Turkish poetry, mostly without any author name, some by Necāī, into the margins of which, also on the pages that have remained blank, one owner of this book has written excerpts from ‘Jerusalem Delivered’ [by Torquato Tasso], medical and botanical notes in Italian, Italian and German music and notations of Turkish songs, sometimes with transliteration. Mediocre handwritings from the beginning of the seventeenth century. 313 leaves. 24x13 centimeters. Bound in red Morocco leather with the coat of arms of Louis XV. [provenance:] Galland. [old shelfmark:] Regius, 1623”. Blochet, Edgar (1932). *Catalogue des Manuscrits Turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 122.

<sup>57</sup> Gazimihal (Kösemiḥal), Mahmut Ragıp (1939). *Türkiye-Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri*. İstanbul: Nümune Matbaası. My thanks to Eckhard Neubauer for this reference.

<sup>58</sup> Shiloah, Amnon (1995). *Music in the World of Islam. A Socio-cultural study*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, p. 124. There is also a biographical sketch on p. 93.



known. This stands in contrast to the London manuscript, the *Mecmû'a-yı Sâz ü Söz*, which appeared in facsimile as early as 1976,<sup>59</sup> in partial editions ordered according to genre in 1991–2,<sup>60</sup> as a complete edition in 2003<sup>61</sup> and has –probably due to its better state and considerably easier accessibility– generally received much more attention since its “rediscovery” by Çağatay Uluçay in 1948.<sup>62</sup> He dates it to the seventeenth century on the grounds of persons and events referenced in its contents and of the colophon written on the fore-edge (“Şahib ve māliki ‘Alī Beğ eş-şantūrī [sic] ez sâzendegān-i Sulṭān Meḥmet sene [10]60”).<sup>63</sup> Uluçay is not sure whether Şantūrī ‘Alī in the colophon was the same person as the ‘Alī Ufuḳī named as composer and poet in the MS. The excitement evident from Uluçay’s descriptions seems also to have been felt by Rıza Nur, but Turc 292 failed to inspire other researchers directly nor spark a lively and extended discussion among musicologists, as is obvious from the Turkish music journals.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps because the Türk Bilik Revüsü was a rather short-lived publication organ which saw only eight issues between 1931 and 1938, whereas Musikî Mecmuası (monthly since 1948) and Türk Mûsikîsi Dergisi (monthly since 1947) had more widespread influence.

<sup>59</sup> Bobowski, Albert (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1976). *Mecmû'a-i sâz ü söz: tıpkıbasım*. Ed. by Elçin, Şükrü. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

<sup>60</sup> Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1991b). *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz. Murabbarın nota çevirileri*. Ed. by Uludemir, Muammer. İzmir: Muammer Uludemir; Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1991a). *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz. Çalgusal semailerin nota çevirileri*. Ed. by Uludemir, Muammer. İzmir: Muammer Uludemir; Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1992).

<sup>61</sup> Bobowski, Albert (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (2003). *Hâzâ mecmû'a-i sâz ü söz*. Ed. by Cevher, M. Hakan. İzmir: M. Hakan Cevher.

<sup>62</sup> Uluçay, M. Çağatay (1948). “Mecmua-i Saz-ü Söz”. In: *Türk Mûsikîsi Dergisi* vol. 14, pp. 4, 24.

<sup>63</sup> “Proprietor and owner, ‘Alī Beğ the şantūr player from the instrumentalists of Sulṭān Meḥmed [IV.] in the year [10]60 [1649/50]”.

<sup>64</sup> Karabey, Laika (1951). “300 kûsûr sene evvelinden kalma nota mecmuasına dair”. In: *Musikî Mecmuası* vol. 4, pp. 5–6, 8. On pp. 6 and 8, Karabey prints two handwritten copies of Türkî by Uluçay. Arel (1951). Arel here makes first comparisons between ‘Alī Ufuḳī and Demetrius Cantemir’s collection *Kitâb-ı ‘ilm-i mûsikî ‘alâ vechü'l-ḥurûfât* (c.1705–1710), printing facsimilia from both MSS; Cantemir, Demetrius (2000). *Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection of Notations. Part 2: Commentary*. Ed. by Wright, Owen. SOAS Musicology Series. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, pp. 4–5.

In many publications related to ‘Alī Ufuḳī, the Paris manuscript was not recognized at all. H. Sadettin Arel describes the London manuscript as “[...] tabî tek nüshadan ibaret olan [...]”;<sup>65</sup> Cahit Öztelli in his study of Karaca-oğlan songs seems unaware of the compendium, which contains further works attributed to this important ‘Āşık poet.<sup>66</sup> In Öztuna’s article for the second edition of the *Büyük Türk MüsİKİSİ Ansiklopedisi*, the compendium is not referenced.<sup>67</sup> Şükrü Elçin discovered the two song notations in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hyde 43 in an article first printed in 1972,<sup>68</sup> but does not mention the concordance with the Paris manuscript there.<sup>69</sup> In Elçin’s many publications P is referenced only sparingly, even though he obviously consulted it, describing it as “çok harap” (“badly damaged”).<sup>70</sup> Şükrü Elçin continued his research into the repertoire transmitted by ‘Alī Ufuḳī. In his 1997 collection of articles on Turkish folk music, mention of ‘Alī Ufuḳī can be found in countless places. In a short biographical sketch for the *Türk Ansiklopedisi* (1983) he drew on Hezārifen Hüseyn’s *Telhüsü’l-beyān fī kavānīn-i Āl-i ‘Osmān* as a new source of information and added the important detail that ‘Alī Ufuḳī was the Sultan’s second interpreter between 1668 and 1673, when Alexandros Mavrocordatos took over the office. The detail that ‘Alī Ufuḳī became friends with Şeyhü’l-İslām Bahā’ī Efendi could not be verified from other sources.<sup>71</sup> Eugenia Popescu-Judetiz included a short summary of the compendium’s content in her *Meanings in Turkish Musical Culture*, evaluating the source as a “notebook” and a “diary” and describing the notations as “interspersed within the diary”.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> “[...] of course consisting of a single exemplar [...]” Arel (1951), p. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Öztelli, Cahit (1969). “Alī Ufki, Karacaoğlan ve İstanbul”. In: *Türk folklor araştırmaları* vol. 239, pp. 5308–5310.

<sup>67</sup> Öztuna, Yılmaz (1990). “Alī Ufki Bey”. In: *Büyük Türk MüsİKİSİ Ansiklopedisi*. Ed. by Öztuna, Yılmaz. Vol. 1. Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, pp. 54–55. The subtitle of the article is, erroneously, “Alberto Bobevio Leopolitano Boboswsky”.

<sup>68</sup> Elçin, Şükrü (1997a). *Halk Edebiyatı Araştırmaları 1*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Ankara: Akçağ, pp. 274f.

<sup>69</sup> Elçin, Şükrü (1972). “Alī Ufki’nin bilinmeyen besteleri”. In: *Türk kültürü* vol. 121, pp. 48–51.

<sup>70</sup> Elçin (1997a), pp. 269, 147f., 242. A chapter on ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s life and works can be found on pp. 145–148. See also ‘Alī Ufuḳī (1976), pp. v–vi.

<sup>71</sup> Elçin (1997a), p. 145f.

<sup>72</sup> Popescu-Judetiz, Eugenia (1996). *The Meanings in Turkish Musical Culture*. İstanbul: Pan, p. 22.

It is highly probable that the attribution of Turc 292 to ‘Alī Ufuķī on grounds of handwriting, should also be ascribed to Gültekin Oransay, although he does not state this directly.<sup>73</sup> The history of its provenance and its journey to Paris in the possession of Antoine Galland (1646–1715),<sup>74</sup> secretary to the French ambassador Marquis de Nointel, was first reconstructed by Elçin<sup>75</sup> and corroborated by Turgut Kut the following year.<sup>76</sup> In a 1983 exhibition catalog of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Annie Berthier, then curator of the Turkish collection, offered a short description of the “précieux recueil”, tracing its acquisition history via Antoine Galland.<sup>77</sup>

Often the Paris manuscript came to be seen and evaluated mainly in its relation to the London *mecmū‘a* in the sense of a draft or a preliminary stage, both chronologically and hierarchically. This approach was first taken by Gültekin Oransay in 1964 –the first time P is mentioned again since Rıza Nur, here entitled “En eski küğ derlemesi” (“the oldest music collection”)–,<sup>78</sup> who contrasted the Paris “taslak defteri” (“sketchbook”) with the “temiz dergi” (“fair copy”) in London. This notion was adopted for example by Şükrü Elçin (1976)<sup>79</sup>, Owen Wright (1988),<sup>80</sup> Eugenia Popescu-Judetz (1996)<sup>81</sup> and M. Hakan Cevher (2003).<sup>82</sup> Oransay referred to ‘Alī Ufuķī in later publications on diverse subjects of music history and theory,

<sup>73</sup> Oransay, Gültekin (1964). “Türkiye’nin Beşyüz Yıllık Küğ Yaşamından Belgeler II”. in: *Musiki Mecmuası* vol. 197, pp. 154–155, p. 154. See also Jäger, Ralf Martin (1998b). “Europa und das Osmanische Reich in der Musik. Voraussetzungen und Ausprägungen gegenseitiger Rezeption und Assimilation des Fremden in der Musik bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts”. Unpublished Habilitation thesis, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, p. 322; Tansuğ, Feza (1997). “Wojciech Bobowski (Ali Ufki) and His Collections of Instrumental and Vocal Works”. In: *International Journal of Music in Turkey: Journal of the Turkish Society for Musicology* vol. 1, pp. 16–20, p. 17. Tansuğ finds the handwriting “foreign”.

<sup>74</sup> Boyar and Fleet (2010), p. xiv.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Alī Ufuķī (1976), p. xvi.

<sup>76</sup> Kut, A. Turgut (1977). “Ali Ufki Bey ve Eserleri”. In: *Musiki Mecmuası* vol. 332, pp. 5–20, pp. 8f.

<sup>77</sup> Berthier, Annie (1983). *Vers l’Orient...* Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, p. 68.

<sup>78</sup> Oransay (1964), p. 154.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Alī Ufuķī (1976), p. xvi.

<sup>80</sup> Wright, Owen (1988). “Aspects of Historical Change in the Turkish Classical Repertoire”. In: *Musica asiatica* vol. 5, pp. 1–108, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> Popescu-Judetz (1996), p. 22.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Alī Ufuķī (2003), p. 21 “Paristeki müsvedde nüshası”.

showing awareness of the P manuscript.<sup>83</sup> His *doçentlik tezi* at the Theological Faculty of Ankara Üniversitesi (1972), *Ali Ufki ve Türk Dini Musikisi*, most probably offers more insights, but unfortunately the unpublished manuscript remains inaccessible. In later years, a certain change in wording can be observed: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (2003) pointed out that Turc 292 should not only be seen as a draft for the London manuscript as its contents were much broader and the musical repertoire also differed between the two volumes, but still cited both Turc 292 and Sloane 3114 as “nüshalar” of basically the same source.<sup>84</sup> In a 2010 article, Owen Wright did not mention a chronological relation or hierarchy but spoke of “due ampie collezioni”<sup>85</sup> Mehmet Uğur Ekinci interpreted the differences between the two sources relating to their presentation as “a personal scrapbook” and “a more neatly prepared collection”.<sup>86</sup> The *mecmû'a* as a textual genre, however, is by definition a singular and individual expression and as such cannot exist in plural copies.<sup>87</sup> This does not contradict the considerable content overlap between P and L, but it does point to a fundamental difference between the two sources, or, for that matter, between P on the one hand and L, C and K on the other. It is the difference between –in Kuru’s words– the mixed (“karmaşık”) and the organized (“düzenli”) *mecmû'a*: The second type is designed and composed with posterity in mind.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> For example Oransay, Gültekin (1966). *Die melodische Linie und der Begriff Makam der traditionellen türkischen Kunstmusik vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. Ankara: Küğ Yayını, pp. 32 and passim; Oransay, Gültekin (1971). “Dini Türk Musikisinde XVII. yüzyılda kullanılmış makamlar”. In: *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* vol. 19, pp. 75–82. URL: <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/37/748/9559.pdf> (visited on 01/13/2013).

<sup>84</sup> İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin, ed. (2003). *Osmanlı Müsikî Literatürü Tarihi*. İstanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, pp. 74f.

<sup>85</sup> Wright, Owen (2010). “In bocca al turco, Giuseppe!” In: *Giuseppe Donizetti Pascià, traiettorie musicali e storiche tra Italia e Turchia*. Ed. by Spinetti, Federico. Bergamo: Fondazione Donizetti, pp. 103–123, p. 110.

<sup>86</sup> Ekinci, Mehmet Uğur (2012). “The *Kevserî Mecmûası* Unveiled: Exploring an Eighteenth-Century Collection of Ottoman Music”. In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. 22, pp. 199–225, p. 200; Ekinci and Haug (2016), p. 101.

<sup>87</sup> Kuru (2012), p. 19; Buzov (2012), p. 37.

<sup>88</sup> Kuru (2012), p. 20.

Cem Behar initially mentioned Turc 292 in 1987 in an article on ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s partial translation of the Genevan Psalter into Ottoman Turkish.<sup>89</sup> He pointed at similarities between the Paris and London sources and for the first time formulated the importance and necessity of critical editions for both manuscripts. Behar also underlined the presence of other scribes and of dates long before ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s arrival in Istanbul and pointed out the possibility that P was not necessarily finished before L, but may have been written partially overlapping with the sister source. Those conclusions have been adopted and corroborated by the present study. In this text and likewise in his 1990 book on ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s partial translation of the Reformed Genevan Psalter *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar*,<sup>90</sup> he consistently put the word “müsvedde” (“draft”) in quotation marks, describing the pair of sources as “*Mecmua-yı Saz u Söz ve ‘Müsveddeler’* diye anilâgelen Mecmua”.<sup>91</sup> In the subsequent article, aptly named “New Information on Wojciech Bobowski (Ali Ufki)’s Life and Works”, he called attention to the connection between ‘Alī Ufuḳī and the French-Polish linguist and Imperial interpreter François Mesgnien-Meniński, whose four-volume multilingual dictionary of the Ottoman-Turkish language remains a crucial witness to the history of linguistics.<sup>92</sup> More source work in the Bibliothèque Nationale brought to light a connection between ‘Alī Ufuḳī and the famous traveller and Oriental scholar Johann Michael Wansleben (Vansleb), who obviously took advantage of his interpreting services. Further he added the mixed MS Turc 216<sup>93</sup> to the work canon. In the short description of MS Turc 292 that ensues, he states that the source had been found in the effects

<sup>89</sup> Behar, Cem (1987). “Ali Ufkî’nin Bilinmeyen bir Musiki Elyazması: Mezmurlar”. In: *Tarih ve Toplum* vol. 8, pp. 44–47, pp. 44f.

<sup>90</sup> Behar, Cem (1990). *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar*. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, pp. 19, 33, 37ff.

<sup>91</sup> “[...] the *Mecmua-yı Saz u Söz* and the collection commonly called *drafts* [...]”; Behar, Cem (1991). “Wojciech Bobowski (Ali Ufki)’nin Hayatı ve Eserleri Hakkında Yeni Bilgiler”. In: *Tarih ve Toplum* vol. 94, pp. 17–22, p. 17.

<sup>92</sup> Behar (2005), pp. 25f. Meniński (1680a). On Meniński, who has not yet received the scholarly interest he deserves, see also Hering, Gunnar (1994). “Panagiotis Nikousios als Dragoman der kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft in Konstantinopel”. In: *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* vol. 44, pp. 143–178, p. 145; Tomenendal, Kerstin (2000). *Das türkische Gesicht Wiens. Auf den Spuren von Türken in Wien*. Vienna: Böhlau, pp. 60ff; Tornow, Siegfried (2009). *Abendland und Morgenland im Spiegel ihrer Sprachen. Ein kulturhistorischer Vergleich*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 158f. Rothman, E. Natalie (2013). “Dragomans and ‘Turkish Literature’”. In: *Oriente Moderno* vol. 93, pp. 390–421, pp. 398f.

<sup>93</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Turc 216*[*Turc 216*].

of Antoine Galland after his death and transferred to the Bibliothèque Royale on February 22nd, 1715, together with 79 other manuscripts from his collection.<sup>94</sup>

In 2005, Behar gave a complete codicological description of the compendium including an overview of its Ottoman and European contents, calling it “Mecmua-yı Saz u Söz’ün Müsveddeleri” in quotation marks. In passing, he also mentioned one of the most exciting transcultural phenomena in the manuscript, namely the fact that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s musical notation can be dextrograde or sinistrograde.<sup>95</sup> Only three years later, Behar published the above-named monograph on Turc 292, in which he gave special importance to the topics *uṣūl*, music education, and performance practice. He analyzed the texts and short notes which yield valuable information on pedagogy, composition practice, tuning of certain instruments, or the interpretation of various *uṣūller* and *maḳām*lar. Further, he compiled an index of Peşrev and Semā’ī compositions including references to concordances in Demetrius Cantemir’s notation collection.<sup>96</sup> His 2010 study of Şeyhü’l-İslām Es’ad Efendi’s biographical work, *Aṭrābü’l-āsār fī tezkiiret ‘urefā’i’l-edvār*, regularly mentions ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a central source on Ottoman music.<sup>97</sup> Also the enlarged fourth edition of *Aşk olmayınca meşk olmaz*, his groundbreaking publication on oral repertoire transmission in the Ottoman tradition, contains many important recourses to ‘Alī Ufuḳī and the Paris manuscript, putting it into the larger historical context extending to the present day.<sup>98</sup> Behar’s most recent study on Demetrius Cantemir contains many enlightening references to and comparisons with ‘Alī Ufuḳī, especially concerning their respective views on musical literacy and theory, as well as innovative thoughts on musical historicity in the Ottoman-Turkish context.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Behar (1991), p. 19. It is unclear where this information was retrieved from as Blochet’s catalog does not contain it.

<sup>95</sup> Behar (2005), pp. 46ff., 224ff.

<sup>96</sup> Behar (2008), pp. 186–197.

<sup>97</sup> Behar, Cem (2010). *Şeyhülislâm’ın Müziği. 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı/Türk Musikisi ve Şeyhülislâm Es’ad Efendi’nin Atrabü’l-Âsâr*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, passim.

<sup>98</sup> Behar, Cem (2012). *Aşk olmayınca meşk olmaz*. 4th extended edition. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, pp. 21f., 91f.

<sup>99</sup> Behar, Cem (2017). *Kan Dolaşımı, Ameliyat ve Musıkî Makamları. Kantemiroğlu (1673–1723) ve Edvâr’ın sıra dışı müzikal serüveni*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.

Owen Wright included many important statements on ‘Alī Ufuḫī in his classic work on Ottoman repertoire transmission in *güfte mecmû‘aları*, *Words Without Songs* (1992).<sup>100</sup> This study is of considerable relevance to research on ‘Alī Ufuḫī and will be referenced frequently, because ‘Alī Ufuḫī himself partakes of this transmission process. The decision to include a survey of Ottoman song-text collections in the present project is based on Wright’s assertion that “the most characteristic Ottoman form of musical literature is to be found not among works providing descriptive or analytical material but in the song-text collections”.<sup>101</sup> In a 1996 article for *Early Music*, he raised awareness for Middle-Eastern music and its transmission in wider musicological circles, presenting ‘Alī Ufuḫī as one of the paramount witnesses of the tradition. He already underlined the “changes in modal and rhythmic nomenclature” between ‘Alī Ufuḫī and later collections as exemplified by Ḥāfız Pōst, and spoke of a specific Istanbul repertoire emerging during that period. In the same article he mentions P as “first attempts”.<sup>102</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḫī is also adduced as a reference point in the reconstruction of the semi-legendary story of *uṣūl Frenkçin*.<sup>103</sup> In a 2013 article for the collected volume *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, Wright addressed the topic of ‘Alī Ufuḫī again, giving a reproduction of f. 2a/256a (Murabba‘ “Sakiia sun badei hamrai bir nuṣ idelim”). There, he refers to P not as a draft for L, but, much more aptly, as “earlier efforts”, in comparison to which Sloane 3114 was “much fuller, much more assured”.<sup>104</sup>

Addressing more detailed approaches to P, the European elements in the compendium were first mentioned by Ralf Martin Jäger in his 1998 habilitation thesis, where he printed one of ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s copies of Heinrich Albert’s *Arien* (1642, 1645 and 1648; see chapter 4.15)<sup>105</sup> and contextualized it in the intercultural music relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, especially in connection with embassy missions. Amnon Shiloah may be the only author who presents P as the sole example for ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s

<sup>100</sup> Wright (1992). See also the earlier and equally influential article Wright (1988).

<sup>101</sup> Wright (1992), p. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Wright, Owen (1996). “Middle Eastern Song-Text Collections”. In: *Early Music* vol. 24, pp. 454–469, 455, 457f., 468.

<sup>103</sup> Wright, Owen (2011). “How French is *frenkçin*?” In: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. 21, pp. 261–281, pp. 271–273.

<sup>104</sup> Wright, Owen (2013). “Turning a Deaf Ear”. In: *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*. Ed. by Contadini, Anna and Norton, Claire. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 143–165, pp. 162ff.

<sup>105</sup> Jäger (1998b), pp. 321ff. and *passim*.

work. Shiloah describes him as an interpreter of Sultan Mehmed IV, who “wrote a book on Turkish music (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. turc 292) in which he included a large number of Turkish compositions recorded in Western notation”.<sup>106</sup> The issue of notation, albeit only referring to L, was especially addressed by Ralf Martin Jäger,<sup>107</sup> and Ruhi Ayangil.<sup>108</sup> Likewise in the field of folk music ‘Alī Ufuḫī has received attention apart from Şükrü Elçin’s ample production: Cahit Öztelli’s study on Karaca-oğlan deals only with L, but is nonetheless relevant.<sup>109</sup> Ursula Reinhard analyzed the “folk” repertoire in L from the viewpoint of repertoire consistency, which is customarily postulated by ‘Aşık singers to the present day.<sup>110</sup>

In the years following the publication of Cem Behar’s monograph, the current state of research concerning ‘Alī Ufuḫī in general as well as the Paris manuscript in particular has not changed significantly. Recently, an important contribution has been made by Mehmet Uğur Ekinci with his transcription and contextualization of the *Kevserî Mecmū‘ası*. The many concordances it shares with P and L are taken into account and characterized by a short statement on the relationship between the versions.<sup>111</sup> In the future, more detailed comparison between P, L, C and K (whose repertoire overlaps considerably, with an especially interesting group of pieces transmitted by ‘Alī Ufuḫī and K but not by C) will surely yield important insights. A first step in this direction has been undertaken

<sup>106</sup> Shiloah, Amnon (1991). “An Eighteenth-Century Critic of Taste and Good Taste”. In: *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*. Ed. by Blum, Stephen, Bohlman, Philip V., and Neuman, Daniel M. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, pp. 181–189, p. 189, endnote 1.

<sup>107</sup> Jäger, Ralf Martin (1996b). *Türkische Kunstmusik und ihre handschriftlichen Quellen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert*. Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster vol. 7. Eisenach: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Wagner, pp. 225–232.

<sup>108</sup> Ayangil (2008).

<sup>109</sup> Öztelli (1969).

<sup>110</sup> Reinhard, Ursula (1992). “Ist die türkische Volksmusik über die Jahrhunderte konstant geblieben?” In: *IV. Milletlerarası Türk Halk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri*. 3: Halk Müziği, Oyun, Tiyatro, Eğlence. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Halk Kültürlerini Araştırma ve Geliştirme Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, pp. 213–225. Reference is made to L only also in Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), p. 28.

<sup>111</sup> Ekinci, Mehmet Uğur, ed. (2016). *Kevserî Mecmuası*. 18. *Yüzyıl Saz Müziği Külliyyatı*. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık.



in a joint article by Ekinci and the present author. The paper discusses aspects of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notational technique, including the analyses of three Peşrevler.<sup>112</sup>

Still, many musicological studies in the field are based on L, as P has not been sufficiently accessible. Mehmet Ali Sanlıkol, in his study of *mehter* music, is aware of both manuscripts but relies only on L, drawing attention to its crucial role as a source for Ottoman military music.<sup>113</sup> Karaol and Tunçer based their article on *uşûl* entirely on the repertoire of L with the aim of comparing the *uşûller* in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations to modern usage.<sup>114</sup> Sami Dural compared the L, C and K versions of a Peşrev in a recent article, drawing conclusions on the perception of *maḳām* and *seyir* in the course of history.<sup>115</sup> Seher Tetik grounded her work on Sultan Murād IV’s composership on the pieces –both instrumental and vocal– attributed to him in L.<sup>116</sup> Introducing his edition of Hızır Āgā’s treatise *Tefhīmü’l-Maḳāmāt fī Tevlādi’l-Nāğāmāt*, with an overview of Ottoman-Turkish music history, Abdülkadir Terin acknowledges ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s role in transmitting and safeguarding repertoire in spite of the inappropriateness of Western notation. He describes ‘Alī Ufuḳī as “music theoretician and composer”, two roles not unambiguously supported by the actual evidence, and his notations as flawed, which is difficult to judge in hindsight if not

<sup>112</sup> *Turc* 292, ff. 140b/295b, 283b/129b–285r/131r, 290b/136b–292a/138a. The Türkī on f. 46b/250a *Ageb ne diardan vczub gellersis* and its notation by Giovanni Battista Donado is also discussed. Ekinci and Haug (2016). See also Aksoy, Bülent (2003). *Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musiki*. 2nd ed. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, p. 385.

<sup>113</sup> Sanlıkol, Mehmet Ali (2011). *The Musician Mehters*. İstanbul: The Isis Press, p. 29f. The book also contains a CD with several recordings from L.

<sup>114</sup> Karaol, Esra and Tunçer, Deniz (2015). “‘Uşul’ Analyses in ‘Mecmua-ı Saz u Söz’ by Ali Ufki”. In: *Medeniyet Sanat* vol. 1, pp. 43–70.

<sup>115</sup> Dural, Sami (2014). “Ali Ufki, Kantemiroğlu ve Kevseri’nin Müzik Yazılarının Türk Müzik Geleneği Bağlamında Uzzal Peşrevi Üzerinden İncelemesi”. In: *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi* vol. 2, pp. 147–162. URL: [www.rastmd.com/?pnum=26&pt=Cilt+2+Say%C4%B1+1+-+Volume+2+Issue+1+2014+Bahar+-Spring](http://www.rastmd.com/?pnum=26&pt=Cilt+2+Say%C4%B1+1+-+Volume+2+Issue+1+2014+Bahar+-Spring) (visited on 07/04/2016).

<sup>116</sup> Tetik, Seher (2010). “IV. Murad’ın Bestelerinden Temsil”. In: *Müzikte Temsil/Müziksel Temsil I. Kongresi Bildirimleri*. Ed. by Beşiroğlu, Ş. Şehvar. Porte Akademik 1. İstanbul: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı, pp. 193–197.

only directed towards rhythmic counting errors.<sup>117</sup> A whole new perspective on Ottoman “art” music worth pursuing in more detail –also including the repertoire of the compendium– has been explored by Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, who analyzed post-Byzantine music manuscripts for their content of secular Ottoman music.<sup>118</sup>

The 2015 conference volume *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”* underlines ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s major role for any historiography of Ottoman-Turkish music. The majority of the contributions contain at least references to him, ranging from more general thoughts on historiography (Bülent Aksoy, Ralf Martin Jäger, Ruhi Ayangil, Ersu Pekin)<sup>119</sup> to historically informed performance practice<sup>120</sup> and “folk” music.<sup>121</sup> Walter Feldman’s contribution entitled, “The Musical ‘Renaissance’ of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey: Reflections on the Musical Materials of Ali Ufkı Bey (ca. 1610–1675), Hâfız Post (d. 1694) and the ‘Marâghî’ Repertoire” –dealing with change of style, genres and repertoire during ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s lifetime– is the most directly connected paper from the collection and will

<sup>117</sup> Hızır Ağa, Kemâni (2015). *Kemâni Hızır Ağa’nın Tefhimü’l Makâmât fî Tevlîdi’n Nagâmât İsimli Edvâr’ı Örneğinde 18. Yüzyıl Türk Müsikîsi*. Ed. by Tekin, Abdülkadir. İstanbul: Büyüyen Ay, p. 31.

<sup>118</sup> Kalaitzidis, Kyriakos (2012). *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century)*. Istanbul Texte und Studien vol. 28. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 65, 80, 139f.

<sup>119</sup> Aksoy, Bülent (2015). “Preliminary Notes on the Possibility (or Impossibility) of Writing Ottoman Musical History”. In: *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Ed. by Greve, Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 33. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 15–31; Jäger, Ralf Martin (2015). “Concepts of Western and Ottoman Music History”. In: *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Ed. by Greve, Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 33. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 33–50; Ayangil (2015); Pekin, Ersu (2015). “Neither Dates nor Sources: A Methodological Problem in Writing the History of Ottoman Music”. In: *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Ed. by Greve, Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 33. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 57–74.

<sup>120</sup> Karakaya, Fikret (2015). “Do Early Notation Collections Represent the Music of their Times?” In: *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Ed. by Greve, Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 33. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 213–218.

<sup>121</sup> Şenel, Süleyman (2015). “Ottoman *Türkü*”. In: *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Ed. by Greve, Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 33. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 195–209.

be referenced frequently in due course.<sup>122</sup> It was preceded by an article on İtrî in 2013;<sup>123</sup> the groundbreaking *Music of the Ottoman Court* (1996) makes frequent reference to ʿAlî Ufukî as well.<sup>124</sup> In the increasingly important context of research into the historicity of Ottoman music, the chapter “Relics from the Past” in Martin Greve’s recent study *Makamsız* offers views on ʿAlî Ufukî’s role in the transmission of Ottoman music as well as modern Turkish and Western scholarly engagement with him and other witnesses to Ottoman music history.<sup>125</sup> In 2017, a second conference volume with the title *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East* followed. Articles by Eckhard Neubauer,<sup>126</sup> Owen Wright,<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Feldman, Walter Zev (2015). “The Musical ‘Renaissance’ of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey: Reflections on the Musical Materials of Ali Ufki Bey (ca. 1610-1675), Hâfız Post (d. 1694) and the ‘Marâghî’ Repertoire”. In: *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*. Ed. by Greve, Martin. *Istanbul Texts and Studies* 33. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 87–138.

<sup>123</sup> Feldman, Walter Zev (2013). “17. yüzyılın müzikal formları: Ali Ufki, Evliya Çelebi ve Kantemiroğlu arasında İtrî”. In: *İtrî ve dönemine disiplinlerarası bakışlar*. Ed. by Paçacı, Gönül. İstanbul: İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı, pp. 87–94.

<sup>124</sup> Feldman, Walter Zev (1996a). *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*. *Intercultural Music Studies* vol. 10. Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, pp. 67–70 and passim.

<sup>125</sup> Greve, Martin (2017). *Makamsız. Individualization of Traditional Music on the Eve of Kemalist Turkey*. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 119–132.

<sup>126</sup> Neubauer, Eckhard (2017). “A Historical Sketch of the Musical Metre Called *Ramal*”. In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. *Istanbul Texts and Studies* 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 17–30, p. 29.

<sup>127</sup> Wright, Owen (2017b). “The Ottoman *Usul* System and Its Precursors”. In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. *Istanbul Texts and Studies* 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 31–48; Wright, Owen (2017a). “Amir Ḥan Gurjî and Safavid-Ottoman *Usul* Parallels”. In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. *Istanbul Texts and Studies* 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 49–68

Yalçın Tura,<sup>128</sup> Şehvar Beşiroğlu and Ozan Baysal,<sup>129</sup> Ruhi Ayangil,<sup>130</sup> Jacob Olley<sup>131</sup> as well as the author's own contribution<sup>132</sup> make reference to 'Alī Ufuḳī in varying detail. Especially Wright's contributions point to the future of research into the history of *Uşûl*, drawing attention to connections with seventeenth-century Persian treatises. In a number of articles in the 2018 Festschrift dedicated to Wright, 'Alī Ufuḳī's notations served as points of reference and comparison in order to trace historical change. Mehmet Uğur Ekinci illustrated the historic development of the various forms of *uşûl* Semā'ī based on meticulous comparison of melodic versions concerning their rhythmic interpretation in the extant notations between Turc 292 and the Kevserī manuscript.<sup>133</sup> In a similar vein, Walter Feldman analyzed a Peşrev by 'İtrī in the theoretical context implicitly supplied by 'Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>134</sup> Jacob Olley proposed a new outlook on historical

<sup>128</sup> Tura, Yalçın (2017). "Observations on the Use of the Rhythmic Cycle *Darb-ı Fetih* 'Rhythm of Conquest' in Turkish Vocal Music of the 17th–19th Centuries". In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 69–89.

<sup>129</sup> Beşiroğlu, Ş. Şehvar and Baysal, Ozan (2017). "How to Transcribe and Analyze *Usûl* and Tempo in the Cantemir Music Collection". In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 121–135.

<sup>130</sup> Ayangil, Ruhi (2017b). "The Role and Importance of Periods in Understanding the *Usûl Hâvî* and *Büyük Usûl* (Large *Usûl*) Structures". In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 137–150.

<sup>131</sup> Ayangil, Ruhi (2017a). "Rhythmic Augmentation and the Transformation of the Ottoman *Peşrev*, 18th - 19th Centuries". In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 177–187.

<sup>132</sup> Haug, Judith I. (2017). "Representations of *Uşûl* in 'Alī Ufuḳī's Manuscripts". In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. Istanbul Texte und Studien 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 91–105.

<sup>133</sup> Ekinci, Mehmet Uğur (2018). "Not just any *usul*. *Semai* in pre-nineteenth-century performance practice". In: *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World. Essays in Honour of Owen Wright*. Ed. by Harris, Rachel and Stokes, Martin. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 42–72.

<sup>134</sup> Feldman, Walter Zev (2018). "İtrī's 'Nühüft Sakil' in the Context of *Sakil Peşrevs* in the Seventeenth Century". In: *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World. Essays in Honour of Owen Wright*. Ed. by Harris, Rachel and Stokes, Martin. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 73–82.

change, emphasizing the stability of the instrumental repertoire between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and underlining the necessity of including the collections in Hampartsum notation into historiography.<sup>135</sup> Eckhard Neubauer's contribution opens the way to the Teheran collection of Cantemir notations (MS Mellî 2804), which will in the future yield important results regarding transmission and melodic versions.<sup>136</sup>

Smaller mentions, even in publications not directly related or completely unrelated to seventeenth-century Ottoman music, are nonetheless important as they show the increasing scholarly awareness of 'Alî Ufuḫî. Özgür Balkılıç, in his study on the politics of music in the early Republic, deals with issues of notation and orality, adducing 'Alî Ufuḫî as earliest (here, "surviving" should be added) example.<sup>137</sup> In his study on Kemalist culture politics, Patrick Bartsch introduces 'Alî Ufuḫî in the context of a historical overview.<sup>138</sup> In non-musicological works, 'Alî Ufuḫî is cited as a crucial informant for Europeans. Suraiya Faroqhi counts him among the "somewhat exceptional people" who were able to lead a "serious dialogue" across the borders of language, culture and religion.<sup>139</sup> He regularly features prominently in studies on Ottoman interpreters: Authors such as Hering<sup>140</sup> or Ağıldere<sup>141</sup> show awareness of his significance. Important sources have been brought to light by Hannah Neudecker, such as the

<sup>135</sup> Olley, Jacob (2018). "Towards a New Theory of Historical Change in the Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire". In: *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World. Essays in Honour of Owen Wright*. Ed. by Harris, Rachel and Stokes, Martin. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 22–41. See also Olley's forthcoming PhD thesis, Olley, Jacob (2017). "Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul. Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hampartsum Notation". PhD thesis. King's College London.

<sup>136</sup> Neubauer, Eckhard (2018). "New light on Cantemir". In: *Theory and Practice in the Music of the Islamic World. Essays in Honour of Owen Wright*. Ed. by Harris, Rachel and Stokes, Martin. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 3–21.

<sup>137</sup> Balkılıç, Özgür (2009). *Cumhuriyet, Halk ve Müzik. Türkiye'de Müzik Reformu 1922-1952*. Ankara: Tan, p. 65.

<sup>138</sup> Bartsch, Patrick (2011). *Musikpolitik im Kemalismus. Die Zeitschrift Radyo zwischen 1941 und 1949*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Bamberg: *Orientstudien* vol. 2. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, p. 32.

<sup>139</sup> Faroqhi (1999), pp. 153f., 207.

<sup>140</sup> Hering (1994), pp. 160f.

<sup>141</sup> Timur Ağıldere, Suna (2010). "XVIII. yüzyıl Avrupa'sında yabancı dil olarak Türkçe öğretiminin önemi: Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda İstanbul Fransız dil oğlanları okulu (1669-1873)". In: *Turkish Studies* vol. 5, pp. 693–704, p. 695.

*Grammatica Turcicolatina*,<sup>142</sup> the narrative of the palace revolt in 1651<sup>143</sup> and the correspondence with Isaac Basire,<sup>144</sup> which yielded fundamental insights into ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s biography. Recently, a study on the translations of the Anglican Catechism (1654) and Johannes Amos Comenius’ *Ianua linguarum* (1658) has drawn attention to this important segment of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s work.<sup>145</sup> In several influential articles, Natalie Rothman has opened the field of the “trans-imperial subjects” and “cultural brokers”,<sup>146</sup> key-words that directly apply to ‘Alī Ufuḳī: “[...] *trans-imperial subjects*, social actors who straddled and helped broker political, religious, and linguistic boundaries across various imperial domains”.<sup>147</sup> In her most recent article on the subject she adduces ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a source for knowledge on Ottoman music and as an informant of Sir Paul Rycout, Antoine Galland, Cornelio Magni and their likes.<sup>148</sup> Sezai Balcı’s 2013 study on Ottoman interpreters devotes a subsection to ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>149</sup> Gunnar Hering evaluated the diplomatic correspondence in the Haus- und Hofarchiv in Vienna, and found

<sup>142</sup>Neudecker, Hannah (1996). “Wojciech Bobowski and his Turkish Grammar (1666). A Dragoman and Musician at the Court of Sultan Mehmed IV”. in: *Dutch Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures* vol. 2, pp. 169–192.

<sup>143</sup>Neudecker, Hannah (1997). “An Ottoman Palace Revolution as Witnessed by a Court Musician”. In: *Dutch Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures* vol. 3, pp. 163–192.

<sup>144</sup>Neudecker, Hannah (2005). “From Istanbul to London? Albertus Bobovius’ Appeal to Isaac Basire”. In: *The Republic of Letters and the Levant*. Ed. by Hamilton, Alastair. Leiden: Brill, pp. 173–196.

<sup>145</sup>Neudecker, Hannah (2017). “Two Hitherto Little-Studied Turkish Translations by Wojciech Bobowski alias Albertus Bobovius”. In: *Oriens* vol. 45, pp. 330–363.

<sup>146</sup>Most importantly Rothman, E. Natalie (2009). “Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean”. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 51, pp. 771–800 and Rothman, E. Natalie (2012). *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

<sup>147</sup>Rothman (2013), p. 392.

<sup>148</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 403, 406, 411f.

<sup>149</sup>Balcı, Sezai (2013). *Babıâli Tercüme Odası*. İstanbul: Libra, pp. 99–100. See also his PhD thesis: Balcı, Sezai (2006). “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası”. PhD thesis. Ankara Üniversitesi. URL: <http://acikarsiv.ankara.edu.tr/browse/1722/2376.pdf> (visited on 09/21/2012), especially pp. 56–61, 73 and 154. Some other studies on interpreters in the Ottoman Empire do not include ‘Alī Ufuḳī, for example Bilim, Cahit (1990). “Tercüme odası”. In: *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* vol. 1, pp. 29–43. URL: <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/1150/13495.pdf> (visited on 09/21/2012); Çiçek, Kemal (1996). “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Yabancı Konsolosluk Tercümanları”. In: *Tarih ve Toplum* vol. 146,

that ‘Alī Ufuḳī was employed by the Porte in 1668.<sup>150</sup> In the context of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s role as cultural mediator, his contribution to diplomatic and cultural transfer between Poland and the Ottoman Empire has recently come into focus. İl’ya Zajcev has brought to light documents on his involvement in diplomatic exchanges with Poland and the Cossacks,<sup>151</sup> while Namık Sinan Turan especially underlined the role of the description of palace life, *Serai Enderum*, as an important mediator between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>152</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī serves as a witness for the importance of luxurious horse tack related to the custom of gift-giving on the occasion of *nevrüz*.<sup>153</sup> In his study on the sexual culture of the Ottomans, Murat Bardakçı refers to ‘Alī Ufuḳī repeatedly. His unusual interpretation (or rather interpolation) of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s character is worth quoting in full: “Hayatı boyunca okumuş, yazmış ama bu arada zevk ve sefadan geri kalmamış. Dördüncü Mehmet sarayının tüm görkemini yaşamış ve bu görkemi kitaplarına da aksettirmiş”.<sup>154</sup> This summary of course raises no claim to completeness.

Last but not least, when speaking about music, one must not omit reference to discography. To current knowledge, the 2015 recording *Alī Ufki Bey’in tanıklığıyla 17. yüzyıl İstanbul’unda musiki* by Bezmârâ is the only publication presenting repertoire from the compendium.<sup>155</sup>

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pp. 17–23; Rothman (2009); Paker, Saliha (2011). “The Turkish Tradition”. In: *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Ed. by Baker, Mona. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, pp. 571–582.

<sup>150</sup>Hering (1994), p. 160.

<sup>151</sup>Zajcev, İl’ja Vladimirovič (2009). “La politique Turque de Petro Dorošenko. Documents du fonds de Wojciech Bobowski à la BNF”. in: *Éditions de l’EHESS - Cahiers du monde russe* vol. 50, pp. 511–532. URL: <http://www.cairn.info/revue-cahiers-du-monde-russe-2009-2-page-511.htm> (visited on 08/11/2014).

<sup>152</sup>Turan, Namık Sinan (2014). “Osmanlı Kültürünün Aktarımında Polonya Asıllı Ali Ufki Bey’in Katkısı”. In: *Evrensel Kültür* vol. 266, pp. 52–58.

<sup>153</sup>Dingç, Emine (2009). “Osmanlı Sarayında eski bir Türk Geleneği: Yeni Yıldı Hediyeleşme”. In: *Turkish Studies* vol. 4, pp. 1057–1073, p. 1062.

<sup>154</sup>Bardakçı, Murat (1993). *Osmanlıda Seks. Sarayda Gece Dersleri*. 2nd ed. İstanbul: Gür Yayınları, pp. 169 and passim. “He read and wrote all his life, but at the same time did not stay away from enjoyment and pleasure. He lived the splendor of Mehmed IV’s palace to the full, and let this splendor be reflected in his books”.

<sup>155</sup>Bezmârâ (2015). *Alī Ufki Bey’in tanıklığıyla 17. yüzyıl İstanbul’unda musiki*. Güvercin Müzik Yapım.

## 1.4 Author

While crucial information about ʿAlī Ufuḳī is still missing, for example the dates of his birth, his age on entry into *enderūn* service, his graduation (“manumission”),<sup>156</sup> his family connections as well as the time and place of his death,<sup>157</sup> a number of details and circumstantial evidence allow conclusions. Many pieces of information have in fact been published before, but were for some reason –often due to language barriers– not available and have not been taken into account by other scholars, so that compiling the available information and assembling it with newly found material is a worthwhile effort.<sup>158</sup>

The hope that the compendium would contain autobiographic statements of ʿAlī Ufuḳī in the sense of reliable information was disappointed. In general, he does not speak about himself much. In L there is a short text dated on 24 zi'l-ka'de 1079 (April 25, 1669) on the occasion of a journey –possibly a diplomatic mission– to Yeñişehir (f. 108a), but it is in Arabic and not in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's writing. It describes him as a musician, a physician, proficient in many languages and an interpreter to Sultan Meḫmed. His *mahlāş* is also mentioned.<sup>159</sup> General knowledge locates his life dates as

<sup>156</sup> “En récompense, probablement, de ses bons et loyaux services, il recouvra la liberté.” Zajcev (2009), p. 511. However, the process of manumission did not pertain to *iç-oğlanlar*, but for example to prisoners of war serving as galley slaves. Dávid, Géza (2007). “Manumitted Male Slaves at Galata and Istanbul around 1700”. In: *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders*. Ed. by Dávid, Géza and Fodor, Pál. The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 37. Leiden: Brill, pp. 183–191. Faroqi, Suraiya (2004). *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*. London: Tauris, pp. 124ff. Kunt, İ. Metin (2011). “Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace”. In: *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires. A Global Perspective*. Ed. by Duindam, Jeroen, Artan, Tülay, and Kunt, Metin. Leiden: Brill, pp. 289–312, pp. 293ff.

<sup>157</sup> Öztuna states that ʿAlī Ufuḳī died in Krakov; Öztuna (1990), p. 54. This could not be verified.

<sup>158</sup> Some of the secondary sources used here have already been evaluated in the present author's PhD thesis, Haug, Judith I. (2010). *Der Genfer Psalter in den Niederlanden, Deutschland, England und dem Osmanischen Reich (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*. Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft vol. 30. Tutzing: Schneider. In order to provide as complete as possible an overview and in the English language, some crucial passages are repeated here in an extended form and connected to new contexts.

<sup>159</sup> Uluçay (1948), p. 4. ʿAlī Ufuḳī (2003), pp. 9f. Laika Karabey quotes Çağatay Uluçay's report to Sadettin Arel: “108 sahifesinde 24 Zilka'de 1079 (M. 1668) tarihile yazılmış Arapça bir hâmişte Ufḳin tanınmış bir musikişinas, doktor ve dilci olduğu ve Sultan Mehmed'e terceman [sic] olarak Yenişehir'e geldiği bildiriyor”. Karabey (1951), p. 5.



c.1610–1675.<sup>160</sup> He was Polish by birth, originated in Lwów in today’s Ukraine, was taken prisoner by Tatars, accepted Islam, was trained as an *iç-oğlan*, spent eighteen to twenty years in palace service as a musician and later became interpreter of the divan, mastering seventeen languages. At some point he went to Egypt. He was an influential contact for Europeans in the Ottoman capital; his most important works include a description of Islam for European readers, *De Turcarum Liturgia*,<sup>161</sup> and the translation of Johannes Amos Comenius’ *Ianua Linguarum Reserata* into Ottoman Turkish.<sup>162</sup> The preface to *De Turcarum Liturgia* by the Oxford Oriental scholar Thomas Hyde (1636–1703)<sup>163</sup> is probably one of the crucial sources on ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s biography available to readers all over Europe. In 1977, Turgut Kut gave a list of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s manuscripts, printed and edited works which had been identified until then, collected all the available information from older European encyclopedias and travel accounts, and drew attention to major sources such as Claes Rålamb, Jacob Spon or Guillet de Saint-George.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>160</sup> For the most recent overview of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s biography and the relevant sources see Behar (2005), pp. 17–52; Neudecker (2005); and Haug (2010), pp. 481–578. Earlier summaries include Oransay (1964), p. 154, comparable also Öztelli (1969), p. 5309 and, importantly, ‘Alī Ufuḳī (1976), pp. ii–xv.

<sup>161</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī (1690). The autograph manuscript is kept in Oxford. Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Smith 104* [*Smith 104*], ff. 1–15. On the title page, Thomas Smith listed this part of the mixed MS as “Observations written at my request in Constantinople by Ali Beigh”. The treatise is followed by a nomenclator titled “Ex institutionibus Alberti Bobovij Leopolitani” (p. 17).

<sup>162</sup> His manuscript, clearly a working copy, is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; *Turc 216*, ff. 210b–429a. The text, which is part of a mixed manuscript, is dated 1643 (f. 429a). See also Neudecker (1996), pp. 176f. Oransay obviously used the “Neu-ermehrtes Historisch- und Geographisches Allgemeines Lexicon” and ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s own *Serai Enderum*, which will be frequently referenced also in the present study. Oransay (1964), p. 154.

<sup>163</sup> Marshall, P.J. (2012). “Hyde, Thomas (1636-1703)”. In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14336> (visited on 09/26/2012).

<sup>164</sup> Kut (1977). Yet his assumption that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s father was called Anton must be dismissed. The passage on L f. 179b reads “Eşref-oğlı”, not “Antön-oğlı”, *ibid.*, p. 8. Elçin reiterates this; Elçin (1997a), p. 145. See also Eşrefoğlu Rûmî (2000). *Eşrefoğlu Rûmî Dîvânı (İncelemeli – Karşılaştırmalı Metin)*. Ed. by Güneş, Mustafa. Ankara: s.n., pp. 180f. On European travel accounts as sources for Ottoman History see Faroqhi (1999), pp. 110ff.

The dearth of factual data has repercussions in many areas of study from biography to musical analysis and in the past has opened the way for speculation. Cahit Öztelli, in his sharp criticism of Gültekin Oransay's *doçentlik* thesis in 1976, for example postulated that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was an *ağa*, not a *bey* because he styled himself that way in L. He continues to explain that it was impossible for ʿAlī Ufuḳī to become an *iç-oglan* because he was much too old at the time of his capture, which Öztelli estimates at 47. Instead he proposes that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was accepted into the Seraglio as a music teacher on account of his superior abilities. However, Öztelli's mistake lies in the detail that he supposes ʿAlī Ufuḳī died in 1675 after 18 years in palace service, disregarding the strong possibility that he passed from *enderūn* service into the office of interpreter, eventually moving out of the palace into a rented house (see below). Moreover, many sources –some of them quoted here– state clearly that ʿAlī Ufuḳī came to the Ottoman palace at a young age. From the absence of ʿAlī Ufuḳī's writings in Ottoman libraries Öztelli concludes that he left Istanbul, taking all his sources with him, and died somewhere abroad. The date of his death he estimates after the death of Fażıl Aḥmed Pāşā in 1676 on the grounds of “one of his own poems”.<sup>165</sup> Cem Behar proposed a much more plausible timeline, deducing that ʿAlī Ufuḳī most probably came to Istanbul during the years 1632–1639, when Poland was in a state of war with the Ottoman Empire. A major battle in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's home region is recorded for September 1633, involving the Crimean Tatars who feature in most of the contemporaneous biographical sketches available.<sup>166</sup> In that case he would have arrived in the palace at the end of 1633 or early in 1634. From ʿAlī Ufuḳī's high level of education, Behar concludes that he cannot have been much younger than twenty years at the time of his capture, and as a *terminus ante quem* he gives 1643, the year when ʿAlī Ufuḳī had sufficient command of the Ottoman Turkish language in order to translate Johannes Amos

<sup>165</sup> Öztelli, Cahit (1976). “Ali Ağa'dan Oransay Bey'e”. In: *Türk folklor araştırmaları* vol. 328, pp. 6–12.

<sup>166</sup> The slave trade with the Ottoman Empire as a crucial factor in Tatar economy is clearly stated in contemporary sources. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises 4962*[NAF 4962], ff. 141b–142a. See also Ivanics, Mária (2007). “Enslavement, Slave Labour and the Treatment of Captives in the Crimean Khanate”. In: *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders*. Ed. by Dávid, Géza and Fodor, Pál. The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 37. Leiden: Brill, pp. 193–219.

Comenius' *Ianua Linguarum Reserata*.<sup>167</sup> So, with relatively high certainty, ʿAlī Ufuḳī was not a *devşirme* child but a war prisoner. According to the so-called *pençik* law, one-fifth of the captives were the sultan's right,<sup>168</sup> and it can be easily assumed that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was part of such a contingent of war captives (*pençik oğlanları*). British embassy chaplain John Covel (1638–1722),<sup>169</sup> one of ʿAlī Ufuḳī's interlocutors, states in his manuscript "Notes on the Laws and Customs of the Turks": "20,000 Slaves yearely are brought to Const:ple from Tartaria according to ye Customers bookes ye most Russe & Polacks".<sup>170</sup> Although Yılmaz states that war captives "[...] were not given the education offered to *devşirmes* or subjected to Islam and the adoption of Ottoman culture" and most of the time "preserved their Christian identity",<sup>171</sup> this is exactly the process that ʿAlī Ufuḳī underwent: intensive education, conversion and biculturality. Uzunçarşılı, on the other hand, stated that the craftsmen of the palace were usually constituted by *devşirme* and *pençik* boys alike, who were educated by masters in the Saray.<sup>172</sup> If this was also the life story of ʿAlī Ufuḳī, then he must have left a trace in the palace records, possibly with a remark such as "pençik kul" or "ān ğilmān-ı pençik āmed".<sup>173</sup> In any case it is clear that he belonged to the select few, the elite who went to the *enderūn* service of Topkapı Saray.<sup>174</sup> What is missing as of yet is the register of *iç-oğlanlar* that Rycout describes as containing the names, places of origin

<sup>167</sup> Behar (1991), pp. 17f. *Turc* 216.

<sup>168</sup> Yılmaz, Gulay (2009). "Becoming a *Devşirme*. The Training of Conscripted Children in the Ottoman Empire". In: *Children in Slavery Through the Ages*. Ed. by Campbell, Gwyn, Miers, Suzanne, and Miller, Joseph C. Athens: Ohio Univ. Press, pp. 118–134, p. 120. Finkel, Caroline (2007). *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 72f.

<sup>169</sup> Boyar and Fleet (2010), xiiiif.

<sup>170</sup> London: British Library, *Addition to the Manuscripts 22914*, 135b.

<sup>171</sup> Yılmaz (2009), p. 121.

<sup>172</sup> Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı (1986). "Osmanlı Sarayı'nda Ehl-i Hıref (Sanatkârlar) Defterleri". In: *Belgeler. Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* vol. 11, pp. 23–77, p. 23.

<sup>173</sup> According to Uzunçarşılı, such records indeed exist for the seventeenth century; *ibid.*, pp. 25, 29f.

<sup>174</sup> Yılmaz (2009), p. 123. As conscription usually took place between the age of ten and eighteen years, the possibility that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was a *devşirme* child cannot be ruled out with final certainty; *ibid.*, p. 128. A timeline up to the estimated discharge from the palace in 1657 has been established by Behar. Behar (2005), pp. 19–21. Kunt (2011), p. 293.

and names of parents of all the young men who entered enderun service.<sup>175</sup> Yet, the question why ‘Alī Ufuḳī was not redeemed by his –judging from the level of his education, very probably wealthy– family remains completely unsolved. Ransoming prisoners of war or exchanging them was far from uncommon.<sup>176</sup> Was there nobody left to pay the ransom? Was his price too high, according to his upbringing and skills?

About ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s roots information is even more scarce. The theory propagated by Zajcev that ‘Alī Ufuḳī was Armenian is as difficult to prove as it is to disprove.<sup>177</sup> This assumption rests on the grounds of Armenian content in the seven-language dictionary in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marsh 187. Indeed, there was an Armenian trade post in Lwów,<sup>178</sup> and it is possible that he had learned some of the language in his youth. Yet the proportion of Armenian in Turc 292 is negligible, consisting in three unidentified male names scattered throughout the source as well as two garbled song texts hardly recognizable as Armenian.<sup>179</sup> Annie Berthier and Frédéric Hitzel state that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s full name after his conversion was “Ali b. Abdullâh al-Ifrandji”,<sup>180</sup> which makes sense insofar that renegades were customarily given the patronymic “ibn ‘Abdu’l-lâh”.<sup>181</sup>

A starting point for a whole new line of research on ‘Alī Ufuḳī could be the Polish institution for the instruction of interpreters founded in 1622 in Chotin (today in Ukraine).<sup>182</sup> While Lwów and Chotin are roughly 300 kilometres apart, schooling in this institution would explain ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s

<sup>175</sup> Rycaut, Sir Paul (1668). *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire [...] London: John Star and Henry Brome. URL: [http://gateway.proquest.com.eebo-o.amedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:image:55345](http://gateway.proquest.com.eebo-o.amedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:55345) (visited on 03/14/2013), pp. 26f.*

<sup>176</sup> Faroqhi (2004), pp. 124ff.

<sup>177</sup> Zajcev (2009), pp. 512ff.

<sup>178</sup> Faroqhi (2004), p. 139.

<sup>179</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 274b/127b, 292a/138a and 316b/172b: Avak, Chachko/Chachadur and Sarkis. The two texts are on f. 316b/172b and 317a/173a. My thanks to Hermine Buchholz-Nazaryan.

<sup>180</sup> Berthier (1983), p. 68; Hitzel, Frédéric (2001). *Enfants de langue et Drogmans / Dil Oĝlanları ve Tercümanlar*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p. 101.

<sup>181</sup> Krstić, Tijana (2011). *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 90f; Kunt (2011), p. 293.

<sup>182</sup> Wolf, Michaela (2005). “‘Diplomatenlehrebuben’ oder angehende ‘Dragomane’? Zur Rekonstruktion des sozialen ‘Dolmetschfeldes’ in der Habsburgermonarchie”. In: *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*. Ed. by Kurz, Marlene et al. Vienna: Oldenbourg, pp. 503–513, p. 505.

quickly acquired proficiency in the Ottoman-Turkish language, his access to elite training in the palace and subsequent rise to a high position. Further, Chotin is much closer to the Ottoman-Polish border than Lwów.

Supposing the repeatedly mentioned nineteen years of residence in the Seraglio, ʿAlī Ufuḳī would have left *enderūn* service in the mid-1650's. Dates found in Turc 292 prove that he was still living in the palace in the summer of 1648 (f.173b/43bff).<sup>183</sup> The next stable date is provided by his account of the palace revolt against the old *vālide sultān* Kösem Māhpeyker, mother of the then deposed and executed Sultan İbrāhīm. This dramatic event took place on September 2–3, 1651.<sup>184</sup> Robert Bargrave, a Levant merchant who left Istanbul early in 1653, makes no mention of ʿAlī Ufuḳī, who at that time may well have still lived in the *enderūn*.<sup>185</sup> In her latest paper, Hannah Neudecker states that ʿAlī Ufuḳī entered the service of the British ambassador, Sir Thomas Bendish, around 1650, later also working for his successor Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchelsea (in office from 1660 to 1668). His translations of the Anglican catechism and Comenius' *Ianua linguarum* fall into this period.<sup>186</sup> In 1657/58, ʿAlī Ufuḳī definitely did not live in the palace any more when he encountered the Swedish ambassador Claes Rålamb who stayed in Istanbul during those years. In the English version of his travel account he mentions that ʿAlī Ufuḳī had been recently released, was receiving *sipāhī* pay but living in the British

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<sup>183</sup>Haug (2018b), pp. 137f.

<sup>184</sup>Neudecker (1997), p. 164 and passim. The text survives in an English copy translated from a presumably lost Italian original. Finkel (2007), p. 242.

<sup>185</sup>Bargrave, Robert (1999). *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave, Levant Merchant (1647-1656)*. Ed. by Brennan, Michael G. London: Hakluyt Society, p. 2.

<sup>186</sup>Neudecker (2017), p. 332.

ambassador's house, from where he was hoping to return to Europe.<sup>187</sup> However, documents of ʿAlī Ufuḳī holding an official post of interpreter to the British embassy could not be found.<sup>188</sup>

Summarizing the new conclusions drawn in the present author's 2010 PhD thesis, the years 1662–65 proved eventful for ʿAlī Ufuḳī. He had come into contact with the millenarian movement of Calvinoturcism that sought rapprochement between the Ottoman Empire and the Protestant powers of Europe against the common enemy, Hapsburg. In their worldview, the conversion of the “Turks” to Christianity was a condition for the coming of the Latter Day, which was expected in the near future. The Dutch resident in Constantinople since 1655, Levinus Warner, was both an Oriental scholar educated under Jacob Golius in Leiden and an adherent of the Calvinoturcist movement. He used his training and his connections to commission an Ottoman-Turkish translation of the Bible, which was understood as a crucial element in the conversion of the Muslims. After a first translation from the hand of the Jewish dragoman Yaḥyā bin Iṣḥāḳ had been rejected by Golius, Warner turned to ʿAlī Ufuḳī. Work started early in 1662, and on December 27, 1664 the fair copy of the entire Bible including the Apocrypha was finished. The MSS are now kept in the University

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<sup>187</sup> Rolamb [Rålamb], Nicholas [Claes] (1732). “A relation of a journey to Constantinople”. In: *A Collection of Voyages and Travels [...] Now First Published in English [...] Vol. 5*. London: John Walthoe, pp. 671–716, p. 703. The English version of Rålamb's relation is cited by Aksoy; Aksoy (2003), p. 70. For further references to ʿAlī Ufuḳī made in the Swedish version of the travelogue see Rålamb, Claes (1063). *Diarium under resa till Konstantinopel, 1657-1658*. Ed. by Callmer, Christian. *Historiska Handlingar vol. 37-3*. Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för Utgifvande af Handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens Historia, pp. 148, 168, 175; Haug (2010), p. 572.

<sup>188</sup> For this reason ʿAlī Ufuḳī does not feature in Allan Cunningham's study on the British embassy dragomans; Cunningham, Allan (1961). “‘Dragomania’: The Dragomans of the British Embassy in Turkey”. In: *St. Antony's Papers* vol. 11, pp. 81–100. Documents from the British side regarding this matter have not yet been discovered. In later years, the ambassador's interpreter was Emanuel Timone, an Italian with a doctor's degree in medicine from Oxford. His father had served in the same capacity before him. The letter to which the cited information is appended is dated May 1711. London: British Library, *Addition to the Manuscripts 22911* [Add MS 22911], f. 126b.

Library, Leiden.<sup>189</sup> It can be assumed with near certainty that the partial translation of the Genevan Psalter into Ottoman-Turkish verse<sup>190</sup> was also a commission from Warner. In the context of millenarian Calvinoturcism, a translation of the Reformed hymnbook would have been the logical next step toward the intended conversion of the “Turks”. As the Bible was finished late in 1664, ‘Alī Ufuḳī most likely began the Psalter early in the following year. However, Warner died unexpectedly in June 1665, and ‘Alī Ufuḳī obviously saw no reason to continue the certainly difficult task. In addition to the translation of the texts, he attributed each melody –taken over from the original Psalter of 1562 without adaptation or reworking– to a *maḳām* he perceived as matching the European mode.<sup>191</sup> The following paragraphs are dedicated to the multiple facets of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s personality, relying on contemporary sources.

## Renegade

‘Alī Ufuḳī’s life story has, for the unexperienced reader, a novel-like, spectacular touch, reflected also in scholarly literature.<sup>192</sup> But successful biographies like his were far from uncommon in his time and locale, and references to well-integrated renegades of European origin can be found in many travel accounts and similar text genres.<sup>193</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself mentions an Italian musician who was brought to Sultan Murād (IV) by the Barbary corsairs.<sup>194</sup> Antoine Galland met a “dervish who knew Latin”

<sup>189</sup>On Calvinoturcism and the Bible translation see Neudecker, Hannah (1994). *The Turkish Bible Translation by Yahya bin ‘Ishāq, also called Ḥakī (1659)*. Leiden: Oosters Instituut, pp. 367ff. Flemming, Barbara (1986). “Zwei türkische Bibelhandschriften in Leiden als mittelosmanische Sprachdenkmäler”. In: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* vol. 76, pp. 111–118.

<sup>190</sup>Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Supplément Turc 472* [Sup Turc 472].

<sup>191</sup>Haug (2010), pp. 565–576 and passim.

<sup>192</sup>“Appelé à vivre une existence longue et trépidante [...]”, Zajcev (2009), p. 511.

<sup>193</sup>Küçük, Harun (2012). “Early Enlightenment in Istanbul”. PhD thesis. UC San Diego. URL: <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/13j1570s> (visited on 12/28/2015), pp. 10ff. Grelot, Guillaume-Joseph (1680). *Relation nouvelle d’un voyage de Constantinople*. Paris: Pierre Rocolet. URL: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/grelot1680> (visited on 05/10/2013) Grelot seems to have been unaware of ‘Alī Ufuḳī, although he was acquainted with both John Covell and Antoine Galland ([vv]).

<sup>194</sup>London: British Library, *Harley 3409* [Harley 3409], p. 50.

and supposed he was Polish.<sup>195</sup> Guillet tells the story of a painter from Sicily who had been captured at sea,<sup>196</sup> and “Omer-Aga”, originally from Venice, who had become head physician to the Sultan.<sup>197</sup> Jacob Spon and George Wheler met with “Mahomet Bacha”, a surgeon of British origin who had served in the *enderūn*.<sup>198</sup> From those persons ‘Alī Ufuḳī may have copied the treasure of European medical texts contained in P.<sup>199</sup> The story of another captive or renegade may stand behind the isolated note encountered on an otherwise blank page in the song-text collection Turc 287, “Qui doue il sol sempre m’e tolto”.<sup>200</sup>

Some authors, starting with Barnette Miller in 1941, have mentioned that ‘Alī Ufuḳī had a serious drinking habit: “Bobovi [sic], a Pole in origin, who was taken captive by the Tatars and sold by them to Turkish slave dealers, ultimately passing into the possession of the sultan, was a ‘music page’ in the Palace School for nineteen years and, for a time, first dragoman of the Porte. Finally dismissed from the royal service because of such ‘an inordinate fondness for wine that his heart could be won at any time by a flask of it’, and unable to obtain employment of any kind, he abjured Islam, discarded his Turkish pseudonym of Ali Bey, and turned to account his intimate knowledge of the Palace School by writing the Serai Enderum, a treatise [...] designed, it is believed, for private circulation in manuscript among the representatives of the foreign powers in Constantinople and among the princes of Europe”.<sup>201</sup> This statement, for which Miller fails to

<sup>195</sup> Galland, Antoine (1881a). *Journal (1672-73)*. Ed. by Schefer, Charles. Vol. 1. Paris: Ernest Leroux, p. 244 ‘Alī Ufuḳī goes on to explain that this Italian composed polyphonic music for the court, which was not received well at all. For an English translation, which is unfortunately not entirely reliable as it is based on the 1686 French translation, see Fisher, Carol G. and Fisher, Alan (1985–1987). “Topkapı Sarayı in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Bobovi’s Description”. In: *Archivum Ottomanicum* vol. 10, pp. 5–81, pp. 52ff.

<sup>196</sup> Guillet de Saint-George, Georges (1676). *Lacedemone ancienne et nouvelle*. Paris: Jean Ribou. URL: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k85321m> (visited on 05/08/2013), pp. 530f.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 642.

<sup>198</sup> Spon, Jacob and Wheler, Sir George (1678). *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et dv Levant. Fait és années 1675 & 1676*. Vol. 1. Lyon: Antoine Cellier et fils. URL: <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/spon1678bd1/0001> (visited on 07/28/2015), pp. 259f.

<sup>199</sup> Haug (2018b), pp. 124f., 130.

<sup>200</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Turc 287*, f. 80b.

<sup>201</sup> Miller, Barnette (1941). *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*. Cambridge/Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 47f.



present a source, would later be reiterated for example by Oransay, Elçin and recently Zajcev.<sup>202</sup> The source of the narrative –incorrect in a number of details– could be identified as Cornelio Magni, who printed a version of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s *Serai Enderum* in the first volume of his travelogue. It is presented in the guise of a letter dated October 14, 1672. On account of this dating it is highly probable that Magni obtained his information from ‘Alī Ufuḳī personally.<sup>203</sup> To conclude this matter it has to be mentioned that the archival research of Gunnar Hering has revealed a letter from Giambattista Casanova, Imperial resident from 1665 onwards, in which the ambassador complains that ‘Alī Ufuḳī, newly appointed interpreter of the Porte, had contacted him, offering himself as an informer and asking for an annual stipend. Casanova declined, describing ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a “Vollsauffer” (drunkard).<sup>204</sup> Hence the image of ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a high-functioning alcoholic becomes more probable.

‘Alī Ufuḳī’s religious stance is a matter repeatedly discussed. Hannah Neudecker has already pointed out several important sources which demonstrate the possibility that he retained at least loyalty to the Christian faith, devoting considerable effort to translations of Christian texts.<sup>205</sup> Eric Dursteler’s work on renegade women between the Ottoman Empire and Venetian territories addresses the problem from a different but relevant viewpoint, as it shows how unrealistic the assumption of clear-cut religious boundaries and either-or situations is for the sixteenth and seventeenth

<sup>202</sup> Oransay (1964), p. 154, Elçin (1997a), p. 145, Zajcev (2009), p. 513.

<sup>203</sup> Magni, Cornelio (1679). *Quanto di più curioso e vago hà potuto raccorrere Cornelio Magni nel primo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi, e dimore per la Turchia [...] Vol. 1.* Parma: Galeazzo Rosati. URL: <https://books.google.de/books?id=CXZtQ5Pr87UC&hl=de&pg=PP3#v=onepage&q&f=false> (visited on 07/17/2016), pp. xxif, 462–604; especially p. 500. The colophon on p. 602 –“Dato nelle vigne di Pera li 20. Marzo 1670”– deviates from the one in the London version, May 20, 1665. *Harley 3409*, pp. 50f. The “Vigne di Pera” (the “Vineyard of Pera”) were the residence of the Venetian Bailo. (Dursteler, Eric [2006]. *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 25f.) It may be that the lost original copy (Harley 3409 not being written by ‘Alī Ufuḳī) remained in the hands of the author until his death and that at least two copies were made from it.

<sup>204</sup> Hering (1994), pp. 160f.

<sup>205</sup> See especially Neudecker (2005), *passim* and, recently, Neudecker (2017), *passim*.

centuries.<sup>206</sup> For ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s European contacts, however, his adoption of Islam and his failure to return to Christianity is addressed as a regrettable fact. This has become clear from Thomas Hyde’s preface to *De Turcarum Liturgia*,<sup>207</sup> for example, or from the “Papers concerning Ali Bei”.<sup>208</sup> In a later dictionary, the short article on ‘Alī Ufuḳī is concluded as follows: “Bobovius [...] fut premier Interpréte de Mahomet IV. [...]. Il vivoit vers l’an 1660. & il mourut dans son apostasie”.<sup>209</sup> In 1992, Ahmet Say wrote in his article for the *Müzik Ansiklopedisi* that “the Westerners were waiting for ‘Alī Ufuḳī to take on his old religion, but he turned to sufism”.<sup>210</sup> And indeed, the Ḥalvetī *ṭarīḳat* is mentioned in a text on f.207\*b. This text deals with a *fetvā* declaring the lawfulness of this mystic order’s *zīkr* ritual.<sup>211</sup>

Certainly, by converting, ‘Alī Ufuḳī became “someone else”, including the “creation of a new self-identity and a new way of life”.<sup>212</sup> But, as can be seen from the relation of the capucin monk Robert de Dreux (if we take the words put into ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s mouth at face value), ‘Alī Ufuḳī felt more a general spirituality than a fast adherence to a certain dogma:

Je pris vn jour la confiance de dire au Sieur alibé que ie metonnois de ce que vn homme si sauant et si éclairé que lui professoit vne religion si bizare et qui est remplie de tant dinepties, et il me repondit que les gens sauans comme lui ne samusoient pas a tout ce quil y a de fabuleux et de ridicule dans lalcoran mais quil se contentent de croire quil y a vn Dieu qui etant infiniment juste recompence les bons et chatie les mechans.<sup>213</sup> (One day I took the liberty to tell Mr. Alibé I was wondering how such an educated and enlightened man

<sup>206</sup> Dursteler, Eric (2011). *Renegade Women. Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

<sup>207</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī (1690), f. 2a.

<sup>208</sup> Neudecker (2005), pp. 191–193.

<sup>209</sup> Calmet, Dom Augustin (1730). *Dictionnaire historique, critique, chronologique, géographique et litteral de la Bible [...] 2nd ed. Vol. 4*. Paris: Emery, Saugran & Pierre Martin. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10353566-2> (visited on 03/07/2016), p. 311.

<sup>210</sup> “Batılılar Ali Ufki Bey’in eski dinini benimseyeceğini beklediler, ama o tasavvufa yöneldi”. Say, Ahmet (1992a). “Ali Ufki Bey”. In: *Müzik Ansiklopedisi*. Ed. by Say, Ahmet. Vol. 1. Ankara: Başkent Yayınevi, p. 45. See also ‘Alī Ufuḳī (1976), pp. vii–viii.

<sup>211</sup> Transliteration by Hakan Özkan.

<sup>212</sup> Baer (2008), p. 13.

<sup>213</sup> *NAF 4962*, f. 137b.

like him professed such a bizarre religion which is so full of silliness, and he answered that educated people like him had no enjoyment from all that was mythical and ridiculous in the *Ḳurʿān*, but that they were content to believe that there is an infinitely just God who rewarded the good and punished the evil.)

Reviewing his literary and musical output with the translation of the Bible and the Genevan Psalter on the Christian end of the spectrum, and his self-attributed *İlāhī* on the Muslim end (L f. 27b), this seems like a viable explanation.<sup>214</sup> In this context, his connection to the Celvetī şeyḫ Üftāde and Şeyḫü'l-İslām Bahā'ī Efendi stated by Elçin has to be taken into consideration.<sup>215</sup> Both are not surprising for a high court official in the mid-seventeenth century, and where Sufis were in close proximity to the Sultan, they can also have played a significant role in the conversion of newcomers to the Saray. The crucial role the Bektāşī played for the Janissaries is well known.<sup>216</sup> Elçin also stresses –in an unjudgemental and unspectacular way– that beneath ʿAlī Ufuḳī's Muslim-Turkish thought and feeling a Christian culture still existed, which his European acquaintances sought to revive.<sup>217</sup> Likewise, ʿAlī Ufuḳī could be understood as an example for Marc Baer's thesis that “conversion has an internal component entailing belief and an external component involving behavior, leading to the creation of a new self-identity and a new life.”<sup>218</sup>

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France houses a number of sources directly or indirectly connected to ʿAlī Ufuḳī, among them Ms Turc 221,<sup>219</sup> a notebook of content almost as diverse and exciting as Turc 292. It is dated “1062” (1651–52) on f. 255a, a time when its author was probably still in palace service. The two volumes share some common characteristics: Both contain large sections of medical texts in Latin copied from printed sources, here e.g. “De supinitate, stomachi subuersione, nausea et vomitu”, beginning on f. 23a, or “De memoria deperdita”, beginning on f. 98b. This text could be identified as copied from the collected works of Donato

<sup>214</sup> On this matter see also Behar, who speaks out against a perception of ʿAlī Ufuḳī as “two-faced”. Behar (2005), pp. 33f.

<sup>215</sup> Elçin (1997a), p. 146.

<sup>216</sup> Baer (2008), p. 21.

<sup>217</sup> Elçin (1997a), p. 146.

<sup>218</sup> Baer (2008), p. 13.

<sup>219</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Turc 221* [*Turc 221*].

Antonio Altomare after an initial superficial research.<sup>220</sup> Both sources also contain material from a broad range of topics and feature diverse scribal styles. In Turc 221, an Ottoman-Latin phrasebook can be found next to Ottoman poetry in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s and other handwriting, as well as two notations. Again like the compendium, Turc 221 has two conflicting foliations, one of which was carried out by ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>221</sup> Special attention could be drawn to the “TABVLA MASORETHICA ALCorani” on f. 41b and a heavily glossed religious text starting on f. 43a. While working in the Bibliothèque Nationale in May 2014, a tiny slip of paper fell into the present author’s hands from between its folios 79b/290a and 80a/289b. Measuring 5.6 by 2.3 cm, it shows fragmentary Ottoman writing in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s hand on one side. On the other side, the text quoted below can be read. The right edge is complete, the left side, i.e. the beginnings of the lines, is cut off. It seems as though the scrap was cut off from the lower right edge of a sheet.

[...] quod latentis energiae viuae vocis actus [...] discipuli de auctoris [sic] ore transfusa, fortius sonat [...] uiua [...] dce. Verbum, Rationem Supputationem et causam [...] ac rei per quam sunt singula quae subsistunt [...] scat. quae vniuersa recte intelliguntur in Christo.<sup>222</sup>

The identification of the fragmentary text was not easy, but it seems as though it refers to Letter 52 *Ad Paulinum* by St. Jerome. The standard text according to Migne reads as follows:

2 [...] Habet nescio quid latentis energiae viva vox; et in aures discipuli de auctoris ore transfusa fortius sonat. [...] 4 Λογος enim Graece multa significat; nam et verbum est, et ratio, et supputatio, et causa uniuscuiusque rei, per quam sunt singula quae subsistunt. Quae uniuersa recte intelligimus in Christo.<sup>223</sup> (The live voice has

<sup>220</sup> Altomare, Donato Antonio (1565). *Donati Antonii ab Altomari [...] Omnia, quae hucusque in lucem prodierunt, Opera [...]*. Lyon: Gulielmus Rovillius. URL: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k79072f?rk=42918;4> (visited on 08/07/2018), pp. 443ff., 166ff.

<sup>221</sup> The identification of the scribal hands follows the same line of reasoning as below chapter 2.2.1.

<sup>222</sup> *Turc 221*, between f. 79b/290a and 80a/289b.

<sup>223</sup> Migne, Jacques Paul, ed. (1845). *S. Hieronymi Tomus Primus*. Patrologiae cursus completus / Patrologia Latina vol. 22. Paris: Migne. URL: [http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Hieronymus&rumpfid=Hieronymus,%20Epistulae,%203,%20%20%2053&level=4&domain=&lang=1&links=&inframe=1&hide\\_apparatus=1](http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?tabelle=Hieronymus&rumpfid=Hieronymus,%20Epistulae,%203,%20%20%2053&level=4&domain=&lang=1&links=&inframe=1&hide_apparatus=1) (visited on 10/02/2018), pp. 541–543.

something I do not know; and, poured forth from the mouth of the author into the ears of the student, sounds more loudly. [...] The Greek word *λογος* has many meanings; it is word, and reasoning, and reckoning, and the motive for each and every thing, by which those, which subsist, are unique. Thus, we understand everything correctly in Christ.)

Whatever its context, the small scrap of paper at least makes clear that text and songs with Christian content were relevant for ʿAlī Ufuḳī, even years after his entry into *enderūn* service. This matches the findings of Hannah Neudecker, as well as the notations of spiritual songs in Turc 292 and Turc 221 (see below 5.15), and of course his translations of Christian texts.

### Dragoman and translator

As a former *iç-oğlan*, ʿAlī Ufuḳī was a rather uncommon dragoman, as they were traditionally members of the so-called Levantine community, that is, Ottoman non-Muslims.<sup>224</sup> Contemporaneous sources agree that ʿAlī Ufuḳī worked as a dragoman of the Porte. In his preface to *De Turcarum Liturgia*, Thomas Hyde stated that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was “Tergjumān Bashi, *i.e.* Interpres primarius”.<sup>225</sup> A document discovered by Cengiz Orhonlu and quoted by Şükrü Elçin proves that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was “tercümān-ı dīvān”, at the latest by October 15, 1668: On 12 Şaʿbān he is listed as “tercümān-ı dīvān”, and it is recorded that he had received the monthly pay of 315 aḳçe since 9 Cemāziyü’l-evvel 1079.<sup>226</sup> Hering, based on Austrian archival sources, states 1668 as the beginning of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s service.<sup>227</sup> Hezārfen Hüseyn (see below) mentions ʿAlī Ufuḳī as “tercümān-i s̄anī olan ʿAlī Beğ” in *Tenkīhū’t-tevārīh*, which was begun in late December 1670.<sup>228</sup> As a dragoman of the palace he would have received a *berāt* (title of privilege), which would have left a trace of his employment in the *mühimme defterleri* of the palace. In later times, the dragomans were *timār*

<sup>224</sup>Faroqhi (2004), p. 174.

<sup>225</sup>ʿAlī Ufuḳī (1690), p. i.

<sup>226</sup>ʿAlī Ufuḳī (1976), p. v.

<sup>227</sup>Hering (1994), p. 160.

<sup>228</sup>Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Supplément Turc 136*[*Sup Turc 136*]. URL: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8594616z> (visited on 06/07/2016), ff. 164b–165a, *Sup Turc 136*, ff. 181b–182a. See also Balcı (2006), p. 55.

(fief) holders,<sup>229</sup> but it is not known whether this custom applied also for ʿAlī Ufuḳī. Hyde’s wording, “Stipendium mereretur”<sup>230</sup> (“stipendium”, in classical Latin, means a military pay) can be understood as equivalent to the *sipāhī* (military fiefholder) pay mentioned by Claes Rāmb.<sup>231</sup>

Georges Guillet de Saint-George, French stage actor and travel author,<sup>232</sup> complained about the difficulties involving unreliable local interpreters: “Voyez comment Fornetti, Panagiotti, la Fontaine, & tous les autres Dragomans de la Porte sont circonspect, quand ils traittent avec les Ministres des Princes Chrestiens, ou avec les gens de leur suite. Le fameux Renegat Polonois Haly-Bey, qui à l’Apostasie pres, & moralement parlant, est un des plus honnestes hommes du monde, ne s’explique pas mieux avec les Francs, quoy qu’il soit leur grand amy; & il le pourroit bien faire, luy qui parle dix-huit Langues differentes”.<sup>233</sup>

At a lamentably unknown date, ʿAlī Ufuḳī drafted the following letter to the Sultan (Meḫmed IV?), between two paragraphs of medical texts on f.221b/67b, excerpted from the popular medical recipe book of Girolamo

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<sup>229</sup> Çiçek, Kemal (2001). “Interpreters of the Court in the Ottoman Empire as seen from the Sharia Court Records of Cyprus”. In: *Islamic Law and Society* vol. 9, pp. 1–15, pp. 9–12.

<sup>230</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī (1690), p. i.

<sup>231</sup> Cited by Aksoy (2003), p. 70.

<sup>232</sup> Chataignier, David (2008). “Guillet de Saint-Georges, George”. In: *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue Française*. Ed. by Pouillon, François. Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales. URL: <http://dictionnairedesorientalistes.ehess.fr/document.php?id=376> (visited on 08/05/2016).

<sup>233</sup> “You see how cautious Fornetti, Panagiotis, la Fontaine and all the other interpreters of the Porte are when dealing with the envoys of Christian rulers or people from their retinue. The famous Polish renegade Haly-Bey, who has taken on apostasy, and is, from a moral point of view, one of the most honest men in the world, expresses himself hardly better towards Europeans, even though he is their great friend; and he could well do it [ie, speak openly] he, who speaks eighteen different languages”. Guillet de Saint-George (1676), pp. 146f. On the interpreters of the French embassy see Hossain, Mary (1992). “The Employment and Training of Interpreters in Arabic and Turkish under Louis XIV: The Ottoman Empire 1”. In: *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* vol. 15, pp. 279–295. Fornetti is described as having “helped Galland with his study of oriental languages” (p. 282).

Ruscelli, known as *Segreti del Reverendo Donno Alessio Piemontese* (first edition Milan 1559).<sup>234</sup> It is a rare instance of ʿAlī Ufuḫī making himself the subject of his writing:

[1] Deuletlu we seadetlu we Merhemetlu Sultanij[m] Hasretleri sag olsun Arzuhal bende [2] budurki benim merhemetlu Sultanij[m] bu kuḫarij merhum we meḡfur silehtar Jusuff Baḡa [3] ciraklarinden oḫub hala ḡimdi czikmada daḡre czikub hafta[ya?] bir waragiak ierimuz oḫ[4] maiub Enwai turlu lisanden haberimuz warder her weḡhile ielczilere tergimanlik idub [5] gevab aḫub wermeghe we mekduplarin Dahij okuiub iazmagha kadijr oḫub Merhemetli [6] Sultanijm hasretlerinuj kemali murwetlerinden temennamuz budurkim bu kuḫarijn kuḫu [7] ga laik ghiorulurse kabul buiurub vlunge Sultanijme kuḫ oḫub hair doamuz hizmetine [8] meḡkul oḫaijm ieanij mukaiet Bakij ferman [ʿAlī Ufuḫī’s gloss: Emir] murwetli Sultanij[m] hazretlerim[den]dur [9] Bendei Ali – (Your auspicious and felicitous and merciful highness, my Sultan, be in good health. I have the following petition, my Sultan’s highness. This your slave, being one of the protegés of Silāḫdār Yūsuf Pāḡā –who has been received in God’s mercy and whose sins have been forgiven– being in the process of *çıkma* [leaving *enderūn* service], but having no place to go when we leave next week; [but] we have knowledge of many various languages, being able to serve in any capacity as interpreter to the ambassadors, receiving and giving answers and being capable of reading and writing letters; [thus] it is our humble request from my merciful Sultan’s highness’s excellent kindness that this slave of slaves may appear worthy to find approval to busy himself in service with righteous prayer as a servant to my Sultan until he dies, that is, bound by an enduring decree [ʿAlī Ufuḫī’s gloss: command]; I am my kind Sultan’s highness’s bondsman, Ali.)

In this note, ʿAlī Ufuḫī speaks of the *çıkma* or graduation. It was customary for *enderūn* servants to be dismissed from palace service after several years of service and learning in the “palace school”. According to their skills, they were distributed to the *sipāhī* regiments, to the chancery or to the palace

<sup>234</sup>Ruscelli, Girolamo (1559). *De’ Segreti del Reverendo Donno Alessio Piemontese*. Milan: Giovanni’ Antonio de gli Antonii. URL: [http://www2.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/livanc/index.las?cote=pharma\\_res018694&do=chapitre](http://www2.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/livanc/index.las?cote=pharma_res018694&do=chapitre) (visited on 05/23/2015).

workshops as part of the *bīrūn* (“outer”) service. A second graduation—which is obviously the case here—could subsequently enable the former page to hold an independent office with independent income.<sup>235</sup>

Dating is a very complex issue. The watermark on this page, *tre lune* type 2 (see below) appears only here, thus it is impossible to connect the page to other parts of the manuscript. Silāḥdār Yūsuf Pāṣā, a favorite of Sultan Ībrāhīm, his son-in-law and grand admiral, was executed in 1646.<sup>236</sup> Yūsuf Pāṣā is also referenced in a Tūrķī on f. 323a/178a and on f. 151b/22b in a small note reading “Süleymān Frenk Yūsufpāṣā çırāk” (“Süleymān the Frank, Yūsuf Pāṣā’s protégé”). The words are fully vocalized and clumsily written;<sup>237</sup> the note is embedded in a context of personal names and family relationships from Spain and Portugal, presumably captives to be redeemed. It is unknown whether this letter was ever sent. What we do know, is, that ʿAlī Ufuķī is listed as “tercümān-ı divān” on 12 Şaʿbān 1079 (October 15, 1668),<sup>238</sup> and that he had been living in a rented house by June 1665.<sup>239</sup> Likewise, his employment can have continued, but he did not live in the palace any longer. Alternatively he was allowed to remain, but later on was obliged to move out or made this decision willingly, perhaps due to his marriage. According to Robert de Dreux, ʿAlī Ufuķī was happily married at the latest in 1669 (see below).<sup>240</sup>

While, in the absence of the official documents, it is not entirely clear which position ʿAlī Ufuķī occupied in which period, it is obvious that he was a high-ranking court official. He served as “second interpreter” to the allegedly unreliable Panagiotis Nikoussios until the latter’s death in 1670/1, then probably acted as head dragoman until Alexandros Mavrocordatos was appointed in 1673.<sup>241</sup> Babinger, on the other hand, states 1671 as

<sup>235</sup> Kunt (2011), pp. 293ff.

<sup>236</sup> Setton, Kenneth M. (1991). *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, pp. 116, 130; Finkel (2007), p. 226.

<sup>237</sup> My thanks to Hakan Özkan for deciphering them.

<sup>238</sup> ʿAlī Ufuķī (1976), p. v.

<sup>239</sup> Behar (2005), pp. 28f.

<sup>240</sup> *NAF 4962*, f. 137b–138a.

<sup>241</sup> ʿAlī Ufuķī (1976), p. v; Balcı (2006), p. 159. Spuler, already in 1935, stated that “Borowski” [sic] was already a “Pfortendolmetsch” (interpreter of the Sublime Porte) around 1650, then jointly with the Hungarian renegade Zülfiķār. Spuler, Bertold (1935a). “Die Europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739)”. In: *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven* vol. 11.2, pp. 171–222,



the year of his appointment as “dragoman Porty”.<sup>242</sup> No other sources have been found in support of this chronology. Panagiotis Nikoussios from Chios had served from 1669 to 1673, when Alexandros Mavrocordatos took over the office.<sup>243</sup> In the correspondence of John Covel, chaplain of the British embassy and one of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s closest contacts or friends, survives a letter from Panagiotis Nikoussios, in Covel’s words “Panagiotis was ye G. Seignior’s Interpreter”.<sup>244</sup> Balcı, relying on Hammer-Purgstall, states that ‘Alī Ufuḳī could not remain in the post of first interpreter because he had not shown sufficient effort.<sup>245</sup> A supposedly serious and prolonged illness that is alluded to in the letters found in John Covel’s legacy and discussed in more detail below, should definitely be taken into account as a plausible reason for his demotion and replacement with Mavrocordatos. In the absence of further information, we must assume that ‘Alī Ufuḳī worked in this capacity until his own death at an unknown date, roughly around 1675.<sup>246</sup>

There are a few traces of his involvement with diplomatic missions: In 1668 he was part of the entourage accompanying Sultan Meḫmed IV to Edirne, where capitulations were to be negotiated and eventually granted on August 16. This Dutch mission famously brought the *Atlas Maior* to the Ottoman Empire, as Justinus Coljer, Levinus Warner’s successor in

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p. 175. Spuler’s study is usually informative with regard to names and dates, but reveals the context of its time in slurs about “Orientals” eager to receive precious gifts (p. 174).

<sup>242</sup>Babinger (1936), p. 156.

<sup>243</sup>On Panagiotis and the Greek “dragomans” see Hering (1994); Camariano, Nestor (1970). *Alexandre Mavrocordato, le grand drogman: son activité diplomatique 1673-1709*. Idryma Meletōn Hersonēsou tou Aimou vol. 119. Thessaloniki: Etaireia Make-donikōn Spoudōn, pp. 22–26, 58–59 and passim; Tuncel, Bedrettin (1977). “L’ âge des drogman”. In: *Istanbul à la Jonction des Cultures Balkaniques, Méditerranéennes, Slaves et Orientales aux XVIe-XIXe Siècles*. Ed. by International Association of South-East European Studies. Bucarest, pp. 361–370, pp. 364f.

<sup>244</sup>London: British Library, *Addition to the Manuscripts 22910*[*Add MS 22910*], f. 36a–b.

<sup>245</sup>Balcı (2006), p. 60.

<sup>246</sup>1675 is estimated as the year of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s death by Hitzel (2001), p. 101. In 1679, ‘Alī Ufuḳī is mentioned as recently deceased by Cornelio Magni (“passò mesi sono all’ altra vita”); Magni (1679), pp. xxif., 500.

the office of Resident, describes in his journal.<sup>247</sup> On August 5, 1668, ‘Alī Ufuḳī was sent to the Dutch resident to have him sign and seal the list of presents that had been ceremonially exchanged.<sup>248</sup>

‘Alī Ufuḳī was likewise involved in diplomatic dealings with Poland and the Crimean Tatars during the years 1669–1670 as has been highlighted by Zajcev, relying on the Ottoman-Turkish, Polish and Russian letters surviving in MS F-Pbn Turc 221.<sup>249</sup> Undoubtedly ‘Alī Ufuḳī spoke, read and understood a large number of languages. In many cases, though, we do not know into which language he interpreted for European interlocutors. In the case of the Dutch delegation of 1668, he used French.<sup>250</sup> His most famous translation work is surely the Bible,<sup>251</sup> followed by the unfinished Genevan Psalter with melodies.<sup>252</sup> Both works were commissioned by the Dutch resident Levinus Warner and can be contextualised with Calvinoturcism, a Reformed millenarian intellectual group which sought to bring about the conversion of the “Turk” (see above).

In a letter written in Edirne on June 13, 1673, Antoine Galland refers to a translation, enclosed, of a “catechisme” that he had ordered from “un drogman de son Ecc.,” possibly ‘Alī Ufuḳī. The recipient of the letter, “Monsieur petit pied Docteur de Sorb[onne]”, obviously had asked Galland

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<sup>247</sup> Coljer, Jacobus (1668). *Dagh-register van't gene de Heere Justinus Coljer*. Den Haag: In de Maent. URL: <http://dSPACE.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/227278> (visited on 07/18/2014), p. 32: “Elf Boecken van den Atlas in Violet Fluweel gebonden”. For the little information available on Coljer or Colijer see Aa, A.J. van der (1858). “Colijer (Justinus)”. In: *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*. Vol. 3. Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, pp. 638–639. URL: [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa\\_\\_001biog04\\_01/aa\\_\\_001biog04\\_01\\_0867.php](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa__001biog04_01/aa__001biog04_01_0867.php) (visited on 03/08/2016).

<sup>248</sup> Coljer (1668), p. 8: “Den selven dito sondt den Grooten Heer aen den Resident sijnen Dragoman / zijnde een Renegaet / in Polen ghebooren [...]” (On the same day, the Grand Signior sent his dragoman, who is a renegade born in Poland, to the resident [...]).

<sup>249</sup> Zajcev (2009). *Turc 221*, ff. 145bff.

<sup>250</sup> Coljer (1668), p. 10.

<sup>251</sup> The manuscript is kept in the Leiden University Library, Cod. 1101 Warn. and Cod. 1117a Warn (fair copy) as well as the four-volume draft, Cod. Warn. 390. Neudecker (1994); Flemming (1986), pp. 112f; Behar (2005), pp. 34ff.

<sup>252</sup> *Sup Turc 472*; Behar (2005), p. 228.

to send him sources on “la religion des Turcs”.<sup>253</sup> Similarly, Thomas Hyde, in his preface to *De Turcarum Liturgia*, mentions an Anglican Catechism that ʿAlī Ufuḳī had translated around 1653, commissioned by Isaac Basire.<sup>254</sup> In a letter to Sir Richard Brown, British resident at Paris, dated July 20, 1653, Basire states that he planned to send this catechism, “procured by the good care of Sir Thomas Bendyshe”, British ambassador, to Mesopotamia.<sup>255</sup> The *Papers concerning Ali Beigh* evaluated by Hannah Neudecker confirm this.<sup>256</sup>

### Poet, composer and performer

ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s own creativity is a problematic issue in more than one respect. It has been generally acknowledged that a number of instrumental and vocal works as well as song texts were composed by him: Cahit Öztelli points out that ʿAlī Ufuḳī had learned Ottoman Turkish sufficiently well to be able to write his own poetry.<sup>257</sup> Şükrü Elçin believes that ʿAlī Ufuḳī composed the words and music of the *Tevhīd* and *Tesbīḥ* (religious vocal music) contained in L.<sup>258</sup> A number of marginal notes in P support the conclusion that ʿAlī Ufuḳī composed music in the Ottoman style and taught those pieces to his fellow musicians.<sup>259</sup> On f. 396b/311a he exclaims: “Muhaierde bağlamışsen nice peschrewler sema” (“How many Peşrevler and Semā-īler you have composed in Muḥayyer!”), the verb *bağlamak*, “to bind”, being used for composition. The clearest traces of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s composership are the “Peşref-i [sic] Dilkeş li-muḥarririḥi”, “of the present writer” (P f. 19b/2b–20a/3a),<sup>260</sup> and the “Semā-ī li-şāḥibihi”, “of the owner” (L f. 112b). Further,

<sup>253</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1845* [NAF 1845], ff. 27a–27b. On ff. 46b–47b, this MS contains a list of corrections to his Bible translation (book of Proverbs), a note referring to Golius and somebody called Black, a list of payments received in the second half of 1664, various texts and calculations in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s hand.

<sup>254</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī (1690), p. i.

<sup>255</sup> Darnell, W.D., ed. (1831). *The Correspondence of Isaac Basire, D.D.* London: John Murray, p. 117.

<sup>256</sup> Neudecker (1996), p. 173. Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Smith 98* [Smith 98]

<sup>257</sup> Öztelli (1969), p. 5308.

<sup>258</sup> Elçin (1997a), p. 146.

<sup>259</sup> The comparatively extensive text on f. 244a/90a will be discussed in more detail in the context of notation, where it offers valuable insights.

<sup>260</sup> This hardly legible heading was kindly deciphered for me by Malek Sharif, who thus enabled this important discovery.

in Sloane 3114, a Semā'ī can be encountered with the verbose heading “Semā'ī beste-yi ‘Alī Ufuķī berāy-ı ma‘şūķ hōd Gürcī ‘Alī gulām-ı Sultān Meħmed Hān” (“Semā'ī composed by ‘Alī Ufuķī about his beloved ‘Alī the Georgian, page to Sultān Meħmed Hān [IV]”, f. 121a-4). The piece with the incipit *Ey le‘āfet gülşeniniñ taze açılmış güli* is also transmitted in P on f. 297b/143b most probably by ‘Alī Ufuķī’s own hand, but without music and under the heading “Murabba’”. A tentative explanation may be that he wrote down the text he found pleasing in P and composed the melody before transferring the completed Semā'ī into L, but this is impossible to prove. Apart from that, in a list of musical works attributable to ‘Alī Ufuķī, Behar includes the piece entitled “Nev-beste” on f. 5a/256a (*Sākīyā şun bāde-yi hamrā-i bir nūş édelim*), the Peşrev on f. 234\*b *Beste-yi ‘Alī Şantūrī [sic] Şehnāzī Żarbeyn Sākil [sic] ü Düyek Şāfī* and the *Peşrev-i Feth-i bāb der maķām-ı Niğrīs [sic] uşul-i [sic] Düyek tasnūf-i ‘Alī Berfwād diyār-ı Frenkistān* (f. 367a/282a), in addition to a *tevħid* and thirteen strophic songs (Türkī, Varşağı and İlahī) among which three are concordant with P.<sup>261</sup> Wright also accepts ‘Alī Ufuķī’s composership “in Ottoman idiom”,<sup>262</sup> while Kalaitzidis lists him among the seventeenth-century composers.<sup>263</sup> Apart from the fact that ‘Alī is a prevalent name and it cannot be absolutely certain that “‘Alī Beğ” without further epithet is ‘Alī Ufuķī, some of his self-ascriptions are dubious to put it mildly. The instance of the modified Şāhīn-oğlı text (f. 220a/66a) cited above is impossible to ignore. In L, ff. 27b and 179b feature two rather similar versions of the same İlahī, *Baħr-ı ‘ummān dūrriyem yerim meķānum andadır vāy* (respectively, *ķandedir*). The beginning of the last stanza carrying the *mahlāş* reads as follows on f. 27b: “Bunda geldim ğarīb ‘Alī / Ufķī dērler baña vāy” and on f. 179b: “Bunda geldim Eşref-oğlı / Rūmī dērler baña [vāy].” This of course casts doubt on all other self-ascriptions.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>261</sup> Behar (2005), p. 55. Ff. 408b/236b, 220a/66a, 174b/44b and its internal concordances. One has a parallel version in Hyde 43, f. 89a. One more İlahī is extant in P only as a melody (f. 379\*b/225b).

<sup>262</sup> Wright (2013), p. 163.

<sup>263</sup> Kalaitzidis (2012), pp. 65, 80, 139f.

<sup>264</sup> The problem of pseudography in the Türkī-İlahī sphere has been addressed by Ergun, Sadeddin Nüzhet, ed. (1942). *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi. Dinî Eserler*. Vol. 1. İstanbul: Rıza Koşkun Matbaası, p. 15. Referring to ‘Alī Ufuķī see Ekinci (2012), p. 214.

Another question that has to remain open until further documents surface refers to his standing among his Ottoman musician peers. Some contemporary Europeans mention his musicianship, though this is not a facet of his personality much foregrounded. For example, Claes Rålamb describes ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a musician only in the English version of his travelogue, while this information is absent from the Swedish original.<sup>265</sup> Spon and Wheler only allude to his notations, not that he was an actual palace musician.<sup>266</sup> Notably there is almost no correlative by Ottoman voices. Although Öztelli supposes that there are no traces of his mastery in the surviving palace documents and other contemporaneous sources,<sup>267</sup> hope is not lost. The short text in L (f.108a) describes ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a proficient musician, the wording “‘ālīmen bi’l-mūsīḳīyye” implying proficiency in intellectual, rational music. But although it was not penned by himself, it is impossible to say how impartial this text is. The possibility that ‘Alī Ufuḳī knew Evliyā Çelebi is quite high, since both were present at Sultan Murād IV’s court in the late 1630’s and both were musicians,<sup>268</sup> yet Evliyā Çelebi makes no mention of him. Even if they never met personally or were aware of each other, their paths must have crossed in the *enderūn*. Then again, if ‘Alī Ufuḳī was a *sāzende* at that time, still young and probably low in the hierarchy, Evliyā Çelebi may not have noticed him.

In addition to his musical talent, there are some indications of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s artistic abilities. Claes Rålamb bought miniature paintings while in Istanbul and, relying on his bookkeeping, it has been concluded by scholars such as Kut and Elçin that ‘Alī Ufuḳī was the actual painter. However, solid documentary evidence has not yet been discovered.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Rålamb (1063), p. 148. Rolamb [Rålamb] (1732), p. 703.

<sup>266</sup> Spon, Jacob (2005). *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, 1678*. Ed. by Etienne, Roland. Paris: Champion, p. 194.

<sup>267</sup> Öztelli (1976), p. 11.

<sup>268</sup> Dankoff (2004), pp. 167f.

<sup>269</sup> Turan (2014), p. 58; ‘Alī Ufuḳī (1976), pp. xiv–xv; Kut (1977), p. 18.

### Informant and intermediary

‘Alī Ufuḫī, citizen of the Republic of Letters, was an enabler of curiosity and erudition, facilitating the border-crossing exchanges of knowledge between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>270</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḫī was certainly not one of the Europeans turned Muslim and “employed by the Ottoman authorities to manage contacts with infidels”, who were unreliable due to their insufficient language skills and immersion in Ottoman culture.<sup>271</sup> If there are distortions of reality in the accounts sourced from him, then they are of his own design (see below his remarks on his use of notation in the palace music school) or happened because of misunderstanding or disbelief on the part of the European authors.

‘Alī Ufuḫī’s instruction and guiding was famously crucial for Sir Paul Rycaut’s *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668).<sup>272</sup> He also mediated the acquisition of Oriental manuscripts by Western scholars and collectors, as can for example be gathered from Antoine Galland’s journal. On January 25, 1673, he noted that he had received a Persian grammar book and dictionary bound together, badly written but useful, from ‘Alī Ufuḫī.<sup>273</sup> The manuscript in question is with high probability MS Persan 199.<sup>274</sup> Galland had been given the express task of collecting manuscripts

<sup>270</sup> On the concept of the Republic of Letters and its transcultural workings –which cannot be explored in depth here– see Brentjes, Sonja (1999). “The Interests of the Republic of Letters in the Middle East, 1550-1700”. In: *Science in Context* vol. 12, pp. 435–468.

<sup>271</sup> Faroqhi (1999), p. 141.

<sup>272</sup> Rycaut (1668), p. iiv: “The Relation of the *Seraglio*, and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Custom and Rule, were transmitted to me by several sober Persons, trained up with the best Education of the Turkish Learning; and particularly, by an understanding *Polonian*, who had spent nineteen years in the *Ottoman Court*.”; *ibid.*, p. 132: “[...] *Albertus Bobovius* a *Polonian* by Nation, but Educated in the *Seraglio*, and instructed in all the Learning of the *Turkish Literature* (from whom I freely confess to have received many of my observations) [...]”. On Rycaut see also Linda Darling, who refers to informants from within the palace, but does not mention ‘Alī Ufuḫī. Darling, Linda (1994). “Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut’s ‘The Present State of the Ottoman Empire’”. In: *Journal of World History* vol. 5, pp. 71–97, pp. 75f.

<sup>273</sup> “J’acheptay un grammaire et dictionnaire persans joints ensemble; c’estoit un livre assez mal écrit, mais fort bon qui venoit d’Ali Beg”. Galland, Antoine (1881b). *Journal (1672-73)*. Ed. by Schefer, Charles. Vol. 2. Paris: Ernest Leroux, pp. 12f.

<sup>274</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Persan 199*[*Persan 199*].

by Jean-Baptiste Colbert.<sup>275</sup> Georg Michael Wansleben, on a similar mission, was likewise instructed by the head of the Bibliothèque Royale, Pierre Carcavi, to enlist ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s help in acquiring certain books.<sup>276</sup> How many Ottoman-Turkish and Persian manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale had originally been bought with the help of ‘Alī Ufuḳī remains an open question; in principle, all Oriental manuscripts with the antecedent “Galland” stated in the catalog potentially had such a history. Likewise the legacies of his English friends, Thomas Smith and John Covel, now in the Bodleian Library and the British Library respectively, may contain such items.<sup>277</sup>

Another of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s mediating roles was that of language teacher, as the *Grammatica Turcicolatina* amply proves.<sup>278</sup> In this full-fledged textbook ‘Alī Ufuḳī wrote down two Türki<sup>279</sup> for Henry Denton, chaplain of the British Levant Company between 1665 and 1668. But that does not directly imply that he gave Denton music lessons, more that he used music in his language lessons. However, Denton, who was a proficient violinist, may have expressed interest in local music.<sup>280</sup> In any case, the manuscript is dated “beginning of 1666” (“Initio ANNI a partu Virginis 1666mo”), so lessons started soon after Denton’s arrival in Constantinople. ‘Alī Ufuḳī also instructed Pierre de Girardin during his first stay in Istanbul; he returned in 1685 as French ambassador to succeed Gabriel de Guilleragues.<sup>281</sup> It is

<sup>275</sup> On the French missions see Delisle, Léopold (1868). *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Vol. 1. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, pp. 264, 274ff. Delisle judged Galland’s mission as unsuccessful and doubted that the volumes collected by him ever reached the royal library (p. 277).

<sup>276</sup> Behar (2005), pp. 27f.

<sup>277</sup> On the collection of “Eastern” manuscripts by European scholars and their motivations see Brentjes (1999), pp. 451–454, Holt, P.M. (1957). “The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England: The Background and the Work of Edward Pococke”. In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* vol. 19, pp. 444–455.

<sup>278</sup> Neudecker (1996), pp. 177–187.

<sup>279</sup> *Hyde 43*, ff. 89a, 90. The titles are *Dōst dād elinden şu fenānñ* (L f. 38a) and *Yine evvel bahār oldı yaz geldi* (P f. 398b/238, L f. 69a). For a complete list of contents see Neudecker (1996), pp. 179–182. The songs are appended to the edition.

<sup>280</sup> Hamilton, Alastair (2004). “Denton, Henry”. In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7514> (visited on 03/01/2011).

<sup>281</sup> *NAF 4962*, f. 113b; Spuler, Bertold (1935b). “Die Europäische Diplomatie in Konstantinopel bis zum Frieden von Belgrad (1739)”. In: *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven* vol. 11.3, pp. 313–366, pp. 360f.

thus well documented that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was a language teacher for Europeans in Turkey, but it can unfortunately not be directly proven that he actually taught music as Feldman formulated in his 2015 article.<sup>282</sup>

The most convincing proofs of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s musical instruction are probably the notations made by John Covel. Relations with the British embassy, i.e. the Levant Company, were close. There are strong indications that John Covel (1638–1722),<sup>283</sup> Denton’s second successor, was curious about “Turkish” music. For instance, he visited the Galata Mevlevī-ḥāne: “J was at ye Dervises in Galata w[i]th Dervise Mustapha ye Naizam bashè”.<sup>284</sup> Jacob Spon relates how the chaplain showed him and Sir George Wheler “des chansons turques” notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, explaining that “les expressions et la musique en étaient fort bonnes”.<sup>285</sup> From this short passage it can be concluded that Covel had acquired a certain expertise in Ottoman music. The manuscript in his hands in the year 1675, when Spon and Wheler were in Istanbul is Sloane 3114. However, the conclusion that Covel commissioned the *Mecmūʿa-yı sâz ü söz* is incorrect as ʿAlī Ufuḳī began it before Covel even arrived in the Ottoman Empire. More music-related material could, however, be found in Covel’s legacy. The collection of correspondence Add MS 22910, which also includes a letter from ʿAlī Ufuḳī to Covel discussed below, contains a short and faded notation on an old envelope addressed to “Mr John Colvill, Galata”.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>282</sup> “As a practicing musician, Bobowski documented much of the music played at the Ottoman court, while he also acted as a private music teacher, principally, it seems, for Europeans in Turkey. In that capacity he created musical notations and written materials, which he never organized into a book. Considered as a whole, Bobowski’s writings represent the earliest corpus of notations of Ottoman music”. Feldman (2015), p. 91.

<sup>283</sup> Leedham-Green, Elisabeth (2004). “Covel [Colvill], John”. In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6471> (visited on 03/07/2011).

<sup>284</sup> London: British Library, *Addition to the Manuscripts 22912* [Add MS 22912], ff. 163b–164a. It would of course be a discovery of major interest if the composer (Dervîş) Frenk Muştafâ (see L ff. 11a, 89a, 155a) could be identified with the neyzen Covel met, and eventually also with the “Frenk Mustafa”, scribe of the Galata palace, mentioned on *Turc 292*, f. 21a/4a. Covel’s relation contains a drawing of two ney types.

<sup>285</sup> Spon and Wheler (1678), p. 258.

<sup>286</sup> Add MS 22910, f. 42a. The notation has no clef; c1 clef is assumed.





Figure 1.2: Notation by John Covel, MS Add MS 22910, f. 42a

Since the piece was notated on an envelope received in Istanbul, the assumption that the melody is connected to local music is not far-fetched. However, in the absence of any further information, no identification can be attempted. Another collection of correspondence and various papers contains much more directly relatable material.<sup>287</sup>

## Physician

Scholars from different disciplines have different views of ‘Alī Ufuḫī and his considerable life achievements. It is impossible to overlook that ‘Alī Ufuḫī possessed wide knowledge of and a lively interest in medicine,<sup>288</sup> but only rarely (to the present author’s knowledge) has he been called a physician – (“Tabip Ali Ufkī”) – namely by Çağatay Uluçay<sup>289</sup> and probably following him Osman Şevki Uludağ.<sup>290</sup> In the short Arabic text in L, f. 108a, medicine is named as one of ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s skills.

Indeed, medicine is an important part of what makes the compendium such an exceptional source (not to forget MS Turc 221). Not only the music ‘Alī Ufuḫī recorded came from diverse sources – the same holds true for medical knowledge. Unsurprisingly, those texts appear in a range of formats from extended excerpts from preexistent, printed or manuscript sources, to tiny marginalia. Due to his own upbringing in Poland and the presence of European or European-trained physicians in Istanbul, which is attested

<sup>287</sup> *Add MS 22911* contains a longer text on Turkish music, including notations and descriptions of instruments as well as performance practice; ff. 431b–433b. His interest for Greek music, including notations, is mirrored on ff. 458a–b, 463b and 464b–466a of the same tome.

<sup>288</sup> This paragraph is a summary of Haug (2018b).

<sup>289</sup> “[...] ünlü bir müzisyen, tabip ve dilci olduğu [...] söyleniyor”. Uluçay (1948), p. 4.

<sup>290</sup> Uludağ, Osman Şevki (2009). “Çenkıname”. In: *Bir Kültür Savaşçısı, Dr. Osman Şevki Uludağ – Musiki Yazıları*. Ed. by Yıldızeli, İrem Ela. İstanbul: Pan yayıncılık, pp. 135–139, p. 135. This article had originally appeared in *Musiki Mecmuası* 62 (1953).

to by sources from ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s vicinity,<sup>291</sup> he had access to a number of medical books, mainly in Italian. The sheer mass of Italian-language medical texts proves the importance this area of learning must have had for him: Of the 626 pages of the manuscript, 104 are devoted entirely to medicine and alchemy, 47 more feature medical text interspersed with other, usually music-related, content. A large portion of the excerpts could be traced to their sources, especially Girolamo Ruscelli’s *De’ secreti del reverendo Donno Alessio Piemontese* (first edition 1555)<sup>292</sup> and the widely popular *Della Fisica* by Leonardo Fioravanti.<sup>293</sup>

The Ottoman tradition is represented much less and predominantly in spontaneous form instead of copied excerpts. Those short notes are often written in Italian, as if ‘Alī Ufuḳī jotted them down after hearing the recipe from an Ottoman physician, e.g. “Li Turchi p[er] la discesa nel petto” (f.219b/65b, “The Turks for descent [of mucus] into the chest”) or the treatment of the *sünnet* wound on f.274a/120a. Two longer texts copied out of two different, preexistent sources –one of them a pseudography of Akşemsü’d-dīn (1389–1458)<sup>294</sup>– can be found on f.329b/184b–329a/184a and f.320a/175a.<sup>295</sup>

‘Alī Ufuḳī’s own observations are of course especially interesting: He survived an outbreak of the plague while in the palace, and notes disease processes, attempted cures and the names of the dead, sometimes with dates. Case studies can be found on the folios 173b/43b (case study 29.07.1648), 174a/44a (case studies and medications), 174b/44b (three undated, 23.08.1648, two on 28.08.1648, medications and the names of the deceased), 175a/299a (case studies dated 04.09.1648), 240a/86a and 240b/86b (recipes, e.g. an “emplastrum for breaking the boils”), 247a/93a

<sup>291</sup> For instance, Spon and Wheler mention “Mahomet Bacha Chirurgien”, an Englishman; Spon and Wheler (1678), pp. 259f. Guillet refers to “Omer Aga, Renegat Venitien, qui est le premier Medecin du Sultan”; Guillet de Saint-George (1676), p. 642.

<sup>292</sup> Ruscelli (1559). The important discovery that *Alessio Piemontese* is one of the sources used by ‘Alī Ufuḳī was made by Ralf Martin Jäger (Münster), who kindly shared it with me.

<sup>293</sup> Fioravanti, Leonardo (1582). *Della Fisica dell’Eccellente Dottore et Cavaliere M. Leonardo Fioravanti Bolognese Divisa in Libri Quattro*. Venice: Heredi di Melchior Sessa. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10174154-1> (visited on 04/29/2015).

<sup>294</sup> Yakıt, İsmail (1993). “Akşemseddin’in Eserlerinin İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Yazma Nüshaları Üzerinde Bir İnceleme”. In: *Sosyoloji Konferansları Dergisi* vol. 24, pp. 21–26.

<sup>295</sup> The transliteration of the Ottoman medical texts is credited to Hakan Özkan.

(recipes) and 259a/105a (undated, with a personal observation). On f. 245b/91b ‘Alī Ufuḳī recorded a “catarro” (cold) from which he suffered for the strikingly long period between June 10 and July 7, 1649. He took opium, bled himself and purged, until “p[er] grazia di Dio” he recovered. From this and another comparable text on f. 124b/264b it becomes obvious that ‘Alī Ufuḳī had access to pharmacological substances as well as medical tools and treated at least himself.

‘Alī Ufuḳī’s lifetime coincided with a process of change in Ottoman medicine, characterized by the advent of Paracelsian chemical medicine (“ṭıbb-i cedīd”, the “new medicine”) and its more or less contested transcultural coexistence with the traditional Galenic humorial medicine.<sup>296</sup> The major exponent of the “ṭıbb-i cedīd” was Şālih bin Naşrallāh Ibn Sallūm (d.1670), palace *ḥekīmbaşı* from 1656 onwards and hence a direct contemporary of ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>297</sup> Hopefully further studies will bring more insights into ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s place and role in the medicine history of multicultural Istanbul.

### Everyday life

Typical for a multi-topic *mecmū‘a*, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s personal interests and daily encounters are mirrored in the compendium in an unadulterated and unedited way. There are traces of people he met and interacted with, unfortunately with very little to no additional information: “Frenk Mustafa Galata-Serainin kiatibi firuz Aga mesgidin ianenda olur – Tophanadar” (“Muştafā the Frank, scribe of the Galata palace, he is next to the Firūz Āġā *medrese*”; f. 21a/4a),<sup>298</sup> “Kulhangı Mahmud” (“Maḥmud the *hamām* stoker”, f. 218b/64b), “Frescobaldi” (f. 249a/95a; Girolamo Frescobaldi the composer?), “Giannis” (f. 276b/122b), “Jahnij kapan cielebi” (f. 317a/173a) or “Mustefa Efendi frenk Ahmed Başanun Ketuhdasi alaj kioßku vi[n]unde Emrhor [...] ianenda” (“Muştafā Efendi, the steward [ketḫüda] of Frenk

<sup>296</sup> Murphey, Rhoads (1992). “Ottoman Medicine and Transculturalism from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century”. In: *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* vol. 66, pp. 376–403; Bachour, Natalia (2012). *Oswaldus Crollius und Daniel Sennert im frühneuzeitlichen Istanbul. Studien zur Rezeption des Paracelsismus im Werk des osmanischen Arztes Şālih b. Naşrullāh Ibn Sallūm al-Ḥalabī*. Freiburg: Centaurus, passim; Küçük (2012), pp. 19, 25–29, 104–126.

<sup>297</sup> Shefer-Mossensohn, Miri (2008). *Ottoman Medicine. Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700*. Albany: SUNY Press, pp. 176ff; Bachour (2012), pp. 39f.

<sup>298</sup> This refers to the composer; see below chapter 4.1.

Ahmed Pāšā, in front of the Alāy Köşkü [next to Topkapı Palace], next to the stablemaster's [...]", f.390a/313b). "Pehliwan Ali" who lives by the Parmak kapu (f. 366b/288a) is with high possibility the famous miniaturist of the same name.<sup>299</sup> Songs from various regions of the Ottoman Empire –Albania, Bosnia, Serbia, Caucasus– reflect the multiethnic composition of the palace pages.<sup>300</sup>

Other small marginalia allude to historical events. On f. 396a/311a, a note refers to a ban on tobacco which was in effect during the times of the pietistic *Ḳāzı-zādeli* movement (see below, chapter 4.1).<sup>301</sup> Obviously the topic was relevant to ʿAlī Ufuḳī. On f. 244b/90b he copied the regrettably undated petition of villagers from Ḳaraburçaḳ in the *sancaḳ* of Vīze in Rumelia for the replacement of their imam.<sup>302</sup> It may be speculated that the villagers asked ʿAlī Ufuḳī to set up a letter while he was in Rumelia on duty as an interpreter. This is not too far-fetched as Sultan Meḫmed IV spent long periods of time there. Countless other comparable marginalia have not been evaluated as the present study is musicological in its focus. The compendium leaves considerable work for historians.

Outside MS Turc 292, a few more fragments have been detected to shed light on ʿAlī Ufuḳī's life and personality:

[1] Rebī'ü'l-āḫiriñ cemāzıyü'l-evveliñ ve cemāzıyü'l-āḫiriñ ve receb ayınıñ kirāları verilmeyüb [2] üç yüz elli aḳçe dıvār yapusınıñ ḥesābına geçdi ve elli aḳçe ḳadına vereceğimiz ḳaldı [3] ba'ḳde Ümmühān ḳadınla evin semīn ki 120 aḳçe dir gönderdik yetmiş aḳçe o bize borçlı [4] şa'ḳbān ayınıñ kirāsına ḥesāblaşacaḳ. (I have not paid the rent for the months of Rebī'ü'l-āḫir, Cemāzıyü'l-evvel, Cemāzıyü'l-āḫir and Receb; 350 Aḳçe went to the construction of the wall, and [hence] we have to give 50 aḳçe to the woman. Then the price of the house with the woman Ümmühān is 120 aḳçe, this we sent. She owes us 70 aḳçe. It will be offset against the rent of Şa'ḳbān.)<sup>303</sup>

<sup>299</sup> My thanks to Gwendolyn Collaço for pointing out this connection.

<sup>300</sup> See chapter 4.14.

<sup>301</sup> Baer (2008), pp. 64ff. Küçük (2012), pp. 54ff. However, also Murād IV had been a "very determined anti-smoking sultan"; Boyar and Fleet (2010), p. 184.

<sup>302</sup> My thanks to Hakan Özkan for the transliteration and translation of this text. See also Behar (2008), p. 50. Vīze was the site of many conversions of commoners to Islam during the reign of Meḫmed IV; Baer (2008), p. 195.

<sup>303</sup> *NAF 1845*, f. 47a; cf. Behar (2005), pp. 28f. (only lines [1] and [2]).

This short statement in MS NAF 1845, f. 47a has already partially been evaluated by Behar.<sup>304</sup> It contains the information that at some point, most probably after his graduation from palace service, ʿAlī Ufuḳī rented a house in the city from a female landlord.<sup>305</sup> Obviously it was in bad repair, as he lists the materials required for the renovation of a wall. Unfortunately, there is no year; however, on the following f.47b he wrote a receipt which is dated from *Zi'l-ḥicce* 1075 (June 1665) to *Rebī'ü'l-āḥir* 1078 (August 1667), referring to a different rented house.<sup>306</sup> The same source contains a list of earnings for the second half of the year 1664. It is an interesting detail that in August 1666, when he was already settled, ʿAlī Ufuḳī wrote a petition to the former embassy chaplain Isaac Basire with the intention to relocate to England and to “continue his career in England as a Christian”.<sup>307</sup> Although the letter is signed “Albertus Bobouius in pe[rpetuu]m Magister Linguarum”, neither of the two hands who composed the document is his own.<sup>308</sup>

The Capucin monk, Robert de Dreux travelled to Istanbul in 1669 with the diplomatic mission of Jean de la Haye-Vantelet, in his capacity as almoner of the ambassador. His travel account adds a handful of new aspects to our understanding:

Enfin le vent nous etant deuenue fauorable ie me trouai heureusement de retour a Constantinople ou ie m'appliquai plus que jamais a connoitre le genie et la maniere de uiure des turcs y trouuant d'autant plus de facilité que ie conuersais familierement avec le premier truchement du grand seigneur et celui de Mr Lambassadeur [...] <sup>309</sup>  
 (Finally, the wind became favorable and I found myself happily back in Constantinople where I devoted myself more than ever to learning about the Turkish character and way of life, finding this task much facilitated as I conversed in such an intimate way with the first interpreter of the Grand Signior [ʿAlī Ufuḳī; see below] and the one of Mylord the Ambassador.)

<sup>304</sup> Behar (1991), p. 20, Behar (2005), pp. 28f.

<sup>305</sup> Or even two houses; the role of the woman named Ümmühān is not clear.

<sup>306</sup> Behar (2005), pp. 28f.

<sup>307</sup> Neudecker (2017), p. 332; see also Neudecker (2005), pp. 190–194.

<sup>308</sup> *Smith 98*, ff. 19a–b.

<sup>309</sup> *NAF 4962*, f. 52b.

Quand le G mufti fut passé nous continuâmes notre chemin jusques au logis du Sieur Alibé que nous allions voir il nous receut avec beaucoup damitié et il fit aussitost apporter du vin dont il nous obligea de boire dans les uerres quon nous presenta mais lui li ne beuuoit que dans une grande tasse de bois peut etre a fin de boire dans des tasses dor et dargent dans leur pretendu paradis.<sup>310</sup> (When the Grand Mufti had left, we continued our way until the residence of Mr. Alibé whom we were going to see. He received us with great warmth and immediately had wine served of which he made us drink from glasses which we were given; but he only ever drank from a large wooden cup, probably in order to drink from gold and silver cups in their supposed paradise.)

La familiarité que iauois avec le Sieur Alibé premier truchement du grand Seigneur, le voiant souuent chez Mr Girardin a qui il enseignoit la langue turque me donna moien daprendre plusieurs choises des maximes turcs de leur origine et de leur religion [...] <sup>311</sup> (The intimacy which I had with Mr. Alibé, first interpreter of the Grand Signior, seeing him often at Mr Girardin's house, whom he was teaching the Turkish language, enabled me to learn many things about the Turkish tenets concerning their origin and their religion.)

Mr Girardin prit la desus occasion dinuiter le sieur Alibé de passer en france ou il pourroit avec tout liberté professer la ueritable religion, lui promettant de lui faire une pension de 200 [livres] tous les ans et lassurant que le Roi ne manqueroit pas de lui donner de bons apointemens. ie uous auoue repondit le Sieur Alibé que je prendrois volontiers ce party, si ie netois pas retenu par ma femme que ie ne puis quitter.<sup>312</sup> (Mr. Girardin used the abovementioned occasion to invite Mr. Alibé to move to France where he could freely profess the true religion, promising him to pay him a pension of 200 livres every year and assuring him that the King would not fail to give him good assignments. I have to confess –Mr. Alibé answered– that I would gladly take this decision, if I were not held back by my wife whom I cannot abandon.)

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<sup>310</sup> *NAF 4962*, f. 96a.

<sup>311</sup> *NAF 4962*, f. 133b.

<sup>312</sup> *NAF 4962*, ff. 137b–138a.

At this point ‘Alī Ufuḳī had already sent the petition to Isaac Basire.<sup>313</sup> This text is one of two known pieces of implicit information about ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s marriage. The other one has been discovered by Cem Behar in the abovementioned Persian-Ottoman Turkish nomenclator that came to Paris via Antoine Galland, MS Persan 199. There, on the rear flyleaf, he notes that a person called “Ṭrāblūslu Ḥāci Meḥemmed”, who had a shop near the Rüstempāšā mosque, brought him a letter from his brother-in-law on 8 Muḥarrem 1082 (17 May 1671).<sup>314</sup> It seems to have been customary for *iç-oğlanlar* to be married to female palace servants, themselves often foreigners,<sup>315</sup> so the assumption that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s wife was of Arab origins is not too implausible.

### Contacts and connections

In many contemporaneous sources, a certain tone of personal interest, respect, admiration, even affection, is perceptible.<sup>316</sup> The miscellaneous manuscript GB-Ob Smith 29 contains two short but insightful notes from the hand of ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>317</sup> Both are addressed to Thomas Smith, British embassy chaplain between 1668 and 1671, i.e. between Henry Denton and John Covel.<sup>318</sup> Smith was an important contact for ‘Alī Ufuḳī, as is obvious from his legacy in the Bodleian Library, which contains the autograph original of *De Turcarum Liturgia*<sup>319</sup> and the “Papers concerning Ali Beigh”, including ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s petition for moving to England and finding employment there. Those papers were most probably taken to England by Smith himself.<sup>320</sup> Apart from this general time frame, they do not supply further dating, though they do yield information about the

<sup>313</sup>Neudecker (2005), p. 177.

<sup>314</sup>*Persan 199*, 66a. Behar (2005), p. 29.

<sup>315</sup>Faroghi (2004), p. 134.

<sup>316</sup>On the topic of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s “complicated world” see Behar (2005), pp. 31ff.

<sup>317</sup>Andrei Pippidi discussed the two notes in his dissertation on Thomas Smith and his circle. He was able to reconstruct some of the historical contexts. Pippidi, Andrei N. (1983). “Knowledge of the Ottoman Empire in Late Seventeenth Century England: Thomas Smith and Some of His Friends”. PhD thesis. Oxford University, pp. 247f.

<sup>318</sup>Harmsen, Theodor (2004). “Smith, Thomas”. In: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. URL: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25912> (visited on 03/01/2011).

<sup>319</sup>Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Smith 101*, pp. 1–14.

<sup>320</sup>Neudecker (2005), pp. 176–179. *Smith 98*, ff. 19–26.

personalities ‘Alī Ufuḳī was in contact with. Like other sources on ‘Alī Ufuḳī cited in the present study they are not newly discovered, but newly put into a larger context.

The first note is a slip of glazed paper, p. 22e. In the index compiled by Thomas Hearne, dated March 15th, 1710/11, it is described as “8. A Latin Note of A. Aliber [sic] to Dr. Smith, written at Constantinople p. 22”.<sup>321</sup>

[1] Eruditiss[i]me et Humaniss[i]me DNE. Thomà [2] Hodiernam diem magnà cum delectatione consumpsi [3] in Lectione Hijstoriae Dijnsiarum Abul pharagij. [4] modo aliquantulum defessus, visitationem heri [5] promissam procrastino, quod differtur non aufertur [6] Mitto tamen Epistolam Turcicam Muftij Sultan [7] Muradi Babijloniæ Conquistoris, ad Sari Halife [8] Regis Persa[rum] instructorem missam. Interea meae [9] indispositioni pareat, mane Placente deo, post [10] meridiem, (si illi etiam commodum erit)<sup>322</sup> confabula- [11] bimur. VALE. [12] Amicitiae V[ostr]ae Studiosissim[u]s. [13] A. B.<sup>323</sup> (Most learned and most kind Mr. Thomas, today I spent with great delight reading the History of Dynasties by Abū’l-Farāc. Still somewhat weakened, I postpone the visit I had promised yesterday, but it is deferred, not cancelled. However, I am sending the Turkish letter by the Mufti of Sultan Murād, the conqueror of Babylonia, to Sari Halife, the Persian king’s tutor. Meanwhile, this is subject to my indisposition, [but] God willing, tomorrow in the afternoon (if it is convenient for him), we will converse. Goodbye, ever striving for your friendship, A. B.)

‘Alī Ufuḳī signs his letters with “A. B.” for Albertus Bobovius – or “Alī Bei”? The reverse of the slip is marked “Alibei’s note at Constantinople” in Smith’s hand. Without further explanations, the text gives the impression that ‘Alī Ufuḳī is recovering from an illness. “History of the dynasties by Abul pharagij” alludes to the thirteenth-century polymath Grigorios Bar Ebroyo Abū’l-Farāc (Barhebraeus, 1225–6–1286)<sup>324</sup> and his historical work, *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiaram*, which is also mentioned in the second

<sup>321</sup> Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Smith 29*[*Smith 29*], f. 1a. See also Pippidi (1983), p. 248, who complains about ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s “irritating habit of writing Turkish names in Turkish characters”.

<sup>322</sup> The parentheses are an afterthought.

<sup>323</sup> *Smith 29*, p. 22e.

<sup>324</sup> Takahashi, Hidemi (2007). “Barhebraeus: Gregory Abū al-Faraj”. In: *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*. Ed. by Hockney, Thomas et al. New York: Springer, pp. 94–95.



letter analyzed below.<sup>325</sup> As it was printed in 1663, Smith could easily have brought the book along when he took up his post in the embassy in 1668. The letter to “Sari Halife” may well be the “Sententia iudicialis contra Persas [ill.] AD. 1638. per Sheich Asad Efendi Mufti Constantinopolitanum. Turcice.”, listed on p. 42 among the works bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Thomas Smith.<sup>326</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī probably sent him a copy which he could keep and eventually took back to England. The same document is contained in MS Turc 147 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (“[...] lettre qui fut écrite par le sheikh el-Islam As‘ad Efendi au khāḡe de Shah ‘Abbas Ier, Sari Khalifa, pour l’exhorter à renoncer au shi‘isme, dont il lui démontre l’impiété, en termes discourtois [...]”).<sup>327</sup>

The second letter consists of two halves of an oblong piece of glazed paper cut in half, disregarding the writing, and glued on to a note on the Eunuchs in the Seraglio in Smith’s hand. In Hearne’s index, the note is listed as “11. A Note from A.B. to Dr. Smith at Constantinople, in w[hi]ch something about Dr. Pococke’s Booke. p. 23.”<sup>328</sup> The text starts on p. 23a; the cut is marked “[|”, words in Arabic characters are set in italics:

[1] Admod[um] Reuerende Pater Thoma | [2] Salueto plurimum.  
De me si aliquid scire vis, hoc ieniunio Ra|madani, vitam ago Hijpocraticam puta Hijpocriticam, quod [3] in Religione Jslamiticà, minori vitio vertitur, quam p|alam scelestis. Pridie apud me fuerunt

<sup>325</sup> Pococke published his translation along with the original Arabic text in the second and supplementary matter in the third volume. Grigorios Bar Ebroyo Abū’l-Farāc (1663a). *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum [...]* Ed. by Pococke, Edward. Vol. 1. Oxford: Davis. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10218865-3> (visited on 03/03/2016); Grigorios Bar Ebroyo Abū’l-Farāc (1663b). *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum [...]* Ed. by Pococke, Edward. Vol. 2. Oxford: Davis. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10621580-0> (visited on 03/03/2016); Grigorios Bar Ebroyo Abū’l-Farāc (1663c). *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum [...]* Ed. by Pococke, Edward. Vol. 3. Oxford: Davis. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10621581-6> (visited on 03/03/2016). The owner of the Munich copy noted on the reverse flyleaf of vol. 3, complaining about the “Turks” ignorance of Barhebraeus: “Le Prince [Demetrius?] Cantimir disoit même qu’il étoit surprenant qu’Abulfarage eut peu en imposer à tans des savans qui d’ailleurs ne manquent pas de pénétration.”

<sup>326</sup> *Smith 29*, p. 42.

<sup>327</sup> Blochet (1932), p. 61. The Şeyḫū’l-islām Es‘ad Efendi mentioned here is not the same person as the author of the *Aṭrābū’l-āṣār*.

<sup>328</sup> *Smith 29*, p. 1.

duo *hüb mesühî* [4] amici mei, bene literati, quo[rum] vnus Arabs Astronomus, | alter Chronographus Graeco Turca prioris nomen *Ebübekîr Efendi* Posterioris [5] *Ĥüseyin Hezârîfen* [...] Doctissimo viro Pocockijo Translatione La|tina donatam Ebul faragi Chronicam a me mutuo accepit, [6] non potui enim illi denegare, vt pote moderni summi vi|zirij dilecto. Dogmata a D. Warnero. B[eatæ] M[emoriæ] interpretata [7] remitto, et peto, vt mihi Grotium de iure belli et pa|cis commodes per aliquot dies, quo me plus deuinctionem facies. [8] VALE quam diutissime. | Tibi plurimum obstrictus. A. B.<sup>329</sup> (Right Reverend Father Thomas, best greetings. If you want to know something about me, during this Ramadan fast, I am leading a hypocritical, hypocritical life, because in the Islamic religion it counts as a minor sin if you commit it publicly. Yesterday two “Christ-loving” friends of mine came to me, well-read, one of them being an Arab astronomer, the other a Greek-Turkish historian. The first one’s name is Ebübekîr Efendi, the latter one’s Ĥüseyin Hezârîfen. He took from me in exchange the history of Ebû’l-Farâc which the [...] most learned man, Pococke, translated into Latin, and I could not deny him, inasmuch he is well liked by the new Grand Vizier. I am returning the Dogmata translated by Mr. Warner of blessed memory and ask whether you could lend me Grotius on the law of war and peace<sup>330</sup> for a couple of days, I would be most obliged. Fare well as long as possible. Your most indebted A.B.)

The first of the two visitors of ‘Alî Ufuķî is with a very high possibility Ebübekîr Dimaşķî, “geographer and translator of Blaeuw’s *Atlas Maior* for Meĥmed IV”.<sup>331</sup> After the premature death of the eminent intellectual, historian and geographer Kâtib Çelebi (1609–1657),<sup>332</sup> he worked

<sup>329</sup> *Smith 29*, p. 23a–c. The names are given in vocalised Arabic characters. The ā of Hezârîfen has an additional fetha above, which is unusual and probably aims at a reader who only recently started learning Ottoman. “Graeco Turca” in [3] is an afterthought.

<sup>330</sup> Grotius, Hugo (1625). *De iure belli ac pacis libri tres*. Paris: Nicolas Buon. URL: <https://books.google.fr/books?id=5AOSyfAej4wC&hl=de&pg=PP3#v=onepage&q&f=false> (visited on 03/03/2016).

<sup>331</sup> Hagen, Gottfried (2007). “Kâtib Çelebî. Muştafâ b. ‘Abdullâh, Ĥâcî Ĥalîfe”. In: *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*. Ed. by Kafadar, Cemal, Karateke, Hakan, and Fleischer, Cornell. URL: [https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/katibcelebi\\_en.pdf](https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/katibcelebi_en.pdf) (visited on 07/14/2016), p. 7.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*

towards the completion of the *Cihān-nümā*.<sup>333</sup> Kātib Çelebi had started his *magnum opus*, planned as an all-encompassing cosmography, in 1648. Yet he completed only those parts of the ambitious work, which contain the three capitals of the Ottoman Empire (Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa) as well as the Ottoman possessions in Europe. What makes the *Cihān-nümā* so interesting is the fact that its author used new sources from Europe, namely Gerhard Mercator's *Atlas Minor*, supplemented by excerpts from Ortelius and Cluverius, which he had translated with the help of "a French renegade",<sup>334</sup> whose name is stated as İhlâsî Mehmed Efendi by Sarıcaoğlu on the basis of the *Cihān-nümā* edition by İbrahim Müteferrika (1145 = 1732/33).<sup>335</sup> Hence Kātib Çelebi is probably also linked to 'Alî Ufuķî via Mehmed İhlâsî,<sup>336</sup> whose name appears as the (however not too clearly legible) title of an instrumental composition in Turc 292.<sup>337</sup> After Kātib Çelebi's death the fragmentary material was further developed by Ebübekîr Dimaşķî (d. 1691), a "protégé of Köprülü-zāde Fāzıl Aḥmed Paşā"<sup>338</sup> After the *Atlas Maior* was presented to the Sultan by the Dutch envoy Justinus Coljer (see above) in 1668, an Ottoman Turkish translation was first commissioned from Alexandros Mavrocordatos (1675) and, when he failed, finally from Ebübekîr. He completed the translation in 1679.<sup>339</sup>

The second visitor, Hezārfeñ Hüseyn,<sup>340</sup> had still not returned the Barhebraeus volume belonging to Smith. It seems as though the second note was indeed written later. The author of a history of the Ottoman Empire,

<sup>333</sup> Faroqi (2004), pp. 199f., 208.

<sup>334</sup> Taeschner, Franz (1935). "Das Hauptwerk der geographischen Literatur der Osmanen, Kātib Çelebi's Ğihānnumā". In: *Imago Mundi* vol. 1, pp. 44–47, 44f.

<sup>335</sup> Sarıcaoğlu, Fikret (1991). "Cihānnumā ve Ebubekir b. Behrām ed-Dimeşķî – İbrahim Müteferrika". In: *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na armağan*. Ed. by İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, pp. 121–142, pp. 123f.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123f.

<sup>337</sup> *Turc 292*, f. 315a/171a. Gottfried Hagen, personal communication, March 2013. Hagen, Gottfried (2003). *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Kātib Çelebis Ğihānnumā*. Berlin: Schwarz, pp. 194.

<sup>338</sup> Taeschner (1935), p. 45.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46, Sarıcaoğlu (1991), p. 129. See also Ménage, Victor L. (1971). "Three Ottoman Treatises on Europe". In: *Iran and Islam*. Ed. by Bosworth, Charles E. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 421–433. Rothman (2013), p. 415.

<sup>340</sup> Pippidi (1983), p. 248.

*Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânîn-i Âl-i ʿOsmân*<sup>341</sup> among many other works from different fields, was another important intellectual in seventeenth-century Istanbul (1600–c. 1679). Hüseyin was a protégé of vezir İbrâhîm Pâşâ and served as a *sipâhî* in the palace, where he became associated (and even more, they became friends as the letter shows) with ʿAlî Ufuķî, at that time “second interpreter”, via whom he could reach European historical sources as the first Ottoman historian ever. During the years 1672–1673 he was in contact with the Marquis de Nointel –presumably again thanks to the mediation of ʿAlî Ufuķî– as becomes clear from Antoine Galland’s journal. He even gave him his historical work, *Tenk̄hü't-tevārîh* as a present.<sup>342</sup> With high certainty, ʿAlî Ufuķî’s description of Hezarfen as “Graeco Turca”<sup>343</sup> alludes to the fact that he was born on the island of Kos.<sup>344</sup> He in turn describes ʿAlî Ufuķî as “tercümân-i şânî olan ʿAlî Beğ nâm-i kimesneye muķârebet olub fenn-i tevārîhde vâķif-i lisân-i yûnân ve lâtin deķâyîķine ʿârif ber-ķâil ve çûd olub” (“[...] the second interpreter, a person called ʿAlî Beğ, who is well-informed in the art of history and proficient in the details of the Greek and Latin languages, compliant and excellent [...]”). He then goes on to relate how he gave ʿAlî Ufuķî historical works to read, summarize (“icmâl”) and translate and how much his study profited from the interpreter’s contribution. His work started in the middle of Şaʿbân A.H. 1081, i.e. in late December 1670.<sup>345</sup>

It is a striking detail that ʿAlî Ufuķî characterizes the two Ottoman intellectuals as *hüb mesîhî*, “Christ-lovers”, a heterodox group that existed among the educated classes in Istanbul and in the palace during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The movement is said to have originated in Hungary and among soldiers of Bosnian extraction. The main source for

<sup>341</sup> Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1998). *Telhîsü'l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*. Ed. by İlgürel, Sevim. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

<sup>342</sup> Galland (1881a), p. 150.

<sup>343</sup> “Not a few Ottoman writers transcended the Greek/Ottoman/Islamic divide, among whom [...] lived and worked between 1650 and 1750 – Esad of Ioannina, Nuh of Crete, Isa of Chios, Hezarfenn of Cos, all Greek-speaking Turkish-writing Ottoman luminaries. The Ottomans clearly enjoyed a more polyglot lifestyle than do the intellectuals of the modern nation-state”. Küçük (2012), p. 36.

<sup>344</sup> For an overview of his biography see editor Sevim İlgürel’s preface, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1998), pp. 4–8; Faroqhi (1999), pp. 153f. Rothman (2013), p. 413.

<sup>345</sup> *Sup Turc 136*, ff. 164b–165a, *Sup Turc 136*, ff. 181b–182a.

information on this dissenting circle is Paul Rycaut,<sup>346</sup> who, in turn, most probably learned about this matter from ‘Alī Ufuḫī, who counted members of the *ḫūb mesīhī* group as his friends. The Grand Vizier in question is Köprülü-zāde Fāzıl Aḫmed Pāṣā, who had succeeded his father, Köprülü Meḫmed Pāṣā, to this office in 1661.<sup>347</sup> He is not exactly “new” in 1668 or later, but by “modernus” ‘Alī Ufuḫī may mean “current” to distinguish him from his father. Levinus Warner, Dutch resident and commissioner of ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s bible translation as well as the Ottoman version of the Genevan Psalter, had already passed away in June 1665,<sup>348</sup> but continues to be a subject of interest. Is the jocular comment about Ramadan really an “outspoken repudiation of Islam, albeit Bobowski was a Moslem convert for many years”<sup>349</sup> or irony between friends? Either way, it provides an important insight that ‘Alī Ufuḫī was in close contact with learned Ottoman circles and engaged in an obviously lively, intercultural exchange of books. Thanks to his broad language skills and education he seems to have played a crucial role in connecting Ottoman and European intellectuals. He was further involved in an exchange on mathematics, especially Euclidian geometry, with Thomas Smith.<sup>350</sup>

Thomas Smith’s successor in the office of embassy chaplain was John Covell, likewise in contact with ‘Alī Ufuḫī, the difference being that Covell was actively interested in local music.<sup>351</sup> In his letter collection GB-Lbl Add MS 22910, a note from ‘Alī Ufuḫī can be found, similar in form to

<sup>346</sup> Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar (1998). *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (15.-16. yüzyıllar)*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, pp. 228–243. Kunt (2011), pp. 297f.

<sup>347</sup> Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib and Repp, R.C. (2012). “Köprülü”. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. by Bearman, P. et al. 2nd ed. Brill Online. URL: [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/koprulu-COM\\_0530](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/koprulu-COM_0530) (visited on 07/22/2014); Finkel (2007), p. 253.

<sup>348</sup> Haug (2010), pp. 485f., 567–576. On the dealings between the Ottomans and the Dutch see Bulut, Mehmet (2008). “The Ottoman Approach to the Western Europeans in the Levant during the Early Modern Period”. In: *Middle Eastern Studies* vol. 44, pp. 259–274, pp. 262 and passim. Warner bought a substantial part of Kâtib Çelebi’s library, Hagen (2007), pp. 2f.

<sup>349</sup> Pippidi (1983), p. 248.

<sup>350</sup> Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Smith* 7, pp. 47–56.

<sup>351</sup> For an analysis of the music-related statements in his journals see above and Aksoy (2003), pp. 71f., 296ff.

the two Oxford letters, but with new information. In the catalog entry the letter is dated to the year 1675, without giving sources or references for it.<sup>352</sup>

[1] R[evere]nde et Officiosiss[i]me Pater. Heri post R[evere]ntia[e] Suæ abitum, quidam Horologarius me adiit, nomineq[ue] [2] Ex[cellentis-si]mi Legati Gallici salutavit, et petijt, vt hodie summo mane, tum personam, tum [3] aulam illius visitare non dedigner, dicit se mecum aliquam mihi per vtilem habere [4] conferentiam, puto eum cupere meam in Turcicis eruditionem, habet enim iam [5] aliqua principia vti intelligo. Retinui et altera die venturum me promisi [6] set precibus victus, consentij. Jdcirco excusatum me habeat, si mane vti [7] constitueram comparere non potero. Deo firmiores vires concedente, Ex[cellentissimi]mu[m] [8] D[omi]nu[m] Legatum V[ost]rum' et R[evere]ntia[m] V[ost]ra[m] ca[e]terosq[ue] beneuolos Bilgradi Visitaturu[m] [9] me, ibiq[ue] per vnam hebdomadam commoraturu[m] pollicear valeat et me [10] vti capit. amet. R[evere]ntia[e] V[ost]ra[e] Affectio[sissi]m[us] [11] Amicus. [12] A.B. [Covel's hand: "Ali-beghi"] [13] Exc[ellentissimo] D[omi]no Legato, felicissimam migrationem [14] et salubram Bilgradi habitationem ex bono [15] corde cœlitus exopto.<sup>353</sup> (Reverend and most officious Father. Yesterday, after your Reverence left, some watchmaker came to me, greeting me in the name of the most Excellent French ambassador and asking me not to refuse coming to visit him and his residence very early this morning. He said that he had some meeting at which I would be of use; I believe he requires my knowledge of Turkish, he does have some basic skills as I understand. I postponed it and promised to come another day, but, overcome by his pleas, I agreed. On that account, he [Covel or the British ambassador] should excuse me, if tomorrow I won't be able to fulfil what I had decided to do. God granting me greater strength, I may promise to visit the most Excellent Sir your ambassador and your Reverence and the other friends in Belgrad, to stay there for one week and he can make use of me [...]. Your Reverence's most affectionate friend, A.B. To the most Excellent Mylord ambassador, I wish from the bottom of my heart Heaven grant a most felicitous trip and a beneficial stay at Belgrad.)

<sup>352</sup>British Library, ed. (n.d.). *Explore Archives and Manuscripts*. URL: <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/>; search request [http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS\\_VU2:IAMS040-002096859](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS040-002096859).

<sup>353</sup>*Add MS 22910*, f. 111a.

This letter must have been written during the summer season, when many inhabitants of Istanbul left the city for a summer retreat in the Belgrad Forest, where the English ambassador had a summer residence.<sup>354</sup> This rural area was popular also during the frequent outbreaks of the plague.<sup>355</sup> Robert de Dreux describes a visit of the French ambassador to the British ambassador at the Belgrad Forest, “qui passe la vne partie de lété pour y auoir le diuertissement de la chasse”.<sup>356</sup> His wording can suggest that the ambassador did this customarily every summer, so a dating cannot be extracted from the text. Another important implication from this source is that ‘Alī Ufuḫī was on a kind of call duty for the French ambassador. The French watchmaker is possibly the same person spoken of in the travel account of the Frenchman Aubry de la Mottraye, cited by Harun Küçük. De la Mottraye, a Huguenot refugee who lived in Galata, mentions a French watchmaker belonging to the same religious minority. This nameless person told him that in the past the French ambassador Girardin (the employer of Robert de Dreux and a former language student of ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s) allowed the Protestants under his protection to worship in the British embassy.<sup>357</sup> Were those Huguenots aware of Levinus Warner’s plan to have the Genevan Psalter Ottomanized?

Again (or still), ‘Alī Ufuḫī is unwell. He seems to have been dealing with health issues for quite some time, as he complained about failing strength and the need for recovery in the two Oxford letters too. On the reverse of the slip, John Covell supplied a biographical sketch:

[1] Ali-beghi fut un Renegat élevé au Serrail. Son nom de Chrétien fut [2] Albertus Bobovius. Il aurait été [sic] amené esclave de Pologne lorsqu’il [3] était jeune. Il était sorti du Serrail et devenait un des principaux [4] Droguemans. Il sçavait dix sept Langues. Il auoit fourni auant [5] sa mort des mémoires au Chevalier Ricaut Consul de Smyrne [6] qui a fait imprimer l’état de l’Empier [sic] Ottoman. Monsr de [7] Nointal [sic] auoit un traité du Serrail qu’il a fait en Italien [8] Et Mr Galland auoit entre autres choses écrites de la main [9] de cet Ali-beg, une bonne partie des Pseaumes qu’il a mis [10] en

<sup>354</sup>Berridge, Geoff (2009). *British Diplomacy in Turkey, 1583 to the Present: A Study in the Evolution of the Resident Embassy*. Leiden: Brill, p. 10.

<sup>355</sup>The Imperial resident Alexander von Greiffenklau moved to Belgrad for this reason in 1647; Hering (1994), p. 152.

<sup>356</sup>“[...] where he spends part of the summer to enjoy the diversion of hunting”. *NAF* 4962, ff. 55b–56a.

<sup>357</sup>Küçük (2012), pp. 9f.

vers Turcs & notés en Musique.<sup>358</sup> (Ali-beghi was a renegade trained in the Seraglio. His Christian name was Albertus Bobovius. He had been taken as a slave from Poland when he was young. He had left the Seraglio and become one of the main dragomans. He knew seventeen languages. Before his death he had supplied his memories to Sir Rycaut, Consul of Smyrna, which he had printed [as] *The State of the Ottoman Empire*. Mr. de Nointel had a treatise of the Seraglio which he had made in Italian and Mr. Galland had among other things written by the hand of the said Ali-beg a good part of the Psalms which he had put into Turkish verse and notated in music.)

Although it is far from being solid proof, Covell's wording could plausibly imply that ʿAlī Ufuḳī, after his dismissal from *enderūn* service, more or less directly transitioned into the interpreters' office, meaning there is no actual gap in the biography. This is also supported by the draft letter in MS Turc 292 analyzed above. Covell's wording is nearly identical to Jacob Spon's,<sup>359</sup> written between 1675, when Spon was in Istanbul, and 1678, when the travel account was printed. This suggests communication between the two parties. Spon and Wheler had met Covell in Istanbul, where they stayed between September 23 and October 16, 1675.<sup>360</sup> Like Covell, who added his biographical note probably in retrospect when he was ordering his letter collection and may reasonably have had access to the book, being acquainted with Spon and Wheler at least since they met in Istanbul, they speak of ʿAlī Ufuḳī in the past tense. This may imply that ʿAlī Ufuḳī had already passed away. But Spon and Wheler may also have

<sup>358</sup> *Add MS 22910*, 111b.

<sup>359</sup> “Monsieur Couvel Chapelain de l’Ambassadeur de l’Angleterre nous fit aussi voir des chansons Turques, où nous n’entendions rien. Il nous assura que les expressions & la musique en étoient fort bonnes. Vn Renegat élevé au Serrail y avoit mis des notes à nôtre mode. Il s’appelloit *Haly-beg* en Turc: mais son nom de Chrétien étoit Albertus Bobovius. Il avoit été amené esclave de Pologne, lorsqu’il étoit jeune. Il étoit sorti du Serrail, & étoit devenu un des principaux Droguemans. Il sçavoit dix-sept Langues, & avoit appris le François, l’Anglois & l’Allemand, comme s’il eût été dans nos quartiers. C’est le même, si je ne me trompe, qui avoit fourni avant sa mort des mémoires à Monsieur Ricaud Consul de Smyrne, qui a fait imprimer l’état de l’Empire Ottoman. Monsieur de Nointel a un traité du Serrail qu’il a fait en Italien: & M. Galland, qui a demeuré quelques années à Constantinople avec M. de Nointel, a plusieurs choses écrites de la main de cét Haly-beg, & entre autres une bonne partie des Pseaumes, qu’il a mis en vers Turcs & notez en Musique.” Spon and Wheler (1678), pp. 258ff. See also Haug (2010), pp. 486ff, 572f.

<sup>360</sup> Spon and Wheler (1678), pp. 220, 274.



changed their wording in retrospect after receiving corrections from Antoine Galland: “Au lieu d’Hali Tchélébi, il faut Ali Beg, son nom de chrestien estoit Albertus Bobovius, je l’ay veu et j’ay appris de luy les principes de la langue turquesque. J’ay aussi plusieurs choses de sa main, et entre autres une bonne partie des Pseaumes mis en vers turcs et notés en musique par luy-mesme. Mr. de Nointel a son Traité du Serrail en italien que Mrs Rycaut et Tavernier n’ont point veu”.<sup>361</sup> This group of related sources does not yield solid data. Still, it seems probable that ʿAlī Ufuḳī had died before Spon and Wheler came to Istanbul. Another important detail drawn from this passage concerns the psalms, MS Sup Turc 472.<sup>362</sup> The manuscript described as being in Antoine Galland’s possession is the partial translation of the Genevan Psalter into Ottoman-Turkish verse, complete with the unaltered melodies which are each allotted to a *maḳām*. This exceptional source is a unique document for transcultural processes between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, although in this case this process was aborted and had no repercussions whatsoever.<sup>363</sup>

Adding a small digression regarding cultural repercussion, encountered by chance: We will never know author nor circumstances of the small and unexperienced notation, with v-shapes for notes without stems in the *mecmūʿa* MS Sup Turc 240, dated to the end of the seventeenth century. The manuscript did not come to Paris via Galland, however.<sup>364</sup> There is no indication of rhythmical duration (the edition employs half notes). A

<sup>361</sup>“Instead of ʿAlī Çelebi, it has to be ʿAlī Bey. His christian name was Albertus Bobovius, I saw him and I learned the basics of the Turkish language from him. I have several items from his hand, among them a good part of the Psalms in Turkish verse and notated in music by himself”. This wording leaves open whether Galland thought the melodies were composed by ʿAlī Ufuḳī himself or only notated. Abdel-Halim, Mohamed (1964). “Correspondance d’Antoine Galland, Edition critique et commentée”. PhD thesis. Université de Paris, pp. 120ff.

<sup>362</sup>The first detailed study on the Psalter was conducted by Cem Behar, Behar (1990). Haug (2010), pp. 565–576 and *passim*.

<sup>363</sup>Natalie Rothman’s assertion that Charles Fonton’s *Essai sur la musique orientale comparée a la musique européenne* (1751) was “deeply informed by previous studies of Ottoman courtly music by members of the court themselves, including Ali Ufki Bey [...]” is erroneous. Rothman (2013), p. 403. On Fonton, interpreter of the French embassy, and his 1751 treatise see Fonton (1986); specifically on his non-relationship to ʿAlī Ufuḳī *ibid.*, pp. 341f.

<sup>364</sup>Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Supplément Turc 240*[*Sup Turc 240*], f. 29b; Blochet (1932), pp. 277f.

hook opening to the left side can be understood as a c2 clef and shows that the notation is intended to be dextrograde:



Figure 1.3: Notation in MS Sup Turc 240, f. 29b

The same page contains among other lyric texts, a concordance to the Murabbaʿ *Şehā zūlfūñ beni dīvāne kıldı* (L f. 11a) and a Ğazel by Bākī. Was the manuscript written by a person with European roots or by an Ottoman who had witnessed notation and understood its basic principles? The latter assumption seems likely and ʿAlī Ufuḳī could have been the source of such knowledge.

Georg Michael Wansleben (Vansleb), another contemporary and influential Oriental scholar, was aware of ʿAlī Ufuḳī, but did not know him personally, although it would have been theoretically possible as he was travelling in the Levant between 1671 and 1677.<sup>365</sup> This becomes evident from a passage concerning Sir Paul Rycaut, whom he had met in İzmir in February 1674:

Questo Paulo Ricaut è quello, che hà dato in luce l'Jstoria del Stato presente del Imperio Ottomanno, la qual Jstoria egli hà fatto sopra le memorie, che gli hà dato un certo renegato Polacco, chiamato Ali Bey, sicomo leuato nel Serraglio del gr. Sig.re medesimo, con il quale egli hebbe stretta amicizia, in tempo che era segretario del Amb.re [afterthought: Inglese] il Conte Vincelsey.<sup>366</sup> (This Paul Rycaut is the same who has published the History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, which history he has written based on memories a certain Polish renegade called Ali Bey had given him, as he had been educated in the Seraglio of the Grand Signior himself, with whom [Rycaut] entertained a close friendship during the time he was secretary of the English ambassador Count Winchilsea.)

On the basis of the sources cited here and the many others only referenced there can be no doubt that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was an influential personality in his contemporary environment, a circle of transculturally oriented intellectuals

<sup>365</sup> Behar (2005), pp. 27f.

<sup>366</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Italien 435*, f. 153b.

in seventeenth-century Istanbul, aptly described by Natalie Rothman as “early modern Istanbul’s [...] trans-imperial scholarly sociability”, among which the dragomans played a crucial role.<sup>367</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi has claimed that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ottoman and European intellectuals –she cites Evliyā Çelebi and Antoine Galland– were in fact not so far apart concerning their “cultural worlds”, in fact they inhabited a shared space.<sup>368</sup> The present study shows that ‘Alī Ufuḫī is an example of the ease with which transculturally mobile individuals could access knowledge from diverse sources.<sup>369</sup> In the appropriate words of Natalie Rothman (albeit aimed at a different figure in the Ottoman-European trans-imperial sphere), ‘Alī Ufuḫī is a “‘cultural broker’, whose mediation is required” to make knowledge intelligible.<sup>370</sup> She further states –which, again, directly applies to ‘Alī Ufuḫī– that dragomans, being trained in mediating between the Ottoman and European chanceries, were predestined to play a crucial role in the mediation of knowledge.

Referring to Greek manuscripts of Ottoman music, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis raised the following questions: “Why do the oppressed Greeks transcribe the music of the Muslims? Was it a sign of spiritual surrender? Was it an acceptance of the cultural superiority of the conqueror?” and warned that a “fragmented and simplistic examination of the phenomena may lead to erroneous conclusions”.<sup>371</sup> Although the life situation of ‘Alī Ufuḫī is completely different from that of the post-Byzantine Greek community in the Ottoman Empire, similar questions may be applied to him in pursuit of the reasons why he collected and notated. First of all, his unprejudiced view of the musical world surrounding him enabled him to develop wide and varied interests. In this context, Behar has rightly pointed out that ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s biculturality was predictable because he received Ottoman acculturation as an adult, being a prisoner of war and not a *devşirme* child who came to the palace at a young age.<sup>372</sup> He manages knowledge from many sources, constantly explaining to himself what he does not yet understand

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<sup>367</sup>Rothman (2013), pp. 394f.

<sup>368</sup>Faroqhi (2004), pp. 25, 211.

<sup>369</sup>In the same sense see also Turan (2014), pp. 55ff.

<sup>370</sup>Rothman (2009), p. 789.

<sup>371</sup>Kalaitzidis (2012), p. 174.

<sup>372</sup>Behar (2005), p. 32.

or what is unfamiliar to his world of experience.<sup>373</sup> In musicological terms, ʿAlī Ufuḳī can be understood as “bi-musical”. This expression coined by Mantle Hood describes a personality who has acquired full acculturation in two (or potentially even more) musical cultures, transcending the level of mere mechanical reproduction to reach true “musicality” in the sense of instinctive understanding as from within the culture.<sup>374</sup>

While ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s influence in other fields of knowledge was likely considerable, his musical output had no afterlife in the Ottoman sphere: Sloane 3114 was taken to London by John Covel, where it was first sold to Robert Harley together with the *Serai Enderum* and eventually incorporated into the library of the “omnivorous collector Hans Sloane”.<sup>375</sup> The dealings between John Covel and Humfrey Wanley, Harley’s librarian, can be partially reconstructed from Covel’s papers. Whereas the *Serai Enderum* seems to have been sold for 2 Guineas (f. 182a), Covel tried to raise the price of the notation collection by stating that he was going to “make great use of [it] in a Philological treatise which I am preparing”. Further, he assumed that “my Lord hath no great relish for Musical Notions, and therefore to him it may be of little worth on that account, but there are about 400 sonets in Arab and Persian, and some in Turkish, which shew that these [illegible] a sprightly vein of Poetry in the East, and polite diversions in the Turkish Court” (f. 183a). Wanley was unwilling to pay the sum demanded by Covel (f. 185a), but estimated the contentual value of the *Mecmūʿa* highly: “J have a good Liking to Bobovius’s Musical MS as a pretty thing; and am a Lover of Music my self. Which Love hath made me observe some Arabian & Turkish Songs that I have seen, with their own Notes, done by themselves” (f. 185b). It would be interesting to know which manuscript Wanley is alluding to. At last, a deal was struck in the spring of 1715/6 (f. 198aff).<sup>376</sup>

<sup>373</sup>Such explanations are encountered in countless glosses and marginalia. Those related to music and performance can be found in the edition itself, glosses in the sense of translations or explications of single words in song texts are listed in the Critical Reports.

<sup>374</sup>Hood, Mantle (1960). “The Challenge of ‘Bi-Musicality’”. In: *Ethnomusicology* vol. 4, pp. 55–59.

<sup>375</sup>Yeo (2014), p. 102.

<sup>376</sup>*Add MS 22911*, ff. 182a, 183a, 185a, 185b, 198aff.

Turc 292 as well as Supplément Turc 372 came to Paris in Antoine Galland's possession. Hence the notation collections had no influence on Ottoman musical life – if the short notation in MS Sup Turc 240 was not in some way motivated by the presence of ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>377</sup> Owen Wright concluded that “[t]o speak of contact in the case of Ali Ufki would thus be a misnomer, and of transfer there is no trace: originating in one musical culture, he was simply ingested by another”.<sup>378</sup> There are two objections to this, however: notation as a cultural technique is imported and reworked to fit a new context as will be discussed in detail below, and ‘Alī Ufuḳī, being bi-musical, retains his birth culture and all the techniques and notions that come with it, supplementing it with new knowledge from his second, Ottoman culture. The rich material he left to posterity makes clear that his second enculturation was a process of addition, not of replacement and supersession. A process of supersession seems to have taken place during his childhood when he acquired the Italian culture so very tangible in the compendium. Indeed ‘Alī Ufuḳī seems to think in Italian. While notes on music are invariably formulated in a mix of Italian and Ottoman Turkish or entirely in Italian, Polish texts rarely appear. Also the countless glosses accompanying lyric texts are either Italian or Ottoman Turkish, with one noteworthy expression: On f. 298a/144a, the word “kadid” was unfamiliar to him, so he added “kuru et” in Turkish and “wędzonka” in Polish. He did not have the Italian translation on hand. The other text types in the Polish language are medical, culinary and household recipes, a riddle and a nonsense story, context-less marginalia and two texts which may be poems. The first of them on f. 360a/281a seems to allude to music on account of the the words “głos” (voice) and “grał” (s/he played). The second non-prose item, encountered on f. 403a/310b, is a didactic poem on moral values.<sup>379</sup> In the seventeenth century, Italian was the diplomatic lingua

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<sup>377</sup> *Sup Turc 240*, 29b.

<sup>378</sup> Wright (2013), pp. 162f. And further: “[...] The description of musical activities he included in his account of the social structure of the Palace [...] was doubtless an exotic element of incidental interest to European readers. But it did not lead them towards any of his own compositions, which are in Ottoman idiom: they were never transmitted to European musicians, and his collections mediated nothing, despite being contemporary with an increasingly common Turkish musical presence on the Italian stage”.

<sup>379</sup> My thanks to Dominik Kawa for the translations.

franca in the Mediterranean lands,<sup>380</sup> meaning that ʿAlī Ufuḳī will have used it frequently in his daily life. A probable explanation for his broad and Italian-influenced knowledge could be schooling at a Jesuit institution. And indeed, ʿAlī Ufuḳī somehow stayed in contact with the Jesuits of Lwów, sending them a precious manuscript in 1661.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>380</sup>Dursteler, Eric (2012). “Speaking in Tongues: Language and Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean”. In: *Past and Present* vol. 217, pp. 47–77, pp. 69–73.

<sup>381</sup>Hammer-Purgstall (1830), p. 80. Babinger also points at a connection to the Jesuits; Babinger (1936), pp. 156f.



## Chapter 2

# Codicology

### 2.1 General description

MS Turc 292 is untitled, undated and neither signed nor attributed to its author by a colophon or librarian’s entry. The flyleaf bears two inscriptions; the first one by the French oriental scholar Pierre Armain is devastating: “assemblage de plusieurs manuscrits écrits en latin turc, italien persan et arabe, le tout sans ordre griffonnée et de nulle utilité” (“Compilation of diverse manuscripts, written in Latin, Turkish, Italian, Persian and Arabic, altogether scribbled without order and completely useless”).<sup>1</sup> The second one is dated May 11 1878 and says “Volume de 313 Feuillet plus le Feuillet 25bis. Moins les Feuillet 77. 150–160 omis dans la pagination. Les Feuillet 7–13 sont Mutilés. Le Feuillet 199 est blanc” (“Volume of 313 folios plus folio 25bis. Without folio 77. 150–160 omitted in the pagination. Folios 7–13 are damaged. Folio 199 is blank”). The manuscript catalog of the Bibliothèque Royale begun in 1739 lists Turc 292 as “Codex chartaceus, olim Gallandianus, quo continetur miscellanea, nullo ordine collecta, Turcicè, Persicè & et Italicè scripta. Ibi cantilenae quaedam, unà cum notis musicis, ut & nonnulla ad medicinam pertinentia” (“Paper codex, once [belonged to] Galland, in which various materials are contained, assembled without order and written in Turkish, Persian and Italian. There are some songs together with musical notation, and some [texts] pertaining to medicine”).<sup>2</sup>

The fact pointed out by Cem Behar and reflected by many aspects of the source, that Turc 292 is a subsequently bound and originally more voluminous loose-leaf collection<sup>3</sup> of course has far-reaching implications

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<sup>1</sup> See also Behar (2008), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Villefroy, Guillaume de (1739). *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ regiae. Pars prima complectens codices manuscriptos orientales*. Vol. 1. 7 vols. Paris: Typographia regia. URL: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k140995x> (visited on 08/12/2016), p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> “[...] gelişiğüzel bir araya getirilip ciltlenmiş evrak-ı metrukesi”, Behar (2005), p. 224.



which will be addressed in the following sections. Never intended to become a book, it is not surprising that the compendium's issues of internal order pose considerable problems. Further implications are that we are dealing with a heterogenous source compiled over a long period of time with many different hands, inks, pens and papers involved and containing highly diverse material.

In the absence of a title, the manuscript has been described as a “cönki tipi”,<sup>4</sup> a “mecmua”,<sup>5</sup> and a “sketch-book”<sup>6</sup>. While it shares common features with all the source types cited, there is no complete overlap; hence, “compendium” has been chosen as a new name relatively free of connotations. For example the manuscript is lacking many typical features of Ottoman song-text collections; first and foremost the ordering according to *maḳām*, as a second tier, the descending order of stylistic level and prestige,<sup>7</sup> and thirdly, the index of *faşullar*.<sup>8</sup> In any case, the manuscript is an independent source with a distinct value and use of its own and differs considerably from the London manuscript, the *Mecmū'a-yı sâz ü söz*, in various regards. Nevertheless, the Paris manuscript can and should be put into the context of its London sister source, even if this method often leads to a description *ex negativo*: While L is internally ordered according to *maḳāmlar*, P is not: the sequence of its contents allows no conclusion as to conscious planning in the sense of a superstructure. Nuclei of ordering can be identified, e.g. in the form of *faşul* rubrics, but they remain very limited (f. 389b/304a: “Faşıl der maḳām-ı Segāh”). While L is reserved for Ottoman music and some Ottoman texts, P is not: it contains non-Ottoman and non-musical material in ample proportion. While L was planned and partly executed, partly overseen by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, P was not: the author was not present during the binding process. While L gives the overall impression of being complete and self-contained, P does not: Lacunae and cross-references to folios not extant prove considerable loss of material. The full codicological description has been made by Cem Behar and shall be quoted in translation:

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<sup>4</sup> Behar (1990), p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Behar (2008).

<sup>6</sup> Tansuğ (1997), p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Wright (1992), pp. 2, 25, 154, 158ff.

<sup>8</sup> Popescu-Judetz, Eugenia (2007). *A Summary Catalogue of the Turkish Makams*. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, p. 15.

313 leaves; the leaves have been subsequently numbered in two directions; *cönk* [horizontal] format; dimensions of the cover 13x24 cm, the leaves have many different dimensions between 14x10 cm and 23x11,5 cm; leaves 7–15, 266–269 and 295–298 [according to the secondary counting, see below] are torn; 66b–67a blank; diverse glazed and unglazed papers as well as diverse writing styles; diverse numbers of lines per page; diverse types of dextrograde and sinistrograde writing; sometimes titles, *usûl* names, names of compositions etc. in rubrics; Italian, German, Armenian, French, Latin and Polish texts and expressions; cover in smooth red leather [gold-tooled] with the coat-of-arms of the French king Louis XV; on the back the phrase “Codex Analecta Complectens Var[iorum] Linguar[um]”; transferred to the French Royal Library from Antoine Galland’s (1646–1715) legacy in 1715; bound without putting the various leaves into order and succession.<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to the other manuscripts partially from ‘Alī Ufukî’s hand, Turc 216 and Turc 221, which are in octavo format, Turc 292 has the typical Ottoman oblong *cönk* or *safîna* (“boat”) format, common for poetry collections since the fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup> The size of the pages varies considerably, the edges are untrimmed. While Rıza Nur states “235x110 ou 115, 210x105, 150x110, 145x100”,<sup>11</sup> the actual range is broader. Not only is the manuscript in a generally deteriorated condition, as Rıza Nur pointed out already in 1932,<sup>12</sup> it has very obviously been used. The edges of the larger-format paper of lesser quality are damaged by handling. They have not only decomposed by themselves or due to unfavorable storage conditions, but they are worn. Many pages, especially towards the end in the current binding (f. 256/1 ff), give the distinct impression of frequent use. This group of folios which befittingly starts with number 1 and extends at least to 7, thus also probably constitutes the oldest layer. In 1932, Rıza Nur presented the MS to two unnamed experts for Western writing, who dated it to the seventeenth century. One of them believed correctly –

<sup>9</sup> Behar (2005), p. 224. On the following pages Behar gives an overview of the contents.

<sup>10</sup> Haase, Claus-Peter (2016b). “Manuscript Forms”. In: *Manuscript Cultures* vol. 9. Ed. by Karolewski, Janina and Köse, Yavuz, pp. 65–66, p. 65. The term *cönk* here relates more strongly to bookbinding than to the actual content of the source. Koz (2012), pp. 159–164.

<sup>11</sup> Nur (1932), p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> When Nur examined the MS, it was obviously covered in dust. Nobody had been consulting it for a very long time. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

do not know on what grounds exactly— that it was brought to the library by Antoine Galland.<sup>13</sup> Attempts at dating the entire manuscript are futile and do not do justice to the source which was obviously composed over an extended period of time and in different contexts of knowledge transmission. However, the compendium contains a number of autographic dates which occur in diverse contexts. Not all of them directly relate to ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s life and personal experience, but some of them clearly do. Texts featuring dates long before ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s arrival in Istanbul or even before his lifetime may have served him as examples for letter or petition writing (*inṣā*).<sup>14</sup>

Folio	Date	Context
63a/265b	Manoel	same name and hand as f. 155b/22b
123b/263b	[10]24 (1615)	obituary of “‘Abdū’l-Kerīm” <sup>15</sup>
124b/264b	22.04.1649	description of medical treatment
155b/22b	1645	list of Spanish or Portuguese names (families Rodrigues and “de setuall” [de Setúbal?]); <sup>16</sup> same hand as f. 63a/265b
173b/43b	29.07.1648	plague case study
174b/44b	23.08.1648, 28.08.1648	plague case studies
245b/91b	10.06.–07.07.1649	description of medical treatment
320b/176b	1020 (1611/12)	“‘Allāme Ḥasan Bosnevī min ғашаба Binālūka der sarāy-ı cedid fi ḥāne-yi kebīr sene 1020” <sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Nur (1932), p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Çelik, Hülya (2016a). “*İnṣā*” for the Study of Style and Expression: Cod. orient. 268i”. In: *Manuscript Cultures* vol. 9. Ed. by Karolewski, Janina and Köse, Yavuz, pp. 216–217.

<sup>15</sup> Transliterations of all the Ottoman-Turkish prose texts cited in this table are by Hakan Özkan.

<sup>16</sup> Nur (1932), p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27. “The very learned Ḥasan the Bosnian from the town of Banja Luka, of the new palace, in the great hall, in the year 1020.”

Folio	Date	Context
326a/181a	726 (1325/26)	a text mentioning the accession of Sulṭān Ībrāhīm; <sup>18</sup> erroneous: Ībrāhīm came to the throne in 1640
397a/244b	1061 (1650/51)	an order by “Defterdār Muṣṭafā” to Ken‘ān Pāṣā <sup>19</sup>
400b/240b	1055–1062 (1645–1652)	Ġurre-nāme (table for calculating the first day of the lunar month) <sup>20</sup>
408b/236b	Cemāzūi’l-āḫir 1063 (April 1653)	an order from “Rūzvān Pāṣā” to a <i>ṣubaṣi</i> <sup>21</sup>
201*b	Receb 1074 (Jan/Feb 1664)	obituary of “‘Aṭāu-u’l-lāh” [sic]
207*b	Sene-yi 1068 (1657/58)	chronogram <sup>22</sup>

Table 2.1: Dates in MS Turc 292

The report of the rebellion of Mu‘īn-oġlı in Aleppo (f. 407a/308b–406b/309a) is undated, but Nur places it in the reign of Meḫmed IV.<sup>23</sup> A number of songs allude to datable historical events, for example the Türkī *Ah edüb kalkdı ġāzī kapūdān* by (Kul) Muṣṭafā (f. 323a/178a), describing the execution of *kapūdān-ı deryā* (Sīlāhdār) Yūsuf Pāṣā in 1646.<sup>24</sup> This Türkī must have had personal significance for ‘Alī Ufuḳī who was a protégé of this military leader.<sup>25</sup> The reconquest of Baġdād in 1638<sup>26</sup> is referenced in songs on ff. 5b/256b and 318b/174b. The Türkī *İster hey Allāhım ġıldür cānımız* entitled “Türkī berāy-ı fetḫ-i Retīme” in L (f. 46b) is another

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> Behar (1991), p. 20. See Meniški, François a Mesgnien (1680c). *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae [...]* Vol. 2. 4 vols. Vienna: Franciscus a Mesgnien Meninski, col. 3398.

<sup>21</sup> Nur (1932), p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Behar (1991), p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> Nur (1932), p. 28.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 27. Setton (1991), p. 130.

<sup>25</sup> *Turc 292*, f. 221b/67b.

<sup>26</sup> Faroḳhi (2004), pp. 31, 49f.

example of a military-themed Türkī, alluding to the conquest of Rethymno in 1646.<sup>27</sup> *Kimi konar kimi göçer feleğññ kerwānıdır* on f. 398a/238b reflects on the dethronement of Sultān İbrāhīm and his replacement with Meḥmed IV in 1648.<sup>28</sup> The praise song *Badiḥbahijm kulltarinie eile daim hummetuḥ* (f. 220a/66a), is entitled *Türkī medḥ-i şehinşāh-ı āl-ı ʿOsmān Sultān Meḥmed Hān* and dated 1075 (1664/65) in L (f. 39b). This means that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was still adding material to the loose-leaf collection that would later become Turc 292 in or after 1664/65. The *Mecmūʿa-ı sâz ü söz* was likewise compiled over a longer period of time: The fore-edge is inscribed with a kind of *ex libris* dated 1060 (1650) as an assumed starting point, and two *tārīḥ* poems dated 1657/58 on f. 117a supply further concretion. From dates after 1650 Behar first drew the important conclusion that the Paris source cannot be a mere preliminary stage of the London manuscript, but must have been written or compiled over a longer period and also parallel to Sloane 3114.<sup>29</sup> The praise poem on f. 39b supplies the latest known date, hence the minimum period ʿAlī Ufuḳī worked on the collection was fifteen years.<sup>30</sup>

It becomes immediately evident that the dates do not succeed each other in chronological order as ʿAlī Ufuḳī returned to correct earlier notations, add remarks or variants and fill blank spaces with other material. Other *termini post quem* are the publication dates of the printed sources ʿAlī Ufuḳī copied from or referred to: Heinrich Albert's *Arien* (1642, 1645 and

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<sup>27</sup> Finkel (2007), p. 227.

<sup>28</sup> Nur (1932), p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> Behar (1991), pp. 19f.

<sup>30</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī (2003), pp. 21f.

1648)<sup>31</sup> and the psalm settings by Henry and William Lawes (1648).<sup>32</sup> The medicine treatises identified so far are not as helpful, because their first editions date back to the sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Even though ‘Alī Ufuḳī may well have quoted from a later edition, it cannot be ascertained which one exactly. Only Castor Durante’s *Herbario nuovo* can be identified with more certainty as ‘Alī Ufuḳī clearly refers to the edition printed by Giunti in Venice (f. 377b/213b), which appeared in 1636.<sup>34</sup>

Lastly, it is tempting to imply a chronological succession from the style of music writing. Although such attributions can only be tentative, there are some pages which suggest a comparatively early date due to an insecure and flawed style of writing. To cite one example: f. 20v/3v–21r/4r, from the viewpoint of notation, may be understood as early because the writing is not very assured.<sup>35</sup> The boundary lines after every second beat are unusual and do not appear again in notations of Ottoman instrumental music.

<sup>31</sup> Albert, Heinrich (1642). *Fünffter Theil der Arien oder Melodeyen Etlicher theils Geistlicher, theils Weltlicher, zur Andacht, guten Sitten, keüscher Liebe vnd Ehren-Lust dienender Lieder. Auff unterschiedliche Arthen zum Singen und Spielen gesetzt [...] Königsberg: Pascha Mense.* URL: <http://stimbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00084939> (visited on 10/02/2014); Albert, Heinrich (1645). *Sechster Theil der Arien Etlicher theils Geistlicher, theils Weltlicher, zur Andacht, guten Sitten, keüscher Liebe vnd Ehren-Lust dienender Reyme. Zum Singen und Spielen gesetzt [...] Königsberg: Pascha Mense.* URL: <http://stimbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00084939> (visited on 10/02/2014); Albert, Heinrich (1648). *Siebender Theil der Arien, Etlicher theils Geistlicher zum Trost in allerhand Creutz und Widerwertigkeit/ wie auch zur Erweckung seliger Sterbens=Lust; Theils Weltlicher: zu geziemenden Ehren=Frewden und keuscher Liebe dienender Lieder zusingen gesetzt [...] Königsberg: Pascha Mense.* URL: <http://stimbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00084939> (visited on 10/02/2014).

<sup>32</sup> Lawes, Henry and Lawes, William (1648). *Choice Psalmes put into Musick, For Three Voices. [...] London: James Young for Humphrey Moseley.*

<sup>33</sup> Fioravanti (1582); Ruscelli (1559). The first edition was printed in 1555.

<sup>34</sup> Durante, Castor (1636). *Herbario Nvovo di Castore Durante Medico et Cittadino Romano [...] Venice: Giunti.* URL: <https://archive.org/details/hin-wel-all-00000492-001> (visited on 04/28/2015). The first edition dates back to 1585, but was printed in Rome. Durante, Castor (1585). *Herbario Nvovo di Castore Durante Medico et Cittadino Romano [...] Rome: Iacomo Bericchia and Iacomo Tornierii.* URL: <https://books.google.fr/books?id=-QdfAAAAcAAJ&hl=fr&pg=PR2#v=onepage&q&f=false> (visited on 05/23/2016).

<sup>35</sup> Ekinci and Haug (2016), p. 86.

## 2.2 Ordering issues

### 2.2.1 Foliation

The existence of at least two mutually exclusive systems of foliation is one of the main issues posed by Turc 292, as it directly affects the contents of the source and the ability of scholars to access them. In 1932, Rıza Nur already diagnosed this problem. According to his theory, the “seconde numérotation des pages, inexplicable et incomplète” is indeed secondary. Further he thinks that the MS begins on f. 313 and ends on f. 1 because f. 313 features a transliteration table.<sup>36</sup> He thus implies the Ottoman reading direction, a logic which cannot be denied.

The directions of reading and binding are an issue of their own. If the book in its current binding is opened from the side with the librarians' notes, the primary foliation is in the correct direction, but the secondary foliation is generally upside down. However, many pages can be viewed from different angles or are filled along their short edges (which pertains to most of the pages with medical recipes and those with *divān* poetry without musical notation). The question why ʿAlī Ufuḳī foliated his collection with a good portion of notation being upside down remains unanswered. Haste, interruptions and insufficient focus on the task may be an explanation.

The fact that the material has not gone through a single process of systematic ordering by its author makes the establishment of internal chronology and the deduction of development lines in its contents nearly impossible. That ʿAlī Ufuḳī did not bind the manuscript himself or made the last ordering steps before binding can be seen from the continuous, almost flawless foliation hereafter designated as secondary to distinguish it from the autographic, primary foliation. The primary foliation which is out of order in many places and shows considerable lacunae can be attributed to ʿAlī Ufuḳī on the grounds of handwriting: Examples of his own numerals can be found on folios 124b/264b, 173b/43b, 174b/44b or 245b/91b, (single numbers in dates), on ff. 27b/9b–29a/11a (Italian lute tablature) and, most usefully, on f. 299b/74b, where ʿAlī Ufuḳī notated a scale representing the frets of a lute instrument numbered from 0 to 27. Some of his numerals are quite individual and easily recognizable, especially in comparison with the other scribal hand involved in the foliation. ʿAlī Ufuḳī's fives and sevens

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<sup>36</sup> Nur (1932), pp. 26f.

have an extended and strong horizontal bar, his eights are very rounded, his threes may appear flattened on top. His fours, eights and nines have pronounced descenders, while his sixes have ascenders. The ones are slightly inconsistent: On f. 229b/74b and in many other instances, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s ones are straight lines, sometimes, but not invariably, with a dot and a sometimes very pronounced upstroke. If a certain gathering is homogenous, the easily discernible numerals allow conclusions concerning the whole gathering. Significant features of the secondary foliation are s-shaped fives without a horizontal bar, elongated threes and eights as well as nines with a hook. When it comes to identifying the person who executed the secondary foliation, Antoine Galland is a strong contender as he almost certainly took the material to Paris.<sup>37</sup> Comparisons with his journals, MS Français 6088<sup>38</sup> and especially the later volumes such as MS Français 15278 from 1710–1711,<sup>39</sup> shows that some of his peculiarities match the hand of the secondary numbering, especially fives without a horizontal bar, elongated eights which may be open at the top and left-leaning twos. The reason why ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s preexistent foliation was not simply accepted remains unclear. Had the material been transported in a disorderly way, as in a box or a folder? An explanation could be that the person entrusted with the binding took the leaves out of this box or folder as they were, numbered them and had them bound. Some layers have been put together erroneously even prior to binding, which holds true for the two groups of smaller-format paper with *mecmū’a*-style frames (*cedvel*).<sup>40</sup>

### 2.2.2 Collation

In Ottoman bookmaking, gatherings were formed by folding and trimming sheets or an individual sheet; small sheets could be pasted together at the spine with a strip of paper to form a bifolium. Gatherings could be written before or after compilation; in Turc 292, both methods can be

<sup>37</sup> This point has been made by ‘Alī Ufuḳī (1976), p. xvi; Kut (1977), pp. 8f; Behar (1991), p. 19.

<sup>38</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Français 6088*. URL: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9065235d> (visited on 03/02/2016).

<sup>39</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Français 15278*. URL: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9061476s> (visited on 03/02/2016), especially pp. 10–11.

<sup>40</sup> Haase, Claus-Peter (2016a). “Layout”. In: *Manuscript Cultures* vol. 9. Ed. by Karolewski, Janina and Köse, Yavuz, pp. 86–87, p. 86.



observed.<sup>41</sup> Continuous notations and texts are important indicators in order to reconstruct the manuscript's genesis. If they extend beyond a folio, for example span an opening belonging to two subsequent folios, they prove that a certain gathering existed as a booklet and was used as such by ʿAlī Ufuḳī instead of being assembled afterwards (which is clearly the case with gatherings assembled from different kinds of paper). If the gathering was assembled before use, it is marked “booklet” in the following table. Due to its generally fragile condition, the manuscript has to be handled with utmost care. As a result of the partially very tight binding the precise structure of the manuscript cannot be determined without overstretching it in order to find the binding threads and joints. Such cases are marked accordingly in the tables. Unfortunately, some instances remain unresolved; attempts at explanation are offered as far as possible. Descriptions in the present tense refer to the actual bound state of the manuscript. In edition, critical report and text, the reconstructed foliation is adopted throughout; for consultation of the digital version refer to the second number. Generally, single digits attached to the folio number with a hyphen designate the respective elements on a page. The following list proceeds through the entire manuscript, gathering by gathering, according to the reconstructed order of the autographic foliation:

1. ff. 1/252–6/257: Homogenous ternion containing mainly Türkī in transliteration; on f. 6/257 an erroneous and subsequently erased foliation “256” by the secondary hand can be found.
2. ff. 12/272–15/273: Structure unclear, probably a bifolium with 15/273, folios 13–14 missing in between. Content related to item 1, but different paper format.
3. ff. 13–14: Loss (bifolium?).
4. ff. 15/273: Structure unclear, probably a bifolium with f. 12/272, folios 13–14 missing in between. Content related to gathering 1, but different paper format.
5. ff. 16/274: Structure unclear, probably a bifolium with f. 17/275. Content related to item 1, but different paper format.

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<sup>41</sup> Bosch, Gulnar, Carswell, John, and Petherbridge, Guy (1981). *Islamic Bindings & Bookmaking*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute Museum, pp. 23, 38, 41.

6. ff. 17/275: Structure unclear, probably a bifolium with f. 16/274. Content related to item 1, but different paper format.
7. ff. 18/1–23/6: Homogenous ternion with mixed content. Continuous notations ff. 18b/1b–19a/2a, 19b/2b–20a/3a, 20b/3b–21a/4a, 21b/4b–22a/5a, 22b/5b–23a/6b; booklet. F. 23b/6b connected to 24a/7a, although the paper is different (not torn, watermark C on f. 23/6). The sequence of excerpts from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* begins on f. 23b/6b.<sup>42</sup>
8. ff. 24/7: Structure unclear, probably a bifolium with 25. Content (Tasso) related to items 7, 9 and 10. Paper differs from item 7 but is very similar to item 9: torn outer edge.<sup>43</sup>
9. ff. 25: Structure unclear, probably a bifolium with f. 24/7. Secondary foliation missing. Content (Tasso)<sup>44</sup> related to items 7, 8 and 10. Paper very similar to item 8.
10. ff. 26/8–31/13: Homogenous ternion with mixed content, starting with Tasso until f. 26b/8b,<sup>45</sup> then continuing with a sequence of tablature notations. The torn paper is very similar to items 8 and 9, but on ff. 27b/9b–30a/12a and 31b/13b the damage was effected after writing, resulting in considerable loss of material. The remaining pages were filled later.
11. ff. 32/14: Structure unclear, bifolium with item 12 or a single leaf. Excerpt from Tasso on both pages.<sup>46</sup>
12. ff. 33/15: Structure unclear, bifolium with item 11 or a single leaf.
13. ff. 34/16–39/21: Homogenous ternion.
14. ff. 40–45: Loss (ternion?).

<sup>42</sup> Tasso, Torquato (1804a). *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Vol. 1. Opere di Torquato Tasso vol. 1. Milan: Società Tipografica de'Classici Italiani, pp. 250–252.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 250–252; Tasso, Torquato (1804b). *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Vol. 2. Opere di Torquato Tasso vol. 1. Milan: Società Tipografica de'Classici Italiani, pp. 379–381.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 381.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 382–383.

<sup>46</sup> Tasso (1804a), pp. 1–4, 77.

15. ff. 46/250–52/251: Bound as two bifolia ff. 51b/248a–47a/249b and 46b/250a–52a/251b; the original order was restituted by inverting the folding of ff. 46/250–52/251 and placing ff. 47/249–51/248 inside. Continuous notations ff. 51b/248a–52a/251b.
16. ff. 48–50: loss. The missing pages seem to have been another bifolium and a single page, resulting in a ternion with a single page probably glued in or added loosely.
17. ff. 53–60: Loss (quaternion, two binions?).
18. ff. 61/271–62/270: Bound as a bifolium with inverted folding. F. 62/270 has an additional foliation “266” written by the secondary hand.
19. ff. 63/265–66/258: Bound as the outermost layer of the quaternion ff. 258–265, folding inverted.
20. ff. 64–65: Loss (bifolium?).
21. ff. 67–118: Loss (many possible combinations, e.g. 13 quaternions or 5 quinions and a bifolium etc.).
22. ff. 119/259–124/264: Ternion; ff. 63/265–66/258 wrapped around it with the folding inverted.
23. ff. 125/300–130/301: Originally a ternion, but bound as separate bifolia ff. 125/300–130/301 and ff. 126/297–129/298 with the former’s folding inverted and the middle bifolium lost. 129b/298b has an additional (erased) foliation “297” written by the secondary hand – which means that in this case the person who carried out the secondary foliation and/or prepared the binding did tamper with the ordering of the pages. Yet, the inner pages of the bifolium –ff. 125b/300b and 130a/301b– contain text from the same source,<sup>47</sup> namely from the folios 9a–18a and 57a of the second book in the edition cited. While the text is clearly homogenous, it is not continuous in the sense that it consists of short medical and other recipes which have been excerpted from the source neither in their original order nor without gaps. The passage on f. 125a/300b is complete and does not extend to f. 130b/301a. Excerpts from *Alessio Piemontese* likewise appear in

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<sup>47</sup> Ruscelli (1559).

other regions of Turc 292, for instance a passage from the first book on f. 12a/272a. That means, the new ordering with the two bifolia apart is not the original condition. A possible explanation could be that ʿAlī Ufuḳī, for unknown reasons, wrapped the preexistent bifolium f. 125/130 around a preexisting binion (ff. 126–129) with the medical text on the outside, numbering the new ternion accordingly. At a later stage the innermost bifolium of the ternion got lost, the remaining two bifolia were taken apart and the first item’s folding was inverted so that the medical text was inside. The single leaf f. 175/299, which clearly belongs elsewhere (see item 32) was then glued to f. 125b/300a. If this is true, then the question remains why ʿAlī Ufuḳī did not sort 125/130 with the other *Alessio Piemontese* material on f. 12a/272a.<sup>48</sup> Grouping Türkī repertoire on ff. 129b/298b and 130a/301b may have played a role in his decision. Watermarks, which might have offered some insights, are not discernible in this gathering.

24. ff. 127–128: Loss (bifolium from the middle of item 23).
25. ff. 131/296–140/295: Bound separately and upside down as a bifolium ff. 140/295–131/296 and a binion ff. 138/266–133/269 (both foldings and succession inverted). Ff. 134–137 are lost. Yet, ff. 131b/296a and 140b/295a are connected by the same repertoire (two French songs of unknown origin). Continuous notation ff. 132b/268b–133a/269a; booklet. Additional secondary foliation “266” on f. 62b/270a. The entire gathering suffered large tears on the outer upper right edge in direction of the current binding. Except for the incomplete *Tesbīḥ* on f. 133b/269b, the material seems to have been written subsequently, making the best possible use of the damaged paper; however, it is difficult to determine whether the margins and staves on f. 132b/268b and f. 133a/269a were drawn before or after the incident. On f. 132a/268a, the staff lines do not touch the edge of the paper, while they do on the verso page. The following explanation is suggested: Comparable to the situation depicted for item 23, ʿAlī Ufuḳī wrapped a single bifolium around a preexistent quaternion and numbered the new quinion accordingly, thus separating the two French songs. At a later stage, the outer layer (ff. 131/140) was removed

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 48a.

and placed elsewhere. From the middle of the original gathering, two bifolia ff. 134–137 got lost, leaving an Arabic-language religious piece incomplete on f. 133b/269b. The two remaining layers of the former quinion were inverted for no apparent reason; still, the continuous notation *E Salamun aleike* on ff. 132b/268b–133a/269a is continuous in both versions. Likewise, the order of the three-page excerpt from Torquato Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, canto XII, 48–52, 65–69, remains intact.<sup>49</sup> Watermark evidence further supports the theory that the outermost layer was added by ʿAlī Ufuḳī before foliation: f. 140/295 has watermark F, while f. 132/268 shows watermark C. A reason why ʿAlī Ufuḳī grouped the single bifolium with the quaternion may be that 131/296–140/295 are damaged in a very similar way, and at a cursory glance he assumed they belonged together. It remains unclear, though, why the torn pages with Tasso excerpts are not grouped with another sequence of comparably damaged Tasso pages (items 8–10).

26. ff. 134–137: Loss (binion from the middle of item 25). F. 134a would have contained the missing right half of the fragmentary *Tesbīh* on f. 133b/269b.
27. ff. 141–150: Loss (quinion?).
28. ff. 151/22–152/23: Binion.
29. ff. 153/25bis–154/26: Binion. “25bis” was written by a third hand. Continuous notations ff. 153b/25bisb–154a/26a.
30. ff. 155/24–156/25: Binion. In the second counting and subsequent binding, the succession of items 29 and 30 has been exchanged.
31. ff. 157/27–174/44: Succession of leaves homogenous both externally and in terms of content (medical texts mainly from Leonardo Fioravanti's *Della Fisica*).<sup>50</sup> The threads are invisible due to tight binding, but three ternions may be an obvious explanation. Large black stain caused by a thick liquid on ff. 162/32–166/36.

<sup>49</sup> Tasso (1804b), pp. 135–136, 139–140.

<sup>50</sup> Fioravanti (1582).

32. ff. 175/299: Single leaf glued on to f. 125/300. Continuous text ff. 174b/44b–175a/299a.
33. ff. 176–198: Loss (various combinations are possible, each including a single leaf).
34. ff. 199/45–204/50: Regular ternion. Continuous notations ff. 199b/45b–200a/46a, 200b/46b–201a/47a, 201b/47b–202a/48a; booklet. In the large block from ff. 199/45 to 354/196, the contents are very varied, and groupings according to *maḳām*, genre, author or other aspects are sparse.
35. ff. 205/51–210/56: Regular ternion. Continuous text ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b. Sketch and full notation of the same song on ff. 209a/55a and 210a/56a.
36. ff. 211/57–216/62: Regular ternion. Continuous text ff. 213b/59b–214a/60a.
37. ff. 217/63–[221]/67:<sup>51</sup> Binion with a single leaf (218/64) glued on to f. 219/65. F. 218a/64a is blank; the *Türkī* on its reverse may have been the reason why ‘Alī Ufuḳī grouped it with the other pages of this gathering. Ff. 220b/66b and [221]a/67a are also blank. The foliation of the latter page is missing.
38. f. 222: Loss. The medical texts on the last page of the preceding gathering, f. [221]b/67b, and the first page of the next, f. 223a/68a, share many common features such as presentation, content, ink and hand. Yet both the end of the text on f. [221]b/67b and the new beginning on f. 223a/68a are in mid-sentence.
39. ff. 223/68–228/73: Regular ternion.
40. ff. 229/74–234/80: Regular ternion. Counting error in the secondary foliation, ns. 77 and 78 on the same page. Continuous notations ff. 229b/74b–230a/75a, 230b/75b–231a/76a, 231b/76b–232a/77–78a, 232b/77–78b–233a/79a; booklet.

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<sup>51</sup> Square brackets indicating conjectured folio numbers are henceforth discarded for the sake of legibility.

41. ff. [235]/81–240/86: Regular ternion. On the first page, the primary foliation is missing.
42. ff. 241/87–252/98: Regular sexternion. Continuous notation ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a; booklet.
43. ff. 253/99–264/110: Regular sexternion. Booklet. Continuous notations ff. 256b/102b–257a/103a, 257b/103b–258a/104a, 258b/104b–259a/105a. The entire section is made up of smaller, glazed and polished paper and features the same layout, a single staff along the upper edge with space below for the underlaid text and the Arabic-script text version which is not always filled in. Reworkings are in a different, pale ink. As the contents are also rather homogenous, this gathering can tentatively be interpreted as a nucleus of order, maybe even representing first steps towards a more refined collection.
44. ff. 265/111–276/122: Regular sexternion.
45. ff. 277/123–288/134: Regular sexternion with continuous notations on ff. 280b/126b–282a/128a, 282b/128b–283a/129a, 283b/129b–285a/131a, 286b/132b–287a/133a, 287b/133b–288a/134a; booklet.
46. ff. 289/135–296/142: Regular quaternion with continuous notations on ff. 289b/135b–290a/136a, 290b/136b–292a/138a; booklet. Linked to the subsequent item 47 by ‘*Āṣiḡ Meftūnī* (f. 295a/141a).
47. ff. 297/143–306/162: Regular quinion. Error in the secondary notation: ns. 150–160 on the same page. Continuous notations ff. 299b/145b–300a/146a; booklet. Linked to the preceding item 46 by ‘*Āṣiḡ Meftūnī*.
48. ff. 307/163–318/174: Regular sexternion with continuous notations on ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a, 313a/169a–314a/170a; booklet.
49. f. 319: Loss or counting error?
50. ff. 320/175–329/184: Regular quinion with continuous notations on ff. 321b/176b–322a/177a; booklet.
51. ff. 330–342: loss (various combinations including a single leaf are possible).

52. ff. 343/185–354/196: Regular sexternion with continuous notations on ff. 343b/185b–344a/186a, 346b/188b–347a/189a; booklet.
53. ff. 355/276–372/287: Regular sexternion from whose middle the ternion ff. 361/293–368/288 has been removed and bound separately in direct succession. This ternion consists of distinctly different, much smaller paper than the surrounding gathering; it may have been separated on account of its different format and layout. The person to separate the two layers of the original gathering may have been ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself. In the extant collation, the ternion has been turned upside down so it is currently read backwards. Continuous notation ff. 363b/291a–364a/290b.
54. ff. [373]/219–383/216: Currently bound as a quinion ff. 212–222 with the single leaf f. 377/213 glued on to 378/214. Continuous notation ff. 375b/218a–381a/217b. Primary foliation missing on [373] and [381] –hitherto without square brackets–, additional and deleted primary foliation on f. 376b/222b (“380”), additional secondary foliation “376” on f. 380b/222a. Ff. 376/212–376/22, 378/214–375/221 and the single leaf 377/213 are written on a distinctly thinner paper than the three outer layers ff. 382/215–374/220, 383/216–385/218 and 381/217–375/218. So why is it that the secondary counting is correct while the primary one, which can doubtlessly be attributed to ‘Alī Ufuḳī, is not? Previously described cases such as items 23 and 25 have suggested a second stage of ordering done by ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself, in which he sometimes destroyed previously extant connections and successions for no obvious reason. The fact that the primary foliation is by his own hand shows that he himself numbered the folios after establishing this “wrong” order. However, the cases of item 23 and 25 are relatively mild compared to the present one. The main issue here is that ff. 381a/217b and 375b/218a feature a notation that spans the spread. In the current binding, ff. 381/217 and 375/218 are positioned in the middle of the inhomogenous gathering, with the remaining four folios wrapped around and f. 377/213 glued in. Restoring the primary foliation results in ff. 381a/217b and 375b/218a being apart with two bifolia plus the single leaf in between. The following explanation is suggested: ‘Alī Ufuḳī combined two pre-existent gatherings, putting the two bifolia and the single leaf of thin



paper inside a ternion of more sturdy paper, thus separating the continuous notation which had been in the center of the original ternion. He then numbered the new quinion+1 accordingly. There must have been some uneasiness or disturbance because the primary numbers 378 and 380 are upside down, 379 was originally 375, and 380 was deleted although it falls in the correct place of this stage of assembly. The reverse of the deleted 380 shows 376 upside down, being the other half of 376/212. Now somebody must have noticed that this order separates a continuous notation, and taken the two elements apart again. The inner layer must have been disassembled, its outermost layer (ff. 376/212–380/222) inverted and turned upside down, the other bifolium (ff. 378/214–379/221) put inside and the single leaf f. 377/213 glued onto it. The ternion was also reassembled: The innermost layer with the continuous notation was turned upside down, then f. 373/219–383/216 was inverted, turned upside down and wrapped around, and lastly ff. 374/220–382/215 was treated in the same way. After those steps had been carried out, the secondary foliation was added. Who else than ʿAlī Ufuḳī would have noticed that a continuous notation had been separated? The implication of the suggested interpretation is that the material went through multiple stages of ordering and reordering by the hand of ʿAlī Ufuḳī, even after he had carried out the foliation.

55. ff. 384/294: Single leaf glued on to f. 140b/295a.
56. ff. 385–388: Loss (binion or two bifolia).
57. ff. 389/304–[390]/313: Bifolium; primary foliation missing on f. [390]. The latter must have been the last page of something for a longer period of time, because it is very worn, discolored and frayed at the edges. Its other half, f. 389/304, however, is in a much better state. Currently bound as the outermost complete layer of the quinion+2 ff. 302–313 turned upside down with its folding inverted. This quinion is irregular in so far that it has two single leaves glued to its first page and that it contains two separate bifolia in its middle. It has to be disassembled completely and results in items 57–59, 61, 64 and 65. The reason why the gathering was assembled may be that the pages, including the single leaves, externally resemble each other in featuring *cedvel*. Concerning the content, Ottoman lyrical texts written by

a large number of different hands, *mecmū̄a*-style without musical notation, dominate, appearing on sixteen out of twenty-four pages. When the quinion+2 is taken apart according to its primary foliation, its elements appear in sometimes rather distant places. A possible explanation would be that somebody grouped similar-looking pages into a gathering, even though they do not form a sequence in the primary foliation, subsequently adding the two single leaves on top.

58. ff. 391/303: Single leaf glued onto f. 389b/304a with f. 391a/303b facing.
59. f. 392/302: Single leaf glued onto f. 391b/303a with f. 392a/302b facing.
60. ff. 393–394: Loss (bifolium).
61. ff. 395/242–400/240: Ternion reconstructed from elements bound in different places. 1) ff. 395/242–400/240; currently the sixth layer in the sexternion plus one ff. 235–247. 2) ff. 396/311–399/306; folding inverted, currently the third layer in the quinion ff. 304–313. 3) ff. 397/244–398/238; folding inverted, currently the fourth layer in the sexternion plus one ff. 235–247. Continuous notation on ff. 395b/242a and 396a/311b.
62. f. 401: Loss. The stub in the middle of the current sexternion plus one ff. 235–247 was very probably f. 401.
63. f. 402/241: Single leaf in the middle of the current sexternion plus one ff. 235–247; a stub shows that f. 401 was cut out.
64. ff. 403/310–406/309: binion reconstructed from elements currently bound in different places. 1) ff. 403/310–406/309; currently one of the two bifolia in the middle of the quinion ff. 304–313, bound in reverse direction. 2) ff. 404/312–405/305; currently the second layer of the mentioned quinion, bound in reverse direction.
65. ff. 407/308–416/307 Quinion reconstructed from elements bound in different places. 1) ff. 407/308–416/307; currently one of the two bifolia in the middle of the quinion ff. 304–313, bound in reverse direction. 2) ff. 408/236–415/246; currently the second layer

of the sexternion+1 ff. 235–247. 3) ff. 409/237–414/245; currently the third layer of the same gathering. 4) ff. 410/247–413/235; currently the outermost layer of the same gathering, bound in reverse direction. 5) ff. 411/243–412/239; currently the fifth layer of the same gathering, bound in reverse direction. Continuous notations ff. 413a/239a–412b/235b, 414b/245b–415a/246a, 415b/246b–416a/307b; booklet.

The following sections remain unclear; their folio numbers are marked with asterisks:

- I ff. 197\*–199\*: Probably a bifolium with a single leaf in the middle; the single leaf (198) has come loose and a stub is visible. All foliations can be attributed to the secondary hand. Ff. 197\*b, 198\*a, 199\*a and 199\*b are blank, the remaining pages are sparsely filled, featuring a short notation and an Italian-language medical text. During one of the ordering processes it may have been difficult to find a suitable place for the gathering, and it remained without foliation.
- II ff. 200\*–207\*: Regular quaternion. All foliations can be attributed to the secondary hand. The paper is homogenous, its format (10.0–5 x 14.4–15.0 cm) much smaller than the average. Featuring almost exclusively *divān* poetry in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s own hand, e.g. extracts from Rūḥī Baḡdādī’s *Terkūb-i bend*, but also shorter forms such as Müfred, the content can likewise be described as homogenous. The relatively dark ink is uniform. The upper edges of the paper (in direction of the current binding) show dark stains in various sizes, f. 203\* being most heavily affected by the thick, black substance that does not seem to be ink, but may be coffee. This gathering probably came as an independent booklet not foliated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī. The reason why it was bound in the current place could not be identified.
- III ff. 208\*–211\*: Thread not visible, stub between ff. 209\* and 210\*. Highly homogenous content (with one small exception exclusively *Arien* by Heinrich Albert).<sup>52</sup> All foliations can be attributed to the secondary hand.

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<sup>52</sup> Albert (1642); Albert (1645); Albert (1648).

IV ff. 377\*/223–234: Sexternion made up of three types of different paper (counting inward, 3+1+2 folios each). Although the paper varies, the primary foliation continues only to break off after 384\*. f. 380\*b/226b is contentually linked to item III (Albert *Aria*). The foliation numbers 377–384 already exist elsewhere (items 54 and 55), and taking the gathering apart does not create a more meaningful order. Continuous notation ff. 382\*a/228a–382\*b/228b. The content of the gathering is mixed (Ottoman vocal and instrumental of diverse genres, two European items), but tonal connections suggest that it was assembled according to *maḳām*: There are two Peşrevler in Şabā on ff. 380\*a/226a (paper type 2) and 381\*a/227a (paper type 3), ff. 231b\* and 233a\* both contain Peşrevler in Nişābūr, while the inner two layers form a succession in Hüseynī (ff. 381\*b/227b–384\*a/230a). ‘Alī Ufuḳī may have put the two innermost bifolia (paper type 3) into the fourth layer on account of the Şabā connection. Sheets 1–3 and sheet 4 were probably put together because of the Nişābūr Peşrevler. The place where this gathering was meant to be sorted is difficult to determine. First of all, f. 377 of the primary foliation is not the end of a gathering but a single leaf. The succession it is part of (item 54) continues until 384. In the secondary counting, though, this problematic gathering ends with 222, the single leaf 384 of the primary counting glued elsewhere. The double numbers 377–384 thus directly follow the first set. The reason may be a simple error on the part of ‘Alī Ufuḳī. The person who assembled the material for binding may have noticed this, arranged the two gatherings with the repeated foliation after each other and provided a new, unbroken foliation. But as always, those explanations must remain speculative.

Coming to the topic of the considerable lacunae, there are overall 147 folios lost from among the current binding (7–11, 13–14, 40–45, 48–50, 53–60, 64–65, 67–118, 127–128, 134–137, 141–150, 176–198, 319, 330–342, 363–368, 382–388, 393–394, 401). Autographic references to missing folios prove that they existed in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s primary organization of the material, if they relate to numbers below 416, which is the highest number extant in the bound form. Some relate to higher numbers and give an impression of how large the loose-leaf collection must have been (ff. 422, 428, 437, 466, 502). Yet there is reason to suppose that the material lost from the original bulk that would later become the Paris manuscript largely coincided with

those pieces in L which do not have a concordance in P. One example is the [Hüseynî] Peşrev-i ğamze-kâr-i Düyek, referenced on f. 406a/309b, not extant in P any more but found on f. 33b in L.

A large portion of the gatherings in Turc 292 are homogenous in all foliation systems present, concerning their internal structure as well as their succession in the manuscript:

- ff. 18/1–23/6, 24/7–25, 26/8–31/13, 32/14–33/15, 34/16–39/21.
- ff. 199/45–204/50, 205/51–210/56, 211/57–216/62, 217/63–[221]/67. 222 is missing in ‘Alî Ufuķî’s foliation while the secondary counting continues.
- ff. 223/68–228/73, 229/74–234/80, [235]/81–240/86, 241/87–252/98, 253/99–264/110, 265/111–276/112, 277/123–288/134, 289/135–296/142, 297/143–306/162, 307/163–318/174. 319 is missing in ‘Alî Ufuķî’s foliation while the secondary counting continues: 320/175–329/184.

Another group of gatherings is internally homogenous concerning the countings, but their successions are contradictory. Taking ff. 1/252–6/257 as an example, in the secondary counting, the contentual succession makes as much sense for ff. 252–257, which are surrounded by predominantly transliterated Türkî notations. On the other hand, ff. 157/27 and 174/44, which form the beginning and end of a long sequence of medical texts, border on pages with very different content in the primary foliation, namely musical notation. In the secondary counting, the folios preceding the gathering are mixed up. The medical text on the single folio 175/299, presently glued to f. 125/300, forms a unit with f. 174b/44b. As has been made obvious in the list above, there are a number of gatherings homogenous in the secondary counting but requiring a more or less profound rearrangement of the folios in order to reconstruct the original succession. In some cases this task proved very difficult, e.g. involving the inversion of foldings and not always resulting in an unambiguous explanation.

In other instances, lacunae are brought to light in the process of reordering according to the primary counting: ff. 266/138–269/133 are actually two bifolia –ff. 132/268+139/267 and 133/269+138/266– with the folios 134–137 missing from the middle of a quinion. The fifth folio, 131/295+140/295

seems to have been wrapped around the inner four folios in the wrong direction at a later stage of manuscript genesis but by ʿAlī Ufuḳī himself. This assumption is motivated by the close contentual link between ff. 131b/296a and 140b/295a. Both pages contain French songs, but the joint has to be inverted in order to reconstitute the primary counting.

An important conclusion expected from this analysis would have been to determine how many individual working steps or at least phases of work were involved and who carried them out. It has become clear that indeed several steps were taken: The original foliation by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, some reordering and subsequent partial renumbering by himself, various phases of substantial loss, the separation from ʿAlī Ufuḳī and transport to Paris, probably reordering on a very small scale, the secondary foliation and lastly the binding (or vice versa). Although areas with some kind of order could be detected, there are no strong indications for thorough forward-planning on the part of ʿAlī Ufuḳī.

### 2.2.3 Scribal hands

While ʿAlī Ufuḳī's compendium is a personal document, it is not his work alone. Even a cursory glance reveals the fact that various other individuals were also involved in the compilation of the musical and poetic repertoire (contributions by other hands in non-musical or -poetic contexts are very few). A scenario well imaginable is that ʿAlī Ufuḳī asked his fellow musicians to write down song texts he had heard and considered beautiful, worth preserving and/or relevant for his daily work. An important observation in connection with scribal hands, paper preparation and presentation of material is that a portion of the manuscript strongly resembles a *güfte mecmū-ası*, containing many different hands, mainly *dīvān* repertoire and very few and almost always subsequently added notations except for one interspersed longer instrumental piece. This type of presentation appears in a massed form especially after f. 389a/304b on pages predominantly with *cedvel*. In some places, there is only ʿAlī Ufuḳī's hand, while in other parts of the manuscript many different hands are assembled on the same page or in quick succession within the same gathering.

Rıza Nur characterized the various hands as “pas toujours habiles” (“not always competent”), but is certain that all writers were Turkish.<sup>53</sup> Given the multiethnic composition of the palace inhabitants, the group of people ‘Alī Ufuḫī most likely obtained his repertoire from, this is not as likely as Nur states. Those persons were Ottoman, but some of them –like ‘Alī Ufuḫī– were not native Turks and had acquired Arabic script later in their life as a second alphabet. This may account for clumsiness and orthographic insecurities. ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s own hand is fittingly described by Elçin as “küçük nesihle, biraz acele, ihmalkâr, sınırlı ve nâdir olarak yanlış imlâ ile kaleme alınmıştır”.<sup>54</sup> Zajcev refers to MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Turc 221: “Le style calligraphique des documents rédigés en moyen-ottoman est un genre particulier de *naskh*, sans doute celui, menu, d’écriture de chancellerie enseigné à l’école palatiale des *iç-oğlan* [...]”.<sup>55</sup> The most reliable characteristics are a generally small and rounded writing, sīn and šīn without teeth, closing ye’s bent backwards or closing he’s reduced to a short appendage pointing downward. In the final position, the syllable -en or -an appears as a closed circle. The upper part of the kef usually extends above the rest of the word and bends to the right. The variances of his style can for instance be explained by a change in his writing tool. A pen broader than average has been used on ff. 155b/26b, 289a/135a or 329a/225a, a sharper one on f. 6b/265a. Two different pens on the same page can be found on f. 234b/80b. The degree of diligence and care invested in the notation and varying situations such as copying from a preexistent written source, notating during performance or taking a dictation, also influence the outcome of the product. Conscious experimentation with different writing styles should not be excluded as he came into contact with a considerable range of forms, as can be seen from the table below. F. 294a/140a (also 400b/240b) shows most likely ‘Alī Ufuḫī in a different manner.

The following chart only lists the occurrences of hands other than ‘Alī Ufuḫī ordered according to their first appearance in the reconstructed order. Folios not listed contain solely ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s writing in Latin or *Nesih*

<sup>53</sup> Nur (1932), p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> “[...] written in small *Nesih*, a little hurried, negligent, nervous and with rare orthographic errors”. ‘Alī Ufuḫī (1976), p. xix.

<sup>55</sup> Zajcev (2009), p. 516.

characters. In undecided cases, the folio number is accompanied by a question mark. The use of the distribution of scribal hands to order the manuscript is an unrealistic hope.<sup>56</sup>

Hand	Style	Folios
1	<i>Ta'liḳ</i>	3a/254a, 5a/256a, 29b/11b, 30a/12a, 31b/13b, 52a/251b, 61b/271a, 62b/270a, ?133a/268a, ?132b/268b–133a/269a, ?133b/269b, 152b/23b, 234a/80a, 244a/90a, 249b/95b, 250b/96b, 251a/97a, ?252a/98a, 272a/118a, 304b/150–160b, 323a/177a, 325a/180a, 374a/220a, 396a/311b, 397b/244a (two different pens), 398a/238b, 399b/306a, 403b/310a, 404a/312b, 404b/312a, 405b/305a, 406a/309b, 410b/247a, 413b/235a, 416b/307a. The titles and section headings on ff. 19a/2a, 21b/4b, 288a/134a and 293b/139b seem to be by this hand as well.
2	<i>Nesih</i>	6a/257a, 15b/273b, 29a/11a–28b/10b, 51b/248a, ?52b/251a, ?129b/298b, 210b/56b, ?217a/63a, 232b/77b, 259a/105a, 260b/106b, 261a/107a, 268a/114a, 268b/114b, 272b/118b, 273a/119a, 273b/119b, ?286a/132a, 300a/146a, 301a/147a, 301b/147b, 302a/148a, 302b/148b, 305a/161a, 308a/164a, 310a/166a, 312b/168b, 313a/169a, 321a/176a, 321b/176b, 322a/177a, 345b/187b, ?354a/196a, 374a/220a, 383b/216b, 389b/304a, 390b/313a, 405a/305b. This may also be a group of several very similar hands. The titles on f.20b/3b and f.230a/75a seem to be by this hand as well.
3	<i>Ta'liḳ</i>	46b/250a, 253a/99a

<sup>56</sup> Haase, Claus-Peter (2016c). “Writing Styles”. In: *Manuscript Cultures* vol. 9. Ed. by Karolewski, Janina and Köse, Yavuz, pp. 73–77. It is necessary to remark here that the author is not a specialist in Ottoman paleography. Thus the attributions should be understood as suggestions open to discussion; especially the borders between *Ta'liḳ* and the kind of *Divānī* occurring here are not always easy to discern. This style of *Divānī* is typical for the first half and middle of the seventeenth century; I am grateful to Harun Korkmaz for this valuable information.



Hand	Style	Folios
4	Ottoman <i>nestaʿlīk</i>	62a/270b, 151b/22b–152a/23a, 242a/88a, 243a/89a
5	<i>Divānī</i>	66a/258a, 122b/262b, 262a/108a, 311a/167a, 315b/171b, 395a/242a, 399a/306b
6	<i>Nesih</i>	129a/298a
7	<i>Divānī</i>	130a/301b, 208b/54b, 209a/55a, 210a/56a, 297a/143a, 297b/143b, 298b/144b, 310b/166b, 400b/240b
8	<i>Taʿlīk</i>	156b/25b, 252b/98b, 253b/99b, 264a/110a, 277a/123a, 292b/138b, 400a/240a
9	<i>Divānī</i>	241a/87a
10	<i>Divānī</i>	245b/91b, 278b/124b, 279a/125a
11	<i>Divānī</i>	278a/124a, 384b/294b, 389a/304b, 389b/304a, 391b/303a, 395b/242b, 396a/311b, 397a/244b, 398b/238a, 402a/241b
12	<i>Nesih</i>	293a/139a, 295a/141a, 295b/141b, 297b/143b, 298a/144a, 349a/191a, 351a/193a, 380*a/226a
13	Ottoman <i>nestaʿlīk</i>	300b/146b, 304b/150–160b, 305b/161b
14	<i>Nesih</i>	303a/149a, 303b/149b
15	<i>Īcāzet</i>	309a/165a, 399b/306a
16	[unidentified]	373b/219b, 374a/220a
17	<i>Divānī</i>	402b/241a
18	<i>Nesih</i>	403a/310b
19	<i>Divānī</i>	155a/24a, 218b/64b
20	European	63a/265b, 151b/22b
21	European	170a/40a–173b/43b
22	European	409a/237a

Table 2.2: Scribal hands and styles

The two most prevalent hands after ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s own occur not only in P. Scribe 2, a usually very orderly and heavy *Nesih* hand, is also the writer of the Ottoman Turkish sentences in the *Dialogues en Francais et en Turc*<sup>57</sup> as well as in the calligraphically presented vocal pieces in L.<sup>58</sup> “Already” in P he underlaid text to notated music (or empty staves, for that matter), as can be seen on ff. 301a/147a and following. He could well be the “ieni kalfa” expected to write the song texts in the “new collection” as mentioned on f. 242a/88a. Scribe 1 appears on many pages of MS Turc 303, a “Codex Gallandianus”,<sup>59</sup> and exceptionally on f. 177a of L. It may thus be supposed that the persons recurring not only in P but also in other sources connected to ‘Alī Ufuḳī came from a circle of colleagues or friends. To speculate further: One of the professional (or professional-looking) scribes involved in the composition of L, i.e. scribe 2, must have been able to read Latin if he was supposed to transfer the repertoire from P into L. Among the instances of text underlay by scribe 2, e.g. the *Türki Şaç-ı leydim seniñ meylin kandedir* (L f. 28b) has been recorded in P in transliteration (f. 267b/113b). The most plausible conclusion is that more material existed, now lost, from which this scribe could copy. Or else, an additional, oral step of transmission could be supposed. And where did the melodies of those texts transmitted without notation in P come from – did ‘Alī Ufuḳī hear other performances, or did he memorize the melodies? L contains 102 vocal pieces not extant in P. Further, the person who wrote the single *Kār* is a special case worth pursuing, as the repertoire he (or she, for that matter) transmits stands out from the rest of the vocal pieces and song texts in the collection (see chapter 4.4). The hand is quite distinctive. Linking hands and repertoires is a question worth exploring.

## 2.2.4 Papers and Watermarks

Turc 292 is made up of diverse types of paper, differing in quality, preparation, size, layout and –as far as can be determined– provenance. While paper mills existed in the Ottoman Empire, European, first and foremost Italian, papers were available. European produce was either acquired from the manufacturer in a glazed and burnished state, or the paper dealer

<sup>57</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Turc 235*.

<sup>58</sup> For instance f. 19b–20r.

<sup>59</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Turc 303*.

or scribe would carry out those manufacturing steps.<sup>60</sup> As the majority of the papers are glazed and burnished according to Ottoman custom, watermarks are less clearly visible. While laidlines can generally be distinguished, chainlines are often nearly obliterated. The following chart shows the occurrence of distinguishable watermarks in the manuscript and the shorthands used.<sup>61</sup>

Item	Folio	Watermark	Short
1	1/252	fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top	A
6	17/275	<i>tre lune</i> type 1	B1
7	18/1	crown with star and crescent	C
9	25	three mountains and bird in a circle	E
10	26/8	<i>tre lune</i> type 1	B1
13	37/19	star and crescent (top of crown with star and crescent)	(C)
15	46/250	letters GS with trefoil	G
22	124/264	fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top	A
25	132/268 140/295	crown with star and crescent three mountains and bird	C E
30	156/25	fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top	A
31	163/33 164/34 174/45	fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top	A A A
33	202/48	fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top	A

<sup>60</sup> Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge (1981), p. 37.

<sup>61</sup> The item numbers refer to the gatherings according to the table in chapter 2.2.2.

Item	Folio	Watermark	Short
35	206/52	letters VH and trefoil	H
	209/55	unrecognizable	–
	210/56	crown with star and crescent	C
37	221/67	<i>tre lune</i> type 2	B2
40	229/74	unrecognizable (crown with star and crescent?)	–
	233/79	oval shape with protruding ends	Q
	234/80	letters GS with trefoil	G
42	241/87	unrecognizable watermark (two letters with trefoil?)	–
	242/88	crown with star and crescent	C
	249/95	letters VH with trefoil	H
	250/96	letters GS with trefoil	G
43	257/103	letters DH with trefoil	I
	261/107	crown with star and crescent	C
	263/109	crown with star and crescent	C
	264/110	letters HH? with trefoil	L
44	265/111	crown with star and crescent	C
	269/115	letters AC with trefoil	C*
	273/119	crown with star and crescent	C
	274/120	letters AC with trefoil	C*
45	282/127	letters AC with trefoil	C*
	285/131	crown with star and crescent	C
	288/134	crown with star and crescent	C
46	289/135	unrecognizable watermark	–
	291/137	letters AC with trefoil	C*
	293/139	letters AC with trefoil	C*
	295/140	crown with star and crescent	C
47	298/144	letters AC with trefoil	C*
	303/149	crown with star and crescent	C
	306/162	crown with star and crescent	C
48	307/163	five-pointed crown with star	D
	316/172	unrecognizable watermark	–

Item	Folio	Watermark	Short
52	345/187 348/190	fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top	A A
53	358/280 361/293 366/283 371/286	unrecognizable watermark (circle?) letters PA sideways three mountains and dagger three mountains and dagger	– M N N
54	373/219 377*/223 382/216	three mountains and dagger three mountains and dagger three mountains and bird	N N E
59	392/302	three mountains and bird with letters S?C in circle	F
61	397/244	three mountains and bird in a circle	E
65	416/307	three mountains and bird with letters S?C in circle	F
I	197*	horn hanging from a nail	O
III	210* 211*	three hats three hats	P P
IV	234*	three mountains and bird in a circle	E

Table 2.3: Watermarks and their occurrences

## Comments:

A Fleur-de-lis in circle with letters CIG and cross on top. Resembles Velkov’s Fleur-de-lis 7 quite closely (MS Elbasan [Albania] rebī·ü’l-āhīr 1060 = 1650).<sup>62</sup> This paper appears in gathering 22 (22.04.1649) and gathering 31 (29.07.1648, 23.08.1648, 28.02.1648). Thus the

<sup>62</sup> Velkov, Asparouh (2005). *Les filigranes dans les documents ottomans. Divers types d’images*. Sofia: Texte – Asparouh Trayanov, pp. 25, 356. Piccard lists many variants of the watermark type “Lily in circle with letters or mark”, but this exact combination is absent. Piccard, Gerhard (2016). *Wasserzeichensammlung Piccard*. Ed. by Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart. URL: [www.piccard-online.de](http://www.piccard-online.de) (visited on 08/04/2016).

watermark supplies a redundant *terminus post quem*. Gatherings 1, 22, 30, 31, 33 and 52 belong together and are made up of the same, rather rough paper that darkens around the edges, possibly Italian merchandise cheaply produced for export. The gathering starting with f. 1 is heavily worn and frayed.

- B *Tre lune* (two types, B1 and B2). Working with glazed and polished paper in a fragile document, defining the exact variation of this extremely common watermark is unrewarding. As Velkov and Andreev list variations of *tre lune* between 1597 and 1799,<sup>63</sup> this watermark cannot offer insights on chronology. At least it is clear that two types of paper with this symbol were used. According to Bosch, Carswell and Petherbridge, *tre lune* was a watermark frequently used by Italian mills for the Ottoman market during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>64</sup>
- C Crown with star and crescent and its countermark AC with trefoil (henceforth C\*). The crown is drawn in perspective and has nine teeth divided into three groups, the middle group forming a trefoil, above it a six-pointed star and a horizontal crescent are aligned. Variations between the at least five types present in Turc 292 concern the width of the crown, the thickness of the crescent or the distance between star and crescent. One type can be singled out with the help of its countermark (AC with trefoil); namely gatherings 44 through 47 contain both the crown and the countermark, probably belonging to the same stratum of manuscript genesis. Even if the exact format of the folios may vary slightly, it is the same paper. Gatherings 42 and 43 are similar; while showing slight variations in colour among themselves, the quality and density of the paper are the same as gatherings 44 through 47. This may be explained by different batches from the same mill. As countermarks, other letter/trefoil combinations occur. This watermark can be found in Ottoman documents in many variations and over a longer period of time. It may be one of the signs especially devised for the Ottoman market: “Venice supplied papers to Turkey which derived from the North Italian hinterland [...] many of which

<sup>63</sup> Velkov, Asparouh and Andreev, Stefan (1983). *Filigranes dans les documents ottomans. I: Trois croissants*. Sofia: Narodna Biblioteka “Kiril i Metodij”.

<sup>64</sup> Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge (1981), pp. 32f.

were provided with watermarks with significance for the Ottomans and their other Muslim customers. Popular elements were the crescent, the star, and a crown”.<sup>65</sup> Andreev’s group 40, where the variants most resembling the watermark found in P start to appear in 1639 and are observable at least until 1689.<sup>66</sup> Especially noteworthy examples are 40.40 with countermark AC with trefoil (Istanbul, ramaḏān 1048/1639) or 40.49 (Istanbul, muḥarrem 1050/1640), 40.50 (Istanbul, ṣafer 1050/1640) and 51 (s.l. rebī’ü’l-āḥir 1050/1640).<sup>67</sup> Yet he gives no example with a distance between star and crescent as exemplified by ff. 261/107 and 303/149. Another variant not found in Andreev’s list is characterized by its blurriness; probably the paper came from a worn mould (ff. 273/119, 295/141). The crescent of ff. 18/1 and 210/56 is slender, while 242/88, 263/109 or 288/134 have a more plump crescent which is attached to the star as opposed to the form with distance between the elements described above.

- D Five-pointed crown with star. This watermark occurs once; it resembles Andreev 4.7 quite closely (Kula receb 1080/1669).<sup>68</sup> Comparison with Briquet and Piccard did not yield results.<sup>69</sup>
- E Three mountains and bird in a circle. Among the variations given by Velkov, no. 3 (Zihna cemāzīyü’l-āḥir 1049/1639) matches most closely.<sup>70</sup> This watermark poses a problem as it appears in gatherings differing considerably in size, paper quality and notated repertoire. While ff. 25, 382/216 and 234\* share the format, 397/244 is much smaller and looks different (lighter color, more carefully polished);

<sup>65</sup> Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge (1981), pp. 32f.

<sup>66</sup> Andreev, Stefan (2007). *Les filigranes dans les documents ottomans. Couronne*. Sofia: Texte – Asparouh Trayanov, pp. 83–153.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 91, 93, 94.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 53.

<sup>69</sup> Briquet, Charles-Moise (1923). *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1660*. 4 vols. Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann. Piccard (2016), classification “Krone, Mit einkonturigem Bügel, Mit Beizeichen, Bindedraht als Mittelachse, Darüber zweikonturiger Stern”. The sample coming closest is No. 51661 dated Rome, 1626.

<sup>70</sup> Velkov (2005), pp. 27, 378. Comparison with the Piccard archive, classification “Dreiberg, Im Kreis, Auf dem Dreiberg Vogel” did not yield a satisfying result. The birds sampled there have an upright posture, while the one appearing in P is more rounded.

also the repertoire is different. 140/295 is likewise smaller but not as small as 397/244. It also appears in gatherings 9 (25), 54 (382/216), 61 (397/244), IV (234\*). Hence the watermark supplies no viable explanation for the double foliation of 234\*.

- F Three mountains and bird with letters S? and C in a circle; appears in gatherings 59 (392/302) and 65 (416/307). The paper of the two leaves concerned is identical. A match was found in neither of the reference books consulted.<sup>71</sup>
- G Letters GS separated by the laidline with trefoil above. This and the following four watermarks may well be the countermarks of other motifs listed before. As many of them could not be identified, it is impossible to attach their countermarks to them.<sup>72</sup>
- H Letters VH separated by the laidline with trefoil above.
- I Letters DH separated by the laidline with trefoil above.
- L Letters IHS with the laidline as central axis and trefoil above.<sup>73</sup>
- M Letters PA sideways.<sup>74</sup>
- N Three mountains and dagger or trident pointing upward. This watermark was found in neither of the reference books consulted. Three mountains with a cross on top is a very frequent watermark, but none of the samples shows a dagger with its hilt bending upward.<sup>75</sup>
- O Horn hanging on a nail. This is a rather frequent watermark documented in countless variations. The specimen found in P is vertically oriented with its string visible only above the outline of the horn

<sup>71</sup> Piccard (2016), classification “Dreiberg, im Kreis, auf dem Dreiberg Vogel”.

<sup>72</sup> Piccard lists neither this combination of letters nor those of watermarks H and I.

<sup>73</sup> The watermarks “IHS” sampled by Piccard do not match. The trefoil, which appears rounded in all instances of P, is a cross there.

<sup>74</sup> The watermarks “PA” sampled by Piccard do not match.

<sup>75</sup> Briquet (1923); Piccard, Gerhard (1996a). *Wasserzeichen Dreiberg*. Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart vol. 16. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer; Piccard (2016), “Triple mount with additional motif”; Velkov (2005).



and the laidline cutting through the noose formed by the string. Its opening is drawn in perspective. An exact match could not be found.<sup>76</sup>

P Three hats; the middle one is upright along the laidline, the left and right hats are slightly leaning outward.<sup>77</sup> A horn such as watermark O can appear together with three hats (Velkov Chapeau 11 and 11B /1654, Istanbul ramaẓān 1046).<sup>78</sup> But the folios concerned (197\* with the horn and 210\* and 211\* with the hats) are clearly not made up of the same paper. In the group around 197\* the laidlines are very visible, the paper of obviously lower quality is inhomogenous and blotchy. A very similar (possibly the same) watermark appears in MS Hyde 43, the *Grammatica Turcicolatina* composed in 1666. Hence ʿAlī Ufuḳī might have had access to European paper via Henry Denton. On this paper he almost exclusively notated German *Arien* (songs for voice and basso continuo).

Q Oval shape with protruding ends; beyond recognition.

To summarize observations and draw some conclusions:<sup>79</sup>

- Gatherings 6 and 10 were written around the same time.
- Fleur-de-lis features over an extended period of time. First it appears once, then in three gatherings in a row and then again much “later”. Or else ʿAlī Ufuḳī had repeated access to a larger stock that was kept over a longer extent of time.
- Crown with star and crescent and its countermark letters AC with trefoil are the most frequent watermarks by far.

<sup>76</sup> Piccard (2016), classification “Horn, waagerecht ausgerichtet, Band nur oberhalb des Horns sichtbar”.

<sup>77</sup> Compare Piccard, classification “Hut, Eisenhut, Helm und ähnliche Kopfbedeckungen, Drei stilisierte Hüte”.

<sup>78</sup> Velkov (2005), pp. 19, 333.

<sup>79</sup> Comparison with the much more homogenous *Mecmūʿa-yı sâz ü söz*, which has not yet been studied in this regard, needs to be performed.

- The quality of the papers employed varies: For example, C is a sturdy paper of high quality, while A is darkened and prone to fraying around the edges. Such differences may be accounted for by coincidence, but it may also mean that permission for ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s access to high-quality commodities was not always given, for whatever reason.
- Watermarks do not enable a chronology of the manuscript.

### 2.2.5 Groupings according to author

Arrangements of material according to the text author, ‘Aṣīḳ or composer –as stated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī or appearing as a *mahlās*– do occur, but they are mostly not very tightly knit, nor are they frequent enough to amount to large-scale planning. Such clusters rather confirm the view that small units of order can be identified within Turc 292, while a consciously laid-out superstructure is absent. The following list presents occurrences of two or more items attributed or attributable to the same author in one gathering:<sup>80</sup>

40 ff. 232a/78a, 233a/79a, 234a/80a: three songs by Şāhīn-oğlı

42 ff. 245a/91a, 245b/91b: two songs by Budalam

43 ff. 254a/100a, 254b/100b: two songs by Gedā

43 ff. 256b/102b, 258b/104b: two songs by K̄araca-oğlan

43 ff. 260a/106a, 260b/106b: two songs by Öksüz

44 ff. 266b/112b, 268b/114b: two songs by Şāhīn (oğlı?)

44 ff. 267a/113a, 271b/117b, 272b/118b: three songs by K̄araca-oğlan

46 ff. 289a/135a, 296b/142b: two songs by Şāhīn (oğlı?)

47 ff. 297a/143a, 306b/162b: two songs by K̄araca-oğlan

47 ff. 299a/145a, 306b/172b: two songs by K̄ör-oğlı

47 ff. 299b/145b, 301a/147a, 301b/147b, 302b/148b: four songs by Meftūnī, one more in the preceding gathering (295a/141a)

<sup>80</sup> For the sources of the respective attributions refer to chapter 8.3.

- 48 f. 310a/166a: two songs by Karaca-ođlan
- 50 ff. 320a/176a, 328b/183b: two songs by Kul-ođlı
- 50 ff. 325b/180b, 326a/181a: two songs by (Kul) Süleymān
- 53 ff. 359a/280a, 359b/280b, 360a/281a: three versions of the same Peşrev by Çengī Cafer
- 54 ff. 375a/218b (2), 382a/215a, 382b/215b, 383a/216a: five songs by Kātibī
- 61 ff. 396a/311b, 397b/244b, 398a/238b: three texts by Bākī
- 65 ff. 409a/237a, 409b/237b (2), 410a/307b: four songs by Kātibī
- 65 f. 412b/239a: two Murabbaalar by Cevrī
- II ff. 200\*b, 207\*a (2): three texts by Ğubārī; ff. 202\*b, 203\*a, 204\*a, 205\*a-b: Rūhī Bağdādī's *Terkīb-i bend* and three more poems
- III ff. 208\*a-211\*b: sixteen pieces from Heinrich Albert's *Arien*

## 2.2.6 Internal concordances

Internal concordances - be they musical or merely textual - are another means of structuring the manuscript's contents:

Title	Folios
“dort welaïet ulu beherlerin war” “Dort Velaïet Vlu beherlerin war”	2a/253a 199a/45a
“Bu deli međruhume zahmurduni Ebru keman” “Bu deli Megruhume zahmurduni Ebru zeman [sic]” <i>Bu dil-i mecruhume zađm urduñ ey ebr[ū]-kemān</i>	3b/254b 241b/87b 244a/90a
“Kurtulmaga iok czare bir derde giriftar oldum” <i>Ķurtulmađa yođ ħāre bir derde giriftār oldum</i>	6a/257a 315a/171a
<i>Hünkār [sic] peşrevi</i> <i>Hünkār [sic] peşrev der mađām-ı ‘Irāk Düyek</i>	22a/5a- 21b/4b 344a/186a- 343b/185b

Title	Folios
<p><i>Aldı ʿaqlım ol semenber zülf-i ʿanber-bār ile /</i>  “Aldij aklıjım ol semenber Zulfi ambèr-barile”  <i>Aldı ʿaqlım ol semenber zülf-i ʿanber-bār ile</i></p>	<p>61b/271a  411a/243a</p>
<p>“Kiulliat”  <i>Der maḳām-ı Hüseynî Peşrev-i külliyât nazîresi Husta</i>  <i>dîsse che si chiama Schehmurat</i></p>	<p>153a/25bisa  283b/129b–  285a/131a</p>
<p>“Kader meulam bana bir iar wermiḟdur” /  <i>Ḳādîr mevlâm baña bir yâr vèrmişdur</i>  “Dort Velaïet Vlu Beherlerin war” /  “Kader meula bana bir iar wermiḟdur”</p>	<p>155a/24a  199a/45a</p>
<p>“Geldi getzti getzen czağtar elweda”  “Medet aḫahij sewersen”</p>	<p>133b/269b  175b/299b</p>
<p><i>Yaz olunca her çiçekler açıldı</i>  <i>Yaz olunca her çiçekler açıldı</i></p>	<p>209a/55a  210a/56a</p>
<p><i>Şol qarşudan güle güle</i>  <i>Şol qarşudan güle güle</i></p>	<p>230b/75b  389a/304b</p>
<p>“Derdaj ki meni czarjhij felek, wai Gurbette saldy” /  <i>Derdâ ki menî çarhı felek ğurbete şaldı</i>  <i>Derdâ ki menî çarhı felek ğurbete şaldı</i>  <i>Derdâ ki beni çarhı felek ğurbete şaldı</i></p>	<p>234b/80b  391a/303b</p>
<p>“Dost dost ali dost [...] Wardum ghiordum”  “Antepte bir karidan” / <i>Dōst dōst [...] Andebde bir</i>  <i>ḳardan</i></p>	<p>244b/90b  245a/91a</p>
<p>“Beiler bize soranlara”  <i>Ṭurnalar yeri şorana</i></p>	<p>248a/94a  272a/118a</p>
<p>“BUSELIK Zarbul feth”  <i>Peşrev der maḳām-ı Büselik uşüleş Żarb-ı feth</i></p>	<p>248b/94b  352b/194b</p>
<p>“Turna bizuhum ierde bize sorana”  “Turna bizum ierde bizi sorana”</p>	<p>249a/95a  253a/99a</p>
<p>“Ne denglu naz iderse ol giozu mestane inginmez” /  <i>Ne deñlü nâz êderse ol gözi mestâne incinmez</i>  <i>Ne deñlü nâz êderse ol gözi mestâne incinmez</i></p>	<p>249b/95b  395b/242b</p>

Title	Folios
“Eβim dostum kalkti gitti siu ierden” “Eβim dostum kalktij gitti siu ierd[en]”	250a/96a 366a/288b
“Lachza lachza lebun Vgub idigek efganlar” / <i>Lahza lahza lebün ögüb édecek efgānlar</i> <i>Lahza [sic] lahza lebün ögüb édecek efgānlar</i>	250b/96b 395b/242b– 396a/311b-2
“Zijle senden pir Mehemed” <i>Zelle senden Pīr Meħemed</i>	256a/102a 321a/176a
“Siu fena duniaie geldim gelesi” / <i>Şu fenā dünyāya</i> <i>geldim gelesi</i>	261a/107a
“Siu fena duniaie geldim gelesi” / <i>Şu fenāye [sic]</i> <i>geldim gelesi</i>	328a/183a
“Karbimuzdan giule giule gelene” / <i>Karşımız [sic] güle</i> <i>güle gelene</i> <i>Karşımızdan güle güle gelene</i>	297a/143a 365*b/289a
<i>Mestāne oldum ‘aşkın elinden</i> <i>Mestāne oldum ‘aşkın elinden</i>	297b/143b 302a/148a
<i>Gelse nesūmi şubūhile müjde şeh-i bahārdan</i> <i>Gelse nesīm-i şubūhile müjde şeh-i bahārdan</i>	322b/177b 402a/241b
<i>Āsāsīyā ğarahtanī yā laylī</i> <i>Āsāsīyā ğarahtanī yā laylī</i>	343a/185a 389b/304a
“Entefil husni feridun” <i>Anta fi'l-ħusni farīdun</i>	348a/190a 397b/244a
“Jar basse kadem hem didei girianime minnet” <i>Yār başşar kıddim dīdeyi ğırībānıma mīnnet</i>	354a/196a 404b/312a
<i>Peşrev-i Çengī Casfer maķām-ı Muħayyer üşül-i [sic]</i> <i>Düyek</i>	359a/280a
“Duwek”	359b/280b
“Czenghi giafer”	360a/281a
<i>Ey zülfiñ çevğān yel lel lī / Ğurbetde ğarīb şād-kām</i> <i>olmaz imiş</i> <i>Ğurbetde ğarīb şād u āmān olmazımış</i>	399b/306a 400b/240b

Table 2.4: Internal concordances in MS Turc 292

Reordering the manuscript according to the primary foliation does not create striking new zones of order. Existing close connections remain intact, as exemplified by the succession of three versions of the *Çengî Casfer* Peşrev on ff. 359a/280a–360a/281a, the fragment and entire text of *Yaz olunca her çiçekler açıldı* on ff. 209a/55a and 210a/56a or the two versions of the song with the incipit “Dost dost ali dost” on ff. 224b/90b and 225a/91a. On the other hand, it becomes immediately clear that parallel instances of the same piece, be it two versions or performances of a Peşrev, be it a sketch and elaborated version of a *Türkî* or notations of the same *Murabbaʿ* text by different hands, can appear in places far apart in the manuscript. It may be deduced that ʿAlî Ufuḳî worked with rather independent booklets which can have internally linked material but are rarely and loosely interrelated. Another important conclusion is that ʿAlî Ufuḳî heard some pieces from more than one informant on different occasions. Sometimes two versions are close together, sometimes a song remained relevant for ʿAlî Ufuḳî and his circle over a longer period of time. This implies that repertoire recurred and remained relevant.

### 2.2.7 Groupings in P and L

A comparison of groupings in P and L is a worthwhile effort and shows that the density of transfer into L differs widely from gathering to gathering. As L is organized according to *maḳām*, identifying clusters of transferred pieces in P can in the future also help to understand how ʿAlî Ufuḳî worked with *maḳām* in P (or not). In connection with the question of transfer, it is striking that many vocal pieces and texts destined for vocal performance have been crossed out, and almost all of those pieces appear again in L. Sometimes a piece not crossed out in P appears in L, and the reverse case, a piece crossed out having no concordance in L, also exists: Among the vocal pieces, as instrumental pieces are generally not marked in this way, 58 are crossed out and concordant, 36 are not crossed out and concordant, and, lastly, 9 are crossed out and not concordant. As is often the case, there is no clear picture emerging from the statistics. In the following table, “grouping” is interpreted as two or more pieces at most three leaves apart or part of the same gathering.

Title	P	Item	L <sup>81</sup>
“Eβkinile hałijm dondu giunune” / <i>‘Aşķıñıla ‘aķlım düşdi cününe</i> <i>Behey cefāsi çok dilber göñlüm sende dir</i>	124a/264a	22	44b, 69b <sup>82</sup>
“Czikamadim kaia narim [sic] baβına” / <i>Ol nāzlı yārım</i> <i>Ahūya beñzer gözleri</i>	126b/297b 130a/301b	23 23	45a 44a
“Aβik öldüm bir kaβları karaie”	153b/25bisb	29	28b, 32a
“Binbir adin hurmet iciun muradum” / <i>Biñ bir adın hürmeti çün murādm</i>	154b/26b	29	33a
“Kader meulam bana bir iar wermiβdur” / <i>Ķādir meulām baña bir yār vērmişdür</i>	155a/24a	30	32b
Untitled [ <i>Peşrev-i Südci-zāde der maķām-ı mezbür uşüleş Żarb-ı fethi</i> ]	201b/47b– 202a/48a	34	88b
“SEMAI”	201b/47b– 202a/48a	34	90b
“Dost gel Ageb dur kim siu fenaie gelleli”	231b/76b– 232a/77–78a	40	46b
“Bir derde duβmisssem czare bulunmas”	232b/77– 78b– 233a/79a	40	46b
“Halijmi ta Aβiki zar olmainge bilmedun” / <i>Ķālīmī tā ‘āşıķı zār olmayınca bilmedün</i>	241b/87b	42	114a
“Lezet mi kodu datili dilin sukiera giana” / <i>Lezzet mi ķodı tatlı dilin sükkere cānā</i>	242a/88a	42	115b
<i>Ķatar ķatar gelen Ķurnam</i>	264b/110b	43	150b
“Dunia benim diien begler” / <i>Dünyā benim diyen beğler</i>	265a/111a	44	151a

<sup>81</sup> If no special reference is made, the pieces are located in the same *faşıl* (*maķām* section) of L.

<sup>82</sup> Alternative version in *faşıl-ı ‘Uşşāķ*, see Critical Report.

<sup>83</sup> Alternative version in *faşıl-ı Beyātī*, see Critical Report.

Title	P	Item	L <sup>81</sup>
“Dost Satzi leilum Senin meilin kandader”	267b/113b	44	28a
“Gelibotuda bir gelin”	269b/115b	44	30a
<i>Mestāne oldum ‘aşkıñ elinden</i>	297b/143b	47	67a
“Hangiarun elinie al” / <i>Hanceriñ eliñe al</i>	298b/144b	47	67a, 73a <sup>84</sup>
<i>Vefāda mişl-i [sic] bulunmaz bugün bir civān buldum</i>	304b/ 150–160b	47	67a
<i>‘Āşık olmuş bizüm bāğıñ güline</i>	325b/180b	50	49a
<i>İster hey Allāhum güldür cānımız</i>	326b/181b	50	46a
<i>Yüri Murād dağı yüri</i>	327a/182a	50	48b
“Ciunki airi duβtu[m] kara gıozlumd[en]” / <i>Çünki ayrı düşdüm kara gözlümden</i>	327b/182b	50	50a
“Siu fena duniaie geldim geleli” / <i>Şu fenāye geldim geleli</i>	328a/193a	50	49a
<i>‘İbret alıñ dōstlar inşāfa geliñ</i>	328b/183b	50	48a
“Eij Ateβi hasretle bagrim nige bir daglaiaim”	343a/185a	52	173b
“Eij Gele dilber seninle mej itzelim”	343a/185a	52	173b
<i>Peşrev der maqām-ı Rāst üşüleş Düyek</i>	343b/185b– 344a/186a	52	109b
<i>Deryā Peşrevi der maqām-ı Rāst Düyek</i>	343b/185b– 344a/186a	52	111b
<i>Peşrev-i Şāhmurād der maqām-ı Sünbüle [sic] üşüleş [sic] Devr-i kebir [sic]</i>	344b/186b	52	157a
<i>Peşrev-i Kutbī [sic] Nay [sic] der maqām-ı Sünbüle [sic] üşüleş [sic] Devr-i kebir [sic]</i>	345a/187a	52	156b
<i>Semā’i Nevā</i>	355a/276a	53	61a
<i>Ahmed Beğ Peşrev</i>	355b/276b	53	60b
“Newa Beiazet Fahte zarb”	356a/277a	53	57a

<sup>84</sup> Alternative version in *faşl-ı Beyātī*, see Critical Report.



Title	P	Item	L <sup>81</sup>
<i>Rāst fethi zarb</i>	355a/276a	53	119a
◌ <i>Ālem-arā maḳām-ı Rāst ūşul-i [sic] Düyek</i>	356b/277b	53	119b
<i>Devr-i revān der maḳām-ı ◌Irāk</i>	356a/277a	53	137b
<i>Devr-i revān der maḳām-ı ◌Irāk</i>	356b/277b	53	137b
<i>Maḳām-ı Hüseyin Peşrev-i Emir-i [sic]</i> <i>Ḥacc ūşul-i [sic] Düyek</i>	357b/278b	53	40b–41a
<i>Peşrev-i Çengī Caʿfer maḳām-ı Muḥayyer</i> <i>ūşul-i [sic] Düyek / “Duwek” / “Czenghi</i> <i>giafer”</i>	359a/280a, 359b/280b, 360a/281a	53	41b–42a
<i>Semāʿī [sic] Rāst-Pençgāh</i>	361a/293b	53	113a
<i>Yeter cevr êtdñ ben nātüvāne vāy</i>	361b/293a	53	114b
“[...] sakil Agbaba peschrewi”	363b/291a	53	112a
<i>Semāʿī Segāh</i>	362b/292a	53	104a
<i>Der maḳām Segāh Beşrev [sic] Zarb ulfeth</i> <i>[sic]</i>	365b/289a	53	103b
<i>Mekam Nigriz Peşrev-i Laʿl-pāre maḳām-ı</i> <i>Nigrīs [sic] ūşul-i [sic] Bereuşān</i>	367a/282a	53	161b
<i>Peşrev-i Feth-i bāb der maḳām-ı Nigrīs</i> <i>[sic] ūşul-i [sic] Düyek</i>	367a/282a	53	162a
“Principio di Semai nigris”	367a/282a	53	164a
“Ghedairuh segiah vssul duwek”	367b/282b	53	100a
“Buiuk Segiah Vssulij Duwek”	368b/283b	53	100b
<i>Sāzkār frengī</i>	368a/283a	53	63a
“Bulbuli Vbak”	368b/283b	53	63a
“Tabakat menewbe zarbi Safi rast”	369b/284b	53	118a
“Mekami rast pengigiah Vssulij SAKIL”	370b/285b	53	116b
“Semaij rast”	371a/286a	53	113a
<i>Ey düşdi deli göñül yine lebleriniñ ḥayālīne</i>	379b/221b	54	132b
<i>Dōsta tođrı olan yola</i>	381b/217a	54	132b

Title	P	Item	L <sup>81</sup>
“Jine ewel bahar oldı iaz geldi” / <i>Yine evvel bahār oldı yāz oldı</i>	398b/238a	61	69a
<i>Be bu yerlerde ne [hōş-] şūh cihānlar [sic] var imiş</i>	400a/240a	61	67b
“gondzieie ol neşe kim czaki gireba itturur” / <i>Ġonceye ol neşe-yi [sic] kim çāk-ı giribān étdürür</i>	402b/241a	63	105b
<i>Açamaz çeşmini ol yār hūmār-ı nāzdan</i>	402b/241a	63	105b
<i>İslām askeriyüz gāzā kaşdında</i>	409a/237a	65	46b
<i>Behey elā gözli dilber rāzı olsun</i>	409a/237a	65	47a
<i>Dōstlar benim mekānımı ararsa</i>	410a/247b	65	47a
“Bimden geru giuz eiami eriḫti” / <i>Şimden gerü güz eyyāmi érişdi</i>	409b/237b	65	40a
<i>Sevdā-yi aşk mekān dutdı cānımda</i>	409b/237b	65	40a
“Sensis bu gioniul meglisi ibi demi neler”	378*a/224a	IV	80a
<i>Peşrev-i Gül-i ranāc maķām-ı Acem uşüleş Düyek</i>	379*b/225a	IV	83b
<i>Şabā Çenber</i>	380*a/226a	IV	90a
<i>Şabāh [sic] Mülāzime-yi Hisār [sic] uşüleş [sic] Żarb-ı feth</i>	381*a/227a	IV	89b
<i>Peşrev-i Melek Cān der maķām-ı Hüseyinī uşüleş [sic] Çenber</i>	381*b/227b	IV	23a
<i>Peşrev-i Şāh-ķul maķām-ı Hüseyinī uşüleş Saķıl</i>	382*a/228a– 382*b/228b	IV	22b–23a
<i>Peşrev-i Toz-ķoparan Hüseyinī Düyek</i>	383*a/229a	IV	25a
<i>Semāc Hüseyinī</i>	384*a/230a	IV	24a
<i>Peşrev-i Pır-i muġān maķām-ı Çārgāh uşüleş [sic] Żarb-ı feth</i>	234*a	IV	97a
Untitled [ <i>Semāc</i> ]	234*a	IV	98a

Table 2.5: Groupings of concordant pieces in P and L

The instances in which two or more pieces actually end up on the same page in L, are few; even fewer are the instances of Peşrev and Semâcî paired in both sources. To point out a few noteworthy cases: There are no transfers to L from ff.1–17 which almost exclusively contain vocal music in transliteration. On the other hand, gatherings 52 to 54 proved especially interesting. The contents of these three gatherings is mixed but leans toward instrumental music. Comparison with the list of groupings according to author reveals that while in some parts of P, ʿAlî Ufuḳî was interested in a certain ʿĀşîḳ or the stylistic environment he represented, whereas in L the concept of *faşul* was paramount. Still, there are two instances in which the two principles of ordering coincide: Two songs by Kâtibî on ff. 409a/237a and 410a/307b re-appear on ff. 46b and 47a of Sloane 3114. From the group of three songs attributed to Şahîn-oğlu, two appear together on the same page in L (ff. 232a/78a, 233a/79a and 46b). It remains an open question, though, whether and to what extent Türkî repertoire was classified under *maḳâm* criteria by ʿAlî Ufuḳî and his contemporaries. Still, all those statistics cannot prove whether P was “finished” before L was begun, or whether there was ever such a thing as a finished state of P.

### 2.2.8 Internal references

Internal references prove the validity of the primary foliation, yield important insights into the original composition of the material and show how ʿAlî Ufuḳî went back and forth through his loose-leaf collection which he obviously perceived as a coherent entity.<sup>85</sup> They also prove that Türkî melodies were mobile instead of being reserved for a single text. In the table below, the comments are connected to the melody they refer to, if possible. Sometimes the references are very short to the extent of being unintelligible to everybody except ʿAlî Ufuḳî and/or legibility is an issue as they usually appear as marginalia; due to these problems, some references could not be resolved.

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<sup>85</sup> See also Behar (2008), pp. 48f. His interpretation of the annotation on f. 47b/249a as “Sonado po sul segia et poi ancora fol. 63 segia” is erroneous; the text says “[...]ancora sul tiz segia”, i.e. one octave higher.

From f.	Element	Reference	To f.
1a/252a	“J Hanum sukiere benzer agzjinun iareleri”	Supra la uoce Benda ghiordum seiridenken	12a/30a
2b/253v	“Hakta Alah ciun iaratti ademi”	BVNU[N] hawasi fol: ii	2a/253a
47b/249a	“Czarhij felek deldi bagrim czarij bilmem neileim”	Sona auanti la Tarini la intrada del folio scritta di Awaz Taspas   et dopo lo Turchi lo peschrew di Ahmed giugi Vechio 117	“Taspas” ff. 12b/272b, 29b/11b, 306a/162a; f. 117 lost
47b/249a	“Czarhij felek deldi bagrim czarij bilmem neileim”	questa et mekam [...] et p[er]cio finita questa sono al gioco del Oinij nel rast fol. 275 et salta ouer peschrew del Rast Kemengegini	275a/121a  344b/186b
63a/265b	“Gedze ghiunduz attergim”	Torludan kas tekerleme war	245a/91a
129b/298b	“Gel benim nastij iarum gel”	Surahiler etc in altro logo	217a/63a
174b/44b	“Turna bizum ierde bize sorana”	Mekam e scritto al folio 249 Jd 253 Sul Aria Deime bir ghiozelle	249a/95a, 253a/99a  121b/261b
174b/44b	[general]	Warimaz gioinul warimaz et canta	273a/119a

From f.	Element	Reference	To f.
230b/75b	<i>Şol karşadan güle güle</i>	Sona a la fin lo semaj in C sol fa vt et auanti lo kijz peschrewi	not identifiable; <i>Peşrev-i Kız der maķām-i mezbūr uşüleş Düyek</i> (P 321b/176b–233a/177a, L 15b–16a)
234a/80a	“Be gazeller hitz merdilen namerjdin”	Sona il mulazime del Dolap assegnato	381a/217b?
241a/87a	<i>Gözlerimden yaş bir zamān akar</i>	Jn la Voce Megnunden benim hatijm iemander	124a/264a
241a/87a	<i>Her zamān bu sevda başa</i>	Badifahi giormeienler	lost; L 49b
242a/88a	“Eij bughium badem ki iar aglar benim jciun”	Dopo il Aldi aktijmen	411a/243b?
243b/89b	[general comment]	Fassil Intrada Turchi del Tono Dopo lo peschrew Kiulliat et Semaj del Alamire ultima lo Tekerleme poi il Nagne	<i>Peşrev-i Külliyyāt nazīresi</i> (f. 283b/129b–285a/131a). The Semāi could not be identified; the other statements may be general.
244a/90a	<i>Bu dil-i mecrūhume zahm urduñ ey ebr[ū]-kemān</i>	Semai Lezet mi kodu etc – ma credo che non consoni bene	242a/88a
244a/90a	“Deruninden czikar Ahij zarime”	Jn Ton Deime bir ghiozelle	121b/261b

From f.	Element	Reference	To f.
249a/95a	“Turna bizuhum ierde bize sorana”	Dopo sona lo semajj di meulehana Peschrew kiumen prima poi lo Semajj poi lo Turchi poi lo Tekerleme conla Voce ia ben bumij neilelum fol: 174	396b/311b? (see 252a/98a) not extant 174b/44b (text), music not extant
252a/98a	[general]	Semai Meulahana Euxu abik Huij et poi Semajj	396b/311b? (see 249a/95a) [unidentified]
253a/99a	“Turna bizum ierde bizi sorana”	Aij ala fine canta poi la ieltene	Yeltene: L 87a, 97b
256b/102b	“Her Sabahijn dantardani”	Vn altra volta scriue con le note magiori sotto questo tempo [imperfectum diminutum]	lost
264a/110a	<i>Köçek kendim eydür beğler Ağalar</i>	Ton Ehli eñki bizda haidan biluruz	251b/97b
273a/119a	<i>Hey Allāhm geze geze ‘aceb yerlere geldin hüü</i>	Nel ton del Dad elinde[n] siu fenanin	L 38a, Hyde 43 89a
275a/121a	“Ağtaiub agtaiub iatan dunia de”	Dopo questo turki sona lo Turki Bre ei ala giozlu dilber folio 267	267a/113a
276a/122a	[untexed melody]	andan sora bu muraba	[unidentified]

From f.	Element	Reference	To f.
279a/125a	<i>Hâkîdîm bakîdîm yeri beğler üstüne</i>	Jn ton Artuk bana dunia mahij gerekmes	1b/252b
294a/140a	<i>Dünyâda iyiliği döstuma</i>	in ton del badifâhij ghtiomeienler [sic]	lost; L 49b
303a/149a	Uşüleş Devr-i revân	fol: 249	249a/95a
	Uşüleş Düyek	fol: 245	[unidentified]
	Uşüleş Evfer	fol: 249	again 249a/95a?
	Uşüleş Devr-i kebîr	fol: 85	lost
	Çember	fol: 290	290a/136a–289b/135b
	Uşüleş Fâhte zarb	285	283b/129b–285a/131a
	Uşüleş Berevşan	fol: 290	290a/136a–289b/135b
	Uşüleş Muhammes	fol 288	287b/133b–288a/134a
	Uşüleş Hafif [sic]	437	lost
	Uşüleş Şakîl	422	lost
	Nim Şakîl	428	lost

From f.	Element	Reference	To f.
303b/149b	Evsafa [sic] Hāvi	466 502	lost lost
305b/161b	“Ei hak diien iaradane siginsem”	Giozel sana bir niiaze gelmişem mekame	252b/98b
309a/165a	<i>Ol Hudamān hākimetin gör ceddin</i> <i>‘Osmān ne eyledi</i>	in ton del badifāhij ghiormeitenler	lost; L 49b
345a/187a	<i>Göñül tamar̄ étme cihān dārna</i>	Sana kuł olaim bana nedersin	4a/255a
355b/276b	<i>Ahmed Beğ Peşrev</i>	Beiler bir hakiki dostum etc	276b/122b
360b/281b	[general]	Ne suc ittim Turki czarhij feleki Segiahdeki fethi zarb bir hane et lo Semaj	151b/22b 47b/249a 365a/289b 362b/292a
406a/309b	[general]	gamzekiar Huseimide murassa agem	L 33b <i>Peşrev-i</i> <i>Ġamze-kār-i Düyek</i> lost
377*a/223a	Eglenge peschrewi <i>Rehāvi</i> [sic] <i>üşüleğ</i> [sic] <i>Fer Muḥāmmes</i> [sic]	Peschrewi Szukiufi zar we naziresi Huseimide Karagianin newasi bir peschrew	lost; L 27b; L 34b; [unidentified]
384*a/230a	<i>Semā'i Hüseyinī</i>	Le altre due hane folio 432	lost

Table 2.6: Internal references in MS Turc 292





## Chapter 3

# Notation

### 3.1 Orality to Writing

“Keşke daha yüzlerce Ali Ufkî Efendi gelseydi de bir çok nota koleksiyonları, bir çok da tarihî vesikalar bırakmış olsalardı!”<sup>1</sup>

In this quote, a Turkish musicologist and musician already accustomed to notation and fully embracing its perceived superiority, reflects on the Ottoman past and interprets the oral tradition as deficient compared to written traditions. This perception of the supremacy of writing over oral transmission is an ongoing issue among critics of ethnocentric and evolutionist views in the humanities.<sup>2</sup> However, the picture is not black and white, and a more differentiated approach is required. The popular notion<sup>3</sup> that Middle Eastern musicians refrained from notating repertoire (as opposed to theoretical demonstrations in treatises) up to the recent past has been confuted primarily by Eckhard Neubauer, who brought to light alphanumeric notations from the ninth century CE onwards, and showed that those notations served not only theoretical purposes but were also used to preserve repertoire. Around 1300, *Ḳuṭbū’-d-dīn Şīrāzī* proposed a viable notation system with the purpose of transmission. In the context of

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<sup>1</sup> “If only hundreds more ‘Alī Ufuḳī Efendis had come, then many more notation collections, many more historical documents would have been left to posterity!” Arel (1951), p. 3. See also Karabey (1951), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Aksoy, for example, arranges musical traditions in a grid of four genres. Ottoman music is located in the category of “‘high culture’ music which is in between Western European music and the traditional musics in preliterate people, and whose history has not been written yet: music at courts, music of religious/spiritual, upper class or well-educated circles”. Aksoy (2015), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> For example Balkılıç (2009), 63f. “[...] Osmanlı Geleneksel Müziği’nin [...] en temel özelliği, bu müzik sistemi içinde herhangi bir notalama sistemi olmamasıdır” (“The most fundamental characteristic of the Ottoman Traditional Music is that there was no notation system whatsoever in this musical system.”).

the importance of composer and work in Middle Eastern music cultures it seems highly probable that many more notations were produced than we have knowledge of.<sup>4</sup> The fifteenth-century examples for alphanumeric notation edited by Owen Wright corroborate the view that there was a “transition from purely theoretical concerns”.<sup>5</sup> Texts preserved in *güfte mecmū'aları* – a method of transmission that ʿAlī Ufuḳī also employs in the compendium – are more than *Words without Songs*. Especially in the *terennüm* sections, the sequence of syllables must have been charged with information for the performer in a way that rendered them more than just a mnemonic aid. And this method of memorization aided by the written transmission of text accompanied by music-related paracontent was obviously sufficient for a long time.

Both P and L were soon taken abroad and exerted no influence on Ottoman musical life as far as we know. The same holds true for the collections of Cantemir (henceforth: C) and Kevşerī (henceforth: K), even if they remained in the Ottoman Empire and later the Republic of Turkey, likewise the manuscript of ʿAbdü'l-Bākī Nāşır Dede. The collection dated 1794/5 contains only one Mevlevī Āyın, a few Peşrevler and one Semā'ī. It is written in an alphabet-based (“ebced”) notation.<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Battista Donado relates that when he visited the Ottoman Empire in 1688 –shortly after ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s lifetime–, musical literacy was unknown.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Neubauer, Eckhard (2010–2011). “Eine Griffnotation für Laute und Kamānge und eine ‘Lautentabulatur’ in persischer und judäo-persischer Überlieferung aus dem 15.(?) Jahrhundert”. In: *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* vol. 19, pp. 257–351, pp. 258f. On the subsequent pages, Neubauer lists the examples of notation known today. See also Wright, Owen (1994). “ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Marāghī and ʿAlī B. Muḥammad Bināʿī: Two Fifteenth-Century Examples of Notation. Part 1: Text”. In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* vol. 3, pp. 475–515; Neubauer, Eckhard (2012–2014). “Die urbane Kunstmusik im Islam. Eine historische Übersicht”. In: *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 20–21, pp. 303–398, p. 331.

<sup>5</sup> Wright (1994), p. 483. See also Wright, Owen (1995). “A Preliminary Version of the ‘kitāb al-Adwār’”. In: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* vol. 3, pp. 455–478.

<sup>6</sup> Ekinçi (2012), p. 201; Hızır Ağa (2015), p. 200. As the source is kept in a private collection, it could not be adduced for the present study.

<sup>7</sup> Donado, Giovanni Battista (1688). *Della Letteratura de' Turchi. Osservazioni fatte da Gio. Battista Donado Senator Veneto, Fù Bailo in Costantinopoli*. Venice: Andrea Poletti. URL: <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=cag-AAAACAAJ&hl=tr&pg=PR4#v=onepage&q&f=false> (visited on 06/25/2016), p. 132.

In the words of Bülent Aksoy, “the oral tradition had been so indifferent to the notated material”<sup>8</sup> – implying that “it” obviously felt no urge to change the situation. In Greek communities, who were accustomed to the use of notation through their liturgical repertoire, the situation was slightly different. With the advent of Hampartsum notation in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and its comparatively wide acceptance, the picture changed significantly. This system is inspired by the Armenian *khaz* plainchant notation and consists of two layers, one presenting the pitches and the other the rhythmic durations.<sup>9</sup> Comparison with Jäger’s catalog of the Hampartsum sources in the İstanbul Üniversitesi library shows that a number of composers transmitted by ‘Alī Ufukī were still part of the living repertoire of the nineteenth century, i.e. Ḥasan Āgā or Şolaḫ-zāde.<sup>10</sup> Looking back comparatively at the history of musical writing in Europe, Cem Behar posed the question, why was notation as proposed by Guido of Arezzo accepted widely and willingly in eleventh-century Europe, while in the Ottoman lands there was measurable resistance eight centuries later?<sup>11</sup> Part of the answer, in addition to the socio-political and cultural contexts quoted in Nedim Karakayalı’s insightful article on the transmission of Ottoman and European music,<sup>12</sup> must be that the acceptance of notation in Europe went hand in hand with the development of polyphonic music. Its texture of melodically and rhythmically independent parts requires a much higher level of predetermination than essentially monophonic music.

The transition from orality or orally-dominated repertoire transmission to writing, does not simply change the way musical pieces are taught and preserved for posterity, the repercussions are much deeper. Notating music which had been and would continue to be transmitted orally, posed a number of serious conceptual problems, besides creating difficulties in the

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<sup>8</sup> Aksoy (2015), p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> For a comprehensive study of Hampartsum notation see Olley (2017). See also Jäger (1996b), pp. 247–269; Jäger, Ralf Martin (1998a). “Die Metamorphosen des Irak Elçi Peşrevi”. In: *Berichte aus dem ICTM-Nationalkomitee*. Ed. by Bröcker, Marianne. VI/VII. Bamberg, pp. 31–57, pp. 32f.

<sup>10</sup> Jäger, Ralf Martin (1996a). *Katalog der hamparsum-notasi-Manuskripte im Archiv des Konservatoriums der Universität Istanbul*. Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster vol. 8. Eisenach: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Wagner, pp. 53f., 101.

<sup>11</sup> Behar (2012), p. 79.

<sup>12</sup> Karakayalı, Nedim (2010). “Two Assemblages of Cultural Transmission: Musicians, Political Actors and Educational Techniques in the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe”. In: *Journal of Historical Sociology* vol. 23, pp. 343–371.

process of critical editing and comment. The fundamental question is: what can notation achieve, under which circumstances and for what aim? Does it establish some kind of certainty while creating new uncertainties? Are the uncertainties inherent in the notation system tolerable in the music culture recorded in them? A meaningful notation has to reflect the practical requirements and theoretical notions of the respective culture and must not superimpose concepts of another culture, as is prevalent in decades of ethnocentric research which have led to the distortion of musics in writing.<sup>13</sup> The “consequences of literacy” as described by Jack Goody and Ian Watt can be applied to musical literacy as well: in non-literate societies “the language is developed in intimate association with the experience of the community, and it is learned by the individual in face-to-face contact with the other members”<sup>14</sup> Likewise “the fact that writing establishes a different kind of relationship between the word and its referent, a relationship that is more general and more abstract, and less closely connected with the particularities of person, place and time, than obtains in oral communication”,<sup>15</sup> is directly applicable to musical notation (as has been noted already by Cem Behar).<sup>16</sup> But the important point is that ‘Alī Ufuḳī must be located somewhere between these two spheres. He himself is the agent who takes the music out of the “series of interlocking face-to-face conversations” that constitute oral transmission. In a way, he triggers the “ever-increasing series of culture lags” and becomes the first layer in a palimpsest, to use Goody and Watt’s image. Yet he does not find it necessary to make value-based distinctions between the various versions of a piece that he may have heard: he does not make judgements or criticism (what Watt and Goody describe as the “articulation of inconsistency”).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Haug, Judith I. (2018c). “Mündlich tradierte Musik, schriftliche Fixierung und kulturelle Rückkopplungen”. In: *Unschärfe – Der Umgang mit fehlender Eindeutigkeit*. Ed. by Freitag, Steffen et al. Junges Kolleg. Paderborn: Schöningh, pp. 71–91. For an older but still valid summary of the main issues see Stockmann, Doris (1979). “Die Transkription in der Musikethnologie: Geschichte, Probleme, Methoden”. In: *Acta Musicologica* vol. 51, pp. 204–245. Schmid, Manfred Hermann (2012). *Notationskunde. Schrift und Komposition 900-1600*. Kassel–Basel: Bärenreiter, pp. 11–13.

<sup>14</sup> Goody, Jack and Watt, Ian (1963). “The Consequences of Literacy”. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* vol. 5, pp. 304–345, p. 307.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>16</sup> Behar (2012), pp. 143f.

<sup>17</sup> Goody and Watt (1963), pp. 325f., 334.

The next question explores the “meta-information” that is contained in the notations and how much we may infer from what is implicit in them. It must be kept in mind that P is a personal source with no audience intended except ʿAlī Ufuḳī himself, which is for instance emphasized by the countless glosses and annotations he added to song texts written down by other people: He was preparing the texts for himself and added what he needed to understand them. In this regard it stands in the Ottoman tradition of the song-text collection personally compiled by singers as a kind of lifelong work in progress.<sup>18</sup> The manuscript mirrors his own thinking and reasoning. L is different as it is conceived with an audience in mind – but even the intended audience of L, whoever that may have been, would not be able to perform meaningfully from the notation without having undergone Ottoman musical training.<sup>19</sup> The more valuable materials used for L such as the homogenous glazed paper and the use of red ink throughout the manuscript as was customary in *güfte mecmūʿaları* of the time,<sup>20</sup> as well as the orderly presentation in *faşullar* according to *maḳām*, evoke the association of planning and an intended recipient or posterity.<sup>21</sup> Mehmet Uğur Ekinci also pointed out that the “exaggerated, even false references” to himself, such as the attribution of other poets’ Türḳī or İlahī texts to his *mahlāş*, was a sign of his “anticipation that the MSS [...] would be referred to by others.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Behar (2012), p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> This, fundamentally, holds true for all writing. Walter Ong’s words can be directly applied to music notation in general and ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s notations in particular: “What the reader is seeing on this page are not real words but coded symbols whereby a properly informed human being can evoke in his or her consciousness real words, in actual or imagined sounds. It is impossible for script to be more than marks on a surface unless it is used by a conscious human being as a cue to sounded words, real or imagined, directly or indirectly”. Ong, Walter J. (2002). *Orality and Literacy*. New York: Routledge, p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> My thanks to Harun Korkmaz for this assessment.

<sup>21</sup> As long as the intended audience of L is unknown, the present author does not entirely agree with Ralf Martin Jäger’s statement that it was not ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s plan to “compile a collection with the aim of preserving an accurate image of the music played at the Ottoman Sultan’s court in the seventeenth century” (“Er dachte [...] freilich nicht daran, ein Sammelwerk mit dem Ziel zu erstellen, der Nachwelt ein genaues Bild der Musik zu liefern, die am osmanischen Sultanshof im 17. Jahrhundert gespielt wurde.”) Jäger (1996b), p. 225.

<sup>22</sup> Ekinci (2012), p. 241.

Owen Wright described the *güfte mecmû-aları* as “annotated song-text [...] for however detailed, it functions as a mnemonic aid to future realization by someone who has already learned the piece, and could therefore never be used to communicate a repertoire to the uninitiated outsider”.<sup>23</sup> At first glance, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations of course offer much more than “annotated song-text”, but a closer look, especially with the eyes of a possible performer, reveals many blank spots. Those will be addressed in due course in the chapters on performance practice, *uṣūl* and especially *maḳām*. The theoretical problems created by visually fixating music concern modern scholars and performers much more than ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself. While for him the entire context of pitch interpretation, speed, performance practice, choice of instruments and other culturally implicit areas of knowledge was always present, this context is lost today with little chance of reconstruction. However, some issues can be approached more easily as contemporaneous sources can be adduced, for example concerning instrumentation.

The concept of fixed notation goes hand in hand with notions of a fixed work (“Werkgestalt”, “mutlak eser”)<sup>24</sup> as intended by an individually identifiable, single composer. Opposed to this concept, the Ottoman tradition has for a very long time relied on the so-called transmission community. Predominantly oral practice and repertoire transmission are complemented by a large and growing body of written speculative theory. Yet this does not imply the anonymous transmission of works, on the contrary: The concept of the musical work as identifiable and attributable intellectual property of a single individual was prevalent among the Arabs in the earliest period of Islam, amounting to the “basis of courtly Islamic musical culture per se” and surviving in the Ottoman-Turkish sphere up to the present day.<sup>25</sup> The transition from orality to writing also poses questions of historiography and historicity. In the words of Walter Feldman, the combination of the oral tradition of music and the written transmission of text in the song-text collection, which contains information such as

<sup>23</sup> Wright (2013), p. 144.

<sup>24</sup> Behar (2012), p. 106.

<sup>25</sup> “[...] die Grundlage der höfischen Musikkultur im Islam schlechthin”. The terms employed for *opus* are *ṣan‘a* and ‘*amal*. Neubauer, Eckhard (1997). “Zur Bedeutung der Begriffe Komponist und Komposition in der Musikgeschichte der islamischen Welt”. In: *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* vol. 11, pp. 307–363, p. 308. See also Haug (2018c), pp. 72f., 83f.

*maḳām*, *uṣūl*, composer and sometimes also poet, resulted in “preservation of the historicity of the repertoire” while erasing the “particularities of the individual compositions and the styles of different historical periods”.<sup>26</sup> In ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s case the situation is different: He offers a moment frozen in time, representing the style of his period and locale, or rather probabilities of style in his time and locale.

The leading questions for the subsequent sections consider ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s motivation to write, the techniques he used, the difficulties he encountered and solved. It should be kept in mind that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations constitute a major accomplishment in the mediation of knowledge across the borders of cultures, languages and religions. And as a concluding caveat, it is important to bear in mind that, when analyzing the isolated notations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (prior to the more widespread use of Hampartsum and Western staff notations beginning from the first quarter of the nineteenth century onward),<sup>27</sup> those manuscripts reflect moments somewhere in the course of a long stream or tradition. They are determined by the specific theoretical and practical knowledge of the author, including such factors as which instrument he played, the school he received his training from or his personal tastes and convictions.<sup>28</sup>

### 3.1.1 Why did ‘Alī Ufuḳī write?

A simplistic answer would be: Because he was European by birth and writing music was a natural thing for him to do. ‘Alī Ufuḳī was trained and immersed in European concepts of music, music transmission and musical work (“opus”). In his description of the Ottoman palace, ‘Alī Ufuḳī dedicates a comparatively long section to music, mentioning also the lessons according to the traditional *meşk* method in a room specifically dedicated to this use, the *meşk-hāne*. There the palace musicians gathered to rehearse, under masters who entered from the outside daily, in the mornings “musica di camera” (*ince sâz* in modern usage) and in the afternoons “musica di campagna” (*mehter*).<sup>29</sup> Further on he explains the impact of notation

<sup>26</sup> Feldman, Walter Zev (1990–1991). “Cultural Authority and Authenticity in the Turkish Repertoire”. In: *Asian Music* vol. 22, pp. 73–111, pp. 85, 87.

<sup>27</sup> Jäger (1998a), p. 32.

<sup>28</sup> Haug (2017), p. 93.

<sup>29</sup> *Harley 3409*, pp. 49–54, Fisher and Fisher (1985), pp. 52ff. See also Behar (2012), pp. 30–33.



among his colleagues. He describes it in the sense of a first contact of two diametrically opposed understandings of the musical transmission process. The credibility and plausibility of this description is naturally completely open for discussion as it can hardly ever be verified.

[...] la cosa marauigliosa appresso di loro il Scriuere, e leggere la musica, e uedendomi nel pigliare le mie lezioni dalli maestri e scriuergli e di la a molti mesi che gli istessi maestri hebbero dimenticati, sonargli compitamente del mio libro, si sop[r]iuano, e che gli maestri stessi Turchi hauendo uista [sic] questa rara uirtù mi honorauano, e alla fine m'hanno fatto Erbaschi, uol dir maestro di coro, poi gli altri paggi hauendosi smenticare alcune regole delle cansone, mi ueniuanò a pregare che apprisse il mio libro, e che la cantasse, o sonasse per rinfrescare la loro memoria, il che io faceuo, et loro mi ringratiauano, anzi mi pregauano alcuni, che io l'imparasse questa uirtù, ma non hauendo io altro desiderio che di liberta mi scusauo, dicendo che ci uoleua di molto tempo per imparare.<sup>30</sup> (For them, writing and reading music is a marvelous thing, and when they saw me take my lessons from the masters and write them down, and many months afterwards, when the masters themselves had forgotten them, play them correctly from my book, they were surprised, and when the Turkish masters themselves had seen this rare skill, they honored me, and eventually made me *erbaşı*, that is, choir master, [and] then the other pages, having forgotten some principles of the songs, they came to me and asked me to open my book and sing or play them to refresh their memory, which I did, and they thanked me, some of them even asked me to teach them this skill, but having no other desire but [attaining my] freedom I excused myself, saying that it took a very long time to learn.)

The conclusions gathered from this text can be summarized as follows: 1. ‘Alī Ufuḳī started writing down Ottoman music early on during his training. 2. His notations became a source of instruction and safeguarding repertoire transmission in the palace. 3. He did not pass on his skill and created no lasting impact. Nevertheless, this description should be taken with a grain of salt. Other sources state that ‘Alī Ufuḳī had at least two

<sup>30</sup> *Harley 3409*, pp. 50f. This version of the *Serai Enderum* features a colophon dated May 20, 1665 and the name “Alberto Bobovio”, but it was not written by ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself. Fisher and Fisher (1985), pp. 52ff. See also Behar (2005), pp. 48ff. A similar story about Mehmed the Conqueror being astonished by the transcribing skills of two Greek *psaltai* can be found in Kalaitzidis (2012), p. 180.

opportunities to move to Europe (see above), neither of which he seized. Further, his statement that even the music masters customarily forgot the repertoire is difficult to reconcile with the sources on *meşk*. It stands in contrast to the high cultural value accorded to the bearers of tradition and the emphasis on large repertoire knowledge and fidelity to the source (*şadakat*) as criteria of prowess.<sup>31</sup> Another question is which of the extant sources is “mio libro”. Is it the disorderly P, not yet bound at that time and considerably larger than now, in which finding a certain piece on the spur of the moment must have been difficult to say the least? The person who copied the text version of Harley 3409 from ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s original dated it 1665, when L was well under way; but ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s original was most probably older and in it he relates past events from his early years in the palace.

To return to the original question, ‘Alī Ufuḳī wrote music because he could and because it was a natural thing for him to do. To quote Behar on this matter, “Kaldı ki, bu nota mucit ve kullanıcıların en önemli iki tanesi (Ali Ufkî Bey ve Demetrius Cantemir) doğrudan doğruya Osmanlı/Türk musığı geleneğın içinden yetişmiş kişiler değillerdi. Dolayısıyla inceledikleri musığıye ‘dışarıdan’ da bakabiliyorlardı”.<sup>32</sup> The important word is “da”: They *also* have an outside view and use outside logic, but not only, because they are bi-musical. ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s European background is surely an important factor, but caution is advised: Attributing the invention and consequent use of musical literacy to persons somehow “other” or subject to “other”, i.e. European, influences, is true in the cases of ‘Alī Ufuḳī and Cantemir,<sup>33</sup> but Hampartsum Limonciyan, developer of a comparatively widely used notation system in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was Ottoman by birth.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Behar (2010), pp. 107ff, Behar (2012), p. 32. The alleged reaction of the palace musicians is cited by Karakayalı as an example of a positive attitude by Ottoman musicians toward notation; Karakayalı (2010), p. 346.

<sup>32</sup> “Moreover, the two most important among those inventors and users of notation (‘Alī Ufuḳī and Demetrius Cantemir) were persons not entirely raised in the Ottoman-Turkish music tradition. Hence they were able to look on the music they studied ‘from outside’ as well”. Behar (2012), p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> On Demetrius Cantemir’s biography and training see Cantemir (2000), pp. 1ff.

<sup>34</sup> This question is thoroughly addressed by Jacob Olley in his PhD thesis, Olley (2017), pp. 138ff.

Fixing previously orally transmitted music in notation can be compared to a process of translation. But the transition from orality to writing, the textualization, is not the only issue ʿAlī Ufuḳī confronted. Musics can be metaphorically analogized to languages, which may be mutually intelligible to a certain degree. The mutual intelligibility of seventeenth-century European music and contemporaneous Ottoman music is rather low, because many of their fundamental parameters differ and they are grounded on distinct theoretical systems: Multipart polyphony composed of independent voices, emerging tonal harmony and pulse-group measure on the one hand, variant heterophony, a modal system and cyclical organization of rhythm on the other. A residue of modal concepts still present in the musical culture that raised young Wojciech Bobowski was doubtlessly a fundament upon which he, his contemporaries and even more so his predecessors in the same biographical situation could build their understanding of *maḳām*. The European modes, reaching back to the music theory of Ancient Greece, convey concepts of line and typical melodic progression equally present in *maḳām* theory which grew out of the same source. It is conceivable that ʿAlī Ufuḳī explained the concept of *maḳām* to himself in this manner, and/or that he did not find it so strange after all.

What ʿAlī Ufuḳī attempted was in fact a cultural translation.<sup>35</sup> While retaining the essence of the source culture's information, he needed to make it accessible to the target culture. In the case of the compendium the source culture and target culture are represented by the two elements of his own bicultural personality. In this effort, ʿAlī Ufuḳī could not build upon precedent models, but had to create individual solutions for those problems.<sup>36</sup> As a result, his notations are emic and etic at the same time.

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<sup>35</sup> Haug (2018a), pp. 116, 120.

<sup>36</sup> It cannot be ignored that he may have been familiar with some of the European transcriptions that circulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but even if so, they would not have been able to serve as a model, because they were notated by cultural outsiders lacking the necessary training.

### 3.1.2 How did ‘Alī Ufuḳī write?

In the present section,<sup>37</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s writings will be explored regarding the development of the notational technique. A cautionary remark is necessary at this point: As far as we know and are able to extract from the extant material, the development of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notational technique was not a linear process. The outcome of this process, which can be reconstructed only tentatively, was not implemented in a consistent way, so that any conclusions drawn regarding method and principles must be understood as an interpretation.<sup>38</sup> Until now it has been assumed that ‘Alī Ufuḳī acquired his musical reading and writing skills in Europe. The question of whether there were sufficient channels for learning in Istanbul may arise and should not be dismissed without discussion. Undoubtedly, Western music was present in the Ottoman capital – for example in the guise of “recreational” chamber concerts in the houses of ambassadors and their “functional” ceremonial bands usually consisting of trumpets and timpani.<sup>39</sup> The Englishman Robert Bargrave, staying in the Levant between 1647 and 1652, speaks of theatrical performances such as *masques* among the British community.<sup>40</sup> In the course of the genesis of Turc 292 ‘Alī Ufuḳī had the chance to copy from relatively recent European sources. But the way he describes his first attempts at notation after entering the *iç-oğlan* training cited above, indicates that he was already familiar with notation and decided to employ it as a matter of course. As a European, he related to the notation of musical repertoire as natural.

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<sup>37</sup> First thoughts on the development of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notational technique have been formulated in a joint paper with Mehmet Uğur Ekinci, presented at the 2014 joint meeting of the ICTM study groups, “Maqām” and “Music in the Arab World” in Ankara; published as Ekinci and Haug (2016). The present author’s contribution focussed on the notational features, their European models and their application to Ottoman music by ‘Alī Ufuḳī.

<sup>38</sup> See also Haug (2016a).

<sup>39</sup> Jäger (1998b), pp. 145–175, 193–197.

<sup>40</sup> Bargrave (1999), pp. 33ff. The *masque* is a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English genre of theatrical entertainment originating in court festivals, which included allegorical masked dances, processions and pageants. Lefkowitz, Murray (2001). “Masque”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 16. New York: Macmillan, pp. 42–58.

### Alphanumeric notation

So-called *ebced* or alphanumeric notation, a system based on letters for pitch and numbers for duration, has a long history in the Arab world and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>41</sup> In a seminal article from 1997, Eckhard Neubauer was able to show that in the Middle East, “notating melodies for purposes other than teaching was not as extraordinary as we may believe today and secondary or tertiary literature sometimes suggests”.<sup>42</sup>

This type of notation occurs once in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections (P f. 390b/313a).<sup>43</sup> While Behar attributes the writing to ‘Alī Ufuḳī,<sup>44</sup> the present author is not entirely sure whether the hand is truly ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s (apart from the European note heads). This notation employs a combination of mensural note symbols, Arabic numerals<sup>45</sup> and pitch names fully written out. In the first of three levels, the European values are notated, seemingly subsequently. As is customary in tablature notation, a certain value is notated only once if more of the same kind follow upon each other. In the first item on the page, for instance, one minim is enough to designate the duration of four notes in total. A new note, in this case a dotted minim, appears only if the durational value changes. However, the mensural notes become incomplete in the second line and afterwards cease entirely. The second level refers to rhythm as well. Arabic numerals represent the durational values: 1 is the basic value of the system, equated with the semiminim. The minim is 2, the dotted minim 3, and the semibreve 4. Dots separate the musical units, most probably according to the intended *uṣūl*. Lastly, the third level contains the pitch names fully written out. This short and isolated notation is an example of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s experimentation with musical writing. In its use of numbers for durational values, it differs from European proportional thinking and establishes a contrary, augmenting logic, building up from the smallest unit instead of a divisive or proportional

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<sup>41</sup> Neubauer (1997), p. 321.

<sup>42</sup> “Melodien nicht nur aus didaktischen, sondern auch aus anderen Gründen aufzuschreiben, war danach nicht so außergewöhnlich, wie wir es heute wohl glauben mögen und wie es die Sekundär- und Tertiärliteratur bisweilen nahelegt”. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>43</sup> Ekinci and Haug (2016), p. 82.

<sup>44</sup> Behar (2008), pp. 147f.

<sup>45</sup> For the sake of simplicity, “Arabic numerals” is hereafter used instead of “Eastern Arabic”. “Western Arabic” numerals are hereafter called “European” numerals.

logic originating in the largest unit. This divisional concept is meaningless to Ottoman music. Yet ʿAlī Ufuḳī did not pursue this experiment any further: both notations remained fragmentary.

Evidently it is not fruitful to assume that ʿAlī Ufuḳī experimented with *ebced* notation at an early stage of his work. As this isolated notation is undatable, the possibility that ʿAlī Ufuḳī encountered this system at a later date, tried it and decided it was not a viable tool for his purposes should not be discarded. However unimportant the isolated alphanumeric notation may be for ʿAlī Ufuḳī, it does testify –to not a negligible detail– that there were persons who knew, taught and possibly used *ebced* in his time and locale.

### Tablature

Comparable to alphanumeric and symbolic notations, tablatures rely on the tuning and fretting of a given instrument, designating finger positions on its neck, and therefore do not require alteration signs. It should not go unmentioned that tablature as a technique of instrumental notation was not entirely unfamiliar in the Ottoman lands, as a manuscript of Iranian ʿūd and kamānḡe tablature kept in the Nuruosmaniye library and recently brought to light by Eckhard Neubauer shows.<sup>46</sup> A different case of notation emerging from a culture of oral repertoire transmission, the Khorezmian Tanbur notation, which developed in the late nineteenth century in the context of a tendency of cultural canonization, is likewise a tablature.<sup>47</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī employed various forms relying on Italian lute tablature adapted for different Ottoman instruments, which is another proof for his Italianate upbringing. His system is notated on five, later six lines that stand for the six courses of the lute (Contrabasso, Bordone, Tenore, Mezzana, Sottana and Canto),<sup>48</sup> the frets are represented by numbers starting with 0 for the open string. Mensural notes above the staff signify rhythmical durations; sometimes they are reduced to stems and flags. In

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<sup>46</sup> Neubauer (2010).

<sup>47</sup> Matyakubov, Otanazar and Powers, Harold (1990). “19th Century Khorezmian Tanbur Notation: Fixing Music in an Oral Tradition”. In: *Yearbook for Traditional Music* vol. 22, pp. 29–35.

<sup>48</sup> The remark “Canto si vuoi” on f. 27b/9b–28b/10b thus most probably does not refer to vocal performance but to the possibility of playing the melody one octave higher on the top string.

contrast to the French and German lute tablatures, the lowermost line stands for the highest string, offering the player a sort of mirror image of his or her instrument.<sup>49</sup> Concerning rhythm, “caselle” (“little houses”) mark the “tempi” or “compassi” (rhythmical units) of the piece,<sup>50</sup> a practice employed regularly by ‘Alī Ufuḳī.

Tablature poses the problem of tuning. With the tuning unknown, reconstructing the intended composition is a challenging task. Standard tunings for European instruments of the large and diverse lute family exist: One of them, in use since the fifteenth century, is G-c-f-a-d<sup>1</sup>-g<sup>7</sup>, A-d-g-b-e<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>7</sup> or D-c-f-a-d<sup>1</sup>-g<sup>7</sup> with lower courses doubled in the octave.<sup>51</sup> It appears in P, but ‘Alī Ufuḳī wrote tablatures for several different instruments. Some of the tunings extracted from the notations are documented for late-Renaissance, early-Baroque Europe. Others are clearly Ottoman in origin (ṭanbūr), others supposedly so, while, unfortunately, some unsolved cases remain. In marginal notes, a number of fretted plucked string instruments are referenced: çöğür, ḳopuz, “chitarilla”, ṭanbūr, tel ṭanbūrası and “Liuto”.<sup>52</sup> Information on their tuning is provided only in exceptional instances, and reliable information from contemporaneous sources is scarce.

The following list enumerates all uses of tablature notation in the compendium and the suggested tunings.<sup>53</sup>

1. f. 5b/256b [genre unknown]: A demonstration of two courses (G and D) and their frets which could be reconciled with neither of the other notations.
2. f. 27b/9b–28b/10b [Peşrev] : Italian lute tablature for a seven-course lute in c-d-g-c<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-d<sup>1</sup>” or one octave lower.

<sup>49</sup> Apel, Willi (1989). *Die Notation der polyphonen Musik, 900-1600*. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, pp.62–69. Wolf, Johannes (1963). *Handbuch der Notationskunde*. Vol. 2. Olms, pp.51–71. Schmid (2012), pp.241ff.

<sup>50</sup> Wolf (1963), p. 64.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51, Apel (1989), p. 62, Wachsmann, Klaus et al. (2001). “Lute”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 15. New York: Macmillan, pp. 329–363, pp.343f. Schulze-Kurz, Ekkehard (1990). *Die Laute und ihre Stimmungen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Wilsingen: Tre Fontane, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> For more detailed comments see chapter 5.1.

<sup>53</sup> For the deduction of the tunings see the Critical Report.

3. ff. 29a/11a–28b/10b-1 Semā‘ī: Italian lute tablature for a seven-course lute in C-D-G-c-e-a-d’ or one octave higher. This piece and the preceding one can be played (and most probably are meant to be played) on the same instrument. The same interval structure (4-4-3-4-4 plus a bass course a whole tone below) was most commonly based on A and G (see item 12), but from the late sixteenth century on, other pitches came into use as the basis of this so-called fourth-third tuning, among them D.<sup>54</sup> This tuning can be understood as a standard and is called *Alte Stimmung* or *ton commun*.<sup>55</sup> For seven-course lutes, the lowest string was generally either a fourth or a second below,<sup>56</sup> the latter option being applicable to the instrument used here. The seventh course is most probably not on the fretboard as it features in the notation only as a number 7 above the staff. If the seventh or lower course had been on the fretboard, ledger lines could have been added and different numbers would appear on them.<sup>57</sup>
4. ff. 229b/74b–230a/75a *Le Scale perde del Tambur*: Demonstration of the tuning of the *ṭanbūr* on three lines marked D-G-G.
5. f. 275a/121a “Ağlaiub ağlaiub iaġan duniade” is the only texted tablature. It is an Italian lute tablature with Arabic numerals instead of the customary ones. According to a remark next to the beginning of the notation, the highest course was determined as d” and the entire tuning reconstructed as c’-f’-a’-d” (or one octave lower). Those intervals form the four middle strings of the *ton commun*, i.e. the *Türkī* could have been played on the seven-course lute used for items 2 and 3. However, a second marginal supplies the information that this piece could (and probably should) be played on the *ḳopuz*, whose highest string is an e”.
6. f. 279b/125b [Peşrev] : Italian lute tablature with Arabic numerals destined for a seven-course instrument tuned D-g-c’-f’-a’-d”-g” (disregarding the octave), i.e. *ton commun* in G with an additional bass course a fourth below.

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<sup>54</sup> Wolf (1963), p. 63.

<sup>55</sup> Schulze-Kurz (1990), pp. 7, 114ff., 140f.

<sup>56</sup> Wachsmann et al. (2001), p. 344.

<sup>57</sup> Wolf (1963), p. 58.



7. ff. 283b/129b–285a/131a Note on notation: short tablature for a four-course instrument with Arabic numerals, titled “Cosi nota li sbalzi” (“notate leaps like this”). In absence of further context, especially concerning pitch, the editor is left to guess. Tentatively, the four-course instrument from f. 286a/132a (g-c'-e'-a') has been assumed.
8. f. 286a/132a-1 *Frenk oyun havāsi*: Italian lute tablature with Arabic numerals for a four-course instrument tuned g-c'-e'-a'.
9. f. 286a/132a-2 [genre unknown]: Italian lute tablature with Arabic numerals for a four-course instrument tuned g-c'-e'-a' or C-c'-e'-a'. Both this case and the preceding one display the same interval distances in the tuning as f. 275a/121a, thus hinting at different possible tunings or pitch levels, for instance according to the register of a singer.
10. f. 360a/281a [Scale]: Italian lute tablature with Arabic numerals for a seven-course instrument tuned c-d-g-c'-e'-g'-c". This short notation, which does not preserve repertoire but seems to demonstrate a scale, may be played with the same instrument as items 2 and 3, requiring a minor *scordatura* (change of tuning), a very common practice in European lute playing. This tuning is documented for the early seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup>
11. f. 360b/281b *Jl Liuto accordo*: Letters representing pitches written on the lines of a staff; the resulting tuning (if interpreted correctly) is c-g-c'-b-e'-a', a so-called re-entrant tuning. This term describes tunings “in which successive strings are tuned not to successively higher pitches but to a pattern of rising and falling intervals”. In Europe, such tunings were employed for the five-course Baroque guitar (a-d-g-b-e') or the five-course cittern (d-a-g-d'-e'),<sup>59</sup> both instruments to which ʿAlī Ufuḳī may have had access in Poland, especially the cittern. This wire-strung instrument in its five-course version was popular in Italy in the early seventeenth century, as opposed to

<sup>58</sup> Schulze-Kurz (1990), p. 140; No. 1.1.2-10. Additional bass strings are possible, even if they are not listed.

<sup>59</sup> Wade, Graham (2001). “Re-entrant tuning”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 21. New York: Macmillan, p. 73.

the four-course cittern widespread in Northern Europe and England. Many different tuning systems were in use, among them re-entrant tunings were prevalent.<sup>60</sup>

12. f. 362a/292b *Passagio nel Ge Sol re Vt nel Liuto* and *Passagio in C sol fa Vt nel Liuto*: Italian lute tablature for a seven-course instrument tuned G-A-d-g-b-e'-a' (*ton commun* in A with an additional bass course). The piece can be performed on the same instrument as items 2 and 3, as a *scordatura* by one tone is unproblematic.
13. f. 362a/292b [genre unknown]: Staff notation mixed with tablature; no solution could be found.
14. f. 364a/290b [genre unknown]: Short tablature resembling a single chord; no solution could be found.
15. ff. 414b/245b–415a/246a-3 “Nagme”: Italian lute tablature with Arabic numerals for a four-course instrument tuned g-bb-d'-g'. This tuning is a possible *scordatura* of the instrument on f. 286a/132a.

It can be concluded that the instrument ‘Alī Ufuḳī was accustomed to and maybe even possessed, was a seven-course lute he could play in three different tunings. Most of the other instruments could not be identified with sufficient certainty due to lack of information in the source itself, as well as lack of context. In general, pitch was not absolute and binding.<sup>61</sup> The fundamental note could be derived from the register of a singer to be accompanied or, as the German theoretician Hans Newsidler (1536) advised, by pulling the highest string as taut as possible and letting the remaining strings follow.<sup>62</sup> The notated pitches were to be understood as nominal and in practice the pitch level could be (and was) adjusted to requirements.<sup>63</sup> In this connection, Willi Apel raised the general question of absolute pitch, about which we know very little. He points out that in

<sup>60</sup> Tyler, James (2001). “Cittern”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 5. New York: Macmillan, pp. 877–884.

<sup>61</sup> “Reine Griffschriften sind systemneutral. Erst im Zusammenspiel mit Sängern, die Systemschrift benutzen, wird die Frage nach Namen aktuell. Dabei geht es nicht um die physikalische Tonhöhe, sondern um die Zuordnung von Tönen zu Positionen des Tonsystems”. Schmid (2012), p. 236.

<sup>62</sup> Apel (1989), p. 62.

<sup>63</sup> Wachsmann et al. (2001), p. 343.

contrast to today, there was no internationally recognized standard pitch and that the actual sounding pitches may have been considerably lower than what is associated with them today.<sup>64</sup> This problem of course also exists for Ottoman music. On the basis of the cited state of research, the present author decided to transcribe according to the pitches established by parallel staff notations (if extant), equation of *c'* with *rāst*<sup>65</sup> and the acceptance of octave transposition.

Another problem of tablature notation directly affecting editorial practice is the treatment of rhythmic values in multipart writing. The notation can only represent the smallest values usually occurring in the highest voice; hence the duration of the lower parts remains to be inferred. If the music is not strictly polyphonic –as is usually the case in compositions for the lute, which technically does not allow continuous polyphony–, melodic progression provides no clues. Reviewing earlier transcriptions of lute music, Apel concludes that both methods –the “method true to the original” or “verbatim method” which always gives the stated value for all parts and the “polyphonic method” in which long values are sustained<sup>66</sup>– have their strengths and weaknesses and that musical style should be the criterion of which method to apply. For compositions in free style, for example *Ricercari* or preludes, he favors the “verbatim” transcription.<sup>67</sup> The question is where ‘Alī Ufukī’s intabulations of classical Ottoman music can be located: As they do not represent polyphonic music, the present author has decided to employ the “verbatim” method. This does not deny the fact that longer values may be audible until the same string is plucked the next time.

Additional signs have never been standardized in any way, so variation is enormous, and often the authors and printers offer no explanation.<sup>68</sup> The symbol “x”, occurring on ff. 27b/9b–28b/10b and 29ba/11a–28b/10b-1 can stand for the tenth fret,<sup>69</sup> but may also designate a muting of the strings between two chords.<sup>70</sup> The latter explanation definitely makes more sense in

<sup>64</sup> Apel (1989), p. 62.

<sup>65</sup> This was first clearly stated by Gültekin Oransay; Oransay (1966), p. 32.

<sup>66</sup> Parameters used in tablature transcription practice are the distance to the next note on the same string, the next use of the same finger elsewhere, harmonic context and the possible reverb of a plucked string.

<sup>67</sup> Apel (1989), pp. 65f.

<sup>68</sup> Wachsmann et al. (2001), p. 347.

<sup>69</sup> Wolf (1963), p. 53.

<sup>70</sup> Wachsmann et al. (2001), p. 348.

the present case as the symbol usually appears between two chords. Chords with a dot below are struck upwards, chords without a dot, downwards,<sup>71</sup> while in the English tradition, three dots symbolize that three notes should be “struck upwards with one finger”. However, this sign is usually placed above the chord.<sup>72</sup> Dots are also employed to signify embellishments such as trills, but they appear once, not attached to each note of the chord. Another possible interpretation may be that the chord should be arpeggiated. Among the various explanations presented, a chord struck upwards or an arpeggiated chord make the most sense from a practical point of view.

Tablature allows multipart writing. On ff. 27b/9b–28b/10b, 29a/11a–28b/10b-1, 279b/125b and 414b/245b–415a/246a ‘Alī Ufuḳī adds “harmonies” to the Ottoman melodies. Usually, not every note of the melody is accompanied by a “chord”, and longer monophonic passages can remain. On f. 275a/121, only the final note has a chord. In European music of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s day, roughly comparable compositional styles do exist, especially in the often unmetered or seemingly unmetered Ricercar and Toccata genres for lute and keyboard instruments. Such pieces are either actually notated improvisations or aim at an improvisational style.<sup>73</sup> The “chords” employed by ‘Alī Ufuḳī are most often fifth-octave combinations, but harmonic chords with thirds do occur. Harmonic progression is also encountered, especially on f. 29a/11a–28b/10b (Semā‘ī) where the cadential sequence V-I is repeatedly found at section endings.<sup>74</sup> Harmonic progressions throw an interesting light on the issue of alteration, as ‘Alī Ufuḳī does not employ alteration signs consistently (a problem to be discussed in more detail in the section on *maḳām*). In the Peşrev on f. 27b/9b–28b/10b (endings of H1 a, H2 and H3), the sequence g’ a’ g’ a’ f’ g’ g’ invariably has a f#’ in P where there is none in L. Now the question is whether the alteration makes sense in Ottoman terms of *maḳām* and was omitted in L for some reason (which happens frequently), or whether ‘Alī Ufuḳī consciously reworked the melodic line in

<sup>71</sup> Wolf (1963), p. 53.

<sup>72</sup> Wachsmann et al. (2001), p. 347.

<sup>73</sup> Caldwell, John (2001). “Toccata”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 25. New York: Macmillan, pp. 534–537.

<sup>74</sup> Terms from harmonic analysis –e.g. dominant, tonic– are avoided here because they are not (yet) valid for the period of European music history coinciding with ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s lifetime. In their stead, numbers designate the scale degrees on which the respective chord is based.

order to make it fit a harmonic scheme. In L, the Peşrev is in *makām Rāst*, i.e. the section endings fall on *nevā*, resulting in an alteration of *ḡārgāh* to *ḡuzzāl* (cf. f. 291a/137a). The *Semāʿī* occupying the following opening does not exhibit such behavior as its sections close differently. Dissonant chords appear, but only on f. 279b/125b in the guise of a chord with a major third and added minor seventh leading to the chord of the first scale degree. Here the context of harmonic progression is clearly given. Unfortunately, this piece does not have a concordance in L, so deductions regarding conscious pitch alteration cannot be made. The example of f. 414b/245b–415a/246a (“Nagme in G sol re vt”) shows that ʿAlī Ufuḡī was not always aiming at “harmonizing” Ottoman music to make it match European styles, but rather sought to add interest to the melodies. A repetition of the octave g-gʻ with the middle note changing from e-flat to d is not a European harmonic device. The remark “C[h]iapa le consonanze” (“catch (take along?) the consonances”) under a chord in an otherwise monophonic “Passagio” on f. 276a/122a possibly points in the same direction. The *Frenk oyun havāsi* on f. 286a/132a is simpler: whenever technically convenient, a matching note is added below the melody, resulting in fifths and thirds. It should not go unmentioned that L also contains a tablature notation with Arabic numerals written into the empty remainder of the last staff on f. 175a. It is titled *Nağme-yi Hişār*, but not the same piece as the “mekam Hisar nagme” P f. 360b/281b. On f. 70a, the end of a Peşrev is followed by a five-part chord written on the lines of the staff. Those occurrences show that ʿAlī Ufuḡī did not sever all ties with tablature notation but somehow kept it in his mind as an alternative. The question of the purpose of those notations remains open. On the basis of such a small and highly diverse group of notations conclusions are little more than guesswork, especially in the face of major loss of material and an unclear chronology. Supposing that ʿAlī Ufuḡī intended to create westernized versions of Ottoman music probably goes too far. A plausible scenario might be that he had a European lute at his disposal, which would not have been impossible as Europeans were accustomed to travel with their instruments.<sup>75</sup> The “harmonizations” may be the fruit of a more or less serious attempt to play Ottoman music on a European instrument with the addition of stylistic features typical for this instrument.

<sup>75</sup> For instance Robert Bargrave; Bargrave (1999), pp. 37ff.

### Mensural notation

For the vast majority of his notations including the refined L manuscript, ‘Alī Ufuḫī chose to employ European-style, late white-mensural staff notation.<sup>76</sup> For this, he used a rastrum, a special writing tool with five nibs that allows drawing staves with parallel lines. That he had access to such an implement is noteworthy (or he had an exceptionally steady hand). White mensural notation, the direct forerunner of modern staff notation, differs from it in the use of larger rhythmic values up to the Breve and Long and in the shape of its note heads, which are lozenge-shaped instead of round, a feature more obvious in the calligraphic L than in the often quickly written P (a phenomenon regularly encountered in European sources of the time and before). Proportions such as 3:2 or 3:1 are still in use, but binary divisions are on the brink of becoming the only type of proportion.<sup>77</sup>

Staff notation is a kind of coordinate system, its horizontal axis indicating the point in time and its vertical axis the pitch. Durational values are signified by the shape of the note (hollow or filled note head, stems with or without flag/s, addition of a dot), changes of pitch by the addition of three alteration signs, one heightening, one lowering and one cancelling a previous alteration. General rhythmical and modal or tonal contexts are indicated at the beginning of the notation with the help of a clef showing the required pitch, key signatures made up of alteration signs showing which scalar movements and harmonic additions are possible, and time signatures show the meter of the piece and its basic unit of counting. Additional symbols for repetition (repeat and *segno*), ending (fermata) and continuation after a line break (*custos*) facilitate performance. In a feat of *cultural translation*,<sup>78</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḫī retained the basic concepts and principles such as “time” signature and “key” designation, even though

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<sup>76</sup> A first detailed description from a European point of view was made by Jäger, Jäger (1996b), pp. 226ff. and *passim*. The notation style was identified as “mensural” by Laika Karabey (Karabey (1951), p. 8). Arel refuted this, describing the notation as “sadece sağdan sola gidilen ve «Fa» anahtarile yazılan bir Batı notasından ibarettir”; Arel (1951), p. 5. However, those two features are not mutually exclusive. Other important publications on ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s notational technique in L are Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufuḫī) (1991a), pp. ixff; Popescu-Judet (1996), pp. 22ff; ‘Alī Ufuḫī (2003), pp. 29–43; Ayangil (2008), pp. 403–414.

<sup>77</sup> For a general introduction into European notation and into the mensural tradition see Schmid (2012); Paulsmeier (2012).

<sup>78</sup> Haug (2018a), p. 120.

those concepts are understood quite differently in Ottoman music, adapting them to his own requirements in a process of “decontextualization and recontextualization”.<sup>79</sup> He then implemented these adaptations in a more or less consistent way, as will be discussed in more detail in the sections on *maḳām* and *uṣūl*. This general tendency toward inconsistency makes the theoretical interpretation as well as the reconstructive performance of his notations difficult, to say the least.

Yet this inconsistency is the symptom of a much more fundamental issue, namely the question of which and how many details are contained in the notation itself and what can be supplied via verbal additions in headings or annotations and can thus be understood as implicitly present. It is important to remember that P is a personal source with no audience intended except ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself.<sup>80</sup> The manuscript mirrors his own thinking and reasoning, and the notations imply what he knew and took for granted. L is different as it is conceived with an audience in mind – but even the intended audience of L, whoever that may have been, would not be able to perform meaningfully from the notation without having undergone Ottoman musical training. Owen Wright described *güfte mecmū‘aları* as “annotated song-text [...] [which] functions as a mnemonic aid to future realization by someone who has already learned the piece, and could therefore never be used to communicate a repertoire to the uninitiated outsider”.<sup>81</sup> At first glance, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations of course offer much more than “annotated song-text”, but a closer look, especially with the eyes of a possible performer, reveals many blank spots.

Beginning with the clef, ‘Alī Ufuḳī clearly perceived this device of notation as important. The majority of the pieces in P are equipped with a clef themselves or the clef of a preceding piece is still valid. Rās as the central pitch of the system is equalled with c’ and indicated with the clef. In P, the vast majority of the pieces which have a clef of their own

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<sup>79</sup> Burke, Peter (2007). “Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe”. In: *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by Burke, Peter and Hsia, Ronnie Po-Chia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 7–38, pp. 7–10.

<sup>80</sup> Behar (2012), p. 44. In this regard it stands in the Ottoman tradition of the song-text collection personally compiled by singers as a kind of lifelong work in progress.

<sup>81</sup> Wright (2013), p. 144.

feature a European c1 clef (283).<sup>82</sup> This clef is more or less embellished, not the reduced form resembling the letter “c”. Its Ottomanized equivalent *c̄m1* occurs twice. The logic behind this is explained in the Ottomanized solmization table in L (f. 184a), from which it becomes clear that *c̄m1*, equalling the European c’, indicates c’ (*c̄m̄ ṣo fa do = c sol fa do*) and *ze* indicates g’ (*ze ṣo re do = g sol re do*).<sup>83</sup> Clefs on other lines of the staff are decidedly infrequent: c2 and c3 are encountered once each, *c̄m2* likewise once. Additionally, the g1 clef, also common in European music writing of the time, appears in ten pieces and twice in an *ossia* staff. The g2 clef, generally used for high voices and instruments, occurs only three times, probably because it is not too different from c1, the other usual choice for soprano voices, violins or flutes. The f4 clef, customarily employed for bass voices up to the present day is encountered once. F. 381b/217a is an exception in that a verbal annotation “g sol” is placed next to the second line of the staff. F. 234\*a has an Arabic *te* on the first line, which, following an unknown reasoning, has to designate *rāst*. Taking into account corrections of clef, c1 has been overwritten with g1 once, g1 with c1 three times. In L, in comparison, the Arabic-letter version *cim1* has become standard with a few exceptions and six cases of accidentally writing the European type;<sup>84</sup> the number of pieces without clef is still high, however (144). Concerning variants on other pitches, there is one single occurrence of *cim3*. The *ze1* clef, appearing twice, designates g’.<sup>85</sup>

A salient feature of the compendium is the unprecedented parallel occurrence of two reading directions. Other than the *Mecmū’a-yı sâz ü söz*, which is entirely sinistrotic, in P different phenomena can be encountered for instrumental and vocal music as well as for tablatures. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine at which point ‘Alī Ufuḫī decided to change the writing direction: dextrotic notation occurs throughout the manuscript. In any case it is clear that for L, ‘Alī Ufuḫī made a decision in favor of

<sup>82</sup> 135 pieces have no clef, seven cases are unclear due to poor legibility; European pieces are not included in the count.

<sup>83</sup> Arel understands the *c̄m* not as a clef but, being equivalent to the European letter C, as a symbol for time organization equalling the modern 4/4; Arel (1951), p. 6. Oransay identified the symbol correctly; Oransay (1964), p. 154. Oransay (1966), p. 32.

<sup>84</sup> This affects only vocal pieces subsequently added in the margins.

<sup>85</sup> London: British Library, *Sloane 3114* [*Sloane 3114*], f. 184a. Jäger (1996b), p. 227, also Ayangil (2008), p. 405, who explains the choice of letter with “letter note equivalents”.



sinistrograde writing, and on the other hand it seems logical that his first attempts were dextrograde. Furthermore, it may be assumed that the motivation for inverting the reading direction was Ottoman-language vocal music: If ʿAlī Ufuḳī wanted to record pieces with underlaid text, there were two possibilities: either he could continue using dextrograde notation with transliterated text or change to sinistrograde notation with the original text, which could then also be written by somebody else, for example the informant who supplied the song. Underlaid song texts written by different hands occur, for instance in three notations on ff. 155b/22b–154b/23b. ʿAlī Ufuḳī also mirror-inverted other elements of notation, such as *uṣūl* designations, *maḳām* signatures and accidentals, but did not implement this logic in any consistent way.<sup>86</sup> The problem of divergent reading directions is virulent in all musical cultures seeking to combine Western notation with their sinistrograde alphabet. An example from roughly ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s time is the Hebrew-language motet collection of Salomone Rossi. He chose dextrograde notation and distributed the sinistrograde text by segmenting the words into syllables and placing them under the intended notes, resulting in a cumbersome, spiraling reading motion.<sup>87</sup>

While it is clear that an internal chronology cannot be established, a number of features can be singled out with the help of which it would be tempting to group together some pieces, supposing they belong to the same layer of manuscript genesis.<sup>88</sup> For example, in notating the Peşrev repertoire, different ways of tackling repetitions can be discerned: European-style *segni* placed above a gap in the notation or fermatas are prevalent.<sup>89</sup> Other less frequently employed and thus more telling devices

<sup>86</sup> Relevant cases are discussed in the Critical Report.

<sup>87</sup> On Salomone Rossi and the *Haššīrīm ʿašār li-Šeʿolomo* (1622/23) see Haug, Judith I. (2007). “Hebräischer Text – Italienische Musik. Sprachbehandlung in Salomone Rossis Psalmvertonungen (1622/23)”. In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* vol. 64, pp. 105–135.

<sup>88</sup> Ekinci and Haug (2016), p. 86.

<sup>89</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 126a/297a, 200b/46b–201a/47a-1, 280b/126b–281a/127a-1, 280b/126b–282a/128a, 282b/128b–283a/129a, 293b/139b, 307b/163b, 311b/ 167b–312a/168a-1, -2, 313b/169b–314a/170a-2, 312b/176b–322a/177a, 324b/179b, 325a/180a, 343b/185b-1, -2, 344a/186a, 344b/186b, 345a/187a, 352b/194b-1, -2, 352a/195a-1, 355a/276a-1, 355b/276b, 356a/277a-1, 356b/277b-1, 357a/ 278a-2, 357b/278b, 358a/279a, 358b/279b, 359a/280a, 359b/280b-2, 360a/281a-1, 360b/281b-1, -2, -6, 361a/293b, 362b/292b, 363b/291a–364a/290b-1, 365a/289b, 366b/288a-1, 367a/282a-1, -2, 367b/282b-1, -2, 368a/283a-1, -2, 368b/ 283b-1, -2, 369a/284a-1, -2, 369b/284b, 370a/285a, 370b/285b, 371a/286a-1, -2, 371b/ 286b-1, -2, 372a/287a,

are numbers representing the amount of *uṣūller* or beats contained in the section to be repeated (ff. 201b/47b–202a/48a-1, -2, 229b/74b–230a/75a-1, -2, 289b/135b–290a/136a-1, 290b/136b–292a/138a, 313b/169b–314a/170a, 381a/217b-1, 383\*b/229b-1), European letters used as navigation marks or *segnī* above a gap in the notation (ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a, 285b/131b, 286b/132b–287a/133a), the Arabic letter *mīm* as an abbreviation for *mūlāzīme* above a gap in the notation (ff. 356a/277a-2, 356b/277b-2, 380\*a/226a, 381\*b/227b, 382\*a/228a–382\*b/228b-1, 383\*a/229a, 384\*b/230b, 231\*b-2, 233\*a, 234\*a-1, -2, -3, 234\*b-2), the incipit and explicit of the section to be repeated is separated by “etc” (ff. 18b/1b–19a/2a, 21b/4b–22a/5a, 21b/4b–23a/6a, 283b/129b–285a/131a-2), and blocks of rests more or less amounting to the beats of the section in question (ff. 19b/2b–20a/3a, 27b/9b–28b/10b, 140a/295b, 200a/46a–199b/45b-1, 287b/133b–288a/134a).<sup>90</sup> Combinations with *segnī* or letters are possible. While sometimes different systems appear on the same page or spread, let alone in the same gathering, some occurrences can be singled out as meaningful, especially the sequence of Peşrevler featuring the Arabic letter *mīm* broken by the unclear collation involving the double folio numbers above 380\*, or the massed occurrence of otherwise rarely used devices on ff. 18b/1b–28b/10b. A tentative explanation could be that the latter group of pages, which also display clumsily written Ottoman and are badly damaged, come from an early stage in which ‘Alī Ufuḳī was experimenting with methods he later discarded. With an awareness of L and supposing a development process that leads from the one manuscript to the other in spite of the highly probably parallel genesis, notational features containing Arabic letters and/or numerals could be understood as later, being added to his repertoire as his fluency in Ottoman Turkish and the Arabic alphabet increased. The systematization process of information from Paris to London is an issue of continuity and coherence. This process can be traced on different levels such as use of “key signatures” and accidentals, writing direction and

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372b/287b, 375b/218a-1, 381a/217b-2, 413b/235a, 414a/245a, 414b/245b–415a/246a-1, -3, 415b/246b–416a/307b-1, -2, -3, 377\*a/233a-3, 378\*b/224b, 379\*b/225b-1, 381\*a/227a, 234\*b-1.

<sup>90</sup> The letters representing recurring sections or section parts (*teslīm*) as e.g. in ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a are not taken into consideration here.

*uṣūl* designation and will be addressed in the chapters dealing with the individual phenomena.<sup>91</sup>

Being familiar with at least two different notation systems, ‘Alī Ufuḫī decided in favor of importing the five-line staff notation in spite of its shortcomings, most of all its reliance on alteration signs. But did ‘Alī Ufuḫī perceive those conditions as shortcomings the way we construe them in retrospect? Most probably not. This issue has another facet: What did ‘Alī Ufuḫī perceive as a problem at all? In some cases, he probably did not see much demand for action, for example in the case of alteration signs. Generally, he uses the three European signs –sharp, flat (b-molle) and natural (b-durum or naturale) with the natural being the least frequent by far–, but not systematically (which will be discussed in connection with *maḳām* below). In the course of his growing experience with writing Ottoman music, it appears, that his use of the signs starts to change: The b-molle is mirror-inverted to suit the sinistrograde reading direction, which may sometimes be forgotten or overlooked, then evolved into a be-molle according to the same Ottomanizing logic that turned the c clef into a c̄im clef. The raising accidental is the sharp for most of P, but the form most prevalent in L, two parallel slanted lines, starts to appear already in P, albeit scattered throughout the MS, so it remains a possibility that they were added at a later stage.<sup>92</sup> The natural in its role as cancellation sign may be replaced with the sharp or b-molle according to context. ‘Alī Ufuḫī was clearly working to conceive notational signs, gradually becoming abstract and independent from European models, which can be demonstrated with the examples of clef and alteration sign, but also with the time signatures (see chapter 4.3.2). Taken together, all the changes show a trajectory away from traditional European notation while retaining its basic principles: The general notion of the alteration sign is retained, but the signs themselves are gradually detached from their European context, probably being replaced with symbols ‘Alī Ufuḫī perceived as more accessible to Ottoman thinking. The two slanted lines are not a sharp any more that raises a note by a semitone, but they are a raising sign for Ottoman music whose concrete interpretation is dependent on the *maḳām* stated for the piece. The otherwise unexplained solmization table in L, f. 184a, on the other hand, is

<sup>91</sup> On structural signs in L see also Ayangil (2008), p. 407.

<sup>92</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 3b/254b-1, 360b/281b-4, 395a/242a, 379\*b/225b, 384\*b/230b, 234\*b-3.

deeply rooted in European thinking and completely unintelligible without basic information on the hexachordal system.<sup>93</sup> Overall, we are left to wonder whether it was his aim to develop an Ottoman notation that should be taught to Ottoman musicians so they could use his collection, that is, Sloane 3114.

To reflect on alteration signs: If music can be compared to language, alteration signs parallel diacritics and the sounds they represent. For example, English does not employ the Umlaut, nor are its speakers familiar with the pronunciation of “ö” and “ü”. A musician unfamiliar with Ottoman music theory, or, more correctly, Ottoman music as understood, taught and practised in the Sultan’s court and in the city of Istanbul around the middle of the seventeenth century, is unable to perform ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations in a meaningful way. Cultural knowledge and skills are indispensable.<sup>94</sup> It is clear, though, that ‘Alī Ufuḳī possessed those skills. It would be wrong to assume that he reduced the multifaceted phenomena he heard to a more simple surface that only allowed for semitone alterations represented by sharp and flat. From a contemporary perspective, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s level of determination is clearly insufficient for classical Turkish music,<sup>95</sup> which, in the course of its later history following the introduction and general adoption of writing in the European five-line system and in conjunction with the tradition of the mathematically oriented systematist theoretical school, developed a differentiated repertoire of alteration signs.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>93</sup> On the interpretation of the solmization table see below, chapter 4.2 and Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1991a), xif. For an introduction into this system and its historical roots see Allaire, Gaston G. (1972). *The Theory of Hexachords, Solmization and the Modal System*. Musicological Studies and Documents vol. 24. s.l.: American Institute of Musicology.

<sup>94</sup> See also Olley, Jacob (2012). “Modal Diversity in Early Ottoman Music. The Case of Makâm Sabâ”. In: *Near-Eastern Musicology Online* vol. 1, pp. 39–54, p. 40. Here lies the root of all problems connected with historically informed performance practice of Ottoman music. See Ceran, Beyza and Bilgiç, Taha (2015). “Fikret Karakaya ile söyleşi”. In: *Musikişinas* vol. 14, pp. 105–120; Aksoy (2015), pp. 27–29.

<sup>95</sup> This criticism is expressed most sharply by Eugenia Popescu-Judet, who describes ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notation system as “faulty” and suspects him of being insufficiently aware of the importance of the “microintervals”; Popescu-Judet (1996), p. 23.

<sup>96</sup> The prevalently used and referenced system with six alteration signs is the one according to Hüseyin Sadettin Arel and Suphi Ezgi; Raouf Yekta Bey (1922). “La musique turque”. In: *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*. Ed. by Lavignac, Albert and La Laurencie, Lionel de. I,5. Paris: Delagrave, pp. 2945–3064; Signell, Karl (1977). *Makam: Modal Practice in Turkish Art Music*. Seattle: Asian Music Publishing, pp. 22ff.

From the notation technique of ʿAlī Ufukī, including the sparse and inconsequent application of alteration symbols, “key” designations and “time” signatures (called *maḳām* signatures and *uṣūl* signatures in the present study) the conclusion can be drawn that in the seventeenth century, for a musician with full Ottoman enculturation, the statement of the *maḳām* was sufficient. In difficult or ambiguous places, additional information could be supplied for the sake of clarity. Accidentals are often cautionary, e.g. in order to ensure the correct interpretation of the sixth scale degree in Ḥüseynī as either *evc* or *ʿacem* (cf. chapter 4.2.4). From the long tradition of notation-less song-text collections it has become obvious that in vocal music, the mentioning of *maḳām* and *uṣūl* (in Arabic sources, *īqāʿ*) were sufficient for successful performance, teaching and transmission.<sup>97</sup>

Alphabet-based or neumatic symbol notations such as Cantemir or Hampartsum do not pose the same problem:<sup>98</sup> Their more direct relation to Ottoman-Turkish music theory means that they designate the *perdelər* (scale degrees) themselves, not as an abstract dot in a coordinate system; hence they can be understood and played more readily – provided the necessary theoretical knowledge is at the command of the performer or reader. Their disadvantage is a different one: According to the calculation of the underlying intervals, the instrument in use and the passing of time since the recording of a certain piece, their interpretation may vary considerably. For instance, Cantemir does not supply mathematical calculations in the sense of the systematist school that would allow exact reconstruction of the intended interval sizes.<sup>99</sup> Likewise, ʿAlī Ufukī is completely silent on this topic. Were calculations out of fashion from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century?

A reconstruction of ʿAlī Ufukī’s theoretical environment should not be dismissed as entirely futile, as some of his notes in Turc 292 point in certain directions and Sloane 3114 contains an extensive list of diverse European theoretical literature from the early fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. The page is unfortunately worn and hardly legible; some of the more influential theoretical authors that could as yet be identified are

<sup>97</sup> Neubauer (1997), pp. 320f. See also Ayangil (2008), p. 408.

<sup>98</sup> Neubauer (2018), p. 16. Olley (2017), 163f.

<sup>99</sup> Cantemir (2000), pp. 10ff.

Franchino Gafori,<sup>100</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino,<sup>101</sup> Vincenzo Galilei<sup>102</sup> and others.<sup>103</sup> It is unclear what the list stands for; does ‘Alī Ufuḵī enumerate the treatises he himself has read? F. 380/222 allows more insights, even if they are of very limited value for analysis. On this folio (recto and verso), ‘Alī Ufuḵī roughly cites an Italian text describing the mythical invention of the modes in Ancient Greece and their affective contents. Stories demonstrating their effects on the human soul are added, involving historical personalities from the Ancient world. The excerpt is so rough and hurried that reliable identification is very difficult. However, there is a certain resemblance in the names and stories adduced (Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra, Dido and Aeneas, Alexander the Great) with Gioseffo Zarlino’s *Institutioni Harmoniche*, especially the chapters “De gli Inuentori Dei Modi” and “Della Natura, ò Proprietà dei Modi”.<sup>104</sup> This work is part of the complete edition cited in the *Mecmū’a-yi sâz ü söz*. Its analytical value is limited as there are no statements on modes, their identification and related issues. Generally the question remains whether the theory –European and Ottoman– that ‘Alī Ufuḵī copied, relates directly to the music actually notated, taught and performed. Theory is often retrospective.

In the compendium, ‘Alī Ufuḵī has left a few comments referring to oral repertoire acquisition, textualization and his understanding of the music and its principles. F. 244a/90a is a particularly rich document in this regard:

Prima compone p[er] sonar et sona con il Tamburgi et poi, sapendo  
ben sonar, compagna con la Voce. [lyrical text] Si vai a la Meḡhana.  
Jmpara tutti li vssulij cioe il Tamburro il Daire il Zijl Tamburgi che  
impara la Surna et il Piffaro o Balaban.  
B Ali: [...] che impara ancor lui Zurna etc Et quando tu componerai

<sup>100</sup> Gafori, Franchino (1518). *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus*. Milan: Gottardo Ponzio. URL: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10148094-8> (visited on 09/24/2016).

<sup>101</sup> “Opere del Giuseffo Zarlino de la Musica Ven 1569”, i.e. Zarlino, Gioseffo (1588–1589). *Tutte l’opere*. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Venice: Francesco de’ Franceschi. URL: <http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV035557937> (visited on 09/24/2016).

<sup>102</sup> Galilei, Vincenzo (1602). *Dialogo [...] della musica antica, et della moderna*. Florence: Filippo Giunti. URL: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k51305s> (visited on 09/24/2016).

<sup>103</sup> *Sloane 3114*, f. 9a. ‘Alī Ufuḵī (1976), p. 25.

<sup>104</sup> Zarlino (1588), p. 378f.

qualche cosa canta et batte vn vssul, et sopra quello vssul cantando poi chiapa in memoria et scriue. Et quanto farai il altro giung scriue ancor sempre battendo il vussul, et contando Al vltimo di quanti vussulij e longo il peschrewe. (First compose for playing [on an instrument] and play it with the *ṭanbūr* player and then, when he can play it well, join in with the voice. When you go to the *meşk-hâne*. Learn all the *uṣüller*, that is [on?] the drum, the *dāire*, the *zīl*. [The] *ṭanbūr* player who learns the *zurnā* and the pipe or *balaban*. B Ali. [...] also he learns the *zurnā* etc. And when you compose something, sing [it] and beat an *uṣul*, and singing over this *uṣul* you memorize [the piece] and write [it] down. And when you make another *cōnk*, always write beating the *uṣul* and counting in the end how many *uṣüller* the *Peşrev* is long.)

◁Alī Ufuḳī refers to the actual creative process of composing a new piece and consolidating it by repeatedly singing it over the *uṣul*. The note implies that ◁Alī Ufuḳī saw himself as a composer, which is corroborated by at least two headings (*Pişref-i [sic] Dilkeş li-muḥarririhi*, P ff. 19b/2b–20a/3a, and *Semā̄i li-şāhibihi*, L f. 122b). In a few places ◁Alī Ufuḳī makes statements about notating and notation. Most importantly, he mentions plans about how to prepare a second collection (“giunk nouo”, see also the preceding quote), e.g. in this lamentably illegible comment:

NB. di notar [...] et li Estre con lo murekeb giallo doue ha d'intrar la [...] Et si farai vno giunk nouo fa scriuer de lo ieni kaffa primo le parole poi tu vi metterai le note sopra<sup>105</sup> (Nota bene to notate [...] and the musical ideas with yellow ink, where he has to insert the [...]. And if you make a new *cōnk* make the new apprentice write the words first, then you will add the notes above).

This plan was obviously implemented. In L, a large portion of the headings and also many texts of vocal music were written by a very harmonious hand, which may indeed belong to the “ieni kaffa” (possibly scribe 2). However, there is no yellow ink in Sloane 3114, only red and black. In a second remark he gives an insight (however minimal) into the process of repertoire selection:

Al Bairam. Questo Turki cantarai e scriuarai inprimis di tutti ne lo giunk.<sup>106</sup> (For the *bayrām* [religious festival]. This *Türkī* you will sing and write before all others in(to) the *cōnk*.)

<sup>105</sup> *Turc 292*, f. 242a/88a.

<sup>106</sup> *Turc 292*, f. 244a/90a.

The piece that seemed so important to ʿAlī Ufuḫī is the Türkī “Derunimden czikar Ahij zarime”, recorded without notation but to be sung to the tune of “Deime bir ghiozelle” (f. 121b/261b). The interesting point is that neither this song text nor the melody it should be sung with (“Jn Ton Deime bir ghiozelle” as noted in the margin) can be found in L, the other extant *cönk*. There are two possible explanations: 1. Although ʿAlī Ufuḫī took this note, he later forgot it or it was overlooked when he went through the potentially chaotic loose-leaf collection again. 2. There is a third notation collection that has not surfaced yet or is entirely lost. This possibility, however vague, should not be discarded entirely: Neither does a Türkī obviously dear to ʿAlī Ufuḫī appear in L, nor does it contain yellow ink, nor is it ordered according to *uṣūl*:

Vn giunk scriue vn altro giunk scriue un duwek vn Fahte vn sakil vn dewri p[er] tuti mekami<sup>107</sup> (Write a *cönk*, another *cönk*; write one Düyek, one Fāḫte, one Şakīl, one Devr-i [revān?]) through all the *maḳāmlar*.)

This plan for ordering the new collection according to *uṣūllar* is highly unusual and was –as far as we know– not accomplished. The important fact, however, is that ʿAlī Ufuḫī was intent on producing a new, orderly and aesthetically valuable collection. This is further underlined by the considerable number of short remarks concerning a change in pitch or unit of counting in a future notation.<sup>108</sup> It is also important to point out that there seems to have been a change in ʿAlī Ufuḫī’s use of the terms *cönk* and *mecmūʿa*: While in P he uses *cönk* repeatedly, L is titled *Mecmūʿa-yi sâz u söz*. What those terms exactly meant to him is difficult to assess. The modern concept of the *cönk* mainly as a source of ʿAşîk poetry was most probably not valid in his time, as the *cönk* he would eventually produce again encompassed a broad spectrum of styles.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Turc 292*, f. 364a/290b.

<sup>108</sup> Such remarks are found on *Turc 292*, ff. 3b/254b, 17a/275a, 63a/265b, 121b/261b, 175b/299b, 243a/89a, 256b/102b–257a/103a, 288b/143b, 372a/287a, 234\*a. See the Critical Report for translations and comments.

<sup>109</sup> Regarding this terminology discussion see Koz (2012).



### 3.2 Versions

The documentability of historic change in the transmission of Ottoman repertoire is an important question that has inspired comparative studies of single pieces<sup>110</sup> or *maḳāmlar*.<sup>111</sup> However, while in special cases conclusions can be drawn, it is less possible nor realistic to establish a general trajectory. It is a well-known fact that to the present day, versions of notated Ottoman pieces differ from source to source, even between ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s two collections and then further on to Cantemir, Kevserī, and –if the line of tradition reached that far– the Hampartsum manuscripts until the late nineteenth century.<sup>112</sup> Dealing with, evaluating and interpreting these variations in musicological research again poses major problems of a fundamental nature. Ralf Martin Jäger coined the very useful term of “*opus-cluster*” which takes into account contributions by single personalities –in the present case, ʿAlī Ufuḳī as the person to notate one or more versions of a certain piece, giving it a “characteristic, but not an individual basic form”– and the entire transmitting community which upholds a piece over the course of time.<sup>113</sup> The concept voiced by Ersu Pekin that “the creative process can be endlessly sustained through performance” is equally valuable for the analysis of the music notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī.<sup>114</sup>

The notion of a “correct” version is alien and belongs to a modern discussion that has no relevance for the historical study of a musical culture in which the coexistence of various versions, all perceived as valid interpretations of the same essence was generally agreed upon and approved. Belief in a “correct” version is for instance voiced by Haydar Sanal, who expects a critical edition of all versions of a given piece to produce the essential (“*aşlna uygun*”) version.<sup>115</sup> On the contrary, Behar adduces the

<sup>110</sup> Wright (1988). Jäger (1998a), p. 31.

<sup>111</sup> Olley (2012).

<sup>112</sup> See Olley’s recent article for a comparative analysis between K and a Hampartsum source; Olley (2018).

<sup>113</sup> Jäger (2015), p. 42.

<sup>114</sup> Pekin (2015), p. 58.

<sup>115</sup> “Bu eserlerden hangisinin aşlna uygun olduğuna ortaya çıkarmak, yani bir tenkidli neşir (édition critique) yapmak, bugün için pek güç, hattâ imkânsız bir iş [...]” (“Establishing which of those works is faithful to the original, that is, producing a critical edition, is for the moment a very difficult, even impossible task [...]). Sanal, Haydar (1964). *Mehter Musikisi. Bestekâr Mehterler – Mehter Havaları*. İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, p. 130.

Peşrev on f. 361a/293b, which features a “secondo hane in altra maniera” (“the second *hâne* in a different way”) as a potent example for the traditional Ottoman view on music transmission and stresses: “Ali Ufkî Bey de bunda şaşacak bir şey görmeyip iki versiyonu da notaya almıştır”.<sup>116</sup>

It has to be kept in mind that comparisons can only be made for the courtly instrumental repertoire, as neither C nor K transmit vocal repertoire which is so richly preserved in ‘Alî Ufuķî’s collections. The vocal repertoire can thus only be compared between ‘Alî Ufuķî’s collections, the historical change of the genres involved precluding a longer history of reception anyway. Earlier researchers have described and interpreted the phenomenon of deviating versions quite differently:

1. ‘Alî Ufuķî recorded different performances of the same piece. This is corroborated by the fact that ‘Alî Ufuķî in the heading of one Peşrev in L alludes to a certain performance (“revîş”) by “Şehlâ Hasan Çelebi” (115a).<sup>117</sup>
2. ‘Alî Ufuķî consciously recorded only a “skeleton” or “melodic outline” in the sense of a memory aid which would be embellished in performance.<sup>118</sup>
3. ‘Alî Ufuķî wrote the notation at some distance from the actual performance, which accounts for simplification.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>116</sup>“‘Alî Ufuķî Bey, finding nothing to be astonished about in this, notated both versions”. Behar (2012), pp. 89f., 91, 106f. Behar (2008), pp. 145f. Cantemir’s view is different: In the explanation of his notation system he states that his wish is to be able to record music according to the will of the composer (“şart-ı muşannif üzre”). Behar (2012), p. 108. See also Behar (2017), p. 105 and especially pp. 106ff. for a discussion of Cantemir’s concept of *şart-ı muşannif*.

<sup>117</sup>Sanal (1964), p. 130. This theory can also be extended to C, as has been formulated by Wright: “The notations of the latter [‘Alî Ufuķî] are basically very similar to Cantemir’s, but sometimes fuller, showing therefore (on the assumption that the tradition remained relatively stable during the approximately 50 years covering their two collections) that certain performance conventions may indeed be understood to apply to at least some of the pieces as represented by Cantemir [...] Since there is nothing to suggest that Cantemir knew Ali Ufki’s notations, the near identity of the two versions is most easily explained by the common sense conclusion, which would support the second hypothesis, that they are both reasonably faithful accounts of the piece as performed”. Wright (1988), pp. 9f.

<sup>118</sup>Reinhard (1992), p. 225, Wright (1988), 1 and passim.

<sup>119</sup>Reinhard (1992), p. 225.

4. While preparing L (or sometimes even in P itself), ‘Alī Ufuḳī consciously edited the “preliminary”, “early”, “sketchlike” notations in P, resulting in more refined and “correct” versions. In the vocal repertoire, some instances of more elaborate and more simple melody versions notated side by side can be found, for example ff. 231b/76b–232a/77–78a. But there is no reason to suppose an organized reworking on a larger scale.<sup>120</sup>
5. ‘Alī Ufuḳī consciously collected different versions; see f. 361a/293b and the “secondo hane in altra maniera”.<sup>121</sup> He does not always consider them as equal or interchangeable, as the example of f. 241b/87b shows. Three variants of a closing phrase are notated, but one of them is “il piu bel” (“the most beautiful”). The sometimes dense corrections and reworkings show that ‘Alī Ufuḳī went back to his notations and reflected on them, maybe with a recent performance in mind.<sup>122</sup>
6. ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s versions reflect the performance style of his instrument, the *santūr* (or *sanṭūr*, dulcimer), while Cantemir’s versions are adapted for the *ney* (reed flute).<sup>123</sup> The notion of the instrument determining the course of a melody and its possible embellishment has also been expressed by Haydar Sanal in his study on *mehter* music. For instance, he attributes rich ornamentation and quick runs to the double reed instrument *zurnā*, giving two versions of the *Ḥünkār [sic] Peşrevi* (L f. 134b and C 299, without stating the source) as an example of how the *zurnā* may interpret longer values as turns and trill-like figures, while repeated jumps of a fourth or fifth are understood as being influenced by the *boru* (trumpet).<sup>124</sup> Deviations in the use of alteration between L and C also belong in this context: Due to the different writing and transmission systems, differences appear. Cantemir’s notation system also affects the possibility of notating small values, which occur particularly in ornamentation.<sup>125</sup> Those differences are amplified by the changing interpretation of *maḳām*.

<sup>120</sup> Ekinci and Haug (2016), pp. 89, 93, 101.

<sup>121</sup> Behar (2008), pp. 145f.

<sup>122</sup> Ekinci and Haug (2016), pp. 89f. Tansuğ (1997), p. 18.

<sup>123</sup> Wright (1988), p. 9; Feldman (1996a), pp. 418ff. Jäger (2015), pp. 44f.

<sup>124</sup> Sanal (1964), pp. 118f.

<sup>125</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 410, 417ff.

7. In the course of time, performances become more embellished with the performance speed decreasing.<sup>126</sup> Music “evolves” from simple to more complex, resulting in more intricate, more detailed melodies.<sup>127</sup> This is difficult to judge on the basis of ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s notations; those statements in any case speak of longer periods of time than a few decades.

The present study is dedicated to the work of ‘Alī Ufuḫī and hence focuses on the comparison between the versions recorded by himself and the conclusions that may be drawn from the differences between P and L. Detailed information on deviations between P and L can be found in the Critical Report where they are listed note by note. Comparisons of the entire repertoire with C and K have not been conducted; this would have exceeded the scope of the present study and thus remains among the desiderata for future research.<sup>128</sup> Comparing P and L, various types of difference and deviation between versions can be roughly classified. These categories would also be valid for a comparison with C, K and, in the future, hopefully also for comparison with other sources up to the present day. Mehmet Uğur Ekinci’s transcription of the Kevserī manuscript has been recently published,<sup>129</sup> while the Nāyī ‘Oṣman Dede collection, written in an alphanumeric notation, remains mostly out of reach in a private collection.<sup>130</sup> A few selected examples from the instrumental and vocal repertoire can serve to illustrate the variance.<sup>131</sup> Of course, there is every shade in between and most pieces display more than one phenomenon:

🍂 Identical or near identical versions (including a few minor deviations in pitch and elaboration such as segmentation of longer values). Pieces attributable to this group are prevalent. In cases where they are nearly identical, synoptic notations have been considered to be expendable in the

<sup>126</sup> Wright (1988), pp. 1 and *passim*.

<sup>127</sup> Aksoy (2015), p. 16.

<sup>128</sup> See also the comparisons between L and C by Feldman, aiming at questions of style and compositional technique; Feldman (1996a), pp. 339–363. First steps have been taken by Mehmet Uğur Ekinci in his joint article with the present author, Ekinci and Haug (2016); see also Ekinci (2012), pp. 219–224.

<sup>129</sup> Ekinci (2016).

<sup>130</sup> Doğrusöz-Dişiyaçık, Nilgün (2013). “Nāyî Osman Dede’nin nota koleksiyonundan bir saz eseri: Segâh Peşrev”. In: *Akademik Bakış Dergisi* vol. 37. URL: <http://www.akademikbakis.org/eskisite/37/42.pdf> (visited on 07/10/2013).

<sup>131</sup> See the Critical Report for more detail.

Critical Report. Differences in ornamentation appear in both directions, i.e. a piece that is recorded in P in a plainer style can be more ornamented in L, but the reverse phenomenon is likewise encountered. This is an important detail as it points to the theory quoted above that the versions notated by ‘Alī Ufuḫī were somehow evolving in the course of his work on P and subsequently on L. A telling example to refute this theory is the untitled *Peşrev* on ff. 201b/47b–202a/48 (L f. 88b, *Peşrev-i Südcî-zāde*; Fig. 3.1). Already the first section of H1 shows how more elaborated passages and plainer ones alternate in the two versions, making the identification of a clear trajectory impossible.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>132</sup>P: H1 b beginning Sm rest deleted. L: H1: 31-32 Sm d' d' and H1: 40 Sm b' have to be inserted and H1: 56 has to be read Sm d'. In the L version, H1 is not divided.



Figure 3.1: Synopsis of the untitled Peşrev, P ff. 201b/47b–202a/48a and L f. 88b, *Peşrev-i Südcî-zâde*

The three versions of the Bûselik Peşrev (P ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a, 352b/194b and L f. 166b) point in the same direction. However, versions P2 and L tend towards segmentation of long values, while P1 displays more runs in small values; hence it could be stated that the style of elaboration differs while its degree does not. Another Peşrev adduced to corroborate this observation is the *Külliyât nazîresi* or *Şâh Murâd Peşrev* (ff. 283b/129b–285a/131a, f. 375b/218a and L f. 25b–26a). The Murabba<sup>c</sup> “gondzieie ol neße kim czaki gireba itturur” on f. 402b/241b (L f. 105b) is an example from the vocal repertoire.

🌀 Identical or near identical versions with differing basic counting unit. Another basic unit does not necessarily mean that the piece has been reworked melodically; on the contrary, high melodic similarity occurs regularly in such cases. Possible reasons for and implications of deviating basic units are discussed in the chapter on *uşûl*. In rare instances, the counting unit may change in the course of the piece. In the Murabba<sup>c</sup> “Gel benim naslij iarum gel” f. 129b/298b (L f. 44b), sections A and D are based on the Mi in both versions, while sections B and C change to the Sm in the P version (Fig. 3.2).<sup>133</sup>

<sup>133</sup>The text is omitted for the sake of clarity. An *uşûl* is not implied due to insufficient information. The melody does not exhibit regular rhythmic patterns, neither do the section lengths give strong hints (9 Mi, 9 Mi, 4 Mi, 8 Mi, 16 Mi). In the edition, sections are separated by breathing signs according to the disposition of the text.

Figure 3.2: Synopsis of the Murabba' “Gel benim naşij iarum gel”,  
P f. 129b/298b and L f. 44b

When the basic unit of counting changes in the course of a composition and we do not suppose an error on the part of ʿAlī Ufuḫī, it may be suggested that a certain freedom in performance existed that allowed for (proportional) acceleration. A comparable phenomenon can be encountered in the Peşrev “Dewri Kebir” (f. 140a/295b, L f. 70b, Fig.3.3).

☞ Different treatment of alterations in otherwise similar or highly similar versions occurs frequently. Sometimes, as on f. 381a/217b (L f. 62b), single accidentals are exchanged for a *maḳām* signature valid for the entire piece. However, it is difficult to interpret because it is unclear whether ʿAlī Ufuḫī regarded the accidentals as necessary and added them to a second version or unnecessary and discarded them, whether he heard a different performance interpreting the *maḳām* in question differently or whether he perceived the alterations in the P version (which is generally assumed to be the earlier one) as wrong. The “enharmonic” exchange of a lowering accidental with its raising equivalent is a special case: This exchange theoretically only functions in the European context of the equal temperament, in which all semitones are principally of the same size: A raised f amounts to a lowered g, but a raised çārgāh is not the same as

a lowered *nevā*. The P version “Vssulij Fahte Peschrewi Beiati Szerifin” (ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a-2, L f. 71a) uses a raised *nevā* which is replaced by a lowered *ḥüseynī* in L. Comparably, the L version of the Peşrev *Şāh Murād* has a raised *çārgāh* where the P version has a lowered *nevā*. The same happens on the following page (f. 345a/187a, L f. 156b); both Peşrevler are in *maḳām* Sünbüle according to L, but the phenomenon also occurs in the context of Rāst (f. 367b/182b, L f. 112b). It is unclear what motivated those reworkings, because in the theoretical system underlying ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations as presented on f. 229b/74b, it seems as though there was only one scale degree each between *çārgāh* and *nevā* and *nevā* and *ḥüseynī* respectively. Analyses in chapters 4.2.1 and 4.2.4 have shown, however, that the scale on f. 229b/74b is not complete and that ‘Alī Ufuḳī must have been aware of more pitches than notated there.

🎵 Melodically different versions, but still recognizably the same piece. Versions tentatively attributable to different styles of execution are grouped here. The “Missir peschrewi” (f. 21b/4b–23a/6a, L f. 36a) is an example for divergence in the density of ornamentation, which is higher in P, as well as rhythmic and melodic elaboration. H3 differs more widely.

The Peşrev “Dewri Kebir” on f. 140a/295b (L f. 70b) is a comparable case; additionally the basic unit of counting changes in the course of the piece (Fig. 3.3).<sup>134</sup>

The image displays three staves of musical notation. The first two staves are in 14/4 time signature. The top staff is labeled 'P' and the bottom staff is labeled 'L'. Both have a melody with a 'H1 a' label. The third staff is in 2/4 time signature and has a melody with 'a' and 'b' labels.

<sup>134</sup> The notation is incomplete, containing only H1 a-b, M a-b, H2 a-b and possibly a fragment of H3. *Uşûl* Devr-i kebîr as stated, fourteen-beat structure with Sm as basic unit. At the end of the second staff, following the second statement of the *mülâzime*, a fair version of H1 is added. For reasons of clarity, this version is omitted here.



Musical score for Chapter 3, Notation, page 176. The score consists of seven systems of two staves each. The first system includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature. The first staff of the first system has a treble clef and contains a melodic line with a repeat sign and first/second endings. The second staff of the first system has a bass clef and contains a bass line with a repeat sign. The second system has a treble clef with a whole rest on the first staff and a bass line with a repeat sign. The third system has a treble clef with a whole rest on the first staff and a bass line with a repeat sign. The fourth system has a treble clef with a whole rest on the first staff and a bass line with a repeat sign. The fifth system has a treble clef with a whole rest on the first staff and a bass line with a repeat sign. The sixth system has a treble clef with a whole rest on the first staff and a bass line with a repeat sign. The seventh system has a treble clef with a whole rest on the first staff and a bass line with a repeat sign. Various annotations like 'M a', 'H2 a', 'H3 a', 'c', and 'd' are present throughout the score.



Figure 3.3: Synopsis of the Peşrev “Dewri Kebir”,  
P f. 140a/295b, L f. 70b

F. 152a/23a features two versions of the same Murabbaʿ setting which is also found in L on f. 162. Among them, the three versions have three different basic counting units, and while P2 and L resemble each other closely, P1 deviates considerably, displaying more lively ornamentation in the smallest counting unit. Furthermore, sections close on different scale degrees, and parts of the refrain section after A are entirely unrelated.<sup>135</sup>

1 *A a*

P1 8 | G. . . . . :||

1 Derd - le ya - ra ol - mu-şum ben ni - ce dil ver - dim sa-ña  
2 'Ağ - lı - mı yi - tir - mi-şim hay - vãn o-lub kal - dim ta-ña  
4 Bil - mez-im ne sihr - è - der şol çeşm - i bī - mā - ruñ ba-ña

P2 8 | G. . . . . :||

L 8 | G. . . . . :||

1 Derd - le ya - ra ol - mu-şum ben ni - ce dil ver - dim sa-ña  
2 'Ağ - lı - mı yi - tir - mi-şim hay - vãn o-lub kal - dim ta-ña  
4 Bil - me - zem ne sihr - è - der şol çeşm - i bī - mā - ruñ ba-ña

<sup>135</sup> An eight-beat structure is assumed and designated with breath marks in the edition (P1: based on the Sm, P2: based on the Mi, L: based on the Sb). For the sake of clarity, the text of P2 has been omitted.

2 A\*

P1  
R Pür ce - fâ - sîn bî- ve-fâ - sîn yâr hey in - şâf sa-ña  
R Pür ce - fâ - sîn  
R Pür ce - fâ - sîn

P2  
A\*

L  
R Pür ce - fâ - sîn bî ve-fâ - sîn yâr hey in - şâf sa-ña  
R Pür eyzân  
R Pür ce - fâ - sîn eyzân

3 B

P1  
3 Gör - me-sem bir laḥ - za 'â - lem ba - şı-ma zin - dâñ o-lur

P2  
B

L  
3 Gör - mü-şüm bir laḥ - za 'â - lem ba - şı-ma zin - dâñ o-lur

4 B\*

P1  
R\* Bî- ve-fâ - sîn pür ce-fâ - sîn yâr hey in - şâf sa-ña

P2  
B\*

L  
R Pür ce - fâ - sîn bî- ve-fâ - sîn yâr hey in - şâf sa-ña

Figure 3.4: Synopsis of the Murabba<sup>c</sup> *Derdle yara olmuşum;*  
P f. 152a/23a-1 and -2, L f. 162

F. 217b/63b is an interesting instance of a sinistrograde and a dextrograde notation of the same piece on the same page; nevertheless, the two notations display melodic diversions to the extent of different section finals. A similar instance can be encountered on ff. 346b/188b–347a/189a (L f. 25a): Notation 3 (P2) of the Türkî “Szeftali isterem mahrum ghiondurme” has the

outward appearance of a sketch for Notation 2 (P1), but looks consolidated and straightened out, as if ‘Alī Ufuḳī was unsatisfied with the notation in the main staff and decided to work out an improved version. This second version is also less embellished.<sup>136</sup>

Figure 3.5: Synopsis of the Türkī “Szeftali isterem mahrum ghiondurme”  
ff. 346b/188b–347a/189a-2 and -3

In the case of the Murabba‘ “Ateḅi hasretle bagrim nige bir dagḷaiam” (f. 343a/185a, L f. 173b), the different melodic design of the section B results in a different amount of *uṣṭüller*. Examples such as these show that there was obviously considerable leeway in what was perceived as still the same piece. Ff. 206a/52a, 232b/77–78b–233a/79a or 398a/238b-2 likewise exemplify this group. Even wider divergence and less stringent coherence can be attested to the five versions (plus alternatives in *ossia* staves) of *Elim erimese bir zeman* on f. 175b/299b, L f. 35a and L f. 39b. The Varṣaḡı “Bir ḡamzesi mestāne” on f. 132a/268a (L f. 70a and f. 73a) can serve as an example of major melodic and rhythmic differences. Nevertheless the unity of the versions is undeniable.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>136</sup> P1 is treated as unmetered. The melody of P2 exhibits regular units of six Sm, requiring one emendation (edition: breath marks). P2: B 4: 1-6 Sb d’ read dotted Sb d’. The text is omitted for the sake of clarity.

<sup>137</sup> *Uṣṭül Devr-i revān* as stated in L f. 73a. – The two L versions are nearly identical; the synoptic notation shows *Sloane 3114*, f. 70a. The text is omitted for the sake of clarity.

Figure 3.6: Synopsis of the Varşığı “Bir ğamzesi mestâne”  
 P f. 132a/268a and L f. 70a

Differing rhythmical interpretation of the basically same melody is a recurrent phenomenon in vocal music: for instance, in one version, the melody is organized in groups of three or six beats, while the other one is clearly divided into units of four or eight beats. Examples can be found on ff. 119a/259a (L f. 176a), 153b/25bisb-1 (L f. 32a), 262a/108a (L f. 13b), 353a/195a (L f. 82a) or 406a/309b (L f. 59b), where the ratio is eight Sm in P to six Mi in L:<sup>138</sup>

<sup>138</sup>L version D 2: 5–6 dotted Sb d' read Sb d'. The text is omitted for the sake of clarity.



Figure 3.7: Synopsis of the İlahî *Hamdü'l-lâh çok şükür bār-ı Hudānıñ varına* P f. 406a/309b and L f. 59b

Reasons for those deviations, which are rare but too frequent to be attributed to mere error, may be found in different performances or a certain freedom in execution that allowed different interpretations. When copying a certain piece, ‘Alî Ufuķî may also have changed his mind regarding the rhythmic organization. In this connection, the Peşrev titled ‘*Acemî*’ on ff. 229b/74b–230a/75a should be mentioned. Its five-beat rhythmical organization is unusual, but regular, free of corrections and errors and does not obviously require emendation. However, the C and K versions are in the six-beat version of *uşul Evfer*.<sup>139</sup> Unmetered vocal pieces, i.e. vocal pieces understood as unmetered in the absence of rhythmical symmetries or recognizable groupings are a special and not easily accessible group inside the vocal repertoire. The Türkî “Endim seirelidim kijziñ Adajı” (f. 61a/271b) and its L counterpart (f. 176b) differ melodically, especially because the P version has ornamenting movements on basically every note, while L is notated in a plainer way. Still, the overall melodic lines resemble each other enough to belong to the semantic field of “the same song”. The two versions may well represent two performances in different styles, which would be unproblematic if a proximity to the modern *uzun hava* was accepted.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup>See below chapter 4.3.3. Ekinçi (2016), pp. 234f.

<sup>140</sup>The text is omitted for the sake of clarity. See below chapter 4.6. Reinhard, Kurt and Reinhard, Ursula (1984b). *Musik der Türkei. Die Volksmusik*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, pp. 16–20.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Endim seirelidim kijziñ Adajij". The score is written for two staves, labeled 'P' (Piano) and 'L' (Lute). It consists of six systems of music. The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system is marked 'A 1'. The third system is marked 'B 2'. The fourth system is marked 'C 3'. The fifth system is marked 'D 4'. The sixth system is marked 'R R' and ends with a double bar line. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

Figure 3.8: Synopsis of the Türkī “Endim seirelidim kijziñ Adajij”  
P f. 61a/271b and L f. 176b

Formally different versions (e.g. sections are missing, replaced or appear in a different order).<sup>141</sup> Formally different versions can still display fairly high degrees of similarity approaching sameness in those sections common to

<sup>141</sup> There is even a documented case of a subsequently added *hāne* by a different, later composer; Jäger (1998a), pp. 39f.

both versions. The *Peşrev* on ff. 200b/46b–201a/47a (L f. 35b, *Peşrev-i ‘Alī Beğ*), the *Semā‘ī* on ff. 286b/132b–287a/133a (L f. 54a) or the *Peşrev-i Kūtbī [sic] Nay [sic]* (f. 345a/187a, L f. 156b) are such cases. This phenomenon also occurs in vocal music, as the example of the song (of unidentified genre) titled “Maie Dewri revan” (f. 352a/194a, L f. 105a) shows. Different treatment of repeats and *volte* (often in spite of high melodic similarity) are encountered repeatedly, see for example ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a-1 (L ff. 64b–65a) and -2 (L f. 71a) or f. 352b/194b-1 (L ff. 42b–43a). A *Semā‘ī* in *maḳām Şabā* (according to L f. 90b) found on ff. 201b/47b–202a/48a, whose formal differences, however, could also be understood as results of unfamiliarity with the *serḫāne*-less structure presented by the L version. Additional repetitions or embellishments may extend one version; the *Türkī* “Hak nasib iderse bir kez sineme” f. 253b/99b (L f. 13a) is such an instance. The L version of the *Türkī* “Bagdadi basraj seiran eilesem” (f. 270a/116a, L f. 66b) has three melodic lines more than the P version, resulting in the formal scheme ABCDE instead of ABAB. The refrain requiring this extension is likewise not extant in P.<sup>142</sup>

**A**

P  
1,1 Bağ - da - dı bas - ra - ij sei - ran ei - le - sem  
3 [EB - kin - i - lè be - ni hai - ran ei - le - sen

L  
1,1 Bağ - dā - dı Baş - rā - yı sey - rān ey - le - sem

**B**

2 A - ğeb der - wiß of - sam ghio - zum ia - ri bu - lam - mi  
4 A - ğeb der - wiß of - sam ghio - zum ia - ri bu - lam - mi]

L  
2 'A - ceb der - vīş ol - sam yā - ri bu - lam - mi

**C**

3 'Aş - kıñi - i - le be - ni ḫay - rān ey - le - sen

<sup>142</sup>The sections of the melody contain regular units of ten beats organized as 3+3+2+2 (marked by a breathing sign in the edition). I,3 and 4 in P are not underlaid but supplied separately, hence in square brackets.



Figure 3.9: Synopsis of the Türkî “Bagdadi basrajî seiran eilesem”  
P f. 270a/116a and L f. 66b

Last but not least the vocal Semâ’î “J wefa gelmek muhal oldi nigiarun dili pesendimden” (f. 397b/244a, L f. 20a) should be mentioned. In P, it is framed by two untexted phrases tentatively explained as instrumental pre- and postlude. They are both not extant in L, where the melody is also written in a plainer style.

☞ Exceptional cases. Versions exhibiting any degree of similarity up to near sameness but attributed to different *maqâm*lar or *uşûl*ler are striking examples. Deviations in *uşûl* attributions are easier to explain: f. 343b/185b-2, L f. 111b is Düyek based on the Mi in P and Hâfif based on the Sm in L; if a half *uşûl* (see below) is accepted, the two rhythmic entities can be understood as numerically equivalent (disregarding the different stroke and accentuation patterns). The reverse case – a “long *uşûl*”, Şakîl, in P is exchanged for Düyek in L – can be found on f. 370b/285b, L ff. 116b–117a. Both interpretations are possible. The same Peşrev also features a deviation in *maqâm* attribution (Râst-Penggâh in P, Râst in L). Those two entities, however, seem to be closely related anyway (see below chapter 4.2.4). F. 322b/177b-1 (‘Uşşâk), L f. 74b (Beyâtî) is a case more difficult to explain, even more so as the two versions exhibit a fairly high similarity. In the two versions of the Türkî *Dōsta toğrı olan yola* –f. 381b/217a headed “Arak” and L f. 132b placed in the faşl-ı Evc–, melodic deviations are likewise considerable, but the final is the same. Especially concerning the vocal repertoire, the question has to be asked how seriously the placement of a Türkî in a certain *faşl* is to be taken. A case of highly similar versions with conflicting attributions such as f. 382b/215b (heading ‘Uşşâk) and L f. 78b (faşl-ı ‘Acem) is indeed difficult to explain, even more so as the *faşl* for the *maqâm* stated in P does exist. Slightly less similar but still resemblant

are the versions of a Semā̄r attributed to Nevā in P (f. 413b/235a) and located in the faşl-ı ‘Uşşāk respectively (L f. 66a). The *Peşrev-i Şakıl* on ff. 18b/1b–19a/2a-1 and L f. 136a is an interesting case for more than one reason. First of all, the L version is notated on b = ‘rāk (and placed in the same *faşl*, while the P version has its final on e’ = segāh. The implications of this very rarely encountered deviance are difficult to assess. In any case, it would be hasty to conclude that ‘Alī Ufuķī generally used transposition as it is customary today. The page in question belongs to a group of comparatively problematic notations with otherwise rarely encountered features, so the conclusion that those pages represent an earlier, less assured stage of writing is supported. In addition to the deviating pitch context, the P version has a much higher degree of ornamentation and melodic movement. H3 is completely different with the P version posing unsolved problems regarding *uşul*. The *Hünkār [sic] Peşrevi* on ff. 21b/4b–22a/5a belongs to the same group of problematic notations. While its internal concordance on f. 344a/186a and L f. 143 resemble each other closely, this notation differs widely.<sup>143</sup> Employing the rare g1 clef, it ends on evc, one octave above the required ‘rāk. Formal differences are considerable as well: H2 and H3 are exchanged and the first version (which can be safely assumed to be the earlier one; see also the Critical Report) has no S.

The three versions of the Peşrev by Çengī Ca’fer following each other on ff. 359a/280a, 359b/280b and 360a/281a (L ff. 41b–42a) are definitely an exceptional case not encountered again in the compendium. This piece was obviously very important for ‘Alī Ufuķī as he recorded four versions of it. They differ between each other in various aspects: melodic, formal and concerning the treatment of alterations. The interdependence of the four versions can be explained as follows: First, there is P2 with the larger basic unit. Structurally, P2 deviates most, featuring a different ending of the M. In P3, likewise the ending of the M is solved differently, but the melodic material largely agrees with P1 and L. Dispositions deviate; the synoptic edition attempts to synchronize them for the sake of better overview. The following explanation is suggested: P1, containing all sections but showing signs of insecurity, was written first. Then, P3 was copied from P1, leaving out the H2, referring to the H2 “above”. P3 resembles P1 melodically and

<sup>143</sup> It differs so much that its recognition as a concordance of f. 344a/186a, in spite of the identical title, escaped the present author and must be credited to Mehmet Uğur Ekinci; see Ekinci and Haug (2016).

structurally, even though there are deviations. As L and P3 are almost identical, L was likely copied from P3 except for the H2 which, in turn, is almost identical to P1 to which P3 recurs. The role of the incomplete P2 is more difficult to determine. As Düyek tends to be standardized with the Sm as basic unit,<sup>144</sup> the larger unit suggests an earlier date of notation. Yet it is in the middle between P1 and P3, the paper being homogenous in the relevant part of the gathering. P2 may thus reflect a different performance or a different line of tradition. Following a similar line of thought, the connections between versions of the *Şakül ʿIrāk* Peşrev (f. 370a/285a, f. 414a/245a, L f. 139b) have been tentatively explained: As the beginning of the M is more convincingly solved in P1, it seems likely that M was copied from P1, even though P2 and L resemble each other more closely. The Murabbaʿ “Seninle fahr iderem senden Vzghe iarim iok” (f. 407a/308b-1) has three concordances in L (ff. 113b, 115b and 125). All four versions resemble each other closely with the exception of the middle of the section B.

*Olur melül ğarīb ve çeker elem ʿāşık* (f. 395a/242a, L f. 155a) is noteworthy insofar as the P version is almost free of corrections and requires no emendations at all, whereas the L version betrays signs of struggle and corrections deviating from the functional P version. Three versions of the *Varşağı* “Jine ewel bahar oldi iaz geldi” (f. 398b/238a, L f. 69a, Hyde 43, f. 90b) show high melodic similarity but differences in the choice of pitch: While the L version is situated three scale degrees above the P version in section A, the Hyde 43 version starts on e' = segāh like P, but closes on g' = nevā. The two tablature notations on ff. 27b/9b–29a/11a, a Peşrev and a *Semāʿī*, can be counted among the exceptional cases, too. The L versions of the pieces recorded in tablature are clearly not reworkings of the P versions which contain considerably more faults than ʿAlī Ufuķī's average.

Many notations, predominantly in the vocal repertoire, show traces of reworking by ʿAlī Ufuķī. Alternative versions for phrases or entire sections are supplied on additional staves or following the main notation. They are customarily marked with the abbreviation “Jt” for “item” (likewise, the

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<sup>144</sup>See below chapter 4.3.3.

same). The Türkī “Eiu deghil saken gelur iołuna” (f.252a/98a) serves as an example:<sup>145</sup>

Dost. 1,1 E-iu de-ghil sa-ken ge-lur io-łu-na ge-lur io-łu-na  
 3 Assił - ma-ga geł-dim zul-fił te - li - ne zul-fił te - li - ne

Jtem

B  
 2 A-βi - kin a - hi - nij ał - ma seu - di - ghim ał - ma seu-di - ghim.  
 4 Be-ni fer - da - le - re sał - ma seu - di - ghim sał - ma seu-di - ghim.

Figure 3.10: Notation with *ossia* staff, f. 252a/98a

Alī Ufukī added an *ossia* staff marked “Jtem” below the intended phrase of the main notation. The Murabba‘ “Halijmi ta Aβiki zar olmaingē bilmedun” is followed by two alternative closing phrases for the section A (*zemān*), the first of which is marked as “il piu bel” (“the most beautiful”). However, the second version on f. 232\*b, recognized as a second version because its writing style is more assured, retains the first embodiment of the closing phrase, not the “most beautiful”, likewise the L version (f. 114a). Adding an alternative as a second voice is another method regularly, but less frequently used. The Türkī “Akβam oldu ghiun tepeie dolundu” (ff. 200a/46a–199b/45b) makes especially ample use of this notational device. The fact that both versions arrive at the same final shows that this is not a case of an incorrect pitch level.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup>The melody exhibits regular units of six Mi (edition: breathing signs).

<sup>146</sup>The melody exhibits predominantly regular units of five Sm, with the final Br of the sections and the phrase D 7-8 extending across two units (edition: breathing signs).

4a  
1,1 Ak-βam of - du ghiun te - pe - ie do-βun-du do - βun - du

B  
2 Ja ben sin - den - ghe - ru khan - de wa - ra - im

C  
3 Her ki - βi seu - di - ghin buβ - du sa - riβ - di

D  
4 Ja ben sin - den - ge - ru khan - de wa - ra - im Dost-βar

4b  
khan-de ghi-de-im wa - ra - im dostβar khande wa - ra - im

Figure 3.11: Notation with second voice: ff. 200a/46a–199b/45b

An example from the instrumental repertoire is the unusually titled *Der maḳām-ı Segāh Beşrev* [sic] *Žarbü'l-feth* (f. 365a/289b), which features four instances of “two-part” presentation of a second possible interpretation (here, the choice is invariably between c’ and e’). The L version (f. 130b), interestingly, decides once for c’, twice for e’ and once retains the alternative. On f. 213\*b, an alternative H2 and Z for the *Peşrev-i Tāze nihāl* (f. 233\*a, L f. 154b) can be found. While P1 (the whole *Peşrev*) resembles the L version closely, the single *hāne* deviates. The *Semā’ī-yi Rāst-Pençgāh* is another instance of an alternative *hāne*: In an additional staff subsequently drawn by hand below the main notation, an alternative version for the H2 is supplied and annotated “Jtem il secondo hane in altra maniera” (“likewise the second *hāne* differently”). Its L version (f. 113a) retains the H2 notated in the main staff. The core explanation for all of these methods is that ‘Alī Ufuḳī thought it necessary to supply different possibilities of interpretation, without deciding in favor of any one of them. Deletions and replacements look different and can usually be easily distinguished

from alternative versions. In L, however, this range of possibilities almost entirely disappears as ‘Alī Ufuḳī chooses one representative version to enter his collection. Detailed comparison with C and K exceeds the scope of the present study, but at this moment it seems that Behar’s assessment that there was no serious loss of repertoire between ‘Alī Ufuḳī and C, but adaptation to the taste of the day is correct.<sup>147</sup>

To close the present chapter, a few thoughts on the topic of embellishment and elaboration should be added. Already the most cursory glance at the repertoire notated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī reveals a general difference between the instrumental and the vocal repertoires: While ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s instrumental notations are by trend long, complex, and consisting of multiple sections, the vocal repertoire, be it from the Murabba‘ or the Türkī spheres, is predominantly short and requires syllabic text distribution. Addressing a similar topic, Wright assumed that *mehter* pieces were recorded in a way that enabled ensemble performance, i.e. with a “minor element of embellishment”.<sup>148</sup> Following this line of thought, the simple vocal pieces could be explained by choral performance, which is not readily imaginable for the Türkī repertoire.<sup>149</sup> However, it should not be inferred from this situation that the vocal notations are a reduction of a more intricate execution. The unfortunately not entirely clear remark on vocal embellishment practice on f. 200b/46b seems to refer more to styles of voice production than to a change of the melodic line. As will be elaborated below (chapters 4.1 and 4.5), vocal music differed perceptibly in style, be it “courtly”, “elite”, “urban” or “folk”. There is no reason to suppose ‘Alī Ufuḳī would have changed his approach to and perception of notation according to genre or stylistic level (if stylistic level was relevant to him as a parameter at all, which is doubtful). In this context (the mass of short, simple vocal pieces), Cem Behar’s statement that short and formally straightforward vocal pieces were more easily transmitted and less in danger

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<sup>147</sup> Behar (2012), pp. 153f.

<sup>148</sup> Wright (1988), p. 11.

<sup>149</sup> The stated difference in length and diligence of notation has recently been pointed out by Fikret Karakaya in an interview given to the Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Türk Müziği Kulübü: “[...] peşrevlere ve sazende semaîlerine daha fazla ehemmiyet veriliyor. Onları daha detaylı bir şekilde yazmıştır Ali Ufkî” (“Peşrevler and instrumental Semâ‘iler are given a much higher importance. ‘Alī Ufuḳī notated them in a more detailed manner”). Ceran and Bilgiç (2015), p. 116.

of being forgotten, in contrast to the long and complex forms such as the *Kār*,<sup>150</sup> is somewhat countered by the sheer mass of short, simple vocal pieces of both “court” and “folk” origins fixed in notation by ʿAlī Ufuḳī. He obviously ascribed much more importance to this kind of repertoire, while the *Kār* is represented only by a text fragment written by somebody else without music and the untitled notation of a different version in L (f. 106b).

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<sup>150</sup>Behar (2012), p. 154. See also Wright (1992), pp. 159f.

## Chapter 4

# Musical analysis

This chapter will analyse the external and internal parameters of music – repertoire composition, *maḳām*, *uṣūl*, genre and form. Here it is of utmost importance to discuss and evaluate the material in its own context, allowing for blank spots where information is lacking and conclusions are dubious, instead of superimposing a certain system whose relevance to the author we cannot ascertain. The tendency towards relating ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations to contemporary theory is applied with caution, because “[...] we are not able to see the bond between theory and practice”.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, comparisons with Demetrius Cantemir will be made more tentatively than is customary in musicological research,<sup>2</sup> in spite of Wright’s statement that the “distribution and internal relationships of the modes in the instrumental pieces recorded by Cantemir could still be described in virtually identical structural terms” as the seventeenth-century tradition recorded by ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>3</sup> Phenomena are hence described and –as far as possible– statistically surveyed, in an attempt to identify regularities, also relying on comparison with L, but with clear emphasis on P. The justification for this approach originates within the source, as there is no other corpus of repertoire to serve as a benchmark: Cantemir (1673–1723)<sup>4</sup> was roughly two generations younger than ‘Alī Ufuḳī and it is possible that his collection grew out of a different line of tradition. The same holds true for theory. While there are some fragmentary statements that point towards the influence of certain

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<sup>1</sup> Although Aksoy is addressing a different problem, his words fit the situation described here. Aksoy (2015), p. 18. Kurt and Ursula Reinhard go even further, speaking of a “chasm” (“Kluft”) between theory and practice; Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Gültekin Oransay stated in a 1971 article that Cantemir’s *maḳām* descriptions were “valid for the seventeenth century” (“XVII. yüzyıl için geçerli”). Oransay (1971), p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Wright (1996), p. 460.

<sup>4</sup> Wright (1988), p. 3.



scholarly traditions, they are very scarce and do not form an especially consistent image. This is in addition to the general issue that theory is often retrospective and does not address the conditions of its own time, in spite of being taught and transmitted. Furthermore, P is incomplete and the validity of the statistics is doubtful. A single coherent system that explains all the contents of P probably does not exist: Researchers as well as performers have to accept the fact that many blanks will remain and that cautious interpretation will be necessary to fill them. A margin of uncertainty will always exist; the one true interpretation of historical *maḳām* and *uṣūl* is an illusion.

It must be kept in mind that P is a practice-oriented, individual, spontaneous source and not a treatise or repertoire collection aimed at a certain audience. This feature of the manuscript becomes especially salient in connection with the two large subject areas, *maḳām* and *uṣūl*, which, in the context of Ottoman music-making and -teaching engender theoretical reflection. Many song-text collections show awareness of theoretical concepts in ordering the repertoire according to *maḳām* and featuring a table of *uṣūller* presented in mnemonic syllables.<sup>5</sup> While a substantial number of pages belonging to the collection are obviously lost, it does not seem very probable that they contained a treatise, nor that a treatise written or copied by ‘Alī Ufuḳī is somewhere awaiting discovery. The reasons for this are unclear, yet an explanation can be attempted: First, as stated above, P is a practice-oriented source consisting of loose leaves presumably written over a longer period of time. The contents of P have the character of private records, notes or memory aids. Second, the “overall dearth of musical writing” in the seventeenth century observed by Walter Feldman, may also explain why ‘Alī Ufuḳī seems not to have felt compelled to write down

<sup>5</sup> Among the sources encountered in the course of the present study, such tables were found in the following manuscripts: İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, *Ali Nihat Tarlan 81*[ANT 81]; İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, *Yazma Bağışlar 5929*[YB 5929]; İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, *Yazma Bağışlar 6747*; İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, *Revan Köşkü Kitaplığı 1722*[R 1722] and İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, *Revan Köşkü Kitaplığı 1725*[R 1725] (incomplete). Some song-text collections also feature a “fihrist” according to *maḳām*: Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Supplément Turc 599*; ANT 81; İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, *Galata Mevlevihanesi 151*; YB 5929; R 1722; İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, *Revan Köşkü Kitaplığı 1723*[R 1723]; İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, *Revan Köşkü Kitaplığı 1724*[R 1724] and R 1725.

or copy a larger discourse on *uṣūl* and *maḳām*.<sup>6</sup> Still, it can reasonably be assumed that ‘Alī Ufuḳī was familiar with contemporary theoretical notions by way of his training in the palace *meṣk-hāne* (see f. 244a/90a). Even if the written production of theoretical literature was scarce during the seventeenth century, Paul Rycaut’s statement –informed by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, who was Rycaut’s main source<sup>7</sup>– shows that theory was indeed taught and taken so seriously that Rycaut describes music as the sole science in which the Ottomans had any proficiency:

For other Sciences as Logick, Physick, Metaphysick, Mathematicks, and other our University Learning, they are wholly ignorant, unless in the latter, as far as Musick is a part of Mathematicks, whereof there is a School apart in the Seraglio.<sup>8</sup>

With the support of the theoretical texts, fragments and marginalia discussed below, it is thus relatively safe to assume that ‘Alī Ufuḳī had awareness and knowledge of speculative theory. Its extent and depth we cannot fathom. While he was not a theoretician himself and his writings surely emphasize practice, after careful evaluation of the relevant contents I do not fully agree with Behar, who stated repeatedly that “ilke, kuram ve sistemlerle ilgisi yoktur Ali Ufkî’nin”.<sup>9</sup>

Reconstructing the context in which ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s manuscripts came into being, it is important to keep in mind that both in the Ottoman world and in Europe the seventeenth century was a period of fundamental shifts in musical culture. It has been widely suggested that in the Ottoman Empire this process was mainly constituted by the decrease or decline of Persianate influence and the emergence of an an “Ottoman-Turkish” musical style. Iranian culture as exemplified by Hüseyn Bāyḳarā’s court in Herāt had been

<sup>6</sup> Feldman (1996a), p. 9. “The overall dearth of musical writing continued through most of the 17th century. Toward the end of the century a new cultural climate both at the court and among the Mevlevī dervishes encouraged a variety of initiatives in musical writing”. Ibid., p. 29. “[...] the theoretical literature from this period [the sixteenth and seventeenth century] is so scanty that nothing definite can be concluded [...]”. Wright (2011), p. 271. Although this statement refers to *uṣūl* Frenkçin –absent from ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections–, it can be applied to a wider range of *uṣūller*.

<sup>7</sup> Rycaut (1668), pp. vii, 132.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> “‘Alī Ufuḳī had no interest in principles, theory and systems”. Behar (2008), pp. 64, 148, 167ff.

a model for Ottoman aesthetics in spite of political conflict.<sup>10</sup> According to Wright, the collections of ‘Alī Ufuḳī and Ḥāfız Pōst<sup>11</sup> represent this Ottoman music, which is clearly located and differentiated from other styles. Ottoman music *sui generis* can be understood to arise in the early seventeenth century, i.e. during the reign of Sultan Murād IV.<sup>12</sup> The composers named by ‘Alī Ufuḳī and later by Cantemir are predominantly Turkish and part of that generation.<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that Cantemir attributes the rise of what he understands as “tarz-ı Osmānî” to Ḳoca ‘Osmān Efendi, who died in the 1630’s or 1640’s, in a sort of “foundation legend”.<sup>14</sup> Addressing the topic of *Ottoman Lyric Poetry*, Walter G. Andrews states that “[j]ust as territory and political power were gathered into Ottoman hands, so the Ottoman dialect shaped the literary art of an ever-expanding area and the Ottoman centers of power drew artistic talent from the provinces. By the latter half of the fifteenth century, a classical Islamic literary tradition in Turkish was firmly established in the Ottoman Empire. This tradition continued without competition or interruption until the second half of the nineteenth century [...]”<sup>15</sup> Why this process happened differently and so much more slowly in music, as far as we know, is a question worth pursuing in future research: Andrews’ words could theoretically hold true for all arts, so why should music be different?

## 4.1 Repertoire and style

The present section is dedicated to the contents of the compendium concerning its location in music history, its style and stylistic level. Style is a phenomenon notoriously difficult to pinpoint, even more so in the present case of an isolated and exceptional source: As there is no direct context for the musical repertoire, the researcher is unable to determine

<sup>10</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 39–44, 494ff. Faroqhi (2004), pp. 11f.

<sup>11</sup> *R 1724*.

<sup>12</sup> Wright (1992), pp. 6, 284f. Wright (2017b), p. 31; Neubauer (2012), pp. 321, 372ff. Feldman (1996a), p. 51; Behar (2017), pp. 56–67, 89–114. See especially pp. 89ff. for perceived and actual differences to the amount of “othering” from the viewpoint of the early eighteenth century.

<sup>13</sup> Neubauer (2012), pp. 317, 379.

<sup>14</sup> Behar (2017), pp. 75–85.

<sup>15</sup> Andrews, Walter G. (1985). *Poetry’s Voice, Society’s Song. Ottoman Lyric Poetry*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, p. 5.

how ordinary or exotic ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s repertoire is.<sup>16</sup> Generally speaking, a *güfte mecmū‘ası* contains the living repertoire, it is not a retrospective or systematic collocation.<sup>17</sup> As the compendium shares many traits of the Ottoman *güfte mecmū‘ası*, this important observation should be taken seriously in connection with ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s notation collections (even if he could, in principle, notate independently of time and historic change). Hence P mirrors the repertoire present at court during ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s service, as the manuscript can be understood to be first motivated by the necessity of coping with a new, vast and orally transmitted repertoire in a musical language acquired only recently (and maybe not yet fully). Although ‘Alī Ufuḫī most probably started his notation collections from this point, as becomes clear from his relation in the *Serai Enderum*, the “courtly” repertoire can only be a segment of what is contained in the compendium. It is likely not limited to the pieces performed before the Sultan as there must have been other, less formal occasions for music-making which allowed ‘Alī Ufuḫī to explore and express his proto-ethnomusicological collecting fervor and account for the nonsensical and obscene songs in the collection. Another important part of the MS is dedicated to heterodox religious poetry, whose presence is highly interesting in a time when conservatism was spreading in the centers of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>18</sup>

The wide range of musical content and the coexistence of the “folk”, the “courtly” and the “classical”, has been emphasized earlier by various authors,<sup>19</sup> also in relation to Demetrius Cantemir’s narrower approach restricted to “what may be described, however awkward the term, as the art-music end of the spectrum”.<sup>20</sup> Walter Feldman recently pointed out the difference between the compositional styles represented by ‘Alī Ufuḫī and the later repertoire after Cantemir: The main feature setting ‘Alī Ufuḫī (and possibly his environment) apart was the integration of Muḫabba‘ and vocal Semā‘ī with the ‘Aşık (Anatolian singer-poet) genres

<sup>16</sup> For a first step towards the contextualization of the poetical content, which is considerably easier thanks to the existence of hundreds of song-text collections, see chapter 6.1.

<sup>17</sup> Korkmaz (2015), p. 53.

<sup>18</sup> This topic is elaborated in chapter 4.1.

<sup>19</sup> For example Behar (2008), pp. 62–64; Tansuğ (1997), pp. 17f.

<sup>20</sup> Cantemir (2000), p. 6.

Türkî and Varşagi.<sup>21</sup> Cem Behar noted that obviously the “rift” between “palace high culture” and “local folk cultures” in Istanbul dated from a later period.<sup>22</sup> Scholars such as Cem Behar, Walter Feldman and Eugenia Popescu-Judetz have emphasized that from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, but at the latest in the early eighteenth century as represented by Demetrius Cantemir, a distinct perception of “old” and “new” had taken root in Ottoman musical thinking and become a staple of theoretical discourse. This can be seen from his evaluations of certain *maḳām* interpretations, or the inception of Şeyḫü'l-İslām Es'ad Efendi's *Aṭrābü'l-āṣār* with the generation of Südcî-zāde 'İsā (died 1628) and Dervīş 'Ömer Gülşenî, which he obviously perceived as being different from the preceding musical tradition.<sup>23</sup> However, those two important sources were composed by authors roughly two generations younger than 'Alî Ufuḳî, and we cannot know whether he himself (already?) perceived this division, and if yes, where he positioned himself in relation to it.

The composers and poets named in the collections can shed some light on the repertoire choices, at least regarding the generations of artists involved.<sup>24</sup> A memory culture transmitting the names of individual composers together with their works is a notion characteristic of the Ottoman tradition<sup>25</sup> and reflected by 'Alî Ufuḳî's collections (in L to a higher degree than in P, however). Reference to L is essential here as the titling of instrumental works is generally more complete and detailed there.

Unfortunately for the present study, one of the primary sources on seventeenth-century Ottoman music, the *Aṭrābü'l-āṣār*, the biographical dictionary written by the Şeyḫü'l-İslām Es'ad Efendi and completed between 1728 and 1730, does not mention composers of instrumental music,<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 100.

<sup>22</sup> Behar (2017), pp. 58f.

<sup>23</sup> Cantemir, Demetrius (Kantemiroğlu) (2001a). *Kitābu 'İlmi'l-Mūsīḳî 'alā vecḫi'l-Ḥurūfāt. Mūsikîyi Harflerle Tesbîṭ ve İcrâ İlminin Kitabı*. Ed. by Tura, Yalçın. Vol. 1. 2 vols. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 140ff. Behar (2010), pp. 59, 61–73, 137; Behar (2017), pp. 67–70; Popescu-Judetz (2007), pp. 69ff. Fonton (1986), p. 370.

<sup>24</sup> In the following paragraphs, background information on the personalities involved is collected and put into context. For a complete list of internal and external attributions see below, chapter 8.3.

<sup>25</sup> “Nur im Zentrum des Osmanischen Reiches hat das vormals international verbreitete Element der Komposition und die Gestalt des Komponisten die Zeiten überdauert”. Neubauer (1997), p. 363.

<sup>26</sup> Behar (2010), pp. 28, 34f.

a group of professionals supposedly well-represented by ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that in P not a single vocal work of the “art” music sphere (Murabbaʿ, Semāʿī) is ascribed to a composer. In L, the picture is slightly different: five Murabbaʿ and one Murabbaʿ-*like* piece headed “beste” are ascribed (ff. 11a, 61a, 73b, 131a and 133b). A small part of the Peşrev and Semāʿī repertoire has a composer name attached. However, some of those persons were also composers of vocal music. This holds true for Şerif Çelebi, who presumably died in the 1680s and is represented in P with two Peşrevler (ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a, L f. 64b–65a and f. 377\*a/223a, anonymous in L) and in L with three more pieces (f. 62b, anonymous on f. 381a/217b; f. 119a, anonymous on f. 355a/276a and f. 123b; not present in P).<sup>27</sup> None of his vocal compositions have survived to the present day. The same holds true for Ser-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ānende Aḥmed Āġā, also known as Enfi, Mehter, Zurnāzen and Edirneli Aḥmed Āġā. While not being the only composer with the name Aḥmed, he can be related to ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations by way of a concordance in C that is unambiguously ascribed.<sup>28</sup> Also the obviously important Şolaḳ-zāde does not appear in the *Aṭrābü’l-āşār*. He is represented with one directly attributed Peşrev (f. 352b/194b), two more ascriptions can be gained from L, namely a Semāʿī (f. 61a, P f. 355a/276a) and a Peşrev (ff. 42b–43a, P f. 352b/194b). Three Semāʿīler on ff. 35a and 107b, 108b and eight Peşrevler on ff. 63b, 64a, 65a–64b, 66b, 72a, 76b, 81a and 152b are not extant in P, while another Peşrev is attributed to “Mużaffer” [sic] in P (f. 325a/180a) and to Şolaḳ-zāde in L (f. 148b). Information available on this composer is contradictory: According to Behar, Şolaḳ-zāde (Meḥmed Çelebi) was at the same time a historian and poet using the *mahlās* “Hemdemî”.<sup>29</sup> However, ‘Alī Ufuḳī refers to him as Aḥmed Çelebi (L f. 35a). According to Öztuna, three Şolaḳ-zādes existed simultaneously: “Solak-zāde Miskaalî Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebî” or “Büyük Solak-zāde” (musician and historian), “Çartârî Beşiktaşlı Küçük Solak-zāde”, whose given name was most probably “Ahmed”, and “Solak-zāde Miskaalî Bihzād Çelebî”. Before listing his works, he points out that while ‘Alī Ufuḳī was a contemporary of “Büyük Solak-zāde” and most probably knew him, some of the works he recorded

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 34f., 255.

<sup>28</sup> C 96, “Edirneli Aḥmed”; P f. 380\*a/226a, *Şabāh [sic] Çenber*; ibid., ff. 36f.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

may also belong to the other two.<sup>30</sup> According to Sanal, Şolaḡ-zāde (there also Aḡmed Çelebi) may be identified with Beşiktaşlı Küçük Şolaḡ-zāde, active in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> Farmer clearly equates the historian and the composer, adding that his appellation was “Mişḡālī” according to his instrument.<sup>32</sup> Evidence from P now shows that at least the composition L f. 35a (not present in P) belongs to “Küçük Şolaḡ-zāde” Aḡmed and that ‘Alī Ufuḡī was aware of at least two Şolaḡ-zādes: In L, a *tāriḡ* dedicated to Şolaḡ-zāde passing in 1657/58 can be found on f. 177a,<sup>33</sup> which concurs with the known year of the historian’s death, 1657/58.<sup>34</sup>

As mentioned earlier, we have to take into account that ‘Alī Ufuḡī transmits vocal compositions anonymously, so the possibility that some of his Murabba‘ and vocal Semā‘ī are actually the work of those and comparable composers must not be discarded. Up to now, only one piece could plausibly be attributed to a known composer with the help of R 1724 (HP): *Yeter cevri ʿyilediñ ben nātüvāne vāy* (f. 361b/293a) is ascribed to Koca ‘Oşmān there.<sup>35</sup> Another Murabba‘ could be attributed with the help of the *Aḡrābü’l-āşār*, namely to Derviş Şadāyī (the popular *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firḡatda ḡaldı zeıraḡ-ı dil, Hiçāz / Düyek*; f. 373a/219b).<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Evliyā Çelebi proves most helpful in this matter. At the end of the first book of his *Seyāḡat-nāme* he lists the professions and guilds (*eşnāf*) of Istanbul, dedicating much space and detail to music-related occupations. They are organized according to the same categories as in *Serai Enderum*:<sup>37</sup> Chapters 40 and 43 to 45 are devoted to the “ḡalıcı mehterān ya‘nī zurnācıbaşı” (military music), the “ḡānendegān-ı mutribān-ı raḡḡasān” (singers, musicians and dancers), the “sāzendegān-ı tarīk-ı Fişāḡoros Tevḡidi” (“instrumentalists classified

<sup>30</sup> Öztuna, Yılmaz (2006). *Türk Müsikişi Akademik Klasik Türk San’at Müsikişi’nin Ansiklopedik Sözlüğü*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Ankara: Orient Yayınları, pp. 304–306.

<sup>31</sup> Sanal (1964), pp. 159f.

<sup>32</sup> Farmer, Henry George (1936). *Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century*. Vol. 68, pp. 1–43, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḡī (1976), pp. xviiiif.

<sup>34</sup> Boyar and Fleet (2010), p. xviii.

<sup>35</sup> *R 1724*, f. 6b; Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık, Nilgün (1993). “Hāfız Post Güfte Mecmuası (Türkçe Güfteler)”. PhD thesis. İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, p. 20.

<sup>36</sup> Behar (2012), pp. 247f., 330.

<sup>37</sup> *Harley 3409*, pp. 51f. See below chapter 5.1.

in the manner of Pythagoras”, i.e. arranged according to their instruments) and the “lu‘bed-bāzān-ı sāzendegān-ı mużhikān” (puppeteers and instrumentalists of comic entertainment).<sup>38</sup>

Ḳoca ‘Osmān, a central figure of the earlier seventeenth century who is described by Cantemir as coming to the foreground during the rule of Sultan Murād IV (1623–1640), a period coinciding with ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s supposed arrival and training in the Saray,<sup>39</sup> may be the composer mentioned on f. 353a/195a: ‘Osmān Pāšā Peşrev Ḳüseynī uşūleş Düyek (L ff. 10b–11a: *Peşrev-i ‘Osmān Pāšā el-‘atīḳ der maḳām-ı Dügāh-Ḳüseynī [sic] uşūleş Düyek*). For Cantemir, he is in fact at the center of what Cem Behar describes as the “kuruluş efsanesi” (the “creation myth”) of “tarz-ı Osmānî musiki”, Ottoman music sui generis.<sup>40</sup> From among the generation of his pupils, A‘mā (“blind”) Ḳadrī, who is represented in L in Turkish as “Kör Ḳadrī” with a “beste” on f. 61a and a tentatively ascribed Beste on f. 379b/221b,<sup>41</sup> and Südcī-zāde ‘İsā can be directly identified in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations. Buḡūrī-zāde ‘İtrī (1640–1711) and Ḳāfız Pōst (d. 1693) belong to a later historical layer,<sup>42</sup> with which ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s lifetime overlapped.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, two compositions attributable to the latter can be

<sup>38</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî (1996). *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. I. Kitap: İstanbul. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 307 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*. Ed. by Gökyay, Orhan Şaik. Vol. 1. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 296–298, 301–309. This corresponds with ff. 202a–203b and 205b–210a in the facsimile edition, Evliyâ Çelebi (1989). *The Seyahatname of Evliyâ Çelebi. Book One: Istanbul. Facsimile of Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304. Part 2: Folios 106b-217b*. Ed. by Tekin, Şinasi and Alpay Tekin, Gönül. Turkish Sources vol. 17. Harvard: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, and the modern Turkish version Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî (2007). *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. V. Kitap. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 307 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*. Ed. by Dağlı, Yücel, Kahraman, Seyit Ali, and Sezgin, İbrahim. 2nd ed. Vol. 5. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 623–628, 634–649. Chapters 41 and 42 are devoted to what in modern times would be called circus artists and to architects respectively.

<sup>39</sup> Feldman (2015), pp. 95ff., 126; Evliyâ Çelebi (1996), p. 302; Behar (2010), pp. 262f.

<sup>40</sup> Behar (2017), pp. 75–85.

<sup>41</sup> Ascription on the grounds of *R 1722*, 199b. Evliyâ Çelebi praises his exceptionally large repertoire and lists him as a *zâkir*, an eminent performer of İllāhī. He is deceased at the time of writing, although he is located among what the author rubricates as the newer generation of singers. Evliyâ Çelebi (1996), p. 302.

<sup>42</sup> Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), pp. 28f.

<sup>43</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 95.



found in L,<sup>44</sup> which substantiates the assumption that L represents a later stage in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s life. Südcî-zāde (who flourished under Sultan Aḫmed I, died 1628), a composer from roughly two generations before ‘Alī Ufuḳī can only be identified via a concordance in L (f. 88b, anonymous in P ff. 201b/47b–202a/48a).<sup>45</sup> Evliyā Çelebi, who lists him with the eminent singers, praises his “burning” voice and his cheerful character. However, his given name is not İ̄sā but ‘Alī.<sup>46</sup> In Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun’s famous 1942 collection of religious music, Südcî-zāde is represented with an İ̄lāhī by ‘Azīz Maḫmud Ḥüdayī.<sup>47</sup> Ḥasan Āgā (f. 358b/279b, L f. 110b) is with high probability “Ḥasan Āgā Ser-ḥ<sup>v</sup>ānendegān”, who likewise served under Sultan Aḫmed I.<sup>48</sup>

The name Şāh Murād appears in different contexts and can be interpreted differently: The comparatively popular İ̄lāhī *Uyan ey gözlerim ğaftleden uyan* (f. 129a/298a, genre designation L f. 132a) is attributed to “Sultān Murād Ḥān ṭāba ṣurāhu” (“Sultan Murād, may his tomb be pleasant to him”) who was also a poet.<sup>49</sup> Yet the composer of courtly music –three Peşrevler and a vocal Semā‘ī–<sup>50</sup> named by ‘Alī Ufuḳī could well be the “Kanuncu Şah Murad” listed in the *ehl-i ḥıref defteri* of 1526. He is described as having come from Tabrīz in the aftermath of the Battle of Çaldıran (1514), in which Sultan Selīm I defeated the Şafavid Şāh İsmā‘īl.<sup>51</sup>

It should not go unmentioned that some eminent composers, contemporaries of ‘Alī Ufuḳī, are not present in P, as far as works can be accurately ascribed. This holds true especially for Āqā Mu‘mīn,<sup>52</sup> or (Şeştārī) Murād

<sup>44</sup> Söylemez, Mehmet (2015). “Mecmua-i saz u söz’de Hafız Post izleri”. In: *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi* vol. 3, pp. 920–929. URL: [http://www.rastmd.com/FileUpload/bs473224/File/50\\_-\\_mecmua-i\\_saz\\_u\\_soz%E2%80%99de\\_hafiz\\_post\\_izlerii.pdf](http://www.rastmd.com/FileUpload/bs473224/File/50_-_mecmua-i_saz_u_soz%E2%80%99de_hafiz_post_izlerii.pdf) (visited on 01/16/2016).

<sup>45</sup> Behar locates him in the first half of the seventeenth century. Behar (2010), pp. 40, 43, 137, 251.

<sup>46</sup> At the time of writing, Südcî-zāde is deceased. Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 302.

<sup>47</sup> Ergun (1942), p. 60.

<sup>48</sup> Behar (2010), pp. 36, 240.

<sup>49</sup> Sanal (1964), p. 258; Tetik (2010). In fact, the wording does not make it clear which Sultan Murād is intended, but on account of historical proximity we suggest Murād IV.

<sup>50</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 283b/129b–285a/131a, 344b/186b, 375b/128a. The vocal Semā‘ī *Gelse nesim-i şubhüle müjde şeh-i bahardan* (ff. 322b/177b and 402a/241b) is attributed with the help of L.

<sup>51</sup> Uzunçarşılı (1986), pp. 23f.

<sup>52</sup> Neubauer (1997), pp. 337ff.

Āgā.<sup>53</sup> Dervīṣ ʿÖmer Gülşenī, a highly influential figure as is obvious from Evliyā Çelebi’s descriptions,<sup>54</sup> is present only in L (with a Peşrev in *maḳām* Evc, f. 129b) and –via attribution in R 1722– with “Szemi ruhune gismini [sic] perwane duşurdum” (f. 352a/194a),<sup>55</sup> likewise Baba Nevā’ī (Murabbaʿ, f. 55b).<sup>56</sup> Composers from more remote generations, which are less represented but certainly form part of the repertoire in use,<sup>57</sup> such as the instrumentalist and composer Şāh Murād mentioned above, are often of Persian origin. These include Ḥasan Cān, son of Ḥāfiẓ Meḥmed from Işfahān who had come to Istanbul after the campaign of Sultan Selīm.<sup>58</sup> The instrumentalist and composer Şāh-ḳulī (Kemençeī), originally from Iraq, had come to Istanbul via Herāt and is recorded in 1520 among the musicians of Sultan Süleymān II, representing the Iranian style.<sup>59</sup> Nefirī Behrām (Āgā) is documented as boru (trumpet) player in the *mehter-hāne* in 1542.<sup>60</sup> His Peşrev L f. 35a is not part of P, but his name appears in connection with “cadenze”, closing phrases notated on f. 314b/170b:

Cadenze i[n] diversi toni del Behram  
 si fanno dopo finito tutto il fassil  
 (Cadences in various modes by Behrām; they are played after the  
 faşil is finished completely.)

If the Behrām living in the mid-sixteenth century and the Behrām referenced here are the same person, it is a very important point that his melodic formulas were still taught under his name roughly a century later. The Peşrev “Dewri Kebir” on f. 140a/295a is attributed to him by Cantemir

<sup>53</sup> Behar (2017), p. 79.

<sup>54</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 301; Dankoff (2004), p. 34; Feldman (1996a), pp. 99f. Behar (2017), p. 77.

<sup>55</sup> R 1722, f. 337a.

<sup>56</sup> Behar (2010), pp. 192, 231f., 244.

<sup>57</sup> Feldman attributed the compositions from this stratum exemplified by Nefirī Behrām and Ḥasan Cān to the *mehter* sphere. Feldman (1996a), p. 46.

<sup>58</sup> Sanal (1964), pp. 160f.

<sup>59</sup> Neubauer (2012), p. 373, Sanal (1964), p. 133; for a more legendary narrative see Fonton (1986), pp. 348f. Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), pp. 27f.

<sup>60</sup> Sanal (1964), pp. 132f.

(No. 54). Two composers are connected to Egypt, Seyfü'l-Miṣrī (located in the sixteenth century)<sup>61</sup> and “Emīr-i Ḥacc”, a contemporary of Ḥasan Cān and Nefīrī Behrām who came to Istanbul from Egypt in 1582.<sup>62</sup>

Some composers mentioned by ʿAlī Ufuḳī are difficult to identify because they have common names or because one person can sometimes have more than one title or sobriquet. For example, in P there are three persons called Aḥmed: “Ahmed Baṣa” (ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a), “Ahmed giugi vechio” (cited in a note on performance practice, f. 47b/249a) and “Aḥmed Beğ” (f. 355b/276b). The *Aṭrābü'l-āṣār* contains nine persons called Aḥmed, but none of them has the same title or attribute as stated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, for example there is an Āḡā and a Çelebi, but no Beğ.<sup>63</sup> L offers additional information only in the last case, stating the composer as “Aḥmed Beğ Mişkālī [sic]”,<sup>64</sup> a combination of name and professional attribute not found in the *tezkiire*. Evliyā Çelebi offers the choice of Selānīkī Aḥmed Çelebi, Neʿnā Aḥmed Çelebi, Kemānī Aḥmed Çelebi, Kemānī Limonī Aḥmed Çelebi and many more.<sup>65</sup>

A comparable problem arises with the various ʿOsmāns, none of them being titled “Pāṣā” (f. 353a/195a, L f. 10b),<sup>66</sup> who is tentatively identified with Ḳoca ʿOsmān. Further, there are four persons called ʿAlī (as composers and teachers of instrumental art-music): Ber-fuʿād (f. 367a/282a; anonymous L f. 162a), Saṅṭūrī (f. 234\*b and another Peşrev in L, f. 152a), Ṭunc (ff. 282b/128b–283a/129a; L f. 11a) and Cüce (two notes on *uşul*, ff. 249b/95b–250a/96a and a Peşrev in L, f. 61b, anonymous in P, ff. 287b/133b–288a/134a). In L, an “ʿAlī Beğ” is added to the picture (f. 35b, P ff. 200b/46b–201a/47a is anonymous; f. 57b). None of the four ʿAlīs enumerated by Esʿad Efendi can be directly and unambiguously linked to a particular one of them;<sup>67</sup> a similar situation is presented by the *Seyāhat-nāme*.<sup>68</sup> The explanation that both Saṅṭūrī and “ʿAlī Ber-fuʿād diyāri Frenkistān” are actually ʿAlī Ufuḳī himself cannot be dismissed; in

<sup>61</sup> Kalaitzidis (2012), p. 45.

<sup>62</sup> Sanal (1964), pp. 133f. His compositions in P can be attributed with the help of C (ff. 21b/4b–22a/5a and 344a/186a-2) or L (f. 357b/278b).

<sup>63</sup> Behar (2010), pp. 224ff., 228, 240f., 243f., 254f., 264f., 266f.

<sup>64</sup> *Sloane 3114*, f. 6b. The title of a Peşrev attributed to Beyāzıt on f. 57a alludes to yet another Aḥmed: “Naẓīre-yi Küçük Aḥmed Bey”.

<sup>65</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), pp. 302ff.

<sup>66</sup> Behar (2010), pp. 243, 259, 260f, 262f.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 244f., 261f.

<sup>68</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), pp. 301–309.

fact, it is highly probable.<sup>69</sup> In L, he obviously gave himself nonsense names such as “Şeyh [sic] Ufuķī” (f. 112a) and “‘Alī Ağā el-Ufuķī” (f. 114b). Cüce ‘Alī could be identified with the help of Evliyā Çelebi as “Celeb ‘Alī Cüce telmīz-i h̄vānende Dervīş ‘Ömer”, one of the “sāzendegān-ı ravzāciyān”.<sup>70</sup> The two notes on *uşūl* lead to the assumption that he was a senior musician, if not a teacher. His own teacher, Dervīş ‘Ömer Gülşenī is praised by Evliyā Çelebi as an eminent music master, but he is deceased at the time of writing.<sup>71</sup> Kalaitzidis understands the ‘Alī Beğ cited by Petros Peloponnesios –one of the two Peşrevler being concordant with C 75 “Büyük ‘Alī Beğ Muḥayyer Düyek”, L f. 35b, P ff. 200b/46b–201a/47a)– as ‘Alī Ufuķī, which is not clear, given the prevalence of the name ‘Alī.

Further identifications can thus only be tentative: Çengī Ca‘fer could well be the “Ca‘fer Çavuş” listed by Evliyā Çelebi under the rubric “yonķārciyān.”<sup>72</sup> Kṭbī [sic] Nay [sic] or “Kutbi”, “pole star of the ney players”, is not ‘Osmān Dede, the author of the treatise *Rabṭ-ı Ta‘bīrāt-ı müsīkī*, who was born in 1652.<sup>73</sup> It is thus improbable that he is the one referenced by ‘Alī Ufuķī around the middle of the century. In the relevant sources, the latter is always titled “şeyh” or “nāyī”, not Kṭb-i Nāyī. This seems to be a modern conflation. A new interpretation brought forward by Jacob Olley identifies ‘Alī Ufuķī’s “Kutbi” with Ḥamzā Dede, the chief neyzen to Mevlānā (thirteenth century).<sup>74</sup> Alternatively, ‘Alī Ufuķī could be referring to Kṭbū’d-dīn Nāyī who lived around 1400 in Tabrīz and was executed by Timur Lenk.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Behar (2005), p. 55.

<sup>70</sup> “Pupil of the singer Dervīş ‘Ömer”. Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 303. The *ravzā* is a lute instrument ascribed to the *levend* (young unmarried men, generally in military service) class by Evliyā Çelebi; Feldman (1996a), pp. 169ff.

<sup>71</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 301, Dankoff (2004), p. 34.

<sup>72</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 304. A *yonķār* is a lute instrument of the “folk” sphere; Farmer (1936), p. 36; Feldman (1996a), p. 169.

<sup>73</sup> Hariri, Fares and Akdoğru, Onur, eds. (1991). *Nāyi Osman Dede ve Rabṭ-ı Tābirāt-ı Mūsīkī*. 2nd ed. İzmir: s.n., p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> E-mail conversation, August 2018. My thanks to Jacob Olley for sharing this information.

<sup>75</sup> Neubauer (2012), p. 363.

From among the composers named in P, no further information could be found on the following persons:<sup>76</sup> Frenk Muştafā (who is especially present in L and a personal acquaintance of ʿAlī Ufuḫī),<sup>77</sup> “Tamburgi Kenan”, who is described as “one of Ḥalīl Āġā’s slaves”<sup>78</sup> and Melek[ī] Cān. Could Melek Cān, who is spelled Melekī in P, be a female composer? This suggestion receives some support from Evliyā Çelebi as well: A certain Melekī Kadın is listed as owner of a *yah* in Beşiktaş, where also a certain Frenk Muştafā has his summer residence.<sup>79</sup> Even if the composer and the *yah* owner are not the same person, still the form of the name used for a woman corroborates the assumption that Melekī Cān was female, too. Why ʿAlī Ufuḫī changed to “Melek Cān” in L is unclear; C and K likewise use the name “Melek”.

Many of the composers named in P (and also L) return in C and K. A number of pieces transmitted anonymously by ʿAlī Ufuḫī but ascribed to them by C and K are added to chart 9.3. This circle of composers is strikingly similar to the earliest strata of composers named in the manuscripts of Petros Peloponnesios, written in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>80</sup> This fact confirms that ʿAlī Ufuḫī’s choices of what to transmit are not esoteric, but stand in a broader line of tradition – if he had much of a choice at all, given his position as a professional musician in the Sultan’s service. Detailed comparison of the post-Byzantine notations, with those of ʿAlī Ufuḫī, is one of the main desiderata for future research. But there is a caveat: as pseudography is a common phenomenon,<sup>81</sup> how serious can and should composer attributions be taken? In the case of ʿAlī Ufuḫī, it is probable that he knew many of the named composers personally or through their pupils. From among the composers or composer groups generally acknowledged as pseudographic,<sup>82</sup> ʿAbdü’l-Ḳādir Merāġī –or rather “Merāġī”– also designated as the “ḤVāce” (the Teacher) is present, as can be verified

<sup>76</sup> L contains many more ascriptions; for an index see ʿAlī Ufuḫī (2003), pp. 1017–1019.

<sup>77</sup> See *Turc 292*, f. 21a/4a: “Frenk Mustafa Galata-Serainin kiatibi firuz Aga mesğidin ianenda olur – Tophanadar” (“Frenk Muştafā, scribe of the Galata palace; he is next to the Firüz Āġā *medrese*. Head of the arsenal”). The question whether he is also the “Frenk Muştafā” who owns a *yah* on the Beşiktaş waterfront must remain open. Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 191.

<sup>78</sup> *Turc 292*, f. 200b/46b.

<sup>79</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 191.

<sup>80</sup> Kalaitzidis (2012), pp. 44–50. A list of all composers from the relevant period named in the surveyed manuscripts can be found on pp. 78–85.

<sup>81</sup> Behar (2012), pp. 144–151, Ceran and Bilgiç (2015), p. 119.

<sup>82</sup> Feldman (1990), pp. 91f.

with the help of many concordances attributing the *Segāh Kār Hafīf* to the “Ḥvāce”. However, his name is not invoked. In comparison, one of the concordances in the *güfte mecmū'aları* in the Topkapı Palace Library is titled “Kār-ı Ḥvāce şeṣ Āgāze Hafīf”,<sup>83</sup> and Charles Fonton mentions him in his 1751 *Essay sur la musique orientale*.<sup>84</sup> This omission and also the comparative frequency of anonymous transmission in P and L can be explained in different ways: 1. ‘Alī Ufuḳī did not have the required information especially about more remote generations of composers. 2. Evocation of a semi-mythical or mythical past was not an important issue, because the period that would later become legendary was still close and tradition had not yet been broken. 3. ‘Alī Ufuḳī is generally lacking a sense of historicity.<sup>85</sup> 4. ‘Alī Ufuḳī found recording information on composers not especially important because his collection was not composed for archiving purposes (which is true for P but possibly less so for L).

Other than the composers of instrumental music and the ‘Āşıklar predominantly representing the two generations before ‘Alī Ufuḳī, authors of *dīvān* poetry mainly come from earlier periods:<sup>86</sup> Bākī (d.1600),<sup>87</sup> Necātī (d. 1509),<sup>88</sup> Ḥayālī (d. 1557),<sup>89</sup> Ḳabūlī (d. 1591/2),<sup>90</sup> Şemī (Prizrenli;

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<sup>83</sup> *R 1723*, 75b.

<sup>84</sup> Fonton (1986), pp. 365f.

<sup>85</sup> Kalaitzidis (2012), p. 217.

<sup>86</sup> On stylistic change in classical Ottoman poetry see Feldman, Walter Zev (1996b). “The Celestial Sphere, the Wheel of Fortune, and Fate in the Gazels of Naili and Baki”. In: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 28, pp. 193–215, especially pp. 197ff.

<sup>87</sup> Andrews, Walter G. and Kalpaklı, Mehmet (2016). “Baki”. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. by Fleet, Kate et al. 3rd ed. Brill Online. URL: [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/baki-COM\\_24295](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/baki-COM_24295) (visited on 05/25/2016).

<sup>88</sup> Necati (1997). *Necati Beg Divanı*. Ed. by Tarlan, Ali Nihat. Türk Edebiyat Dizisi vol. 25. İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. xv.

<sup>89</sup> Karagözlü, Volkan (2014). “Hayālī Bey”. In: *Türk Edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü*. Ed. by İsen, Mustafa et al. URL: <http://www.turkedebiyatiiisimlersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&detay=6318> (visited on 10/18/2016).

<sup>90</sup> Duyar, Hidayet (2009). “On altıncı yüzyıl şairlerinden Kabūlī’nin şiirleri”. In: *Turkish Studies* vol. 4, pp. 307–362. URL: [http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/ESKI%20TURK%20%20EDEBIYATI/hidayet\\_duyar\\_kabuli\\_siir.pdf](http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/ESKI%20TURK%20%20EDEBIYATI/hidayet_duyar_kabuli_siir.pdf) (visited on 07/11/2016), p. 308.

d. 1529/30),<sup>91</sup> Yaḳīmī (d. 1568)<sup>92</sup> or Ḥayretī (d. 1535).<sup>93</sup> Şem'ī is not the same person as 'Aşık Şem'ī, born in 1783, in whose modern edition the poem transmitted by 'Alī Ufuḳī can be found.<sup>94</sup> The following group of poets is composed of members of a more recent generation, some of whom 'Alī Ufuḳī may have known personally: Cevrī (d. 1654),<sup>95</sup> Fehīm (“Fehmī”, d. 1647/8),<sup>96</sup> Nef'ī (d. 1635)<sup>97</sup> or Şeyḫü'l-İslām Yahyā (1552–1644).<sup>98</sup> Mehmet Kalpaklı postulates a period of Ottoman renaissance for the second half of the seventeenth century, which he characterises with innovation and departure from “classical” forms. Among the exponents of the new style named by him, Nef'ī and Fehīm are present in the Paris manuscript with one and two poems respectively. The foremost poet of 'Alī Ufuḳī's own day, Nā'īlī (d. 1666), featuring so prominently in the Ḥāfız Pōst collection, is represented with only one piece not attributed to him.<sup>99</sup> The *mahlāş* Ğubārī can stand for a Meḫmed or a Kāşım, who both lived

<sup>91</sup> Şem'ī (2014). *Şem'î Divanı. Prizrenli Şem'î*. Ed. by Karavelioğlu, Murat A. İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, p. 17.

<sup>92</sup> Yakini (2009). *Divân. İnceleme – Metin ve Çeviri – Açıklamalar – Sözlük*. Ed. by Zülfe, Ömer. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü. URL: [ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10661,girismetinpdf.pdf?0](http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/10661,girismetinpdf.pdf?0) (visited on 02/25/2014), p. 15.

<sup>93</sup> Hayretî (1981). *Hayretî Divanı. Tenkidli Basım*. Ed. by Çavuşoğlu, Mehmed and Tanyeri, M. Ali. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, p. xiii. The Ğazel transmitted by 'Alī Ufuḳī *Ne Süleymāna esvîz ne Selīmîn kulu yuz* (f. 375a/218b) seems to have been famous. The modern editors of the *dīvān* quote a conversation related by 'Aşık Çelebi between İbrāhīm Pāşā and the poet Ḥayālī, in which the first distich of this poem is quoted as an especially important example of Ḥayretî's work. *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>94</sup> The editor appended a section of poems not contained in the *dīvān*, but newly encountered during the course of his study. The Ğazel by the earlier Şem'ī is one of them. Şem'ī (1982). *Aşık Şem'î. Hayatı ve Şiirleri*. Ed. by Halıcı, Feyzi. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. iii, 109f.

<sup>95</sup> Feldman (1996b), pp. 199f. Nef'î (2000). *Nef'î. Hayatı sanatı eserleri*. Ed. by İpekten, Haluk. Ankara: Akçağ, p. 25.

<sup>96</sup> Fehīm (1991). *Fehīm-i Kadīm. Hayatı, Sanatı, Dīvān'ı ve Metnin Bugünkü Türkçesi*. Ed. by Üzgör, Tahir. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, pp. 3–11.

<sup>97</sup> Nef'î (2000), p. 55.

<sup>98</sup> Yahya (1995). *Şeyhülislām Yahya Divanı*. Ed. by Ertem, Rekin. Ankara: Akçağ, pp. i–v; Finkel (2007), p. 214.

<sup>99</sup> *Turc 292*, f. 406a/309b-1. The Semā'ī is ascribed according to Nā'īlī (1990). *Nā'īlī Divanı*. Ed. by İpekten, Haluk. Ankara: Akçağ, p. 254. On Nā'īlī see Feldman (1996b), pp. 198f; Kalpaklı, Mehmet (2013). “İtrî döneminde Osmanlı'da şiir”. In: *İtrî ve dönemine disiplinlerarası bakışlar*. Ed. by Paçacı, Gönül. İstanbul: İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı, pp. 21–24, pp. 22f. Nef'î (2000), p. 27.

in the first half of the seventeenth century,<sup>100</sup> or an ‘Abdu’r-raḥmān (d. 1566), who was also a calligrapher and a Şeyḫ of the Naḳşibendī *tarīkat*.<sup>101</sup> Concerning the vocal repertoire based on *dīvān* poetry, it has to be kept in mind that a large amount of texts from the *dīvān* sphere are transmitted only in the form of quatrains, i.e. the verse stating the author’s name is usually not extant. In a few cases the author could be ascertained with the help of concordances or secondary literature (see chart 9.1), but more often than not a text must be accepted as anonymous for the time being.

In conclusion, Feldman’s assessment that, while Cantemir had a broader scope, ‘Alī Ufuḳī “mainly treated the musical repertoire created within his generation”<sup>102</sup> is not entirely valid. Cited composers of instrumental “art” music and *dīvān* poets mainly belong to the two generations directly preceding ‘Alī Ufuḳī. Further, a large portion of the instrumental repertoire and the majority of the “courtly” vocal repertoire entered the manuscript anonymously and could not be attributed to a poet and/or composer.

The sphere of Peşrev, Semā‘ī, Murabba‘, vocal Semā‘ī and other vocal genres based on *dīvān* poetry forms only one part of the manuscript’s contents. This sphere is often described as “courtly” or “art” music. Those terms are problematic as they easily engender unwarranted assumptions, even if unintended, when musical genres and social strata are considered together.<sup>103</sup> The other large segment of repertoire in Turc 292 consists of Ottoman-Turkish strophic songs (with or without notation) often titled “Türki” and stating the pen name of an ‘Āşık (“*mahlāş*”) in their last stanza.<sup>104</sup> ‘Āşık culture should not be understood as a rural phenomenon only, but rooted in urban performance spaces such as coffeehouses and

<sup>100</sup> Ceyhan, Âdem (2006). *Türk Edebiyatı’nda Hazret-i Ali Vecizeleri*. Ankara: Öncü, pp. 239–244.

<sup>101</sup> Kaplan, Yunus (2014). “Gubârî, Abdurrahman Efendi”. In: *Türk Edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü*. Ed. by İsen, Mustafa et al. URL: <http://www.turkedebiyatilismlersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&detay=2432> (visited on 10/18/2016).

<sup>102</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 92.

<sup>103</sup> For a discussion of the “art music” term see *ibid.*, pp. 108ff.

<sup>104</sup> For a general introduction into ‘Āşık culture, traditions and repertoire see Reinhard, Kurt (1975). “Bemerkungen zu den Āşık, den Volkssängern der Türkei”. In: *Asian Music* vol. 6, pp. 189–206.



hence part of the urban social environment of the seventeenth century.<sup>105</sup> “Urban art music” is understood here –following Neubauer– as the “music of the literate urban societies and courts of the Islamic countries, which is usually performed by professional musicians”.<sup>106</sup> It has become clear that from the seventeenth century onwards the music of the palace cannot be seen as self-contained and separate from the surrounding musical life, in which the Mevlevī *tekkeler* (lodges) played a central role, as is also underlined by Evliyā Çelebi.<sup>107</sup> Likewise in the congregations of the Hāvetiyye, Gülşeniyye, Kādriyye, Cerrāhiyye and (as will be discussed in more detail below) the Bektāşiyye religious groups, music was practiced on a sophisticated level.<sup>108</sup> The high density of composers originating from Istanbul as related by Es‘ad Efendi shows that this interaction cannot have been too diffuse.<sup>109</sup> Özgür Balkılıç also stresses, in the context of the musical politics of the early Republic, which were directed against the Ottoman “art” music tradition, that this tradition –perceived as alien and corrupted by the new elite– was in fact well rooted in the urban sphere.<sup>110</sup> Interaction and intersection of urban musical life with the palace is documented by ‘Alī Ufuķī himself: In the *Serai Enderum* he mentions that music masters come to the palace from outside (“uengano di fuori”) to teach the pages.<sup>111</sup>

In general, the popularity and cultural importance of ‘Āşık poetry was on the rise during ‘Alī Ufuķī’s lifetime,<sup>112</sup> a tendency which is clearly mirrored in his collections. The compendium contains an impressive range of ‘Āşık poets from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Öksüz (Dede), Kör-

<sup>105</sup> Köprülü, M. Fuad (2004). *Saz Şairleri I-IV*. 3rd ed. Ankara: Akçağ, p. 34; Şenel, Süleyman (2013). “Türkünün Tanıkları ve Türkü Algısında Değişimler”. In: *Kültürümüzde Türkü Sempozyumu Bildirileri 22-25 Ekim 2011*. Ed. by Pürlü, Kadir. Vol. 1. Sivas: Sivas Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, pp. 65–92, p. 68.

<sup>106</sup> “Als urbane Kunstmusik bezeichne ich die Musik der literaten städtischen Gesellschaft und der Residenzen der islamischen Länder, die in der Regel von professionellen Musikern ausgeführt wird.” Neubauer (2012), p. 303.

<sup>107</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 85–99; Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), pp. 2f.

<sup>108</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), pp. 301 and passim; Behar (2012), p. 52. See also Neubauer (2012), pp. 321f. On the role of dervish orders in seventeenth-century society see Baer (2008), p. 21.

<sup>109</sup> Behar (2010), p. 171.

<sup>110</sup> Balkılıç (2009), p. 66.

<sup>111</sup> Harley 3409, p. 49.

<sup>112</sup> Kalpaklı (2013), p. 23.

oğlu,<sup>113</sup> Kıl-oglu, Kātībī, Kayaıçcı (Kıl) Muştafā, Āşık, İbrāhīm, Halil and Kıl Deveci from the first half of the seventeenth century,<sup>114</sup> as well as the dominant figure of the period and Ālī Ufuķī’s direct contemporary, Kıraca-ođlan (c. 1606–1689).<sup>115</sup> Older generations are represented for instance by Eşref-ođlu Rūmī (d. 1469).<sup>116</sup>

Evliyā Ćelebi, Ālī Ufuķī’s slightly older contemporary, estimates the number of “ĉögürciyān” of his time as 3,000, among which “Demir-ođlu ve Cula Hasan ve Kır-ođlu<sup>117</sup> ve Gedā Muşlı ve Kırā Fazlı ve Haleb Kātībī ve Şarı Muķallid Celeb ve Kıl-ođlu ve Kayaıçcı Muştafā ve Ramazān ve Kayaıçcılar Muştafası ve Gedik Süleymān ve Toy İbrāhīm ve Celeb Gedāyī ve Hākī ve Tūrābī” excel. They are counted among the musicians who play in the presence of the sultan (“pādişāh hużūrundaki sāzendelerdir”). He goes on to state that the ĉögür players were generally members of the military (“cümle [...] Āskerdir”).<sup>118</sup> Many of the performers enumerated here seem to belong to the same generation and can be directly linked to the repertoire transmitted in P, namely Demir-ođlu, Kır-ođlu, Kıl-ođlu, Kātībī,<sup>119</sup> Gedā Muşlı and Kayaıçcı Muştafā. Kayaıçcı Muştafā is with high probability the same person as Kıl Muştafā (and possibly also addition-less Muştafā), who may have taken part in Murād IV’s Iranian campaign;<sup>120</sup> he appears in P with all three variants of his *mahlāş*. Kıl-ođlu was alive in 1640 and part of the circle of Sultan Murād IV.<sup>121</sup> Ālī Ufuķī has the following to say about him:

Il Sultan di hoggi è Sultan Mehemet, si innamorò di un giouane  
Constantinopolitano, che fù suo paggio di musiche dal cui nome  
é Kuloglu, il qual hora non e solo suo musico, ma sona, e canta

<sup>113</sup> Köprülü (2004), pp. 59–62; Reinhard and Reinhard (1984b), pp. 117f.

<sup>114</sup> Köprülü (2004), pp. 117–123.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 287–297.

<sup>116</sup> Ergun (1942), p. 15. Ergun complains that there are no melodies extant for Eşref-ođlu’s texts; obviously he was unaware of the song in L, f. 179b.

<sup>117</sup> The edition transliterates “Korođlu”, which, according to consonant harmony, is less probable. Evliyā Ćelebi (1996), p. 304.

<sup>118</sup> Evliya Ćelebi (1989), ff. 207a–207b, Evliyā Ćelebi (1996), pp. 304f.

<sup>119</sup> In Ālī Ufuķī’s collections, he also appears as “Kātib”; “Kātib Ālī” may be the same person as well. Köprülü (2004), p. 117. Kocatürk, Vasfi Mahir, ed. (1963). *Saz Şiiri Antolođisi*. Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, p. 58.

<sup>120</sup> Köprülüzade (Köprülü), Mehmet Fuat (1930). *XVIIinci asır Sazşairlerinden Kayıkçı Kul Mustafa ve Genc Osman Hikāyesi*. Türk Sazşairlerine âit metinler ve tetkikler vol. 5. İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, pp. 5–8.

<sup>121</sup> Köprülü (2004), p. 117, Kocatürk (1963), p. 70.

quando il G.S. commanda ma ancora suo fauorito. Questa pazzia e malizia da loro forte e godata, e approuata, e gli pare che non sia libidinosa, dicano ancora di più che per sapere ben amare Dio, che é il uero amore; bisogna prima amar le sue creature con amore inbrobrio, e imperfetto, tutto questo é per forma in uerita sono sodo[m]iti e pediconi [sic].<sup>122</sup> (The current Sultan, Sultan Meḫmet [most probably erroneous for Murād], fell in love with a youth from Constantinople, who was his music page and whose name is K̄ul-oğlı; now he is not only his musician, but plays and sings when[ever] the Grand Signior commands, but [is] also his favorite. This delusion and evil is strong and [widely] enjoyed among them, and it is approved, and they do not consider it libidinous as they say that in order to love God, which is true love, it is necessary first to love his creation with improper and imperfect love. But all this is a pretext, actually they are sodomites and pederasts.)

Taking chronology into account, ‘Alī Ufuḳī may well have been a witness of those events and of K̄ul-oğlı’s role at court (‘Alī Ufuḳī writes about him in the present tense). K̄ör-oğlı is mentioned by Evliyā Çelebi as being his –and thus also ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s– contemporary.<sup>123</sup>

Some other ‘Aşık poets appearing in the compendium are less well documented: Tās-bāz (“Taspas”), Tās-bāz ‘Alī or K̄ul Tās-bāz is an especially interesting case. He can be located in the seventeenth century, basically on the grounds of his appearance in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations.<sup>124</sup> As he states his given name as ‘Alī in one of his poems and describes his origins as “vatanım Leh’den öte” (“beyond Poland”), Şükrü Elçin plausibly suggests that he was a renegade like ‘Alī Ufuḳī, maybe a palace servant or a janissary as he designates himself also as “k̄ul”.<sup>125</sup> Thus, Tās-bāz (“juggler”) and ‘Alī Ufuḳī shared many common experiences. The possibility that Tās-bāz is ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself, a kind of naughty alter ego, can be estimated as less high, but they may well have been acquainted as ‘Alī Ufuḳī repeatedly exchanged other names for his *mahlāş* (f. 306a/162a). Some of the songs attributed to Tās-bāz belong to the nonsense or obscene category

<sup>122</sup> Harley 3409, p. 47.

<sup>123</sup> Öztelli, Cahit, ed. (1971). *Köroğlı ve Dadaloğlu*. 3rd ed. Türk Klâsikleri vol. 11. İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, p. 3. Kocatürk locates him in the second half of the sixteenth century, Kocatürk (1963), p. 43.

<sup>124</sup> Elçin (1997a), pp. 269–272; Atasoy, Ahmet Emin, ed. (2001). *XV. yüzyıldan bugüne Rumeli Motifli Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*. Bursa: Asa Kitapevi, p. 70.

<sup>125</sup> Elçin (1997a), p. 269.

(ff. 12b/272b, 17b/275b). Meftūnī, who is represented with a group of songs reminiscent of a cycle, is a poet difficult to pin down. Öztelli includes three poems in the eighteenth-century volume of his *Halk Şiiri* without supplying any more information on the author.<sup>126</sup> However, from the viewpoint of style it is imaginable that Öztelli's Meftūnī is also the Meftūnī in P (and less so in L). Kocatürk's collection contains more texts by an ʿĀşık of this name. The fact that Kocatürk dates him in the eighteenth century because his poems have been found in an eighteenth-century collection does not of course exclude the possibility that he is the same person as the one transmitted by ʿAlī Ufuķī.<sup>127</sup> Meftūnī's texts stand out from the rest of the repertoire in that they directly address a male object of desire called Muştafā.<sup>128</sup>

The important singer-poet Gevherī poses a more difficult issue. The Türkī “Turna bizuhum ierde bize sorana” (ff. 174b/44b, 249a/95a, 253a/99a) is generally attributed to him,<sup>129</sup> however, none of the three occurrences in P contains the *maḥlāş*. The parallel version in L (f. 39b) has the *maḥlāş* “Ufuķī”. This would not be the only instance of ʿAlī Ufuķī appropriating another poet's text, but Gevherī's life dates –as far as they are known– complicate the matter: According to Köprülü, Gevherī died after 1715/16 and was supposedly born around the middle of the seventeenth century, thus belonging to a generation younger than ʿAlī Ufuķī.<sup>130</sup> The London manuscript is dated to A.H.[10]60 (A.D. 1650), so it was commenced<sup>131</sup> or ʿAlī Ufuķī was working on it at a time when Gevherī was very young. In this case ʿAlī Ufuķī may be the victim of intellectual property theft. The most important and most obvious instance of ʿAlī Ufuķī appropriating another poet's work is the Türkī “Badîbahijm kuḥlarinie eile daim humme-

<sup>126</sup> Öztelli, Cahit, ed. (1955). *Halk Şiiri, XVIII. Yüzyıl*. Türk Klâsikleri vol. 46. İstanbul: Varlık, pp. 88–90.

<sup>127</sup> Kocatürk (1963), pp. 234f.

<sup>128</sup> On homosexual literary production in Ottoman culture see Bardakçı (1993), pp. 84–139. Bardakçı mentions ʿAlī Ufuķī various times; on p. 138 he gives a facsimile of L f. 172b with the *Ġazel* also found on f. 374b/220b-1, *Ey çok şîrin zebân kâmet serv-i revân*; on p. 142–144 he gives a full transliteration of L f. 30b (not extant in P). A chapter with the heading “Öyle bir mecmua ki...” is entirely devoted to L (p. 168–176). Among the songs and texts quoted there, the following can be found in P: ff. 379\*a/225a, 374b/220b-1.

<sup>129</sup> Gevherī (1998). *Gevherî Divânı. İnceleme – Metin – Dizin – Bibliografya*. Ed. by Elçin, Şükrü. 2nd ed. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 255f.

<sup>130</sup> Köprülü (2004), p. 178.

<sup>131</sup> ʿAlī Ufuķī (2003), pp. 21f.

tunj” (f. 220a/66a), where he replaced “Şzahijn oğlu muntazijr dur” with the slightly clumsy “Vfuki pek muntazijrdur”. In the *Türki* on f. 353a/195a, the *mahlâş* “Kul H<sup>v</sup>âce” was replaced with “Kul ‘Alî dër” in ‘Alî Ufuķî’s hand. A central piece of information gained from Evliyâ Çelebi’s description is the connection between ‘Āşık singer-poets and the military (“cümle [...] ‘askerdir”). This connection accounts for the high density of Bektāşī-oriented songs. The Bektāşī poet Nesīmī (who does not exclusively qualify as ‘Āşık because he has both syllable-counted and ‘arūz-metered poetry) is also a slightly older contemporary of ‘Alî Ufuķī (died 1668). It seems as though he took an active part in the Celālī revolts, which lasted for most of the seventeenth century and are mirrored in the texts of the mystic poets of the day.<sup>132</sup>

Beliefs of different heterodox groups can be traced in ‘Alî Ufuķî’s collections, not only in the ‘Āşık repertoire. Although it is repeatedly stated that communities such as the Bektāşī were obliged to perform their rituals in secret<sup>133</sup> and Sultan Mehmed IV prohibited the playing of “the saz and other musical instruments, including the lute, and the singing of wandering minstrels” in 1665,<sup>134</sup> the occurrence of their texts in P and L shows that it must have been easy for ‘Alî Ufuķī to reach such repertoires and for people to share the songs with him so he could record them in writing. It is surely not far-fetched to suggest that ‘Alî Ufuķī was able to get into contact with heterodox ‘Āşıklar on a daily basis while living in the palace and receiving the training of an *iç-oğlan*.<sup>135</sup>

Bilhassa askerî sınıflar arasında yetişen âşıklar, umumiyetle Bektaşî idiler. XVI.–XVII. asırlarda Bektaşîliğin ve Bektaşî tekkelerinin bütün imparatorluk memleketlerinde, büyük askerî ve iktisadî merkezlerden ıssız dağ başlarına kadar nasıl kuvvetle yayıldığını düşünürsek, bunu daha iyi anlarız.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Nesīmī (1969). *Onyedinci Yüzyıl Tekke Şairi Kul Nesīmî*. Ed. by Öztelli, Cahit. Ankara: Töyko, pp. 3–11.

<sup>133</sup> Ergun (1942), p. 9.

<sup>134</sup> Baer (2008), p. 115. Baer quotes from Mehmed Hâlife.

<sup>135</sup> Yılmaz (2009), pp. 124f.

<sup>136</sup> “Especially the ‘Āşıklar brought up in the military regiments were altogether Bektāşī. If we consider how forcefully the Bektāşī faith and Bektāşī lodges spread during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries throughout the regions of the Empire, from the big military and economic centers to the deserted mountaintops, we understand this better”. Köprülü (2004), p. 43.

This strong connection between janissaries and the Bektāšī religious group has its legendary roots in the thirteenth century.<sup>137</sup> “Yeniçeri Âşıkları”,<sup>138</sup> exemplified by Kātībī and Kūl-oğlı, are poets especially well represented in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collection. He may have come into contact with more songs by other singer-poets as ‘Âşıklar regulated by the state in the style of a guild were travelling the country and performing at fairs, in dervish *tekkes* and especially in the Bektāšī lodges.<sup>139</sup> The presence of poems by mystic authors such as Pīr Sultān Abdāl (sixteenth century),<sup>140</sup> the so-called *p̄r-i s̄anī* Balım Sultān (d. 1516)<sup>141</sup> and Kūl Nesīmī, whom Cahit Öztelli called “tekke şairi” in the title of his edition,<sup>142</sup> support the impression of diversity.

The following overview (without claim to completeness) exemplifies some important keywords linked to mystic groups as occurring in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s compendium.<sup>143</sup>

- *Her [hey] ki hezār āferīn*: A fixed part of the whirling ritual of the Mevlevī, the *Āyīn-i şerīf*, taken from a poem by Aḫmed Eflākī Dede,<sup>144</sup> is found on f. 396b/311a-2 under the heading “Semāī Mevlānā”. While the Mevlevī Āyīn contains only two distichs of the poem as the second part of the third *selām*, ‘Alī Ufuḳī gives six, the distichs ritually used being lines 1–2 and 7–8 of the present edition.

<sup>137</sup> Eyuboğlu, İsmet Zeki (2010). *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektaşılık*. İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, p. 111. Öztelli, Cahit, ed. (1973). *Bektaşî Gülleri. Alevî – Bektaşî Şiirler Antolojisi*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, p. 98. Baer (2008), p. 21.

<sup>138</sup> Köprülü (2004), p. 120.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. 34f., 120.

<sup>140</sup> Reinhard and Reinhard (1984b), pp. 109ff. The song in question is not part of the current canon; Pir Sultan Abdal (2008). *Pir Sultan Abdal. Yaşamı ve bütün şiirleri*. Ed. by Öztelli, Cahit. 11th ed. İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları.

<sup>141</sup> Eröz, Mehmet (1990). *Türkiye’de Alevilik ve Bektaşılık*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. 61ff, Eyuboğlu (2010), p. 118.

<sup>142</sup> Nesimî (1969).

<sup>143</sup> A more detailed discussion of Anatolian religious groups of the seventeenth century is beyond the scope of the present study. For reference concerning the typically defining Alevî/Bektāšī vocabulary, see Ergun, Sadettin Nüzhet, ed. (1930). *Bektaşî Şairleri*. [İstanbul]: [Devlet Matbaası] and the rich selection of texts quoted by Eröz (1990), passim. For general introductions into Bektāšī beliefs see ibid. and Eyuboğlu (2010).

<sup>144</sup> Çevikoğlu, Timuçin (2011). *Mevlevî Âyînleri. Usûller ve Arûz*. Vol. 2. Konya: Konya Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, p. 440 and passim. The *Āyīn-i şerīf* is an extended, multi-section composition featuring vocal and instrumental music of various kinds. Özkan, İsmail Hakkı (1990). *Türk Müsikisi Nazariyatı ve Usûlleri. Kudüm Velveleleri*. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, pp. 82f.

Another extended lyric text on Mevlevî teachings is encountered on f. 373a/219a.<sup>145</sup> Further, a marginal on f. 252a/98a puts a Mevlevî-related piece in the context of a performance sequence including the ritual syllable “Hu”: “Semai Meulahana Euxu aḥik Huij et poi Semaij”. A similar note on ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a refers to “Turna bizum ierde bize sorana” on f. 174b/44b. The “Semai Meulahana” is most probably *Her ki hezār āferīn*. The *tekke*, the meeting-place or lodge of the dervishes is addressed in a Ğazel on f. 390b/313a (“Bizim ğamm-ḥānemiz bir tekke dir yārān için”). Parts of *Şem’i rūḥuḥā cismīni* [*sic*] *pervāne düşürdüm* (f. 352a/194a) are used today in the context of the Āyīn.<sup>146</sup>

- “Dervīş”. From the Persian “door-seeker” designating a mendicant, this is the commonly used general term for the adherents of the diverse mystical groups.<sup>147</sup> F. 270a/116a-1:

Bagdadi Basrai seiran eilesem  
 Ageb derwiḥ olsam ghiozum iari buḷammi  
 Eḥkinilē beni hairan eilesen  
 Ageb derwiḥ olsam iari buḷammi

The parallel version of the *Türkī Bārekallāh ḥōṣ yaratmış gülse ḥalk ālem güler* (f. 379\*a/225a) is titled as “Varṣağı türki berāy-ı dervīş” (L f. 176b).

- The ney/nāy as symbol of the human spirit and ritual instrument of the Mevleviyye<sup>148</sup> features prominently in the “Beste-yi Fetvā’ī murabba’” on f. 62a/270b:

Nice ey dil nice bir ney gibi nālān olalım  
 Varalım bir ruḥ-ı zībā ile yārān olalım  
 Bulacaḡ yār-i ḥaḡīki şu fenāde her içre  
 Yoluna cān verüben koḡ gibi ḡurbān olalım

<sup>145</sup>This item is not included in the edition as it is not meant for musical performance.

A similar form with six stanzas and the rhyme scheme aaaaaaaa bbbbbbbaa etc. is encountered in Sadettin Nüzhet [Ergun]’s collection of Bektāṣī poetry under the unrelated genre *Merṣiye* (funeral eulogy); Ergun (1930), pp. 20f.

<sup>146</sup>Özalp, Nazmi (n.d.). *Türk Müsīkisi Beste Formları*. Ankara: TRT Genel Sekreterlik Basım ve Yayın Müdürlüğü, p. 50.

<sup>147</sup>Renard, John (2005). *Historical Dictionary of Sufism*. Lanham: Scarecrow, p. 73.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

- *Ḳul*, “slave”, is a self-designation especially used by Bektāšī poets.<sup>149</sup> See f. 251a/97a: “Yolum ḳul olur şadılır idim” or f. 297a/ 143a “Cān ölünce ḳul oluruz güzeliñ”.
- *Abdāl*: This designation for a dervish, sometimes synonymous with *‘Aşık* is rooted in the Arabic *bedil* (“substitute”). Those “substitutes”, also called “friends of God”, are wonder workers and mediators of blessing.<sup>150</sup> The conceptual fields of “nudity” (*çıplak*) and “to undress” (*şoyunmak*) in the sense of renouncement of the world, are connected.<sup>151</sup> For the Bektāšī, the ceremony of “*hırka giydirmek*” marks the accession of a dervish to the rank of *şeyh*.<sup>152</sup> In both cases, the rough woolen overcoat (*‘abā*, *hırka*) and the sheepskin (*pōst*) symbolize humility and austerity. Cf. f. 66a/258a-1:

Civān şoyunub giymiş ‘abāyı  
Şoyunurum bende ‘abdāl [sic] olurum  
Bu pōsta vērürüm bunca ḳabāyı  
Şoyunurum bende ‘abdāl [sic] olurum

See also f. 305b/161b-2 (“*Dervişānlar eñine pōstlar giyüp yoḥsul ‘abā*”), f. 366a/288b (“*Ben abdalım airmassen postumdan*”) or f. 406a/309b-2 (“*Abdāl olayım giresem hırka ile pōst ile*”).

- *Zıkr*: The Arabic word for “remembrance” designates the ritual of the various *Şūfī* groups, which involves repetitive movements, breathing exercises and the invocation of the names of God.<sup>153</sup> See f. 315b/171b:

Gerçek ‘aşık mevlāsını zıkr eder  
Ölüb türāb olacağı fikr eder  
Şāhīn-oğlı yüz biñ kerre şükr eder  
Bir kez yavrıñ adı gelse diline

<sup>149</sup>Köprülü (2004), p. 43. On the use of the term *ḳul* as a *mahlāş* by *‘Aşık* authors see Elçin (1997a), pp. 49–54.

<sup>150</sup>Renard (2005), p. 229. Ergun (1930), p. 444, Eyuboğlu (2010), p. 325. The theory proposed by the Reinhardts that “*abdāl*” literally meant “fool” and that this designation went back to the Roma musicians who were racially and socially insulted, has less substance in the present author’s opinion. Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), p. 125.

<sup>151</sup>Ergun (1930), p. 463.

<sup>152</sup>Eyuboğlu (2010), p. 175.

<sup>153</sup>Renard (2005), p. 123. See also f. 207\*b.



Exclamations such as “hū” (Arabic for “he”, i.e. God) belong in this ritual context; see f. 206a/52a-1 or f. 206a/52a (“Mevlām seniñ ‘āşığılarıñ / Devrān éderler hū ile”. “Hū” was chanted during the *zīkr* ritual.<sup>154</sup>

- ‘Alī and the twelve Imams; the son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammed accepted as the first caliph and the eleven caliphs who followed after him, beginning with his sons Ḥasan and Ḥüseyn.<sup>155</sup> Direct references can for instance be found in the following three quotes:

Yaşı yerine kan akdım çeşm-i giryānım ‘Alī  
Ḥaşretinden ḥasta [sic] oldum Şāh-ı Sulṭānım ‘Alī (fragment on  
f. 407b/308a);

Deryāya çıkdık ğazā kaşduna  
Ġanī Mevlām şaldı şikār üstüne  
Her birisi seyfin alup destine  
Ḥazret ‘Alī gibi şaldı diyesin (f. 308a/164a);

Karşımızdan güle güle gelene  
Cānım qurbān olsun ḥaldan bilene  
‘Alī kadir Mevlām gele dolana  
Kulları çoq olsun güzel olanıñ (f. 365b/289a);

as well as in interjections such as “Dost dost Ali dost” (ff. 244b/90b, 245a/91a). Kerbelā, the site of the battle in which İmām ‘Alī’s son Ḥüseyn was killed,<sup>156</sup> is mentioned on f. 61a/271b.

- Ḥācı Bektāş Velī (c.1207–c.1271):<sup>157</sup> The founder and first teacher (*pīr*) of the Bektāşī order. The *pīr* appears in a dream, inspiring the sleeper to become a follower:

<sup>154</sup>Feldman (1996a), p. 91.

<sup>155</sup>Öztelli (1973), pp. 15ff., 51–55. Eyuboğlu (2010), p. 69.

<sup>156</sup>Öztelli (1973), pp. 73ff.

<sup>157</sup>Duran, Hamiye (2014). “Hacı Bektaş Veli”. In: *Türk Edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü*. Ed. by İsen, Mustafa et al. URL: <http://www.turkedebiyatilisimlersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&detay=5684> (visited on 10/18/2016).

Kasım ‘Abdāl [sic] eydir gördüğümüz düş  
 Ğamm yümün kazanılır hayırdır bu iş  
 Pīrim Hācı Bekdaş Velī gel yatış  
 Uzağ yakın deme ara bul bizi (f. 268a/114a)

See also f. 122a/262a (“Giulbenghin czeke hagi bedtaß [sic] Velinur”).

- Eren: Participle of the verb “ermek”, “to attain”, it designates those who have reached a higher state of consciousness; the initiated.<sup>158</sup> See f. 263a/109a (“Gertze ierenlerin semai tutuldu”) or f. 311a/167a (“Alçağda yüksekde yatan erenler”).
- Dōst: The “beloved” to whom *divān* poetry is addressed is the aim of spiritual longing in mystic poetry, with the boundaries between the “secular” and the “spiritual” spheres continuously blurred.<sup>159</sup> In the present context, the *dōst* in the sense of “friend” also designates a fellow dervish. Besides the ubiquitous exclamation opening songs from the ‘Aşık sphere, *dōst* is encountered regularly, e.g. on f. 245a/91a: “Dōst dōst ‘Alī dōst”. A very similar poem attributed to Kaygusuz Abdāl is part of Cahit Öztelli’s *Bektaşî Gülleri* collection.<sup>160</sup> Often the concept of the *dōst* is connected to the concept of the *yol*, the path of devotion:

Dōsta toğrı olan yola  
 Üstād olur erkānında  
 Biter haqıkat sünbüli  
 Haqqın bāğı canānında (f. 381b/217a-3)

Sacrifice, symbolized by the ram (koç; “Joline gian wiruben kotz ghibi kurban olalıjm”, f. 62a/270b) or the moth (pervāne) is a frequent motif:

Eđer miskīn eđer gedā  
 Dōstuna cānın eyler fedā  
 Pervāneler gibi o da  
 Yanan yiğide aşğ olsun (f. 294a/140a-2)

<sup>158</sup> Eyuboğlu (2010), p. 335.

<sup>159</sup> Ze’evi speaks of a “hazy distinction between sacred and profane love”; Ze’evi, Dror (2006). *Producing Desire. Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 82.

<sup>160</sup> Öztelli (1973), pp. 330–332.

What makes this assembly of heterodox songs all the more exciting is the fact that it was compiled during the time of the *Ḳaẓı-zādeli* backlash. ʿAlī Ufuḳī was present and certainly aware of the developments. The *Ḳaẓı-zādeli* movement, a militant Salafi group searching to “purify” Islam of later innovations (*bidʿat*), had been on the rise during the reign of Murād IV, becoming gradually more and more influential due to the support of the then *vālide sultān* (mother of the ruling Sultan), Ḥatīce Turḥān, and her circle. Sufi worship practices including music and body movement, as exemplified by the whirling of the Mevlevī, were especially disapproved by them. At first, they did not attack the Bektāṣī order, however, on account of their crucial role in the military, but in the later 1660s the Sultan’s personal preacher, Vanī Meḫmed Efendi, began to target Bektāṣī shrines as well. Opposing the mystic orders also meant opposing political establishment, as many high-ranking officials had connections to such religious groups. Violent conflicts ensued.<sup>161</sup> The intentions of the *Ḳaẓı-zādeli* extended into the sphere of daily life, resulting in a ban on tobacco and the closing of the coffeehouses. In the course of the war with the Safavid Iranians, which occupied the first half of the seventeenth century, and the Celālī uprisings, a new insistence of the Ottoman leadership on Sunnism emerged: The *Ḳızılbaş* tribesmen and the Bektāṣī supported the Şiʿite rulers or Iran,<sup>162</sup> turning religious dissent into a political threat. This aspect of history is also reflected in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s manuscripts: Kātib ʿAlī’s *Türkī Ḥaydār-oḡh ʿaḳlāñ yokmı başıñda* (f. 139b/267b), telling the story of the brigand *Ḳara Ḥaydar-oḡh Meḫmed* and predicting him a violent ending is titled *Türkī berāy-ı Celālī* in its L version (f. 82b). *Ḳara Ḥaydar-oḡh* was hanged in 1648.<sup>163</sup> Marc D. Baer locates this period of the Islamization of Istanbul

<sup>161</sup> Baer, Marc David (2004). “The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Space in Istanbul”. In: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* vol. 36, pp. 159–181, pp. 161f. Baer (2008), pp. 64ff, 113ff. Finkel (2007), pp. 213ff.

<sup>162</sup> Faroḳhi (2004), pp. 31, 35f., 45. See *Turc 292*, f. 396a/311b for a marginal alluding to the ban on smoking (“Tutun iassaghi”); Nef’i (2000), pp. 15f.

<sup>163</sup> Caroline Finkel quotes this song via an edition by Çaḡatay Uluçay, remarking: “Like others of his kind, he is remembered in a popular song”. Finkel (2007), pp. 229f. Uluçay gives the text as in L without stating the source; Uluçay, M. Çaḡatay (1958). “Üç Eşkiya Türküsü”. In: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* vol. 1958, pp. 85–100. URL: <http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/iuturkiyat/article/view/1023001113> (visited on 10/21/2016), pp. 89f. With high probability, ʿAlī Ufuḳī was also witness of the great fire of 1660, but he does not mention it in his surviving papers. See also Behar (2010), pp. 51f. Küçük (2012), pp. 52ff.

between 1648 and 1661, a time of political and economic crises in the context of military failure in the Mediterranean. After the banishment of the *Kaḫr-zādeli* and the investment of Köprülü Meḫmed Pāṣā as Grand Vizier (1656)<sup>164</sup> the mystic groups (*ṭarīḳat*) again enjoyed greater freedom and began to thrive.<sup>165</sup> Much of the repertoire notated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, however, comes from poets of Evliyā Çelebi’s time, that is the regency of Sultan Murād IV, especially the 1630s. Further, the London manuscript is dated 1650, which is generally understood to be the start date (see above), but it seems that ‘Alī Ufuḳī began his notations way before this relaxation of the general religious climate in the capital.

Speaking of Ottoman song-text collections, Owen Wright described their “uneasy juxtaposition of lines from major poets [...] and material of decidedly ephemeral quality”.<sup>166</sup> This holds true for the repertoire transmitted in P (and less so in L): Highly complex instrumental compositions and Murabba‘ settings of eminent poets are intermingled with song texts of coarse content and, of course, non-musical material. The vulgar songs deal with bald men (f. 33b/15b), bald men being harassed by mosquitoes (f. 12b/272b) and lice (f. 308b/164b) or racist insults (f. 17b/275b). A song with the mysterious, Greek-sounding refrain “Kara Kambos(s)o” or “more kamboso” appears three times (ff. 12a/272a, 218b/64b and 270a/116a).<sup>167</sup> Most of those songs are untitled; if they have a heading, it is “Tekerleme”. The interesting point is that the Tekerleme seems to have been part of a performance sequence as stated on ff. 243b/89b and 248b/94b–249a/95a.<sup>168</sup> The only study on comparable repertoire (to the knowledge of the present author) has been done by Murat Bardakçı,<sup>169</sup> hence mentioning this segment of the repertoire shall suffice for the moment.

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<sup>164</sup>Finkel (2007), p. 253.

<sup>165</sup>Kalpaklı (2013), p. 23.

<sup>166</sup>Wright (1992), p. 2.

<sup>167</sup>Panagiotis Poulos was able to trace this song to modern-day carnival celebrations in mainland Greece. My thanks for sharing this important discovery with me; e-mail from February 3rd, 2018.

<sup>168</sup>The songs on ff. 12a/272a, 12b/272b, 16b/274b, 17a/275a, 17b/275b, 33a/15a-1, 33b/15b, 242b/88b, 269b/115b, 270a/116a-2 and 233\*b as well as the stanza headed “BVRLA” (“joke”, “farce”) added to the Türkī *Czarka ghiden bēzergianijm* on f. 255b/101b can be counted in this group.

<sup>169</sup>Bardakçı (1993).

To sum up, we agree that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s legacy, which is diverse in all directions imaginable, paints the picture of an Empire resisting diverse military, religious and economic crises.<sup>170</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s curiosity certainly reached beyond the borders of genre or style, his diligence in recording regardless of origin and connotation is extraordinary.<sup>171</sup> However, it should not be omitted that women’s music or women in general do not feature except for tiny marginalia. ‘Alī Ufuḳī lived in a male world and performed music composed and texts written by male authors together with male colleagues. Particularly his early years in palace service were spent in an all-male environment, which surely influenced the repertoire that entered his collections. For this reason, we still have no information about the female side of seventeenth-century Ottoman music-making, except for the possibly female composer Melek(î) Cān.

Among the manuscripts assessed in the course of the present study, a source with exactly the same grouping and combination of repertoire could not be found. While some Türkî or Varşığı may be interspersed in other song-text collections, in P they actually constitute the majority. Some manuscripts resemble Turc 292, for example MS Selden Superius 1, which contains Varşığı, Murabba‘ without *terennüm* and untitled strophic songs, some with *maḳām* attribution, as well as verses not destined for vocal performance (especially Müfred). It was compiled by different hands.<sup>172</sup> MS Laud or. 175 from the same library shares these features; further, it was assembled from different kinds of paper.<sup>173</sup> Containing eight concordances with ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s compendium, MS Thurston 30 resembles it in many regards, from the writing styles of the various hands to the combined “courtly” and “folk” repertoire.<sup>174</sup> The highest number of concordances with a single source could be detected in MS R 1722 (fifteen parallel versions),<sup>175</sup> followed by fourteen in MS K 447,<sup>176</sup> eight in MS Thurston 30 and seven in MS R 1725.<sup>177</sup> Supplément Turc 1377 is homogenous and orderly, but it is

<sup>170</sup>Turan (2014), p. 55.

<sup>171</sup>Feza Tansuğ has compared ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collecting activities as “«fieldwork» in the performing community of Istanbul”. Tansuğ (1997), p. 17.

<sup>172</sup>Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Selden Superius 1*.

<sup>173</sup>Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Laud Oriental 175*.

<sup>174</sup>Oxford: Bodleian Library, *Thurston etc. 30*[*Thurston 30*].

<sup>175</sup>*R 1722*.

<sup>176</sup>İstanbul: Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı, *MS 447*[*K 447*].

<sup>177</sup>*R 1725*.

interesting in its juxtaposition of Murabbaʿ without *terennüm* and ʿĀzel with *maḳām* heading.<sup>178</sup> Also the similarities of MS K 447<sup>179</sup> – datable to the middle of the seventeenth century or even earlier<sup>180</sup> – are important, especially the inclusion of Varşāğı with *maḳām* and *uṣūl* headings.<sup>181</sup>

There are a substantial number of manuscripts likely from the end of the seventeenth century, exemplified by Ḥāfiẓ Pōst (henceforth: HP) and the other three Topkapı Sarayı sources (MSS R 1722–1725). Their distinctive feature is a mixture between older genres such as Kār, Naḳş and sometimes ʿAmel, vocal Semāʿī with extensive *terennümāt* and the *terennüm*-less Beste, all sorted according to *maḳām*. The Şarḳı, recognizable by its coupletrefrain structure and tendentially a clearer, simpler language,<sup>182</sup> seems to be a later development not yet in effect during ʿAlī Ufuḳı’s time. It belongs to the generation of Buḥūrī-zāde Muştafā ʿİtrī (between 1630 and 1640–1711)<sup>183</sup> and is brought to the foreground in the collection of Ḥāfiẓ Pōst and subsequent collections. As will be discussed below again, for this reason the presence of the couplet-refrain type Şarḳı is understood as a criterion for locating a *güfte mecmūʿası* later than ʿAlī Ufuḳı. HP contains a small number of strophic song texts which stylistically hint at ʿĀşık poetry but carry no *mahlāş* (ff. 48b (Şarḳı), 65a (with the refrain “Tağlar tağlar hey tağlar”), 79a (attributed to Koca ʿOsmān), 169a and 174b (attributed to Kāraca-oğlan)).<sup>184</sup> Are we dealing with stylized “folk” poetry and music for the educated classes? Wright stressed that HP confirmed the conclusion drawn from ʿAlī Ufuḳı’s notations that “important changes in modal and rhythmic nomenclature to some extent distance it [the Ḥāfiẓ Pōst collection] from the system in which the earlier corpus of vocal court music had been articulated”.<sup>185</sup> This also applies to the choice of genres, as will be discussed below. Feldman, on the other hand, described the historical processes of

<sup>178</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Supplément Turc 1377*.

<sup>179</sup> K 447.

<sup>180</sup> Korkmaz, Harun (2018). *Türk Müziği Konserleri: “Bestekârı Yanlış Bilinen Eserler”*. İstanbul: Pera Müzesi, p. 20, footnote 10.

<sup>181</sup> See for example a succession of Varşāğı from f. 9a onwards.

<sup>182</sup> Kalpaklı (2013), p. 24, Feldman (2013), p. 90.

<sup>183</sup> Say, Ahmet (1992b). “İtrī”. In: *Müzik Ansiklopedisi*. Ed. by Say, Ahmet. Vol. 2.

Ankara: Başkent Yayınevi, pp. 631–637, p. 631.

<sup>184</sup> Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık (1993), p. 357.

<sup>185</sup> Wright (1996), p. 457.

the seventeenth century as “erosion and simplification [...] leading to the cultural situation at the court of Murād IV, as documented by both Evliyā Çelebi and Ali Ufkî”. According to him,

“the fundamental societal changes within Ottoman Turkey after the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century [...] allowed artistic music to reach a much larger segment of the urban population. This led both to its greater cultural grounding and to official encouragement for artistic expression and innovation, which in turn produced many changes and developments of the first ‘classical’ age of Ottoman music, from the beginning to the final third of the 18<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>186</sup>

From the chronological distance and on the basis of the very few sources we possess, descriptions that evoke evolution, development or decay must be used with caution. True, ‘Alī Ufukî’s *dīvān*-poetry-based vocal music features uncomplicated and short melodies widely different from what tradition brought to present knowledge from earlier and later periods, but his instrumental repertoire is neither simple nor readily imaginable as the product of a process of decay.

## 4.2 *Maḳām*

A *maḳām* is a modal entity defined by the choice of scale degrees (*perdeler*) from the general scale which constitute its particular scale. Two classes of scale degrees exist, the *tam* or *tamām perdeler* (“whole notes”) constituting the basic scale, and the *nīm* or *nā-tamām perdeler* (“half” or “incomplete notes”), which cannot form scales on their own but appear as alterations, allowing the construction of ever new particular scales.<sup>187</sup> The *maḳām* is further defined by its final (*ḳarār*, “resolution”), its range (*hüküm*, “domain”) and, very importantly, characteristic patterns of melodic progression called *seyir*.<sup>188</sup> The entirety of *maḳāmlar* is further classified according to the *perdeler* they contain: Cantemir, for instance, differentiates between *müfred* (“independent”), consisting of *tam perdeler* exclusively, *maḳām* (containing *nīm perdeler*), and *mürekkeb* as well as *terkīb* (entities which are derived

<sup>186</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 119.

<sup>187</sup> Feldman (1996a), p. 195.

<sup>188</sup> Behar (2008), pp. 138ff; Behar (2017), pp. 39–43, 86–88.

from the combination of preexistent *maḳām*lar).<sup>189</sup> The older system of the Anatolian tradition classified the modal entities according to the categories *maḳām*, *ṣūbe* and *āvāze*.<sup>190</sup>

In preparation for the analyses, some preliminary remarks on how the matter of *maḳām* is treated are necessary. In the collections of ‘Alī Ufuḳī, the subject area of *maḳām* can be approached via verbal designations such as titles, headings or accompanying material or via alteration signs (*maḳām* signatures as well as accidentals).<sup>191</sup> The first and most important step are statistics that show which *maḳām*lar are mentioned, how many pieces are attributed to a *maḳām*, how many are not, and whether there is a connection with the genre of the piece in question. The employment of *maḳām* signatures and accidentals must be taken into account, although their significance is limited due to inconsequent use and insufficient explanation by ‘Alī Ufuḳī. Comparison with L is helpful especially for the Peḡrev, instrumental Semā‘ī, Murabba‘ and vocal Semā‘ī repertoire thanks to its internal organization in *faşullar*. Vocal music from the ‘Āşık sphere is treated with more caution, as its integration into the modal system is scarcely documented and therefore difficult to assess. A second source that can be adduced for support is the incomplete translation of the Genevan Psalter.<sup>192</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī attributed the unchanged melodies of the 1562 Genevan Psalter to *maḳām*lar he understood as matching, in some cases changing his decision. This unfortunately incomplete manuscript allows some deductions concerning ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s perception of certain *maḳām*lar.

<sup>189</sup>Feldman (1996a), pp. 196, 255–260.

<sup>190</sup>This tradition is exemplified by Ahmed Oḡlu Şükrullah (2011). *Şükrullah’ın Risālesi ve 15. Yüzyıl Şark Musikisi Nazariyatı*. Ed. by Bardakçı, Murat. İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık; Kırşehir, Yusuf (2012). *Yusuf Kırşehirî’nin Müzik Teorisi*. Ed. by Doğrusöz-Dişiacı, Nilgün. Kırşehir Valiliği Kültür Hizmeti Yayınları vol. 36. Kırşehir: Kırşehir Valiliği.

<sup>191</sup>The term *maḳām* signature is coined here for ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s translation of the European phenomenon “key signature” to Ottoman contexts. A *maḳām* signature is stated at the beginning of a piece or a section and is valid the entire piece or section. Accidentals appear when required and are usually valid for one note or, at most, for one rhythmic cycle. The latter possibility occurs only rarely in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations; see Critical Report.

<sup>192</sup>*Sup Turc 472*.



In the case of total absence of information, attributions are not attempted.<sup>193</sup> The crucial parameters such as final, range and alteration signs are stated in the Critical Report, likewise –if extant– the *faşıl* attribution of the L version. Of course, the repertoire could be analyzed in comparison with parallel versions notated by C and K, filtering out the essence of their *seyir*.<sup>194</sup> But –as pointed out before– this methodology is not free from danger of superimposition of concepts whose relevance for ‘Alī Ufuḳī can never be ascertained and also exceeds the scope of the present study.<sup>195</sup> Hence the decision has been taken not to ascribe each piece to a certain *maḳām*. When describing and defining a *maḳām*, it has to be kept in mind that such a modal entity is a continuum subject and open to change, and that any single definition is an illusion even if theory books present *maḳām* as a “finalized or isolated structure”.<sup>196</sup> Musicology and performance have to free themselves of the notion that a “correct”, somehow official, authorized way of explaining a certain *maḳām* exists. This pertains for example to the theoretical models presented by Demetrius Cantemir, to whom musicologists, including the present author generally refer in order to gain a better understanding of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations, because he is accessible and alternatives are scarce. Yet he is not only temporally unrelated, but also presents a certain break with theoretical tradition in the sense of a “depart[ure] from theoretical speculations in favor of practical ideas”.<sup>197</sup> His terminology is perceptibly different. While being fully aware of the older methods (*ḳavl-i ḳadīm*), he classifies the modal entities according to “parameters that pertain to tonal qualities and relationships as well as to spatial and movement directions”.<sup>198</sup> So, if there was a break between something generally perceived as “old” and something generally perceived as “new”, we do not know on which side of the wa-

<sup>193</sup>For example, as Hüseynī is a very frequent *maḳām* both in P and L, it could be assumed that pieces ending on d’ and featuring no alterations are in Hüseynī. As will be seen below, the matter is more complicated on more than one level.

<sup>194</sup>This has been conducted on a few Peşrevler from a later period by Feldman, also in comparison with *seyir* examples notated by Rauf Yekta in 1921; Feldman (1996a), pp. 361, 377ff.

<sup>195</sup>This methodology has been proposed by Dural (2014). He notates the P version of a Peşrev with modern accidentals for altered pitches as deduced from C and transposes to *râst* = g’. For a similar comparative analysis see Arel (1951), pp. 5f.

<sup>196</sup>Aksoy (2015), p. 26.

<sup>197</sup>Popescu-Judetz (2007), pp. 23, 43–51.

<sup>198</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

tershed ‘Alī Ufuḳī saw himself or whether he was aware of such a process at all.<sup>199</sup> In a different context but none the less relevant, Owen Wright stressed that “one should be wary of assuming that a change in modal nomenclature necessarily signifies a change in modal structure, or indeed the converse, that retention of a term implies an unchanging structure”.<sup>200</sup>

As Cem Behar has pointed out, the historical reference points of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman music are separate from each other and difficult to reconcile.<sup>201</sup> Furthermore, Eugenia Popescu-Judetz stated that “[t]here is no possible analogy between the so-called *güfte mecmûası* examples comprising the poems of vocal songs and the *risale* [treatise] materials that are theoretical writings, except for the nomenclature of modes and rhythmic cycles”.<sup>202</sup>

Different interpretations of *maḳām* seem to have coexisted, and it is unclear which current ‘Alī Ufuḳī was affiliated with. Some of the theoretical material concerning *uṣûl* point to the type of theoretical tradition ‘Alī Ufuḳī was familiar with, either exclusively or among others (see below, chapter 4.3). The topic of *maḳām* is more difficult to analyze, because there are much less tangible statements about *maḳām* than about *uṣûl*, and because the notation itself does not yield a great deal of information, and a large number of pieces are very short. Judging from the texts on *uṣûl* copied from treatises of the Anatolian tradition, it may be possible that ‘Alī Ufuḳī was trained according to the teachings of the so-called systematist school.<sup>203</sup> Yet the traditional classification of modal entities as *maḳām*, *âğâze*, *şu‘be* and *terkīb*, which are a legacy of the systematist school

<sup>199</sup> For a detailed discussion of the concepts of “old” and “new” in Cantemir, see Behar (2017), pp. 67–70 and *passim*.

<sup>200</sup> Wright (1992), p. 131.

<sup>201</sup> “Bu birbirinden kopuk referans noktalarını kullanarak (Ali Ufkî’nin çeşitli elyazmaları, *Evlîyâ Çelebî Seyahatnâmesi*’nin ilk cildi, *Hâfız Post Mecmuası*, Kantemiroğlu Edvarı, *Atrabü’l-Âsâr*, Hızır Ağa Edvarı, 18. yüzyıla ait bazı başka güfte mecmuaları vs.) anlamlı, tutarlı, Osmanlı’nın genel tarihsel bağlamıyla yakın ilişkili ve açıklayıcı bir hikâye oluşturmak çok zor” (“It is very difficult to establish a meaningful, coherent narrative that is connected to and explanatory of general Ottoman history using those isolated reference points [the sources]”). Behar (2010), p. 23.

<sup>202</sup> Popescu-Judetz (2007), p. 15.

<sup>203</sup> Wright, Owen (2017[c]). “Mūsīkī, later Mūsīkā”. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Ed. by Bearman, P. et al. Brill. URL: [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_COM-0812](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-0812) (visited on 12/27/2017).

and are still used by later theoreticians such as Hızır Āġā (d. 1760)<sup>204</sup> or Nāyī ʿOṣmān Dede (\*1652),<sup>205</sup> are absent from ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s writings. It is an unfortunate circumstance that Aḫī-zāde ʿAlī Çelebi’s *Kitāb-ı ʿilm-i edvār-ı ʿilm-i mūsikī* is not accessible. This treatise is dated 1675, the year of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s supposed death.<sup>206</sup> Following the principles of Şafiyü’-d-dīn Urmevī, he classifies the modal entities into twelve *temām maḳāmlar*, seven *avāzeler*, four *şū-beler* and forty-eight *terkībāt*, which are matched with celestial bodies, elements and times of the day. Circle diagrams are used for *maḳāmlar* and *uşüller*. Another chapter that would have been extremely important is his description of the *nevbet*, the courtly performance sequence, also hinted at by ʿAlī Ufuḳī; likewise the included song-text collection may yield interesting insights, even though it mainly contains compositions attributed to Merāġī.<sup>207</sup> It can well be imagined that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was trained in an environment making use of those theoretical notions, even more likely than a system resembling the one proposed by Cantemir.

### 4.2.1 Tone system

In his description of the palace, ʿAlī Ufuḳī addresses the topic of tonality versus modality in passing: “[...]hanno ancora notizia di thoni [...]” (“they still have knowledge of the *toni*”).<sup>208</sup> The term *tonus* is used in the sense of “octave species” or recitation tone.<sup>209</sup> This shows that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was aware of conceptual similarities between the *maḳām* system and the European modal system as well as the shared Ancient Greek roots.<sup>210</sup> When Giovanni Battista Donado served in Constantinople as Bailo of Venice in 1680 –not too long after ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s estimated time of death–, he was told that “Turkish”

<sup>204</sup> Popescu-Judet (2007), pp. 23, 54ff. Feldman (1996a), pp. 267ff. Hızır Aġa (2015), *passim*.

<sup>205</sup> Popescu-Judet (2007), pp. 51f.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40f.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40f., 80f.

<sup>208</sup> *Harley 3409*, p. 50.

<sup>209</sup> Atkinson, Charles M. (2016). “Tonos / tonus”. In: *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*. Ed. by Riethmüller, Albrecht and Bandur, Markus. Vol. 6. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. URL: [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00070514/image\\_341](http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00070514/image_341) (visited on 07/01/2016), pp. 14–18.

<sup>210</sup> Feldman (1990), pp. 91f.

music was based on twenty-four “arie” distributed to four different affects and that texts were invented to suit the music, not the other way round “as we do”.<sup>211</sup>

Any discussion of modality is naturally connected to the issue of absolute and relative pitch.<sup>212</sup> The actual sounding pitch is an issue related to instruments and their tuning and thus much more liable to practical exigencies than the abstract “chamber tone” in worldwide use today. In the European context where ‘Alī Ufuḳī was first trained (most probably on the lute, see chapters 4.2.1 and 5.1.), there was no such notion as a generally acknowledged pitch. Factors that influenced the actual sound of a given notated piece were the intended voice register or instrument, the genre of the piece and the region in which it was composed and performed, which was not necessarily the same place. In Italy, for example, a’ for singers is estimated at 415 Hz while instruments such as violins and organs were based on a’=464 Hz or a’=440 Hz.<sup>213</sup> In liturgical music, the organ stabilized and standardized pitch levels, but for secular music a notion of absolute pitch had little relevance for performers. The question whether there was a clef transposition system effective in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe and what it exactly sounded like is still a matter of contention: It seems as though the so-called *chiavette* (“little clefs”) transposition system meant that vocal pieces written in high clefs (starting with g2 for the top voice) were supposed to be transposed down a fourth or fifth when played by instruments such as lute or organ.<sup>214</sup> It is however entirely unclear to what extent ‘Alī Ufuḳī understood those rules as applicable to Ottoman music. Hence comparison to European practices does not yield results that could

<sup>211</sup> “[...] che consistono in ventiquattro arie; cioè sei malenconiche, sei allegre, sei furibonde, sei melliflue, ò pure amorse; e che accomodano, e fanno li versi, e rime all’ arie, non l’arie alle rime, come si fà da noi.” Donado (1688), p. 132. See also Wright (2013), pp. 152f. Rothman (2013), p. 399.

<sup>212</sup> This and the following paragraphs are developed from the present author’s contribution to the joint paper with Mehmet Uğur Ekinci; especially pp. 83–88.

<sup>213</sup> Haynes, Bruce and Cooke, Peter (2014). “Pitch”. In: *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. URL: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40883> (visited on 10/02/2014).

<sup>214</sup> Parrott, Andrew (2012). “High Clefs and Down-to-earth Transposition: A Brief Defence of Monteverdi”. In: *Early Music* vol. 40, pp. 81–86; Barbieri, Patrizio (1991). “‘Chiavette’ and Modal Transposition in Italian Practice (c. 1500–1837)”. In: *Recercare. Rivista per lo studio e la pratica della musica antica* vol. 3, pp. 5–80.

directly facilitate the interpretation of his notations. The notated pitches first and foremost represented scale degrees according to the hexachord system and thus had a relative, not an absolute meaning.<sup>215</sup>

This is expressed by the solmization syllables, which stand for the role a certain tone plays in its context. In this system going back to Guido of Arezzo, the gamut as a whole is organized with the help of interlocking six-tone scales, the hexachords.<sup>216</sup> Each of their degrees is allotted a syllable –ut (later do), re, mi, fa, sol, la– that defines its place and role in the scale, for example the placement of semitones above or below it. The scale itself is traditionally based on c, f or g, resulting in three hexachords (hexachordum naturale, molle requiring the alteration sign b-molle on its fourth degree, and durum requiring the sharp alteration on the degree below its final, the so-called *subsemitonium modi*). More than defining an absolute pitch, the solmization syllable defines the context: A *fa* always has a semitone below it and a whole tone above, a *mi* has a whole tone below and a semitone above. For this reason, tones are described with their degree name and a combination of solmization syllables that shows which role they assume, a practice much used by ʿAlī Ufuḫī. For example, “A la mi re” means that the tone A can be a “la” (a sixth degree with a whole tone below), a “mi” (a third degree with a semitone above) and a “re” (a second degree with a whole tone above and below).<sup>217</sup>

It is unknown how much ʿAlī Ufuḫī experimented before he reached the state visible in the extant notations, but it is beyond doubt that he equated c’ as the central pitch of the European system with rāst, the central pitch of the Ottoman Turkish system in his opinion. This becomes obvious from many annotations and marginalia referring to notations via the solmization system. As fundamental note of the *hexachordum naturale*, the unaltered hexachord, c’ became the point of reference in European music theory following Guido of Arezzo. The use of the c clef to mark the pivotal point also goes back to Guido.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>215</sup>Mendel, Arthur (1978). “Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries”. In: *Musical Quarterly* vol. 34, pp. 28–45, 199–221, 336–364, 575–593, pp. 28f.

<sup>216</sup>For a more detailed discussion refer to Allaire (1972).

<sup>217</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>218</sup>Hirschberg, Jehoash (2014). “Hexachord”. In: *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. URL: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12963> (visited on 10/02/2014); Fallows, David (2014). “Middle C”. in: *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press. URL: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>

To quote a telling example of such marginalia:<sup>219</sup> “Arak si chiama il B fa mi Abasso” means that the *perde* ʿrāk̄ is to be equated with b, i.e. the scale degree below rāst. The Ottomanized solmization table in L (f. 184a) is an important reference, which has been highlighted by Cem Behar.<sup>220</sup> There, the scribe (who is most probably not ʿAlī Ufuḳī) lists the degrees of the European scale under the heading “Dürr-i mufaṣṣal” (“pearls on a string”) as follows:<sup>221</sup>

elif	la	mi	re	[A la mi re = a]
be	fa	pe	mi	[B fa b mi = b]
cīm	şo	fa	do	[C sol fa do = c’]
dal	la	şo	re	[D la sol re = d’]
he	la		mi	[E la mi = e’]
vav	fa		do	[F fa do = f’]
ze	şo	re	do	[G sol re do = g’]

Table 4.1: European scale degrees: “Dürr-i mufaṣṣal” (L f. 184a)

All those instances of solmization and likewise the scheme “Le Scale perde del Tambur” (f. 229b/74b, see below) or the *perde* name “iekgaḥ” next to a g (f. 363a/291b) clearly show that ʿAlī Ufuḳī equalled rāst with c’ without involving an automatic transposition system. He was well aware of the possibility of transposition (*şedd*, see f. 287b/133b–288a/134a),<sup>222</sup> but this

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subscriber/article/grove/music/18620 (visited on 10/02/2014). For more detailed insights into Guido’s notational principles, which are at the very foundation of the Western system, see Schmid (2012), pp. 52–63.

<sup>219</sup> A complete list of all occurrences: *Turc 292*, ff. 3b/254b, 51a/248b, 61b/271a, 63a/265b, 121b/261b, 140b/295b, 200b/46b–201a/47a, 219a/65a, 230b/75b–231a/76a, 233b/79b–234a/80a, 241b/87b (3x), 242a/88a, 243a/89b, 275a/121a, 276b/122b, 283b/129b–285a/131a, 287b/133b–288a/134a, 290b/136b–292a/138a, 362a/292a, 372a/287a and 414b/245b–415a/246a.

<sup>220</sup> Behar (2005), p. 27. See also Albert Bobowski (ʿAlī Ufuḳī) (1991a), xif; Ayangil (2008), p. 406.

<sup>221</sup> The same table is also encountered in Meniški’s *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium*: “*dürri mufaṣṣal*, q. Uniones separati, i.e. Gamma, seu Notæ musicales”. Meniški (1680c), col. 2042.

<sup>222</sup> Ekinci (2016), p. 82.

one note cannot outweigh the many instances solmization proves that for him notation was equal to actual pitch, according to European thinking.<sup>223</sup> Further, this is not necessarily a contradiction: On the one hand, ‘Alī Ufuḫī notated the sounding pitch, on the other hand, he was aware of transposition practices. In the present author’s opinion, transposing all of his notation by a fifth (so as *rāst* becomes *g’* in the *bolâhenk* tuning according to modern practice), only on the authority of one marginal note, goes too far. The c1 clef determines the location of *c’* = *rāst* in the staff, but this is a convention of European music writing in the seventeenth century: The clef would be chosen in such a way that ledger lines had to be used as rarely as possible, and consequently the c1 clef suited ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s purpose most of the time. In a note to himself on f. 372a/287a ‘Alī Ufuḫī wrote that “the next time”, the *Peşrev* in question should be notated with the g2 clef in order not to “be forced to overstep the five lines”. Taking all this together, it seems as though ‘Alī Ufuḫī made informed choices that seemed logical to him and were well-grounded in European conventions.<sup>224</sup>

In his perception of *rāst* as central pitch, it seems as though ‘Alī Ufuḫī was following an older notion. While Nāyī ‘Osmān Dede sees *Rāst* as “*peder*” and *Nevā* as “*māder*” of the *maḳāmlar*,<sup>225</sup> Hızır Āġā gives *dügāh* the role of the “*ser-perde*” – however, in the center of the diagram illustrating the connections of all modal entities to this central pitch he noted: “*Edvār-ı kadîmeye göre rāst ser-perde-yi mûsikîdir lakin zamāna ve vakte münāsib bā-ḥuşûs. Keşret-i mübedellât i’tibārıyla düġāh perdesi ser-perde-yi mûsikî*”<sup>226</sup> Hence it may well be that ‘Alī Ufuḫī was part of something perceived as “old” by the mid-eighteenth century.

<sup>223</sup> A second marginal, found on f. 241b/87b, could also be understood as alluding to transposition (“Composed in the fourth ut fa [...] and the fifth re la superius [high voice] at the end of D la sol re”). Due to poor legibility it could not be interpreted sufficiently and was hence not taken into consideration.

<sup>224</sup> Jäger’s assessment that “the choice of pitch in ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s notations may well have been quite arbitrary” is not adopted here. (“[...] dass die Wahl der Tonhöhe in den Aufzeichnungen Ufkis relativ willkürlich gewesen sein dürfte [...]”). Jäger (1996b), p. 232. See also Ekinci and Haug (2016), pp. 84f. Ayangil (2008), p. 404.

<sup>225</sup> Hariri and Akdoġu (1991), pp. 16f., 34.

<sup>226</sup> “According to the old treatises, *rāst* is the main degree of music, however especially apt to the time and period. Due to changes *dügāh* is [now] the main degree of music”. Hızır Aġa (2015), pp. 142f. Popescu-Judetiz (2007), p. 55.

“Le Scale perde del Tambur” (f. 229b/74b), a notation of the frets of the *ṭanbūr*, proves exceptionally valuable. Its presentation, however, is not embedded in a speculative-theoretical context. The names of the pitches are not recorded, like in the similarly offhand “La tel tanbura ha queste voci e tasti” on f. 122a/262a. While it does not offer exact mathematical information concerning the pitch relations, it does shed some light on ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s perception of scale. The alteration signs he employs show which pitches he perceived as raised or lowered in relation to the neighboring *tam perde*.<sup>227</sup>

The figure shows a musical staff with 28 positions numbered 0 to 27. The notes are as follows: 0 (open), 1 (sharp), 2 (black), 3 (open), 4 (black), 5 (sharp), 6 (black), 7 (open), 8 (sharp), 9 (black), 10 (open), 11 (sharp), 12 (black), 13 (open), 14 (sharp), 15 (black), 16 (sharp), 17 (black), 18 (open), 19 (sharp), 20 (black), 21 (open), 22 (sharp), 23 (black), 24 (open), 25 (sharp), 26 (black), 27 (open). The word 'sopercie' is written above notes 2-4, 6-8, 10-12, and 14-16. The word 'sop[er]cie' is written above notes 18-20, 22-24, and 26-27. A sharp sign is placed above note 16. The staff ends with 'Accordo.' and a three-line staff with notes G, G, and D.

Figure 4.1: “Le Scale perde del Tambur”, f. 229b/74b

The meaning of the blackened note heads annotated “sopercie” (“soperchie” – “excessive, superfluous”) is unclear. For the reconstruction of the *perde* distribution as employed by ‘Alī Ufuḳī some marginalia can be adduced. A note on f. 291a/137a lists three alterations: “f# Vzzaʿ, c# Selmek, g# Jssar”. This note is in accord with another occurrence of the *perde* named ‘uzzāl: On f. 31b/13b-1, the mark “Vzzaʿ” was placed under the final note, an f-sharp. The sketchlike notation of the Ġazel “Ne hunider ghiozum sakij Ki bagrumden kebab ister” was written on a three-line staff with an unusual g1 clef and a sharp as *maḳām* signature below the first line. The remaining known pitches are filled in according to the annotations containing solmization syllables:<sup>228</sup> Yegāh according to f. 363a/291b, ḥüseynī and dügāh according to f. 285a/131a, nevā according to ff. 299b/145b–300a/146a, evc according to f. 291a/137a. This partially reconstructed scale can be compared to Cantemir’s general scale,<sup>229</sup> interestingly also presented on the basis of the *ṭanbūr*, his “perfect instrument”.<sup>230</sup> In the following notation,

<sup>227</sup> Also refer to the Critical Report. Behar (2008), pp. 168f.

<sup>228</sup> For details refer to the respective Critical Reports.

<sup>229</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 201–203.

<sup>230</sup> Popescu-Judetz (2007), p. 43.



Cantemir’s pitch names as presented on the drawing of a *tanbūr*<sup>231</sup> are attributed to the *perdeler* stated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī in the second line, omitting the black notes and relocating Cantemir’s scale to ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s system of pitch, i.e. *rāst* = *c*’.

Figure 4.2 shows four staves of musical notation. The first staff is in G major and contains eight notes with pitch names: yegāh, 'aṣīrān, 'acem 'aṣīrānī, 'irāḳ, rāst, selmek, and dügāh. The second staff contains seven notes with pitch names: nihāvend, segāh, çārgāh, 'uzzāl, nevā, hiṣār, and ḥüseynī. The third staff is marked with an asterisk and contains seven notes with pitch names: 'acem, evc, gerdāniye, ŧehnāz, muḥayyer, sünbüle, and tīz segāh. The fourth staff contains five notes with pitch names: tīz büselik, tīz çārgāh, tīz 'uzzāl, tīz nevā, and tīz ḥüseynī.

Figure 4.2: “Le Scale perde del Tambur” with pitch names stated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī in comparison with Cantemir

The *tam perdeler*, i.e. the pitches not altered in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notation, can be distributed relatively easily. When there is only one *nīm perde* between two adjacent main degrees, there is still little doubt. Serious difficulties arise when ‘Alī Ufuḳī has only one altered degree, where Cantemir has two, as ‘Alī Ufuḳī gives only 28 pitches where Cantemir has 33 over the distance of two “octaves” plus one degree. The following conclusions can be drawn, while some questions remain open:

- The names for the pitch between *rāst* and *dügāh* vary. ‘Alī Ufuḳī uses the name *selmek*, which is rather unusual. The only theoretician (as surveyed by Eugenia Popescu-Judetz) who uses *selmek* as a *perde*

<sup>231</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 212–213.

is Hızır b. ‘Abdu’l-lāh.<sup>232</sup> In Kırşehirī’s system, for example, Selmek is an *āvāze* based on *rāst* and containing the altered *perde* *kūçek* (a lowered fifth scale degree); the *perde* in question is called *zengüle*.<sup>233</sup>

- ‘Alī Ufuḳī distinguishes between the higher alteration of *dügāh* and the lower alteration of *segāh* (notated after *segāh*). Neither name is stated.
- What is the role of pitch No. 1, the higher alteration of *yegāh*?
- Why is *rehāvī* absent, i.e. why is there no pitch between ‘*rāḳ* and *rāst*, although the *maḳām* is mentioned in P?
- Which *perde* is meant by the lower alteration of *segāh* (and its octave repetition)? Is the b-molle erroneous and ‘Alī Ufuḳī actually means *büselik* (see f. 291a/137a)?
- When the *perde* between *çārgāh* and *nevā* is ‘*uzzāl* instead of *şabā*, what does that imply for *maḳām Şabā*?
- Why is *māhūr* absent (i.e. why is there no pitch between the unaltered pitches *evc* and *gerdāniyye*), although the *maḳām* appears in both collections?
- Why is there no *nīm perde* between *tiz segāh* and *tiz hüseyinī*?

To sum up: In general, the information supplied by ‘Alī Ufuḳī does not suffice to reconstruct the entire modal system used by him, and Cantemir’s general scale cannot be directly applied without reservation.<sup>234</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḳī obviously did not feel the necessity to explain this matter in more detail or create a more finely tuned designation system.

#### 4.2.2 Occurrence of *maḳāmlar*

Apart from the actual interpretation of the *maḳāmlar* which of course must have changed in the course of time, the frequency of their occurrence, and hence their popularity, is a statistical fact that can be extracted and

<sup>232</sup>See Table 6 in Popescu-Judetȃ (2007); see also pp. 29–32.

<sup>233</sup>Kırşehirī (2012), pp. 71, 102, 112.

<sup>234</sup>See e.g. Olley (2012), p. 53 (footnote 15).

adduced for comparison. In order to evaluate the frequency of *maḳām* occurrence in P, all verbal statements of *maḳāmlar* in headings and similar contexts are listed below. If a text without musical notation relates to a notation on the same page or elsewhere, the two elements together are counted as vocal; if a text and a notation have the same statement, they are also counted only once. Evidently the statistics are affected by the many pieces without attribution.

<i>Maḳām</i>	Instr.	Vocal	Text only	Total
‘Acem	3	2	7	12
‘Aṣṣīrān	0	1	1	2
Beste-nigār	0	1	0	1
Beyātī	3	3	5	11
Būselik	2	0	0	2
Çārgāh	1	0	0	1
Dügāh	4	0	1	5
Dügāh-Ḥüseynī	2	0	0	2
Dügāh-Şabā	0	0	1	1
Evc	2	1	1	4
Evc-‘Irāk	0	0	1	1
Ḥicāz muḥālif	0	1	0	1
Ḥiṣār	2 <sup>235</sup>	0	0	2
Ḥüseynī	15	4	7	26
‘Irāk	9	3 <sup>236</sup>	1	13
‘Irāk muḥālif	1	0	0	1
Māhūr	1	0	0	1
Māye	0	1	0	1
Muḥayyer	2	2	1	5

<sup>235</sup>One of the two Peşrevler is titled *Mülāzīme-yi Ḥiṣār* and stands in Şabā, i.e. the *maḳām* of the rest of the piece is different.

<sup>236</sup>One of those three is an untexted *Türkī havāsi*.

<i>Maḳām</i>	Instr.	Vocal	Text only	Total
Muḥayyer-Sünbüle	0	0	1	1
Nevā	7	6	6	19
Nevā-Beyātī <sup>237</sup>	0	0	1	1
Nevā-yı ‘Uṣṣāḳ	1	0	0	1
Nevrüz-‘Acem	1	0	0	1
Nevrüz-i ‘arab <sup>238</sup>	0	0	1	1
Nigriz	3	0	0	3
Nihāvend	1	0	0	1
Niṣābūr	3	2	1	6
Pençgāh	1	0	0	1
Rāst	10	5	1	16
Rāst-Pençgāh	2	3	1	6
Rehāvī	1	0	0	1
Sāzkār	2	0	0	2
Şabā	2	2	2	6
Segāh	6	2	2	10
Sünbüle	2	0	0	2
Şehnāz	2	0	0	2
‘Uṣṣāḳ	0	3	4	7
‘Uzzāl	2	1	0	3

Table 4.2: Occurrence of *maḳāmlar*

The following two cases have not been included in the list: The heading of the supposed Peşrev on ff. 229b/74b–230a/75a-1, ‘Acemī, most probably does not allude to the *maḳām*, but to the provenance of the piece,

<sup>237</sup>This *terkīb* appears in none of the treatises evaluated by Popescu-Judetzi (2007).

<sup>238</sup>This entity appears in none of the treatises evaluated by *ibid*.

analogously to the more frequent “Acemler”.<sup>239</sup> The title of the melody fragment f. 310b/166b-3, ‘Acemī, likewise does not refer to the tune itself which closes on ‘ırāk.<sup>240</sup>

Not all of the *maḳām*lar present in P also appear in L, and vice versa. L additionally contains a *faşl*-ı ‘Aşīrān-Būselik; the concordances with P are both headed “‘Aşīrān” (f. 199a/45a, f. 206a/52a), while the two melody versions differ only slightly. The *terkīb* Beyātī-Kürdī does not appear in P. *Maḳām* Māye and Nev-beste as well the compound entities Dügāh-Şabā, Evc-‘ırāk, Hicāz muḫālif, Nevā-Beyātī, Nevā-yı ‘Uşşāk, Nevruz-i ‘arāb and Rāst-Pençgāh are absent from L. The piece in Māye is found in the *faşl*-ı Segāh, the song in Dügāh-Şabā *Āsāsīyā ğarahtanī yā laylī* and the Semā‘ī Nevā-Beyātī in the *faşl*-ı Muḫayyer, *Bir oḳ urdı bu sīneme perī-zād* (f. 277a/123a, Nevā-Beyātī) in the *faşl*-ı Beyātī and the [Peşrev] *Żarbū’l-feth Nevā‘ī ‘Uşşāk Şerīfīnī* (f. 377\*a/223a) in the *faşl*-ı ‘Uşşāk. A Varşağı attributed to Pençgāh can be found in the *faşl*-ı Rāst (f. 114b), while its concordance on f. 361b/293a is attributed to the compound Rāst-Pençgāh. Three more pieces with the express heading Rāst-Pençgāh belong to this modal sphere, one Raḳş allegedly composed by ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself (f. 114v) as well as two Tesbīḥ (ff. 120b, 122b). Looking further into the repertoire of P, two more Peşrevler in Rāst-Pençgāh (ff. 249b/95b–250a/96a-2 and 370b/285b) as well as one more in Pençgāh (f. 378\*b/224b) can be added to this section. The last three cases are conveniently explicable with the proximity of a *maḳām* and its derivate which ‘Alī Ufuḳī decided to subsume under the heading of the *maḳām* at a later stage. None of the other occurrences has a parallel version in L.

Comparison with L shows that only in a small number of instances the respective *maḳām* ascriptions and placements in *faşullar* differ (apart from the cases of *maḳām* and derivate *terkīb*). The interpretation of these cases is difficult and often unrewarding, as theoretical descriptions of certain entities deviate and it is unclear on which theoretical foundation ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s thinking was based. Detailed discussions follow in chapter 4.2.4. The vocal Semā‘ī on f. 322b/177b is titled ‘Uşşāk in P but attributed to Beyātī in L (f. 74b), in spite of fairly high melodic similarity and the fact that neither version employs alteration signs. F. 352a/194a features a vocal piece of the

<sup>239</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 65–67.

<sup>240</sup> On ‘Acemler as a statement on authorship or geographical provenance see Neubauer (1997), p. 345.

courtly sphere attributed to Māye in P but placed in the *faṣl-ı Segāh* in L (f. 105a), even though the melodies resemble each other quite closely and neither of them features any alteration signs. The notation is accompanied by a short remark concerning the *maḳām*, one of the very few references to *maḳām* definition proving a perceived proximity of those two modes: “Maie mekami sega iuzund[en] ghider Ema dughiahte karar ider” (“*Maḳām* Māye proceeds like *Segāh* but closes on *dügāh*”). The case of a *Türkī* on f. 382b/215b attributed to ‘Uṣṣāk in P but located in the *faṣl-ı ‘Acem* in L (f. 78b) is unclear: While the different use of alteration suggests a real difference in interpretation –there are neither a *maḳām* signature nor accidentals in P, the L version has the signature *be-molle* on the fourth line, which corresponds to the *nīm perde* ‘*acem-*, this alteration occurs in none of the ‘Uṣṣāk pieces in P but in a considerable number of the ‘Uṣṣāk pieces in L. A reliable conclusion can thus not be drawn. The deviation between *Rāst-Pençgāh* (P) and *Rāst* (L) of a *Peşrev* on f. 370b/285b is probably less dramatic, but all the more telling: As there is neither a *faṣl-ı Rāst-Pençgāh* nor a *faṣl-ı Pençgāh* in L, the placement of this piece in the *faṣl-ı Rāst* may also reflect blurred borders between *Rāst* and *Pençgāh* in its “old” form, which is reflected in Cantemir’s attribution of *Pençgāh* to the sphere of *Rāst* or *Gerdāniyye*.<sup>241</sup> Most other theoreticians perceive *Pençgāh* as connected to *Nevā* or *Işfahān*.<sup>242</sup> For *Nāyī* ‘*Osmān Dede*, *Rāst* and *Pençgāh* are two distinct entities, namely the first and second of the twelve *maḳāmlar*.<sup>243</sup>

For comparison, in the Psalter the following modal entities occur: *Būselik* (4), *Ḥüseynī* (3), *Rāst u Māhūr*, *Rāst u Māhūr ya‘nī Gerdāniyye*, *Pençgāh*, *Çārgāh*, *Nevā-yı ‘Acem ya‘nī ‘Uṣṣāk*, *Zirefgend*, *Muḥayyer* and *Nevā-yı Rūmī*<sup>244</sup> (1 each). Yet the Psalter cannot easily be adduced as a reference for P and L, as the melodies to which ‘*Alī Ufuḳī* attributed the *maḳām* headings are European and had to be couched in terms accessible for Ottoman musicians.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>241</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 48f., 86–89.

<sup>242</sup> Table 6, Popescu-Judetz (2007).

<sup>243</sup> Hariri and Akdoğu (1991), pp. 14, 32.

<sup>244</sup> This compound seems to be an invention of ‘*Alī Ufuḳī*, as it could be found nowhere else. Haug (2010), pp. 505, 557ff.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 577 and *passim*.

Concerning the prevalence of certain *maḳām*lar in the transmitted repertoire, Gültekin Oransay has evaluated the “religious” pieces with *maḳām* attribution in both of ‘Alī Ufukī’s collections and the anthology of Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun,<sup>246</sup> using “cami ve tekke musikileri” (“musics of the mosques and dervish lodges”) as the corpus for his study. Ergun’s collection contains only texts, which precludes the comparison of melodies. He draws the conclusion that Ḥüseynī and ‘Uşşāk were the most frequently used entities both in “secular” (“halk ve dindışı”) and “spiritual” (“dini”) music, followed by Nevā and ‘Acem. Unfortunately he does not specify which genres are included in this survey.<sup>247</sup> In P such a comparison is impeded by the fact that a large number of pieces have no designation, even if the parallel versions in L are adduced, and percentages are of very limited value. There is a tendency toward Ḥüseynī (26 pieces including texts without notation), followed by Nevā (19), Rāst (16), ‘Irāk (13), ‘Acem and Beyātī (both 11) and Segāh. In L, the picture is different (Nevā, Ḥüseynī, Muḥayyer, ‘Acem, ‘Uşşāk). The frequency of *maḳām* occurrence in HP and C has already been evaluated by Owen Wright: In Cantemir’s collection, Ḥüseynī is first, followed by Nevā, Rāst, ‘Irāk, ‘Acem and Segāh, that is, the sequence of the most prevalent *maḳām*lar is the same except for the importance of Beyātī which is proportionally slightly less frequent in C than in P. Also in HP Ḥüseynī leads the statistics, but ‘Acem, Şabā and Nevā follow.<sup>248</sup>

### 4.2.3 Explanation and representation

As already mentioned, the manuscript itself does not yield as much theoretical or systematic information about *maḳām* as hoped. Usable comments on *maḳām* are even less frequent than the comments on *uşul* allowing direct deductions: Most remarks alluding to the modal system concern transposition in the sense that a piece could also be played on a different scale degree or should be notated on a different pitch.<sup>249</sup> For example, the

<sup>246</sup> Ergun (1942).

<sup>247</sup> Oransay (1971). His conclusions in the sense of a theory of musical affects deserves a deeper examination which is outside the scope of the present study.

<sup>248</sup> Wright (1992), p. 195.

<sup>249</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 17a/275a, 61b/271a, 63a/265b, 121b/261b, 153b/25bisb, 175b/299b, 219a/65a, 233b/79b–234a/80a, 243a/89a, 276b/122b, 283b/129b–285a/131a, 372a/287a and 396b/311a.

first notation of the Türkī “Aḅik oldum bir kaḅları karaie” on f. 153b/25bisb titled “Newa” is accompanied by the remark “Ricordati di comminciarla vna altra volta vna grad[...] piu in su, e guardar nel secundo ritornello la cadenza e di meza battuda” (“Remember to start it another time one scale degree higher, and pay attention that the cadence in the second ritornello is in half time”). Consequently the second version on the same page and the concordance in L are notated one scale degree higher (closing on d’ = dūgāh instead of c’ = rāst, which is expected for *maḳām* Nevā) and based on the Mī instead of the Sm as basic unit. The first notation of the Peşrev “BUSELIK Vn ton piu alto – Zarbul feth” (ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a) is based on c’ and requires flattening of the third and seventh scale degrees (ee’ and bb’). ‘Alī Ufuḳī later brought this piece into conformity with his general practice of equating c’ with rāst, consequently raising the notation from c’ to d’. The Murabba‘ *Ḥālimi tā ‘aşıḳı zār olmayınca bilmedün* on f. 241b/87b-1, f. 232\*b and L f. 114a is a similar example, however without annotation. Those examples (and those enumerated but not specifically analyzed) show that obviously the pitch mattered to ‘Alī Ufuḳī, and in all genres. Some annotations are obscure in their meaning and difficult to interpret due to their shortness and isolation. The comment on f. 274b/120b referring to the sequence of *maḳām*lar in a performance sequence is such a case: “Nota bene li fasil vanno ben dal segia al dugia o rast et cosi li fasli del Dugia al Huseini et Czargia et Dugia etc Et cosi credo del Newa al Arak et Muchaier etc” (“Nota bene the *faşullar* proceed from Segāh to Dūgāh or Rāst, and in this way the *faşullar* [proceed] from Dūgāh to Ḥüseynī and Çārgāh and Dūgāh etc. And in this way I believe [it proceeds] from Nevā to ‘Irāk and Muḥayyer etc”). The most plausible explanation for this remark is that the *maḳām* can change in the course of a performance sequence, but within the framework of rules and customs. There seem to be certain combinations of *maḳām*lar which are played in a sequence. In reverse, this means that the pieces constituting a performance sequence, instrumental and vocal, are not necessarily in the same *maḳām*, but can be chosen from a group of matching modal entities. The statement on transposition (*şedd*) on ff. 287b/133b–288a/134a has been mentioned before: “Acian Newa Dugiaile oḅur, ona Szeddi Hassan dirler – quarta alta / Acian Hussein Dugiaile oḅur, ona Szeddi Pehliwan dirler – quinta alta” (“Nevā goes with dūgāh, that is called Şedd-i Ḥasan; a fourth upwards. Ḥüseynī goes with dūgāh, that is called Şedd-i Pehlivān; a fifth upwards”). It is



unclear what ‘Alī Ufuḳī means with “Acian” –is it derived from the verb *açmak*, “to open”?– and what it implies. Behar explains this comment in the sense that the *perde* names are somewhat abstract, illustrating two ways of transposition, one by a fourth upward (as from *dügāh* to *nevā*) and one by a fifth upward (as from *dügāh* to *hüseynī*), correctly pointing out that we can never know whether these were the only transpositions he used and whether those names were common usage or his own invention. Similar practices are also described by Cantemir.<sup>250</sup>

Besides explaining three altered pitches, a note on f. 291a/137a characterizes three *maḳām*lar in a minimal way: “Muhaliſer boselik tut vn E la b. Gerdanie Mahur C sol fa vt. Bestenigar ex Eug b fa b mi alto tut vn –”. The first entity is difficult to explain. “Muhaliſer” is neither documented as a *maḳām* nor as a *perde*, but the reading is fairly clear. “Muḥālifek”, however, is an entity described differently by the theoreticians but often dependent on, based on and/or stressing *segāh*, which would concur with ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s mention of “E la b” (*segāh*). A *terkīb* with Būselik is not documented, neither a *perde* of this name. *Maḳām* Būselik is almost invariably based on *dügāh*, and its eponymous *perde* is an alteration of *segāh*, so the connection remains unexplained. Gerdāniyye-Māhūr is likewise not documented as a *terkīb*, but the *perde* gerdāniyye is located on c” (according to ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s concept). What he may intend is that both *maḳām* Gerdāniyye and *maḳām* Māhūr are based on c’ = *rāst* (“C sol fa vt”), which corresponds to some treatises. Concerning Māhūr, this is in accord with all theoreticians evaluated by Popescu-Judetȝ, whereas Gerdāniyye can have its *ḳarār* on different scale degrees. *Rāst* is stated by Ḳaḏı-zāde Meḫmed Tirevī, Panagiotes Kiltzanides and Seydī, while Cantemir gives *dügāh*.<sup>251</sup> *Maḳām* Beste-nigār is documented as closing on ıraḳ, or, by Cantemir, on *segāh*,<sup>252</sup> but neither as starting from nor closing on *evc*, the “higher octave” of ıraḳ. Thus the third statement remains unexplained as well.<sup>253</sup> The only theoretician in this group who describes Muḥālifek as based on *segāh* and Gerdāniyye as based on *rāst* is Seydī

<sup>250</sup> Behar (2008), pp. 150f. Behar does not translate the word “Acian”. For Cantemir’s view see Feldman (1996a), pp. 227–230.

<sup>251</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 66–69.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92f., 150f.

<sup>253</sup> This entire paragraph is based on the data presented in Table 6, Popescu-Judetȝ (2007). The spreadsheet shows that variance among the theorists is considerable.

(fl.c.1500). This may be another hint at the theoretical background of the musical training ʿAlī Ufuḳī enjoyed in the palace. On the other hand, his description of Māye deviates considerably from the one given by ʿAlī Ufuḳī on f. 352a/194a.<sup>254</sup> The short description of *maḳām* Māye on f. 352a/194a has already been discussed above in connection with conflicting attributions in L (see also chapter 4.2.4). Finally, on f. 232\*a, in the middle of a collection of single sentences referring to different, unrelated topics, the following statement can be found: “Ḥüseynī bir müʿessir maḳāmdır.” (“Ḥüseynī is an affecting/moving *maḳām*”). In its shortness and isolation it is unclear what this sentence is meant to imply, but it seems to hint at a sort of theory of affects that connects certain modal entities with emotional states they are thought to invoke. In any case, the great importance and popularity of Ḥüseynī for the period of ʿAlī Ufuḳī and afterwards is undisputed.

The matter of alteration signs has been touched upon in connection with notational technique. Their implications for the interpretation of the theoretical basis and the practical execution of the *maḳām*lar they appear in are much more difficult to formulate. What is clear, however, is that various different forms of alteration signs, i.e. in the case of the flattening accidental the regular b-molle, the mirror-inverted b-molle and the “Ottomanized” b-molle; and in the case of the raising accidental the regular sharp and the two slanted lines, are equal in meaning, because they are used interchangeably. This has been correctly pointed out by Jäger for L, but holds true also for P.<sup>255</sup> Olley has brought another possible (or additionally possible) explanation to light which lies in the limited number of pitches on the sanṭūr and/or its inability to change pitch spontaneously.<sup>256</sup> Recognizing the intended *maḳām* on the grounds of alteration signs is thus nearly impossible, as they are employed inconsistently and inconsequently as will become even more obvious from the list below. The problem is further

<sup>254</sup> Seydī (2004). *Seydī's Book on Music. A 15th Century Turkish Discourse*. Ed. by Popescu-Judet, Eugenia and Neubauer, Eckhard. *The Science of Music in Islam* vol. 6. Frankfurt: Institut für die Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, pp. 52–55, 42f. Popescu-Judet (2007), pp. 34ff. Behar (2008), pp. 167f.

<sup>255</sup> Jäger (1996b), pp. 227ff. Uludemir demonstrates the various forms as well, but it is unclear how he interprets them. Albert Bobowski (ʿAlī Ufuḳī) (1991a), p. xiii.

<sup>256</sup> Olley (2012), p. 40.

exacerbated by the fact that the pieces with a clear attribution to a *maḳām* form a minority and the attributability of “folk” music to the *maḳām* system is disputed.

As a comparison with L, three *maḳāmlar* with the tendency to the use of alteration signs are adduced as an example. Those three entities, namely Nişābūr, Şehnāz and Hīşār, were singled out by Jäger as consistently being notated with accidentals in L.<sup>257</sup> The picture of *maḳām* Nişābūr in P is as follows, taking into account the signature at the beginning of H1: One Murabbaʿ titled with this *maḳām* (f. 5a/256a-2, not concordant) has the *maḳām* signature b-molle on the fourth line for the section A which is cancelled for section B, and the accidental sharp on the third line. The vocal Semāʿī *Ey şeh-i melek* (f. 197\*a) has only the sharp in the second space, while the “Neşabur semaj” f. 371a/286a-2 has the *maḳām* signature sharp in the second space and b-molle on the fourth line from H1 onwards, natural on the fourth line for H2 and b-molle on the fourth line for H3, while its concordance L f. 155a has the *maḳām* signature sharp in the second space and be-molle on the fourth line, the signature shared by the Murabbaʿ on the same folio as well as its P version (f. 395a/242a), the Peşrev on f. 233\*a,<sup>258</sup> its concordance L f. 154b and all other pieces in the faşl-ı Nişābur. As the final is segāh, the alterations concern the second (raised from çārgāh to ʿuzzāl) and the fifth (lowered presumably from evc to ʿacem) scale degrees. The sharp appears as the interchangeable two slanted lines most of the times. Can thus all pieces with the combination sharp in the second space and b-molle/be-molle on the fourth line be safely attributed to *maḳām* Nişābūr, e.g. H3 of the *Peşrev-i Gül-i raʿnā maḳām-ı ʿAcem uşüleş Düyek* on f. 379\*b/225b, H2b of the Peşrev in Rāst on f. 343b/185b, the highly problematic Murabbaʿ f. 241b/87b-3 or the Semāʿī on the same page? No, because the latter piece’s internal concordance on the same page is attributed to Hicāz muḫālif (an entity not encountered with notation elsewhere in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s collections). The matter is further complicated by the fact that *maḳām* Nişābūr can appear with dügāh or segāh as finals.<sup>259</sup> While it would of course be tempting to follow the path of analogy, there is often a catch such as a contrary example, in addition to the general problem posed by the small number of samples. For *maḳām* Şehnāz, there

<sup>257</sup>Jäger (1996b), p. 228. Jäger employs the Yekta system with three raising and three lowering accidentals. Raouf Yekta Bey (1922).

<sup>258</sup>This Peşrev later modulates and changes the *maḳām* signature.

<sup>259</sup>This issue will be discussed below.

is again no uniformity as the second piece (f. 160a) has raising signs in the second and third spaces (as far as they are recognizable because they are smudged). The other two pieces have raising signs on the first line, in the second space and (redundantly) in the fourth space, i.e. counting from the *karār* *dügāh*, the third and seventh scale degrees (most probably the eponymous *şehnāz* and its lower octave *selmek*,  $\epsilon$ Alī Ufuḳī leaves no statement about the name of this pitch) are raised. The only concordant piece, the Peşrev f.234\*b-3, indeed has the same signature, likewise does the other Peşrev on the same folio, *Beste-yi*  $\epsilon$ Alī Şantūrī [sic] *Şehnāzī* *Żarbeyn Sākil* [sic] *ü Düyek Şāfī*. Lastly, *Hişār* is invariably notated with raising signs on the first line, the third line and (redundantly) in the fourth space, that is, its fourth (eponymous *hişār*) and seventh (probably *şehnāz* and its lower octave *selmek*) scale degrees are raised as the *karār* is *dügāh*. Yet the case of *Hişār* is the weakest one, because those two pieces clearly belonging to the *faşl-ı Hişār* are not extant in P. The *faşl* itself is followed by a collection of religious and “folk” vocal music either attributed to different entities ( $\epsilon$ Uşşāk, *Nevrüz- $\epsilon$ Acem*) or have neither heading nor signature. Some of them are concordant, but it is clear that they belong to a different sphere and do not elucidate the matter of *Hişār*. The only helpful piece is the Peşrev *Şabāh* [sic] *Mülāzime-yi Hişār* [sic] *üşüleş* [sic] *Żarb-ı feth* (P f. 381\*a/227a, L f. 89b). In both versions, the *maḳām* signature changes from none to sharps (respectively, raising signs) on the third line and in the fourth space for the M. So there is coherence. The *mekam Hisar nagma* on f. 360b/281b is notated with an afterthought *maḳām* signature made up of sharps on the second line and in the third space, relating to a g1 clef, which amounts to the same as the signatures described above. Finally, the short remark on alterations cited above makes clear that the eponymous *perde* of the *maḳām* is the higher alteration of *nevā* (g# ’). So, in spite of the scanty material, a certain consistency is recognizable. Other pieces with this combination of *maḳām* signatures are not extant in P.

#### 4.2.4 Analyses

In the following list, all *maḳām*lar stated by name in P and represented by notation are compared concerning the *maḳām* signatures and accidentals employed and sometimes changed in the course of a piece, their finals, initials and ranges. Compositions from all genres are taken into account.

The many pieces without *maḳām* attribution but with concordance in L are not counted in here; their placement in the sections of L can be followed in the chart “Concordances with L” (table 8.1). The *Cadenze* (ff. 299b/145b–300a/146a and f. 314b/170b), exemplary closing phrases for certain *maḳāmlar*, are adduced for analysis but not counted in the statistics.<sup>260</sup> As initials, all starting points are subsumed. If a song has an exclamation, both the exclamation and the actual initial note are counted as they both stand for a possible departure point of the *maḳām*. The range is the maximum extension of all pieces taken together. Occurrences of *maḳām* signatures are separated by piece with a dash; if there are changes in the course of a piece, which happens regularly in Peşrevler and instrumental Semāʿiler, but also in the middle section of the Murabbaʿ, the different signatures are separated by a slash. The presence or absence of a *maḳām* signature at the inception of a piece is considered as decisive. For more details refer to the Critical Report, where occurrences of alterations and their potential deviations in L are listed one by one. Accidentals are treated in the same way.

As the treatment of alterations in general is different in L, only P is taken into consideration here, except where the material is very scarce and more solid conclusions can be achieved from comparison. Instances of conflicting attributions or other deviations are discussed, followed by additional remarks, conclusions –if possible– and an outlook to theory. To put the findings into context (or to set them off from the historical context, for that matter), comparisons with two different theoretical views are added. Cantemir is regularly referred to and in spite of his general otherness has often proved useful as a benchmark. In unclear or contradictory cases, a second treatise from a different tradition is adduced: Hızır Āḡā (d. 1760) represents the systematist tradition ʿAlī Ufuḳī took some part in, as the texts on *uṣūl* he copied or had copied show. This choice may appear arbitrary, but it seemed reasonable to choose an author not too remote

<sup>260</sup>Behar translates “cadenza” with “serbest parça” (“free [improvisatory] piece”) in the sense of an improvised cadence of the modern instrumental solo concerto. It seems, however, that ʿAlī Ufuḳī generally uses the word “cadenza” in the older sense of “closing”, “conclusion” and also “cæsura”. In the present context, the translation “closing phrases” seemed fitting. Schmaltzried, Siegfried (2016). “Kadenz”. In: *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*. Ed. by Riethmüller, Albrecht and Bandur, Markus. Vol. 3. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. URL: <http://www.vifamusik.de/search?q=bsb00070511f461t480> (visited on 10/03/2016), especially pp. 1–2.

from Cantemir in order to better underline the plurality of theoretical thinking and the persistence of the systematist school. This current of musico-theoretical thought is characterized by the use of circles (*edvār*) for demonstrating *maḳām*lar in their relations with each other, and by the relevance given to celestial bodies, elements, humors and temperatures. Modes are grouped according to the categories *maḳām*, *āgāze* and *şuʿbe*, and his scale is built up differently than Cantemir’s.<sup>261</sup>

When collating verbal descriptions of *maḳām*lar it is important to keep in mind that –besides the issue of direct applicability and relevance– they have the fundamental problem of being extremely condensed, reducing the *maḳām* to its very essence and allowing for leeway in composition and interpretation. This becomes clear when they are juxtaposed with the actual repertoire. As only a small number of *perde* names used by ʿAlī Ufuḳī could be extracted from the manuscript (see the “Scale perde del Tambur” above), Cantemir’s nomenclature is used for the remaining pitches. The connection to Cantemir becomes meaningful on another level, because he also transmits concrete repertoire that he grouped according to his understanding of *maḳām*. Via concordances with ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s collections, more reliable conclusions can be drawn. The astonishing point is that among those concordances the divergence of *maḳām* attribution is very small. Comparing three versions of the Peşrev “Bostani mekami Vzzaʿl Vssuhj duwek” (f. 358a/279a), Sami Dural employed the alterations as used by C, concluding that on account of the high melodic similarity, i.e. *seyir* similarity, the version notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī could be performed applying the alteration signs of Cantemir.<sup>262</sup> The present author chooses not to go that far as the actual sound in performance may have been different. In the best case, the following summary can help to draw conclusions on the interpretation of *makam* as expressed by ʿAlī Ufuḳī in his compendium. More than melodic movement (*seyir*), emphasis is on the composition of the scale and defining characteristics such as *ḳarār*, range and direction of movement.

<sup>261</sup> Hızır Ağa (2015), pp. 118–149. On the use of graphs and illustrations in Middle Eastern music theory see Wright, Owen (2004). “The Sight of Sound”. In: *Muqarnas* vol. 21, pp. 359–371. Çengī Yūsuf Dede (c. 1650), who will prove useful in connection with *uşūl*, is not adduced here as he only describes *terḳibāt* and his system of *perdelar* deviates considerably.

<sup>262</sup> Dural (2014), p. 160. A similar method has already been employed in the analysis of the Psalter. Haug (2010), pp. 493ff.

- ‘Acem: final d’ = dügāh, initial d’/g’/c’’, range c’-g’’.  
*Maḳām* signatures: none – b-molle on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line/sharp in the second space/sharp in the second space and on the first line – be-molle on the fourth line.  
 Accidentals: b-molle on the fourth line – none – b-molle on the second line – b-molle on the fourth line and above the fifth line – none.  
 A lowering of the sixth scale degree is prevalent. The lowered sixth scale degree concurs with the eponymous *perde* which is located between ḥüseynī and evc and is represented by ‘Alī Ufuḳī as a b-molle on the fourth line, hence as a lower alteration of evc.<sup>263</sup> This corresponds to the description found in Hızır Āgā’s treatise: starting from dügāh, it rises high beyond gerdāniyye, closes again on dügāh and contains the eponymous *nīm perde* ‘acem,<sup>264</sup> which matches ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s b-molle on the fourth line. An “odd and strange” (“ğarāib ve ‘acāib”) *maḳām* in Cantemir’s opinion.<sup>265</sup>
- ‘Aşīrān: final a = ‘aşīrān/b = ‘acem-‘aşīrān, initial b’/g’, range a-c’’.  
*Maḳām* signatures: none – none – none.  
 Accidentals: none – none – none.  
 All occurrences of this *maḳām* are problematic, in addition to the fact that two final pitches exist: f. 199a/45a-2 and -3 are two melodies fitting a text supplied separately on the same page, headed “Rāst”. Notation 2 closes on rāst, Notation 3 on ‘aşīrān. The latter’s L version (f. 170a) is consequently located in the faşl-1 ‘Aşīrān-Büselik. The two melodies f. 206a/52a-1 and -2, supposedly destined for two texts written separately on the same page, close on ‘acem-‘aşīrān. One of the texts is titled “‘Aşīrān”. In L (f. 169b) the piece is again located in the faşl-1 ‘Aşīrān-Büselik, but an additional heading gives ‘Acem-‘Aşīrān which would comply with the final b. Those three pieces may well be an instance of the proximity and sometimes interchangeability of *maḳām* and related *terkīb*, or a mode generally perceived as problematic: For Cantemir, ‘aşīrān is unable to act as the final of a *maḳām* itself, only of a *terkīb* such as Aşīrān-Büselik.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>263</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 74f.

<sup>264</sup> Hızır Ağa (2015), pp. 174f.

<sup>265</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 74f.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., pp. 64f.

- Beste-nigār: final d' = dügāh, initial b', range c'-e".

*Maḳām* signatures: none.

Accidentals: b-molle on the fourth line.

This is a problematic case as the *maḳām* appears only once in the heading of a block text, “Beste-nigār *Derdā ki menī çarḫı felek ğurbete şaldı*” (f. 234b/80b). The same text is notated two times more on the same page, additionally there is a partial underlay under a likewise partial notation. Hence it is unclear whether the *maḳām* designation pertains to the notation – however, we suggest it does. In L (f. 56), the piece is attributed to Nevā, with whom Beste-nigār shares the final and the regularly occurring accidental. To Cantemir, Beste-nigār is a “şüretā maḳām”, an entity of mere appearance that has been discussed controversially in the past. He describes a descending *maḳām* with its final on segāh or ırāk,<sup>267</sup> hence a different interpretation. Hızır Āgā locates the final on ırāk as well.<sup>268</sup>

- Beyātī: final d' = dügāh, initial d'/e'/bb', range c'-e".

*Maḳām* signatures: b-molle in the third space – none – none – b-molle on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line.

Accidentals : none – none – b-molle in the third space and on the fourth line – none – none.

If alterations occur at all, they are lowerings of the fifth and sixth scale degrees (tentatively ḫüseynī to ḫişār and evc to ʿacem). This behavior can also be observed in the *cadenza* on f. 314b/170b, which stresses the fourth scale degree (nevā) as well as the two altered pitches. The *nīm perde* beyātī is located between nevā and ḫüseynī according to Cantemir. Consequently it should appear in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s notation as a lower alteration of ḫüseynī, which concurs with the b-molle in the third space. Hence ʿAlī Ufuḳī differentiated between ḫişār as the higher alteration of nevā and beyātī as the lower alteration of ḫüseynī. Cantemir further mentions that ʿacem could also be played in the course of Beyātī. This *perde* appears in the notation as b-molle on the fourth line.<sup>269</sup> It seems as though the Beyātī

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., pp. 92f., 150f.

<sup>268</sup> Hızır Āgā (2015), pp. 164f.

<sup>269</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 74f.



Cantemir describes is close to the interpretation of the *maḳām* in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s environment. This only partly corresponds to Hızır Āgā’s interpretation, who includes ‘acem as the single *nām perde*.<sup>270</sup>

- Būselik: final d’ = dügāh, initial d’, range a-e’.

*Maḳām* signatures: none.

Accidentals: b-molle on the fourth line.

A lowered sixth scale degree corresponds to ‘acem instead of evc. The eponymous *perde* būselik, theoretically a raised alteration of segāh,<sup>271</sup> is not marked. Obviously ‘Alī Ufuḳī considered it as unnecessary. The exceptional case of ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a is not counted in: ‘Alī Ufuḳī notated the Peşrev in Būselik erroneously on c’ = dügāh, with b-mollia on the third and fourth lines, and accidental b-molle in the third space. He then added the comment “vn ton piu alto” (“one note higher”), consequently writing the Peşrev again on d’ = dügāh (f. 352b/194b). Cantemir’s description can be understood as valid, because he emphasizes that there is no difference between the old and the current interpretation of this *maḳām*.<sup>272</sup> A comment on Notation 1 of f. 241b/87b refers to *maḳām* Būselik: “BUSELIK olse gherek ma non credo p[er]che non incontra. Vn altra volta scriue la cominciando a Basso nel A. fa.la.mi” (“It should be Būselik, but I don’t believe it because it does not fit. Write it another time, beginning low on A fa la mi”). The piece itself, the Murabba ‘Halijmi ta Afiki zar olmainge bilmedun” is headed “DER MEKAM SEBAH” (see also item Şabā below in this list). Indeed ‘Alī Ufuḳī notated the composition a second time, starting on the “low A fa la mi”. This corrected version is found on f. 232\*b and L f. 114a. An explanation could be that this is not a matter of conflicting *maḳām* attribution, but of transposition, comparable to the case of the Būselik Peşrev cited above. Further, from this comment the information can be gained that şabā as a *perde* name existed for ‘Alī Ufuḳī and that it was an alteration of f’ = çārgāh he did not find necessary to make explicit with a sign (see below *maḳām* Şabā).

<sup>270</sup> Hızır Ağa (2015), pp. 174f.

<sup>271</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 80f.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., pp. 144f.

- Çārgāh: final f' = çārgāh, initial f', range bb-f'".

*Maḳām* signature: b-molle on the fourth line.

Accidentals: b-molle in the third and fourth spaces and on the fifth line.

Drawing conclusions on the grounds of a single piece is of course difficult. The Peşrev displays a lowered fourth scale degree (‘acem instead of evc). In the small faşl-ı Çārgāh of L (ff. 96b–98a), the pieces either have no *maḳām* signature (like the concordance of the Semā‘ī on f. 234\*a on f. 98a) or a be-molle on the fourth line. Thus, for ‘Alī Ufuḳī, there is a tendency to lower the fourth scale degree in *maḳām* Çārgāh, but he did not find it necessary to underline this every time. According to Cantemir, Çārgāh should have no alterations because it is a “majestic *maḳām* of the *tamām perdeler*”. The theoretician adds that this entity was rarely found in the repertoire, which is true also for ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections.<sup>273</sup>

- Dügāh: final d' = dügāh, initial d', range b-a”.

*Maḳām* signature: none.

Accidentals: b-molle on the fourth and second lines.

Again, there is only one piece from which to draw a conclusion (Peşrev “Dewri rewan Dugiahde”, f. 396a/284a-2), and it has no concordance in L. The parallel versions in C (171) and K (240) are attributed to *maḳām* Hüseynī. The *cadenza* in Dügāh (ff. 299b/145b–300a/146a-4), in its shortness, shows that in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s eyes its final on dügāh and its extension below the final until ‘rāḳ was a determining feature of this *maḳām*. The *cadenza* in Hüseynī on the same page differs in this regard. The *cadenze* on f. 314b/170b show a similar picture in that Dügāh, even if it does not fall below the *ḳarār*, rises less high than Hüseynī, stressing its third scale degree. Cantemir criticizes the confusing and contradictory explanations available for Dügāh. He himself describes it as a scale of eight *perdeler* with its *ḳarār* dügāh in the center, “mighty” enough to bind “odd and strange” *terkibler*. Cantemir’s remark that the *hüküm* (range) of Dügāh passes below the final concurs with the melody recorded by ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>274</sup>

<sup>273</sup>Ibid., pp. 58f.

<sup>274</sup>Ibid., pp. 50–53.

- Dügāh-Ḥüseynī: final d' = dügāh, initial c'/a', range g-a".  
*Maḳām* signatures: none/sharp in the second space/sharp in the second and fourth spaces/b-molle in the second and fourth spaces – none.  
 Accidentals: b-molle on the fourth line, sharp on the first upper ledger line – none.  
 The two pieces attributed to this *terkīb* do not yield a clear picture, which can be explained by divergent modulatory behavior in the later sections. The Peşrev *Faḫte [sic] z̄arb Şāntūrī [sic] Şāh Murād der maḳām-ı Dügāh-Ḥüseyni üşüleş [sic] Faḫte [sic]* on f. 375b/218a-1. In Mc and H2b, the sixth scale degree is lowered. Its concordance (L f. 25b–26a) is attributed to Ḥüseynī, as are its parallel versions C 24 and K 203. Both L and K show the same lowering of the sixth scale degree from evc to ʿacem in the sections indicated above. The *Nağme-yi tollāp [sic] der maḳām-ı Dügāh-Ḥüseyni* (f. 381a/217b-1) features no alterations at all. It may have been attributed to the *terkīb* instead of *maḳām* Ḥüseynī on account of its low range more typical of Dügāh than of Ḥüseynī. It has no parallel versions. Cantemir does not describe such a modal entity.<sup>275</sup>
- Evc: final d' = dügāh/b = ʿrāḳ, initial b', range g-e".  
*Maḳām* signatures: none – none/sharp in the second space – none.  
 Accidentals: sharp in the second space – none – sharp in the second space or on the upper ledger line, b-molle on the fourth line.  
 The fifth scale degree can be raised from çārgāh to ʿuzzāl, both with the help of a signature or accidentals. The case is complicated by the occurrence of two different finals: The Türkī *Benim ğonca gülüñ āldan* titled “Fasil Eug” on f. 354b/196b ends on d' = dügāh instead of the expectable b = ʿrāḳ exhibited by all other pieces in P and in the correspondent *faşıl* of L. The notation, which has no concordance in L, is clearly legible, leaving no room for an alternative interpretation. Thus a further explanation could not be supplied. For Cantemir, Evc is the upper register of ʿRāḳ, thus a *maḳām* of the *tamām perdeler*,

<sup>275</sup> It appears only once in the treatises evaluated by Popescu-Judetz; Popescu-Judetz (2007), table 6. See also Feldman (1996a), pp. 224f.

and its final is ʿirāk; there is no mention of dügāh.<sup>276</sup> Its old version closes on nerm segāh, which also does not help to explain the final dügāh.<sup>277</sup>

- *Hiçāz muḥālif*: d' = dügāh, initial g'/d', range d'-d".  
*Maḳām* signature: sharp in the second space/b-molle on the fourth line, sharp in the second space.  
 Accidentals: sharp in the second space.  
 The single piece attributed to this entity, besides two unnotated texts, is the fragmentary and highly problematic notation of a Murabbaʿ on f. 241b/87b which does not allow any sound conclusions. Cantemir lists it among the “twenty *maḳāmlar* which have been invented by the Şeyḫ”. But the differing *ḳarār* (ʿacem) clearly speaks against an identification.<sup>278</sup>
- *Hişār*: final a' = ḥüseynī, initial e", range f#'-f#".  
*Maḳām* signatures: sharp on the second line and in the third space (in g2 clef) – sharp on the third line and in the fourth space.  
 Accidentals: none – b-molle on the fourth line.  
 The M of the Peşrev *Şabāh [sic] Mülāzime-yi Hişār [sic] üşüleş [sic] zərb-ı fetḥ* (f. 381\*a/227a, L f. 89a) is counted in because it is clearly ascribed to the *maḳām* in question and shows typical behavior (see above). The altered *perdelar* are the fourth (hişār) and seventh (probably şehnāz and its lower octave selmek) scale degrees.<sup>279</sup> For Cantemir, hişār is situated between nevā and ḥüseynī, but –as is understood from ʿAlī Ufuḳī's use of accidentals– as a higher alteration of nevā. The lower alteration of ḥüseynī is beyātī. Apart from that, the *perde* şehnāz, the higher alteration of gerdāniyye, plays an important role as in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's notations. The “old” version

<sup>276</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 66f.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., pp. 152f.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., pp. 152f.

<sup>279</sup> This change of *maḳām* for the *mülāzime* is not a singular phenomenon. Also the Peşrev fragment on f. 280a/126 changes its *maḳām* signature for the section interpreted as its *mülāzime*; the Peşrev headed “Ton misto” (ff. 200a/46a–199b/35b) may also be subsumed here.

does not contain the abovementioned *nām perdeler* and is thus not relevant.<sup>280</sup> Hızır Āgā's *Ḥiṣār* closes on *dügāh*, starting from *ḥüseynī* and containing its eponymous *nām perde ḥiṣār* instead of *nevā*.<sup>281</sup>

- *Ḥüseynī*: final d' = *dügāh*, initial d'/f'/a'/c", range a-a".

*Maḳām* signatures: none – b-molle on the fourth line/natural/sharp in the second and fourth spaces – none – none/sharp in the second space – none/sharp in the second space – none/b-molle on the fourth line/sharp in the second space – none – none/sharp in the second space – none – none/sharp in the second and fourth spaces/sharp in the second space/b-molle in the second space/sharp on the second line – none – none (incomplete) – none – none.

Accidentals: sharp on the second line, sharp on the third line/b-molle on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line – none – b-molle on the fourth line – none – b-molle on the fourth line, sharp in the second and fourth spaces – b-molle on the fourth line – none – none – none – b-molle on the fourth line, on the third line and in the third space – none (incomplete) – b-molle on the fourth line – none.

This especially popular (and usually unproblematic) *maḳām* can be notated with a lowered sixth scale degree (‘*acem* instead of *evc*). This is corroborated by the repertoire in L, although it is a *maḳām* of the *tam perdeler* (and in Cantemir's eyes the crown of the entire system). Later he adds that there is no difference between the “old” execution of this entity and the current one.<sup>282</sup> Further it is prone to modulation in direction of a *maḳām* with raised third scale degree (‘*uzzāl* instead of *çārgāh*). Its *cadenze* ff. 299b/145b–300a/146a-2 and f. 314b/170b display a melodic line that starts from and/or strongly emphasizes the fifth scale degree, the eponymous *perde* of the mode, segmenting the scale into a higher and a lower register.

- *‘Irāk*: final b = ‘*irāk*, initial a/b/d'/f##'/g', range g-f".

*Maḳām* signatures: none – none – none – none – none – none – none – none – none.

Accidentals: none – sharp on the first and third lines and in the fourth space, b-molle on the second and fourth lines – none – sharp

<sup>280</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 78f., 146f.

<sup>281</sup> Hızır Āgā (2015), pp. 176f.

<sup>282</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 62–65, 144f.

in the second space – b-molle on the second line – none – none – b-molle on the fourth line – sharp and equivalent raising sign in the second space.

This *maḳām* of the *tam perdeler* is notated without signature as could be expected. Its modulatory behavior seems to be comparably differentiated, the single pieces displaying various combinations of altered degrees. Four problematic or conflicting cases deserve special mention: The “NAGME del Ton Arak” on f. 274a/120a poses an especially complicated issue that could not be solved in a satisfactory way: If the clef – which looks slightly unusual – was understood as erroneous and replaced by a g1 clef, the final would be a b’ instead of an e’. If this notation were also understood as transposing one octave downward, then the final would be b = ʿrāḳ and the notes marked “re vt” would indeed be d and c (or at least two degrees a whole tone apart with another whole tone above them). What makes this interpretation problematic is the fact that the general scale does not allow five *perdeler* below ʿrāḳ as it ends with yegāh (for ʿAlī Ufuḳī: g; see ff. 229b/74b–230a/75a). Supposing a g1 clef and accepting the pitches as presented, the final would not be ʿrāḳ, but evc. A transposition by three *perdeler* (a “fourth”) downward would place the final on ʿrāḳ, but the notes marked “re vt” would neither fall on d and c nor qualify as the scale degrees re and ut. It should be mentioned that the word “Arak” in the heading of the piece has been corrected and replaced. Unfortunately the original version is not discernible any more. The “Wuszul duwek Mekami Arak Peschrew Seifi mesiri” on ff. 290b/136b–292a/138a-1 has as its final d’ = dügāh. Here, also, a reinterpretation of the clef was taken into consideration to solve the problem. A c2 clef would create the correct pitch, but the range would again extend beyond the lower end of the general scale. The parallel version in L, ff. 140b–141a, offers a solution as it is headed “ʿIrāḳ muḫālif”. The peculiarity of this modal entity (as perceived by ʿAlī Ufuḳī) may indeed be its deviant *ḳarār*. According to Cantemir, one of the main characteristics of ʿIrāḳ is its low register (“tamām ve nerm perdeleriñ maḳāmlarındandır”), but it can rise up to tiz ḫüseynī. ʿIrāḳ Muḫālif or Muḫālif-i ʿIrāḳ is stated as a dependent (“tābiʿ”) entity which “moves like Şabā and closes like ʿIrāḳ”.<sup>283</sup> This

<sup>283</sup>Ibid., pp. 46f., 156f.

does not explain the behavior of the above-mentioned outlier. The “arak turki hawasi” on ff. 414b/245b–415a/246a-5 has its final on e’ = segāh and must remain unexplained for the time being. Lastly, there is an instance of conflicting attribution: While the P version of the *Türki Dōsta toğrı olan yola* (f. 381b/217a) bears the heading “Arak”, its L version is placed in the Evc section (f. 132b). While neither version has a *maḳām* signature or accidentals, they differ considerably in melodic design. What they have in common, nevertheless, is that they both commence in the higher register and stay there for most of the piece, only to descend to the final b = ʿırāḳ in the closing section. This behavior, including the absence of alterations, is documented for Evc by Hızır Āgā among other theoreticians. Evc is predominantly understood as related to (or even as a high-register version of) ʿırāḳ, which would explain a certain degree of interchangeability in the eyes of ʿAlī Ufuḳī.<sup>284</sup>

- Māhūr: final c’ = rāst, initial c”, range b-d”.

*Maḳām* signature: none.

Accidentals: none.

This is a rather unexpected picture, as Māhūr is not a *maḳām* of the *tam perdeler*: However, the one piece attributed to the *maḳām* (“Nagme in mahur”, ff. 414b/245b–415a/256a) matches Hızır Āgā’s description quite well. According to him, Māhūr is expected to start from gerdāniyye, descending to rāst by passing through its eponymous *perde* – which the author describes as situated between evc and gerdāniyye– and nīm büselik. It closes with a second descent starting from çārgāh.<sup>285</sup> In this case ʿAlī Ufuḳī obviously considered the statement of the *maḳām* name in the heading as sufficient. Cantemir describes the altered *perdeler* mähür and büselik, adding that Māhūr was a *mürekkebe* (compound) of Büselik and Rāst.<sup>286</sup>

- Māye: final d’ = dügāh, initial g’, range b-b’.

*Maḳām* signature: none.

Accidentals: none.

The only piece attributed to this mode (f. 352a/194a) is accompanied

<sup>284</sup> Table 6, Popescu-Judetz (2007).

<sup>285</sup> Hızır Āgā (2015), pp. 160f.

<sup>286</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 84–87.

by a short verbal description of the *maĳām*'s characteristics: “Maie mekami sega iuzund[en] ghider Ema dughiahte karar ider” (“*Maĳām* Māye proceeds like Segāh but closes on dūgāh”).<sup>287</sup> This statement accounts for the *ĳarār* as well as for the lack of alteration signs. The close relation between Segāh and Māye is attested by Evliyā Çelebi, who describes a vocal performance as changing back and forth between Segāh as the main entity, Māye and Beste-nigār.<sup>288</sup> The name Māye does not appear at all in L and only this one time in P. Three of the eight descriptions of Māye evaluated by Eugenia Popescu-Judetz mention dūgāh as *ĳarār* and list segāh as an important degree, among them Cantemir.<sup>289</sup> He describes Māye as a variant of Segāh (as opposed to the “old” Māye, which is different): “Bu maĳāmın iki ĳarār-gāhı vardır: Biri kendü perdesi [...] ikinci karār-gāhı dūgāh perdesidir ve öyle ĳarār ĳıldıđı zamān terkibāt-ı müsta‘meleden Māye dedikleri terkib icrā olunur”.<sup>290</sup> Hızır Āgā lists only the *terkib* Segāh-Māye with the final segāh.<sup>291</sup>

- Muĳayyer: final d' = dūgāh, initial c"/d"/f", range c'-a".

*Maĳām* signature: none/sharp in the second and fourth space/b-molle in the second and fourth space – none – none/sharp in the third space. Accidentals: none – b-molle on the fourth line – none.

Its most prominent feature, which makes it comparatively easy to identify, is the beginning in the high register and a general downward orientation. The four pieces in question do not allow conclusions concerning typical modulation behavior. Like in Hüseynī, its sixth scale degree may be lowered, the accidental –if notated– most probably playing the role of a cautionary accidental. While for Cantemir Muĳayyer is a simple *maĳām* and the high version of Hüseynī,<sup>292</sup>

<sup>287</sup> Behar interprets this statement as “Māye makamı Segāh'ın misli (benzeri) gibidir”. Behar (2008), p. 160.

<sup>288</sup> Dankoff (2004), pp. 33–40.

<sup>289</sup> See Table 6, Popescu-Judetz (2007).

<sup>290</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 58f., 104f., 146f. “This *maĳām* [Segāh] has two finals: one is its own *perde* [segāh] [...] the second final is the *perde* dūgāh, and if it closes like this, it is executed as the *terkib* which is called Māye from among the *terkibāt* in use [as opposed to the entities no longer in common practice]”. See also Behar (2008), pp. 160–163.

<sup>291</sup> Hızır Āgā (2015), pp. 164f.

<sup>292</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 68f.



Hızır Āgā describes the last part of its movement as descending to the final dügāh “in the style of Şabā”, which includes the eponymous *perde*,<sup>293</sup> equivalent to the b-molle in the second space.

- Nevā: final d' = dügāh/g' = nevā, initial c'/d'/e'/f'/g'/a', range bb-a”.

*Maḳām* signatures: b-molle on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line – none – none – none – none/b-molle on the second line – b-molle on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line – none.

Accidental: none – none – b-molle on the fourth line and above the fifth line – b-molle in the third space and on the fourth line – none – none – none – none.

The existence of two possible finals –dügāh and nevā– makes the issue of Nevā complicated. The majority of the attributed pieces (eight out of nine) close on dügāh, the exception with the final nevā is found on f. 355a/267a-2. It has no alterations at all, while the pieces closing on dügāh show that if ‘Alī Ufuḳī thought a *maḳām* signature was necessary, then the sixth scale degree was lowered from evc to ‘acem (Ḥüseynī and Muḥayyer show similar phenomena). There is no clear tendency concerning the modulation behavior. The two extant *cadenze*, one closing on dügāh (ff. 299b/145b–300a/146a-2) and one on nevā (f. 314b/170b) support the assumption that two possible interpretations of Nevā were current with the variant ending on dügāh being more widespread. The former plays out a wavelike movement between nevā and dügāh, the latter between gerdāniyye and nevā. The *faşl-ı Nevā* of L shows a similar picture: Only three pieces in this relatively large section end on nevā (ff. 58a, 61a and 62a), the Semā‘ī f. 355a/267a-2 being among them. Are we dealing with an old and a new version of this modal entity? More support for this suggestion is supplied by an instance of conflicting *maḳām* attributions. The L version of the “Semaj Nawa” (f. 413b/235a) is placed in the ‘Uşşāk section (f. 66a). They share the same *maḳām* signature, and there are few melodic differences. Addressing a case of conflicting ascription between L and C, Feldman concludes that in the seventeenth century the borders between Nevā and ‘Uşşāk “were still somewhat fluid”.<sup>294</sup> Cantemir speaks of three possible *ḳarār*lar

<sup>293</sup> Hızır Aġa (2015), pp. 162f.

<sup>294</sup> Feldman (1996a), p. 423.

of Nevā: dügāh, nevā, which is the “aşma karar”, i.e. a transitory final, and aşīrān with which it forms a *terkīb*. The interpretation according to the “edvār-ı kadīm” always closed on dügāh. While he lists Nevā-yı ‘Uşşāk as a *tābi‘* of Nevā, the close relationship between Nevā and ‘Uşşāk observed in ‘Alī Ufuķī’s notations is not reflected.<sup>295</sup>

- Nevā-yı ‘Uşşāk: final d’ = dügāh, initial d’, range c’-d”.

*Maķām* signatures: b-molle on the fourth line/natural on the fourth line.

Accidentals: natural on the fourth line, b-molle on the fourth line and above the fifth line.

The single piece attributed to this entity is the Peşrev *Żarbü’l-feth Nevā’ı ‘Uşşāk Şerifiñ* (f. 377\*a/223a). Its L version (f. 65b) is found in the ‘Uşşāk section, which may have two reasons: 1. ‘Alī Ufuķī did not open a new section for rare *terkīb*ler and located the piece where he thought it was best suited (i.e. he perceived the piece as being closer to ‘Uşşāk than to Nevā). 2. ‘Alī Ufuķī decided that the piece was actually in ‘Uşşāk. The treatment of alterations differs as the L version has the *maķām* signature be-molle on the second line for H3 and no alterations in H2. The other two parallel versions, C 19 and K 154, are attributed to Nevā; alterations in the later *hāneler* differ. Obviously the boundaries between those two *maķāmlar* were rather fluent. The Psalter provides further support for this observation: The g-hypodorian Psalm 7, challenging because of his plagal structure with the final in the middle instead of the lower end of the scale, is attributed to an entity described as “Nevā-yı ‘Acem ya-nī ‘Uşşāk”. Like some of the pieces in Nevā (see item above), it has a lowered sixth scale degree, but ends on g’ = nevā with ‘uzzāl as “*subsemitonium modi*” below.<sup>296</sup> For Cantemir, Nevā-yı ‘Uşşāk is dependent of Nevā and still in use.<sup>297</sup> He makes no statement on its final, but Każı-zāde Meħmed Tirevī describes it as closing on dügāh like the piece notated by ‘Alī Ufuķī.<sup>298</sup>

<sup>295</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 60–63, 144f.

<sup>296</sup> Haug (2010), pp. 538–540.

<sup>297</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 60f.

<sup>298</sup> Table 6, Popescu-Judetiz (2007).

- Nevrūz-‘Acem: final g’ = nevā, initial bb’, range d’-d’”.  
*Maḳām* signature: b-molle on the fourth line.  
 Accidental: none.  
 A single piece is ascribed to this *terkīb*, namely the Peşrev “Newruz Agem Perewß[an] bir sehanesis peschrew [...]” (f. 369a/284a-1). It has no concordance in L, but its parallel versions in C (no. 50) and K (no. 258) are attributed to ‘Acem and display different alterations in the later sections. With one exception, Nevrūz-‘Acem closes either on ‘acem or on dügāh for all theoreticians evaluated by Popescu-Judetz, whereas ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notation has its final on g’ = nevā. The *maḳām* signature, however, points in the direction of ‘acem.<sup>299</sup> Cantemir mentions this entity as one of the twenty-four *terkībāt* according to the older theoreticians. It has a descending outline, contains ‘acem and closes on dügāh,<sup>300</sup> which only partly complies with ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notation, namely concerning the altered pitch.
- Nigrīs: final c’ = rāst, initial c’/g’, range b-g’”.  
*Maḳām* signatures: sharp in the second space/natural in the second space – sharp in the second space – sharp in the second space/b-molle in the second space.  
 Accidentals: sharp in the first space and on the first upper ledger line – none – none.  
 The tendency toward a raised fourth scale degree (f#’ = ‘uzzāl) is clear. This largely complies with Cantemir, who describes Nigrīs as a *mürrekeb* of ‘Uzzāl and Rāst,<sup>301</sup> as well as with Hızır Āġā, who names nevā as starting point and rāst as final.<sup>302</sup>
- Nihāvend: final d’ = dügāh, initial d’, range b-d’”.  
*Maḳām* signatures: none/b-molle on the fourth line/b-molle on the second line.  
 Accidentals: none.  
 Again, on the basis of one specimen no solid conclusions can be drawn. The piece on f. 398a/238b of unidentified genre, titled “Sofiane [...] vssuḷ mekami nehavend” has no parallel version in L, but the pieces in

<sup>299</sup>Table 6, Popescu-Judetz (2007).

<sup>300</sup>Cantemir (2001a), pp. 150f.

<sup>301</sup>Ibid., pp. 88–91.

<sup>302</sup>Hızır Āġā (2015), pp. 154f.

the short *faşıl* show slightly different alterations, namely the combined *maķām* signature be-molle on the second and fourth lines. Hence, in all cases the same pitches are affected, although they do not play the same role in the scale: Concerning the *ķarār*, the compositions in P close on *rāst* (3) or *dügāh* (1). Obviously, more than one incarnations of Nihāvend existed: Hızır Ağā offers three variations: “*kebīr*” (great), “*rūmī*” (Anatolian) and “*şağīr*” (small). Among those, the melody notated by ʿAlī Ufuķī can most meaningfully be compared to the first version, which contains the altered *perdeler nīm kürdī* and ʿacem, corresponding to ʿAlī Ufuķī’s intention of lowering b’ (ʿacem).<sup>303</sup> In Cantemir’s system, the former scale degree is called *nihāvend*, i.e. the pitch between *dügāh* and *segāh* which appears in ʿAlī Ufuķī’s notations as lower alteration of e’ (b-molle on the second line). ʿAlī Ufuķī’s notation does not fall into the realm of “old” theory, as it closes on *dügāh* and not, as formerly, on *rāst*.<sup>304</sup> This stage may be represented by the items in L.

- Nişābūr: final d’ = *dügāh*/e’ = *segāh* (or *būselik*?), initial d’/f#’ /g’/d”, range a-f#”.

*Maķām* signatures: b-molle on the fourth line/natural on the fourth line – sharp in the second space and b-molle on the fourth line/natural on the fourth line/b-molle on the fourth line – none – sharp on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line, sharp in the second space/natural on the fourth line.

Accidentals: sharp on the third line – none – be-molle – b-molle above the fifth line – b-molle above the fifth line or on the second line, sharp in the fourth space.

This case has already been discussed above in connection with the use of alteration signs. However, the issue that this *maķām* appears on two different finals in P has not been touched upon yet. Among the five pieces concerned, three are instrumental, closing on *segāh*, and two are vocal, closing on *dügāh*. In L, the Nişābūr section contains eight pieces (and two outliers which are not counted here), four of which are instrumental and close on *segāh* and four are vocal, closing on *dügāh*. This striking difference is displayed by both manuscripts. However, the treatment of alterations is more diverse than the two

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., pp. 170–173.

<sup>304</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 105, 150f.

types of *maḳām* interpretation suggest. Cantemir, as the result from P and L gives reason to suspect, speaks of two interpretations, one closing on *dügāh* and one on *būselik*, which corresponds with an unaltered e' in 'Alī Ufuḳī's system as he customarily does not mark *būselik* (see above). Three *nīm perdeler* are constitutive: 'acem ('Alī Ufuḳī's b-molle on the fourth line), 'uzzāl (sharp in the second space) and *būselik* (which 'Alī Ufuḳī does not mark). In the "old treatises", the *ḳarār* is *dügāh*; *ḥüseynī* and *çārgāh* are important degrees.<sup>305</sup> According to Hızır Ağā, the *ḳarār* of Nişābūr is *būselik*, which may imply that the deviating *ḳarār* is in fact *būselik* and not *segāh*. Further, he describes it as a descending *maḳām* starting from *tiz dügāh* (d"). Its scale proceeds via the *tam perdeler* except for *nīm ḥicāz*.<sup>306</sup>

- Pençgāh: final c' = *rāst*, initial e', range c'-d".

*Maḳām* signatures: none.

Accidental: sharp in the second space.

This *maḳām* seems to have been rather problematic and should generally be viewed in connection with *Rāst* and the *terkīb* *Rāst-Pençgāh*.<sup>307</sup> The one piece ascribed to this *maḳām*, the *Peşrev* "Pengigia Ḥāvī [sic] Duwek" on f. 378\*b/224b, is found in L's *faşl-ı Rāst* (f. 118b). For Cantemir, *Pençgāh* is a dependent *tābi'* of *Rāst* and a "mürekkeḳ maḳām". He supplies two versions, an old one closely resembling *Rāst*, and a new one. The new form has 'uzzāl as fourth *perde*, which concurs with the accidental in the second space. The old form, on the other hand, was practically indistinguishable from *Rāst*. This is an important piece of information for the understanding of the interchangeability between *Rāst*, *Pençgāh* and *Rāst-Pençgāh* between P, L and C. Cantemir adds that compositions in the old style could be executed in the new style, presumably including the alteration of the fourth scale degree.<sup>308</sup> Hızır Ağā describes a descending motion between *nevā* and *rāst*,<sup>309</sup> which does not correspond very closely to

<sup>305</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 90f., 152f.

<sup>306</sup> Hızır Ağā (2015), pp. 152f.

<sup>307</sup> In the Psalter, 'Alī Ufuḳī's ascription of Ps. 4 to *Pençgāh* is inexplicable. *Sup Turc* 472, f. 1b. Haug (2010), pp. 545–548.

<sup>308</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 48f., 86–89; Popescu-Judetz (2007), p. 89.

<sup>309</sup> Hızır Ağā (2015), pp. 156f.

the melodic design of the single piece in Pençgāh. However, its H1 and large parts of the M actually move between those two *perdelər* without extending into the high register too much.

- Rāst: final c' = rāst, initial g/a/c'/e'/g'/a', range g-a'.

*Maḳām* signatures: none – none – none/sharp in the second space/sharp in the second space and b-molle on the fourth line – none – none/sharp in the second space – none/sharp in the second space/b-molle in the second space – none/sharp in the second space – none/b-molle on the second line – none/b-molle on the fourth line/natural on the fourth line – none – none – none – none.

Accidentals: none – sharp in the second space – b-molle on the fourth line – none – sharp on the first line and in the second space – b-molle on the fourth line and in the second space – sharp in the second space, b-molle on the second and fourth lines – b-molle on the third line – none – sharp in the second space – b-molle on the fourth line – none – none.

This popular and frequent *maḳām* employs no alterations in the first *hānelər* or none at all, as can be expected from a *maḳām* of the *tam perdelər*.<sup>310</sup> It has the tendency to modulate towards a *maḳām* with ʿuzzāl and ʿacem. There is one problematic case, however: The Murabbaʿ *Felek ʿaksine döndürdi meh-i ğarrādan ayrıldım* (f. 400a/240a) closes on dügāh. The *maḳām* heading is placed above Text 4, but the person who wrote this text may have had a different melody version in mind. The parallel version in L, melodically fairly similar, is titled “Murabbaʿ Gerdāniyye” and located in the *faşl-ı Rāst* (f. 115b). Gerdāniyye is another modal entity closely related to Rāst. The main difference in Gerdāniyye is its emphasis on the higher register and its *ḳarār* dügāh.<sup>311</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī did not consider it necessary to differentiate in his (presumably) first notation of the piece in P.

- Rāst-Pençgāh: final c' = rāst, initial c'/a', range b-c'.

*Maḳām* signatures: none – none/sharp in the second space – none – none/sharp in the second space.

Accidentals: none – sharp in the second space and above the fifth line – none – sharp in the second space, b-molle in the third space.

<sup>310</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 48f.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., pp. 66–69.

This *terkīb* not listed by Cantemir has the tendency to modulate towards a *maḳām* with raised fourth scale degree (‘uzzāl). Two of the pieces are assigned to the *faşl-ı Rāst* in L, the third piece, the Varşāḡi *Yeter cevr êtdiñ ben nātüvāne*, is additionally titled “Pençgāh”. Its concordance in MS R 1722 is placed in the Rāst section as well.<sup>312</sup> The fourth specimen does not have a concordance. It is at the same time a problematic case as it closes on dūgāh, which could not be explained in any more detail.

- Rehāvī: final d’ = dūgāh, initial d’, range c’-e”.

*Maḳām* signatures: sharp in the fourth space.

Accidentals: b-molle on the fourth line, sharp on the fourth and first lines.

The single piece attributed to this *maḳām*, the *Eglenge peschrewi Rehāvī* [*sic*] *ūşüleş* [*sic*] *Fer muḥāmmes* [*sic*] (f. 377\*a/223a-3) has no parallel versions in L, C or K. The eponymous *perde* is not listed in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s “Scale perde del Tambur”, but, with some probability the defining *nīm perde* of the *maḳām* is the raised seventh scale degree designated by the sharp in the fourth space (in the case of dūgāh as final notated as c#”). This could be equated with the upper octave of the *perde* called selmek according to ‘Alī Ufuḳī and zengüle according to Cantemir. It is the higher alteration of rāst, which is required for this entity Cantemir calls a *maḳām* “with a name but without a body” (“mevcüdu’l-isim, ma’dümi’l-cisim”). While the altered degrees seem to be the same, the melodic progression verbalized in the chapter summarizing the old versions (“‘alā ḳavl-ı edvār-ı ḳadīm”) closely resembles the notation: çārgāh and nevā are important, and the closing motion contains the *nīm perde* below the final dūgāh (‘Alī Ufuḳī’s sharp on the first line).<sup>313</sup> Not only Cantemir likens Rehāvī to the European trumpet (“Efrenc tranpetesini taḳlīd êdüb [...]),<sup>314</sup> but also Hızır Āḡā calls *maḳām* Rehāvī “şol maḳām-ı efrencī”. For him, Rehāvī begins from rāst, proceeding upwards without alteration

<sup>312</sup> R 1722, f. 9a.

<sup>313</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 144f.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., pp. 94–97.

until nevē, downward again until yegāh and returning to close on rāst.<sup>315</sup> This is definitely a different modal entity than ‘Alī Ufuķī had before his eyes.

- Şabā:<sup>316</sup> final d’ = dügāh/f’ = şabā, initial f’/d’, range c’-d’”.  
*Maķām* signatures: b-molle on the second and fourth lines – none – none/sharps on the third line and in the fourth space.  
 Accidentals: sharp on the fourth line – b-molle on the third line and in the third space, sharp on the third line and in the second and fourth spaces – b-molle on the fourth line.  
 The three pieces do not yield a clear picture, moreover, they end on different finals (Cantemir mentions only Dügāh). ‘Alī Ufuķī does not mark the eponymous *nīm perde*, which is located between çārgāh and nevē according to Cantemir (i.e. in the first space in ‘Alī Ufuķī’s notation). A further complication is added by the fact that, at least around the turn of the century, the *seyir* of Şabā touched both on çārgāh and on şabā.<sup>317</sup> The third case in the list is the Peşrev *Şabāh [sic] Mülāzime-yi Hışār [sic] uşüleş [sic] zārb-ı fethi* (f. 381\*a/227a), discussed before in connection with *maķām* Hışār. In the *faşl-ı Şabā* of L the picture is slightly clearer: All compositions, instrumental and vocal, have dügāh as *karār*. None has a *maķām* signature for the first section except for a group of vocal outliers with *maķām* signatures such as be-molle on the third line and a Peşrev with the *maķām* signature be-molle on the fourth line, which does not belong to *maķām* Şabā according to its heading.<sup>318</sup> Also concerning modulation the group of Peşrevler and Semā’iler in L are less equipped with alteration signs: Only the Peşrev *Mülāzime-yi Hışār [sic]* (f. 89b) has a changing signature, as expected, for the M. As a contrasting example, the unattributed Peşrev on ff. 201b/47b–202a/48a has no *maķām* signature and sharps in the second and fourth spaces as accidentals in H3, and the Semā’ī on the same page has a b-molle on the third line as *maķām* signature and accidentals b-molle on

<sup>315</sup> Hızır Ağa (2015), pp. 170f.

<sup>316</sup> For a detailed study on this *maķām* based on comparison between L and C see Olley (2012). His method can evidently be employed for the other modal entities in ‘Alī Ufuķī’s collections, too, but this would exceed the scope of the present work.

<sup>317</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 72f.

<sup>318</sup> This Peşrev is in ‘Acem; L f. 91a, P f. 231\*b-2.



the fourth and second lines already in the *mülāzime*, which their L versions (ff. 88b and 90b) do not display. A certain variability of *maḳām Şabā* has also been stated by Olley, who concluded that this very variability was “an integral feature of the mode” and that there was “considerable scope for diversity in practice”.<sup>319</sup> Especially the latter phenomenon seems to hold true in analogy for other *maḳāmlar* as well. Hızır Āgā states that Şabā contains the eponymous şabā as a *nīm perde*, starts from dügāh and closes on the same pitch without moving beyond hüseyinī and without touching nevā.<sup>320</sup> The highly problematic piece on f. 241b/87b (referenced above in the Būselik section) ending on f’ (tentatively interpreted as the eponymous *perde şabā*, an alteration of çārgāh) has an internal concordance (f. 232\*b) closing on rāst and a parallel version in the *faşl-ı Rāst* (f. 114a). Hence the difference in pitch should be interpreted as a phenomenon of transposition, which is also supported by a remark added to the first version by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, saying that the piece should be notated on “low A fa la mi”, i.e. on a = ‘aşīrān. It remains unclear, however, what the heading “Sebah” intends. A short remark on f. 63a/265b refers to *maḳām Şabā* in connection with the Türkī “Gedze ghiunduz attérġiim perişan itme”: “mekam SABAH Altra uolta scriue in E fa vt” (“*Maḳām Şabā*. Another time write [it] in E fa vt”). Confusingly, *maḳām Şabā* usually neither closes on g’ as notated nor on e’ as stated in the remark. If ‘Alī Ufuḳī means the initial with “E fa vt”, then the melody would be notated four scale degrees (a “fifth”) lower and end on c’ = rāst. To make it end on the usual dügāh, it would have to begin on f’ = çārgāh (or the altered pitch şabā, which may indeed have existed in his system). Then, again, the connection with “E fa vt” is severed.<sup>321</sup>

- Sāzkār: final c” = gerdāniyye, initial e”, range f’-a”.

*Maḳām* signatures: none – none/b-molle in the fourth space.

Accidentals: none – b-molle on the first line.

The two pieces recorded do not yield a clear picture, neither do they have parallel versions which may help elucidate the matter. Most theoreticians evaluated by Popescu-Judetza describe Sāzkār as ending

<sup>319</sup> Olley (2012), pp. 41, 48.

<sup>320</sup> Hızır Āgā (2015), pp. 174f.

<sup>321</sup> Olley characterizes this piece as “something of a misnomer”; Olley (2012), p. 48.

on *rāst*, except for Cantemir, who locates it on *dügāh*.<sup>322</sup> According to Hızır Āgā, *Sāzkār* starts on *rāst*, rising via *dügāh*, *segāh* and its only altered *perde nīm büselik* upward until *hüseynī*. Its downward path extends to *‘aşirān*, from where it returns to its final *rāst* via *segāh*, but without touching *dügāh*.<sup>323</sup> This does not comply with the pieces notated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, which close in the upper register.

- Segāh: final e’ = *segāh*, initial c’/e’, range b-f”.

*Maḳām* signatures: none – none – none – none – none – none.

Accidentals: none – sharp in the second and first space – none – none – none – none.

Segāh is one of the entities with the smallest number of alterations altogether, which is to be expected from a *maḳām* of the *tam perdeler*.<sup>324</sup>

A clear tendency toward a certain modulation behavior is not recognizable. There is one single problematic case to record: The TESPIH. der Mekam SEGIAH *As-salāmun ‘aleik yā šehru’l-luṭf wa’l-iḥsān* on ff. 132b/268b–133a/269 closes on d’ = *dügāh* in spite of the heading Segāh. Its parallel version in L (f. 178b) is located in the group of religious pieces following the faşl-ı Hıṣār but most probably not forming a part of its modal sphere. This case can only be explained as an error for the time being. Hızır Āgā describes Segāh as a *şu-be* descending from *evc* via *çārgāh* to *segāh*.<sup>325</sup> This is obviously a different interpretation of this modal entity.

- Sünbüle: final d’ = *dügāh*, initial d”/e”, range a-a”.

*Maḳām* signatures: b-molle on the third line/b-molle on the fourth line and above the fifth line/natural – b-molle on the third line, the fourth line and above the fifth line/natural on the fourth line and above the fifth line.

Accidentals: b-molle above the fifth line, natural on the fourth line – b-molle on the fourth line and in the third space.

The two notations do not yield a clear picture, neither does the corresponding section in L. The first piece in question, the *Peşrev-i Şāhmurād der maḳām-ı Sünbüle [sic] üşüleş [sic] Devr-i kebir [sic]*

<sup>322</sup> Table 6, Popescu-Judetz (2007). Cantemir (2001a), pp. 150f.

<sup>323</sup> Hızır Ağa (2015), pp. 158f.

<sup>324</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 58f.

<sup>325</sup> Hızır Ağa (2015), pp. 172f.

(f. 344b/186b), has the *maḳām* signature be-molle on the second and fourth lines in L (f. 157a), the second one, the *Peşrev Kütübî [sic] Nay [sic] der maḳām-ı Sünbüle [sic] uşüleş Devr-i kebîr* on the following folio likewise differs from its L version for which ‘Alī Ufuḳî employed the *maḳām* signature be-mollia on the second and fourth and above the fifth line for H1, probably including the M (f. 156b). According to Cantemir, *sünbüle* is located between *muḥayyer* and *tîz segāh*, which would coincide with an eb” in ‘Alī Ufuḳî’s notation and thus a b-molle above the fifth line or on the second line. Cantemir continues to emphasize that ‘*acem* and *şabā* were also constituting *perdel*er of *Sünbüle*.<sup>326</sup> While ‘*acem* is represented by the b-molle on the fourth line, we have seen that ‘Alī Ufuḳî rarely, if ever, marks the alteration of *çārgāh* to *şabā*, which would appear as a b-molle in the second space. Hızır Āgā describes *Sünbüle* as a descending *maḳām* starting from *tîz dügāh* (corresponding to d”) and containing the altered *perdel*er *tîz kürdî* and ‘*acemî*. It does not touch *evc* and subsequently proceeds to its final *dügāh* from *hüseynî* in the style of *Şabā*.<sup>327</sup> Indeed, both *Peşrev*ler show an exceptional number of alterations, the b-molle on the second line probably corresponding with ‘*uzzāl*, which is the higher alteration of *çārgāh* but could be understood as the lower alteration of *nevā*, and the b-molle above the fifth line with what Hızır Āgā calls “*tîz nîm kürdî*” (in Cantemir’s scale, this *perde* is the *maḳām*’s eponymous *sünbüle*).

- *Şehnāz*: final d’ = *dügāh*, initial c#”/d”, range c#’-g”.

*Maḳām* signatures: sharp on the first line, in the second space and in the fourth space/b-molle on the second line and in the second space – sharp on the first line, in the second space and in the fourth space. Accidentals: sharp on the first upper ledger line, b-molle on the first line – b-molle in the fourth space.

The third and seventh scale degrees are rather consequently raised to ‘*uzzāl* and the eponymous *şehnāz*, a higher alteration of *gerdāniyye* (see above regarding the employment of *maḳām* signatures in this mode). This is in accordance with Cantemir’s description, who

<sup>326</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 84f.

<sup>327</sup> Hızır Ağa (2015), pp. 162–165.

likewise stresses the importance of *perde* ʿuzzāl. The “old” Şehnāz contains çārgāh, but the descending motion he mentions fits the overall melodic outline of the two compositions concerned.<sup>328</sup>

- ʿUşşāk: final d' = dügāh/g' = nevā, initial b/d'/f'/g', range b-d”.

*Maķām* signatures: none – none – none – none.

Accidental: none – none – none – none.

This is the only *maķām* stated in P that has no alterations at all. There is one complicated case, however: The Peşrev “Bulbuli Vbak” (f. 368b/283b) ends on nevā instead of the expected dügāh, as does its parallel version in L (f. 63a). In the entire section and except for one vocal outlier on f. 67b, all compositions have their *ķarār* on dügāh save an Oyun on f. 62b, a Varşağı on f. 65b and the *Peşrev-i Şağır-i murğ ya'nī Kuş şikāğı ya Nağmāt-ı tıyūr uşüleş Hafif* [sic] (f. 70a) all closing on nevā. As has been mentioned above in connection with *maķām* Nevā, there was a certain proximity perceived between those two entities. This can also be cautiously supported by the evidence of the Türkī or Varşağı “Jine ewel bahar oldi iaz geldi”. It exists in three versions, P f. 398b/238a, L f. 69a and MS Hyde 43, f. 90b. All three notations differ regarding pitch levels: Neither the P nor the L version have a *maķām* signature, but the section A is notated one scale degree higher in L. The remainder of the melody is highly similar, both ending on d' = dügāh. The Hyde 43 version has a *maķām* signature made up of two be-mollia altering the third and sixth scale degrees, starts on e' = segāh like L, and continues on that level leading to its close on g' = nevā. Nevertheless, the L version is placed in the *faşl-ı ʿUşşāk*, the Hyde 43 version is headed “Varşağı der maķām-ı ʿUşşāk uşüleş Şöfyāne”, and the P version has the same *maķām* attribution in the heading of its separately written text. Two instances of conflicting attributions must also be mentioned here: The Semāʿī der maķām-ı ʿUşşāk *Gelse nesim-i şubuhile müjde şeh-i bahardan* (f. 322b/177b) is found in the *faşl-ı Beyātī* (f. 74b), although melodic similarity is fairly high and neither of the versions has any alteration signs. According to the treatises evaluated by Popescu-Judet, both *maķāmlar* more often than not end on dügāh. The altered *perde* beyātī appears once in the *seyir* of ʿUşşāk, albeit much later.<sup>329</sup> The two *maķāmlar*

<sup>328</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 76f., 146f.

<sup>329</sup> Haşim Bey (1815–1868); Popescu-Judet (2007), pp. 64ff. and Table 6.

are usually not understood as related, but ʿAlī Ufuḫī perceived a connection between those two entities.<sup>330</sup> The Tūrki *Kādir Allāh kalem çekmiş* on f. 382b/215b bears the heading “ʿUşşāk Evfer”, while its parallel version is placed in the ʿAcem section (f. 78b). In P, there are neither *maḳām* signatures nor accidentals, while the L version has the lowered sixth scale degree ʿacem marked with a be-molle on the fourth line typical for this *maḳām*. The leap from *dügāh* to ʿacem at the beginning of the piece is also found in other compositions assigned to this entity in L (ff. 77b, 78a, 80a, 82a), so ʿAlī Ufuḫī might have reconsidered his attribution.

- ʿUzzāl: final d' = *dügāh*, initial d'/a', range b-g”.

*Maḳām* signatures: sharp in the second space/sharp in the fourth space – sharp in the second space/b-molle in the second space – sharp in the second space, b-molle on the fourth line.

Accidental: sharp on the first line – sharp on the first line or in the fourth space, sharp in the second space – none.

The eponymous *nīm perde*, the third scale degree, is raised. Also in L, the clear majority of the pieces assigned to ʿUzzāl share this feature, only one Peşrev has no signature at all (f. 146b–147a); modulations in the later sections can lead in different directions, but a raising sign or sharp in the fourth space recurs, referring most probably to the *perde şehnāz*. This is in accord with Cantemir, who describes ʿuzzāl as situated between *nevā* and *çārgāh*; *şehnāz* is mentioned among the altered degrees which can be touched upon as well as *zengüle* (the *perde* called *selmek* by ʿAlī Ufuḫī, i.e. the higher alteration of *rāst*). The *karār* is *dügāh*.<sup>331</sup>

All the conclusions drawn and connections established in this list are understood as suggestions. They are an attempt to place ʿAlī Ufuḫī's notations into context and reconstruct his thinking in terms of modal theory. In many cases, Cantemir's descriptions have proved to be relevant. Another sign of a certain continuity is the fact that a number of *maḳāmlar* match Cantemir's statements on the current practice instead of the “*edvār-ı*

<sup>330</sup> Cantemir cannot be adduced here as the two versions of ʿUşşāk he describes both close on *rāst*. Cantemir (2001a), pp. 144f. Table 6, Popescu-Judet (2007). In the section devoted to current practice, Cantemir does not offer a version of this *maḳām*.

<sup>331</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 78–81.

ḳadīm”. This –with all due caution– seems to hold true for Segāh, Şehnāz, Pençgāh and Māye. In a number of instances he emphasizes that there was no difference, among them the frequent Hüseynī, ‘Acem and Muḫayyer, also Būselik.<sup>332</sup> However, on the grounds of the preceding analyses, the present author is not as optimistic as Jacob Olley in his assessment that the “collections of musical notation that survive from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman tradition provide us with invaluable material for understanding the processes of historical change in modal music”.<sup>333</sup> The density of information is insufficient, and conclusions concerning the actual sound in performance remain out of reach.

#### 4.2.5 Further comments on *maḳām*-related phenomena

Another topic connected to the issue of *maḳām*, but often more difficult to systematize as most compositions concerned are from the “folk” repertoire, is the phenomenon of pieces appearing on different pitch levels in spite of the same clef. It is often connected with transposition as an afterthought, i.e. ‘Alī Ufuḳī noticed that he had notated the melody on the wrong pitch and made a note to himself to change it in the future. These and similar remarks referring to *uṣūl* and counting units also show that he consciously planned a new collection. Notes referring to changes of pitch can be found on the following folios:<sup>334</sup>

- f. 3b/254b-2: “raise by one scale degree” (unclear)
- f. 17a/275a-1: “one tone higher” (closing on f’ instead of e’)
- f. 63a/265b: “in E fa vt” (problematic case; see item Şabā in the list above)
- f. 153b/25bisb-1: “one degree higher” (closing on d’ instead of c’; implemented in Notation 2)
- f. 175b/299b: “one tone lower” (closing on d’ instead of e’; implemented in an alternative notation appended to the main notation)

<sup>332</sup> Ibid., pp. 145–151.

<sup>333</sup> Olley (2012), p. 39.

<sup>334</sup> For the original text of the comments and their English translations refer to the forthcoming Critical Report.

- f. 241b/87b-1: “starting on low A fa la mi” (on a instead of d’)
- f. 243a/89a-1: “raise by one tone” (starting on g’ instead of f’; implemented by overwriting in the notation itself)
- ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a: “one tone higher” (closing on d’ = dügāh as required for Būselik); implemented on f. 352b/194b

A special case not annotated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī can be found on f. 242a/88a and L f. 115b: The vocal Semā‘ī “Lezet mi kodu datili dilin sukire giana” is transmitted in two versions which share melodic similarities, but close on different pitches (dügāh and rāst, the L version being placed in the corresponding section). Subordinate endings are on the same pitch, however (i.e. after the first half of section A and the end of section B). After the first half of section A, the P version repeats the text to end on dügāh, while the L version transitions into a (for ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s standards) extended *terennüm* section leading to the *karār* rāst. Obviously the two versions are modally different; it remains open, though, whether variants existed side by side or whether ‘Alī Ufuḳī corrected/reworked his first notation for the later collection or whether an error occurred.

The question whether “folk” pieces are attributable to modal (and rhythmical) entities of the “art” music sphere is a difficult one. There are ten Türki, Varşığı and Oyun pieces (be they with or without notation) carrying a *maḳām* statement in their heading: ff. 63a/265b, 123b/263b, 124a/264a-1, 153a/25bisa, 153b/25bisb-1, 277a/123a, 346b/188b–347a/189a-1, 354b/196b and 233\*a-2; eight more have both an *uṣūl* and a *maḳām* statement: ff. 272b/118b, 351a/193a, 361b/293a, 382b/215b-1, 396b/311a-1, 398b/238a-1, 403a/310b and 379\*a/225a. This is a small minority; three possible explanations are suggested:

- All Türki, Varşığı and comparable pieces have an underlying *maḳām* structure comparable to the modal entities of the “art” music sphere. But he did not deem it necessary to state them.
- In some cases, ‘Alī Ufuḳī added a *maḳām* attribution to facilitate the comprehension of the song’s melodic design and interpretation of certain ambiguous pitches.

- In some cases, ʿAlī Ufuḳī allocated a “folk” piece to a certain *maḳām* in order to integrate it into a larger performance sequence also containing “art” music pieces, e.g. Peşrevler, which of course have a fixed *maḳām*.

The general inconsistency of ʿAlī Ufuḳī and the absence of more detailed explanations complicate the matter and make a clear deduction impossible. In the present study the decision has been taken not to attribute unassigned pieces in order to avoid superimposition of non-relevant theoretical concepts and personally tinged interpretation. Research into performance sequences has shown, however, that the third possibility is highly plausible (see below).

The term *maḳām* is also used in the sense of “tune” for a Türkī or Varşāḡı. Analogously, ʿAlī Ufuḳī chooses the word “tono” (here “thuono”) to describe both the modes of the *maḳām* system and the tunes of folk songs:

Altre poesie semplice Turchesche si chiamano turchi, qua cantano sopra certi thuoni inculcati nelle loro orecchie, la piu parte [...].<sup>335</sup>  
(Other simple Turkish poems [as opposed to the Persianate *dīvān* literature] are called Türkī, which they sing on certain tones [tunes] etched in their memories for the most part [...].)

In P, this usage of “tono” as “melodic process” can be found on ff. 174b/44b, 258b/104b–259a/ 105a, 275a/121a, 305b/161b, 325b/180b, and perhaps also on the damaged f. 47b/249a. Another relevant remark is included in an explanation of the performance sequence “faşıl”:<sup>336</sup> “Fassil Jntrada Turchi del Tono [...]” (“Faşıl: Intrada [‘entrance’; prelude]; Türkī in the [matching] mode [*maḳām*]”). This implies that the Türkī is chosen to match the Peşrev modally, but it does not stringently prove that all Türkī had a *maḳām* according to speculative theory. Criteria such as final note and general melodic outline may have been sufficient; also the subsuming of Türkī and Varşāḡı into the *faşıl*lar of L can be understood in this sense, where songs closing on düğāh are generally placed in the Hüseynī section, but if their melody descends from the high register, they are allotted to Muḡayyer.

In conclusion it can be stated that an underlying theoretical structure is neither explicitly presented nor can it be reliably, meaningfully and coherently extracted from implicit features. The density of information,

<sup>335</sup> Harley 3409, pp. 50f. Fisher and Fisher (1985), pp. 52ff.

<sup>336</sup> See below chapter 4.13.



especially concerning the verbal statement of *maḳām* names, is too low and the use of symbols such as alteration signs is too infrequent and inconsequent.<sup>337</sup> Nonetheless it is clear that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was aware of *maḳām* theory and, more importantly in the opinion of the present author, issues of pitch were treated consciously and critically. He did not place the melodies he wanted to transmit on any convenient pitch, but developed a strategy of placement that both agreed with his notions of centrality in the system (c' and rāst as pivotal tones) and made notation in the five-line staff easy for most of the repertoire. Corrections and notes referring to pitch changes show that those issues mattered to him, while deviant attributions in L –few as they are– allow the conclusion that he reconsidered the correctness of earlier decisions. In some instances, analysis has shown that some *maḳāmlar* were obviously perceived as closely related, for example the group Rāst – Pençgāh – Rāst-Pençgāh or the pair Nevā – ʿUṣṣāḳ. The number of inexplicable cases is low compared to the size of the repertoire.

### 4.3 *Uṣūl*

Like the *maḳām* system provides the underlying rules for melodic expression, the *uṣūl* system guides the rhythmic structure.<sup>338</sup> Much more than a sequence of “strong” and “weak” beats like the European pulse-group measure, the *uṣūl* plays an integral part in the compositional process from the start, resulting in an interplay between melody, rhythm, formal structure and the placement of text. *Uṣūl*, together with *maḳām*, constitutes one of the fundamental differences between Ottoman and European music. The Ottoman notion of rhythmic organization differs widely from the concepts of measure, proportion, tempo and accentuation current in Europe in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's time, just as the modal *maḳām* system differs from tonal harmony developing contemporaneously. The early seventeenth century, the time when ʿAlī Ufuḳī acquired his “native” musical training, was a period of vigorous change concerning theory as well as compositional style. Older concepts of mensural rhythm were gradually abandoned in favor of the pulse-group measure that informs European notions of rhythmical

<sup>337</sup> See also Olley's conclusions; Olley (2012), p. 52.

<sup>338</sup> Parts of the present section are developed out of a paper on *uṣūl* in ʿAlī Ufuḳī's notations delivered at the conference “Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East”, February 27–28, 2014, in Münster. Haug (2017).

organization to the present day. Further, ternary proportions ceased to exist, with the consequence that binary organization became the standard for all durational values.<sup>339</sup> While it is generally difficult to determine to what extent mensural concepts were still taught and considered relevant in the period and locale in which ʿAlī Ufuḳī acquired his knowledge, it may reasonably be assumed that he was still aware of them. The list of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European theoretical works in the London manuscript already mentioned above gives an impression of what, in some form, he was familiar with.

### 4.3.1 Theoretical notions and remarks for practice

The following passage from the description of the palace contains what ʿAlī Ufuḳī thought important to tell Europeans about Ottoman music concerning rhythm:

[...] la battuta e sempre fatta con tamburi, e nelle canzoni declinate da loro Muraba Kiar, Xauschsemai che sono uaria, et hanno 24 sorte di tempi in tutta la loro musica seconda la lonchezza, e breueza del uerso nelle canzoni Spirituali, poi chiamata da Abro [Arabo] Tesbihlahiteuhid non danno il tempo con mano alzata, e abbassata sopra le ginochia [...] <sup>340</sup> ([...] the beat is always executed with drums, and in the songs adapted to their Murabbaʿ, Kār [and] Çavuş-Semāʿī [?] which are diverse and have twenty-four measures in all of their music according to the length or shortness of the verse[.] In the spiritual songs, which are called Tesbīh, İlahī [and] Tevhīd in Arabic they do not give the measure raising their hands and lowering them to their knees [...].)

It is interesting to note that ʿAlī Ufuḳī uses the traditional word “tempo” for *uṣūl*, in the sense of “time” or “time organization”, not “speed”. This is analogous to his translation of *maḳām* as “thono”, and again the number of entities is twenty-four. The following conclusions can be drawn from this short statement: 1. Percussion is always present, contrary to later

<sup>339</sup> London, Justin (2001). “Rhythm”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 21. New York: Macmillan, pp. 277–309, pp. 290ff. Houle, George (1987). *Meter in Music, 1600-1800. Performance, Perception, and Notation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 1-34. Schmid (2012), pp. 149–166, 249ff.

<sup>340</sup> *Harley 3409*, p. 50; Fisher and Fisher (1985), pp. 52ff.

performance practice. 2. For vocal genres such as Murabbaʿ, Kār and Semāʿī, an *uṣūl* is chosen from 24 possible entities according to the dimension of the verse, i.e. it is present from the outset of the creative process. 3. Religious songs –Tebīh, İllāhī and Tevḥīd– are unmetered, in opposition to the repertoire.<sup>341</sup> 4. The *uṣūl* is beaten on the knees, a practice still common today.

*Uṣūl*, together with *maḳām*, forms the creative process from its very beginning, strongly influencing the conception and elaboration of a composition as well as the acquisition of repertoire.<sup>342</sup> This becomes obvious from the continuation of the above-mentioned text on f. 244a/90a:

Et quando tu componerai qualche cosa canta et batte vn vssul, et sopra quello vssul cantando poi chiapa in memoria et scriue. Et quanto farai il altro giung scriue ancor sempre battendo il vussul, et cantando Al vltimo di quanti vssulij e longo il peschrewe. (And when you compose something, sing and beat the *uṣūl*, and singing above this *uṣūl* you fix it in your memory and write it down. And when you make another *cōnk*, write again always beating the *uṣūl* and counting to the end how many *uṣūller* the Peşrev consists of.)

Although ʿAlī Ufuḳī uses notation, he does not compose on paper, but orally by imparting the new piece to his fellow musicians. On f. 297b/143b, an only partially legible marginal can be understood as a method of composition, first to design the melody (“mekam”) according to the *vezin* (poetic meter) and subsequently to distribute the words of the text (“e poi agiustate le parole”). In a predominantly oral music culture, *uṣūl* plays an important role as a tool for teaching and a corrective in transmitting repertoire, as compositions are always handed down and practised in the *meşk* teaching system together with their *uṣūl*. At some point, ʿAlī Ufuḳī even thought to arrange the new “giunk” he was planning according to *uṣūller*, arranging

<sup>341</sup> One İllāhī is headed with an *uṣūl* statement in L (P f. 129a/289a, L f. 132a), some have a regular metric structure and/or feature an *uṣūl* designation, e.g. *Turc 292*, ff. 52a/251b–51b/248a, 206a/52a, 406a/309b.

<sup>342</sup> A connection between *uṣūl* and *vezin* (poetic meter) in vocal music has been proposed by Tura (2017). See also İlhan Harmancı, Ayşe Başak (2011). “Klasik Türk Müsikişinde İlkā Kavramı”. PhD thesis. Marmara Üniversitesi; Bektaş, Tolga (2005). “Relationships between Prosodic and Musical Meters in the *Beste* Form of Classical Turkish Music”. In: *Asian Music* vol. 36, pp. 1–26. This line of research seemed unrewarding especially for the seventeenth century (personal communication by Walter Feldman and Eckhard Neubauer). İlhan’s thesis was brought to my attention by Fikret Karakaya.

the pieces from all *maḳām*lar per *uṣūl*<sup>343</sup> – a highly unusual behavior as song-text collections are generally *maḳām*-based if they have an ordering system at all. Behar aptly summarizes the roles of the *uṣūl* as “ritmik, formel ve pedagojik”.<sup>344</sup>

*Uṣūl* is perceived as complicated: On a page with two problematic notations (f. 241b/87b), for example, ‘Alī Ufuḳī writes: “Bate la batuda et fa contar a vn altro quante battute sara” (“Strike the beat and make somebody else count how many beats there are”). Similarly, on f. 349b/191b: “domanda che vssul e questo” (“ask which *uṣūl* this is”), “this” being the Türki “Suilemesem Kerek idi suiledim”, which indeed looks as if the notation process had been difficult (see the Critical Report). Comparable notes on *maḳām* do not exist. Concerning the realm of *uṣūl*, the information supplied by ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s annotations is more numerous and easier to evaluate than the information on *maḳām*. The following paragraphs are dedicated to those texts reaching from the familiar marginalia –traces of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s day-to-day work as a student and practitioner– to longer texts copied from existing sources. Other comments relevant to the topic can be found throughout the manuscript,<sup>345</sup> those notes specifically dealing with single *uṣūl*ler are analyzed in the list of *uṣūl*ler further below. The table gives an overview of all *uṣūl* demonstrations and explanations in P. ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s own explanations –in the best case with notation attached– are the only solid and reliable information at hand. The edition relies on them insofar as a staff for the *uṣūl* is only added if the respective entity is described in notation by ‘Alī Ufuḳī himself.

<sup>343</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 363b/291a–364a/290b: “Vn giunk scriue Vn sakil Vn dewri p[er] tutti mekami / Vn altro giunk scriue un duwek Vn Fahte” (“Write a *cōnk* [song-text collection]. One Şaḳīl, one Devr-i [kebīr? revān?] through all the *maḳām*lar. Write another *cōnk*, one Düyek, one Fāhte”).

<sup>344</sup> Behar (2012), pp. 19–22. The author emphasizes the importance of bodily movement in the process of memorization.

<sup>345</sup> See *Turc 292*, ff. 18b/1b–19a/2a, 153b/25bisb, 175a/299a, 241b/87b, 249b/95b–250a/96a, 256b/102b–257a/103a, 272a/118a, 288a/134a, 288b/134b, 296b/142b, 328a/183a, 348a/190a, 349b/191b, 363b/291a–364a/290b, 369b/284b, 370a/285a, 371a/286a, 371b/286b, 413b/235a and 234\*a.

Page	Content related to <i>uṣūl</i>	<i>Uṣūller</i> mentioned
6a/257a	note heads	unidentified ten-beat cycle
205a/51a– 205b/51b	“Bab geldik bir bab dahij” theoretical discourse, “ten ten tenen” syllabic description, note heads on single line, frame drum stroke demonstration	Berewṣan, Rewan, Turki Zarb, Semajj, Fahte, Serendas, Czar zarb Negiarij, Hezeġ, Eusat, Remlitawil, remli kassir, Sezarb, Rah, Muhammez, Remli sikiin [sengin], Czar zarbi hafif, Zarbein, Tawil, muhammes tawil, Sakiil, rubi Hezeġ, Hafif, Remli tiz, Remli Sikui / DUWEK, DEWRI REWAN, SEMAJ. Callendere, Genghi harb
249b/95b	combined syllables, note heads, designations; verbal explanation (attached to vocal piece in <i>Ṣōfyāne</i> )	Sofiane, Vffer
257a/103a	combined syllables, note heads, designation; verbal explanation (following an unrelated vocal piece)	Ferie
285a/131a	note heads, syllables, designation (following <i>Peṣrev</i> )	Fahti zarb
288a/134a	note heads, verbal explanation (following <i>Peṣrev</i> )	Muḥammes
290a/136a	note heads, syllables, designation (following <i>Peṣrev</i> )	czember
290b/136b	note heads, syllables, designation, verbal explanation (following <i>Peṣrev</i> )	perewṣan

Page	Content related to <i>uşul</i>	<i>Uşüller</i> mentioned
303a/149a– 303b/149b	“düm tek teke” syllabic description, note heads, references to notated pieces	Şöfyâne, Devr-i revân, Düyek, Evfer, Devr-i kebîr, Çenber, Fâhte, Berevsân, Muhammes, Hafif [sic], Nîm devr, Şakîl, Nîm Şakîl, Ferç, Evsâta [sic], Semâî, Türki zarb, Hâvî and Zarb-ı fetḥ [incomplete].
349b/191b	note heads, syllables (following vocal composition)	Evfer
384a/294a	“Justo Discorso de li Vssulij”; verbal explanation (mensural theory), “trrr/tutiti” syllabic description	Cengî ḥarbî, Düyek, Şöfyâne

Table 4.3: Descriptions of *uşul*

The text on ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b, clearly representing an older stage of theory, deserves more detailed analysis.<sup>346</sup> The wording “geldik bir bab dahij” suggests that the text was copied out of an existing written source. What is astonishing about this text is that ʿAlî Ufuḳî recorded it in his own transliteration system instead of Ottoman in Arabic characters. Judging from the other material in the manuscript, ʿAlî Ufuḳî would normally have written in Arabic characters when copying a text, and in Italian when writing from memory or making a note to himself. The following explanations can be suggested: 1. He did not copy it but took a dictation from somebody reading from an extant source, possibly during a lesson. The probability of this scenario is difficult to assess. 2. He wrote from memory at a later time. As the text is coherent, he would have needed to hear it more than once. 3. He did copy it, but his Ottoman writing was not yet fluent and he decided to use Latin characters. It is doubtful, however, whether transliterating was faster and more comfortable than copying the original. An attempt was made to relate it to the existing corpus of theory, especially from the group of so-called Anatolian treatises, Yūsuf b. Nizāmü’d-dîn Kırşehirî’s *Kitāb-ı Edvār* (first half of the fifteenth century)

<sup>346</sup>See also Behar (2008), pp. 74–83.

was chosen for comparison, and indeed, the similarity with Kırşehirî is high.<sup>347</sup> The following table juxtaposes the text copied by ‘Alī Ufuḳî with the corresponding sentences and paragraphs of the older treatise. Sometimes the order of *uṣûller* discussed is slightly different, and, as a main difference, ‘Alī Ufuḳî does not give the circles Kırşehirî uses for demonstration. Text in Arabic characters is set in italics:

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<sup>347</sup>I am indebted to Eckhard Neubauer for pointing out this connection. Kırşehirli Yusuf bin Nizameddin (2014). *Risâle-i Mûsikî*. Ed. by Sekizli, Ubeydullah. Türk Müzik Kültürünün Tarihsel Kaynakları Olarak Edvârlar. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları. URL: <http://www.guzelsanatlar.gov.tr/Eklenti/39972,kirsehirli-yusuf-bin-nizameddin---risale-i-musiki.pdf?0> (visited on 04/11/2015), pp. 45–62. See also Kırşehirî (2012); Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık, Nilgün (2017). “The *Usûl* Issue in Kırşehirî According to a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript”. In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. Istanbul Texts and Studies 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 109–119; Wright (2017b), p. 38; Popescu-Judetz (2007), pp. 32f. Behar compared the excerpt with Yūsuf b. Nizāmü’-d-dīn, Seydī, Hızır b. ‘Abdu’l-lāh and an anonymous treatise MS London, British Library Or. 13763, to the same effect; Behar (2008), pp. 77–83.

‘Alî Ufukî ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b	Kırşehirî ff. 17a–25b <sup>348</sup>
<p>Bab geldik bir bab dahij zarberin hasîjin bildurur bilmek gherek kim bu fên de zarb zaptetmeksen muşkilreke nesne ioktur zira her tabiata mulaim degilder bile olsa Aksam (ieanij kissimlar, ieanij budakler) katzdur ewwel zarb kismet otunur ikine - (botunur kismet otunur [sic], differt)</p>	-
<p>birisi sekil [p/d sign] we birisi hafîdur [i/d sign] meğmui zarbin hasîj bu ikidendur gheru kağan bu ikiden mutteferi otur (mutteferi eleuer budaktaner germola)</p>	<p>Bilgil ki darb iki bahirdür: birine sakîl dirler ve birine hafî dirler. Ve bu iki darbum iki nav’ aslı vardır. Ve bu darb-ı sakîlden kaç dürlü darb zâhîr olur, beyân idelüm.</p>
<p>Zarbi sakilin tabileri butardur Ewwel Berewşan. 2. Rewan 3 Turki Zarb 4 Semâj 5 Fahte 6 Serendas 7 Czar zarb Nêgiarij 8 Hezeg 9 Eusat hem cifte dahij derler.</p>	<p>Darb-ı sakîle tâbî’ olan darblar, iş bu darblardur: evvel, vereşan, ikinci, revân; üçüncü, türkî; dördüncü, semâî; beşinci, fahte; altıncı serendâzî; yedinci, buhârî çârdarbî; sekizinci, hezec; dokuzuncu, evsat; onuncu, çiftedarb.</p>
<p>Geldig zarbi hafînin hasîj buntardur Ewwel Remlitawil ikingi remli kassir Vciungi Ciar zarb 4 Sezarb 5 Rah 6 Muhammez 7 Remli sikin [sengîn] 8 Czar zarbi hafî 9 Zarbein</p>	<p>Geldik, darb-ı hafîfe tâbî’ olan darblar bunlardur: evvel, remel; ikinci, remel-i kasîr; üçüncü, çehârdarb; dördüncü, sîdarb; beşinci, râhkerd; altıncı, muhammes, yedinci, remel-i sengîn darbî, sekizinci, çârdarb-ı hafîf; dokuzuncu, darbeyn.</p>
<p>Bu iki zarbdur biri sekil dur we biri dewri hafîdur iktisin gemi edub bir badê Tesnif idesin k’ hanghi zarb gerekse olsun heman Adij zarbein dur Muntehasi sekil dur hafîdur</p>	<p>Geldik, darbeyn şerhine. İmdi bilgil ki bu darbeyn didükleri iki darbdür. Birisi sakîl ve birisi hafîf. Biri devr-i sakîlden ve biri devr-i hafîden ikisin bir yere cem’ eylediler, adn darbeyn kodlar. İllâ müntehâsi sakîl hafîfidir.</p>

<sup>348</sup> Kırşehirli Yusuf bin Nizameddin (2014), pp. 45–62.



‘Alī Ufulkī ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b	Kırşehir ff. 17a–25b <sup>348</sup>
Gelduk Nekarat beianina Nekarat ne nesnedur ki,	Emmâ bundan sonra geldik nakarât hesabına kim nakarât ne nesnedür? Şöyle kim şuarânun şürde kısmı, ilm-i arûzdur: mefâ’ilün fe’îlâtün işine gerekdür.
ghioiendenin zarb Vssulij kısmi Nekaratdur.	Güyendeye dahi darb ve ustül ve kısm-ı nakarât, işine gerekdür.
bilkim ewvel dairei sakıldur Tawil 24 nekaratdur Tentenesi 24 harfdur nige idegek muaien olur (tennij beianofur bilenir) dort kerre tennenetene deie 24 harfe olur (i t iki nun iie i t iki nun [sic] –)	Geldik, darb-ı sakıl yigirmi dört nakarâtdur. Yâni yigirmi dört harfdür. Şöyle ki dört kez tekrâr idein ki ten ten ten yigirmi dört harf temâm olur.
dairei hafif dahij ohn altene karatdur nige edegek muaien olur iki kerre ne te ne ne ten <i>neten neten</i> deie 16 harf olur	Geldik, dâyre-i hafif on altı nakarâtdur: iki kez ki tenen tenen ten diye on altı harf temâm olur.
Dairei remli tawil dahij 18 nekaratdur nige idegek etc iki kerre <i>tenen tenen ten tene tenâ temenen tenenen diye</i> deie bir kerre <i>tenenen ten tenen neten</i> deie otuz harf temâm olur	Geldik, dâyre-i remel-i tawil on sekiz nakarâtdur: ten ten tenen tenen ten ten ten ten, on sekiz harf temâm olur.
-	Geldik, remel-i kasîr on dört harfdür: ten ten ten tenen tenen ten diyesiz on dört harf temâm olur.
-	Geldik, çârdarb ki iki devirdür: biri hafif ve biri remel-i kasîr. İki kerret tenen tenen ten ve bir kerret ten ten ten tenen tenen diyesin temâm olur.

‘Alî Ufukî ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b	Kırşehirî ff. 17a–25b <sup>348</sup>
Daire muhammez tavil ikidevr[an] dur birisi sekildur we birisi kassirdur 4 kerre <i>tenenen ten tenen neten</i> deie 36 harf tamam olur –	Geldik, dâyre-i muhammes-i tavil hem iki devirdür: biri sakıl ve biri fâhte-i çârdarbdur. Dört kerre ten ten ten diyesin ve bir kerret ten ten tenen. On dört harfi fâhte-i çârdarbdur ve yigirmi dört harf darb-i sakıldür; otuz sekiz harf temâm olur.
geldik imdi werşan dahij 12 nekaratdur bir kerre <i>tenenen tenenen ten</i> deie 10 harf tamam olur	Geldik, verşân on iki nakarâtdur: bir kerret tenenen tenenen diyesin on iki harf temâm olur.
geldik Turki zarb dahij 10 harf dur bir kerre <i>tenenen tenen ten</i> deie 10 harf tamam olur	Geldik, türkî darb on harfdür. Çün bir kez ten tenen tenen ten diyesin on harf temâm olur.
geldik Fahite zarb daresi dahij 14 nekaratdur <i>ten tenen tenen ten</i> deie 14 harf tamam olur	Geldik, fâhte darbı on dört harfdür: ten tenenen tenen tenen ten diyesin, on dört harf temâm olur. Bu dahi temâm oldı.
geldik bir bab dahij budur kim Dairei Sekil bir bahir dur (buluk) we Daireij haff dahij bir bahaidur Dairei sakilin Nisfi (jaresi) rubi Hezegdur, we dairei haffin dahij nisfi warder we rubi warder nisfi muhamez kassirdur we rubi Hezegdur kassirdur (scortato) (Tawilin ziddi Tawil jlongato)	Bilgil kim dâyre-i sakıl bir bahirdür ve dâyre-i haff bir bahirdür. Dâyre-i sakılın msfı var, rûb’u var. Nisfi, remel; rûb’u, hezecdür. Nisfi muhammes-i kassirdür; rûb’u hezec-i kassirdür.

<p>‘Alī Ufukī ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b</p>	<p>Emma her Vstadki géhanne gehmişdur her birinin bir iadigiari warder,</p>	<p><b>Kırşehrî</b> ff. 17a–25b<sup>348</sup></p>
<p>we bir riwaiet dahij bu dur bazilar eüitiler kim haslij iki dur birisi sekildur we birisi Hafifdur</p>	<p>Bilgi ki her üstâdlar ki geldiler, cihânda yâdigâr kodilar, gittiler. Seninçün zahmetler çekdiler. Her bir kişi kendü hâlî mikdârınca, akl ü frâseti irdüince bu fende durişdiler ve bu fende tenkîbler ve makâmlar bünyâd eylediler ve fâyideler buyurdular gitdiler ve ben zâif ü nâhif dehi hem ol üstâdlardan işitdigümden ve öğrendigümden şikeste vü beste kuvvetim yetdügi mikdar didüm ve yazdum; tâ seninçün kenz ola. Sen dahi bu fakîr ü hakîri duâyile anasn. Vallâhü'l müste’an ve ‘aleyhi’t-teklân.</p>	<p>Geldik bir dahi, bir nice üstâdlar rivâyet eylediler ki asl-ı darb ikidür: bir sakıldür ve bir hafifdür. Sakil ve hafif oldur ki beyân eyledük.</p>
<p>we baziler 6 dediler birin Werbandur birisi Semajdur 3 Fahitedur 4 Remli tizdur 5 Remli Sikuidur</p>	<p>Bir nice üstâdlar eydürler ki asl-ı darb altıdur: biri revândur, biri türkî darbdur, biri semâî, biri fâhtedür, biri remel-i tüz, biri remel-i sengindür. Bunları dahi beyân eyledük ki kaç nakarâtdur. Birbirine benzemezler, emmâ birbirine yakımlerdür. Şimden girü dâyireleri diyelüm.</p>	<p>Bir nice üstâdlar eydürler ki asl-ı darb altıdur: biri revândur, biri türkî darbdur, biri semâî, biri fâhtedür, biri remel-i tüz, biri remel-i sengindür. Bunları dahi beyân eyledük ki kaç nakarâtdur. Birbirine benzemezler, emmâ birbirine yakımlerdür. Şimden girü dâyireleri diyelüm.</p>
<p>Geldik imdi bu kerre dewairine (daireslerine)</p>	<p>Ewwel dairei Sakilij Dairesi we Eşkiali (şekli ustub [illegible], tenen syllables written over it] budur)  <i>tenenen ten tenenen nen tenet ten tenen ten Nasiredin farabi kauli deie tene ten tene ten tene ten tene ten tene ten tenenen tenenen tenenen ten</i></p>	<p>Eyyel dâire-i sakil rivâyet-i Zahîr Fârâbî / dâyire-i sakil</p>



‘Alī Ufulkī ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b	Kırşehirī ff. 17a–25b <sup>348</sup>
9 Dairei Fahite Zarb <i>ten tenenen tenen tenen ten</i>	see above
10 Daire Zarbein sekil we hafidur <i>tenenen ten tenenen ten tenenen ten ahir tenenen tenen ten tenenen ten</i>	–
Dairei Zarbi sekil tawildur ii bachsini – [empty line] <i>tenenen ten tenenen ten tenenen ten tenenen ten</i> onikingi Nisfi remmildur <i>tenenen ten tenenen ten</i>	see above
13 dairei Hezeg rubudur <i>tenenen ten</i>	–
14 dairei zarb Hafidur [notation] <i>tenen tenen ten tenenen tenen ten</i>	see above
Onbefingi Muhammes nisfi hafidur <i>tenen tenen ten</i> demekdur	see above
Getdig imdi bir bab dahij Zarb nedur Vssul nedur Vssuhun gēmi Vssul zeman bir kaide durkim an[un] kısmi ioktur zarb oldurki zemanin arasinda waki ota (Contentuto) zeman oldurki iki zarb ortasında waki oħur Emma Vssul ol nesne deilder ki anij bir kimse ghiore weia vgrene vssul bir nesne dur ki Hakta ala bir feie Hussun we (ghiozellik) we ia ħub havas (ghiozel) we ia latiff hulk werir (ħuuu vitio costume) Megmui hidaietdur Emma bu ilmin bu kısmi (iennij bu vssul kısmi) dahij edebe reaet etmek dur imdi	Geldik, bu bâb dahi ânı beyân eyler ki darb nedür, usûl nedür, zemân nedür? Bilgil ki usûl, aslun cem’idür. Usûl bir kâidedür ki ann aslı yoktur; hemân Allah’dan bir bahşayırdur kime kim dilerse virur. Darb oldur ki iki zemân arasında vâkı’ ola. Zemân oldur ki iki darb arasında vâkı’ ola. Pes usûl ol nesne degildür ki kimse anı göre vü ögrence. Nitekim Hak Teâlâ Celle Celâlüh bir kimseye ħub sûret veyâ âvâz-ı hoş virur ammâ usûli olmasa safâsı olmaz. Pes usûl dahi hidâyetdür.
–	Hikâyet [...]

<p>‘<b>Alī Ufukī</b> ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b</p>	<p>Edeb oldur ki ne tavi kefa edeler kim neubet tamam ola.</p> <p>Ewwel bu Maia bir mekam ghiostere andan sora peschref ede andan sora Husrewani ghiostere Husrewani oldur ki bir mekam ki ghiostere olmekamde peschrewden sora sekildur hafif iki dewri nekarat nakfîle ghiostere, andan bir vzzal ede we bir tiran ola Ewwel furudašt ola ciun bu edeb ieringe ola neubet tamam olur – Neubet e quello cioe Vna assentata per sonar –</p>
<p>‘<b>Kırşehirī</b> ff. 17a–25b<sup>348</sup></p>	<p>Geldik bir kısım dahi oldur kim nevbete niğin nevbet dirler Ve nice ideler kim nevbet ola? Anı beyân idüb, takrir kilalum.</p> <p>Bilgîl kim nevbet-i müretteb oldur kim evvel ki bünyâd eyleye, bir makâm göstere. Andan sonra bir pişrev ide. Andan sonra hürevâm ide. Hürevâmı oldur kim yine bir makâm göstere. Andan sonra bir pişrev yine ide. Eđer sakîl, eđer hafif iki devir nakş-i nakarât göstere. Andan sonra bir kavil ide. Andan sonra bir gazel ide. Andan sonra bir pâre ide. Evvel terâne ola. Andan sonra bir kavîl dahi andan fûrûdâšt ide. Çün bu kâideye riâyet eyleye nevbet temâm olmuş olur.</p>
<p>Geldik bir dahi bilgil ki üstâdlar üç isim bünyâd eylediler. Evvel kabl, ikinci ma’a, üçüncü bâ’d.</p>	<p>Geldik bir bab dahij [deletion] Vstadler utz issim buniad etmişler dur (Ad nome) Ewwel Kabil 2 <u>Mealh</u> 3 <u>Bead</u> [deleted: Principio] ieanij Ewwel: Bile. Sóra –</p>
<p>Kabl oldur ki eđer bir kişj güyendelik etmek dilese evvel darbin ura, andan sonra şî’rin savtm ide. Geldik ma’a oldur ki darbin, şî’rin, savtm bile eyde. Geldik bâ’d oldur ki savtm, şî’rin eyde; andan darbin ura.</p>	<p>Kabil oldurki bir [deletion] kifi bir nesne etmek dilese. Ewwel (ieanij bir fasl una assentata) zarbein vra andan Huzzal we Saut ide mealh oldurkim sautin we şîrin bile ede Melodia Voce come turki muraba – Bead oldurki Sautin <u>azlin</u> bile ede (bir terkibdur) andan Szarbin vra</p>

<p>‘<b>Alī Ufukī</b> ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b</p>	<p><b>Çirşehri</b> ff. 17a–25b<sup>348</sup></p>
<p>buntar Rumuzdur ehli bilur – (Remiz Zaraff) –</p>	<p>İmdi bunlar rumûzlardur ki bu rumûzlarun altında künûzlar vardır. Bu rumûzlar, bu künûzlar bu ilmde gizlûdür. Bu ilmde kâvi üstâd gerekdür ki bu işâretleri fehmi eyleye. Bu dahi temâm oldu.</p>

Table 4.4: Comparison of P ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b and Yûsuf b. Nizâmî’ü’l-dîn Çirşehri’s *Kitâb-ı Edvâr*

‘Alī Ufuḳī obviously extracted this text from an existing source, and the theory contained in it seems relatively old or retrospective. This juxtaposition is not meant to raise the claim that Kırşehirī was indeed his model – the differences are too large, but there is clearly a shared ancestry. This text demonstrates that comparable thoughts were still around in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s time and that he thought it necessary and worthwhile to possess an excerpt from it. It is difficult to imagine a training in the palace *meşke-hāne* without recourse to the strong tradition of written theory. Giovanni Battista Donado’s collection of Ottoman scholarly literature points in a similar direction as he lists only Arabic names under the heading *Musica*: “Della Musica, Autore Alfasathi, & Abisalifā”.<sup>349</sup> Although Owen Wright is correct in his statement that theoretical literature on *Uşul* during the period between Merāgī (d. 1435) and Cantemir is a “literature with frustrating gaps”,<sup>350</sup> the presence of older theoretical material in Turc 292 points to a continuity that could not yet be traced in textual sources. The text in Turc 292 could be part of a treatise of the Anatolian tradition exemplified by authors such as Seydī or Hızır b. ‘Abdu’l-lāh, a stream of thought belonging to the sphere perceived as “old” by Cantemir.<sup>351</sup> What is important is that ‘Alī Ufuḳī at some point had contact with this strain of theoretical thought and cited from it even though the theory presented in the text has little or no direct influence on his daily musical practice. Some of the *uşüller* mentioned in the text are actually present in the repertoire of P (Şakīl, Haffif, Berevşān, Fāhte) but in some cases their shape is different: In the repertoire and the accompanying notes, Berevşān has sixteen instead of twelve, Fāhte ten instead of fourteen beats. Another interesting detail worth pointing out is that ‘Alī Ufuḳī not only copied the syllables describing *uşüller* he might never have played, many of the entities not being represented in the notated repertoire, but he also copied the philosophy surrounding them, yet in a condensed and incidental way. Comparison was also made with Aḥmed-oğlu Şükru’l-lāh (first half of the fifteenth century),<sup>352</sup> especially chapter 13

<sup>349</sup> Donado (1688), p. 49. The two authors could not be identified.

<sup>350</sup> Wright (2017b), 31f. The important connection to the Persian-language, mid to late seventeenth-century treatises by Āqā Mu’min and Amīr Ḥān Gurjī has been pointed out by Wright only recently and could not be integrated into the present work; see *ibid.*, pp. 40ff., 45f. Wright (2017a).

<sup>351</sup> Behar (2010), p. 66.

<sup>352</sup> Ahmed Oğlu Şükru’llah (2011) See also Popescu-Judetza (2007), pp. 27f.



(“İkâ’ı bildürür”).<sup>353</sup> Superficially, the wording is different. Şükru’l-lâh does not start his paragraphs with “Geldik”, and the term *ikâ’* does not appear in the text copied by ‘Alî Ufuķî, which may also be interpreted as a sign of modernization. Contentwise, the number of *uşûller* mentioned is much smaller. Both Kırşehirî and Ahmed-ođlu Şükru’l-lâh use circles for demonstrating *uşûller*, a practice completely absent from ‘Alî Ufuķî’s sources, but employed by Cantemir in his aptly titled *Edvâr*.

The text is followed by notations for three *uşûller* and a text in Italian explaining them (they are discussed below in the list of *uşûller*). It ends with a short summary of a fundamental theoretical principle already concisely described in the long excerpt in the paragraph starting with “Geldig imdi bir bab dahij Zarb nedur Vssul nedur”:

Zarb sono le note Vssul e la batuda insopra de le note Zeman e il tempo de la battuda (*Żarb* are the notes. *Uşul* is the beat over the notes. *Zamân* is the time [timing] of the beat.)

This discourse of rhythmic theory based on the concepts of *zamân*, *żarb* and *devir* reaches back to Abū Naşr al-Fārābî’s *Kitāb al-ikā’āt* and *Kitāb Iḥşā’ al-ikā’āt* (tenth century CE): The *ikā’* is the audible progression of sounding tones in temporal units (*azmina*, plural of *zamân*) following upon each other in a regular manner. Each iteration of those temporal units is called a *daur* (Ottoman-Turkish *devir*). The tone itself is created by the beat or stroke on the instrument (*naķra*, in Ottoman-Turkish usage *żarb*).<sup>354</sup> *Zamân* (“time”) can also designate the amount of time following the *naķra* in which the tone just played vibrates and fades away,<sup>355</sup> which is probably what ‘Alî Ufuķî means here (“zeman oldurki iki zarb ortasinda waki olur” in the text, “time is what happens between two strokes”): *żarb* are the notes or strokes on the instrument, *uşul* is the rhythmic structure, and *zamân* is the amount of time between the strokes. The short note on f. 413b/235a, “Nutm Zarb Vssul nutk Ad[...] Őer kerek”, may also stand in the context of Arabic music theory.

<sup>353</sup> Ahmed Ođlu Şükru’llah (2011), pp. 80-89.

<sup>354</sup> Neubauer, Eckhard (1994). “Die Theorie vom ikā’ˆ: II. Übersetzung des Kitāb Iḥşā’ al-ikā’āt von Abū Naşr al-Fārābî”. In: *Oriens* vol. 34, pp. 103–173, pp. 131ff. Neubauer, Eckhard (1968/1969). “Die Theorie vom ikā’ˆ: I. Übersetzung des Kitāb al-ikā’āt von Abū Naşr al-Fārābî”. In: *Oriens* 21/22, pp. 196–232, pp. 200ff. As this complicated and important topic cannot be explored here in more detail, the two articles cited are recommended for further information.

<sup>355</sup> Neubauer (1994), pp. 112ff.

The syllables for rhythmic description likewise reach back to al-Fārābī.<sup>356</sup> The main disadvantage of the syllable systems is that the actual durations can only be guessed and any reasoning based on them must be cautious.<sup>357</sup> Hence, such demonstrations are more often than not accompanied by European note heads for clarification.<sup>358</sup> Short descriptions in European note values combined with syllables and sometimes also symbols used to designate *uşûl* can be found attached to the notation of certain pieces in order to clarify their rhythmic structure. They are not very frequent, and by far not all *uşûller* occurring in the manuscript are explained in this way.

The second longest theoretical text is an excerpt on ff. 303a/149a–303b/149b.<sup>359</sup> It differs from the previously analyzed text in two main points: 1. It contains only syllabic *uşûl* descriptions and a few notations, but no further explanations. 2. The syllables are Turkish (*düm tek teke* instead of the older, Arabic *ten nen nen* only appearing in the long excerpt discussed above).<sup>360</sup> With high probability it was copied from an existing source such as the *Risāle-yi Edvār* by Çengī Yūsuf Dede, estimated c. 1650, which contains a very similar list.<sup>361</sup> However, apart from the fact that the list in Turc 292 proceeds from short to long while Çengī Yūsuf Dede’s takes roughly, but not consistently the opposite direction, the two texts supply different interpretations of the rhythmical entities. For example, the popular *uşûl* *Düyek* is spelled “düm tek tek düm düm tek teke” in P, while both Çengī Yūsuf Dede’s *Sāde Düyek* (“tüm tek tek tüm tek”) and his *Çifte Düyek* (“tüm teke tüm tek tüm tüm tek teke”) differ.<sup>362</sup> The list in P was written by a comparatively orderly and experienced hand in largely vocalized Ottoman Turkish; on two different occasions ‘Alī Ufuķī

<sup>356</sup> For an explanation and interpretation of this system as described by al-Fārābī see *ibid.*, p. 108; Neubauer (1968/1969), pp. 211ff. Neubauer (2017), pp. 17–20. See also Behar (2008), pp. 95–101.

<sup>357</sup> See Wright’s historical-comparative analyses in Wright (2017b), pp. 34–36.

<sup>358</sup> Those demonstrations are discussed in detail in the section “Analyses” in the contexts of the *uşûller* they describe. Also refer to Behar’s detailed evaluations of ‘Alī Ufuķī’s different methods of *uşûl* representation under the fitting title “‘Alī Ufuķī’nin pragmatik çözümü” (“‘Alī Ufuķī’s pragmatic solution”); Behar (2008), pp. 101–133.

<sup>359</sup> See also Haug (2017), pp. 96f.

<sup>360</sup> See also Behar (2008), pp. 95–98.

<sup>361</sup> Çengī Yūsuf Dede (2015). *Risale-i Edvar (Yazım tarihi 1650?)* Ed. by Uslu, Recep. Ankara: Çengi Yayınevi. URL: [https://www.academia.edu/13413664/Yusuf\\_Cengi\\_Mevlevi\\_Risale-i\\_Edvar](https://www.academia.edu/13413664/Yusuf_Cengi_Mevlevi_Risale-i_Edvar) (visited on 09/07/2015), pp. 16–18.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

added two paragraphs and two notations below the text (see list). The diligent hands and the rubrics are reminiscent of the scribes who produced L and the red ink used for headings and other structural purposes there. Again, there are a substantial number of entities not represented by the repertoire (Nīm devr, Nīm şakīl or Türkī zarb). But the most valuable information gained from this text are the folio numbers added by ‘Alī Ufuḳī to each *uṣūl* in the list, pointing out where in the collection a composition in the *uṣūl* could be found. Çenber and Berevşān both refer to “fol: 290” (ff. 290a/136a–289b/135b) and the “Peschrewi Zengir” containing those two entities. Unfortunately, many of the folios indicated are lost:

- Devr-i revān – “fol: 249”. Possibly the Türkī “Turna bizuhum ierde bize sorana” on f. 249a/95a, whose melody displays regular units of six Mi.
- Düyek – the deleted folio number may have been 245, but there is no corresponding piece on this folio.
- Evfer – “fol: 249”. Unclear; as the syllables “Düm teke teke düm tek” seem to describe a six-beat structure, again the Türkī “Turna bizuhum ierde bize sorana” on f. 249a/95a might have been intended.
- Devr-i kebīr – “fol: 85”. Lost.
- Çenber – “fol: 290”. Çenber is the third *uṣūl* of the compound Zencīr; “Peschrewi Zengir” on ff. 290a/136a–289b/135b.
- Fāhte zarb – “285”. *Der maḳām-ı Hüseyinī Peşrev-i Külliyyāt nazīresi Hustā disse che si chiama Schehmurat* on f. 283b/129b–285a/131a.
- Berevşān – “fol: 290”. Berevşān is the fifth and last *uṣūl* of the compound Zencīr; “Peschrewi Zengir” on ff. 290a/136a–289b/135b.
- Muḥammed – “fol 288”. *Peşrev-i Ramazānī uṣūl-i Muḥammed* on ff. 287b/133b–288a/134a.
- Ḥafif [sic] – “437”. Lost.
- Şakīl – “422”. Lost.
- Nīm Şakīl – “428”. Lost.

- Evsaṭa [sic] – “466”. Lost.
- Ḥāvī – “fol 502”. Lost.
- Fer<sup>c</sup> – “fo: 257”. *Uşul* demonstration on f. 257a/103a.

The third longer piece of *uşul*-related reasoning is the *Justo Discorso de li Vssulij* on f. 384a/294a, the “Proper Discourse on *Uşul*”. The folio is extremely worn, ripped at the edges and stained, which makes it easy to suppose that it belongs to an early stage in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s life as an Ottoman musician. Here, he attempts to explain certain rhythmic cycles by way of European mensural theory and a system based on the syllables “trrr” and “tutiti”, faintly reminiscent of a wind-instrument tonguing pattern.<sup>363</sup> The proportions of the temporal values and their graphic symbols are demonstrated in a notation resembling the ten-line *tabula compositoria*, a precursor of the modern partition able to combine multiple parts of polyphonic structure on ten lines.<sup>364</sup> Each line of notes shows a proportional level, the Mi on top followed by the Sm and the Fu. The second, similar staff is inexplicable. The verbal descriptions of *uşüller* in terms of proportion are somewhat problematic in various regards. For example, the “Proportion Media”, which ‘Alī Ufuḳī identifies with *Düyek* (“Duwek”), is marked with the symbol for *tempus perfectum diminutum*, which, in the notated repertoire, is predominantly not the case: “Proportion Media [p/d symbol] consta di quarto trrr i quali trrr deudentano qui [semiminim] Crome Et in questo si sona tutti li peschrew.” This is not in agreement with the notated repertoire, in which *Peşrevler* in *uşul* *Düyek* are notated with the minim as well as the semiminim as basic time units. Behar relates this classification of *uşüller* to the older tradition of *uşul* categories such as *Şaḳıl-i evvel* and *Şaḳıl-i s̄anī*, which may indeed be a valid explanation, but it does not directly help interpreting ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s thoughts.<sup>365</sup> The other rhythmic cycles mentioned are “Genghi harbi”, which does not appear again in the entire manuscript except for a description on f. 205b/51b, and “Sofiane”, both likewise connected to the *tempus perfectum diminutum*.<sup>366</sup> What is also not supported by the repertoire is the choice of small values such as the *Croma* and its subdivisions. *Croma* is the term used in Italy for

<sup>363</sup>Houle (1987), pp. 97ff.

<sup>364</sup>Schmid (2012), pp. 173–178.

<sup>365</sup>Behar (2008), p. 129.

<sup>366</sup>Haug (2017), pp. 98f.

the value following the Semiminima, called Fusa in the present study and written with the visual equivalent of an eight note (or crotchet) in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s system. As a cursory glance into the edition shows, even the Croma or Fusa occurs rarely. He further establishes relationships between genre and *uṣūl*, for example attributes “Sofiane graue al Tespīh”. Unfortunately, the poor state of the paper makes reading nearly impossible, and ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s idiosyncratic thoughts have no context that would help interpret them. They can tentatively be identified as an early attempt not further pursued.

### 4.3.2 Strategies of representation

Adapting an essentially alien concept of writing to a music culture he had only recently started to acquire, ‘Alī Ufuḳī faced the challenge of representing its concepts properly. The following paragraphs give an overview of the techniques he employed more or less consistently: 1. Verbal statements. 2. Mensural symbols and fractions. The European mensural tradition is strongly felt in P. However, it remains difficult to determine what ‘Alī Ufuḳī actually meant when he used fractions and mensural symbols, which concepts he connected with them, and which practical execution he envisioned. 3. Self-invented symbols. They are infrequent in P, but become crucial in L.

Another major problem posed by ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notational practices and one which must be addressed prior to the single analyses, is the relationship between *uṣūl* and basic value, which can be either Mi or Sm, and very rarely also the Sb. Sometimes more than one basic value is possible for a certain *uṣūl*, sometimes the basic value changes between P and L in both directions. Owen Wright speaks of “comparative tempo”, supposing that “Ali Ufki’s choice of minim rather than crotchet for *devr-i kebir* is that it could be interpreted as indicating a degree of retardation [...] certainly no less than the halving in tempo [...]”.<sup>367</sup> Speaking about L, Dural concluded that the prevalence of the Mi and Sm as basic counting units was an expression of a general European tendency of the sixteenth century. He further stated that deductions concerning the speed of performance could not be definitive.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>367</sup>Wright (1988), p. 13.

<sup>368</sup>Dural adduced William Byrd, Andrea Gabrieli “and so on” for comparison. Dural (2014), p. 159.

As will be seen below, there is no clear correlation that would either assist in analysis and attribution or yield insights regarding performance speed, and conclusions must remain tentative.

1. Verbal designations are, as for *maḳām*, the easiest cases as they can be directly related to the attributed pieces and also to the surrounding theoretical literature. The following table shows the frequency of all *uṣûller* named in P; theoretical demonstrations are not considered. Verbal statements regularly coincide with other types of designation, which will be referred to in the list following below. If a text without musical notation relates to a notation on the same page or elsewhere, the two elements together are counted as vocal; if a text and a notation have the same statement, they are also counted only once. *Uṣûl* names are standardized if they occur more than once.

<i>Uṣûl</i>	Instr.	Vocal	Text only	Total
Berevşān	3	0	0	3
Çenber	2	0	0	2
Devr-i kebîr	6 <sup>369</sup>	3	1	10
Devr-i revān	4	5	3	12
Düyek	24	4	0	28
Evfer	0	3	3	6
Evşāṭ [sic] + Semā'ī	0	1	0	1
Fāḥte	5	0	0	5
Fāḥte + Devr-i kebîr	0	1	0	1
Fer: Muḥammes	1	0	1	2
Ḥafif	1	0	1	2
Ḥāvī [sic] Düyek	1	0	0	1
Muḥammes	2	0	1	3
Şaḳîl	7	0	0	7

<sup>369</sup>One of those is headed only “Dewri”, but counting the beats per section showed that Devr-i kebîr is intended.

<i>Uşul</i>	Instr.	Vocal	Text only	Total
Semā'ī	14	10	13 <sup>370</sup>	37
Şöfyāne	1	3	6	10
Žarbeyn	2	0	0	2
Žarb-ı fetḥ	13	0	0	13
“zarbi Safi”	1	0	0	1
Zencir	1	0	0	1

Table 4.5: Occurrence of *uşüller*

The frequency of *uşul* occurrence in HP and C has already been evaluated by Owen Wright. While the distribution in HP deviates considerably, the most prevalent *uşüller* in C are Düyek, Devr-i kebîr and Şaķıl, followed by Semā'ī.<sup>371</sup> The important role of Düyek and Semā'ī is thus clear for both collections. Yet comparison is impeded by the fact that a great many pieces have no designation, even if the parallel versions in L are adduced. As in the case of the *maķāmlar*, the present study only deals with the concrete attributions in P, adducing L only in cases of doubt.

2. Mensural symbols as well as fractions are the signs for rhythmic contexts that ‘Alī Ufuķī had grown up with. It is thus natural that he started applying them for the purposes of his Ottomanized notation, just like he applied the European alteration signs. In the section “Analyses” below, the list discussing each *uşul* present in the repertoire also states the *uşul* signatures mensural symbols may appear with.<sup>372</sup> The variance and even contradiction is sometimes bewildering and leads to the crucial problem that a certain mensural symbol does not directly cause a certain rhythmic organization, let alone a specific *uşul*, which makes the attribution of pieces with *uşul* symbol but without verbal designation basically impossible. For example, the *tempus imperfectum diminutum* sign (a slashed half circle, here abbreviated as i/d), still in use today under the name *alla breve*, appears

<sup>370</sup> Among those 14, 8 can be ascribed to the “art-music” sphere, while 5 are strophic.

<sup>371</sup> Wright (1992), p. 200.

<sup>372</sup> The present chapter deals only with Ottoman pieces; notations of European “art” music or folk songs and dances attributable to different spheres are not considered.

with the *uşüller* Berevşān, Cengī Harbī (only as a demonstration), Düyek, Fāhte, Ḥafif, Şakīl, Żarb-ı fetḥ and Zencīr in its simple version without any additions. According to European tradition of the early seventeenth century, the *tempus imperfectum* designates the *tempo ordinario*, the common beat of the Semibreve.<sup>373</sup> Analyses below will demonstrate that a direct correlation between *tempus* and the basic unit of counting does not exist. The *tempora perfectum* and *imperfectum* do not appear – if the circle alone is not understood as a remnant of the *tempus perfectum*.

Semāḩ is not included in this wide range of *uşüller* describable by the same sign: Although Semāḩ has an ultimately even number of beats per cycle, namely six, ʿAlī Ufuḩī felt that the number 3, the fraction 3/2 or a sign evoking the concept of three –also in its traditional Christian symbolism of the circle as image of the perfection of Trinity– was apt to describe it. In the selection of *uşüller* covered by the three-beat *tempus perfectum diminutum*, again in its simple form without additions, Semāḩ is included with Şakīl and “zarbī Safī”. The problem becomes immediately obvious: Şakīl appears with both designations.

Looking at the problem in another way, i.e. starting from the pieces without verbal attribution but with a mensural symbol, the overall result is again far from coherent: the frequently employed *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, for instance, precedes pieces that exhibit regular units of three (f. 15b/273b), four (ff. 2a/253a-2, 257b/103b–258a/104a-1, 286a/132a-2), seven changing to eight (f. 30a/12a), eight (ff. 47a/249a, 200a/46a–199b/45b-1) or ten beats (f. 6a/257a)<sup>374</sup> Two more are problematic and treated as unmetered (ff. 1a/252a-1, 273b/119b). Hopes that the choice of mensural symbol was related to the basic unit are immediately crushed: Among the pieces previously enumerated, three are based on the Mi and seven on the Sm. Fractions are used to designate proportional relationships of durational value. While the *tempo ordinario* (“common time”) is counted with two Minimæ per Semibrevis, the *proportio sesquialtera*, symbolized with a half circle and the fraction 3/2, counts three Minimæ to the same Semibrevis. A change from *tempo ordinario* to *proportio sesquialtera* thus includes a de facto increase in speed on the Minima level.<sup>375</sup> The *proportio tripla*, commonly designated

<sup>373</sup> This complex topic can only be touched upon briefly; for a detailed discussion and examples see Paulsmeier (2012), pp. 22ff. Schmid (2012), pp. 156ff.

<sup>374</sup> This notation is accompanied by the demonstration of an unidentified, ten-beat rhythmic entity.

<sup>375</sup> Paulsmeier (2012), pp. 35ff.



by a circle and a number 3, has the same effect on the Semibrevis level.<sup>376</sup> Hence, comparison was made of Ottoman pieces bearing the designations 3 (European or Arabic)<sup>377</sup> and 3/1 (*tempus perfectum*) on the one hand and 3/2 on the other (*tempus imperfectum diminutum*). According to European thinking, this could be expected to result in a reduced counting unit and thus a higher performance speed in relation to the notated values.<sup>378</sup> The fraction 3/2 appears nineteen times<sup>379</sup> based on the Mi and four times based on the Sm. The amount of possible beats per cycle is more homogenous, the choices being six or three beats. The latter can sometimes be grouped to form nine beats per unit. The Peşrev in Muḥammed on ff. 278b/133b–288a/134a forms an exception. The much less frequently occurring fraction 3/1 refers to the Sb as a basic unit once and four times to the Mi (three or six beats per cycle). Finally, the number 3 without additions appears ten times with the Mi as basic unit and twenty-two times with the Sm (three or six beats per cycle). Although a tendency toward 3/2 for the Mi and 3 for the Sm can be discerned, the picture is simply not clear enough to allow any further conclusions for analysis and attribution. Hence, in the forthcoming Critical Report a large group of pieces both vocal and instrumental are described with the wording, “an *uṣūl* is not implied due to insufficient information”. The Semā’ī “Jar basse kadem hem didei girianime minnet” on f. 354a/196a is a special case where a change of *uṣūl* designation from 3/1 to 3/2 may indeed be understood as affecting the performance speed, but this assumption remains tentative as the notation itself is unfortunately incomplete.

Mensural symbols, European numbers and fractions appear in various combinations with different symbols, for example 3 with a circle (ff. 315a/171a-5, five- or ten-beat structure; 374b/189b, seven- or fourteen-beat structure) or i/d with a triangle (f. 140a/295b-1, “Dewri Kebir”), further complicating the situation. The case of the two concentric circles with a vertical line and a number 3 on top (f. 254a/100a) is likewise unsolved. Fractions of Arabic numerals are also encountered, e.g. as the combination

<sup>376</sup>Paulsmeier (2012), pp. 47ff.

<sup>377</sup>Correctly, the numerals used in Europe are called Arabic or Western Arabic and those used in today’s Arabic-writing world and the Ottoman Empire, Indian or Eastern Arabic. To avoid confusion and lengthiness, the terms “European” and “Arabic” are employed here.

<sup>378</sup>Schmid (2012), pp. 158f.

<sup>379</sup>Pieces with verbal *uṣūl* designations are considered, demonstrations are not.

of the *proportio sesquialtera* 3/2 and a circle with the Arabic fraction 5/2 inside (ff. 280b/126b–281a/127a-1) or a European 3 over an Arabic 2 for an Oyun on f. 233\*a. The piece displays regular units of six Sm requiring one minor emendation and is consequently titled “Semāṭī” in L (f. 17b). A similar instance can be found on f. 234\*a-2. For the case of the Murabba<sup>c</sup> headed “3/4 GRAVE Vssul bir fahte bir Dewri kebir” (f. 411a/243b) see below in the section “Analyses”.

3. Self-invented symbols are as exceptional in P as they are ubiquitous in L. On f. 371b/286b, the symbols for “Duwek”, a circle with the Arabic numeral 2, and “Semah”, a triangle with an –erroneous– Arabic 4 and an empty triangle are squeezed between the first two staves of the “Neḫabur semajj”. The usual sign for Düyek in L, a circle with a 2 in the Ottoman chancery script *siyākat*,<sup>380</sup> is encountered again on f. 231\*b; the triangle appears a second time in combination with the i/d symbol and the verbal statement “Dewri Kebir” on f. 140a/295b. As the triangle obviously stands for three or multiples of three and the i/d symbol (roughly) for an even-numbered structure, the compound sign could be interpreted as “3+4 beats to the cycle”, which corresponds to half an iteration of the intended Devr-i kebir. The last occurrence of a symbol of ʿAlī Ufuḫī’s own creation is the demonstration of *uṣūl Fer*<sup>c</sup>, which is accompanied by a circle with an Arabic 4 inside.<sup>381</sup>

The evidence of L is fundamentally different from P as the self-invented signs are used fairly consistently. This is a symptom of the generally higher level of coherence and standardization in Sloane 3114.<sup>382</sup> In the instrumental repertoire the system is almost completely implicated, while the gaps in the vocal repertoire are larger, especially in the “folk” genres. Some pieces “still” bear mensural signs, for example the *Türki berây-ı kanlı kavaḫ* (p/d, f. 13b), the *Türki berây-ı sefer-i Bağdād. Aheste* (p/d, f. 46b) or a Murabba<sup>c</sup> setting titled *Dığer* on f. 67a (i/d). Fractions of Arabic numerals also appear (f. 56a for Evfer, f. 125a without verbal statement). The majority of the “courtly” instrumental genres, though, relies on the circle system. Verbal statements of *uṣūller* are also prevalent in the Peşrev and Murabba<sup>c</sup>

<sup>380</sup> Albert Bobowski (ʿAlī Ufuḫī) (1991a), p. x.

<sup>381</sup> Haug (2017), p. 102.

<sup>382</sup> Ekinici and Haug (2016), pp. 96f.

repertoires.<sup>383</sup> Uludemir deciphered the symbols, which are in fact numbers in *siyākat*, the Ottoman chancery script.<sup>384</sup> In many cases, ʿAlī Ufuḳī chose numbers that represent half of the number of actual beats in a cycle, such as 5 for Fāḥte or 12 for Şaḳīl, or even a quarter in the case of 2 for Düyek, 4 for Ferʿ, 8 for Hafif and 22 for Żarb-ı feth. As this system essentially belongs to L, references will be made in the analyses below only if insights into ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s perception of *uṣūl* as evident in P can be expected. As an example for comparison between P and L in this context, there is a certain logic especially in the pieces with six-beat structures, i.e. Semāʿī. Where there is a number 3 or the fractions 3/2 and 3/1 in P, sometimes a circle with triangle (ff. 29a/11a–28b/10b, 201b/47b–202a/48a-2, 286b/132b–287a/133a, 361a/293b, 362b/292a, 371a/286a, 413b/235a, 415b/246b–416a/307b-2, -3) or a circle with an Arabic 3 (ff. 124a/264a, 151b/22b-1, 352a/194a) appears in L. Pieces without any information, but based on three- or (more often) six-beat structures likewise regularly receive this choice of designation in L (ff. 126b/297b, 132a/268a, 234b/80b, 355a/276a-2).

On the grounds of this major difference between P and L, the explanation can be offered that ʿAlī Ufuḳī, after having experimented with mensural signs and notated many pieces without any information on *uṣūl* at all, chose to consciously develop a new system. Other than his method of signifying *maḳām*, in the field of *uṣūl* there is a clear trajectory from P to L with first steps being visible in P. While it is hardly possible to postulate a temporal succession from P to L, because P was written over an unknown length of time and overlapping with L, it seems a logical conclusion that ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s work underwent various stages of experiment, development and unification, unknown today because they were never written down or are lost. It could be that he envisioned a system on the one hand retaining the concept of the “time signature”, but on the other hand departing from European symbols. We can only guess at the reasons for this change of method, but obviously ʿAlī Ufuḳī was dissatisfied with the *uṣūl* designations he had used in P and decided to develop a new system. L was written with the help of at least one scribe –likely the “ieni kaḳfa” alluded to on f. 242a/88a– who, for example, prepared the staves, so ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s requirements may have been

<sup>383</sup> For a list of the symbols employed see Jäger (1996b), pp. 229f. Empty circles are not a sign in themselves. They appear with various different rhythmic entities and may be explained with the scribe drawing the circle and ʿAlī Ufuḳī omitting to insert the required symbol.

<sup>384</sup> Albert Bobowski (ʿAlī Ufuḳī) (1991a), pp. ix–x.

that the sign system should be easy to teach and understand for Ottomans. This is surely not true of late mensural designations, which stand in no relation to Ottoman music theory and the understanding of *uṣūl* anyway. The circle system, on the other hand, while being abstract, is more logical (even though, again, it is not implemented coherently). It may cautiously be inferred that L was aimed at a third party, whoever that may have been. The question why ʿAlī Ufuḳī did not simply discard *uṣūl* designations completely, relying solely on the verbal statement, remains open.

In addition to the already confusing situation presented by the pieces with designations, a substantial proportion of both instrumental (88 of 188) and vocal compositions (111 of 254 pieces with notation) feature neither verbal statements nor a symbol of any kind. Another statistically observable difference between the instrumental and vocal spheres is the considerably narrower range of *uṣūller* employed for vocal compositions. The question is, as so often, how much can reliably be inferred and interpreted. This problem, again, leads back to the general questions whether “folk” songs have an *uṣūl* in the usual sense and how this should be reflected in the critical edition of the compendium.

*Uṣūl* boundary lines (lines delimiting the iterations of an *uṣūl*) and counting lines (lines segmenting a longer *uṣūl* into more manageable sections) could be used as a tool for attribution, but they are infrequent and often appear in connection with a verbal statement. In European practice, such ordering lines came into being with the partition, helping to associate chords in a polyphonic structure. They often appear every second Sb or even every Sb.<sup>385</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s lines have obviously been added later, as they cross other elements of notation such as repeats and custodes. This gives rise to the assumption that he drew them in order to check his notations for mistakes. On the folios ff. 19b/2b–29a/11a they appear especially frequently, which adds to the impression that this group of notations was composed at an earlier stage. Counting lines are placed after every fourth beat in *uṣūller Ferʿ* (demonstration on ff. 256b/102b–257a/103a), *Düyek* (ff. 21b/4b–23a/6a; ascription according to L f. 36a), *Żarb-ı fetḥ* (ff. 20b/3b–21a/4a, *fetḥ-i şarb* [sic]) and one unidentified entity (ff. 19b/2b–20a/3a). In *uṣūl Devr-i kebīr*, they can either

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<sup>385</sup>Paulsmeier (2012), p. 19.

appear after every seventh beat (ff. 140a/295b and 311b/167b–312a/168a-1) or in the manner 3+4 (ff. 282b/128b–283a/129a). Unexpectedly, the *Semā'ī* on ff. 286b-132b–287a/133a, identified with the help of L f. 54a, has a mark every twelve beats. In the case of *Muḥammes*, the placement of counting lines in the notation (4+4+4+4) and the attached *uṣūl* demonstration (3+3+3+3+4) are contradictory (ff. 287b/133b–288a/134a). In tablature notations, segmenting lines are employed in the sense of “caselle” marking off the rhythmical units of a piece.<sup>386</sup> In P, this concerns *uṣūller Semā'ī* (after every third beat; ff. 29a/11a–28b/10b-1), *Se żarb* (ff. 27b/9b–28b/10b; ascription according to L f. 120a) every four beats in all entities involved and four unknown *uṣūller* (twice after every fourth beat on ff. 279b/125b and 286a/132a-2, once after every third beat on f. 286a/132a-1, once after every eighth or sixteenth beat on ff. 414b/245b–415a/246a-3). True boundary lines are found even less often: In the “*Vsuller Peschrewi Zengir Mekami Rast*” (ff. 289b/135b–290a/136a) they mark off the different entities in the compound *uṣūl*. The *Der maḳām-ı Hüseyinī Peşrev-i Külliyyāt nazāresi Husta disse che si chiama Schehmurat* on ff. 283b/120b–285a/131a is equipped with boundary lines as well as a demonstration of *uṣūl Fāhte*. Obviously ‘Alī Ufuḳī found this rhythmic entity especially difficult, because the “*Vssulij Fahte Peschrewi Beiati Szerifin*” (ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a) has them, too. On the other hand, such judgements should not be made too rashly, for the “*Peschrewi tolab*” in the frequent and popular *uṣūl Düyek* also features boundary lines (ff. 313b/169b–314a/170a), possibly for reasons of clarity and comprehensibility of the respective melodies. Lastly, a small group of otherwise undefined vocal pieces should not go unmentioned: f. 260a/106a (after every ninth beat), f. 315a/171a-5 (after every fifth beat) f. 349b/ 191b-3 (after every sixth beat).

Other notational features that can assist analysis are section markings such as repeats or *segnī*. They provide a framework for counting how many beats are contained in a section and how they can be divided in a meaningful way. A *Peşrev* whose sections contain sixteen and thirty-two beats can, for example, be allocated to *Düyek* –due to its prevalence the most evident choice–, *Berevşān* –whose rhythmic pattern begins with two characteristic groups of three beats– or *Muḥammes*. If the possibility of “half *uṣūller*”, i.e. the phenomenon that a section has to be repeated in order to create a full iteration of the entity, is taken into account, *Ḥaffif*

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<sup>386</sup>Wolf (1963), p. 64.

is also conceivable. In a second step, grouping and spacing of note heads, especially in the more assured notations of Peşrev and Semā'ī, can be a source of information<sup>387</sup> and is often a helpful tool in the process of editing P. If there is no parallel version at hand, cautious ascriptions are made in the forthcoming Critical Comment following those principles.

### 4.3.3 Analyses

The following list gives an overview of all *uşŭller* present, demonstrations and explanations if extant, and the sometimes confusing variety of time designations they can appear with as well as the possible basic units of counting. Demonstrations are not counted into the statistics. Problematic cases are discussed separately, and the phenomenon of “half *uşŭller*” will be clarified when required. This rhythmic phenomenon is not limited to ‘Alī Ufuķī’s collection: Confronted with a similar situation in the K manuscript, Ekinci acknowledges the possibility that a section can contain only half an *uşŭl*, requiring repetition in order to complete the required number of beats.<sup>388</sup> In cases of doubt, reference is made to the contemporaneous treatise of Çengī Yūsuf Dede.<sup>389</sup>

- Berevşān appears in the theoretical text on ff. 205/51a–205b/51b as well as in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. On f. 290b/136b, a demonstration with note heads, syllables and a verbal explanation is appended to an unrelated Peşrev. The preceding opening, however, contains the “Peschrewi Zengir”, of which Berevşān forms part. The *uşŭl* is notated with the i/d designation as a sixteen-beat structure with Mi as basic unit, which corresponds with the (limited) repertoire. The explanation reads “*Uşŭl* Berevşān two units of three and five units of four”, a method described as “Westernization of the *uşŭller*” by Behar.<sup>390</sup> It erroneously suggests that Berevşān can be divided into 3+3+4+4+4+4+4 beats, which would result in 26 instead of 16 beats. The correct division would be 3+3+2+2+2+2+2. In L, two possible designations exist: Double 3 above a 5 in a circle and 5 above

<sup>387</sup>This has been noted for L by Reinhard and Ayangil. Reinhard (1992), p. 218; Ayangil (2008), p. 404.

<sup>388</sup>Ekinci (2016), pp. 224f.

<sup>389</sup>Çengī Yūsuf Dede (2015).

<sup>390</sup>Behar (2008), p. 124.

2 in a circle. Following the logic that the number in the circle has to be multiplied by two to reach the amount of actual beats (as e.g. Muḥammes is represented by 8 and Ḥāvī by 16), the former symbol can be resolved as  $3+3+10=16$  or  $3+3+2+2+2+2+2$ .<sup>391</sup> This accords with the division suggested by the demonstration, disregarding the calculation error. Pieces in Berevṣān regularly appear with blackened note heads of unclear meaning, e.g. f. 126a/297a. In European notation of the period, filled-out notes designate hemiola,<sup>392</sup> but it is not obvious how this would apply to *uṣūl* Berevṣān.<sup>393</sup>

Basic unit of counting: Mi for all three occurrences.

Possible designations: Arabic numbers 2 and 5 and a European 5 above a circle; none (2).

- Cengī ḥarbī is demonstrated in a small notation following the theoretical text on f. 205b/51b. Bearing the *uṣūl* designation i/d, it shows an eight-beat structure based on the Sm, perceptibly different from the likewise eight-beat Düyek in its internal design; it could in principle be applied to unassigned pieces that divide into eight-beat sections. It is not represented in the repertoire of P, but can be found once in L (f. 53b). Also the *Justo Discorso de li Vssulij* (f. 384a/294a) dedicates some sentences to this *uṣūl*. Due to the damaged state of the page and the idiosyncratic technique of description, those notes could not be brought to direct use. Regarding the composition notated in L, Sanlıkol stated that “it seems to outline some kind of an even-numbered rhythmic cycle whose details are obscure”. He plausibly suggests that the term “ḥarbī” “stands for a style rather than a rhythmic cycle”.<sup>394</sup>
- Çenber is part of the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. A demonstration with note heads and syllables is appended to the “Peschrewi Zengir” on f. 290a/136a of which it forms part. It shows the *uṣūl* as containing twelve beats based on the Mi and is preceded by the p/d mensural sign. Its fifth to seventh beats as well as the ninth to tenth beats are tied; after beat 7 there is a deleted Mi.

<sup>391</sup> Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufukī) (1991a), p. x.

<sup>392</sup> Albert, Heinrich (1904). *Arien von Heinrich Albert*. Ed. by Moser, Hans Joachim. Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst vol. 13, II. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. xi.

<sup>393</sup> For a historical comparison see Wright (2017b), p. 35.

<sup>394</sup> Sanlıkol (2011), pp. 49f.

Basic unit of counting: Mi (1), Sm (1). The four occurrences in L are equally distributed to the two possible basic units. However, the Peşrev on f. 380\*a/226a is based on the Mi while its parallel version on L f. 90a is based on the Sm. The other pair shares the Mi as basic unit (f. 381\*b/227b, L f. 23b).

Possible designations: Neither of the two occurrences features a designation.

A third piece connected to *uşul* Çember has not been included in the statistics: The Arabic-language vocal piece “Entefil husni feridun” (f. 348a/190a), displaying regular units of eight Mi which are readily discernible in the melody, is accompanied by the note “Czember vssul ma batono il duwek li m[onsigno]ri Honende” (“*Uşul* Çember, but the gentlemen singers beat *Düyek*”).<sup>395</sup> ‘Alī Ufuķī’s comment makes little sense because *uşul* Çember does not fit the piece as the cycle has twelve beats, not twenty-four as today,<sup>396</sup> whereas *Düyek* matches smoothly both melodically and concerning the text distribution (cf. a long note at almost every eighth beat especially in the *terennüm*).

- Devr-i kebīr is part of the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. Basic unit of counting: Mi (8), Sm (1). All 27 occurrences in L are based on the Mi. Possible designations: i/d with a triangle pointing to the right above it; none (6); European 3 and Arabic 2; p/d, Arabic 3 and an unidentified sign below.<sup>397</sup> “Half *uşüller*” on ff. 254b/100b-1, 344b/186b, 358b/279b, 377\*b/233b. The Peşrev “Mekami Rast. Hassan A[ga] Dewri” on f. 358b/279b can be clearly interpreted as Devr-i kebīr based on the Mi, which is corroborated by L f. 110b. Two other Peşrevler ascribed to *Düyek* in P are easily recognizable as Devr-i kebīr based on the Mi (ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a and 372a/287a, cf. their L versions on ff. 64b–65a and 18a–19a).
- Devr-i revān appears in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b as a six-beat *uşul* (“dum dum tek dum dum tek”). An independent demonstration in a modified staff notation follows the long excerpt on

<sup>395</sup> Behar interprets the remark as a trace of pedagogic method in teaching *uşüller* to new performers. Behar (2008), p. 126. Note the Persian pronunciation of *h<sup>u</sup>ānende*.

<sup>396</sup> Karaol and Tunçer (2015), p. 46.

<sup>397</sup> For a comparison with Amīr Hān Gurjī see Wright (2017a), pp. 56f.



f. 205b/51b; it does not only clarify the durational values involved, but also shows a stroke pattern for a percussion instrument. The direction of the stems signifies which hand is supposed to play the note (upward means left hand, downward right hand). Additional letters further specify the playing technique: M for “mano” indicates that the note has to be struck with the entire [flat] hand. Notes marked with an A for “auriculare” have to be played with the little finger. Finally, I for “indice” indicates that the note has to be played with the index finger. Here, ‘Alī Ufuḳī had a frame drum in mind such as the Dā’ire he mentions on f. 244a/90a.<sup>398</sup> The notation itself shows a seven-beat structure based on the Sm. Hence both variants in use at ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s time are represented.<sup>399</sup>

Basic unit of counting: Mi (all of the pieces in the six-beat variant), Sm (the piece in the seven-beat variant).

Possible designations: none (5); 3/2 (3, all six-beat); 3/1 (1, six-beat). “Half *uṣūller*” occur (f. 367b/282b-2).

While the demonstration has seven beats –which is expected when comparing to the younger repertoire– the notations clearly show a six-beat structure. In L, all pieces in Devr-i revān count to six, which is emphasized by the numerals 3 or 3 over 2 in the customary circle.<sup>400</sup> This is supported by Çengī Yūsuf Dede’s (c. 1650) syllabic demonstration of what he calls Devr-i revān-i kebīr, “tüm tüm tek tüm tek tek”.<sup>401</sup> Analyzing the Peşrevler in Devr-i revān shared by ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections, C and K, Mehmet U. Ekinçi comes to the conclusion that there is a difference in perception of this *uṣūl*, a deviant, even faulty understanding on the part of ‘Alī Ufuḳī (“[...] Ali Ufkī, Devr-i Revân usûlündeki melodileri çoğu zaman 6k zamanlı olarak algılamış ve bu şekilde notaya almıştır. Usûlün bir devrinin 6 ana darbıdan müteşekkil olması böyle bir algı meydana getirmiş olabilir”.<sup>402</sup> But then, why is the demonstration “correct” and the

<sup>398</sup> An only partially legible remark featuring three notes written on different levels with different directions of their stems may point in a similar direction (f. 272a/118a). See also Behar (2008), pp. 91ff.

<sup>399</sup> For a comparison with Amīr Ḥān Gurjī see Wright (2017a), pp. 53f.

<sup>400</sup> An exceptional case on f. 73a is based on a nine-beat structure.

<sup>401</sup> Çengī Yusuf Dede (2015), p. 18.

<sup>402</sup> “[...] Most of the time, ‘Alī Ufuḳī perceived melodies in *uṣūl* Devr-i kebīr as six-beat and notated them accordingly. The fact that the *uṣūl* is composed of six main strokes may have given rise to this perception”. Ekinçi (2016), pp. 160f.

entire repertoire “misunderstood”? Further, there is a considerable number of unattributed vocal pieces closely resembling the structure of the pieces attributed to Devr-i revān.

The Türkī “Wugiudum mulkiuni iakti ianderdi” (f. 296b/142b) displays regular units of four Mi, which are directly recognizable in repetitive melodic phrases. Nevertheless, ‘Alī Ufuḳī added the following remark: “Dewri rewan Vssul ama in verita e manco p[er]che e pentafoḅa” (“Uṣŭl Devr-i revān but in reality this is wrong because it is ‘five-voice’”). The meaning of the term “pentafoḅa” is unclear as the song in question does not have a rhythmic organization based on units of five, neither can it be meaningfully attributed to one of the two versions of Devr-i revān. This piece is hence not taken into account in the statistics. There is an unexplained note on f. 369a/284a, next to a Peṣrev in (six-beat) Devr-i revān: “ussul saklar si dice quanto si par che esci e tripla” (“The *uṣŭl* is hiding; this is said when it seems as though it came out in triple measure [?]”). Lacking further context, the note is difficult to interpret. ‘Alī Ufuḳī may hint at some kind of hemiolic phenomenon, i.e. a change of accentuation that leads to the temporary perception of a different meter. In seventeenth-century Europe, the *proportio tripla* induces a change from even to triple meter in the proportion 2:3,<sup>403</sup> but it is unclear how this could be reconciled with ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s statement and with Ottoman musical thinking in general.

- Dŭyek features in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b and in the cryptic “Justo Discorso de li Vssulij” on f. 384a/294a. Appended to the treatise on f. 205b/51b there is a demonstration employing the same system of notation as described above for the case of Devr-i revān, including the stroke pattern. It shows an eight-beat structure based on the Mi. Wright cites Dŭyek as an example for similarities between ‘Alī Ufuḳī and Cantemir regarding *uṣŭl*.<sup>404</sup>

Basic units of counting: Mi (16), Sm (8). The many occurrences in L are almost evenly distributed between the Mi (32) and the Sm (31) as basic units; two more are based on the Sb. Comparing parallel versions, the Peṣrevler on ff. 290b/136b–292a/138a-1, 324b/179b, 343b/185b-2, 344a/186a-2, 359b/280b-1 and 368b/238b-1 are

<sup>403</sup>Paulsmeier (2012), p. 27.

<sup>404</sup>Wright (2017b), p. 32.

all changed from Mi to Sm, while all other concordant pieces retain their original basic unit, be it Mi or Sm.

Possible designations i/d (7);<sup>405</sup> p/d (3); p/d with Arabic 2 below; unclear (f. 231\*b-2).

“Half *uṣūller*” occur (ff. 343b/185b-2, 372a/287a and in the *Peşrev* f. 368b/283b-2 attributed to *Düyek* in L f. 63a).

Two cases of conflicting attributions occur: The *Peşrev-i Eğlence* ‘*Acem Düyek*’ (f. 231\*b) is erroneously allocated to *uṣūl* *Ḥafif* in L (f. 91a). Likewise the parallel version of the *Deryā peşrevi* (f. 343b/185b-2, L f. 111b) is attributed to *Ḥafif*, which is acceptable when including “half *uṣūller*”. Obviously *Düyek* and *Ḥafif* seemed related or even interchangeable to ‘*Alī Ufuḳī*’.

- *Evfer* appears in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b with addition of notes (Sb Sm Sm Sm Sm Sb Sb, i.e. six beats). Two more demonstrations can be found. On f. 249b/95b, a combined notation with syllables, note heads, the designation 3/2 and a verbal explanation shows *Evfer* as a six-beat structure based on the Sm. The remark reads “Vssuli Vffer procede del Dewri rewan Ali giuge” (“*Uṣūl-i Evfer* proceeds from *Devr-i revān*. ‘*Alī the Dwarf* [obviously a teacher or senior musician]”). Both *Evfer* and *Devr-i revān* exist in a six-beat version, differing in the division of values and the stroke pattern, but it is unclear what ‘*Alī Ufuḳī*’ means with “proceed”. The second notation on f. 349b/191b follows a vocal composition in *uṣūl* *Evfer*. There, a combination of staff notation on a single line and Ottoman-Turkish syllables again show a six-beat cycle, but based on the Mi. They are rhythmically the same except for the last note which is one long value instead of tied shorter values. Both notations display a six-beat structure, whereas *Cantemir* describes *Evfer* as a nine-beat *uṣūl*,<sup>406</sup> as it is still practised today.<sup>407</sup> The (limited) repertoire of P encompasses two pieces with the nine-beat version (f. 361b/293a, [Varşāğı] *Rāst-Pençgāh uṣūleṣ Evfer Yeter cevr êtdiñ ben nātüvāne*, and f. 382b/215b, [Türki] ‘*Uṣṣāk Evfer Kādir Allāh kalem çekmiş*’) and one with the six-beat version (f. 349b/191b-1, [Murabba‘] *Vffer*

<sup>405</sup> One of the pieces mentioned here is erroneously ascribed to *Düyek*; see *Turc 292*, ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a-1.

<sup>406</sup> *Cantemir* (2001a), p. 166.

<sup>407</sup> *Özkan* (1990), p. 602.

wssul Huseini “dilberi birin dehen gionlum seni seumek diler”).<sup>408</sup> All notations are based on the Mi; none has an *uşul* designation. In L, all eight invariably vocal compositions in *uşul* Evfer are based on a nine-beat structure.<sup>409</sup> The interesting point is that the two nine-beat compositions in P, f. 361b/293 and f. 382b/251b, have been transferred to L (f. 114b and 78b respectively), while the one with the six-beat version of this rhythmic entity has not. This proves that Evfer indeed had a valid six-beat version in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.<sup>410</sup> This is also documented by Çengī Yūsuf Dede: His syllabic demonstration “tüm teke tüm tek tek” suggests a six-beat structure; it is further identical with ‘Alī Ufuķī’s demonstration on f. 349b/191b.<sup>411</sup> These findings lead to the cautious assumption that the six-beat interpretation of Evfer was an older tradition which was in the process of being replaced by a nine-beat cycle during the lifetime of ‘Alī Ufuķī. This period of coexistence seems to have lasted until later in the century: MS R 1722 –the source with the most concordances with P surveyed for the present study– shows the six-beat Evfer in its *uşul* table, but also contains compositions by ‘İtrī (between 1630 and 1640–1711)<sup>412</sup> as a *terminus post quem*.<sup>413</sup> Comparison to the likewise six-beat *uşul* Awfar/Ufar in the Bukharan Shashmaqam tradition may bring further important insights.<sup>414</sup>

- Evsaṭ is mentioned in the theoretical text on ff. 205/51a– 205b/51b as well as in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b; it is not represented in the notated repertoire.<sup>415</sup>

<sup>408</sup> Concerning the Evfer repertoire, there is an error in the present author’s recent article, Haug (2017), p. 97. The notation on f. 382b/215b has been regrettably overlooked. However, the conclusions drawn are not affected by this.

<sup>409</sup> Here excluded is the case of the Murabba‘ *Derdā ki meni çarḥ-ı felek ğurbete şaldı* on f. 56. It is accompanied by an *uşul* demonstration showing a twelve-beat structure. See the Critical Report for its structurally problematic P version f. 234b/80b.

<sup>410</sup> Ekinci (2016), p. 234.

<sup>411</sup> Çengī Yusuf Dede (2015), p. 18.

<sup>412</sup> Say (1992b), p. 631.

<sup>413</sup> R 1722, ff. 1b, 334a.

<sup>414</sup> Jung, Angelika (2017). “Some Reflections About the Pulsating, Limping, Striding and Dance-like Movement Patterns (*Usul*) in the Shashmaqam in the Context of the Sufi Path of Truth”. In: *Rhythmic Cycles and Structures in the Art Music of the Middle East*. Ed. by Helvacı, Zeynep, Olley, Jacob, and Jäger, Ralf Martin. Istanbul: Texte und Studien 36. Würzburg: Ergon, pp. 225–246, pp. 238–244.

<sup>415</sup> For this problematic *uşul* see also Ekinci (2016), p. 232.

- Evṣāt̄ [sic] + Semā̄r̄: The single notation ascribed to this combined *uṣūl* is the Tūr̄kī BEIATI Primo Eusat ala fin Semaj “Hangiarun elinie al dertlu sinem del” on f. 298b/144b. It has no designation, and analysis has shown that the piece consists of six-beat units only. According to f. 303b/149b, Evṣāt̄ [sic] (“teke teke düm tek düm düm tek teke düm düm düm”) is a longer and more complex *uṣūl* not reflected in the notation. L contains a Peṣrev in Evsat̄ (f. 71b) displaying regular units of ten Mi fitting the rhythmic design of the syllabic demonstration smoothly except for the last “düm” that has no counterpart in the notation. With high probability, f. 303b/149b is erroneous, as comparison with Çengī Yūsuf Dede suggests.<sup>416</sup>
- Fāḥte appears in the theoretical text on ff. 205/51a–205b/51b as well as in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. A demonstration with note heads, mnemonic syllables and the *uṣūl* designation i/d appended to *Der maḳām-ı Hüseynī Peṣrev-i Külliyāt nazīresi Husta disse che si chiama Schehmurat* on f. 285a/131a shows Fāḥte as a ten-beat structure based on the Mi. Additionally, the Peṣrev is equipped with *uṣūl* boundary lines after every tenth beat. This leads to the assumption that Fāḥte was new to ‘Alī Ufuḳī when he composed the page in question.<sup>417</sup>  
 Basic unit of counting: Mi (4), Sm (1). In L only the Mi occurs.  
 The basic unit of the “Vssulij Fahte Peschrewi Beiati Szerifin” is thus consequently augmented from Sm to Mi.  
 Possible designations: none (4); i/d (1).
- Fāḥte + Devr-i kebīr as a compound *uṣūl* is represented by a notation on f. 411a/243b titled “3/4 GRAVE Vssul bir fahte bir Dewri kebir”. It is preceded by a dotted circle as designation. Other than the Żarbeyn or Se żarb compound *uṣūller*, it seems as though this entity would function additionally as units of twenty-four beats, not as ten plus fourteen distributed to the sections of the composition. This is suggested by counting lines in the upper staff. The basic unit of counting is the Sm. Its parallel version in L (f. 56a) has a circle with the Arabic numerals 3 and 4 as *uṣūl* designation, but its rhythmic

<sup>416</sup> Çengī Yūsuf Dede (2015), p. 18.

<sup>417</sup> For a historical comparison see Wright (2017b), p. 34. For a comparison with Amīr Ḥān Gurjī see Wright (2017a), pp. 55f.

design deviates considerably, displaying regular groupings of eleven beats. The intention of the designation may be understood as a sequence of  $3+4+4 = 11$  beats,<sup>418</sup> which tallies with the L version, but not with P.

- Fer<sup>c</sup> appears in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. It does not exist in the notated repertoire, only in a demonstration on f. 257a/103a most likely not pertaining to the Türkī “Her Sabahijn danlardani” above which it is placed. The notation, followed by a circle with an Arabic numeral 4 inside as an *uṣūl* designation, shows Fer<sup>c</sup> as a sixteen-beat structure based on the Sm. There are counting lines every four beats, resulting in the subdivision  $4+4+4+4$ . ‘Alī Ufuḳī explains: “Ferie ussul ferie si chiama p[er]che e mezo del muhammes et si chiama ancora ferie muhammes” (“*Uṣūl* Fer<sup>c</sup>. Fer<sup>c</sup> is called [as it is] because it is the half of Muḥammes and it is also called Fer<sup>c</sup> Muḥammes”). The relation between Fer<sup>c</sup> and Muḥammes is unclear: Muḥammes also comprises sixteen beats, but the Arabic “fer<sup>c</sup>” means branch or limb. The counting lines may suggest that longer *uṣūl* were communicated in teaching as made up of shorter units. In L, two Peşrevler are attributed to *uṣūl* Fer<sup>c</sup> (ff. 76a, 96b; both based on the Sm).<sup>419</sup>
- Fer<sup>c</sup> Muḥammes. The single occurrence of this *uṣūl* with notation has no designation, neither can it be compared with a parallel version. It is a sixteen-beat entity based on the Mi.
- Ḥafif appears in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. The single occurrence with notation has the i/d sign as *uṣūl* designation and shows a thirty-two-beat structure based on the Mi as is the parallel version L f. 130a; “half *uṣūl*” occur. In L, three pieces are based on the Sm, five on the Mi and one is ambiguous. The cases of the two Peşrevler ascribed to Düyek instead to Ḥafif in P have been discussed above.

<sup>418</sup>For an overview of the composite *uṣūl* designations encountered in L see Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1991a), p. x.

<sup>419</sup>See also Behar (2008), pp. 119f.

- Ḥāvī [sic] Düyek: Ḥāvī is part of the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. The single piece on f. 378\*b/224b has no *uṣūl* designation, shows a thirty-two-beat structure based on the Mi including “half *uṣūller*” and is erroneously assigned to *uṣūl* Çenber in L (f. 118b). “Düwek” is written in transliteration, Ḥāvī [sic] in Arabic characters. If ‘Alī Ufuḫī understands *uṣūl* Ḥāvī as having thirty-two beats, is not possible that this piece is in Ḥāvī, as the sections from H2 c onward do not add up to full iterations of the cycle even when half *uṣūller* are accepted (H2 c, d and e consist of 3+1+3 iterations of Düyek, the L version has 4+3 iterations). Further, comparison with the only two examples of Ḥāvī transmitted by ‘Alī Ufuḫī –L ff. 81a and 169a– shows that in both cases each section contains 32 beats, ie. one iteration of the *uṣūl*. Possibly ‘Alī Ufuḫī wanted to imply that the piece can be interpreted in two *uṣūller*, but his assumption was wrong. The attribution to Çenber in L is also erroneous. If we suppose that Ḥāvī has sixteen beats, as Ayangil has pointed out with reference to L f. 169a,<sup>420</sup> still H2 c, d and e have to be repeated in order to add up to full cycles. Furthermore, the number 16 in the *uṣūl* designation is no solid proof, as this number often represents only half or quarter of the expected beats, such as 5 for Fāḥte and 2 for Düyek.
- Muḥammes appears in the theoretical text on ff. 205/51a–205b/51b as well as in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. Notes are added, but only in a fragmentary fashion. An independent demonstration can be found on f. 288a/134a appended to the *Peşrev Ramażānī uṣūl-i Muḥammes*. The notation headed “Uṣūli muḥammes żarb beş” is accompanied by syllables and segmented by counting lines. It shows Muḥammes as a sixteen-beat structure based on the Mi, but the counting lines (3+3+3+3+4) do not comply with the counting lines in the corresponding notation (4+4+4+4). With “żarb” ‘Alī Ufuḫī most probably means major accents,<sup>421</sup> which in the demonstration are indeed five, as the name of the *uṣūl*, “unit of five”, suggests. He added the following remark: “Ogni Cadenza e fatta a la fin di Secondo vssul Muhammès. che saria al Decimo Vssul de la nostra Tripla” (“Each cadence [cæsura] is made at the end of the second *uṣūl* Muḥammes, which would be after the tenth *uṣūl* of our [proportio]

<sup>420</sup> Ayangil (2017b), p. 139.

<sup>421</sup> See ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b.

tripla”). This explanation is erroneous, because two iterations of *uşul* Muḥammes amount to 32 beats instead of 30 beats (= ten iterations of the proportio tripla).<sup>422</sup> On the other hand, the allusion to the “cadences” after every second *uşul* complies with the Peşrev, where all sections contain exactly two cycles.<sup>423</sup> The added remark “Fa la battuda [...] et cosi [dotted circle]” (“Make the beat [...] and like this [dotted circle]”) is inexplicable due to poor legibility.

Basic counting units: Mi (1), Sm (1). Neither has been changed for transfer to L; the two other pieces assigned to *uşul* Muḥammes in L are based on the Sm.

Possible *uşul* designations 3/2 (1); none (1).

“Half *uşüller*” occur (ff. 381a/217b, 377\*a/223a-3).

The Murabba‘ *Aldı aḳl̄m ol semenber zül̄f-i anber bārile* on f. 61b/271a is a complicated case: The separately written text is headed “Muhammes” in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s hand, but the melody does not match this *uşul*. On the contrary, it is treated as unmetered. Its L version (f. 56a) displays a regular eleven-beat structure.

- Nīm devr is mentioned in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. Notes are added above the syllables (Mi Mi Mi Sb Sb Sm Sm Sm Sm), amounting to a nine-beat *uşul*.
- Şaḳīl is mentioned in the theoretical text on ff. 205/51a–205b/51b as well as in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b. Forty-eight-beat *uşul*. Basic counting units: All seven occurrences are based on the Sm, as are seventeen of nineteen occurrences in L. Three Peşrevler are concordant.<sup>424</sup>

Possible *uşul* designations; i/d, p/d overwritten 3/2, p/d, i/d all in one piece; p/d (2); none (4).

The Peşrev on ff. 18b/1b–19a/2a is accompanied by the remark “Qui in piu loghi ogni dodeci battude cadenza magior” (“Here, in many places, a major cadence each twelve beats.”). “Cadence”, in this context and as explained above for Muḥammes, does definitely not designate the free improvisatory section of the instrumental concerto of the modern age but, in the more verbatim Latin sense, a *cæsura*

<sup>422</sup> See also Behar (2008), p. 125.

<sup>423</sup> For a historical comparison see Wright (2017b), p. 35.

<sup>424</sup> The two outliers are the *Peşrev-i Çār uşul* on f. 28a and a Murabba‘ on f. 138b, whose counting unit is either very fast compared to the movement of the melody, or each section comprises half an iteration.



or a resting point of the melody. And indeed, after every twelfth Sm the melody rests or can be easily segmented; this is most visible in H1 and H3. The *uṣūl* designation (in this case a p/d sign) of another Peşrev in Şakīl on f. 370a/285a is accompanied by three columns of numbers (except for the 12 all digits are Arabic). The right column is hardly legible due to its proximity to the gutter.

3	1	1
2	1	2?
2	1	1?
	8	1?
	12	

Table 4.6: Possible explanation of *uṣūl* Şakīl, f. 370a/285a

Do the numbers refer to groupings of beats inside the long *uṣūl*? Especially the first sequence –3, 2, 2– can be found at the beginning of H1 as groupings of Sm beats in units of Mi. But this interpretation is entirely tentative.

A case of deviant attribution can be found on f. 370b/285b: Its L version (ff. 116b–117a) is headed “Düyek”. Both are numerically possible, but the internal rhythmic organization of the sections points more towards the direction of Şakīl. In his 2013 article, Walter Feldman used this entity to demonstrate changes in *uṣūl* interpretation during the seventeenth century: While in most pieces notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī (in L) the forty-eight-beat cycle divided into units of eight or sixteen beats, the later interpretations 4+6+6+4+6+6+16 or 4+6+4+6+6+6+16 were not directly applicable (yet) – with the exception of Muzaffer,<sup>425</sup> who is understood as a “younger and more progressive” composer.<sup>426</sup> This is true for f. 357a/278a-2 (L f. 51b), but not so plainly for ff. 18b/1b–19a/2a, ff. 363b/291a–364a/290b-1 (L f. 112a), especially not in the H1, f. 370a/285a and its internal concor-

<sup>425</sup>Four Peşrevler in P can be ascribed to him with the help of C. The only composition directly attributed to him, the *Peşrev Žarb-ı fetḥ der maḳām-ı Uzzāl Muzafferiñ [sic]* on f. 325a/180a is ascribed to Şolaḳ-zāde in L (f. 148b).

<sup>426</sup>Feldman (2013), p. 92.

dance f. 414a/245a (L f. 139b) as well as f. 370b/285b (L ff. 116b–117b in spite of its attribution to Düyek, especially H1 b and M) to a varying degree.<sup>427</sup>

- Semā̄ appears in the theoretical text on ff. 205/51a–205b/51b as well as in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b.<sup>428</sup> An independent demonstration is appended to the text on f. 205b/51b including a stroke pattern for the frame drum following the same principle as described above for Devr-i revān. Its heading “Semaj. Callendere”, reminiscent of the *Kalenderî* wandering dervish order,<sup>429</sup> is difficult to explain.<sup>430</sup> On f. 303b/139b, Semā̄ is described as “düm teke düm tek”, which does not necessarily evoke the same stroke pattern, but possibly the same rhythmic organization. The repertoire shows a six-beat *uşul*.<sup>431</sup>

Basic unit of counting: Mi (6), Sm (18). Among the pieces concordant with L, those based on the Mi are all changed to Sm, Semā̄ being one of the *uşüller* who become “standardized” in L.<sup>432</sup>

Possible *uşul* designations: European 3 (17); none (5); Arabic 3 (1); 3/1 (1). The “Semaj Newa” on f. 413b/235a is a special case in that its designation changes from 3 to i/d, an obviously later addition with unclear consequences. One attribution to *uşul* Semā̄, marked with a p/d sign, is erroneous; the piece seems to be unmetered (f. 312b/168b). The *principio di Semai nigris* (f. 367a/282a-3), as a supplement to another notation without an *uşul* designation of its own is not counted.

<sup>427</sup>For a recent study on the compositorial interpretation of Şaķil and its relation to melodic progression see Feldman (2018).

<sup>428</sup>For a detailed historic description of this important and frequent *uşul* see Feldman (1990), pp. 460ff. For recent research on the historic development of Semā̄ and its various embodiments see Ekinci (2018).

<sup>429</sup>Markoff, Irene (2001). “Aspects of Turkish Folk Music Theory”. In: *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*. Ed. by Danielson, Virginia. Vol. 6. New York: Garland, pp. 77–88, pp. 80f, 85.

<sup>430</sup>What comes to mind is the *Kalenderî*, a later vocal genre based on *divān* poetry. Its characteristic feature is a new melody for each poetic unit, i.e. an additive structure connected by instrumental interludes. Özalp (n.d.), pp. 36f.

<sup>431</sup>Strophic pieces attributable to the ʿĀşık tradition are not counted here.

<sup>432</sup>Ekinci and Haug (2016), p. 98.

It is not entirely clear whether ‘Alī Ufuḳī understands Semā̄ī as a three- or a six-beat structure. The demonstration shows six beats, but the symbols he uses for Semā̄ī seem to indicate that he somehow perceived it as a three-beat entity or at least he found it important to stress that the subdivision of the six beats of Semā̄ī is 3+3 instead of 2+2+2.<sup>433</sup> He also segmented iterations of *uṣūl* Semā̄ī into units of three, as placeholder rests suggest (see below); compare also the use of a triangle in the designation system developed for L.<sup>434</sup> Apart from this question, it is nevertheless clear that for ‘Alī Ufuḳī only one type of Semā̄ī existed, unlike the four varieties described by Cantemir. For the time being, it is open to discussion whether ‘Alī Ufuḳī transmitted only the six-beat variety because he notated “[w]ithout bothering with subtleties of performance [...] in the simplest way possible, that is, in 3k beats.”<sup>435</sup>

- Şöfyāne appears in the list on ff. 303a/149a–303b/139b and in the cryptic “Justo Discorso de li Vssulij” on f. 384a/294a. An independent demonstration in staff notation with mnemonic syllables can be found on f. 249b/95b. Preceded by the p/d sign with a dot as *uṣūl* designation, it shows Şöfyāne as a four-beat structure based on the Sm. An additional note supplies the information that “Ali giuge disse che il Vssul e simile al wezin di polká” (“‘Alī the Dwarf says that the *uṣūl* is similar to the *vezin* [meter, measure] of polka”).  
Basic unit of counting: Sm in all occurrences.  
Possible *uṣūl* designations: p/d with hook; p/d with dot; illegible; none.
- Türkī zarb is not specifically represented in the repertoire. Following the *uṣūl* list on f. 303b/149b, it is demonstrated in a one-line staff notation with added syllables, as a nine-beat structure based on the Mi. Although there are undesignated pieces in the collection which display units of nine beats (e.g. f. 260a/106a, a Türkī, where

<sup>433</sup>This is a notorious problem of Western notation from the beginning of rhythmical definition. The Italian *ars nova* or *Trecento* notation, for example, recognized two different principles for the division of six, *senaria gallica* (3+3) and *senaria ytalica* (2+2+2). Schmid (2012), pp. 115ff.

<sup>434</sup>Albert Bobowski (‘Alī Ufuḳī) (1991a), p. x.

<sup>435</sup>Ekinçi (2018), pp. 43f., 60.

a Murabbaʿ would rather be expected according to the length and complexity of the *uṣūl*), it is difficult to attribute them with any certainty.<sup>436</sup>

- *Žarbeyn* is a collective term for compound *uṣūller* consisting of two rhythmic cycles, the ending “-eyn” being the Arabic dual form. The Peşrev “Ağem darbein Devr hem Perevşān” (f. 371b/286b-2) consists of the *uṣūller* Devr-i kebīr (illegible in the heading but clear from the notation and corroborated by L f. 78a) and Berevşān, i.e. a fourteen- and a sixteen-beat cycle, both based on the Mi.<sup>437</sup> The interesting point is that the sections do not take regular turns and “half *uṣūller*” occur. Unfortunately, the notation is corrupt and difficult to interpret. The case of the Peşrev *Beste-yi ʿAlī Şantūrī [sic] Şehnāzī žarbeyn Şakīl [sic] ü Düyek Şāfī* (f. 234\*b-1) is clearer: The *hāneler* are in forty-eight-beat Şakīl, while the *mülāzime* is in eight-beat Düyek, both based on the Sm. Neither of the compositions features an *uṣūl* designation. A case of *Žarbeyn* without clear assignation can be encountered on f. 156b/25b-2: The second notation of the Türkī *Gel civān böyle şalınma* is accompanied by the note “Devr et Perewşan ma ha vn riposo [line below: pausa] anti penultima ” (“Devir [= Devr-i kebīr] and Berevşān, but it has a rest [a pause] as the antepænultima [the second last note before the final]”). Hence the piece features a *Žarbeyn*-like structure with Sm as basic unit, made up of *uṣūller* Devr-i kebīr and Berevşān. What ʿAlī Ufuķī intends with the remark about the rest before the antepænultima remains unclear as the *uṣūl* tallies as notated, if the Devr-i kebīr sections are repeated and “half *uṣūller*” are accepted. Like with the *maķāmlar*, there are *uṣūller* present in L not mentioned in P although attributable pieces exist. This is the case for the untitled Peşrev in tablature on ff. 27b/9b–28b/10b, whose L version (f.120a) is headed “Se žarb”. This compound *uṣūl* changes per section, i.e. the H1 is in Nīm Şakīl, the M in Düyek and the remaining *hāneler* in Hāvī.

<sup>436</sup> For a comparison with Amīr Hān Gurjī see Wright (2017a), pp. 62f.

<sup>437</sup> My thanks to Salah Eddin Maraqa for pointing out to me that the *uṣūl* statement “Devr” without addition means Devr-i kebīr in the Ottoman context.

- *Žarb-1 feth* exists only in an incomplete demonstration with European note heads and mnemonic syllables following the theoretical text on f. 303b/149b. The repertoire shows an eighty-eight beat *uṣūl* in accordance with Cantemir.<sup>438</sup>

Basic units of counting: Mi (2), Sm (11). In L, all thirteen occurrences are based on the Sm, so a process of unification can be assumed here. Possible *uṣūl* designations: none (12); i/d (1).

The Peşrev on f. 371b/286b, attributable to *Žarb-1 feth* thanks to its L concordance (f. 89), is accompanied by a sadly undecipherable note on *uṣūl*: “[...] vien del vssul et non del mekam et li ussul [...] li grandi vssul” (“[...] comes from [is derived from] the *uṣūl* and not from the *maḳām* and the *uṣūller* [...] the long *uṣūller*”). Peşrevler in *Žarb-1 feth* show a high propensity for ritornello-like closing passages (*teslām*), recurring in all sections. They can be found on ff. 20b/3b–21a/4a (32 beats), 248b/94b–249a/95a (16 beats), 325a/108a (16 beats) or 352b/194b-1 (16 beats).

- “zarbi Safi” is an eight-beat entity. The single occurrence of this *uṣūl* has the p/d sign as designation and it is based on the Sm (f. 369b/284b); its L version is attributed to Düyek (f. 118a). The reading of the title is problematic.
- Zenc̄ir is, as its name –“the chain”– indicates, a compound *uṣūl* assembled from increasingly long entities. According to Cantemir, *uṣūl* Zenc̄ir consists of Düyek, Fāḥte, Çenber, Devr-i keb̄ir and Berevşān,<sup>439</sup> which is exactly the situation in P (ff. 289b/135b–290a/ 136a and L f. 117b). All five *uṣūller* are based on the Mi, and ‘Alī Ufuḳī found the i/d sign sufficient as a designation. The L version is preceded by five interlocking circles containing the respective symbols required according to the system he developed for P. Each cycle is marked off by a boundary line, and a note above the staff explains the first occurrence each.

<sup>438</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 162f. For a comparison with Am̄ir Ḥān Gurjī see Wright (2017a), pp. 65–68.

<sup>439</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 168f.

The analyses make it immediately clear that the *uṣūl* designations supply no reliable basis of data from which to extract a coherent system. In L, however, the picture is different at least concerning the repertoire constituted by Peşrev, instrumental and vocal Semā'ī and Murabba'.

Some annotations concerning *uṣūl* or rhythm in general are difficult to make sense of. For example, on f.175a/299a a short description can be found accompanied by a two-line staff arranged sideways. It contains a Sm with upward stem on the upper line and a Mi with downward stem on the lower line. The text says “*Uṣūl*. Two single beats/strokes but the one rests half a beat”, which could be understood as something like Mi, Sm, Sm rest or Mi, Mi, Sm rest. Notation 1, a Türkī, is unmetred in all likelihood. The subsequent Notation 2, a single untexted phrase, fits neither of the suggested solutions.

Some annotations refer to a change of counting unit. In an only partly legible note on f.153b/ 25bisb ‘Alī Ufuḳī advised himself to write the Türkī “Aḅik oldum bir kaḅları karaie” a second time one note higher and to be careful to remember that the second “ritornello” (the repetition of the end of the section B) is “di meza battuda” (“with the half beat”, i.e. the faster counting unit). However, in the second notation on the same page the entire piece is counted on the Mi instead of the Sm. On ff.256b/102b–257a/103a, the Türkī *Her Sabahıjn dantardani* should be written a second time “with the larger notes in the *tempus imperfectum diminutum*”.<sup>440</sup> Unfortunately this second notation does not exist, for it would have surely yielded insights into ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s employment of mensural time signatures. The Arabic-language vocal piece “A ia Viuni Viuni ala bilah” on f.288b/134b is accompanied by the remark, “Scriue con le note maggiori” (“write with the larger notes”, i.e. based on the Mi instead of the Sm). This announced second version does not exist either. Lastly, the beginning of the untitled and probably fragmentary Peşrev f.234\*a-3 is headed “pigla p[er] doppio grosso”, followed by three Mi (“Take twice as big”). Again, the second notation is not extant.

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<sup>440</sup>See also Behar (2008), p. 125.

### 4.3.4 Further comments on *uṣūl*-related phenomena

Some phenomena of *uṣūl* deserve special attention, namely the segmentation of longer entities into smaller units in practice, and the extension of melodic lines over the boundaries of an *uṣūl* in the vocal repertoire. Lastly the rhythmic organization of the Türkī and Varṣaḡı repertoire (“folk music”) is discussed in connection with the question of how (if at all) unassigned vocal pieces can be attributed.

The method of explaining a longer *uṣūl* by segmenting it into smaller components is in use today, as Karaol and Tunçer’s article on *uṣūl* in ‘Alī Ufuḡī’s notations shows. They describe each entity as a composite of smaller modules, for example Berevṣān as consisting of “two 6 durations (Yürük Se-mai) at the start and five 4 durations (Sofyan) (6+6+4+4+4+4+4=32)”.<sup>441</sup> In addition to *uṣūl* demonstrations in which a longer entity is divided into subgroups,<sup>442</sup> the issue of *uṣūl* segmentation –or perception of *uṣūller* as consisting of an addition of smaller entities– is raised by placeholder rests and numbers. They are employed by ‘Alī Ufuḡī in some Peṣrevler and Semā’iler in order to symbolize the repetition of the *mülāzime* or a recourse to a *teslīm* section. The Būselik Peṣrev in *Żarb-ı fetḥ* (ff. 248b/94–249a/95a-1) features such placeholders for the *mülāzime*. This symbol consists of a capital A (symbolizing the *mülāzime*) placed above a number 24. As the *mülāzime* encompasses one iteration of the eighty-eight-beat *uṣūl*, it becomes clear that ‘Alī Ufuḡī somehow perceived it as consisting of units of four Sm – although the number 24 is erroneous and should read 22. The two dotted Breves between the letter and the number should likewise be replaced with the correct rest value. Consequently, the *siyākat* numeral in the circle of the L system is a 22 for *Żarb-ı fetḥ*. The *Peṣrev-i Cığır delen Hüseynī Żarb-ı fetḥ* (f. 383\*b/229b) features a *teslīm* or recurring closing phrase of fifty-six beats, which is symbolized by the Arabic number 14 standing for fourteen groups of four Sm beats, following the same logic. The Peṣrev fragment f. 377\*a/223a-2, a corrected version for the M of notation 1, a Peṣrev in *uṣūl* *Żarb-ı fetḥ*, is annotated “10 vssul sahih bu” (“10 *uṣūller*,

<sup>441</sup>Karaol and Tunçer (2015), p. 45. For ‘Alī Ufuḡī, however, Berevṣān has sixteen beats as has been shown in the list above. See also the modern notation example with bar lines after every second beat in Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), p. 139.

<sup>442</sup>See above in the section “Analyses” under Berevṣān, Fer‘ and Muḡammes.

this is correct”). Ten stands for the ten groups of four beats contained in the fragment. The matter of Semā‘ī as being understood as consisting of three-beat units has been mentioned above. Placeholders leading to this conclusion can be found on ff. 201b/47b–202a/48a-2 (mark A and 24 for the 24x3 beats of H1 a which is at the same time M a) and f. 242a/88a-2 (mark 6 for 6x3 beats that have passed; 6x6 beats are also possible if the repetitions are counted). F. 345a/187a-2 shows a comparable case for *uṣūl* Devr-i revān. A similar phenomenon of grouping is encountered in connection with *uṣūl* Düyek: The notation of the *Maḳām-ı Hüseyinî peşrev-i Emîr-i [sic] Hacc üṣūlî [sic] Düyek* (f. 357b/278b) was obviously problematic as longer passages were forgotten and added later. One of the places where a supplement must be inserted is annotated “qui manca quella parte segnata con B 32 vḫulij et poi ua a lo mulazime” (“here, the section marked B is missing; 32 *uṣūller*, then proceed to the *mülāzime*”). The section marked correspondingly contains eight *uṣūller* and is repeated, amounting to 8x8x2 = 128 Sm beats which are segmented into thirty-two groups of four. Those groups are described as “*uṣūller*” by ‘Alī Ufuḳī.

Melodic lines spanning the borders of the *uṣūl* can be found especially in the vocal Semā‘īler such as ff. 395b/242b–396a/311b or 407a/308b-2. It is well conceivable that such extensions of the melody were perceived as a special stylistic feature. On the other hand, this feature is not compulsory for a vocal Semā‘ī as for example f. 378\*a/224a-3 shows. F. 395b/242b–396a/311b:<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> *Uṣūl* Semā‘ī as stated by the text; six-beat structure with Sm as basic unit. The text is only partially underlaid; see f. 396a/311b for the complete lyrics (edition: supplied in square brackets). V. 4 “naḫārīn” sic.



396a

Eij 1 gon-dzie - ler ic-re ni-han ei-le - me gel - ber - ki te-rin  
 2 [Ya' - nī seyr ey-le - ye-lim sī-ne - niñ çöz düğ - me - le-rin]  
 4 [Hā - şı - lı ben-de - si - yüz 'ā-rif şā - hib- i na - zārīn]

ien-tir-le-tir ie-le le-le-le-li dost Ei-le-me gel ber-ki te-rin

3 Ei a - ũi - ka kio - hi - li gi - la ia-rin a - ia - ghi to - zi-dur

395b

Jen - tir la tir ie - le le - le le - li Vai ia - rin a - ia -  
 ghin to - zi - dur 4 Hei Ha - si - li etc

Figure 4.3: Semā'ī “Eij gondzieler icre nihan eileme”,  
 ff. 395b/242b–396a/311b

The example from f. 407a/308b-2 shows similar behavior:<sup>444</sup>

<sup>444</sup> *Uşūl* Semā'ī as stated and confirmed by L; six-beat structure with Sm as basic unit. The text is partially underlaid in transliteration; the entire text is given below in Arabic characters (supplied in square brackets).

1 Gel kia - kiu - li - ni ker-da - ni-me sa - ri me-det Vai  
 2 [Öl - düm me - ded ey yār - i ce-fā - kār me-det vāy]  
 4 [Öl - dür - di be - ni ğam-ze - le-rîñ yār me-ded vāy]

sa - ri me-det Vai Ei Vaij 3 Kiar it - di di - li ti - ri ge - fa

pur ga - mi eß - kin pur ga - mi eß - kin

Figure 4.4: Semâ’î “Gel kiakiulini kerdanime sari medet”,  
 f. 407a/308b

Another example in a six-beat context (albeit without designation) can be found on f. 288b/134b-1 (“A ia Viuni Viuni ala bilah”).<sup>445</sup> The phenomenon can also occur in *uşûller Şöfyâne* (f. 250a/96a-1, Murabba‘ RAST PENGIGIA. Vssuġ Zofiane. “Ne denglu naz iderse ol giozu mestane inginmes”) and *Düyek* (e.g. f. 351a/193a, DUWEK Beyātī “Jamandur higri le haġim”), a vocal composition of unidentified genre). The notation shows how ‘Alī Ufuķī used slurs to indicate the melodic connections.

The issue of vocal music without designations is closely related to the question of the relevance of *uşûl* for the repertoire constituted by *Türkī* and *Varşaġı*, the so-called “folkloric repertoire”. Among the *Türkī* and *Varşaġı* notations, contradicting phenomena are encountered: Sometimes a piece without *uşûl* designation clearly displays regular rhythmic units, while others with designation are much more difficult to interpret (and the exact meaning of the *uşûl* designation remains difficult to extract from the repertoire itself as could be seen above). Feldman describes the rhythmic phenomena of this repertoire in the context of basic concepts of *uşûl*: “While most are created within the simple *uşûl* patters of *semâi* in 6/8 or alternations of 7/8 and 14/8, others create a 9/8 pattern by adding 3/8 to the *semâ’î usûl*, yet others are binary”.<sup>446</sup> While the mathematics are correct, the manuscript itself does not make it sufficiently clear whether

<sup>445</sup> See Critical Report.

<sup>446</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 100.

notions of *uṣūl* pertain conceptually: There are six *Türkī* and *Varṣağı* (with or without notation) carrying an *uṣūl* statement in their heading: ff. 218b/64b-1, 254b/100b-1, 263b/109b, 267b/113b, 298b/144b, 345a/187a; eight more have both an *uṣūl* and a *maḳām* statement: ff. 272b/118b, 351a/193a, 361b/293a, 382b/215b-1, 396b/311a-1, 398b/238a-1, 403a/310b and 379\*a/225a. The notated repertoire constituted by the genres *Türkī*, *Varṣağı*, untexted *Türkī* tunes and all pieces reasonably attributable to those genres numbers 179 pieces in total. Eight of them have an *uṣūl* heading (4.5%), 59 have a designation of some kind (33%), leaving 112 pieces without any information (62.5%; the proportion of texts without information is higher). In the London manuscript the proportion of “folk” pieces with designations is even smaller (30.7%). Referring to modern usage and discourse, it seems probable that songs from the ‘*Āṣiḳ*’ sphere, while not exactly partaking of formal *uṣūl* theory, do have a rhythmic organization in the sense of what today is called *kırık hava*.<sup>447</sup> Such a notion might well be intended by ‘*Alī Ufuḳī*’s addition of an *uṣūl* designation to such melodies.

It is important to note that adding an *uṣūl* to a *Türkī* or *Varṣağı* is not ‘*Alī Ufuḳī*’s personal whim: MS K 447, a source that is going to be analyzed in more detail in chapter 6.1, regularly records *Varṣağı* with *uṣūl*. In another mixed MS containing mainly nineteenth-century poetry, there is a poem titled “*Şarkı-yı Murād Ḥān-ı Rābī*’ der *ḥaḳḳ-ı Mūsā Çelebi*”, and further “*Bu Varṣağı Devr-i revān uṣūliyle bestelenmiş imiş*”.<sup>448</sup> In many *Türkī* and *Varṣağı* certain repetitive rhythmic patterns exist, for example the combination Sm-Sm-Mi-Mi followed by a group of three beats, often in the combination Mi-Sb (to name only a few examples: ff. 1b/252b-1, 2a/253a, 3b/254b-2, 46b/250a and, in a highly ornamented manner, ff. 52a/251b–51b/248a). This pattern is very frequent and matches the beginning of the hendecasyllabic meter prevalent among *Türkī* and *Varṣağı*; a seven-beat version can be found on ff. 30a/12a.<sup>449</sup>

<sup>447</sup>Markoff (2001), pp. 79ff.

<sup>448</sup>T.Y. 9612, f.49b. Korkmaz (2015), p. 319.

<sup>449</sup>This line of analysis could of course be pursued in order to obtain detailed statistics. Comparable studies concerning the relationship between syllable length, *caesura* and musical rhythm have been conducted by Uludemir on a large corpus of folksongs from modern notated collections; Uludemir, Muammer (1997). *Türk Halk Musikisinde Söz-Düzüm İlişkisi*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları. The pattern described here does not appear, see the list of the patterns encountered with hendecasyllabic verses pp. 97–102.

In order not to imply a concept whose relevance for the repertoire is not proven, *uṣŭll*er are not attributed and rhythmic divisions suggested by the melody itself are marked off with breath signs in the critical edition. In addition, the possibility that a considerable portion of the undesignated vocal music especially of “folk” origin is unmetered cannot be discarded.<sup>450</sup> This could well be the explanation for the rhythmic behavior of a number of pieces in P, as is stated in the respective Critical Reports (see for example ff. 1a/252a-1, 250a/96a-1 and L f. 83b, or 254a/100a). In this context, the matter of the “extraterritorial” exclamations which can be found in all types of vocal music must be mentioned. As the edition process has brought to light and is stated in the Critical Reports, almost none of those exclamations –*yār*, *dōst*, *hey*, *hu* and others– are meant to be counted in the meter (or *uṣŭl*, depending on the situation). At the beginning or end of a piece, which is the most common place for exclamations to appear, they do not pose a problem for the reconstruction of performance practice. But if they –much less frequently– appear in the middle of a piece as an interjection, it is entirely unclear what is supposed to happen (see ff. 151b/22b-1, 243a/89a-1 or 349a/191a). Was the *uṣŭl* or meter meant to stop there, or were additional cycles or units inserted during which the singer would have time for the exclamation? On ff. 47b/249a-1 or 249b/95b–250a/96a-1, however, the exclamation could be counted if desired. An especially elaborate specimen is encountered on f. 1a/252a-1; the song in question is most probably unmetered.

For Murabba<sup>c</sup> and related vocal genres based on *dīvān* poetry that come with notation –a comparatively small group of items in the manuscript–, an *uṣŭl* can be expected, even if it is not always easy to suggest an interpretation. This has been attempted before as can be seen in the example of L f. 29a being interpreted as *uṣŭl* Frenkçin by Cevher and Wright.<sup>451</sup> The question of relationships between *uṣŭl* and genre will be raised later in connection with the stylistic levels of vocal music, especially concerning the Murabba<sup>c</sup> spectrum.

<sup>450</sup> This view was also expressed by Feza Tansuğ at the 2014 joint meeting of the ICTM study groups “Maqām” and “Music in the Arab World” in Ankara. His paper is not part of the collected volume.

<sup>451</sup> Alī Ufuķī (2003), p. 251, Wright (2011), p. 273. A piece with a comparable rhythmic design is not extant in P.

‘Alī Ufuḳī’s compendium is a personal source, and the information contained in it caters to his own needs. Concerning *uṣūl* slightly less than *maḳām*, this means that he obviously found it unnecessary to record much detail, leaving many pieces without designation and many designations unexplained. In contrast to the sphere of *maḳām*, two excerpts from existing treatises show that, on the one hand, *uṣūl* theory did matter to him, and on the other hand, that he was a practitioner interested in concise information he could relate to in his daily work life. Not all of the theoretical material and the marginalia relevant to *uṣūl* can be directly brought to use for performance: if there is no demonstration including exact durational values, there is no guarantee of a correct interpretation. The cases of Devr-i revān and Evfer have drawn attention to the fact that ‘Alī Ufuḳī witnessed changes in theory and practice which resulted in the coexistence of different interpretations of entities with the same name. This holds true for the realm of *maḳām* as well.

High variance in all regards, incoherence and inconsequence is a problem for modern scholars and performers, but ‘Alī Ufuḳī should not be blamed as he wrote essentially for himself, the manuscript came into being in the course of years if not decades, and substantial loss of material obscures possible intermediate steps without which a reconstruction of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s working process is out of reach. The diversity of signifiers and his obvious long-term engagement with the issue of correct representation of *uṣūl* refutes Popescu-Judetz’ statement that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations were impaired by a “stark binary-ternary dichotomy”.<sup>452</sup>

If P represents the first steps, L in some sense stands for the finished (or a more finished) product. There are major differences in the higher level of coherence and standardization (e.g. basic counting units or the use of designations) and more marked departure from European symbols which are meaningless in the Ottoman context. Concerning *maḳām*, there is a conceptual change regarding the accidental symbols, but the rise in coherence and consistency is much less perceptible.

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<sup>452</sup>Popescu-Judetz (1996), p. 23.

## 4.4 Genre and form

Genre and form are categories which describe music in terms of shared stylistic traits, compositional principles, intended performance context and structural design. In later history, as in Europe, genres and forms came to be defined precisely for all spheres of Ottoman music, but ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s repertoire –again– has to speak for itself. The most persistent claims regarding ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s place in history as the end of a process of decay and simplification, to be followed by the rise of Ottoman music as such, have been made in connection with genre. Following recent research mainly by Walter Feldman and Owen Wright’s *Words Without Songs*, which continues to be the most important study on genre and form in Ottoman vocal music, it is generally acknowledged that the mid-seventeenth century was a period of fundamental change in musical expression at the end of which a more distinctly “Ottoman” style emerged.<sup>453</sup> It is still unclear what triggered those palpable transitions and how they came about. Feldman offers as an explanation the profound changes in seventeenth-century Ottoman society in general, which affected music as the most vulnerable of the arts. He cites damage done as a result of a lack of continuity in society, potentially engendered by unstable rule, religious repression, large-scale warfare or disaster. In the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire experienced many if not all of these harmful influences. Another important factor is the role of urban music-making, especially in connection with the Sufi orders, first and foremost the Mevlevī and the Gülşenī. Those religious groups, which valued “art” music highly and gave it a central role in their devotion in the case of the Mevlevī, would subsequently rise to occupy the roles of foremost composers, performers and patrons of “art” music. However, they had not yet secured their power during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>454</sup> The towering figure of the later seventeenth century, Buḥūrī-zāde Muṣṭafā ‘İṭrī (died 1711),<sup>455</sup> belongs to a generation younger than ‘Alī Ufuḳī. More research has to be done on this promising topic, and the present author hopes that this contribution can uncover new channels of inquiry.

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<sup>453</sup>Feldman (2015), Wright (1992). See also Behar (2012), pp. 147ff.

<sup>454</sup>Feldman (2015), pp. 89f., 94f. Personal communication in March 2016.

<sup>455</sup>Say (1992b), p. 631.

Concepts of genre and form have to be viewed in their historical context, and the usual warning not to superimpose later notions is duly repeated here. Any analysis has to steer clear of value judgements such as notions of superiority of a supposed “high culture” patronized by the educated. Thus the aim of the present chapter is to analyze which genre designations are present in the source and what they signify. Instead of “what is a Murabba‘?”, the question has to be: “what is a Murabba‘ for ‘Alī Ufuḳī?” As has been stated repeatedly before, the spectrum of repertoires covered by P is very wide and pieces of diverse character coexist without further comment. For Demetrius Cantemir, roughly two generations later but generally perceived as being somewhat close to ‘Alī Ufuḳī,<sup>456</sup> it is clear that two distinct worlds of music-making exist. One he considers inside the realm of *mūsīkī* (intellectual music relying on speculative theoretical concepts), the other one definitely outside because it does not adhere to its principles (*kā‘ideler*). As unwilling as Cantemir is to describe those “othered” genres, he seems to have no language suited to the task:

Bunlardan [h<sup>v</sup>ānendelik and sāzendelik] mā‘adā, ḳara düzen ve çögür havaları vardır ki gerçi deyişle ırlayış olurlar. Lākin uşul-i mūsīkīde girmedikleri sebebi ile mūsīkī kākāidesinden hāric olub ta‘rīflerini eylemek bī-hüde zahmetdir.<sup>457</sup> (Besides those [vocal and instrumental “art” music], there are also songs of the *ḳara düzen* [a plucked string instrument]<sup>458</sup> and the *çögür* [an instrument from the lute family obviously played by ‘Alī Ufuḳī; see chapter 5.1], namely *deyiş* and *ırlayış*. However, because they have not entered the realm of [intellectual] music and are exempt from the principles of [intellectual] music, describing them is a wasted effort.)<sup>459</sup>

As genres of vocal music deserving the name, Cantemir counts Taḳsīm, Beste, Naḳş, Kār and Semā‘ī (without describing the Semā‘ī any further); later he adds the Şarḳī. This may indeed signify that the Şarḳī was a relatively recent development, popular, but not yet automatically included in the canon. Instrumental genres are Peşrev –of which various structural

<sup>456</sup> Hüseyin Sadettin Arel described ‘Alī Ufuḳī and Cantemir as being “hemen-hemen çağdaş” (as good as contemporaries) with Cantemir “bize biraz daha yakın” (being a little bit closer to us). Arel (1951), p. 4.

<sup>457</sup> Cantemir (2001a), p. 173.

<sup>458</sup> Aksoy (2003), pp. 44, 119.

<sup>459</sup> See also Behar (2008), pp. 65f. On the term *ırlamak*, likewise employed by Evliyā Çelebi, see Şenel (2015), pp. 198f.

types exist— and Semā‘ī-yi sāzende.<sup>460</sup> In their general outlook on music, the crucial difference between Cantemir and ‘Alī Ufuḳī is that for the latter diverse spheres of music-making were not mutually exclusive, but coexisted in the same time and locale, being performed by the same musicians. This conclusion can be gained from the repertoire in both notation collections, but, in the music section of his *Serai Enderum*, ‘Alī Ufuḳī makes a contrary statement on the topic of genre more in line with Cantemir. This passage deals with the segment of Ottoman music today designated with the term *ince sâz* (“delicate music”), which he calls “musica da camera” in contrast to “musica di campagna” (military music). The valuation of musical styles, put in coarse words by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, is indeed confusing when considered in the context of his notation collections:

Altre poesie semplice Turchesche si chiamano turchi, qua cantano sopra certi thioni inculcati nelle loro orecchie, la piu parte; o trattano delle loro guerre, uittorie, amori, patimenti, o allontananza della loro patria. Li Jdiotti si diletmano di questi, si come gli dotti, e più ciuili stimano le d[et]te murabe, e massime in lingua persiana.<sup>461</sup> (Other simple, Turkish-language poems are called Türkī, which they sing on certain tunes imprinted in their memory for the most part; they either deal with their wars, victories, love stories, sufferings or with homesickness [ğurbet]. Uneducated people find pleasure in these, just like the educated and more civilized people appreciate the aforementioned Murabba‘, which are predominantly in Persian.)

Hence ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s own behavior is diametrically opposed to the picture he paints for the foreign readers of his memoirs. The question remains whether he only collected so many Türkī and Varşağı because he needed command of a wide repertoire in his profession as palace musician or whether he willingly distorted reality with his prospective European readers in mind. The former suggestion seems not very probable, as he used two Türkī in the *Grammatica Turcicolatina*, where nobody forced him to do so,<sup>462</sup> and ascribed other ‘Āşık’s’ creations to himself. When discussing the boundaries between the “courtly” and the “folk” spheres in modern musicology<sup>463</sup>

<sup>460</sup> Cantemir (2001a), pp. 185, 187.

<sup>461</sup> *Harley 3409*, pp. 51f. Fisher and Fisher (1985), pp. 52ff.

<sup>462</sup> *Hyde 43*, ff. 89a, 90b.

<sup>463</sup> As a well-known example, Kurt and Ursula Reinhard divided their *Musik der Türkei* into two volumes, “Folk music” and “Art music”. Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a); Reinhard and Reinhard (1984b).



and performance practice, it has to be kept in mind that in the history of Turkish literature and music the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey brought about fundamental changes in aesthetics and interpretation of past literary and musical production.<sup>464</sup>

If we consider P as a documentation of the music ‘Alī Ufuḳī performed during his service as a palace musician, acquiring its knowledge while living inside the *sarāy*, and take Evliyā Çelebi’s statement into account as well, coexistence of styles becomes a highly plausible scenario. When young Evliyā Çelebi is introduced to Sultan Murād IV for the first time in 1636 –‘Alī Ufuḳī most probably being already in palace service– he is asked to perform and offers the following astonishing range of secular and sacred genres: “türki, şarkı, varşığı, kār, naḳış, şavt, zecel, ‘amel, zıkr, tasnifāt, ḳavl or hazengir”, adding an equally impressive list of verse forms including “ilāhī”. The pride of place granted to the Türkī is especially interesting. In the course of this account characterized by Dankoff as “self-indulgent”, Evliyā Çelebi goes on to perform a sequence starting with a (probably unmetered) recitation in Segāh, a Murabba‘ in Beste-nigār which he reaches modulating via Māye, a Varşığı (whose *maḳām* is not stated but probably is again Segāh), another Murabba‘ in Māye, a Semā‘ī and a closing improvisation “following the regulation set down for vocalists”.<sup>465</sup> Not all the genres named are reflected in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations according to present knowledge, but the overlap is indeed considerable, and there is a group of unassigned pieces which may actually belong to those genres. Again, the importance and rank of the Türkī or Varşığı side by side with Murabba‘ and vocal Semā‘ī should be underlined. Another important point that should be stressed is the existence of a fixed order for vocal

<sup>464</sup> See O’Connell, John Morgan (2005). “In the Time of Alaturka: Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse”. In: *Ethnomusicology* vol. 49, pp. 177–205; Değirmenci, Koray (2006). “On the Pursuit of a Nation: The Construction of Folk and Folk Music in the Founding Decades of the Turkish Republic”. In: *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* vol. 37, pp. 47–65, 55ff. and passim; Poulos, Panagiotis C. (2011). “Rethinking Orality in Turkish Classical Music: A Genealogy of Contemporary *Musical Assemblages*”. In: *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* vol. 4, pp. 164–183, 166ff. and passim.

<sup>465</sup> Dankoff (2004), pp. 33–40; Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 100. From the context it does not immediately become clear whether “Türkī” and “Şarkı” are genres or styles, as he first enumerates languages in which he can perform, thus –probably wittily– transitioning from languages to genres. “ḳazengir” or “ḳaznegir” remains unexplained.

performances including both spheres. This coexistence of stylistic spheres is thus documented for the court of Murād IV; the atmosphere may have changed drastically under Meḥmed IV, who, surrounded by pietist advisers, issued a ban on certain musical instruments and ‘Āşık performance (this also being the starting point for further research).<sup>466</sup>

The question whether a collapse or the “cultural irrelevance”<sup>467</sup> of the existing, i.e. Persianate, courtly repertoire brought about the stylistic change and whether the prevalence of Türkī and Varşāğı during the earlier seventeenth century are a reason or a symptom for that change invites value judgements. Such a narrative rests on the premise that the stylistic spheres of Ottoman music were layered (which is supported by Cantemir and also by ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s statement but not by his repertoire), and constructs a teleological curve of crisis, decay and reinvigoration. According to Feldman, L (and P) on the one hand and Ḥāfız Pōst (and comparable later song-text collections, see below) on the other reflect two distinct stages in this process: while ‘Alī Ufuḳī represents the period in which popular, Turkish-language repertoire came to the fore, Ḥāfız Pōst “documents the beginning of the new ‘courtly’ vocal repertoire”.<sup>468</sup> This view was formulated even more poignantly in Feldman’s recent article: “The vocal repertoire of Ali Ufkî, in the reign of Murad IV (1623–1640), dominated by purely folkloric genres such as *türkü*, *beyati*, *varşāğı* and *rakşiye* and quasi-folkloric items such as *semâi* and *murabba* was no longer acceptable for Hafiz Post in the time of Mehmed IV (1648–1687) and thereafter.”<sup>469</sup> But there is a certain continuity in the parallel transmission of song texts (see chapter 6.1), so we are not dealing with a clean break that severed everything before from everything after. However, the importance and frequency of Türkī and Varşāğı in P and L is unequalled, so that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections may indeed be witnesses of an older practice that would eventually lose influence and popularity. For comparison, the four MSS R 1722–25 “still” contain Murabba‘ without *terennüm* as ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s sources do, but only very few

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<sup>466</sup>Baer (2008), p. 115.

<sup>467</sup>Feldman (2015), p. 94.

<sup>468</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>469</sup>Feldman (2018), p. 74.

or no strophic songs from the Türkî/Varşâğı sphere.<sup>470</sup> Clearly, more research into the vocal repertoires documented in song-text collections is necessary.

This change in the density of transmission of certain genres can only be observed for the vocal repertoire. The instrumental repertoire, represented by Peşrev and Semâ'î, exhibits considerable stability when compared to later sources. The reasons for this striking difference in continuity can be found in the different performance contexts: The Peşrev in particular was used as ceremonial “state” music. Some pieces can be attributed to the *mehter* repertoire on stylistic grounds and according to special headings such as “Ceng-i harbî” (f. 53b) or “Düyek-i harbî” (f. 111a).<sup>471</sup> Ceremonial contexts warrant greater stability over a longer period of time.<sup>472</sup> The vocal repertoire as represented by Murabba'î, Türkî and related forms such as Semâ'î and Varşâğı most probably served entertainment purposes in the informal, less ceremonial *meclis*<sup>473</sup> and were thus more directly subject to changes of fashion and style as well as to the personal tastes and interests of the respective rulers or patrons. The remainder of the instrumental repertoire transmitted by 'Alî Ufuķî, sometimes untitled, sometimes designated as dance tunes, could not be put into any context due to the absence of other notations in this segment.

<sup>470</sup>For example *R 1722*, ff. 113b, 203b, 303b; *R 1723*, ff. 75a, 79b. The four MSS are dated to the seventeenth or eighteenth century in the catalog; Karatay, Fehmi Edhem (1961). *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi. Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu. Din, Tarih, Bilimler No. 1-1985*. Vol. 1. İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, pp. 634ff. For a detailed analysis of the concordances see below, chapter 6.1.

<sup>471</sup>According to Haydar Sanal, a “neşeli askerce ifade” (“a joyous military expression”) characterizes pieces such as the Peşrevler *Şükûfe-zâr* (L f. 27b) and *Tabakat-ı Benefşe-zâr* (f. 372b/287b). Further he names repetitive motifs, sequences and strict adherence to the respective *usûl* as typical stylistic traits. Sanal (1964), pp. 92–116. See also Jäger (1998a), pp. 41–46; on the stylistic implications of the term *harbî* see Sanlıkol (2011), pp. 43, 49ff.

<sup>472</sup>Feldman voices a similar opinion. The contrast between Peşrevler with known composers and generally anonymous Murabba'îlar points in the same direction. Feldman (2015), pp. 100f.

<sup>473</sup>On the *meclis* see Andrews, Walter G. and Kalpaklı, Mehmet (2005). *The Age of Beloveds. Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 76f. Tarım Ertuğ, Zeynep (2014). “Entertaining the Sultan. *Meclis*: Festive Gatherings in the Ottoman Palace”. In: *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World*. Ed. by Faroqi, Suraiya and Öztürkmen, Arzu. London: Seagull, pp. 124–144.

If the historical narrative as described by Feldman is accepted,<sup>474</sup> the inventory of genres and forms encountered in P can be interpreted as a documentation of the process of change described above. The existence or nonexistence of notation for a certain piece adds weight: For example, the only Kār transmitted by ‘Alī Ufuḳī<sup>475</sup> –at least in the material that has come down to the present day and has been discovered as of yet– was written by a different hand, comes without notation and is incomplete, broken off in the middle of a *terennüm*, leaving almost half of the page blank (f. 405a/305b). Its untitled concordance in L, f. 106b, seems to be a different version. This becomes clear from the deviant text and *terennüm* syllables. The melody consists of three sections –*terennüm*, two vv. of text, *terennüm*, all repeated– and is almost entirely syllabic, again raising the question of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s comparatively basic vocal melodies.<sup>476</sup> Another detail worth mentioning is the wording that differs from other versions in use up to the present: While P has “Ey Şehinşāh-ı Horāsān yā imāmı Mūsa Rızā”, the more widespread version ends “yā imām ibnū’l-Hūmām”.<sup>477</sup> The name of the prominent composer, ‘Abdü’l-Ḳādir Merāḡī, is not mentioned.<sup>478</sup> The case of Merāḡī is so interesting because his tradition and popularity seemingly breaks off (as visible in P) and then reappears later, both in Iranian and in Ottoman sources.<sup>479</sup> Normal circumstances in cultures of oral transmission is that the repertoire of an important authority was preserved

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<sup>474</sup>Feldman (2013), p. 90.

<sup>475</sup>The scarcity or absence of the Kār in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations has been deplored: “It is a matter of considerable regret that Ali Ufki failed to include among his notations any examples of the most complex form, the *kâr* [...] But he does provide several examples, current in the first half of the 17th century, of the *şarkı*, the predominant Ottoman song form, with an Ottoman Turkish text”. Wright (1996), p. 467. Wright most probably means the *Murabba‘* as the *Şarkı* with refrain is not present in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections.

<sup>476</sup>My thanks to Harun Korkmaz for making me aware of this very different parallel version.

<sup>477</sup>For a later but possibly valid definition of the Kār see Cantemir (2001a), p. 181. The complete text is given in *R 1722*, f. 321b and *R 1723*, f. 75b. When comparing to the examples given by Cantemir, it becomes clear that the text on f. 405a/305b represents only the beginning of the *Hāne-yi evvel*.

<sup>478</sup>On the *Segāh Kār Hāfif* see Behar (2008), p. 68 and Feldman (2015), p. 131.

<sup>479</sup>Neubauer (1997), pp. 340f.

for one or two –in exceptional cases more– generations, with the repertoire being gradually adapted to the changes in style and performance practice.<sup>480</sup>

Independent of this discussion and equally independent of valuations and the establishment of teleologic successions, it is obvious that formal and stylistic differences exist within P and L. The following analysis will attempt to explain these differences, with the customary caution (supported by statistics) when attributing unassigned pieces. Decisive factors for the determination of a certain genre are for example the amount and succession of distinct sections in a piece, aided by notational features such as repeats and *segni*. Hence, an untexted, multipart composition with *segni* that instruct the performer to refer to an earlier section after each new section can be recognized as a Peşrev. If such a composition displays regular units of six beats, it is with high probability an instrumental Semā'ī. Concerning vocal music, differences between the Murabba', Semā'ī and Türkī/Varşığı can be deduced from features such as “overall scope, extension of the melodic line beyond basic *usûl* boundaries, and [...] *seyir*-consciousness, i.e. demonstrating an awareness of modal-melodic progression”.<sup>481</sup> Apart from that (and much more accessible to analysis as “*seyir*-consciousness” is almost impossible to diagnose in many of the short pieces), textual content, language, style and manner of expression differ. Textual structure is another important criterion, for example stanzas versus distichs, the presence of a *mahlâş* (pen name) or a *terennüm* section. The employment of *makâm* and *uşûl* is a further indicator, as Murabba' and vocal Semā'ī indicate the presence of those concepts first and foremost connected to the so-called “art” music sphere.<sup>482</sup> This is emphasized by the headings given to texts without notation (see chapters 4.2.5 and 4.3.4 for discussions of the applicability of *makâm* and *uşûl* to Türkī and Varşığı). In spite

<sup>480</sup>Neubauer cites the case of Şafiyü'd-dîn Urmevî as a personality whose compositions were transmitted in a reverent manner over a period of time longer than one or two generations. Neubauer (1997), p. 324.

<sup>481</sup>Feldman (2015), p. 101.

<sup>482</sup>“Among the features of artistic music found in the *murabba'* repertoire is the use of a fairly wide number of *makams*, the occasional use of longer *usûls* –such as *sakil* and *çenber*– and the presence of a *miyan* (‘middle’) section in both *murabba'* and *semâ'î*, which are often lacking in the folkloric *türkü* (although sometimes present in the *varsığı*)”. Ibid., p. 100. Yet the issue is not that clear-cut: Türkī and Varşığı seem to be more or less interchangeable categories, and temporary changes of range or final can appear in all sections of such songs (see below).

of all those considerations, a substantial group of unassigned pieces, both instrumental and vocal, remain without attribution.

Analyses below deal with the genres actually present and notated in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s compendium. As before in connection with *maḳām* and *uṣūl*, the contents of P are the focus of attention, information from L is added in cases of doubt and for general comparison.

## 4.5 Murabba<sup>ç</sup> and vocal Semā<sup>ī</sup>

The present section is dedicated to those musical forms which are based on a quatrain taken from a Ğazel of the *dīvān* tradition. Those forms are often titled as Murabba<sup>ç</sup> (“unit of four”, “quatrain”); later, their name will be Beste. Hāfīz Pōst, roughly one generation after ʿAlī Ufuḳī, transmits scores of such settings without assignation to a formal category.<sup>483</sup> The vocal Semā<sup>ī</sup> is included here because, as will become obvious from the following analyses, the two genres are much more closely related in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s repertoire than in earlier and later periods of Ottoman music history. First and foremost the occurrence of *terennüm* in both Semā<sup>ī</sup> and Murabba<sup>ç</sup> shows this relative proximity, so that the distinguishing element between them is the *uṣūl*,<sup>484</sup> comparable to the distinction between Peşrev and instrumental Semā<sup>ī</sup>. For instance, the notation of “bughiun ḅademj ki iar aḡlar benim jciun” on f. 242a/88a is titled “SEMĀI” and the separately supplied text “Murabba<sup>ç</sup>”. Among the 93 pieces in P attributable to this sphere, 34 are notated with a melody (one text appearing in one version with notation and one without). The majority are untitled; among the notated compositions, two Semā<sup>ī</sup>ler and one assumed Semā<sup>ī</sup> have a *terennüm*. “Sunbul zedeler ki rehrewi” on f. 346a/188a is counted as Semā<sup>ī</sup>, although half *uṣūller* occur (text repetitions, often concerning the last two or three words of the verse, and interjections are not counted). F. 348a/190a presents the exceptional case of an Arabic-language piece in an eight-beat *uṣūl* with extended *terennüm*, its textual form is ATB TT TB. The two versions of the Murabba<sup>ç</sup> *Derdle yara olmuşım ben nice dil verdim saña* on f. 152a/23a as well as the supposed Semā<sup>ī</sup> *Ey şeh-i melek cefā u cevriile inleyme beni* on f. 197\*a constitute an exception in that they have a meaningful refrain after each

<sup>483</sup> *R 1724*. Wright (1992), pp. 157f. see also pp. 163ff.

<sup>484</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

verse in contrast to the predominantly contentless syllables of *terennüm*; the notation on f. 234b/80b is incomplete, allowing no conclusions. A piece of unclear generic attribution titled “Semā‘ī” on f. 312a/168b is likewise not counted. Among the texts transmitted without notation, five Semā‘īler, one Murabba‘ and three untitled pieces have *terennüm*, hence the existence of a *terennüm* is possible in both subgenres (which Murabba‘ and Semā‘ī seem to be for ‘Alī Ufuḳī instead of clearly distinct, separate genres). The possibility that a *terennüm* could be added or was not notated is rather small, as the recording of the *terennüm* is an integral part of *mecmū‘a*-style repertoire transmission. As so-called “courtly” or “artistic” forms, Murabba‘, vocal Semā‘ī and their various derivatives can be separated from the Türkī, Varṣaḡı and İlähī repertoires on the grounds of their stylistic and content differences, as well as their formal structure.<sup>485</sup> A different performance context, though, should not automatically be presumed. In his influential study on Ottoman lyric poetry, Walter G. Andrews made the following short statement on music: “Finally, it is worth mentioning, without elaboration, the relationship between the *gazel* and Ottoman music. A significant portion of the musical repertoire consists of *gazels* set to music. If we conclude that such music had a rather extensive audience, then we must admit to another point of contact between the *gazel* and persons outside the group of intellectual elites”.<sup>486</sup> Although we do not know who actually listened to music based on *dīvān* texts, the mixed contents of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations lead to the assumption that the audience was equally mixed.

While ‘Alī Ufuḳī generally states composer names much less frequently than Cantemir, for example, the vocal repertoire is completely free of attributions except for the vocal Semā‘ī of his own composition (L f. 121a, P f. 279b/143b).<sup>487</sup> This is highly speculative, but it could be suggested that in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s generation and the generations he records, in vocal performance of *dīvān* poetry the music was secondary to the text. Maybe for this genre of vocal music the complexity and elaboration of the melody was not so much perceived as the creative effort of a single, identifiable

<sup>485</sup> Roughly speaking, the frequency of Persian as opposed to Turkish words is an indicator. For an overview of the typical language and vocabulary of *dīvān* poetry see Andrews (1985), pp. 43–49.

<sup>486</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>487</sup> Again in L, the Murabba‘ on f. 55b is attributed to Nevā‘ī.

person and as hence not as important as it was in the contemporaneous Peşrev, and would later become in the artistic genres of Şarkı and Beste and most probably had earlier been in the Kār, <sup>ç</sup>Amel and Nağş of the Persianate tradition. According to Wright, the “physiognomy of many of the vocal pieces recorded by <sup>ç</sup>Alī Ufūķī – together with their frequent anonymity – suggests the extensive application of basic formulas and hence the likelihood both that the art of composition, rather than being restricted to particularly gifted specialists producing complex works of recognized merit, resided in the satisfactory utilization of basic techniques access to which was relatively open, and that the resulting songs were likely to be ephemeral and easily replaced”.<sup>488</sup> While this can explain the style of many vocal pieces transmitted by <sup>ç</sup>Alī Ufūķī, it is resisted by the fact that some of the song texts set in the manner described by Wright survive in later *güfte mecmū<sup>·</sup>aları*, probably with the same or a closely resemblant melody (see below chapter 6.1). Walter Feldman recently suggested that the Murabba<sup>ç</sup> had not always been an object of “high culture”, but rather evolved during the course of the seventeenth century from a popular to a more artistic genre.<sup>489</sup> To pursue this line of thought, this movement from the popular toward the artistic could be traced by investigating the poets whose texts (usually Ğazel) have been set as Murabba<sup>ç</sup> in P, as far as they could be identified, most pieces being without author designation and the last distich stating the name usually not present in a Murabba<sup>ç</sup>. Among the identifiable texts there is a substantial group of Murabba<sup>ç</sup> texts by the prominent authors of the sixteenth and even fifteenth centuries (see chapter 4.1 and table 8.3): Bākī, Fużūlī, Ğayālī or <sup>ç</sup>Alī Şīr Nevā<sup>ī</sup>. Hence it is difficult to imagine that classic texts should be paired with “popular” music. The signs point to intersection and permeability instead of exclusion and delimitation. Owen Wright is thus almost certainly correct in his assessment that the distinctions that narrowed down Demetrius Cantemir’s repertoire choices to Peşrev and Semā<sup>ī</sup> exclusively “may well have been unknown” to <sup>ç</sup>Alī Ufūķī.<sup>490</sup> Cemal Kafadar has expressed this in more pointed words: “Üst-kültür alt-kültür derdinden ârî bir şekilde şehri saran

<sup>488</sup> Wright (1992), p. 203.

<sup>489</sup> Feldman (2015), pp. 106ff. Even more recently he described <sup>ç</sup>Alī Ufūķī’s Murabba<sup>ç</sup> and Semā<sup>ī</sup> as “quasi-folkloric items”. Feldman (2018), p. 74.

<sup>490</sup> Cantemir (2000), p. 6.



müzik kültürüne mecmûacı bir şekilde yaklaşır”.<sup>491</sup> Those assessments have clearly been corroborated by the insights gained from P.

An analysis of stylistic and formal definitions of the later Murabba<sup>c</sup> or Beste is useful.<sup>492</sup> In 1935, Rıza Nur described the Beste as a “forgotten genre that has not yet been studied or defined”.<sup>493</sup> His own definition rests on the repertoire represented by three song-text collections from the British Library, Or 3221, Add MS 7939<sup>494</sup> and Add MS 7937. In Or 3221 he found 140 Besteler attributed to twelve *maḳām*lar “in the old Turkish method of musical notation”, referring to the transmission method of the *güfte mecmû-aları* which relies on stating the *maḳām* (usually by ordering in sections), genre and *uṣûl*. He goes on to describe the formal criteria as follows: The Beste is an isolated quatrain with the rhyme structure AABA (“forme de touïouk ou de roubâi”) and lyrical contents in “classical” language.<sup>495</sup> Modern Turkish theory expects the Beste to be the setting of a quatrain chosen from a Ğazel of the *dīvān* tradition, composed in a “long *uṣûl*” and usually containing a *terennüm* section.<sup>496</sup> Yavaşca further differentiates between the “Murabba”, consisting of four *hāneler* in the formal sequence AABA with a *terennüm* section after each one of them and a contrasting *miyān*, and the “Nakş”, which exists in a two-, a four- and a six-verse variety that subdivides into two or three *hāneler* in which the second half of the verse is usually repeated, the *terennüm* sections being comparatively long.<sup>497</sup> Cantemir defines the Beste differently, including a variant without *terennüm*: “[...] oldur ki, iki beyt dört mısrâ-ıñ üzerinde taṣnîf olmuştur. Bestelerin kimi terennümât ile, kimi terennümâtsiz olur.

<sup>491</sup> “Free from any qualms about high culture and low culture, [‘Alî Ufukî] approaches the music culture spreading across the city in the manner of a *mecmû-a* compiler.” Kafadar, Cemal (2012). “Sohbete Çelebi, Çelebiye mecmûa...” In: *Mecmûa: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*. Ed. by Aynur, Hatice, Çakır, Müjgan, and Koncu, Hanife. İstanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, pp. 43–52, p. 47.

<sup>492</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 105.

<sup>493</sup> “Ce genre oublié n’a pas encore été étudié et défini.” Nur, Rıza (1935–1936). “Besté”. In: *Revue de Turcologie / Türk Bilik Revüsü* 5/6, pp. 3–4, p. 3.

<sup>494</sup> London: British Library, *Addition to the Manuscripts 7939* [Add MS 7939].

<sup>495</sup> Nur (1935), pp. 3–4.

<sup>496</sup> Yavaşca, Alâeddin (2002). *Türk Müsîkisinde Kompozisyon ve Beste Biçimleri*. İstanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı, p. 474; Akdoğu, Onur (2003). *Türk Müziği’nde Türler ve Biçimler*. İzmir: Onur Akdoğu, pp. 309f.

<sup>497</sup> See Yavaşca (2002), pp. 474ff., 489ff. for detailed information on all subtypes and varieties.

[...] Besteniñ mışra<sup>ç</sup>-ı evvelisi zemīn dēnilür. Mışra<sup>ç</sup>-ı şānī ile ser-ḥāne yāḥūd ḥāne-yi evvel olur. Üçüncü mışra<sup>ç</sup> miyān-ḥāne olur. Terkibi daḥī muğayyerdır. Dördüncü mışra<sup>ç</sup> ḥāne-yi āḥir, ve zemīn ile bir terkibde olur”.<sup>498</sup> He then goes on to define the sections of the Beste as *zemīn* (v.1, melodic section A), *serḥāne* (v.2, melodic section A), *miyān* (v.3, melodic section B) and *ḥāne-yi āḥir*, which is the same as the *zemīn* (v.4, melodic section A). The Murabba<sup>ç</sup> settings in *uṣūl* Semā<sup>ç</sup>Ī formally resemble the modern Yürük Semā<sup>ç</sup>Ī which is described as based on a quatrain from *dīvān* poetry set according to the “Murabba” and “Nakış” styles, the first being ATATBT(\*)AT and the latter analogous to the form described above.<sup>499</sup> The Murabba<sup>ç</sup>, easily recognized by its textual form, a quatrain of *dīvān* poetry, will continue to feature in song-text collections. In sources such as the group of four MSS from the Topkapı Sarayı library<sup>500</sup> it has a considerable presence.

Is it true that ‘Alī Ufuḫī mainly notated the “semi-folkloric/ *aşık murabba*” –the setting of a quatrain in more popular, more “Turkish” language– as Feldman states?<sup>501</sup> If we look at the notated melodies, yes to an extent; this stylistic segment certainly exists. If we look at the Murabba<sup>ç</sup> texts regardless of their presentation form with or without notation, no. This difference in itself gives rise to new speculations. Did ‘Alī Ufuḫī feel a difference between two distinct stylistic levels of Murabba<sup>ç</sup>, one of which he found less interesting to record in notation? Or is this coexistence of styles and artistic levels a symptom of a period of change, a time in which various possibilities were at hand but the trajectory of future development was not yet perceptible? Are we witnessing the emergence of a new albeit short-lived vocal style? This would supply an alternative explanation for

<sup>498</sup> “[The Beste] is that which is composed on two distichs, [i.e.] four verses. Some Besteler are with *terennümāt*, some are without *terennümāt*. [...] The first verse of the Beste is called *zemīn* [basis], together with the second verse it forms the *ser-ḥāne* or *ḥāne-yi evvel* [first section]. The third verse is the *miyān-ḥāne* [middle section]. Its melody is different. The fourth verse is the *ḥāne-yi āḥir* [last section], being the same as the *zemīn*.” Cantemir (2001a), pp. 172f. This terminology has been adopted in the present study.

<sup>499</sup> Aḫşak Semā<sup>ç</sup>Ī will appear toward the end of the seventeenth century and become standard by the end of the eighteenth century; Feldman (1996a), p. 466. For the modern forms see Yavaşca (2002), pp. 544ff., 565ff. and Akdoğru (2003), pp. 289ff.

<sup>500</sup> *R 1722, R 1723, R 1724, R 1725*.

<sup>501</sup> Feldman (2015), pp. 106, 137.

the stylistic features encountered, in the sense of experimenting with a new, “local” way of performing artistic poetry (and less artistic poetry, too). In support of this thesis, Owen Wright’s statement that for ‘Alī Ufuḫī formal differences between Semāī and Murabba‘ on the one hand and Türkī (add Varṣaḡı) on the other “lie less in features of musical form or melodic style than in textual conventions” can be adduced.<sup>502</sup>

A fundamental issue posed by the repertoire –if an evaluation of style was to be attempted at all– is where to draw the line between the “folkloric” and the “courtly” when melodies are so short. Melodies generally match the length of the poetical units, sometimes adding repetitions and/or *terennüm*. They may even be so short as to be unable to display a *maḡām* in its fullness. On the basis of the described cases, it seems as though the stylistic levels of text and music were quite independent of each other. If we add L to the picture, 17 Murabba‘ texts not notated in P appear with notation in L, among them one identifiable on textual grounds as more “popular” and 16 more “sophisticated” (criteria being the prevalence of Persian over Turkish words). This is noteworthy: L has more notation for artistic texts notation-less in P; that means, ‘Alī Ufuḫī found the music worthwhile preserving, not only the texts he had heard from other people (which accounts for the many different hands writing these types of entries). Further complication is caused by the heading of a Murabba‘ text attributable to Bāḡī, *Reftāre gelüb nāz ile mestāne şalındı* as “Murabba‘ rakṣ” (“dance Murabba‘”) in L (P f. 392b/302a, L f. 93a). The melody is short with undemanding melismas, the *uṣūl* most probably Şöfyāne (*tempus imperfectum diminutum* sign), there are neither *terennüm* nor textual repetitions. Comparing this with other Bāḡī “settings” in both L and P, a similar style can be observed on f. 243a/89a (*Başlar kesilür zülf-i perişānıñ ucundan*). The heading is “SEMAI”, the *maḡām* unidentified, the melody almost entirely syllabic and the most “simple” among the Bāḡī pieces. L f. 38b (text P f. 397b/244a, *Olmasaydım ‘āleme ‘aşkıñla rüsvāy kâşki*) in *uṣūl* Düyek is headed “der maḡām-ı mezbür [Hüseyni]”, but displays typical characteristics of Muḡayyer, exhibiting a long descending line. On the other hand, *Ġonçalar içre nihān eyleme gül-berk-i teriñ* on ff. 395b/242b–396a/311b features an extended *terennüm* section and displays “*seyir* consciousness” in *maḡām* Muḡayyer. Its middle section

<sup>502</sup>Wright (1992), p. 160.

may be modulating. Yet its melody is almost entirely syllabic and not very intricate.<sup>503</sup> It seems as though Murabba<sup>c</sup> melodies, while being very short, were more autonomously musical, based on and even generated by the *uṣūl*, whereas Türkī melodies were language-generated and supportive of the syllable-counting meter.

In general a rough division between entirely or almost entirely syllabic settings and more melismatic designs can be made. This division proves to be independent of the style of the poem. Two examples demonstrate the extremes of the spectrum, between which every nuance of syllable-tone-relation is possible. An almost exclusively syllabic treatment of the (unattributed) text can be found on f. 400a/240a:<sup>504</sup>

1 [Fe-lek 'ak - si - ne dön-dür - di meh- i ğar-rā-dan ay - rıl - dım  
2 [Güneş tal - 'at pe - rī sū - rat kadd u bā - lā-dan ay - rıl - dım  
4 [Bulun - maz miş - li şim - di bir dürr- i yek-tā-dan ay - rıl - dım  
meh- i ğar - rā - dan ay - rıl - dım]  
kadd u bā - lā - dan ay - rıl - dım]  
3 Dalub der-yā- ı 'aş - kı - nā  
dürr- i yek - tā - dan ay - rıl - dım]  
gev-her mağ-sū - da è - riş - dim [gev-her mağ-sū - da è - riş - dim]

Figure 4.5: Murabba<sup>c</sup> *Felek 'aksine döndürdü*, f. 400a/240a

<sup>503</sup> Attributions to Bākī rest on the *dīvān* İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, *Emanet Hazinesi 1625*, ff. 124a, 98a–98b, 127a–127b, 81b–82a in the order of appearance in the text.

<sup>504</sup> The melody displays regular units of six Mi (in the critical edition: breath marks). The required emendations are marked with asterisks: B 2: 4–6 Sb b' read dotted Sb b'. – B 4: 4–6 Sb g' read dotted Sb g'. – B 5: 4–6 Sb f' read dotted Sb f'. – B 6: 4–6 Sb d' read dotted Sb d'. Text in Arabic script is underlaid to section B (verse 3 without the necessary textual repetition), the full Murabba<sup>c</sup> is given as the last of four Arabic-script texts inside the frame (edition: full text in brackets).

A comparable example without textual repetitions occurs on f.243a/89a-1. This example is among the more animated, more flowing melodies, f. 402b/241a (for similar settings see also ff.61b/271a-1, 343a/185a-1, 395a/242a, or 411a/243b).<sup>505</sup>

A

1 gon - dzie - ie ol ne - ße kim cza - -  
 2 [Bül bül- i şü - - rī - de - ye fer - -  
 4 [Bu ha - vā - lar ā - da - ma 'az - -

B

ki gi - re - ba it tu - rur 3 dil he - wa - i  
 yād- ı mes - tān èt - dü - rür]  
 mü gü - li - stān èt - dü - rür]

ol - ma - da [is - te - dik - çe bād- ı nev- ba - hār]

Figure 4.6: Murabba‘ “gondzieie ol neße”, f. 402b/241a

More demanding vocal styles do exist in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s repertoire, for example the Arabic-language piece with *terennüm*, *Entefil husni feridun* on f. 348a/190a, or a decidedly more virtuosic piece not extant in P, L f. 175b.<sup>506</sup>

A question worth mentioning but beyond the scope of the present study is the comparison with Central Asian traditions. Although the structural context is different, the short melodies closely fitting artistic poetry bear a certain resemblance with the Tarona of the Bukharan Shashmaqam. As an example, compare the Murabba‘ *Seniñle fahr éderim senden özge yārim*

<sup>505</sup>The melody can be divided into regular units of eight Mi, pointing in the direction of Düyek (edition: breathing marks). The two sections are underlaid with verses 1 and 3 of the transliterated text respectively, the entire Murabba‘ is presented as the second of the five Arabic-script texts on the page (see below). The page is torn or cracked on the edges so that the second half of the underlaid verse 3 is missing (edition: entire text in brackets). [3]: “gireba” read “gireban”.

<sup>506</sup>For a discussion of this piece see Wright (1992), pp. 162ff.

*yok* (f. 407a/308b)<sup>507</sup> with the first Tarona of the Saraxbor-i Rost-Panjgoh in the version of Ari Babakhanov:<sup>508</sup>

A 1

1 Se - nin - le fahr i - de - rem sen - den Vz - ghe ia - rim  
 2 [Ġa-miñ - la eġ - le - ni - rim ġay - ri - ler - le kā - rim  
 4 [Be-nim gü - zel - le - ri sev - mek de iğ - ti - yā - rim

1. 2. B 2

iok  
 yok]  
 yok]

Gianijm 3 Ze - ma - ne ßei - hi ko - sun te - a - ni

kim ne - der sen di - - sun

Figure 4.7: Murabba<sup>c</sup> “Seninle fahr iderem”, f. 407a/308b

Concerning melodic movement, Murabba<sup>c</sup> settings such as ff. 6a/257a-2, 62a/270b-2, 122b/262b or 378\*a/224a-3 would have been equally apt for comparison.

4/6

Say - ri gu - lu gulshan yo - ra be - tu be - tu ha - rom ast  
 Be la - bi la' - lat yo - ra xun di - lu xun di - lu jom ast

Zon ki ru - xi tust voy yo - ra mo - hi mo - hi ja - hon - tob

<sup>507</sup> *Uşul* Düyek as stated in L1; eight-beat structure with Mi as basic unit. The *uşul* staff is omitted for the sake of clarity. The text is partially underlaid in transliteration, v1 to the section A, v3 to the section B according to the Murabba<sup>c</sup> form; in the edition, vv 2 and 4 are supplied from the text recorded in Arabic characters below the notation.

<sup>508</sup> The *uşul* is Muxammas, the poem is traditional (“Xalqī”). Jung, Angelika, ed. (2010). *Der Shashmaqam aus Buchara überliefert von den alten Meistern, notiert von Ari Babakhanov*. Berlin: Hans Schiler, pp. 92f.

Rav - shani dil voy yo - ra az tu az tu mudom ast

Guf - ta-i meh-mon yo - ra me - sha-vam im - roz o

Jon ba fi-do - yat voy yo - ra in chi in chi ka-lom ast

Jon ba fi-do - yat voy yo - ra in chi in chi ka-lom ast

Figure 4.8: First Tarona of the Saraxbor-i Rost-Panjgoh

Features perceived as common are melodic design along the text, small melismas and embellishments as well as repetitions of phrases or single words (those repetitions are not present in the example above, but can be found in many other specimens). The melody itself moves stepwise only to break off and start anew from a more distant pitch. Performance practice of those short, undemanding pieces is problematic: they start and close in an abrupt way. Yet the position of the Tarona inside the Shashmaqam performance sequence may open new viewpoints: a single Tarona or a group of up to five such vocal pieces connects the major sections of the Shashmaqam, for example the Saraxbor and the Talqin. Did the Murabbaʿ in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s time play a comparable role?

In his description of the *faṣl* on f. 243b/89b, ʿAlī Ufuḳī provides a place neither for the Murabbaʿ nor for the vocal Semāʿī. However, it is unclear whether he refers to a special performance order devised around the Peşrev-i külliyāt or whether this order was generally valid (see chapter 4.13).<sup>509</sup> On f. 244a/90a, Text 1 (*Bu dil-i mecrūhume zaḥm urduñ ey ebrū-kemān*) is accompanied by a note that may be understood to imply that this piece, whose notation can be found on f. 241b/87b, should be followed by the

<sup>509</sup> On the genre of *külliyāt* as “representing the summit of technical skill” see Wright (1992), pp. 138ff. Feldman (1996a), pp. 294–297.

Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī *Lezzetmi kodi tatlı diliñ sükkere cānā* (f. 242a/88a). But <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī disagrees: “Credo che non consoni bene” (“I don’t believe it would fit well”).

The issue of dance has been shortly touched upon when discussing the Bākī settings in L. On f. 243a/89a, below the notation of the Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī *Aklıjım perıřan*, we encounter the following comment:

quanto cantarai li Semai fa che lo giuge si leua subito et batendo le mani che balli<sup>510</sup>

The general wording gives the impression that dancing to a vocal Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī was a rather common thing to do. The “Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī rakş” in L has been mentioned above, which leads to the question of what kind of atmosphere those compositions were performed in. Certainly, the *meclis* or *iřret* meetings, which were often held without the presence of the Sultan, were more informal and allowed for more exuberant styles of performance. <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī may well have attended such meetings as pages of the *enderūn* were allowed to take part in the *meclis* in their capacity as musicians or serving staff.<sup>511</sup>

The fact that the matter of *uřul* is often open to discussion and information about *maķām* is irretrievable in most cases, makes analysis difficult. Feldman uses the choice of *uřul* and the employment of *seyir* as markers for defining the stylistic level of a certain composition.<sup>512</sup> As a rule of

<sup>510</sup> “When singing Semai [plural], make the dwarf stand up immediately and dance, clapping his hands.” <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī uses the Ottoman word, “cüce”, instead of the Italian “nano”. On the subject of dwarfs as entertainers at the Ottoman court see Dikici, Ayře Ezgi (2016). “Imperfect Bodies, Perfect Companions? Dwarfs and Mutes at the Ottoman Court in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”. M.A. thesis. Sabancı Üniversitesi. URL: [http://www.academia.edu/3540946/\\_Imperfect\\_Bodies\\_Perfect\\_Companions\\_Dwarfs\\_and\\_Mutes\\_at\\_the\\_Ottoman\\_Court\\_in\\_the\\_Sixteenth\\_and\\_Seventeenth\\_Centuries\\_Sabancı\\_Üniversitesi](http://www.academia.edu/3540946/_Imperfect_Bodies_Perfect_Companions_Dwarfs_and_Mutes_at_the_Ottoman_Court_in_the_Sixteenth_and_Seventeenth_Centuries_Sabancı_Üniversitesi) MA\_thesis\_2006\_ (visited on 10/22/2016), pp. 24–66; Dikici also relies on <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī’s *Serai Enderum*. Miles, M. (2000). “Signing in the Seraglio: Mutes, Dwarfs and Gestures at the Ottoman Court, 1500–1700”. In: *Disability & Society* vol. 15, pp. 115–134, pp. 115f.

<sup>511</sup> Tarım Ertuğ (2014), pp. 124, 133.

<sup>512</sup> “Quite common in the *murabba*’s are the popular *usūls düyek* and *sofyan*, while most in the *Mecmū’a-i Saz ü Söz* or the Paris MS are notated without specific mention of their *usūls*. A count of the length of the *murabba*’ melodies often suggests the *usūl hafif* (16/4), but often the phrasing could just have well been considered *düyek* (8/4). The absence of a named *usūl* suggests that in this repertoire the difference between the ‘popular’ *düyek* and the ‘courtly’ *hafif* was minimal in practice”. Feldman (2015), p. 100.



thumb, the earlier stylistic level is understood as being characterized by the prevalence of Murabba<sup>ç</sup> settings with short *uṣûller*, in which one verse of poetry stretches over more than one iteration of the cycle. Analysis below will show that there are few pieces in longer *uṣûller* and that the number of cases in which an eight- as well as a sixteen-beat *uṣûl* can be supposed is equally small (two: ff. 250b/96b and 402b/241a plus the outlier f. 152a/23a-1). The notion that *uṣûl*, poetic meter and form are closely related in the Beste genre as presented by Bektaş, can thus neither be rewardingly applied nor disproven for ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s repertoire. He surveyed 466 Beste compositions from the late seventeenth century to the present excluding ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>513</sup> Gargun and Karaman showed on the basis of compositions by Dede Efendi and two of his pupils, that for *uṣûl* Zencīr there are correlations between poetic and musical rhythm.<sup>514</sup> The corpora on which the cited studies are based are of a later date than the repertoire notated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, and retrospective conclusions should be drawn with utmost caution. If, as in the case of Bektaş, the repertoire may be of earlier origin, it was most probably notated at a later point in history because there are no notations of vocal music from the late seventeenth century, where his survey starts. The *Hāfız Pōst Mecmū‘ası* (MS R 1724) states the *uṣûller* for the pieces, but it does not yield solid information on text distribution along the timeline of the *uṣûl*.

Departing from this point, we take a look at the Murabba<sup>ç</sup> repertoire in regards to *uṣûl*; information from parallel versions in L is added.<sup>515</sup>

- *Uṣûl* stated in the heading: ff. 62a/270b-1 (Düyek), 62a/270b-2 (L f. 113b: Evfer), 241b/87b-1 (L f. 114a: Düyek), 242a/88a-2 (Semā‘ī), 234a/89a-1 (Semā‘ī), 234a/89a-3 (Semā‘ī), 249b/95b–250a/96a-1 (Şöfyāne), 297b/143b-3 (without notation; L f. 121a: Semā‘ī), 302a/148a-1 (Şöfyāne; parallel without notation f. 297b/143b-2), 304b/150–160b (without notation; L f. 67a: Şöfyāne), 322b/177b-1 (Semā‘ī), 343a/185a-1 (Devr-i revān), 349b/191b-1 (Evfer), 376a/212b-4 (without notation; Evfer), 379b/221b-1 (without notation; Semā‘ī), 379b/

<sup>513</sup>Bektaş (2005), p. 7.

<sup>514</sup>Gargun, Aslı and Karaman, Sibel (2012). “Dede Efendi, Zekâi Dede ve Dellâlzâde’nin Beste Formunda, Zencîr Usûlündeki Eserlerinin Usûl-Arûz Vezni İlişkisi Yönünden İncelemesi”. In: *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* vol. 32, pp. 351–383.

<sup>515</sup>The strophic Murabba‘lar ff. 129b/289b and 325b/180b are not taken into account here as they belong to a different stylistic sphere; likewise the strophic-looking Semā‘ī f. 402b/241a-4 is left out.

- 221b-2 (without notation; Düyek-i revān), 391a/303b-1 (without notation; L f. 56a: Evfer), 391b/303a (without notation; Şöfyāne), 392b/302a-3 (without notation; Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 395b/242b-396a/311b-3 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 397b/244a(-3) (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 397b/ 224a-2 (without notation; L f. 38b: Düyek), 398a/238b-2 (without notation; Devr-i kebīr), 399a/306b (without notation; Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 399b/306a-1 (without notation; Evfer), 399b/306a-2 (without notation; Şöfyāne), 400a/240a-2 (without notation; Şöfyāne), 400a/240a-3 (without notation; Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 402a/241b-2 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 402b/241a-1 (without notation; Fer<sup>c</sup> Muḥammes), 402b/241a-3 (Şöfyāne), 404b/312a-1 (without notation; Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 406a/309b-1 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 411a/243b (“Vssul bir fahte bir Dewri kebīr”; L f. 56a interpretation unclear), 197\*a (L f. 114 Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 232\*b (Düyek).
- *Uşūl* clearly recognizable: ff. 152a/23a-1 and -2 (Düyek), 152b/23b (Düyek), 242a/88a-1 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 250b/96b (Düyek), 313a/169a (Düyek), 376a/212b-2 (without notation; L f. 68a Düyek), 400a/240a (-4) (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 407a/308b-1 (L f. 113b: Düyek), 407a/308b-2 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 378\*a/244a-3 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī).
  - *Uşūl* doubtful: ff. 5a/256a-1 (probably Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 5a/256a-2 (probably Düyek), 6a/257a-1 (probably Düyek), 6a/257a (10-beat, but not Fāhte), 61b/271a-1 (probably Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 61b/271a-2 (probably Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 349a/191a (probably Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī), 395a/242a (probably Ḥafif), 402b/241a(-2) (without notation; L f. 105b Düyek or Şöfyāne).
  - *Uşūl* problematic: ff. 3b/254b-1, 122b/262b, 234b/80b (L f. 56r: Evfer, does not match), 241b/87b-2, 268b/114b-1, 392b/302a (without notation; L f. 93a unclear), 395a/242a-1 (heading Düyek, but probably Ḥafif), 402a/241b-1 (without notation; L f. 29b probably Devr-i kebīr).
  - Neither notation nor heading: ff. 52b/251a-2, 244a/90a-1 (see also parallels ff. 3b/254b and 241b/87b which are both problematic), 309b/165b-2, 373b/219b-3, 374a/220a-2, 374a/220a-3, 376a/212b-1, 376a/212b-3, 389b/304a-1, 389b/304a-3, 395a/242a-2, 395b/242b-396a/311b-1, 395b/242b-396a/311b-2, 395b/242b-396a/311b-5, 395b/242b-396a/311b-6, 398b/238a-2, 400a/240a-1, 400b/240b, 403b/310a-1, 403b/310a-2, 404a/312b-2, 404a/312b-3, 405a/305b-1, 412b/239a-1, 412b/239a-2, 200\*b-4, 201\*a-2.<sup>516</sup>

<sup>516</sup>For more detailed information on the respective pieces refer to the Critical Report.

It becomes clear that the “simple” *uṣūller* (Düyek, Şöfyāne and Semā‘ī) are prevalent, while there is also a sizable group of pieces in Evfer and some Devr-i revān. Longer *uṣūller* are rare, even in the repertoire recorded without notation (Devr-i kebīr and Fer<sup>c</sup> Muḥammes once each). On f. 411a/243b we encounter a kind of compound *Żarbeyn* supposed to be made up of Fāḥte and Devr-i kebīr, but neither *uṣūl* matches the melody in any combination.<sup>517</sup> The parallel version L f. 56a offers regular groupings of eleven beats and as an *uṣūl* designation a circle with the Arabic numerals 3 and 4. Those difficulties aside, this piece in principle serves as an instance of a more complex *uṣūl*. F. 395a/242a-1 is another special case worth mentioning: The heading of the text says Düyek, but the extended line of the melody, the fact that both sections count 32 beats and especially the lack of a *caesura* after the 8th beat of both sections suggest that Ḥaffif may have been the original *uṣūl*. The parallel version in L (f. 155a) features no *uṣūl* designation of any kind.

1 [O - lur me - lül- i ğa - rīb ve çe - ker  
2 [Be - ni gö - rüñ ki be - nim hem ğa - rīb  
4 [Ci - hān bü - tün od - a yan - - sa çe - ker

e - - - lem 'ā - şık] cā - nım  
ve hem 'ā - şık]  
mi ğamm 'ā - şık]

tiz  
B  
3 [Dü-şür - me āy - - na-yı el - den şu - nar - sa

<sup>517</sup>In the upper staff, three “bar lines” divide the melody into three units of 24 Sm beats each. The spacing of the note heads clarifies the internal segmentation of the *uṣūller* Fāḥte and Devr-i kebīr (6+6+4+4+4 and 6+6+6+6 respectively). The text is not underlaid, but supplied separately above in Arabic characters. In the edition, the text is underlaid in brackets; the syllable distribution is a suggestion. Emendations: A 1: 1 deleted Sm e’ is required. – A 2: 18 originally Mi g’, corrected Sb g’. Read Mi g’. – A 3: 4–5 originally Mi g’, corrected Sb g’. Read Mi g’. – A 3: 7–10 deleted Sm g’ a’ g’ g’ are required. – B 2: 9–14 deleted Sm bb’ bb’ Mi bb’ bb’ are required.

Figure 4.9: Murabba<sup>c</sup> *Olur melūl-ı ġarīb*, f. 395a/242a

The recurrence with which Murabba<sup>c</sup> and vocal Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī modulate in their middle section is an issue worthwhile pursuing, but the melodies are often so short that a real modulation can hardly be effected. The absence of alteration signs or even of any information concerning modality further complicates analysis. According to what can be actually seen in the notation the question will be whether the *mīyān* section is contrasting in any way. Differences between modal entities may of course be gradual.<sup>518</sup>

- clearly modulating (with accidental): ff. 5a/256a-1, 349b/191b-1.
- clearly modulating with change of register: ff. 241b/87b-1, 241b/87b-2, 242a/88a-2.
- probably modulating: f. 243a/89a-1.
- probably modulating with change of register: ff. 343a/185a-1.
- change of register: ff. 5a/256a-2 (Niṣābūr), 6a/257a-1, 6a/257a-2, 61b/271a-1, 62a/270b-1, 152a/23a-1, 152b/23b, 242a/88a-1, 243a/89a-2 (“Tis”), 249b/95b–250a/96a-1, 250b/96b, 302a/148a-1, 395a/242a, 400a/240a, 402b/241a, 407a/308b, 411a/243b, 197\*a, 378\*a/224a-2, 232\*b.
- no special occurrence: ff. 61b/271a-2, 122b/262b, 313a/169a, 352a/194a, 395b/242b–396a/311b, 397b/244a, 407a/308b-2. In this group, some Murabba<sup>c</sup>lar and vocal Semā<sup>c</sup>Īler have a *mīyān* appearing to be a transposed version of the *zemīn*, e.g. ff. 249b/95b–250a/96a-1, 250b/96b or 232\*b.

<sup>518</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 322b/177b, 346a/188a, 348a/190a are not considered as their structure differs from the typical AABA model as well as the strophic Murabba<sup>c</sup> and Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī occurrences.

The Murabba<sup>c</sup> textual form can be extended by repetitions of single words, insertion of exclamations such as “yār” or “dōst”, refrain-like structures or *terennūmāt* (see above). Sometimes the section A (*zemān*) features two different final phrases in the sense of open (vv. 1 and 2) and closed (v. 4).<sup>519</sup>

- Murabba<sup>c</sup> with added textual repetitions: ff. 5a/256a-2 (repetitions only after v. 4), 234b/80b (repetitions, text incompletely underlaid),<sup>520</sup> 241b/87b-1 (text repetitions in section A, alternative endings), 242a/88a-1 (repetitions), 242a/88a-2 (Semāī; repetitions in section B), 249b/95b–250a/96a-1 (textual repetitions in sections A and B), 250b/96b (repetition with alternative ending in section B), 302a/148a-1 (repetitions in both sections, alternative ending), 313a/169a (repetitions in section A, interjections), 343a/185a-1 (repetitions in both sections, exclamations).
- Segmented and repeated subsection: ff. 6a/257a-2 (section A divided in two subsections, repetitions in the second subsection and in section B, exclamations), 61b/271a-1 (section A divided in two subsections, the first one repeated, the second one extended; sequence of long notes), 61b/271a-2 (section B divided into repeated subsections; alternative ending with exclamation), 62a/270b-2 (textual repetitions; section B divided into two subsections, v. 3 divided and sung with the repeated first subsection, v. 4 with the first and second subsections),<sup>521</sup> 268b/114b-1 (interjections, section B divided and repeated for v. 3, alternative ending), 400a/240a(-4) (section A divided into repeated subsections, textual repetition in both sections).
- Murabba<sup>c</sup> with refrain-like additions: ff. 3b/254b-1 (internal concordances ff. 241b/87b, 244a/90a; refrain inserted after section A), 152a/23a-2 (refrain inserted after both sections, different melody after section B in the form ArArBr\*Ar), 197\*a (refrain after each section, text is the same but melody changes in the *miyān*).

<sup>519</sup>If not expressly stated otherwise, the parallel versions in L, if extant, do not deviate substantially.

<sup>520</sup>For the correct text distribution see L f. 56a.

<sup>521</sup>The parallel version in L, f. 113b, has v. 4 sung with section A.

- Otherwise extended and modified Murabba<sup>c</sup> forms: ff. 152b/23b (unexplained addition at the end – alternative closing),<sup>522</sup> 241b/ 87b-2 (see also f. 3b/254b; prelude, repetitions, extension syllables; logic of notation unclear), 243a/89a-1 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī; exclamation), 297b/143b (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī; without notation, see 302a/148a-1; deleted interjections in the middle of each line), 322b/177b-1 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī; new melody for each verse, *terennüm*, sections repeated, partly with alternative endings),<sup>523</sup> 397b/244a-3 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī; pre- and postlude), 405a/305a-1 (refrain-like extensions).
- Textual Murabba<sup>c</sup> with *terennüm*: ff. 379b/221b-1 (without notation, form ATATBB), 395b/242b–396a/311b (underlay incomplete; *terennüm* inserted between verse and partial repetition in both sections), 395b/242b–396a/311b-1 (without notation; form AABAT + repetition of the second half of A1), 398b/238a-2 (without notation; form AABATT), 399a/306b (without notation; Persian; structure undeciphered), 399b/306a (four short lines with short *terennüm*, Murabba<sup>c</sup> text ATABTAT), 402a/241b-2 (Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī; AABAT; without notation, see also f. 322b/177b-1).

In a small number of cases, pieces titled Murabba<sup>c</sup> are strophic and stylistically belong to the Türkī sphere.<sup>524</sup> The word Murabba<sup>c</sup> itself means “unit of four” and is still used today in the sense of a four-line stanza.<sup>525</sup> The obviously fuzzy delimitation between Murabba<sup>c</sup> and vocal Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī poses further difficulties. Does a vocal Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī have to have a *terennüm* section or is *uṣūl* Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī sufficient to set the genre apart? In P, there seem to be three kinds of texted Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī: 1. The “courtly” form with *terennüm* (“Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī-i ḥ<sup>v</sup>ānende” for Cantemir), 2. Settings of Murabba<sup>c</sup> texts in *uṣūl* Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī, and 3. A strophic form (still in use in folk contexts; ff. 396b/311a-2, 402b/241a-4). Other special pieces are encountered on f.404b/312a-3 (a Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī without a full Murabba<sup>c</sup> quatrain), f.392b/302a-2 (a Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī in the form of a Murabba<sup>c</sup> text with preceding religious formulas) and the *Semā<sup>c</sup>Ī-yi Mevlānā* titled *Devrān-ı dervīṣān* in L (f. 396b/311a, L f. 42b), a text appearing in the Mevlevī *semā<sup>c</sup>* ritual.

<sup>522</sup> This addition does not exist in the parallel version, L f. 35b.

<sup>523</sup> No variations in the parallel version L f. 74b.

<sup>524</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 129b/298b, 325b/180b and the note on f. 276a/122a.

<sup>525</sup> Akdoğru (2003), p. 284, Şenel (2013), p. 67.

Another “courtly” vocal form –i.e. a vocal form based on *dīvān* poetry– is the Naḡş. In the earlier, Persian-influenced repertoire, it is usually characterized by three (sometimes four) distichs of text (aa ab ab) followed by *terennüm* of about the same length, again divided into three or four sections. Cantemir describes three types: a three-line setting with *miyān* and *z eyl*, a two-line setting with *miyān*, and a third variety with neither *miyān* nor *z eyl*. The two pieces titled Naḡş in the L collection (ff. 67b and 177b) are unfortunately not extant in P, neither is the single Şavt (f. 138b).<sup>526</sup> As an example, “Sunbul zedeler ki rehrewi” (f. 346a/188a-1) could be a fragmentary Naḡş, but the melodic movement is typically Semā‘ī and the text too problematic to give clear indications. Thus it is grouped among the “Unidentified vocal forms” (see chapter 4.10).

To close the section on Murabba‘ and Semā‘ī, we return to Walter Feldman’s description of the new style emerging during the lifetime of ‘Alī Ufūḡī. Concerning the genres relevant here, he names first and foremost the “[E]xpansion of the *murabba’* into the *murabba’ beste* by introducing a wide variety of *usûls*, slower tempos and serious Turkish poetic texts, as well as the *terennüm* section, linking the *beste* to the older *kâr* and *naqş/naḡş* forms”<sup>527</sup> From the slightly later viewpoint of Demetrius Cantemir, Cem Behar drew the conclusion that there was a conceptual difference between the Persian-language vocal genres Kâr and Naḡş and the Murabba‘ as an Ottoman Turkish-language genre.<sup>528</sup> After the analysis of the repertoire contained in P it can be summarized that there is no wide variety in the choice of *uşûller*; if there is a statement at all, the “simple”<sup>529</sup> entities Düyek, Şöfyâne and Semā‘ī are dominant with a small number of more complex *uşûller* forming a group of exceptions. Statements on tempo –a practice newly emerging in the early seventeenth century<sup>530</sup>– are extremely difficult to make, yet the very few indications of performance speed do indeed point in the direction of a slow performance (f. 3b/254b: Piangente, f. 153a/25bisa: Grave, f. 242a/88a: Pesante, f. 411a/243b: Grave, but f. 354a/196a: Presto). *Terennümmât* sections mostly appear in the Semā‘ī context, but there is at

<sup>526</sup> Wright (1992), pp. 127ff., 173ff., 185f.

<sup>527</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 135.

<sup>528</sup> Behar (2017), p. 94.

<sup>529</sup> Feldman calls them “simple folkloric rhythms”, a wording consciously not adopted here. Feldman (2015), p. 99.

<sup>530</sup> Paulsmeier (2012), p. 150; Schmid (2012), pp. 249ff.

least one exception (f. 395b/242b–396a/311b-1 titled *Murabbaʿ*; without notation).<sup>531</sup> Serious Turkish poetic texts constitute a large part of the *Murabbaʿ* and *Semāʿī* material in P with and without notation and also in L, L sometimes supplementing a melody not transmitted in P. Yet most of the poets concerned belong to considerably earlier generations, such as *Bākī* (933–1008/1526–7–1600),<sup>532</sup> *Fuzūlī* (888–963/1483–1556)<sup>533</sup> or *ʿAlī-Şīr Nevāʿī* (844–906/1441–1501).<sup>534</sup> Some important questions for the future are: Have those poets remained popular or have their poems been experiencing a renaissance? And how old are the musical settings? When the composition style of the *Beste* changes (most importantly through the compulsory addition of a *terennüm* section),<sup>535</sup> do the *Murabbaʿ* texts of the mid-seventeenth century survive this process, i.e. do the *Murabbaʿ* texts set to music in *ʿAlī Ufuḳī*’s sources reappear in later song-text collections, even up to the present time? A few cases have been identified (see chapter 6.1), but for the moment it seems that there is no systematic, broad continuation, which marks a difference with the instrumental repertoire. What could be the reason?

## 4.6 Türkī and Varşığı

In the section “Repertoire and Style”, the obvious importance of the *Türkī* and *Varşığı* repertoire on account of the inclusion of works attributed to the prominent *ʿAşık*lar of the day into P, but also on account of the religious diversity many texts are witness to, has been discussed; the

<sup>531</sup> *Turc 292*, ff. 398b/238b-2 and 403b/310a-1 are unclear because they feature neither headings nor notations that would help identify them as *Semāʿī*.

<sup>532</sup> Andrews and Kalpaklı (2016).

<sup>533</sup> Macit, Muhsin (2016). “Fuzulī, Mehmed b. Süleyman”. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. by Fleet, Kate et al. 3rd ed. Brill Online. URL: [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/fuzuli-mehmed-b-suleyman-COM\\_27220](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/fuzuli-mehmed-b-suleyman-COM_27220) (visited on 05/25/2016).

<sup>534</sup> Subtelny, Maria E. (2016). “ʿAlī Şīr Navāʿī”. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. by Fleet, Kate et al. 3rd ed. Brill Online. URL: [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/ali-shir-navai-COM\\_23837](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/ali-shir-navai-COM_23837) (visited on 05/25/2016).

<sup>535</sup> The *Semāʿī* as a quatrain only, without *terennüm*, appears as late as the *Bolāhenk* collection. [Bolāhenk], Meḫmed Nūrī (1290-1302/1873-1884). *Mecmūʿā-yı kārḫā ve naḳḫshā, beste, semāʿī ve şarkıyāt*. İstanbul: s.n. URL: <http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV020341028/ft/bsb11156623?page=3> (visited on 09/15/2016), p. 22.



following paragraphs are dedicated to considerations of textual and melodic form. The fact that “courtly” and “folkloric” repertoires go hand in hand in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections and that two spheres perceived as mutually exclusive today, were intersecting in his time and locale or at the very least for him, has been repeatedly commented on. When Giovanni Battista Donado, the Venetian Bailo, received musicians of the *muṣāhib* (Meḫmed IV’s boon companion) and other notables, to learn about Ottoman *ince sâz* music, they played him *Türki*.<sup>536</sup> An atmosphere at court allowing and even demanding a wide range of genres was not unique to ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s *Topkapı Sarayı*: In his poetics *Mîzânü’l-evzân* (after 905/1499–1500),<sup>537</sup> ‘Alī-Şîr Nevā’î describes the “*Türki*” at the court of Hüseyn Bâḳarâ in fifteenth-century Herât as apt to be performed in the presence of the Sultan, emphasizing its qualities as “heart-delighting, soul-reviving and emotionally moving to the highest degree”.<sup>538</sup> He goes on to state that the performers of this genre (“*Türki-güy*”) were well-known, and gives a distich as example, not a stanza, adding the scansion syllables. Obviously he perceives the *Türki* as a kind of “*vezin*”. In analysing the *Türki* repertoire of L, Süleyman Şenel remarked that both syllable counting and scansion (‘*arûz*’) can be meaningfully employed to the texts.<sup>539</sup> Indeed, one note in P suggests that *Türki* texts could sometimes be in ‘*arûz*’ meter: On f. 301a/147a, the *Türki Güzelliğîn êrmiş kemâle beğim* is accompanied by the remark “Mustefilun mustefilun failun”. This line of analysis is not pursued as the MS does not supply a coherent picture suggesting a general practice.

As early as his 1969 article on *Ḳaraca-oğlan* texts in L, Cahit Öztelli drew attention to the fact that *Türki* repertoire was performed at court. He listed the most important ‘*Âşîklar*’ of the seventeenth century as “*Kul*

<sup>536</sup> Donado (1688), p. 132. For a more detailed description of Donado and his writings see Aksoy (2003), pp. 74–79.

<sup>537</sup> Subtelny (2016).

<sup>538</sup> I owe this connection to Eckhard Neubauer. ‘Alī-Şîr Nevā’î (1968). *Divanlar ile hamse dışındaki eserler*. Ed. by Levend, Ağâh Sırrı. Ali Şîr Nevai Eserleri vol. 4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 117. For a modern Turkish translation see ‘Alī-Şîr Nevā’î (1993). *Mîzânü’l-Evzân (Vezinlerin Terazisi)*. Ed. by Erarslan, Kemal. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, p. 118. An Özbek version can be found under ‘Alī-Şîr Nevā’î (2016[b]). *Mezon ul-Avzon*. Ed. by s.n. URL: [http://kutubxona.com/Alisher\\_Navoiy.\\_Mezon\\_ul-Avzon](http://kutubxona.com/Alisher_Navoiy._Mezon_ul-Avzon) (visited on 02/11/2016).

<sup>539</sup> Şenel (2013), p. 67. See also Şenel (2015), pp. 197f. Dizdaroğlu, Hikmet (1969). *Halk Şiirinde Türler*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, pp. 102–121.

Mustafa, Şahinoğlu, Koroğlu, Kuloğlu, Öksüz Aşık, Kâtibi”, connecting them directly with the Janissary barracks (*ocağlar*).<sup>540</sup> This is important when researching the heterodox tendencies clearly present in ‘Alī Ufuķī’s repertoire (see below). More evidence for the appreciation of Türkī repertoire at court is supplied by some headings added to notations in L: A *rağş* on f. 30b is identified as being or having been performed in the presence of Sultan Ibrahim (“Sultān İbrāhimiñ huşūrunda [sic] oynalan rağş” *Şaçbāğı taķar saçma*), the “Türkī medḥ-i Şahinşāh-ı Āl-ı ‘Osmān Sultān Meḥmed Ḥān 1075 sene” on f. 39b (P f. 220a/66a) or the “Varşāğı berāy-ı cūlis-i Sultān Meḥmed Ḥān bin Sultān İbrāhīm Ḥān Devr-i kebūr” on f. 59a (P f. 398a/238b). A claim of courtly performance context is therefore reasonable, although the repertoire was certainly also played in various other environments. In this context, Feldman stated that “[t]here is a range of development within the songs named *türkü*, which is the largest folkloric genre in the collection. [...] It would appear that some of the *türkü*s on religious themes or connected with warfare were created by semi-professional *aşık*s or *ozans*, and are thus somewhat more sophisticated”.<sup>541</sup> If this interpretation is accepted, then those personalities could be equated with the ‘Aşıklar counted as influential and popular at court by Evliyā Çelebi.<sup>542</sup> Regarding current practice, Kurt Reinhard remarked that also in modern times ‘Aşık musical and textual styles were often understood as holding a middle ground between “art” and “folk”.<sup>543</sup>

The main problem already familiar from contexts previously discussed is that there is no clear, unambiguous picture of what a Türkī or a Varşāğı should be. The determining feature of the Türkī are strophic design and *mahlāş*, which, however, does not set it off from the Varşāğı, hence the question remains whether those obviously closely related genres can be differentiated (which, in absence of a designation, they are not in the present edition). Comparison with L proves that the two terms can even be used interchangeably: Four Varşāğı from P are titled Türkī in L, while three Türkī are classified as Varşāğı, two as Şarkı and three have no headings at all. In his influential study on singer-poets first published in 1930, M. Fuad Köprülü enumerates a group of terms used to designate the genres

<sup>540</sup> Öztelli (1969), p. 5309.

<sup>541</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 100.

<sup>542</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), pp. 304f.

<sup>543</sup> Reinhard (1975), p. 189.

of the *Āşıklar*, among them *Türkī* and *Varşığı*, and states that many of those designations were given “exclusively from the musical viewpoint” and often alluded to the “ethnic origins” of a certain genre.<sup>544</sup> It remains unclear, however, what the “musical viewpoint” is, because there are no examples to illustrate those divisions. Hikmet Dizdaroğlu contends that formal types and genres were not relevant in the creative process of “folk” poetry (in contrast to *dīvān* poetry), but that in the song-text collections transmitting the repertoire headings had been added, which were not necessarily relevant. For him, the *Varşığı* has the same formal scheme as the *Çoşma* but is predominantly octosyllabic like the *Semā‘ī*, from which it is only distinguished by its different melodic design: “*Varşığı*larda *yığitçe* bir hava vardır” (“there is a heroic gesture in the *Varşığı*”), exclamations such as “bre”, “behey” or “hey gidi” are typical. It is regionally connected to the *Varsak* Turks from Southern Anatolia; the heading “*Varşığı ya‘nī varşığılıkla*” (L f. 72b) could be understood in this sense. He adds that in earlier times the terms *Türkī* and *Varşığı* could be used synonymously.<sup>545</sup> Apart from the melodic design about which a judgement is difficult to make: “[...] *ezgisi bilinmeden bir şiire varsığı diyebilmek bunlar yeterli değildir*” (“without knowing the melody, those [criteria] are insufficient to define a poem as a *Varşığı*”), many of the named characteristics concord with the repertoire transmitted by *‘Alī Ufuķī*. According to Feldman, the *Varşığı* is folkloric, but supposed to have a modulatory section.<sup>546</sup> There are three *Varşığı* in P, two of which have notation. On f. 132a/268a, the third section ends on a different final than sections A, B and D. The second specimen (f. 273b/119b) shows a larger variance in central pitches, so that a clear dichotomy cannot be recognized. Looking at the repertoire as a whole, the latter situation is encountered in many *Türkī* melodies (for instance ff. 251a/97a, 286b/114b-2), while a clearly distinct section C is rare: Among the *Türkī* melodies with the formal scheme ABCD, only f. 381b/271a-3 is similar (section endings on b’ b’ g’ b). Clear contrast is generally infrequent, while parallelism can be encountered more often (e.g. f. 292b/138b-1, sections A and C share a final, sections B and D end on a different pitch). In L, the amount of *Varşığı* is much higher, in total 44 pieces. Among those, 19 are concordant, three of which are titled *Türkī*

<sup>544</sup>Köprülü (2004), p. 39. In the context of *Evliyā Çelebi*’s performance at court, Farmer translates “*wārsikī*” with “mystic song”. Farmer (1936), p. 4.

<sup>545</sup>Dizdaroğlu (1969), pp. 45, 85ff.

<sup>546</sup>Feldman (2015), p. 122.

in P. However, tracing modulatory sections proves difficult. There is only one composition (*Sīnī gözler dū çeşm-i hūn* on f. 39a) that features the unusual formal scheme AABA BABA with B indeed contrasting. “Gel benim naslij iarum gel” (f. 129b/298b, L f. 44b) is a special case in that it is titled “Murabbaʿ” in P and “Varşığı” in L; further it has a five-section form including a refrain; another Varşığı cannot be taken into account because its music is missing (f. 69b). Of course there is variance between the sections of a piece (which can be two, three or four), e.g. the specimen on f. 45b has a two-section melody, whose first section (somewhat expectedly) closes on a different pitch than the second. But the Varşığı repertoire according to L yields a less clear picture than the Murabbaʿ repertoire does, where a contrasting section B occurs much more regularly and in a predictable place. Hence, while certain stylistic borders do exist for ʿAlī Ufuḳī, namely between the *dīvān*-based and the ʿĀşık repertoires, the delimitation between the subgenres of the latter is indeed blurred.

The following table juxtaposes syllable counts with genre headings in order to establish or disprove connections between those two features. Pieces with *mahlāş* are included; fragmentary pieces are added if attribution via L or on account of stylistic traits such as typical vocabulary was possible.

- 8 syllables: 27 Türkī, 3 Varşığı, 2 İlähī, 1 Şarkı (with refrain), 38 untitled
- 11 syllables: 57 Türkī, 2 İlähī, 2 Tekerleme, 1 Şarkı, 72 untitled
- 15 syllables: 8 Türkī (among them, 1 is actually a Ğazel), 3 İlähī, 9 untitled

A fourth Varşığı has seven syllables; other outliers are not taken into account here. It becomes immediately clear that genre and syllable count are unrelated. If L is adduced, the picture becomes even more blurred: Of the untitled pieces, twelve are headed “Türkī” in the sister manuscript; one with eight and fifteen syllables each and ten hendecasyllabic. Four untitled pieces are attributed to the Varşığı genre (eight and fifteen syllables once each, two hendecasyllabic), additionally two complicated cases: “Menki ez iar pur derdem” (f. 154a/26a), a strophic form with seven-syllable verses and refrain headed “Varşığı” in L (f. 71b), as well as the metrically problematic *Yeter cevr êtdiñ ben nātüvāne*, f. 361b/293a (L f. 114b).

In terms of modern literature theory, the vast majority of the texts transmitted by ʿAlī Ufuḳī with or without notation could be classified either as Koşma (hendecasyllabic verses with cæsuras 6+5 or 4+4+3, four-verse stanzas, rhyme scheme aaab cccb, abab cccb or abcb dddb) or as Semai for the octosyllabic texts (cæsura 4+4 or none, same rhyme schemes as the Koşma).<sup>547</sup> There are also fifteen-syllable verses. Overall, the diversity of rhyme schemes both in Türki and Varşığı is large (see table 8.5), including various forms with refrain. However, it is dubious how far modern designations can be meaningfully applied. The term “Koşma” appeared rarely in the sources surveyed for the present study, for example in Add MS 7939, where it is sometimes connected with a *maḳām* indication.<sup>548</sup> This source is dated to “apparently the eighteenth century” in Charles Rieu’s catalog.<sup>549</sup> In the edition, consequently, unassigned pieces are titled according to a parallel version in L, if extant, or subsumed under the category Türki.

It is a fact worth pointing out that ʿAlī Ufuḳī employs the term Türki not only for “Turkish”-language songs and song texts, but also for the songs of other ethnicities, for example Albanians (“Arnaut turki”, f. 276a/122a).<sup>550</sup> Another example for local or “ethnic” designations are the attributes *Rumeli* (f. 174b/44b: “Vrumeli tarzında bîmîdi sana bir turki czagirarem”) or *Dobruca* (ff. 47a/249b, 52b/251a). There is definitely an awareness of stylistic and cultural diversity within the Ottoman context, even if defining subtleties in style escape the modern researcher.

The designation Şarkı (literally “Eastern”) appears very rarely (ff. 272a/118a (strophic form, abcbr), 382b/215b-2 (strophic form, abab cccd, ABAB) and on f. 276a/122a in a note on performance practice. It is always connected to strophic forms and clearly does not allude to the genre gaining major popularity from the later seventeenth century onwards. L contains additional Şarkılar: ff. 12b and 109a are headed Türki in P (ff. 378\*a/224a and 410a/247b), ff. 28b (f. 267b/113b) and 29a (not extant in P) have a

<sup>547</sup> Dilçin, Cem (1999). *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, pp. 305ff., 334f. Reinhard and Reinhard (1984b), pp. 24–26; Dizdaroğlu (1969), 70f., 83f., 89. If the fourth verse is always repeated the author speaks of a “koşma-şarkı”.

<sup>548</sup> *Add MS 7939*, ff. 20a–22a, 24b, 46a–47b.

<sup>549</sup> Rieu, Charles (1888). *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London: British Museum, p. 211.

<sup>550</sup> Likewise does Evliyā Çelebi, see Şenel (2013), p. 68.

*maḥlāṣ*, which disqualifies them for the later, “courtly” / “urban” form.<sup>551</sup> In this context, an outlier of the Murabba<sup>c</sup> genre deserves special attention (f. 405a/305b-1). The piece is titled Murabba<sup>c</sup> in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s hand, but its formal structure is unusual, and the rhyme scheme does not easily meet the expectations of the genre. Comparison with the concordance in MS Sup Turc 377<sup>552</sup> showed that the verses notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī are largely, but not completely found in a piece titled “Der maḳām-ı Beyātī uşūleṣ Şaḳıl”. The interesting point is that this text is divided into two stanzas, the second one headed “bend-i şānī”. One should not leap to conclusions, but ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s confusion or insecurity with a newly emerging genre may be the reason for the condition of the piece.

The phenomenon of “folkloric” forms with *maḳām* and *uşūl* designations has been touched upon before; the following table lists the pieces concerned in a more detailed manner. As such designations can be found more frequently in L, references are added:

Folio	Title and incipit in P	Title in L
132a/268a	Varşığı <i>Bir ğamzesi mestāne</i>	73a: Diğer [Varşığı] Devr-i revān
156b/25b	<i>Gel civān böyle şahnma</i> Dewr et Perewḡan ma ha vn riposo [below: pausa] anti penultima	12b: Türkī muḥabbet
254b/100b	Maḳāmı Beyātī Devr-i kebīr [...] <i>Jar Eşkinle ianubj biştim</i> ; Text: Türkī	73a: Varşığı Devr-i kebīr
263b/109b	Devr-i kebīr “Ja Jlahij sen bilursen haļijmi senden medett”	–
267b/113b	Dewri rewan Dost “Satzi leilum Senin meilim kandader”	28b: Şarkı
272b/118b	Varşığı Hüseynī Devr-i revān ʿ <i>Ālemi yaradan Allāh</i>	–

<sup>551</sup> Wright analyzes the *Şarkı* from the viewpoint of the HP collection, which represents a different notion of this genre. Wright (1992), pp. 184f.

<sup>552</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Supplément Turc 377*, 2b.

Folio	Title and incipit in P	Title in L
296b/142b	Dewri rewan vssul ama in verita e manco p[er]che e pentafona, “Wugiudum mulkiumi iakti ianderdi”	–
298b/144b	BEIATI Prima Eusat alafin Semaj “Hangiarun elinie al” / Türkî <i>Hañçerüñ eliñe al dertlü sinem [sic] del</i>	73a: Varşağı Devr-i revān
312b/168b	Semā <sup>c</sup> ī <i>Maħbūb al bizden ne kaçarsın</i>	–
345a/187a	Türkî havāsı [sic] Devr-i revān <i>Göñül tama<sup>c</sup> étme cihān dārına</i>	58b: Varşağı
351a/193a	DUWEK “Jamandur higrile halim”	–
352a/194a	Maie Dewri Revan “Szemi ruhune gismini [sic] perwane”	–
361b/293a	Rāst-Pençgāh uşüleş Evfer <i>Yeter cevr étđñ ben nātüvāne</i>	114b: Varşağı Pençgāh uşüleş Evfer
398a/236b	“mehemet dewranidur” / <i>Kimi konar kimi göçer</i>	59a: Varşağı berāy-ı cülūs-i Sultān Mehmed Hūn [...] Devr-i kebīr
398b/238a	◁Uşşāk faşıl üşüli [sic] Şöfyāne <i>Yine evvel bahār oldu yāz oldu</i>	69a: ◁Uşşāk Varşağı Şöfyāne; Hyde 43, 90b: Varşağı der maķām-ı ◁Uşşāk uşüleş Şöfyāne
379*a/225a	Maķām-ı Nevā Devr-i kebīr [sic]; Türkî <i>Bārek Allāh hoş yaratmış gülse halkı ◁ālem güler</i>	176b: Varşağı Türkî berāy-ı derviş

Table 4.7: Türkî and Varşağı with *maķām* and *uşül* designations

Certain degrees of interchangeability between Türkī and Varşāğī and permeability between the spheres of genres based on the principles of *maḳām* and *uṣūl* and those that are not, are visible in the statistics of P and L. Yet in the absence of explanations from the source itself, many questions remain open: Can it be implied from the few examples of Türkī and Varşāğī with *maḳām* and *uṣūl* designations that all Türkī and Varşāğī were actually perceived to be belonging to the sphere of a certain *maḳām* and *uṣūl*? Then why do so many of them have no designations at all? Why should a part of the genre be subject to rules which do not apply generally? Obviously the assumption that “a given piece has a *maḳām* and/or *uṣūl* designation, so it must be part of the sophisticated, courtly sphere” is too simple. The following explanation is suggested: The existence of Türkī and Varşāğī with “art-music” designations could point at a special style of performance practice of “folk” repertoire in *maḳām* and *uṣūl* contexts, which ʿAlī Ufuḳī encountered at court. The fact that Türkī feature in the statements he makes regarding performance sequences such as on f. 47b/249a or f. 243b/89b supports this assumption.

In modern ʿĀṣīḳ discourse, the term *maḳām* is used differently than in the theory of “artificial” music,<sup>553</sup> and from a number of marginal notes it becomes clear that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was aware of this alternative application. In contrast to the theoretical term describing a modal unity defined by final, range, particular scale (as an excerpt of the general scale) and *seyir*, *maḳām* as employed in the context of Türkī means a preexisting melody, a “tune”. The corresponding Italian terms are “voce”, “tono” and “aria”, as in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s statement on the “certi thuoni inculcati nelle loro orechie”.<sup>554</sup> Those marginalia are especially valuable because they show that the unity of text and melody was not compulsory in the Türkī and Varşāğī repertoires, whereas such references do not occur in the Murabbaʿ genre.

<sup>553</sup> Reinhard and Reinhard (1984b), p. 106.

<sup>554</sup> Harley 3409, p. 51.



Interchangeable melodies are a well-known concept in Europe, especially in hymnology.<sup>555</sup> Unfortunately, some of the tune indications lead to pages not extant anymore. They are invariably written in Latin characters:<sup>556</sup>

- f. 1a/252a Supra la uoce Bende ghiordum seirederken etc
- f. 47b/249a questa et mekam [...] et p[er]cio finita
- f. 174b/44b Mekam e scritto al folio 249 Jd 253
- f. 174b/44b Sul Aria Deime bir giozelle
- f. 241a/87a Jn la Voce Megnunden benim halijm iemander
- f. 244a/90a Jn Ton Deime bir ghiozelle
- ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a [...] lo Tekerleme con la Voce ia ben bunij neileielum [...]
- ff. 258b/104b–259a/105a Supra questo mekam bagla Vn altro turki et questo annotato servira per li due posteriori Versi
- f. 264a/110a Ton Ehli eßki bizda hałdan biluruz
- f. 273a/119a Nel ton del Dad elinde[n] siu fenanin
- f. 279a/125a Jn ton Artuk bana dunia malij gerekmes
- f. 294a/140a in ton del badißahij ghiomeienler [sic]
- f. 305b/161b Giozel sana bir niiaze gelmißem mekami
- f. 309a/165a in ton del badißahij ghiormeienler
- f. 325b/180b Muraba mekamind[en] gid[en] Bahiri seciebilur misin<sup>557</sup>

<sup>555</sup> Especially in the English tradition hymn text and melody do not form a unit. The most influential study in this field is Temperley, Nicholas (1979). *The Music of the English Parish Church*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Especially vol. 1, pp. 33ff.

<sup>556</sup> For translations and further information see the respective Critical Reports. Refer also to the chart in chapter 2.2.8.

<sup>557</sup> “Murabba<sup>ç</sup>” is used by <sup>ç</sup>Alī Ufuķī also in the sense of a strophic song, see *Turc 292*, ff. 129b/298b, 325b/180b. This use may have lead the Reinhards to believe that Murabba<sup>ç</sup> was a *maḳām* in the seventeenth century; Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), p. 100.

The musical style of the Türkī is mostly syllabic, in which it does not differ too widely from the Murabbaʿ settings discussed above. Still, there is a peculiarity in melodic design attributable to the expected cæsuras in a Türkī or Varşığı stanza and an even more speech-generated style of musical expression. The following examples serve to demonstrate the range of stylistic expression in the Türkī/Varşığı repertoire. Syllabic declamation is the style of the majority of ʿAşık pieces. F. 156b/25b-1 is an entirely syllabic example:<sup>558</sup>

The figure shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff is marked 'A 1' and the second 'C 2'. The lyrics are written in Arabic script and Latin transliteration. The first staff has two measures, each with a dotted note followed by a quarter note. The second staff has four measures, each with a dotted note followed by a quarter note. The lyrics are: 1,1 [Gel ci - vān böy - le şa - lın - ma 2 Şun - da yağ - şı var ya-mān var] and 3 Fer - hā - dim [a - şıl - dım şar - pa] 4 Şi - rī - niñ ser - de du - man var.

Figure 4.10: Türkī *Gel civān böyle şalınma*, f. 156b/25b

Many Türkī are notated in this manner, often slightly broken up with tied notes; see for instance also ff. 30a/12a, 46b/250a, 47a/249b-1 or 154b/26b-1. A more melismatic style can be found on f. 15b/273b.<sup>559</sup>

<sup>558</sup>Text and melody show regular units of six Mi (albeit after emendation of two units). The text of v.2 is partially underlaid in Arabic characters; the remainder is supplied from the block text. A 1: 4–6 Sb b' read dotted Sb b' (cf. L). – A 2: 4–6 Sb b' read dotted Sb b' (cf. L). – C 2: 4–6 Sb g' read dotted Sb g' (cf. L). – D 2: 4–6 Sb d' read dotted Sb d' (cf. L). I,2 “Sunda” read “Şunda”.

<sup>559</sup>The melody shows regular units of three Sm (edition: breathing signs). C 3: 2-3 F f g' a' seem to have been added as an optional embellishment. One stanza is underlaid in Arabic characters, four more stanzas plus a transliterated version of the entire text are added below. The main notation is followed by an appendix in lighter ink. The dextrograde notation is underlaid with “te beiler ağalar broi broi” and clearly belongs to the main notation. Its intended role –an alternative ending for section C?– is unclear, though.

Figure 4.11 shows a musical score in three systems. The first system has two lines of music. The first line is marked with 'A' and contains the lyrics: [Dost] I,1 Kü - heylān at-lar besler - ler [Küheylān at-lar bes-ler-ler]. The second line is marked with 'C' and contains the lyrics: 2 Ser-ḥad-de beğ-ler ā - ğā - lar. The third system has two lines of music. The first line is marked with 'E' and contains the lyrics: 4 Ser-ḥad-de beğ-ler ā - ğā - lar. The second line is marked with 'D' and contains the lyrics: 3 'A - dū - niñ ya-yın ya-şa-ruz. Below the second line of the third system, there is a note: Ou -con respiro- te bei-ler a - ga-lar broi broi.

Figure 4.11: *Türki Küheylān atlar beslerler*, f. 15b/273b

Compare also ff. 29b/11b, 130a/301b, 156b/25b-2, 233b/79b-234a/80a and the *İlāhī* “Bize bizden olan iakijn u karib” on f. 52a/251b-51b/248a.

The first piece in the reconstituted order (f. 1a/252a) is with high probability unmetered in spite of the *uṣūl* designation i/d. Its melodic design resembles the rhythmically free vocal style known as *uzun hava* among the *Âşık* of modern Turkey.<sup>560</sup> The declamatory sections are preceded by an unusually long exclamation. Sections B and D close with soft descents in dotted values.<sup>561</sup>

Figure 4.12 shows a musical score in three systems. The first system has two lines of music. The first line is marked with '1' and contains the lyrics: Dost. I,1 I-ne e-wel ba-har oğ-du. The second line is marked with 'A' and contains the lyrics: I-ne e-wel ba-har oğ-du. The third system has two lines of music. The first line is marked with 'B' and contains the lyrics: 2 Bulbul se-ni digmesen be-ni Broij Broij Broij Broij. The second line is marked with 'A' and contains the lyrics: I-ne e-wel ba-har oğ-du.

<sup>560</sup> Reinhard and Reinhard (1984b), pp. 16–20. Compare the example on p. 19.

<sup>561</sup> The melody shows signs of rhythmic structuring only in a few places and is thus treated as unmetered. Units of meaning are marked off with breathing signs.

3 Ja - ri neder ha - tijn sui - le - mez di - li  
Dost neder ha - tijn ba - kijmaz di - li

4 Kantij giulum za - tijn Kantij giulum wm - rum Broij Broij Broij

Figure 4.12: Türkī “İne ewel bahar oldu”, f. 1a/252a

Flowing descents are encountered regularly at the end of sections in otherwise predominantly syllabic settings, e.g. on ff. 1b/252b, 62b/270a or 220a/66a. Sometimes those closing phrases include the repetition of one or more words from the preceding verse (f. 66a/258a-1, -2), sometimes syllables (usually “broy” in various spellings) are added. Unmetered to a higher degree, but characterized by descending motions instead of syllabic declamation, is another unusual Türkī on f. 61a/271b. Line breaks clarify the melodic and textual units:<sup>562</sup>

<sup>562</sup>The lyrics are supplied in brackets from the block text. An alternative phrase for B 7–9 is supplied in an additional five-line staff below the main staff.

Do - stu - m.

A 1  
1,1 [En-dim seir-ei - lidim kijził A - da - ij]

B 2  
2 [Vlu taß - kin akkan sel-ler bu-meder]

C 3  
3 [Badë-Bik - cie selwille-rij sa - lijnan]

D 4  
4 [Gio-nul eg - lenziesi iofhar bu-mij - dur]

R R  
Seu-dim bu - mi - dur] Euh

Figure 4.13: Türkî “Endim seireilidim kijził Adajij”, f. 61a/271b

Compare also f. 251a/97a. Each section starts in the upper register, moving stepwise downward over the course of more than an “octave” in the case of the latter example.

The manuscript contains a considerable number of short, untexted melodies. Some of them have headings identifying them as song tunes: “Sentita et clapata canzon” (f. 1a/252a-3), “Aria senza parole” (f. 47a/249b-2), “Turki hawasi” (ff. 200a/46a-199b/45b-3, f. 229a/74a, f. 379\*b/225b), “arak turki hawasi” (ff. 414b/245b-415a/246a-2), “Cantio Turcica” (f. 204\*b) and “8. sijllabæ” (f. 208\*a). Others can be recognized as such on account of their formal structure and melodic design resemblant of the many Türkî notated, for example the notation ff. 414b/245b-415a/246a-2.<sup>563</sup>

<sup>563</sup>The melody shows regular units of six Mi, according to the *uṣûl* signature 3/2 (edition: breath marks).



Figure 4.14: Untexted Türkī tune, ff. 414b/245b–415a/246a

Its formal structure AABB and the rhythmic design that lends itself to a fifteen-syllable Türkī verse are strong arguments. Comparable cases can be found on ff. 4a/255a-2, 17a/275a-2, 51a/248b-3, 230b/75b–231a/76a-1 (more ornamented), 231b/76b–232a/77–78a-3, 258b/104b–259a/105a-2, 276a/122a-3, 290b/136b-292a/138a-3, 306a/162a-1, 400b/240b, 409a/ 237a-3 and possibly also f.398a/238b-1 titled “Sofiane [...] vssu! mekami nehawend”. This heading may also point in the direction of “courtly” repertoire, but in the absence of further information the piece is listed here.

Şenel describes the musical style of the Türkī notated in L as having “the character of a type of vocal music written along the lines of the text melody”.<sup>564</sup> Yet the concept of Türkī repertoire as being composed (“written”) or the automatic connection of creation with writing are doubtful. In spite of the shortness and relative simplicity of the melodies –which of course also holds true for the Murabba<sup>c</sup> repertoire–, he contends that in spite of the restricted form, “melodic styles” (“ezgi stilleri”) show personal traits in design and interpretation.<sup>565</sup> Conscious composition and conscious stylistic shaping are an interesting concept in contrast to popular notions of “folk” art that comes to life and is transmitted somehow unconsciously and independent of a personal process of creativity.

In a 1992 article on the consistency and durability of the ‘Aşık repertoire, Ursula Reinhard compared the Türkīler contained in L with field recordings done by the Turkish radio corporation TRT, Bela Bártok and herself. The study was motivated by the fact that she could not find a single song notated by ‘Alī Ufuķī still in use in the late twentieth century. Analyzing the example *Kaçar kaçar gelen turnam* (L f.150b; P f.264b/110b), she points out that the textual form, a Semai according to modern poetry

<sup>564</sup> “*Mecmûa-yı Sâz ü Sözü*’de notaya alınmış eserlerin tamamına yakını, güfte ezgilerine göre yazılmış bir çeşit vokal musiki karakterindedir.” Şenel (2013), p. 68.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

theory, has obviously not changed over the course of the centuries; neither has the poetic imagery. She then presented the text to four Âşık singers to perform. They corresponded with each other and with the melodic style of ‘Alî Ufuķî’s version in a number of features such as descending melodic line, predominantly stepwise movement and repetition of sections, independent of their personal taste and tradition. However, all four artists participating in the study spoke about awkwardness in performing the melody as notated by ‘Alî Ufuķî, because they perceived it as “naked” and devoid of the embellishments modern singers are accustomed to. Larger intervallic gaps in the seventeenth-century notation puzzled them; they found them abrupt and would prefer to fill them with short, ornamented lines. Reinhard concludes that ‘Alî Ufuķî notated only a core melody –be it as a simplified memory aid or with distance to the actual performance– without recording the instrumental part which is so important for rhythmic liveliness and structure in today’s Âşık aesthetic.<sup>566</sup> Reinhard’s conclusion, while certainly in accord with modern perceptions, should not be directly applied to ‘Alî Ufuķî’s notations. As the small selection of examples above has shown, the range between the purely syllabic and the densely embellished exists in the repertoire. Hence the question remains why he should notate required embellishments only in some pieces and not in others, as has been discussed above in connection with melodic versions.

To close the present section, mention must be made of another segment of vocal music. Usually lacking any title or other information and often transmitted without notation are the comic and/or obscene songs including all kinds of offensive content from sexual violence to racism, homophobic and misogynist utterances. If those pieces have a heading, it is usually *Tekerleme*; see the note on f. 63a/265b. The *Püre tekerlemesi* on f. 308b/164b is not the only one of its kind. The Kātibi edition by Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun lists a less obscene but also non-serious poem under the heading “*Tekerleme*”.<sup>567</sup> A similar text attributed to ‘Âşık ‘Ömer (d. 1707) has survived to the present day,<sup>568</sup> while the term *Tekerleme* in modern Turkish designates “nonsense rhymes”<sup>569</sup> or tongue-twisters. In certain heterodox contexts

<sup>566</sup> Reinhard (1992), pp. 214f, 216ff, 225.

<sup>567</sup> Ergun, Sadettin Nüzhet, ed. (n.d.[a]), pp. 59f.

<sup>568</sup> Kocatürk (1963), pp. 138, 149ff.

<sup>569</sup> Picken, Laurence (1975). *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey*. London: Oxford University Press, p. 241.

the Tekerleme plays a spiritual role.<sup>570</sup> In his essential work on Turkish folk music instruments, Laurence Picken enumerates song genres connected with the *bağlama*, the last one being “*Hoyrat* – for vulgar songs”.<sup>571</sup> This marginal but obviously extant segment of modern Turkish folk song may be congruent with the vulgar pieces recorded by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, which, as Murat Bardakçı’s study on sexuality in Ottoman society implies, were not too uncommon.<sup>572</sup>

## 4.7 Ġazel

The Ġazel is the defining literary genre of the *dīvān* tradition, so much that Walter G. Andrews describes it as “the heart and soul of classical Ottoman literature, a central focus for a centuries-long expenditure of labor and talent, and a major voice in the song of Turkish culture”.<sup>573</sup> Murabba‘ texts are usually the first and second (or subsequent) distich of a Ġazel, whose language determines the stylistic register of the words but significantly not of the music. The present section is dedicated to entire Ġazeller. Although usually viewed and treated as a literary genre that can be read silently or aloud, the Ġazel was obviously also performed musically. The strongest proof for this is the notated Ġazel on f. 31b/13b, “Ne hunidir ghiozum sakij ki bagrunden kebab ister”, ascribed to Şem‘ī.<sup>574</sup> The undemanding melody divides every verse into two halves, each of which are repeated.<sup>575</sup> Are we dealing with a recitation model, simple enough to display the beauty of the poetry? Another possible explanation would be to locate such works in a middle ground between different spheres of poetic creation, a kind of overlap typical for ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s artistic worldview. Some of the authors

<sup>570</sup> Pinguet, Catherine (2002). “Remarques sur la poésie de Kaygusuz Abdal”. In: *Turcica* vol. 34, pp. 13–38; Oktay Uslu, Zeynep (2017). “L’Homme Parfait dans le bektachisme et l’alévisme : Le Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa de Kaygusuz Abdāl”. PhD thesis. Université de recherche Paris Sciences et Lettres, pp. 117–122. An article by the present author dealing with this repertoire segment is forthcoming.

<sup>571</sup> Picken (1975), pp. 240f.

<sup>572</sup> Especially on the obscene songs transmitted by ‘Alī Ufuḳī see Bardakçı (1993), pp. 171–174.

<sup>573</sup> Andrews (1985), p. 5.

<sup>574</sup> Şem‘ī (2014), pp. 155f., 303.

<sup>575</sup> The melody shows regular units of six Sm (edition: breathing signs). The text is not underlaid (edition: in brackets), but given separately both in Arabic characters and in transliteration (5 distichs each).



referenced by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, for instance Gevherī,<sup>576</sup> and (Ḳul) Nesīmī<sup>577</sup> wrote both in syllabic and in ‘arūz meter.<sup>578</sup>

1,1 [Ne hun - i - der ghio - zum sa - kij Ki bag - rum - den ke - bab is - ter

2 Du - kiub na - hak ie - re ka - num Ka - ba - ghi pur ße - rab i[s - ter]]

Figure 4.15: Ğazel “Ne hunider ghiozum sakij”, f. 31b/13b

‘Alī Ufuḳī’s genre terminology seems to be slightly blurry. *Yāri ben aġyāra vērsem baña yārdan ne ḥāṣıl* on f. 63b/265a is titled Türkī, but formally it is a Ğazel. Its author, Ḳanber-oġlı, is one of the Ğazel-writing ‘Aşıġlar mentioned above. As the lines are shorter than in the example cited before, they are not divided so that the melody consists of two sections for the two verses. Melodically it is even simpler than “Ne hunidir ghiozum sakij ki bagrumden kebab ister”, more reminiscent of a recitation model. Among the Ğazeller transmitted without notation, another specimen with *maḳām* and *uṣūl* statements is encountered on f. 404b/312a-2 (Beyāt [sic] ūṣūli [sic] evfer *Ḳomayub ṭākatım feryāda nālān olmasun dersin*). It is, however, incomplete as it only contains three distichs. Those are of course a small minority among the Ğazel texts in P but they justify the inclusion of all of them in the edition, because their vocal performance was at least possible. But P is no exception. Contemporaneous *ġüfte mecmū’aları* not regularly, but repeatedly contain Ğazel texts with *maḳām* statements. Proof that the Ğazel can be sung can be found for example in MS Thurston 30, which is a source resembling the contents of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s compendium comparatively closely.<sup>579</sup> The comic and vulgar Ğazel-shaped texts ff. 123a/263a and 354b/196b-2 are more difficult to explain.

<sup>576</sup> Gevherī (1998).

<sup>577</sup> Nesīmī (1969).

<sup>578</sup> The melody exhibits regular units of six Sm (edition: breathing signs). The text is not underlaid (edition: in brackets), but given separately both in Arabic characters and in transliteration.

<sup>579</sup> *Thurston 30*. See for instance ff. 23b, 24a, 25b.

In modern-day Turkish music theory, the Ġazel is described as a genre to be performed improvisationally in free rhythm with the instruments holding a drone and inserting a Taḡsīm between verses.<sup>580</sup> Apart from the so-called *Sanat Müziđi* (“art music”) sphere, a comparable practice is found in the “sıra gecesi” of Őanlıurfa: Ġazel and Türkü are linked in a performance sequence, the Ġazel being improvised over a rhythmicized drone.<sup>581</sup> The assumption that in the seventeenth century there may have been such a concept as a “folkloric” Ġazel linked to the Türkü in performance is thus supported by contemporary evidence. This interesting question awaits further study.

## 4.8 İlāhī

Both formally and content-wise, İlāhī lie in close proximity to the Türkü repertoire. This permeability becomes especially clear in comparison with L:<sup>582</sup> Of the eight pieces titled İlāhī in P, one is an untexted melody (f. 379\*b/225b-3); three more do not appear in L (ff. 52a/251b–51b/248a-1, 382a/215a-1, 202\*a-2); one has no designation in L (f. 199a/45a; L f. 170a); and two have a deviant designation (f. 326a/181a; L f. 106b: Türkü berāy-ı derviş and f. 406a/309b-2; L f. 59b: Türkü berāy-ı ehl-i dil). Both songs have an unmistakable spiritual intention. Further, the famous *Uyan ey gözlerim*, without heading in P (f. 129a/298a), is titled İlāhī in L (f. 132a).<sup>583</sup> Only in one single case does the designation İlāhī converge in both sources (f. 206a/52a-1; L f. 169b-2). İlāhiler may have *maḡām* designations (ff. 199a/45a: Rāst, 206a/52a-1: ‘Aṣīrān). Stylistically, there is no palpable difference between İlāhī and Türkü melodies, as exemplified by ff. 52a/251ab–51b/248a or 406a/309b. Some differ with their unemblem-

<sup>580</sup> Akdođu (2003), p. 289.

<sup>581</sup> Macit, Muhsin (2010). “Urfa sıra gecelerinde ve musiki meclislerinde okunan gazelerin işlevi”. In: *Millî Folklor* vol. 22.87. URL: <http://www.millifolklor.com/Yayin/87> (visited on 09/21/2016). It is an interesting detail that Őem‘i, represented on f. 31b/13b, also features in the Urfa repertoire as performed by the legendary singer Kazancı Bedih. *Ibid.*, p. 87. Cf. also Dizdarođlu (1969), pp. 123–126.

<sup>582</sup> In favor of ‘Alī Ufuḡi, the present study assumes permeability instead of errors on his part. Cahit Öztelli voiced the opinion that ‘Alī Ufuḡi labelled songs “wrongly”; Öztelli (1976), p. 10.

<sup>583</sup> Additionally, L has thirteen more İlāhiler not appearing in P: ff. 27a (without text), 27b, 41a, 43a, 119b, 120b, 130b, 169b-1 (without text), 172a, 176a, 176b (without text), 179a, 179b.

lished melodies in slow durational values, e.g. f. 206a/52a (*Mevlām seniñ* ‘*âşıkkların*’, the untexted “İlahi” melody on f. 379\*b/225a which could be identified as belonging to the text *Ḳamū işim haṭā estağfuru’l-lāh* (L f. 130b) or *Kūyinden aldın mı haber* on f. 199a/45a (second melody version):<sup>584</sup>

1,1 [Ḳū-yin-den al - dın mı ha - ber 2 Ge-le bül - bül ha-ber vè - re

3 Bū-yin-den al - dın mı e - ser] 4 Ge-le bül - bül ha-ber vè - re

Figure 4.16: İlahī [*Ḳūyinden aldın mı haber*], f. 199a/45a

The spiritual content of many Türkī and unassigned pieces as well as the cultural implications of their presence have been discussed above in the section “Repertoire and Style”. Some strophic pieces in Türkī style which have a clearly religious orientation are for example ff. 62b/270a-1, 154b/26b-1, 309a/165a, 316a/172a, 345a/187a or 381b/217a-1. Köprülü stressed that forms of folk poetry –what he calls the “*âşık tarzı*”– were used by orthodox and heterodox groups alike, across all social strata and throughout the vast empire, and surmised that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries singer-poets were generally members of one mystic order or the other.<sup>585</sup> Behar pointed out that the proportion of spiritual genres such as İlahī, Na‘t, Tevḥīd and Tespīḥ was comparatively low in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections. He suggests that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s contact with spiritual repertoires may have been restricted.<sup>586</sup> Another explanation may be that the spiritual dimension of the life ‘Alī Ufuḳī led in the palace and of the music connected to it were actually the Türkīler with mystic content discussed above.

<sup>584</sup> Only I,4 is underlaid in Arabic characters (which shows that the melody is intended for the text written to its right). Text and melody form fairly regular units of eight Mi (edition: breath marks), requiring one minor emendation (edition: asterisk): B 2: 5–8 dotted Sb d’ read Br d’ (cf. L f. 170a).

<sup>585</sup> Köprülü (2004), pp. 42f., 47.

<sup>586</sup> Behar (2008), p. 69.

According to modern theory, the *İlāhī* is a strophic song formally reminiscent of folk poetry and generally set to short *uṣūller*, such as *Düyek*, *Şöfyāne*, *Evfer* or *Semā'ī*, which is textually suited to a certain religious group (*ṭarīkat*) but can sometimes be used by more than one.<sup>587</sup> Those “simple” *uṣūller* such as *Düyek* and *Şöfyāne* are apt for ritual “dancing” or repetitive body movements, while the performance speed and degree of movement of a religious piece is generally determined by the *zīkr* practice of the respective group.<sup>588</sup> “Vian i gıozlerim gaffetden Vian” on f. 129a/298a is attributed to the *İlāhī* genre by its L concordance. Its melody displays regular units of six Sm and could thus be employed as an example for *uṣūl* *Semā'ī*, if *uṣūller* are assumed to be valid for the *İlāhī* repertoire. F. 379\*b/225a-3 could be interpreted as *Şöfyāne*, f. 199a/45a as *Düyek*. But the same can be said of many *Türkī* and unassigned melodies, and the sample size is too small to provide meaningful conclusions.

The term *Nefes* usually employed for the religious songs of the *Bektāşī* today<sup>589</sup> never occurs in P, although content features of the texts themselves point in the direction of non-Sunni groups. In his *Kātībī* edition, Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun labels two clearly religious poems, i.e. texts containing the keywords listed above in chapter 4.1 as “*Nefes*”.<sup>590</sup>

Concerning performance practice, the *İlāhī* genre could be sung in the mosque together with *Tespīh*, especially during *Ramażān*.<sup>591</sup> ‘Alī Ufuķī gives no further statement, but he refers to a “*Semai Meulahana*” as located in a performance sequence together with *Peşrev*, (instrumental) *Semā'ī*, *Türkī* and –surprisingly– *Tekerleme* (ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a and 252b/98b).

## 4.9 Other religious pieces

The only artistic religious vocal genre present in the compendium is the *Tespīh*, a form closely connected to Sufi worship,<sup>592</sup> featuring one complete piece accordingly titled (ff. 132b/268b–133a/269a, for *Ramażān*) and a fragment on the following f. 133b/269b. The neighboring page is lost,

<sup>587</sup> Yavaşca (2002), p. 649.

<sup>588</sup> Ergun (1942), pp. 10, 14.

<sup>589</sup> Yavaşca (2002), p. 676.

<sup>590</sup> This can best be seen in the index as there is no separate *Nefes* category in the edition itself. Ergun (n.d.[a]), pp. 81–87.

<sup>591</sup> Ergun (1942), p. 12.

<sup>592</sup> Özalp (n.d.), p. 55.

but with the help of the parallel version in L (f. 178b *Tesbîh-i ʿArabî*), the composition could be reconstructed and its genre ascertained. Both are in the Arabic language, which is rare in P. L contains sixteen more *Tesbîhler* (or *Tespîhler*). Ten are in Arabic, six in Turkish, one in mixed Turkish and Arabic, and one in Persian. Regarding content and form of the text, they closely resemble the seventeenth-century *Tesbîh* examples collected by Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun.<sup>593</sup> Compared to the bulk of vocal music transmitted by ʿAlî Ufuķî independent of genre and stylistic sphere, the *Tesbîh* repertoire stands out due to its melodically more demanding design. The obvious assumption that such pieces may have been performed by more virtuosic, professional singers,<sup>594</sup> should not lead to the reverse conclusion that the rest of the repertoire was performed by non-professional, less trained musicians. It should also be mentioned that the other religious vocal forms connected to artistic music as practised especially by the Mevlevî such as the *Naʿt* and the sections (*selâmlar*) of the *Āyîn* ritual are not present.<sup>595</sup>

In the *Justo Discorso de li Vssutij* (f. 384a/294a), ʿAlî Ufuķî makes a statement on *uṣûl* and performance speed of the *Tespîh* which –in contrast to most of the text on that page– can be meaningfully evaluated:

Proportion Graue [*tempus perfectum diminutum* sign with a dot]  
Sofiane = graue al *Tespîh*

The remark supports the following conclusions: 1. The *Tespîh* is metered, 2. *Uṣûl Şöfyâne* plays an important role and 3. Performance speed is slow. In contrast to this, he counts the genre among the unmetered forms in the *Serai Enderum*.<sup>596</sup> Comparing the repertoire, the complete *Tespîh* seems to have a kind of rhythmic pulse, but *uṣûl Şöfyâne* does not match (neither from the viewpoint of the count of beats per section nor the melodic flow). The fragment on the following page could be performed with *uṣûl Şöfyâne*, requiring one emendation.<sup>597</sup> Half of the pieces contained in L feature an *uṣûl* designation, the other half do not (which of course does not directly imply that they were unmetered, see e.g. f. 135a or f. 179b).

<sup>593</sup>Ergun (1942), pp. 68–71, 85.

<sup>594</sup>Fikret Karakaya, personal conversation, 09.02.2016.

<sup>595</sup>Özkan (1990), pp. 82–84.

<sup>596</sup>*Harley 3409*, p. 50.

<sup>597</sup>In the Critical Report, the synoptic reconstruction is treated as unmetered in accord with the statement in *Serai Enderum*.

An untitled notation on ff. 29a/11a–28b/10b must be mentioned in this context. Following the tablature of a Semāʿī, it captures something like the recitation or cantillation of a quote from the *Ḳurʿān* used commonly as a prayer in everyday life.<sup>598</sup> The notes do not fit the words, which were written first by another hand in fully vocalized Arabic. This interesting element contributes further to the diversity and in this case also the mystery of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s compendium. Further contextualization is a desideratum for future research; three prayer texts in transliterated Arabic on f. 126b/297b should also be considered in this connection, as well as a religious text in Arabic with its Latin translation (or vice versa) on f. 211\*b. A notation of the beginning of the Islamic creed, *lā ilāha illaʿl-lāh* (“there is no god but God”) is given in the autograph of *De Turcarum Liturgia*,<sup>599</sup> but was not included in the printed edition.<sup>600</sup>

## 4.10 Unidentified vocal forms

In the realm of vocal music, a certain ratio of problematic cases remains. In the absence of headings, marginal notes, parallel versions in L or distinctive features of the text such as a *mahlāṣ*, some compositions could not be attributed to the genres established by the analyses above. The following table lists the cases with notation, summarizing their characteristic properties:

- f. 154a/26a “Menki ez iar pur derdem” is attributed to the Varṣağı genre in L (f. 71b), but its formal features are unusual: Four seven-syllable verses are sung to a repeated phrase (section A), then followed by a four-verse refrain with ten, ten, seven and ten syllables. The second stanza is organized differently in that section A is divided and the first half repeated to accommodate the now longer, eleven-syllable verses. The refrain is unchanged. L has a third stanza which is again hendecasyllabic.

<sup>598</sup> Sura 2:153. My thanks to Hakan Özkan for the transliteration, translation and identification of all those texts mentioned in the present paragraph and written in Arabic characters.

<sup>599</sup> *Smith 104*, f. 4a.

<sup>600</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī (1690).

- f. 243a/89a-2 “Aklıjım periβan Jtmede Her an Kiakiuli ġıanan baβıme seuda” is titled “SEMAI”, which is unproblematic as far as the *uṣūl* is concerned, but its formal structure is unexpected. Section A is divided with the first half performed three times to accommodate fifteen syllables of the verse. The remaining five syllables are distributed in the second *uṣūl* of section A. V. 2 is treated in the same way, then a contrasting section B marked “Tis” (*tīz*, high register) follows. Then, instead of repeating section A as expected from a vocal *Semāʿī*, a new third section closes the piece with v.4.
- ff. 288b/134b and 413b/235a “A ia Viuni Viuni ala bilah”/ *Āh yā ʿuyūn ʿuyūn ʿallya biʿl-lāh*. This Arabic-language piece has a three-section structure whose repetitions follow the text as AABB ABB CC. Up to now it has escaped classification and contextualization.
- f. 312b/168b *Maḥbūb al bizden ne kaçarsın* is titled “Semāʿī”, but, comparable to f. 243a/89a-2, displays uncommon behavior. The stanzas consist of six verses with the rhyme scheme aaababcb, of which the last repeats the fourth in slightly varied fashion. The subsequent refrain again refers to this repeated verse. The complicated structure is best demonstrated in a chart. As usual, capital letters signify musical sections, small letters stand for the rhymes:

A	A	A	B	C	D
a	a	a	b	a+b	c+b
				C	D
				a+b	c+b
A	A			C	D
d	d			d+b	d+b

Table 4.8: Formal structure of f. 312b/168b  
*Maḥbūb al bizden ne kaçarsın*

The possibility that the text is incomplete should not be excluded, but in the absence of a parallel version no further deductions could be made.

- ff. 343a/185a-3 and 389b/304a *Āsāsīyā ġarahtanī ya laylī*. Like the other Arabic-language piece mentioned above, this item could not be put into context. It has a two-section musical structure and seven

distichs of text. Unfortunately the concordance L f. 38a does not supply any further information; the second occurrence in P has no notation and includes only the first four vv.

- f. 346a/188a-1 “Sunbul zedese ki rehrewi”: The piece is untitled, but on account of its at least three-beat structure and the *terennüm* it is tentatively designated as a Semā‘ī. Its text in presumably transliterated Persian shows no rhymes that would allow the reconstruction of a poetic scheme (except for “Na‘an” and “efgan” in the second underlaid line). Musically, a first block which may be the *zemīn* divided into –depending on interpretation– two or three sections is followed by an extended *terennüm*. Then, the third section of the first block, marked with a small letter “a” by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, is repeated. Another *terennüm* follows, and a second repetition of the section marked “a” closes the second block (the *mīyān*?). The fermata at the end of the first block leads to the conclusion that it is meant to be repeated and end there.
- f. 348a/190a “Entefil husni feridun”; second version without musical notation on f. 397b/244a, one of the very few Arabic-language pieces in P. Section A consists of three *uṣūller* (Düyek) occupied by v. 1 and a short *terennüm*. B presents v. 2 and closes on what seems to be the final. C is an extended *terennüm* section encompassing six *uṣūller* including a *volta* transitioning into D, again purely *terennüm*. Section E presents v. 3 and closes on the supposed final d’ = dügāh. It is unclear whether the first block (A-B or A-C) should be repeated. The second occurrence likewise consists of five lines. Except for the additional *terennüm* passages after v. 2 and before v. 3 the two versions resemble each other.
- f. 352a/194a Maie Dewri rewan “Szemi ruhune gismini [sic] perwane duṣurdum” has a strophic layout of the text, whose six vv are accommodated by five musical sections with the first one repeated. The rhyme scheme is aaaab\*b ccccb\*b, with b\* varying and b remaining the same. The L version (f. 105a) supplies no heading or other information; further, there are major differences in the formal structure affecting the *maqām* attribution (cf. the Critical Report).



- f. 354a/196a-1 “Jar basse kadem hem didei girianime minnet” is textually a Murabba<sup>c</sup> with additions, but because more than half of the music has not been notated, further analysis is impossible. It is clear, however, that the piece did not follow the two-section Murabba<sup>c</sup> type (AABA), but was more complex. The second occurrence of the poem without notation, *Yār başşar kıdđim dđdeyi gřribānıma minnet* (f. 404b/312a) is titled “Semā<sup>c</sup>ī Muḥayyer [sic]”. It consists of a quatrain (aaba) followed by extended additions, mainly meaningful words, but also *terennüm* syllables. Except for some small details, this text corresponds with the transliterated version.

### 4.11 Peşrev and instrumental Semā<sup>c</sup>ī

Peşrev and Semā<sup>c</sup>ī are multi-section instrumental pieces with a ritornello structure. The obligatory formal constituents of a Peşrev or Semā<sup>c</sup>ī are the *hāne*ler or *hāneha* (“houses”), i.e. the couplets, and the *mülāzıme* (or *lāzıme*), i.e. the ritornello; optional sections such as *zeyl* or *serbend* can be added. The duration of a Peşrev can easily reach or even exceed ten minutes, especially if all the repeats notated by <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī are fully executed. Concerning performance practice, the Peşrev has a ceremonial and also military function and is played both by –to use <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī’s wording– “musica di camera” (*ince sāz*) and “musica di campagna” (*mehter*).<sup>601</sup> In one sense of the genre designation, the instrumental Semā<sup>c</sup>ī is actually not a genre of its own but a Peşrev in *uşūl* Semā<sup>c</sup>ī, which later would take on a special role in the *faşıl* and also in the *Āyın-i şerif* of the Mevlevī dervishes.<sup>602</sup> The Semā<sup>c</sup>ī is much less densely recorded by <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī. Fifteen instrumental pieces are headed Semā<sup>c</sup>ī, while forty are titled Peşrev (not counting those compositions which can be attributed to the respective genres on account of their formal and stylistic traits). As has become clear in other contexts already, the instrumental repertoire transmitted by <sup>c</sup>Alī Ufuķī is more stable and more unified in many respects.<sup>603</sup> This holds true

<sup>601</sup> Harley 3409, pp. 50–53.

<sup>602</sup> Feldman (1996a), p. 460.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid., p. 303: “The *peşrev* genre has the richest documentation of any genre of Ottoman music, with an almost continuous line of notated *peşrevs* going from the middle of the 17th century until the present day. This documentation is particularly complete for the 17th century”. For the historic background of the genre see pp. 307ff. Feldman attributes this stability also to the “lack of change in the *uşūl* system” and

also in matters of genre and form, where Peşrev and instrumental Semā'ī prevail and are easily recognized. Peşrevler and Semā'īler more often than not have a heading assigning them to either genre, and even if there is no title, attribution is unproblematic due to recognition value and lack of alternatives. Cantemir counts four types of Peşrev according to their structure: 3 *hāne*ler and *mülāzime*; 3 *hāne*ler but no *mülāzime* (i.e. the first *hāne* serves as *mülāzime*); 4 *hāne*ler; with a *zeyl*. Semā'ī types are the same except for the four-*hāne* structure that Cantemir attributes to the Persian sphere, while the 3 *hāne*ler and *mülāzime* type is connected to the Anatolian tradition.<sup>604</sup> And in fact, all those types occur in P.

Most commonly a Peşrev or Semā'ī begins with a *hāne*, but a variant in which the first *hāne* also plays the role of the *mülāzime* appears infrequently, but regularly. 'Alī Ufuḳī has to explain this exception: The title of the Peşrev “Newruz Agem Perewβ[an]” on f. 369a/284a is extended by the comment “bir serhanesis peschrew mulazimed[en] baβlar” (“a Peşrev without first *hāne*, it starts with the *mülāzime*”). Optionally, a *serbend* can be inserted between the last *hāne* and the last repetition of the *mülāzime*,<sup>605</sup> a *zeyl* after the second *hāne* (to be repeated after the third *hāne* as well), a *bāz-gū* or a *persenk* at the end.<sup>606</sup> The term *bāz-gū* is rare in Ottoman tradition; it reaches back to the Transoxanian *pīšrow* of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, in which the *bāz-gū* played the role of the *mülāzime*. In its first occurrence on f. 288a/134a, *bāz-gū* is used synonymously with “*mülāzime*” and “ritornello”, all three terms written side by side around the capital letter A designating the section. The second occurrence is in a Semā'ī on f. 413b/235a. There the situation is more complicated as the *mülāzime* is

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the “melodic density of musical phrases” (p. 411). Olley brings this relative stability during the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century into connection with a more centralized tradition with a smaller number of transmission lines; Olley (2018), pp. 30, 36.

<sup>604</sup> Cantemir (2001a), p. 185.

<sup>605</sup> “Serbend si chiama quel che si sona vn po p[er]auanti del fin del peschrewe” (“That which is played a little before the end of the Peşrev is called *serbend*”); *Turc 292*, f. 285a/131a. Feldman places the *serbend* after the last repetition of the *mülāzime*; Feldman (1996a), p. 320; Behar (2008), pp. 153–157.

<sup>606</sup> This appears only on f. 241b/87b; two occurrences refer to the refrain of a vocal piece on f. 3a/254a and f. 248a/94a.

marked with the customary *segno* and ends with a fermata. The section following this fermata, usually expected to be the second *h̄āne*, is titled “bāz-gū”.<sup>607</sup>

In the statistics below Peşrevler and Semāʿīler have been united. The three-*h̄āne* type is prevalent:

- 3 *h̄āneler* and *mülāzime*: 69
- 3 *h̄āneler*, no *mülāzime*: 4
- 3 *h̄āneler*, *zeyl* and *mülāzime*: 11
- 3 *h̄āneler*, *serbend* and *mülāzime*: 9
- 3 *h̄āneler*, *zeyl*, *serbend* and *mülāzime*: 1
- 3 *h̄āneler*, *bāz-gū* and *mülāzime*: 1
- 4 *h̄āneler* and *mülāzime*: 4
- 2 *h̄āneler* and *mülāzime*: 4
- fragmentary: 21
- problematic: 5

According to Feldman’s chronology of Peşrev structures and styles, this distribution coincides with Periods 1-4. The types with *serbend* and *zeyl* are concentrated in Period 3 (1600-1650), when the *ser-h̄āne*-less Peşrev (“New Persian”) is “sometimes adopted by Turks”. Another characteristic of this layer is the importance of a modulation in the third *h̄āne*, which will be addressed below.<sup>608</sup> It is interesting to consider how ʿAlī Ufuḳī deals with formal structure. He uses different strategies to designate repeats and employs various placeholders, from self-invented marks to numbers indicating the beats required by the section that has to be repeated.<sup>609</sup> Repetition signs are ubiquitous. Different from modern practice, the direction in which

<sup>607</sup>Feldman (1996a), pp. 312, 322; Behar (2008), pp. 151ff. The later term for the *mülāzime* is *testīm*.

<sup>608</sup>Feldman (1996a), pp. 325f.

<sup>609</sup>The present section deals with Peşrev and instrumental Semāʿī only, but comparable phenomena are encountered in the vocal repertoire, especially the Latin letters. See also Behar (2008), pp. 148f.

the two dots are facing does not affect performance; the section intended to be repeated is always the one preceding the repeat sign.<sup>610</sup> Because ʿAlī Ufuḳī employs repeats with dots on one or both sides, it seems logical to assume that if there are points on both sides the preceding as well as the ensuing section have to be repeated. *Volte*, i.e. alternative endings for a repeated section, in Ottoman usage *teslīm* or *terkīb*,<sup>611</sup> are marked with a bow –dotted, dashed or drawn through– enclosing the ending of the section which is to be replaced and linking it to the alternative ending (e.g. f. 381\*b/227b). Sometimes they are not signaled and require guessing and deduction (e.g. f. 367a/282a). The European *segno* is frequently used to indicate the recourse to the *mülāzime*, but it is not invariably found at its first inception (which makes the structure of those pieces difficult to understand if there is no parallel version). Obviously it was perfectly clear for ʿAlī Ufuḳī where the *mülāzime* started. Examples for unproblematic cases can be found on ff. 126a/297a, 200b/46b–201a/47a or 307b/163b. On ff. 325a/180a or 352b/194b-1, the frequent *segno* is employed for the *mülāzime* and the European *coda* sign for the *zeyl*. Rarely, the *segno* can also mark a *teslīm*, a repeated phrase that reappears at the end of each section especially in Peşrevler in *uṣūl* *Ẓarḳ-ı feth* (e.g. ff. 20b/3b–21a/4a; the *mülāzime* is unmarked). In contrast to Feldman’s statement,<sup>612</sup> the *teslīm* thus does not necessarily have to coincide with a full iteration of the *uṣūl*. The end of the *mülāzime* is usually marked with a fermata, as opposed to the end of the piece, which is more often than not indicated by a broad flourish. Behar raised the valid question whether the fermata indicated an extension of the final.<sup>613</sup> Indeed a note on f. 275a/121a gives information on this issue, but as always it is impossible to judge how generally applicable this rule was: “[fermata] questo segno dice che cadenza ferma si puo riposarli quanto si vole” (“[fermata]: This sign means that the cadenza [the closing phrase] ends; you can rest [on] it [the note] as long as you want”). In contrast to the general practice in L, the *hāneler* are usually not titled. Latin characters appear frequently, often marking a recurring phrase (ff. 21b/4b–22a/5a-2, 21b/4b–23a/6a; the *mülāzime* is unmarked), or one can stand for the *mülāzime* and the other for the recurring phrase (“b” and “a” respectively, f. 140a/295a or ff. 287b/133b–288a/134a). In the Peşrev on

<sup>610</sup>Paulsmeier (2012), p. 17.

<sup>611</sup>Cantemir (2000), pp. 535–537; Feldman (1996a), p. 321; Dural (2014), p. 157.

<sup>612</sup>Feldman (1996a), p. 321; Jäger (1998a), p. 34.

<sup>613</sup>Behar (2008), p. 149.

ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a, capital “A” designates the *mülāzime*, small “a” the *teslīm*, whereas in ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a a *segno* marks the *mülāzime* and a small letter “a” the *teslīm*. A capital “Z” for *zeyl* can be encountered on ff. 286b/132b–287a/133a. Verbal designations in the sense of written-out words are very rare (ff. 283b/129b–285a/131a, 287b/133b–288a/134a, 293b/139b, 382\*a/228a–382\*b/228b, 383\*b/229b). At a certain point –one is tempted to imply a chronological succession–, Arabic letters appear as section markers. F. 356b/277b-2 is the first piece (in the reconstructed original order) that features a *mīm* for *mülāzime*; a *ze* (or, incorrectly, *ze*) for *zeyl* is encountered first on f. 384\*b/230b. Yet overall the pieces with Arabic section markers are few, see for example ff. 383\*a/229a, 384\*a/230a-1 and the following pages, where this notational device can be found in higher frequency. In L, in addition to the often red section headings, the recourse to the *mülāzime* is indicated with the letters *mīm* and *he* written in connected form. The symbols described are used in various combinations. The placeholder rests have been discussed above in connection with *uṣūl*. They appear regularly in combination with *segni* and letters for clarity (e.g. ff. 313b/169b–314a/170a-1). Placeholder rests, beat numbers and “etc” signs may stand alone (ff. 289b/135b–290a/136a) or separate the incipit and explicit of the section to be repeated (ff. 283b/129b–285a/131a). Independent of the method used, a fermata is often added to indicate the end of the *mülāzime*, before the next section starts. Hence it can be concluded that ‘Alī Ufuķī was on the one hand well aware of the formal structure of Peşrev and Semā‘ī, striving to reflect this meaningfully in his notation, but on the other hand a coherent sign system consequently employed is absent from the P manuscript. As with other issues related to notational practice, there was obviously much experimenting.

In later Ottoman music history, pairs of Peşrev and Semā‘ī became widespread. Groupings with Semā‘ī do not occur with any regularity neither in P nor in L. As regards P, the following Peşrev and Semā‘ī could be paired in performance, which may indeed have been intended by ‘Alī Ufuķī:

- ff. 201b/47b–202a/48a
- ff. 286b/132b–287a/133a and 287b/133b–288a/134a (both Nevā, corroborated by L)

- ff. 290b/136b–292a/138a and 293b/139b (both ʿIrāk according to heading)
- ff. 313b/169b–314a/170a-1 and -2 (both Ḥüseynī, corroborated by L)
- ff. 355a/276a-2 and 355b/276b (both Nevā, corroborated by L)
- f. 360b/281b-1 and -2 (share many melodic features)
- f. 366b/288a-1 and 367a/282a-1 or -2 (all three Nigrīz according to heading)
- ff. 415b/246a–416a/307b-1 and -2 (both Māhūr, corroborated by L)
- f. 383\*b/229b or 383\*a/229a and 384\*a/230a-1 (all Ḥüseynī according to heading)
- f. 234\*a-1 and -2 (Çārgāh according to heading of Peşrev, Semā'ī corroborated by L)

The notion that the Peşrev as a genre requires a “long *uşûl*” is rooted in modern Turkish music theory, which expects the Peşrev to be “mutlaka” (“absolutely”) in a “long *uşûl*”, which includes all *uşûller* longer than 15 beats.<sup>614</sup> Although Feldman noted in reference to L that the “numerous instrumental *peşrevs* [...] are usually created in the longer *uşûls* and they show a much longer and more developed formal structure than anything in the vocal repertoire”,<sup>615</sup> and the second half of his statement is clearly correct, his assessment of the use of *uşûller* in Peşrev composition is not accurate: Not counting compound *uşûller*, outliers and erroneous ascriptions, there are 22 Peşrevler verbally designated as Düyek in P, and ten more can be identified via their concordances in L, making them the largest group (32 of 114, i.e. 28%). A large number of Peşrevler in Düyek can also be found in C.

Another compositional trait typically expected from Peşrev and Semā'ī is a contrasting or modulating *hāne*. While –as has been discussed above in connection with *maḳām* theory– the actually intended *maḳām* is not sufficiently recognizable from the notation alone to make a reliable assumption, in some cases a change of *maḳām* signature, the massed appearance

<sup>614</sup>Akdoğru (2003), p. 291.

<sup>615</sup>Feldman (2015), pp. 100f.

of alteration signs or even a change of register can serve as markers. A change of *makām* signature is the most obvious indicator and the phenomenon most frequently encountered among the clearly discernible, not fragmentarily transmitted cases. It can be encountered in the third *hāne* of the Peşrevler or Semā'iler on ff. 126a/297a, 280b/126b–281a/127a-1, 280b/126b–282a/128a, 282b/128b–283a/129a (after a first change for the *mülāzime*), 325a/180a, 352b/194b-1, 353a/195a-1, 355a/276a-1, 356a/277a-1, 356b/277b-1 (together with a change of register), 357a/278a, 359b/280b-2, 360b/281b-2, 363b/291a–364a/290b, 366b/288a-1, 367a/282a-2, 368a/283a-2, 370b/285b, 375b/218a-1, 415b/246b–416a/307b-1, 379\*b/225b-1, 233\*a-1, 234\*b-1 and 234\*b-2. Without knowing the exact pitch relations intended by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, it is conceivable that the contrast in the Peşrev *Beste-yi ‘Alī Şāntūrī* [*sic*] *Şehnāzī Żarbeyn Sāḳil* [*sic*] ü *Düyek Şāfī* (f. 234\*b) could have been considerable.<sup>616</sup>



Figure 4.17: Peşrev *Beste-yi ‘Alī Şāntūrī* [*sic*] *Şehnāzī Żarbeyn*, f. 234\*b

The example shows the second *hāne* onward. Such a change is also possible in the second *hāne*, see for example ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a, ff. 324b/179b, 345a/187a-1, 358a/279a (second half of the second *hāne*) or twice for

<sup>616</sup>Compound *uşūl* made up of *Şāḳil* and *Düyek* as stated; forty-eight beat structure and eight-beat structure with Sm as basic unit. H3 after 32: the *makām* signature is understood as reversing the cancellation, i.e. reinstating the raising of the third scale degree. The second scale degree is not addressed; in the edition, all alterations for the first part of H3 are reversed here.

*hāne* 2 and again for *hāne* 3, see ff. 343b/185b-1 and 371b/286b, or for *hāne* 3 and again for *hāne* 4, see ff. 358b/279b and 369b/284b. Previously not employed alteration signs appear in the third *hāne* of the Peşrevler on ff. 21b/4b–23a/6a, 201b/47b–202a/48a-1, 289b/135b–290a/136a, 355b/276b, 362b/292a, 367b/282b-2, 369a/284a -2, 378\*a/224a, 380\*a/226a, 384\*b/230b, 234\*a-1 and 234\*a-2. The Peşrev *Şabāh [sic] Çember* (f. 380\*a/ 226a) shows this type of modal variance.<sup>617</sup>

The musical score consists of eight staves of music, each with a treble clef and a 12/8 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes) and rests. Key annotations include:

- Staff 1: A first ending bracket labeled '1' above the staff, and the text 'H1 a = M a' below the staff.
- Staff 2: A bracket labeled 'b' below the staff.
- Staff 3: A bracket labeled 'c' below the staff.
- Staff 4: A bracket labeled 'd' below the staff.
- Staff 5: A bracket labeled 'e' below the staff, and the text 'H2a' below the staff. An asterisk (\*) is placed above the final note of the staff.
- Staff 6: A bracket labeled 'b' below the staff.
- Staff 7: A bracket labeled 'H3a' below the staff.
- Staff 8: A bracket labeled 'b' below the staff.

<sup>617</sup> *Uşûl Çember* as stated and confirmed by L; twelve-beat structure with Mi as basic unit; the *uşûl* staff is omitted for the sake of clarity. H2 a 1: 5 dotted Sm d” read dotted Mi.





Figure 4.19: *Peşrev-i Sākīl*, ff. 18b/1b–19a/2a

This Peşrev is interesting because it features a kind of motivic work: It is accompanied by a note saying “Queste note con quelle del principio sono tutto vno ma cantate in terza in giu” (“These notes are all the same with those from the beginning but sing it one third lower”). Indeed, H2 is a variation of H1 on a lower pitch. Although the passages differ slightly in elaboration and ornamentation, they are still “all the same” for ʿAlī Ufuḳī.

The phenomenon of the *teslīm*<sup>620</sup> (a recurring phrase at the end of all sections) stands in direct connection to this aspect of compositional technique. In ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s notations such recurring phrases are encountered especially frequently in *uṣūl* *Ẓarb-ı feth*, but not exclusively. There are examples in *uṣūller* *Düyek* (ff. 21b/4b–22a/5a, 21b/4b–23a/6a), *Fāḫte* (ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a–2) and *Zencir* (ff. 289b/135b–290a/136a). In the

read Mi gʻ. – After 8 insert Sm aʻ. – 11–12 Sm fʻ read Mi fʻ. – After 15 inserted Sm gʻ. – 17–18 Sm eʻ read Mi eʻ. – 21 Fu fʻ read Sm fʻ. – 22 Fu eʻ read Sm eʻ. – 23–24 dotted Fu dʻ Sf cʻ read dotted Sm dʻ Fu cʻ. See also the forthcoming Critical Report.  
<sup>620</sup> Cantemir (2000), pp. 535–537.

latter case, all statements of the last *uṣūl* of the sequence, Berevṣān, resemble each other closely except for the end of H2. As mentioned above in the context of structural signs, the *teslīm* passages are often marked with letters. The group of Peşrevler in *uṣūl* *Žarb-1 feth* featuring a *teslīm* have been chosen for comparison. There are two types according to ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notation: 1. The *teslīm* is always the same, thus not written out but replaced by a sign (with one exception that is written out).<sup>621</sup> 2. Each statement of the *teslīm* differs to such an extent that writing them out is necessary. Neither of those cases has a mark designating the passage.<sup>622</sup> Durations of sixteen beats are prevalent with one exception of thirty-two beats and a special case discussed below. The Peşrev *Žarbü’l-feth Nevā’ī ‘Uṣṣāk Şerīfīn* (f. 377\*a/223a-1) serves as an example for the varied execution – which, for that matter, may well have been the reality in performance of those instances where the *teslīm* was not written out. The notation shows the first eight beats of each section followed by the respective *teslīm*.<sup>623</sup>

<sup>621</sup> P ff. 20b/3b–21a/4a, 32 beats; f. 352b/194b-1, 16 beats; f. 352b/194b-2, 16 beats; f. 355a/276a-1, 16 beats (unmarked and written out); f. 365a/289b, 16 beats; f. 381\*a/227a, 16 beats (unmarked and written out); f. 384\*b/230b, 16 beats (unmarked and written out).

<sup>622</sup> P f. 377\*a/223a-1, 8+8 beats; f. 233\*a-1, 16 beats (*mülāzime* ends on a different final and is excluded).

<sup>623</sup> *Uṣūl* *Žarb-1 feth* as stated and confirmed by L; eighty-eight-beat structure with Sm as basic unit. M b end: The backward-facing side of the two-way repeat sign is deleted; M a must be repeated, M b not: 16+16+56 = 88 beats.



chard”, f. 358a/279a), *La<sup>l</sup>-pāre* (“Piece of ruby”, f. 367a/282a), *Feth-i bāb* (“Conquest of the gate”, f. 367a/282a), *Ghedairuh* (“Nourishment of the soul”, f. 367b/282b), *Bulbuli vβak* (“Nightingale of the lovers”; there is also a connection to *maḡām* ‘Uṣṣāḡ; f. 368b/282b), *Menegβe zar* (“Violet garden”, f. 372b/287b), *Meglis Ara* (“adornment of the assembly”, ff. 414b/245b–415a/246a), *Eglenge* (“Enjoyment”, f. 377\*a/223a and f. 231\*b; two different pieces), *Gül-i ra-nā* (“Delicate rose”, f. 379\*b/225b), *Toz-ḡoparan* (“Whirling up dust”; there is also an Istanbul quarter of the same name, f. 383\*a/229a; but *Toz-ḡoparan* may also be the sobriquet of a composer.<sup>627</sup>), *Ciḡer-delen* (“Piercing the liver”, f. 383\*b/229b), *Tāze nihāl* (“Fresh shoot”, f. 233\*a), *Firāk-nāme* (“Book / tale of separation”, f. 233\*a) and *Pir-i muḡān* (“Host of the wine-house”, f. 234\*a). “*Tolab*” (ff. 313b/169b–314a/170a) and *Naḡme-yi ṡollāp* (f. 381a/217b) both refer to the waterwheel, which is reflected in their repetitive, reduced melodic designs.<sup>628</sup> “*Tabakat menewβe zar*” (f. 369b/284b) is a slightly problematic case as it reads “*Tabakat menewβe zarbi Safi Rast*”, with “*zarbi*” clearly being one word. Its L version on f. 118a is titled “*ṡabaḡāt-ı benefβe-zār*”, “*Terraces of the violet garden*”. Consequently the heading in P may be an error and “*Safi*” the name of a composer, yet there is no sufficient certainty. Finally, the nonsensical title “*Mefrudunie*” (f. 126a/297a) likely goes back to “*Māh-ı dūnyā*” – “*Moon of the world*”<sup>629</sup> The remaining titles probably come from different, more formal, stylistic or function-related contexts: *Hünkār* [sic] (“sovereign”, ff. 21b/4b–22a/5a), *Missir* (“Egypt”, ff. 21b/4b–23a/6a), *Ramaḡānī* [sic] (“For the fasting month”; may also be the name of a composer, ff. 287b/133b–288a/134a), *Buiuk* (“Large”, f. 368b/283b) and, perhaps surprisingly, *Varṡaḡi* (f. 377\*b/233b). In this last case the connection to a song or singing style may indeed exist. An undecipherable title on f. 363b/291a–364a/290a could not be evaluated.

<sup>627</sup>Personal communication from Jacob Olley, April 2018.

<sup>628</sup>The heading of the latter piece (a *Naḡme*, not a *Peḡrev*, but still an extended composition) was read by Behar as ambiguously “*tullāb*” (“of the students”) and “*dolap*” (waterwheel). He concluded that the piece with its repetitive motifs at the brink of monotony was actually an etude. However, repetitiveness and melodic brevity is also a characteristic of the *Peḡrev*, aiming to imitate the creaking sound of the constantly revolving waterwheel; personal communication from Eckhard Neubauer.

<sup>629</sup>I am indebted to Eckhard Neubauer for this assessment: Its parallel version in the Teheran manuscript of C has exactly this plausible title. Ekinci (2016), p. 194.

The ascription of some Peşrevler to the *mehter* repertoire deserves mention: While there are indeed a few pieces in L whose programmatic titles connect them to the military –*Alay-düzen* (“Formation of the regiment”, f. 34b), *Sancağ* (“Banner”, f. 76a) *At naklı* (“Transporting the horses”, f. 90a)– identification on stylistic grounds is more problematic, but has been attempted. For example, why is the *Peşrev-i Benefşe-zār* a piece that, according to Haydar Sanal “was played during parades and campaigns”? Is the *uşul* statement “Düyek-i harbî”, by the way only present in L, sufficient,<sup>630</sup> or does its programmatic title point in an entirely different direction? Following Sanal, Yavaşca likewise presents Peşrevler mainly from C, as for instance “Muhayyer Mehter”, without justifying his attributions.<sup>631</sup> Tansuğ speaks about twenty *mehter* pieces in L without further identification.<sup>632</sup>

To close the present section, a marginal note referring to the Peşrev deserves special mention. On f. 154a/26a, ‘Alī Ufuķī refers to singing a Peşrev with syllables and different styles of embellishment: “E sempre far diminution di gorga a strazzij e bona, a campanello non e grata. Cantando le parole ma cantando vn Peschrew si, et allora si seruono del tennenen” (“And always execute diminution with the throat in [...] [style] is good, in ‘bell’ style is not welcome when singing the words, but when singing a Peşrev it is [welcome], and then they use the tennenen”). Apart from the details of vocal technique that could not be extracted from the corrupted text, it is interesting to note that the possibility of singing a Peşrev with vocalises seems to have been common, judging from ‘Alī Ufuķī’s casual tone. An explanation may be that in *meşk* instrumental repertoire was taught vocally. On the other hand, in the traditional Anatolian *nevbet-i müretteb* performance sequence a vocally rendered Peşrev was obligatory.<sup>633</sup>

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<sup>630</sup> Sanal (1964), pp. 164ff.

<sup>631</sup> Yavaşca (2002), pp. 747ff.

<sup>632</sup> Tansuğ (1997), p. 18.

<sup>633</sup> Neubauer (2012), p. 367.

## 4.12 Other instrumental (untexted) forms

The present section is dedicated to instrumental, i.e. untexted pieces from a wide spectrum of styles and intended contexts which could not be attributed to a certain genre on formal grounds. While some are identifiable by a heading –Nağme, Oyun–, many have been notated without any further information. In a number of cases formal structure and melodic design suggest that the piece is a *Türkī* tune, in ‘Alī Ufuķī’s words, a “mekam” or “voce”. The texts directly belonging to them could not be identified with certainty. However, a *Türkī* melody was not necessarily destined for one single song text, so the possibility that ‘Alī Ufuķī recorded a melody without a specific text is conceivable.<sup>634</sup>

The Nağme is a form of musical expression related to “courtly” performance, as a note on f. 243b/89b suggests. It describes a performance sequence as ending with “il Nağme”. Several pieces with this title are found in P. The following table lists their occurrences and special traits in order to extract some common features that may determine the genre.<sup>635</sup>

- f. 274a/120a “NAGME del Ton Arak”: consists of three sections, the first ending with a repeat sign. While an *uṣūl* cannot reasonably be suggested, the melody displays regular rhythmic units after an exterritorial first note.
- ff. 299b/145b–300a/146a “Cadenza p[er] nağme di Huseini” and “Cadenza p[er] nağme di newa”: two short phrases, probably unmetred. The first leads from *hüseynī* to *dügāh*, the second from *nevā* to *dügāh*. In absence of further information, they may be understood as *seyir* examples,<sup>636</sup> examples for modulation processes or closing formulas. The use of the term Nağme is not entirely clear as a third phrase in the same dimension and style follows with the heading “Cadenza p[er] Dugia”.

<sup>634</sup>Those cases are consequently listed in the section on *Türkī* and *Varṣağı*.

<sup>635</sup>In modern Turkish musicological publications, there are no repercussions of the Nağme as an independent genre; Say, Ahmet (1992c). “Nağme”. In: *Müzik Ansiklopedisi*. Ed. by Say, Ahmet. Vol. 3. Ankara: Başkent Yayınevi, pp. 949–950. It features neither in Özalp (n.d.); nor in Özkan (1990), pp. 80–82.

<sup>636</sup>Behar (2008), pp. 138–141.

- f. 314b/170b-1 “Cadenze diuersi toni [...] Et li nagme si fa a Voce sola o instr[ument]o solo ala fin di fas[sil]” (“Cadences/formulas in various *maḳām*lar. They are played after the entire *faṣl* is completely finished. And the Naḡme is performed by a solo [unaccompanied?] voice or a solo instrument at the end of the *faṣl*”): Eight short phrases in four different *maḳām*lar resemble the notations mentioned above. However, the remarks added by ʿAlī Ufuḳī lead to the assumption that they are more than *seyir* examples, instead they seem to be closing phrases involved in the last element of the performance sequence.
- f. 360b/281b “mekam Hisar nagme”: shorter than the first notation, and consisting of two sections with the first section repeated. A regular rhythmic structure is discernible.
- f. 381a/217b-1 “Naḡme-yi ṭollāp der maḳām-ı Dügāh-Ḥüseynī”: in this instance the word Naḡme was used in a different context, i.e. in the verbal sense of “voice” or “melody” (of the waterwheel) evoking the programmatic titles given to Peḡrevler. In spite of its elusive structure (see Critical Report), this piece differs from the other items in the present list. It is also much longer than all the other Naḡmeler.
- ff. 414b/245b–415a/246a-3 “Nagme in G sol re vt”: a multi-section piece involving repeats and *segnī* notated in tablature.
- ff. 414b/245b–415a/246a-4 “Nagme in mahur”: likewise a multi-section piece with repeats and a recourse to a middle section.

Putting all the information together, the following conclusions can be drawn: 1. The concluding element of the performance sequence (*faṣl*) is called Naḡme. It may be executed instrumentally or vocally. Cantemir states that the vocal *faṣl* ended with a “Taḳsīm”.<sup>637</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī uses the latter term only once in connection with an unnotated text on f. 376a/212b. 2. Multi-section structures with repetitions and recourses make the probability that those pieces are notated improvisations seem less high. 3. Again under the heading Naḡme, ʿAlī Ufuḳī recorded short melodic phrases which could indeed have been examples for closing an improvisation (the closing role is emphasized in his remark). 4. The Persian word “naḡme” itself is also used in its literal sense. Hence, there is no clear picture that would allow

<sup>637</sup> Cantemir (2001a), p. 187.



the extraction of a genre definition. In L, the genre designation appears once (f. 78b, *Nağme-yi ʿAcem*). The piece is freely flowing, displaying long runs and rapid tone repetitions interrupted by long notes. In the absence of section divisions or repetitions of any kind, this notation does indeed evoke a notated improvisation. But this type of Nağme is not extant in the surviving part of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s loose-leaf collection.

Modulation processes and preludes or interludes –all subsumed under the term *passaggio* in various orthographic variants– can be added here: One is attributed to *maḳām ʿIrāḳ* (“et così si spassegia fin al arak”, f. 375b/128a-1), here understood as describing a modulation or transition into *maḳām ʿIrāḳ*. The second on f. 1a/252a is only headed “Passagio”, allowing no further deductions. The “PASSAGJO NEL ALAMIRE” (f. 276a/122a) shows –comparably to a European Toccata– typical melodic traits of an instrumental improvisation: commencement with a full chord, freely flowing scalar movements falling from long notes and sequential movement:<sup>638</sup>



f. 360b/292b-4 could also be counted in this group. The distinction between *Nağme* and *Passaggio* remains blurred.

Dance tunes are another segment of the untexted repertoire. Concerning the form of the *Oyun*, ʿAlī Ufuḳī makes a short but important statement: “OJNJ quasi uanno tuti in otto sijllabe” (“DANCES are almost all in eight syllables”). Obviously the majority of the *Oyun* repertoire has texts with eight syllables (which does most probably not imply in reverse that songs with eight-syllable texts are to be counted as *Oyun*). Pieces titled *Oyun* or with its Arabic counterpart *Rakṣ* can be found on ff. 47a/249b-4, 280b/126b-281a/127a-3, 286a/132a-4 (“*Oyun maṭrak*”, “humorous dance”) and 306a/162a-2, 314b/170b-4 (untexted) as well as f. 315a/171a-2 and 233\*a-2 (texted). The “*Deli Hormanin Hawasi*” (“tune from *Deliorman* [in today’s Bulgaria]” ff. 230b/75b-231a/76a-6) may be a song or a dance tune. Comparison with modern Bulgarian folk dance styles would certainly be worthwhile.

A group of multi-section pieces with unusual titles must be included here as they are not attributable to other, more well-defined instrumental genres. The notations in question are the “*Arab Kiar*” on f. 314b/170b-2, “*Jhlasi*” (f. 315a/171a-1), “*Keyf kār frengī*” (f. 363a/291a) and “*Sāzkār frengī*” (f. 368a/283a-2). The term *Kār* is usually expected to designate an extended and virtuosic vocal composition from the Persian tradition; here it may have been employed in its literal sense, “work”, comparable to the Arabic *eṣer* or ʿ*amel*. The involvement of Arabia, Europe (*frengistān*) and possibly the French renegade Meḥmed İhlāsi<sup>639</sup> offers no further elucidation. In L, four other pieces belonging to this sphere of otherness can be encountered, namely the melodically inconspicuous *Semāʿī-yi efrencī* (f. 155a), the *Peşrev-i Rōcer ʿamel-i Efrencī* (“*Peşrev* of Roger, a Frankish composition”, f. 152a), a short melody titled *İşkoçıyyī* (“Scottish”, on the same folio) and the *Peşrev-i efrencī yaʿnī Pāvānā* (f. 154). The last piece consists of a single line of notation and, in spite of being slightly flawed, can indeed be imagined as a European dance melody. The *Pavan* is a low-tempo, processional court dance in duple meter, popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their stylized forms for keyboard and lute instruments are exemplified by John Dowland’s *Lachrimae, or Seven Teares Figured in Seven Passionate*

<sup>639</sup>See above chapter 1.4. Sarıcaoğlu (1991), pp. 123f.

*Pavans* (1604).<sup>640</sup> The assumption that ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notation goes back to such a lute or keyboard piece seems plausible; from the tablature notations in P it became clear that ‘Alī Ufuḳī played the lute. Jäger offers the possible explanations of a conscious imitation of “Frankish” style or the adaptation of a European piece in the first case and the notation of a Pavane heard by ‘Alī Ufuḳī in the context of an embassy in the latter case. The Peşrev is understood as an arrangement of a European composition by “an anonymous Turkish composer”.<sup>641</sup> One is left to wonder whether “Röcer” is the same person as “roger”, who wrote his name on f. 409a/237a, one of the very few occurrences of Latin characters by a hand other than ‘Alī Ufuḳī. Another instance of European music is a marginal which should not go unmentioned here in spite of its mysterious content: “Ciacona dopo la Romana fa lo Cici a la Arabesca” (“Ciacona after the Romana; make it [...] in Arabic style”; f. 290b/136b). The Ciacona is a dance based on ground-bass variations, while the “Romana” (‘Alī Ufuḳī most probably means Romanesca) is in a similar way a harmonic formula used for the performance of poetry and instrumental variations.<sup>642</sup>

Lastly, a number of predominantly short untexted notations lacking further contextualization must be listed, beginning with the mysterious “Buldurgin” (“quail”) (ff. 4a/255a-2 and 230b/75b-231a/76a). Its two-part melody could be a dance tune, but in both cases the word “Buldurgin” is positioned at to the beginning of the second section. “Palpitatio manuum” (“hand clapping”) on f. 31b/13b is another inexplicable notation. There are instances of tone repetitions, very simple and short melodies (f. 153b/25bisb, 242b/88b-2), isolated phrases (ff. 175a/299a-2, 363a/291b-2, 410a/247b-2 and the two alphanumeric notations on f. 390b/313a), a rapid scalar movement leading to a long note as in a closing flourish (f. 243a/89a-2), another scale encompassing an unusually large range written in tablature (f. 360a/281a-3) and a short notation consisting of two sections headed

<sup>640</sup>Brown, Alan (2001). “Pavan”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 19. New York: Macmillan, pp. 249–252.

<sup>641</sup>Jäger (1998b), p. 343. A detailed musical analysis of the Peşrev as an attempt to reconstruct the European “original” follows on pp. 345–350.

<sup>642</sup>Silbiger, Alexander (2001). “Chaconne”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 5. New York: Macmillan, pp. 410–415; Gerbino, Giuseppe (2001). “Romanesca”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 21. New York: Macmillan, pp. 577–578.

“presto” (f. 362a/292b). Spontaneity and personal relevance are characteristic features of ‘Alī Ufuķī’s compendium. Those traits are reflected in a considerable amount of notations without any context, which seemed perfectly logical and in place to ‘Alī Ufuķī but which are difficult or impossible for the modern researcher to explain.

### 4.13 Faşil: Performance sequences

Multipart performance sequences, also described as cycles or suites, have a long history in the Middle East. In the Ottoman tradition, the *faşıl* developed out of the *noubat-e morattab* (Ottoman Turkish *nevbet-i müretteb*), a five-movement suite with vocal and instrumental contributions. The typical Anatolian form –according to Seydī– consisted of an instrumental prelude (Maķām, comparable to the modern Taķsīm), a Peşrev performed vocally with syllables,<sup>643</sup> the vocal Hüsrevānī, a Kāvī with Arabic text, a Ğazel with Persian text and a Terāne based on a Persian or Arabic quatrain. Another Kāvī named Fūrūdaşt closed the sequence. Other theoretical sources count the Nağme as a closing movement. In absence of a singer, a purely instrumental execution was possible.<sup>644</sup> ‘Alī Ufuķī was aware of this type of suite as it is described in the unknown treatise attributable to the Anatolian tradition, out of which he recorded a substantial portion on *uşul*. This description is compared with the previously mentioned sequence (ff. 205a/51a–205b/51b):<sup>645</sup>

<sup>643</sup> ‘Alī Ufuķī possibly alludes to this practice on f. 154a/26a.

<sup>644</sup> Neubauer (2012), pp. 366ff.

<sup>645</sup> See above chapter 4.3.1. For comparison, the slightly differing wording of the corresponding passage in Kırşehirī’s *Kitāb-ı Edvār* is as follows: “Bilgil kim nevbet-i müretteb oldur kim evvel ki bünyād eyleye, bir makām göstere. Andan sonra bir pişrev ide. Andan sonra hüsrevānī ide. Hüsrevānī oldur kim yine bir makām göstere. Andan sonra bir pişrev yine ide. Eđer sakil, eđer hafif iki devir nakş-ı nakarāt göstere. Andan sonra bir kavil ide. Andan sonra bir gazel ide. Andan sonra bir pâre ide. Evvel terāne ola. Andan sonra bir kavil dahi andan fūrūdâşt ide. Çün bu kâideye riâyet eyleye nevbet temâm olmuş olur”. Kırşehirli Yusuf bin Nizameddin (2014), pp. 45–62. See also Behar (2008), pp. 157–160.

Ewwel bu Maia bir mekam ghiostere	Maḳām
andan sora peschref ede	Peşrev
andan sora Husrewani ghiostere Husrewani oldur ki bir mekam ki ghiostere olmekamde	Ḥüsrevānī
peschrewden sora sekildur hafif iki dewri nekarat nakβile giostere,	another Peşrev
	Ḳavl
andan bir vzzal ede	Ġazel
we bir tiran ola	Terāne
furudaβt ola [...] nēubet tamam olur	Fürüdaş

Table 4.9: Comparison of performance sequences described by ʿAlī Ufuḳī and Seydī

There must have been a certain variance in the composition of the *nevbet*, as differences exist between the suites described in the treatise copied by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, by Ḳırşehrī and by Seydī as summarized by Neubauer. ʿAlī Ufuḳī closes the paragraph with a comment in Italian: “Neubet [gloss: *fasil*] e quello cioe Vna assentata per sonar” (“*nevbet –fasıl–* is a ‘sitting down’ [a session] for playing [music]”). The conclusion that this type of sequence was only remotely if at all connected to ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s daily practice as a palace musician may be permitted, as none of the genres enumerated in the treatise is recognizably represented in the repertoire, apart from the historically highly persistent Peşrev – under the reserve of the vocal pieces with Persian and Arabic text not (yet) attributable to certain genres. On the other hand, on f. 283b/129b, in a note on tuning and pitch, ʿAlī Ufuḳī mentions “sonar il nobet” on the “Liuto”. But in the absence of context, it remains open what kind of musical genre and performance situation he is talking about. It seems as though older and newer terms and thus possibly also older and newer musical phenomena coexisted.

During the seventeenth century, changes took place in Ottoman music. Those changes did not only affect the vocal repertoire as discussed above, but also the structure of the performance sequence, now called *faşıl*. In an insertion into the subsequent paragraph of the treatise, ʿAlī Ufuḳī again refers to the “*fasl una assentata*”, using the designation common in his

environment.<sup>646</sup> This or a similar stage of development is described by Demetrius Cantemir, who mentions a vocal and an instrumental *faşıl*, the *faşıl-ı h<sup>v</sup>ânende* consisting of Taḫsīm, Beste, Naḫş, Kār and Semā<sup>v</sup>ī flanked by an instrumental and a vocal improvisation, and the *faşıl-ı sâzende* consisting of Taḫsīm, Peğrev and Semā<sup>v</sup>ī. A combined vocal-instrumental sequence starts with an instrumental Taḫsīm, followed by one or two Peğrevler, a vocal Taḫsīm and the entire *faşıl-ı h<sup>v</sup>ânende*. An instrumental Semā<sup>v</sup>ī and a vocal Taḫsīm accompanied by a drone close the performance.<sup>647</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḫī does not explicitly mention improvisation (Taḫsīm), although –judging from Evliyā Çelebi’s description of a performance sequence cited above– it is hardly conceivable he was not familiar with it.<sup>648</sup> In L, the situation is different as the term *faşıl* does not describe the suite itself but a corpus of instrumental and vocal pieces of the same *maḫām* (or modality, if Türkī and Varşagı are understood as having principles of their own) from which a performance sequence could be generated. The evidence of many contemporaneous, earlier and later *güfte mecmū’aları*, e.g. the MSS group R 1722–1725 in the Topkapı Sarayı Library, suggests that they employ this customary practice with the aim of facilitating the arrangement of pieces in the same or matching *maḫām*lar in a *faşıl*.<sup>649</sup>

Apart from the remarks cited above, ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s compendium offers some insights into the practice of his day. As usual, they are often short and context-less,<sup>650</sup> so that it is sometimes difficult to judge whether they apply generally or for a specific situation.<sup>651</sup>

<sup>646</sup> The use of the term *faşıl* in the sense of “music-making session” is in use today in a different context, namely the *Âşık Faşılları* of Kastamonu. The term signifies a public or private meeting of two or more Âşık performers, including a previously planned order of performance which may include competition. Şenel, Süleyman (2007). *Kastamonu’da Âşık Faşılları*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Kastamonu: Kastamonu Valiliği, p. 5.

<sup>647</sup> Cantemir (2001a), p. 187. Neubauer (2012), pp. 366ff., 382ff. Feldman (1996a), pp. 180f.

<sup>648</sup> On the topic of Taḫsīm see *ibid.*, pp. 274–299.

<sup>649</sup> See also Şenel (2007), pp. 7f.

<sup>650</sup> “This was a conundrum of note-taking: what worked to prompt recollection for the maker of the note did not guarantee the utility of the note to others”; Yeo (2014), p. 53.

<sup>651</sup> For the internal references contained in the annotations see Fig. 2.6; in many cases the intended aim could be reconstructed.

- f. 47b/249a: “Sona auanti la Tarini la intrada del folio scritta di awazi Tasbas et dopo lo Turchi lo peschrew di Ahmed giugi Vechio 117” (“Before the Tarini play the intrada [prelude?] from the folio, written in the melody of [ʿAşık] Ṭās-bāz, and after the Türkī the Peşrev by Aḥmed the old [elder?] Dwarf, [f.] 117”). It is not entirely clear what ʿAlī Ufuḳī means with “Tarini”, but the Terāne as a vocal element of the Persianate *nouba*, formally the setting of a quatrain, is a strong contender.<sup>652</sup> In this mixture of Turkish and Persian terminology, it is difficult to determine which pieces he refers to: On the folio in question, there are two Türkī notations (both without heading, but clearly attributable to the genre on account of *mahlāṣ* usage and formal structure) and the fragment of a Semāʿī (likewise without heading). None of them displays the multipart structure described by Wright.<sup>653</sup>
- f. 47b/249a: “questa et mekam [...] et p[er]cio finita questa soni al gioco del Oinij nel rast fol. 275 et salta ouer peschrew del Rast Kemengegini” (“This and the *mekam* [tune] [...] and this one thus being finished, play the game of Oyun in Rāst f. 275 and dance or else the Peşrev in Rāst of the kemençe [spiked fiddle] player”). An element of dance is described for the early instrumental *nouba*,<sup>654</sup> but its place is at the end of the suite following the Peşrev.
- ff. 230b/75b–231a/76a: “Sona a la fin lo semaij in C sol fa vt et auanti lo kijz peschrewi” (“In the end play the Semāʿī in C sol fa ut and before the Kız Peşrevi”). This may be an instance of the subsequently classical pairing of Peşrev and Semāʿī.<sup>655</sup>
- f. 242a/88a: The title of a vocal piece, “SEMAI Pesante Dopo il Aldi aklijmen”, was written in three different stages: first “SEMAI”, second “Dopo il Aldi aklijmen” (“after *Aldı akl-ı men*”) and last because it

<sup>652</sup>Wright (1992), pp. 40, 61ff. Neubauer (2012), p. 342.

<sup>653</sup>Wright (1992), pp. 61ff.

<sup>654</sup>Neubauer (2012), p. 367.

<sup>655</sup>Ibid., p. 367.

is squeezed between the other two elements, the interpretation note “pesante” (“heavy”). The absence of the referenced piece from P and L precludes further deductions.<sup>656</sup>

- f. 243b/89b: “Fassil Jntrada Turchi del Tono Dopo lo peschrew Kiul-liat et Semaij del Alamire ultima lo Tekerleme poi il Nagme” (“Faşil: Intrada [‘entrance’; prelude]; Türkī in the [matching] mode [*maḳām*], then the Peşrev-i Külliyyāt and Semā‘ī in A la mi re, and last the Tekerleme, then the Nāğme”). This note is a case of dubious validity: It may pertain only to one special instance as it alludes to a certain piece, most likely the *Peşrev-i Külliyyāt nazīresi* on ff. 283b/129–285a/131a. The Semā‘ī is more difficult to identify; it should be in *maḳām* Ḥüseynī to match the Peşrev, and start on a’. There is no such piece in P, neither is there in L, though. Anyhow, the pairing of Peşrev and Semā‘ī is described more than once, as is the placement of the Türkī before the Peşrev. Another interesting implication is that the Türkī has to match the Peşrev modally.
- ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a: “Dopo sona lo semaij di meulehana. Peschrew kiumen [?]. prima poi lo Semaij poi lo Turchi poi lo Tekerleme conla Voce ia ben bunij neileielum” (“Afterwards play the ‘Semā‘ī of Mevlāna [?]’. Peşrev [...] first, then the Semā‘ī, then the Türkī, then the Tekerleme on the tune *ia ben bunij neileielum*”). A case similar to the one above, it is not clear how universally valid the statement is. The order differs, though, as there is a vocal Semā‘ī with religious content, and the Türkī follows the Peşrev–Semā‘ī couple.
- f. 252a/98a: “Semai Meulahana Euxu aḡik Huij et poi Semaij”. The “Semai Meulahana” is mentioned for the second time here. It is unclear but not highly probable that the Türkī found on the same page is meant with this designation; a text from the actual Mevlevī ritual titled “Semā‘ī Mevlānā” can be found on f. 396b/311a, but combining it with a Türkī, ritual exclamations and an (instrumental)

<sup>656</sup>The only piece that comes near the stated incipit is the Murabba‘ setting *Aldı ‘aḳlım ol semenber zülf-i ‘anber-bār ile* on f. 411a/243b.



Semā̄ī is an unusual thought: What may be intended is the Semā̄ī in the context of the Mevlevī *semā̄* ritual,<sup>657</sup> but then the role of ʿAşık Öksüz becomes inexplicable.<sup>658</sup>

- f. 253a/99a: “Aij ala fine canta poi la ielteme” (“Aij in the end [i.e. after a Türkī] then sing the Yelteme”). The genre Yelteme is neither mentioned in the descriptions of performance sequences above, nor in Evliyā Çelebi’s remarks on musical genres, nor does it appear in P. Feldman lists it as a lute instrument from the “folk” sphere.<sup>659</sup> In L, however, there are four Yeltemeler (f. 87a and three items on f. 97b), none of which is concordant. The first one is a Peşrev-like composition with corresponding section headings, the other three are also multi-section instrumental compositions, but the headings are Persian: “fürüdāşt” (first section), “fürū amede” (second, repeated section).
- f. 275a/121a: After the Türkī notated on the page a second Türkī was meant to be performed (“Dopo questo turki canta lo Turki Bre ei ala giozlu dilber folio 267”). A wider context is not supplied.
- f. 276a/122a: The remark “andan sora bu muraba” follows an untexted, untitled notation; instead of “muraba”, the wording was originally “turki”. However, there is neither a Murabbaʿ nor a Türkī on the page, but a toccata-like Passaggio and an Albanian folksong.
- f. 314b/170v: “Cadenze diuersi toni del Behram si fanno dopo finito tutto il fassil - Et li nagme si fa a Voce sola o instr[ument]o solo ala fin di fas[sil]” (“They are played after the *faşıl* is completely finished. And the Nağme is performed by a solo [unaccompanied?] voice or a solo instrument at the end of the *faşıl*”). The terms Cadenza and Nağme (at least in this context) seem to be equivalent for ʿAlī Ufuķī. Their place is the very end of the *faşıl*. This brings to mind the variant form of the *nevbet* closing with a Nağme,<sup>660</sup> and thus an older practice.

<sup>657</sup>Feldman (1996a), pp. 187f.

<sup>658</sup>Behar translates “mevlevihane semaisi” (“Semā̄ī of the Mevlevī-ḥāne [the lodge of the Mevlevī dervishes]”. Behar (2008), p. 160.

<sup>659</sup>Feldman (1996a), p. 169.

<sup>660</sup>Neubauer (2012), pp. 366ff.

- f. 360b/281b: “Ne suc ittim – Turki czarhij feleki Segiahdeki fethi zarb bir hane et lo Semaj” (“*Ne suç etdim – Türkî çarh-ı felek; Ẓarb-ı fetḥ in Segāh one ḥāne and the Semā-ī*”). The first piece mentioned is also a Türkî, i.e. the sequence starts with two Türkî. Then a Peşrev follows, but instead of the entire composition only one *ḥāne* is performed. Predictably by now, a Semā-ī ends the performance. It may be assumed that in certain probably less formal contexts, the often lengthy Peşrevler could be shortened.
- f. 376a/212b: The rare title of a Murabba<sup>c</sup> may stand in connection with a performance sequence: *Takṣīm-i Hüseynî*. Obviously it was intended for an improvised performance.<sup>661</sup>
- f. 389b/304a: Heading “Faşıl der maḳām-ı Segāh” in red ink. On a page with *cedvel* and written by a strange hand, this title looks as if there had been considerations in the direction of a traditional *güfte mecmū<sup>c</sup>ası* ordered according to modal entities. This plan was obviously not pursued: another text on the page is headed “Dügāh-Şabā”. See also f. 391b/303a with the rubric “Faşl-ı maḳām-ı Nişābur Şöfyāne”, f. 395b/242b with the rubric “Faşl-ı Rāst-Pençgāh” and f. 398b/238a with the rubric “<sup>c</sup>Uşşāḳ faşıl uşūli Şöfyān” in the same hand. These headings do not indicate a performance sequence.

The connection of Peşrev and instrumental Semā-ī proved to be persistent.<sup>662</sup> The instrumental genres identified as modern by Feldman are not yet present in P, namely the Semā-ī-yi sāzende in the 10-beat *uşūl* Aḳşāḳ Semā-ī and the Takṣīm with much increased importance.<sup>663</sup> From those remarks in the list which leave room for further conclusions, a structure could be extracted. It seems as though the sequence Türkî, Peşrev, Semā-ī recurs, while variations and additions are possible. It is important to note that the Murabba<sup>c</sup>, vocal Semā-ī and other vocal genres generally attributed to the “courtly”, “sophisticated” sphere do not feature in the descriptions cited above.

<sup>661</sup>My thanks to Harun Korkmaz for pointing this out. For comparable pieces, i.e. quatrains with the rhyme order aaba, see *K* 447, ff. 22b, 26a.

<sup>662</sup>Neubauer (2012), p. 367.

<sup>663</sup>Feldman (2015), p. 135.

47b	47b	230bf	243b	248bf	314b	360b
Intrada			Intrada			
Tarini						
Türkī	Türkī?		Türkī	“Semai Meulahana”		2 Türkī
Peşrev	Oyun or Peşrev	Peşrev	Peşrev	Peşrev		Peşrev
		Semāʿī	Semāʿī	Semāʿī		Semāʿī
				Türkī		
			Tekerleme	Tekerleme		
			Nāgme		Cadenza (= Nāgme)	

Table 4.10: Reconstruction of performance sequences mentioned by ʿAlī Ufuķī

The repertoire transmitted by ʿAlī Ufuḳī suggested to Feldman that Sultan Murād IV was “not interested in a full classical concert [i.e. the *faşıl* described by Cantemir], but something more like a variety show”.<sup>664</sup> ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s remarks demonstrate that in his day there was an awareness of performance sequences called *faşıl* and/or *nevbet*.<sup>665</sup> Considering the role of ʿĀşık repertoire at court, as corroborated by Evliyā Çelebi, who is describing the musical taste of the same sultan, it seems like a value judgement to regard those forms as less serious because they contained Türkī. The Tekerleme, often absurd, comic or even vulgar in content but imbued with hidden spiritual meaning from the sphere of the heterodox Bektaşī, is a different issue.<sup>666</sup> But the sequence of prelude or intrada, Türkī, Peşrev and Semāʿī with likely addition of improvisation at the end should not be disparaged. ʿAlī Ufuḳī lived in an environment in which the older, Persianate tradition was still valued and taught, and possibly also still performed to a certain extent, while in Cantemir’s *faşıl* Türkī and Varşığı do not feature anymore. Cantemir’s aesthetic, carefully dissociated from “folk” music, shaped current notions on Ottoman music-making and its historical development.

#### 4.14 Languages other than Ottoman Turkish

In a notation collection as broad, encompassing and at the same time as individual as ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s, the impact of the cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Ottoman Empire and ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s personal environment—the palace, in the words of Metin Kunt “a veritable Tower of Bable”<sup>667</sup>—can be expected and is indeed encountered. Even if the repertoires are small and notation generally less careful, they are of special importance, offering a glimpse into the soundscape of seventeenth-century Istanbul as experienced by ʿAlī Ufuḳī. The present section relies greatly on the generous and patient help of experts and native speakers, without whose support in transliterating, translating and contextualizing this important and unique

<sup>664</sup>Feldman (2015), p. 107.

<sup>665</sup>Behar also states that it would be “very wrong” to suppose ʿAlī Ufuḳī had no knowledge or practical experience of *faşıl*. Behar (2008), p. 159.

<sup>666</sup>On the spiritual content of the Tekerleme see Pinguet (2002); Oktay Uslu (2017), pp. 117–122.

<sup>667</sup>Kunt (2011), p. 297.

segment of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s manuscript would have remained inaccessible.<sup>668</sup> Questions of genre and stylistic analysis as well as assessments of faithfulness of the notation to the oral tradition exceed the scope of the present study; future research will hopefully put those repertoires into their respective cultural contexts and evaluate them.

Apart from the European compositions to be discussed below, which reached ʿAlī Ufuḳī most probably through his encounters with foreign embassies, and the Arabic as well as Persian songs which are counted among the “courtly”/“urban” sphere due to their formal characteristics and sometimes also their headings, the range of languages contained in the compendium is impressive: Albanian and South Slavic are languages of the *değişirme* children who were trained as janissaries and rose into high administrative positions. Armenian and Georgian or Lazuri represent the eastern regions of the empire, from where many inhabitants of Istanbul and the palace hailed.<sup>669</sup> Without being able to trace those songs and texts to concrete sources and circumstances, they show ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s indiscriminating curiosity. It is important to note that in all instances he did not only write the pieces down but added notes on language, pronunciation or other meta-information proving how consciously he engaged with the music he encountered under whatever circumstances. This segment of musical transmission, which has been described above as “proto-ethnomusicological collecting fervor” ceases in L, a manuscript whose purpose is unknown but palpably different from that of P: The compendium contains all that drew ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s interest. In his surroundings this diversity was played out and probably also valued to a certain extent. Terminologically, for ʿAlī Ufuḳī a folksong is a *Türkī*, independent of the ethnicity of its source: Besides the “*Arnaut turki*” there is also a “*Frenk turki*” (ff. 282b/129b–285a/131a-1) and a “*Frenk oyun havāsi*” (f. 286a/132a-1 and probably also -2). The latter example is credible as a non-Ottoman piece, whereas the former exhibits the typical rhythmical movement of the *Semāʿī*. It may be speculated that this untexted melody could be the music of the “Frank” in *Karagöz* shadow puppet theatre.<sup>670</sup> Other languages which could be expected to

<sup>668</sup>The persons responsible will be named in connection with the respective languages; their contributions are also distinguished in the Critical Report.

<sup>669</sup>Kunt (2011), 297ff. and passim. Finkel (2007), p. 74.

<sup>670</sup>This connection requires more detailed research. It is imaginable that also the vulgar and racist songs in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s compendium can be located in such a context. Boyar and Fleet (2010), pp. 275ff. Ze’evi (2006), pp. 128f. There, John Covel is

have entered ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections are Kurdish and Greek. While there is no Kurdish text at all, there is the text of a love song in transliterated Greek concerning a “beriwoli” (“perivóli”, an orchard or enclosed garden).<sup>671</sup>

🍃 K’artvelian:<sup>672</sup> Two short notations of songs on f. 366b/288a. These two notations are unfortunately problematic, externally due to their sketchlike presentation squeezed in between preexistent writing and contentwise due to the circumstances that ‘Alī Ufuḳī most probably did not speak the language concerned, wrote from hearing and used his own spelling. He tried to reflect phonetic peculiarities, for instance representing the emphatic “ts” as “č”. However, it is not even clear which language is actually meant. It belongs to the K’artvelian (Georgian) family as ‘Alī Ufuḳī titled the first of the two songs “Gurdzige” (“gürçüce” – “in Georgian”). On the other hand, on account of the Turkish loanwords present in the text the possibility that it is Lazuri, a K’artvelian language spoken in today’s northeastern Turkey along the Black Sea Coast and across the border in Georgia,<sup>673</sup> should not be discarded. The text of the first song could be partially deciphered as “Shen vashli gamogigzavnia / Me brots’euli megona” (I thought the apple you sent me was a pomegranate). The second notation merely allowed the identification of single words, some of which are Turkish (“gherek”, “suile”).

🍃 Albanian:<sup>674</sup> The native language of many *devşirme* children<sup>675</sup> is represented by a short song f. 33a/15a, a more extended and assured notation on f. 276a/122a and a third short vocal piece on f. 350b/192b. The second piece is titled “ARNAV TÜRKI” (Türkī thus in the general sense of “folksong”

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quoted complaining about the “beastly brutish language” of the shadow theater. See also Smith, James (2004). “Karagöz and Hacivat: Projections of Subversion and Conformance”. In: *Asian Theatre Journal* vol. 21, pp. 187–193, pp. 189–192.

<sup>671</sup> *Turc* 292, f. 351b/193b. The transliteration is difficult to make sense of; I am grateful for Panagiotis Poulos for clarifying this matter.

<sup>672</sup> This paragraph is indebted to David Assatiani and Stephan Kolassa. See the Critical Report for more details.

<sup>673</sup> For information about the Laz language see Kutscher, Silvia (2008). “The language of the Laz in Turkey: Contact-induced change or gradual language loss?” In: *Turkic Studies* vol. 12, pp. 82–102.

<sup>674</sup> Here I have to express my gratitude to Bardhyl Demiraj for edition, translation and background information. He gave a first overview over his exciting findings in Demiraj, Bardhyl (2017). “Folklor muzikor shqiptar në shek. XVII”. in: *Gazeta Shqiptare*, pp. 4–5. A joint paper is being planned.

<sup>675</sup> Yilmaz (2009), p. 121.

without any ethnic connotation). It is a love song alluding to the *Hudurrellez* spring celebration. In a small gloss ‘Alī Ufuḳī recorded information on pronunciation, namely that the letter “z” should be pronounced “with the tongue between the teeth”. The third notation is a more explicit love song. According to Bardhyl Demiraj, ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations are the earliest known written record of Albanian folk music and thus highly important for the country’s music history.

🍃 South Slavic:<sup>676</sup> The ancestor of modern Serbo-Croatian, South Slavic is, like Albanian, a language associated with the *devşirme* children ‘Alī Ufuḳī encountered in the palace environment. The same janissaries who supplied him with Bektāşī-influenced ‘Āşık songs may well have sung him the Slavic songs encountered on f. 33a/15a (five stanzas of a mixed Ottoman-Turkish/South Slavic song without notation), f. 252b/98b (the notation of what seems to be a drinking song, judging from the content of the text), ff. 270b/116b–271b/117b (five songs with notation plus a Tekerleme) and f. 317b/173b (a long poem most probably intended for vocal performance in the sense of epic recitation to the accompaniment of the *gusla* fiddle). Some of the song texts allude to historic personalities such as “Mustai Beg” (f. 270b/116b-2)<sup>677</sup> or “Husein malkocz begowic” (f. 271a/117a-1).<sup>678</sup> According to Branka Ivušić, most of the texts are metrically corrupted and generally problematic in their transmission. This could be explained by insufficient understanding on the part of ‘Alī Ufuḳī or remoteness from the source on the part of his informants. A gloss on dancing on f. 270b/116b (“Bosnada – Karılar Chora teperler”) is a typical instance of ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s transcultural mediation – if only to himself: He did not merely want to

<sup>676</sup> Thanks to Branka Ivušić, who not only deciphered the texts but put them into their historic context. The literature cited in this connection was found and quoted by her.

<sup>677</sup> See the Critical Report for more details; Lopašić, Radoslav (1888). *Dva hrvatska junaka – Marko Mesić i Luka Ibričimović*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, pp. 23–25. Lopašić, Radoslav (1991). *Bihać i Bihaćka Krajina*. Bihać: DINA, pp. 120–123; Novaković, Stoyan (1892). “Stari Bosanski zakon o baštinama”. In: *Bosanska Vila* vol. 7, pp. 199–201, p. 200.

<sup>678</sup> Klaić, Vjekoslav (1911). *Povjest Hrvata – Od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća. Četvrto Doba – Vladanje kraljeva iz porodice Habsburga (1527-1740). Prva knjiga – Doba kraljeva Ferdinanda I., Maksimilijana i Rudolfa (1527.-1608)*. Zagreb: Naklada knjižare L. Hartmana, p. 219.

preserve, he also wanted to understand and contextualize. However, the *Horo* is a dance associated with Bulgaria, not with Bosnia.<sup>679</sup>

🍃 Polish: ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s native language is strangely underrepresented. In total there are twelve elements, three among them have been considered as possibly relating to music:<sup>680</sup> an incomplete line below a notation that may be its melody (f. 286a/132a), a hardly legible text that may be three stanzas of a song or lyric text (f. 360a/281a) and another more accessible item whose intention for musical performance could not be ascertained (f. 403a/310b). The other texts are medical and household recipes, riddles and stories as well as single words. The longer text on f. 1a, which is hardly legible, deals with the production of ink.<sup>681</sup>

🍃 Armenian: ‘Alī Ufuḳī was obviously in contact with Armenians, as he lists three names, “Avak” (Avag; ff.274b/120b, 292a/138a), “Chachko” or “Chachadur” (Xaç’atur; f. 316b/127b) and “Sarkis” or “Serkis” (Sargis; ff. 316b/127b, f.378\*a/224a). F. 316b/127b is also the location of a text which may be meant for musical performance. It is hardly recognizable as Armenian, the strongest hint being ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s gloss “warte ciur giul suiu” (“rose water”). The same holds true for the two texts on f. 317a/173a. F. 378\*a/224a-3 is a mixed-language text containing the Armenian name “Serkis babasi”, but its intended use is unclear. The scarcity and problematic transmission of the Armenian material in P makes the theory of ‘Alī Ufuḳī having Armenian roots seem less probable.<sup>682</sup>

🍃 Arabic and Persian:<sup>683</sup> Apart from religious texts (ff. 126b/297b, 211\*b) and short poems such as Mufrad and Rubā‘ī (e.g. f. 336a/191a), the Arabic language is represented by two *Tespīh* and three songs, namely *A ia Viuni Viuni ala bilah* (ff. 288b/134-1 and 413b/235a), *Āsāsīyā ġarahtanī yā laylī* (ff. 343a/185a and 389b/304a, L f. 38) and *Entefil husni feridun* (ff. 348a/190a and 397b/244a). Their context is unidentifiable as of now, but

<sup>679</sup>Rice, Timothy (2000). “Bulgaria”. In: *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*. Ed. by Rice, Timothy, Porter, James, and Goertzen, Chris. 8: Europe, pp. 890–910, p. 891.

<sup>680</sup>My thanks to Dominik Kawa for transliteration and translation of the Polish contents.

<sup>681</sup>My thanks to Agnieszka Kaim for supplying me with this important information.

<sup>682</sup>Zajcev (2009), pp. 512ff.

<sup>683</sup>I am indebted to Eckhard Neubauer and Hakan Özkan.



*maḳām* and/or *uṣūl* statements or at least the textual form (quatrain) place them in the proximity of theory-based “art” music. The same holds true for the Persian song texts of unexplained genre, which often have *maḳām* and/or *uṣūl* headings and may well be leftovers from an older tradition about to fall into disuse (ff. 399a/306b, 402b/241a, 405b/305a, 410b/247a, all written by the same difficult hand; untitled quatrain f. 200\*b; Rubāʿī on f. 203\*a). Additionally, there are two quatrains presumably not meant for musical performance (ff. 200\*b and 203\*a). All notations mentioned in the present paragraph are problematic in some way; often the language is incorrectly represented.

Concerning Ottoman Turkish, studies into dialectal varieties of Ottoman Turkish will certainly be worthwhile: For instance, “Menki ez iar pur derdem” on f. 154a/26a points in the direction of Eastern Anatolia or Azerbaijan, where the initial “b” of standard Turkish is often an “m” in cases of a nasal following (“ben” versus “men”).<sup>684</sup> Another instance of dialectal inflection, here the Eastern Anatolian replacement of “ḳ” with “ḥ” can also be found on f. 63b/265a-1 (“Sen şu ʿālemde iylik èt yoḥsa yamāndan ne ḥāşıl”), f. 305b/161b-2 (“Derviṣānlar eīine pōstlar giyüp yoḥsul ʿabā”) or f. 310b/166b (“Cümle ʿālem zīynet olmuş yoḥsula baya düğün”).<sup>685</sup>

## 4.15 European repertoire

Three distinct European repertoires are present in Turc 292: English religious song, German religious and secular Aria<sup>686</sup> and French secular song. All of the pieces taken into consideration here have been copied from a printed or written source, can be traced to such a source or at least give the

<sup>684</sup> Schönig, Claus (1998). “Azerbaijanian”. In: *The Turkic Languages*. Ed. by Johanson, Lars and Csató, Éva Á. London: Routledge, pp. 248–260, p. 249.

<sup>685</sup> Karahan, Layla (1996). *Anadolu Ağızlarının Sınıflandırması*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, pp. 56, 65ff.

<sup>686</sup> In the context of the early seventeenth century, the term Aria designates the setting of a strophic text for voice with *basso continuo* accompaniment, not only in the context of an opera, but also independently. Westrup, Jack et al. (2001). “Aria”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. New York: Macmillan, pp. 887–897, p. 888. In the German lands, the Aria is also viewed as a precursor of the Lied. Thomas, R. Hinton (1963). *Poetry and Song in the German Baroque. A Study of the Continuo Lied*. Oxford: Clarendon, pp. 44ff.

impression of being based on a preexistent notation. The histories of their acquisition are evidently very important examples for knowledge exchange in a multi- and transcultural environment which gave ʿAlī Ufuḳī access to all those materials. It should also be noted that he thought copying pieces for lute or keyboard was worthwhile, so he may have had access to the respective instruments. This conclusion was already suggested by the lute tablatures of Ottoman music.

🍃 French: Two strophic songs in French (ff. 131b/296a, 140b/295a-1)<sup>687</sup> are notated only as a melody, there is no trace of an instrumental accompaniment. Without any additional information the researcher can only guess from where they might have been copied. Judging from a number of shared features such as the strophic form with refrain and the gesture of the text aimed at an interlocutor, they seem to come from the same possibly theatrical context. However, a source could unfortunately not be identified. Those traits lead to the assumption that they may stand in connection with French musical theater of the day, the emerging *comédie-ballet*. Comparison was made with Marc-Antoine Charpentier's incidental music for Molière's comedies from the 1660's and 1670's, but the stylistic differences are considerable, especially as there are no pieces with refrain, and many compositions involve more than one person.<sup>688</sup> Still, a theatrical origin of the two songs is not implausible as Western music could be heard in the houses of the European ambassadors and trade companies.<sup>689</sup> The French ambassador Gabriel de Guilleragues had a full string ensemble at his command who played arrangements of opera overtures for him.<sup>690</sup> Without

<sup>687</sup> It is a slightly confusing detail that the two songs stand side by side in the current collation but further apart after reestablishment of the original order. They are placed on the first and the last page of a gathering, i.e. their close connection on the same folio is undisturbed.

<sup>688</sup> Charpentier, Marc Antoine (1990). *Music for Molière's Comedies*. Ed. by Powell, John S. Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era vol. 63. Madison: A-R Editions.

<sup>689</sup> Jäger (1998b), pp. 145–175, 193–197; Bargrave (1999), pp. 33ff.

<sup>690</sup> Wright (2013), p. 157.

being able to draw further conclusions, it is imaginable that European-style stage repertoire of various kinds was accessible and known to ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>691</sup>

☞ English: *Lord thy deserved wrath asswage* (Ps. 6; f. 315a/171a) and *To heare me lord be thou inclined* (Ps. 5; f. 383\*b/229b). The two compositions are settings of metric Psalms by George Sandys’ *Paraphrase vpon the Divine Poems* (London 1638),<sup>692</sup> composed by Henry and William Lawes.<sup>693</sup> The brothers Henry (1596–1662) and William Lawes (1602–1645) were important figures of English music life in the first half of the seventeenth century. Henry was prominent as a composer of solo songs, William as an innovator of instrumental chamber music and composer of stage music, but both also wrote sacred music. *Choice Psalmes* is a “memorial volume” dedicated to the younger William Lawes, containing thirty psalm settings by each brother, plus additional elegies on the deceased composer.<sup>694</sup> The psalm settings were composed in the king’s service during the Civil War, when court was changing its location frequently and austerity measures precluded lavish ceremonies.<sup>695</sup>

‘Alī Ufuḳī’s method of notation is noteworthy in that he gives only the melody and supplements it with letters and alteration signs which stand for the notes of the bass part, as comparison with the original print has revealed. The first specimen, Ps. 6, is incomplete, breaking off after the fourth verse. The closing phrase, awkwardly added to the altered end of v. 4,

<sup>691</sup> Regarding the musical engagement of Europeans in the Ottoman Empire see also Pârlea, Vanezia (2015). “Images de soi et de l’autre en artiste à la croisée des regards dans les Mémoires du chevalier d’Arvieux”. In: *Viatica [En ligne] L’Art des autres*. URL: <http://viatica.univ-bpclermont.fr/l-art-des-autres/dossier/images-de-soi-et-de-l-autre-en-artiste-la-croisee-des-regards-dans-les-memoires-du-chevalier-d-arvieux> (visited on 02/05/2018).

<sup>692</sup> Sandys, George (1638). *A Paraphrase vpon the Divine Poems*. London: At the Bell, pp. 5–7. This edition comes with tunes and basso continuo accompaniment by Henry Lawes, but not all of the three-part settings copied by ‘Alī Ufuḳī are based on them; Ps. 5 and 6 are not.

<sup>693</sup> Lawes and Lawes (1648), No. XVIII in the second part of the collection (William Lawes) and *ibid.*, No. XII in the first part of the collection (Henry Lawes).

<sup>694</sup> Spink, Ian (2001). “Lawes, Henry”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 14. New York: Macmillan, pp. 394–396; Pinto, David (2001). “Lawes, William”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 14. New York: Macmillan, pp. 396–407.

<sup>695</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 397, 402.

is textually a repetition of the preceding words, but musically unrelated to the remainder of Lawes' composition. The reasons for this modification are unclear; in any case the abridged version would suffice to perform further stanzas of the text, if desired, because the setting accommodates two stanzas in *long meter* which consist of four octosyllabic verses.

Interestingly they follow upon each other neither in the current binding nor in the reconstructed original order. ʿAlī Ufuḳī may have had access to this work over a longer period of time, as a third psalm setting from the same source can be found in another highly interesting manuscript from his legacy, MS Turc 221.<sup>696</sup> Among diplomatic correspondence in Ottoman and Russian, there are two copies of Ps. 31, *Who trusts in the o let not shame deiect*.<sup>697</sup> On the first two of four double staves drawn with a rastrum, there is an untexted partition, on the third and fourth the same setting notated with measure lines after each second Mi. The first stanza is underlaid, and longer dotted values are splitted and tied across the measure borders. Compared with the two notations in Turc 292, the specimen in Turc 221 is written much more carefully, e.g. the text is less faulty, while there are minor corrections in the music. Concerning performance practice, the lute is an obvious choice. Yet the question remains why ʿAlī Ufuḳī did not write in tablature and why he copied all three voices in Turc 221, while he reduced the three-part setting to a melody with letters for the bass notes in Turc 292. He certainly had access to all partbooks.

It is clear that Ali Bey's connections with the English in Constantinople were especially tight-knit, so it is hardly surprising that English music found its way into the compendium. His acquaintance with two chaplains of the British Levant Company, Henry Denton and John Covel, and his residence in the British ambassador's house easily explains the presence of a repertoire firmly located in the tradition of the metrical Psalms, which were popular for private devotion in wide circles of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English society, even across denominational divides.<sup>698</sup>

<sup>696</sup> Turc 221, f. 234b. See Appendix to the Edition and Critical Report.

<sup>697</sup> Sandys (1638), pp. 35f. Lawes and Lawes (1648), No. II in the first part of the collection devoted to Henry Lawes.

<sup>698</sup> Haug (2010), pp. 390f, 416, 478f.

☞ German: The most carefully copied repertoire are the eighteen pieces from three volumes of Heinrich Albert's (1604–1651) *Arien* (V, 1642; VI, 1645; VII, 1647) on ff. 208\*a–211\*b, 380\*b/226b and 384\*a/230a.<sup>699</sup> The sequence on ff. 208\*a–211\*b presents this choice of *basso continuo* songs or arias in an unusually compact form. While his rendition of the German text is often faulty, which leads to the suggestion that his understanding of the language was limited, the music has been copied quite meticulously. Did he have access to a keyboard instrument that made copying the figured bass worth the while? Likely he had solo performance in mind and thus discarded the multipart instrumental and choral sections of f. 209\*b-2, an *aria concertante* (*Also wird du wehrter held*). Comparing the English and the German solo songs with instrumental accompaniment, the differences in how ʿAlī Ufuḫī treated them are obvious. From among three volumes, he chose *Arien* of diverse content, from love songs (f. 384\*a/230a-2) to love laments (f. 208\*a-1), life philosophy (f. 208\*b-1) and the funeral dirges (ff. 209\*a-1, -2, 210\*a-2) typical for the Königsberg poetic tradition of the Thirty Years' war.<sup>700</sup>

While the transmission path of the English psalm settings can be reconstructed in a plausible and satisfying way and the French pieces remain mysterious, for the German pieces explanations can be suggested. But other than in the case of the English repertoire, an actual person who may have given ʿAlī Ufuḫī the respective prints could not be identified. ʿAlī Ufuḫī's relationships with the English and the French are relatively well documented; there are also traces of his dealings with the Dutch resident.<sup>701</sup> But German or Imperial sources mentioning him or establishing personal connections are scarce: The imperial resident Simon Reniger, who stayed in Constantinople between 1649 and 1665, could be a candidate. In 1666 he returned to Vienna together with the ambassador Count Leslie, whose relation is appended to Reniger's memoir.<sup>702</sup> Reniger and ʿAlī Ufuḫī must have met when the latter stepped in for the imperial interpreter, who had fallen

<sup>699</sup> Albert (1642); Albert (1645); Albert (1648).

<sup>700</sup> Thomas (1963), pp. 44ff.

<sup>701</sup> Haug (2010), pp. 565–576.

<sup>702</sup> Reniger von Reningen, Simon (1900). “Die Hauptrelation des kaiserlichen Gesandten in Constantinopel Simon Reniger von Reningen 1649-1666”. In: *Mitteilungen des k.u.k. Kriegs-Archivs, Neue Folge* vol. 12. Ed. by Veltzé, Alois, pp. 57–170. URL: [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MitKuKKriegsArch\\_1900\\_2\\_12/?pg=181&layout=s](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MitKuKKriegsArch_1900_2_12/?pg=181&layout=s) (visited on 09/24/2016), p. 59.

ill during negotiations.<sup>703</sup> Yet neither Reniger nor Leslie mention him, which of course does not exclude a connection. Other diplomats representing the Empire during the approximate time in which ‘Alī Ufuḳī had contact with Europeans, were Johann Rudolf Schmid von Schwarzenhorn (resident 1629–1643), Alexander Greiffenklau von Vollrats (resident 1643–1648) and Reniger’s successor Giambattista Casanova (resident 1665–1673).<sup>704</sup> Casanova, a Milanese, wrote an unflattering comment about ‘Alī Ufuḳī in one of his letters<sup>705</sup> and hence must have known him personally, so there is hope that the correspondence of the Imperial diplomats may contain more information. Jäger accords the highest probability to Schmid von Schwarzenhorn.<sup>706</sup> The Swedish ambassador Claes Rålamb may also be counted among the possible contenders – with the limitation that there are no copies of Albert’s *Arien* in Swedish libraries.<sup>707</sup>

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<sup>703</sup> Hammer-Purgstall (1829), p. 492.

<sup>704</sup> Spuler (1935b), pp. 333–338.

<sup>705</sup> Hering (1994), pp. 160f.

<sup>706</sup> Jäger (1998b), p. 323.

<sup>707</sup> Schlager, Karlheinz, ed. (1971). *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*. Vol. 1. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales vol. A/I. Kassel: Bärenreiter, pp. 36f.



## Chapter 5

# Performance

Thanks to a number of more or less directly utilizable notes from ‘Alī Ufukī’s hand, some conclusions regarding performance practice can be drawn. The topics addressed are instrumentation, ornamentation and voice production; emotion and expressivity; dance and enactment; as well as formal or structural issues such as repetitions etc. The arrangement of single pieces in sequences has been discussed separately in the preceding chapter, as questions of tuning have been addressed in the context of *makām*.

### 5.1 Instruments

Marginalia referring to instruments and their tunings form the largest group of text items relevant here.<sup>1</sup> This subject is especially interesting because the stylistic changes in the early seventeenth century are expected to have brought about a parallel change in the instruments used.<sup>2</sup> To summarize shortly in Feldman’s words: “The *ney* and *tanbur* do have a significant role in performance, although they still share a place with the *ud*, *ş eşhane*, *çeng*, and the somewhat enigmatic *ş eştar*. It does seem clear that all of these latter instruments are nearing the end of their playing histories, and indeed none of them will be played at court by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript contains some references to instruments, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs. The number of instruments actually named is small however, and often the context of the intended performance

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<sup>1</sup> In the present chapter, only the instruments actually named in P are discussed. For a general overview of the instruments available (and largely mentioned in *Seraî Enderum*) see Farmer (1936) (relying on Evliyâ Çelebi and Meniški); Reinhard and Reinhard (1984a), pp. 77–91.

<sup>2</sup> Neubauer (2012), p. 382.

<sup>3</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 99.



is not entirely clear. But prior to analyzing the remarks in the compendium, a glance into the *Serai Enderum* is useful. In the section on musical life in the palace, ‘Alī Ufuḳī makes mention of diverse instruments.<sup>4</sup> When evaluating this text passage, it has to be kept in mind that his writing is directed at a European audience:

Li loro istrumenti sono Kemangi, cioè uiolino, tambur, o, schektar, citara, ò Exacordon, Santur o Saltero, tutti differenti de i nostri. Miskal; sampona. Nai flauto. Neffio; Piffa persiana, Vd, Liuto, con questi accompagnano le dette cansonette delicate. Per accompagniare poi le cansoni Turchi hanno altra sorte di strumenti come chigur; gallasone Tamburi teltamburri, tcheschte, ui anno ancora gli loro Schiar [sic] cio e poeti Turchi che cantano Rhithmi d’ improuiso. Così ancora gli ballarini paggi detti Rakas, et buffoni detti mukalid gli quali si esercitano nella detta Camera doppo vespro sino alla sera, questi uanno in compag[ni]a con gli musici di Camera ballando, e sonando gli loro Tamburi, Sistri, e castagniole, da i Turchi uengano nominate daire Tchagame, et Tchelpara. Doppo il mezzo giorno uengano gli maestri musici di campagna, e iui fanno, come gli altri, gli loro istrumenti sono piffe; in turchesco Zurna, e Trombette; Boru sonano alla batuta di tamburo, Daul, o Niacchera piccola, Kadum o dumbelik et crotali zil, et iui ancora imparano a sonare gli tamburi di bronzo; che si portano sopra un Camello d’auanti il G.S.<sup>5</sup> (Their instruments are *kemençe*, i.e. violin, *ṭanbūr* or *ṣeštār*, cithara or hexachord, *sanṭūr* or psaltery, all being different from ours. *Miṣḳāl*, bagpipe [erroneous for panpipe]. *Ney*, flute. “Neffio”, Persian pipe, ‘ūd, lute, with which they accompany the refined songs; then the Turkish songs have other instruments such as the *çöğür*, colascione. *Ṭanbūr*, *tel ṭanbūrası*, *çeşte*; they also have the *şair*, i.e. Turkish poets who sing improvised rhymes. Likewise also the dancers called *raḳḳas*, and jesters called *muḳallid*, who exercise their art in the above mentioned chamber after dinner until the evening. These people appear together with the chamber musicians, dancing and playing their tambourines, sistrums and castagnets, called *çağana* and *çal-pāre*. In the afternoon the masters of the field music come [to the palace] and there they do the same as the others. Their instruments are pipes, Turkish *zurna*, and trumpets, *boru*. They

<sup>4</sup> The reasons for the choice of European counterparts and the fact that they do not always match well would be issues worth studying.

<sup>5</sup> *Harley 3409*, pp. 51f. Fisher and Fisher (1985), pp. 52ff.

play them to the beat of the drum, *davul* or small nakers,<sup>6</sup> *kudüm* or *dümbelek* and cymbals *zil*, and there they also learn to play the bronze drums [*kūs*], which are carried on a camel before the Grand Signior.)

It becomes immediately clear that for ‘Alī Ufuḳī different spheres of instruments exist, one for the “cansonette delicate”, i.e. what today is called *ince sâz*, who are also involved in dance performances, one for Türkī and one for military music. For the sphere of the “poeti Turchi” ‘Alī Ufuḳī enumerates the çöğür, tel ŧanbūrası and çešte.<sup>7</sup> The çöğür seems to have been the instrument of choice as it is the most frequently mentioned in P: There are two short notations, a “Czigur Cadenza” on f. 297b/143b and a “Sopra il czigur passegio” on f. 301a/147b, the latter appearing in the context of Türkī and obviously serving as a prelude or interlude in the performance of this piece (and similar repertoire). The former shares the page with two unnotated Murabba‘ texts, to which it is probably musically unconnected, and an unfortunately illegible note “Jmpara a [...] il cigur”, “learn to [...] the çöğür”. Another short passage titled “cigur” on f. 314b/170b was notated following a group of closing phrases (“cadenze”) in different *maḳām*lar, thus it may be understood as having a comparable intention. Evliyā Çelebi mentions the çöğür twice, once in the large section of Book I dedicated to the musical professions,<sup>8</sup> and then again in Book V in the context of a “sergüzešt” (adventure story) about a certain ‘İtākī, a singer-poet innocently sentenced to death and escaping thanks to his musical skills.<sup>9</sup> In the first instance, he shortly describes the instrument:

Levendāne<sup>10</sup> beş kılı ve tahta göğüslü ve yigirmi altı perdeli göğdesi büyük bir sâzdır. Ekser yeñiçeri ocağına maḫşuş sâzdır [...]”<sup>11</sup> (“It is an instrument of the marine with five strings, a wooden soundboard, twenty-six frets and a large corpus. It is an instrument especially particular to the Janissary barracks [...]).

<sup>6</sup> A pair of small kettledrums.

<sup>7</sup> The çešte is not referenced in P, but by Evliyā Çelebi; Dankoff, Robert (1991). *An Evliya Çelebi Glossary. Unusual, Dialectal and Foreign Words in the Seyahat-name*. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures vol. 14. Harvard: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations, pp. 27f.

<sup>8</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 304.

<sup>9</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (2007), pp. 142f. This story is also cited by Köprülüzade (Köprülü) (1930), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> The edition has “londāne”.

<sup>11</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 304.

The distinguishing characteristics are thus five strings, a wooden (as opposed to skin) soundboard, twenty-six frets and a “large body”. The material of the strings is not clarified as “kıl” means simply “string”.<sup>12</sup> The social environment of the *çöğür* are marines (“levend”), and it is an instrument “particular to the janissary regiments”. John Covell, who obtained his knowledge of Ottoman music from ‘Alī Ufuḳī describes the *çöğür* in his diary, including a sketch: “Turkes ciaghyr or base lute. guts strings 5. base s[tr]inge in ye middle. ye 2 trebbles a fift to ye base. ye 2 lower a 4th to ye Base. ye frets (perdéh) 13. ye 19th fret an 8 to ye open string. ye 13th fret a 12th to ye open string. they strike w[i]th a whale bone. ye belly is not above a foot wide and in a manner round”.<sup>13</sup> The sketch shows a long-necked instrument with a pear-shaped body and five pegs; a detail of the tailpiece shows three courses. Hence the *çöğür* does not exactly have five strings, but three courses with the two outer strings doubled. Covell describes a re-entrant tuning.<sup>14</sup> As an example, if d’ – a very prevalent final pitch in *Türkī* and *Varşağı* as notated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī – were the “bass in the middle”, then the top course would be an a’ and the lower course g’, resulting in g’ / d’ / a’. Evliyā Çelebi and John Covell may indeed describe the same instrument, but none of the tablatures in P fits this special type of tuning.

In his rant against music he perceives as non-intellectual, Cantemir mentions the *çöğür* beside the *çara düzen*,<sup>15</sup> hence it can be concluded that around the turn of the century the *çöğür* was still an instrument prominently connotated with “folk” or “non-art” music and consequently othured by Cantemir. Generally the *çöğür* is an instrument rather sparsely mentioned in modern research literature. Laurence Picken refers to it only in a footnote; he connects the “kövür” or “çövür” to a drawing by the seventeenth-century traveller Edward Browne, which shows a four-stringed long-necked lute (while in the text he mentions three strings). The strings are metal, and it is played with a quill, usually to accompany singing. The Greek name Browne states (“Tzivuree”) supports the conclusion that

<sup>12</sup> Meniški (1680c), vol. 2, col. 3737.

<sup>13</sup> *Add MS 22912*, 142b. The name of the instrument was first written in Greek as “τζυγυρ”. A sketch and description of the *ney* can be found on f.143a, the *zil* on f.152a. See also Farmer (1936), p. 38.

<sup>14</sup> Wade (2001).

<sup>15</sup> Cantemir (2001a), p. 173.

the instrument described is indeed the çövr, <sup>16</sup> from which, in turn, the phonetic step to ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s “czigur” is not far. In his description of the ʿAlevī *cem* ritual in Eastern Anatolia, Mehmet Eröz expressly names the çövr and kemençe as instruments of the *dede* (ritual leader).<sup>17</sup> Köprülü distinguishes the “çövrü” from the ʿAşīḳ in connection with singer-poets who performed in the houses of the rich and in the palaces.<sup>18</sup> From several descriptions of Ottoman-Turkish music by European travellers, Bülent Aksoy extracted the information that the çövr had metal strings and was an instrument played in settings of urban entertainment. An illustration of a five-stringed, fretted, long-necked instrument with a small, round body can be found among the engravings by Jean-Baptiste van Mour in the *Recueil de Cent Estampes* of the French ambassador Charles de Ferriol (1707–1708) and Filippo Bonanni’s *Gabinetto Armonico* (1723). In Charles-Henri de Blainville’s *Histoire Générale Critique de Philologie de la Musique* (1767), it is more pear-shaped and has six strings, but no frets. The diagram in Carsten Niebuhr’s *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern* (vol. I, 1774) again shows five strings, frets and a pear-shaped body.<sup>19</sup> However, none of the images matches Evliyā Çelebi’s description, and none has the actual caption “çövr” – on the contrary, Bonanni has “dambura”.<sup>20</sup> Hence the only solid and likely credible evidence are Evliyā Çelebi’s short description and John Covel’s drawing.

Two other instruments of the “folk” sphere are mentioned by name in the compendium; firstly the “kopuz” (ff. 245a/91a and 364a/290b).<sup>21</sup> The remark on f. 364a/290b refers to a scordatura: the instrument is to be tuned down to c’ instead of the customary d’, presumably regarding the bass string or course. Apart from an occurrence in the song *Karszidan Vc atlij gelur* (f. 378\*a/224a), the most important information concerning this instrument is found on f. 275a/121a. Attached to a Türkī notated in tablature, a note states that the first (highest) course of the kopuz was an “E la mi” (“Questa si comincia nel E la mi prima corda di Kobuz”).

<sup>16</sup> Picken (1975), p. 276.

<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, he does not go into further detail about instrument and performance. Eröz (1990), p. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Köprülü (2004), p. 34.

<sup>19</sup> Aksoy (2003), pp. 44, 51f., 92–97, 114–119, 132.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>21</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 117–119, 134–136.

It becomes clear that with “first” the highest is intended, because the piece starts on the open highest course. The remaining three strings could be deduced according to the tablature as e”-b’-g’-d (starting from e”). The same distance of the courses, however notated in relation to different pitches, can be found on ff. 279b/125b and 286a/123a (g-c’-e’-a’). Picken describes the *çopuz* as the possible precursor of the modern *bağlama* and as gut-stringed. Referring to ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s lifetime, he points out that “[b]y the seventeenth century, Evliyā Çelebi reports that he has never seen the *qūpūz* (or *qūpūz*) in Anatolia, but that it is much played on the frontiers of Bosnia (Yugoslavia), and in Buda and Temesvar (Hungary) [...] That is to say, the instrument has become peripheral in its distribution in relation to Anatolia.”<sup>22</sup> Reinhard supplies more detail for “one of the oldest plucked string instrument” of the Turkic peoples: The “*kopuz-i ozan*” (the ‘*Āşık*’s *çopuz*) is covered with skin and has three gut strings tuned in a fourth and unison, the “*kopuz-i rumi*” (the *çopuz* of Anatolia) has five gut strings, a wooden soundboard and a body carved from wood.<sup>23</sup> None describes the four-course instrument implicit in the notation on f. 275a/121a.

Secondly, the “Tel Tamburra” is presented on f. 122a/262a with two scales demonstrating its frets and range from d’ to d”” and c’ to c”” respectively. Evliyā Çelebi differentiated between “sade” and “tel” *ṭanbūrası*, but in his socially motivated attributions of lute instruments to different spheres he allots both to the “folk” genre. The tel *ṭanbūrası* has three metal (“tel”) strings, frets and a small body.<sup>24</sup> It remains unknown which instrument ‘Alī Ufuḳī meant with the “Chiterilla” (ff. 233b/79b–234a/80a). The reason why not all instruments listed in the *Serai Enderum* or by Evliyā Çelebi can be traced in P is that the compendium is rooted in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s life as a working practical musician, and the instruments he refers to are most likely the instruments that mattered to him. The *Serai Enderum*, on the other hand, was composed with an outsider audience in mind, whom he wished to present the whole range of instruments in use.

The “chamber music” sphere is represented by *ṭanbūr* and *sanṭūr*. The demonstration of the pitches represented by the frets on the former instrument, “Le Scale perde del Tambur” (ff. 229b/74b–230a/75a) has

<sup>22</sup> Picken (1975), pp. 268f.

<sup>23</sup> Reinhard and Reinhard (1984b), pp. 8ff.

<sup>24</sup> Farmer (1936), p. 34; Behar (2008), p. 182; Feldman (1996a), p. 169; Aksoy (2003), p. 63.

been discussed above in connection with *maḳām* theory and practice. A long-necked, fretted lute with six strings arranged in three courses and a round body, it replaced all other lute instruments in the chamber ensemble by the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> The *ṭanbūr* is encountered two more times in P. On f.242a/88a, ‘Alī Ufuḳī describes a mixed vocal-instrumental performance of “the Peşrevler”: “Quando che Tamburgi sonara tu compagnarai li peschewi con il Re mi fa col La Cantando” (“While the *ṭanbūr* player is playing, you will accompany the Peşrevler with Re mi fa sol La, singing”). An interpretation of this note can only be attempted: ‘Alī Ufuḳī may allude to his acquisition of repertoire by ear, singing along with an instrumentalist, memorizing the pitches with the help of solmization syllables. On f.244a/90a, the “Tamburgi” is involved in *meşk* (as far as the phrase concerned is intelligible). The tuning of the instrument is demonstrated briefly on f.200b/46b: two lines symbolize the two strings marked D and G, short vertical lines the first four frets. The comment reads “Accordi tamborra Re sol re basso sol alto”, which may mean that the two courses are tuned in d and g. Above the notation, “Due octave” probably refers to the range of the instrument, i.e. the continuation of the frets.<sup>26</sup> The two-string (or two-course) variant of the *türki ṭanbūr* which Evliyā Çelebi played himself<sup>27</sup> may be the instrument in question. The “Accordo” following the “Scale perde del Tambur” shows three courses tuned “D G G”, following the logic of Italian lute tablature, d”-g’-g. Covel describes the *ṭanbūr* as long-necked but small with metal strings and being used in the rituals of the Mevlevī,<sup>28</sup> but the tuning ‘Alī Ufuḳī gives in connection with “Le Scale perde del Tambur” refers to three pitches. As with the *çöğür*, Covel’s six strings are actually three courses. It is a general source of possible misunderstanding that ‘Alī Ufuḳī uses “tamborra” or “tamburra” for the plucked string instrument belonging to the “folk” sphere, “Tambur” or “Tanbur” for the courtly, long-necked instrument and “Tamburro” for drum. Usually the intention becomes clear from the context.

The *şantūr* appears only once in a note on f.402a/241b: “şantūr-i nişf şantūr-i tamām şantūr dū ḳateyn iki kat” (“Half *şantūr*, whole *şantūr* double, i.e. double”). The scarcity of references is surprising, as the metal-

<sup>25</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp.142–148; Behar (2017), pp. 168f.

<sup>26</sup> Behar reads “Due Daul”, i.e. two kettledrums, but this is not the intention of ‘Alī Ufuḳī; Behar (2008), p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> Farmer (1936), p. 33.

<sup>28</sup> Aksoy (2003), pp. 71f.

strung dulcimer *sanṭūr* was not only ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s instrument, but enjoyed popularity during his lifetime.<sup>29</sup> This is evident from the owner’s mark inscribed onto the fore-edge of MS Sloane 3114: “Şāhib u māliki ‘Alī Beğ eṣ-ṣanṭūrī [sic] ez sāzendegān-i Sultān Meḫmet sene [10]60”. Hence the *Beste-yi ‘Alī Şāntūrī* [sic] *Şehnāzī Żarbeyn Sākīl* [sic] *ü Düyek* (f. 234\*b) can be reasonably attributed to him.<sup>30</sup> It should also be noted that the angular harp *çeng* is absent from all of ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s sources in spite of its prominence in historiography, theory and iconography.<sup>31</sup> This is a symptom of the stylistic change during the seventeenth century, in the course of which the Persianate instruments were gradually discarded.

F. 283b/129b deals with modal relations on the “lute”: “Per sonar il nobet sul Huseini accorda la cadenza ne lo de la sol re et quando hauerai p[er] che va piu dulce – il Liuto sonarai ne le proprie corde Huseini nel A la mi re Dugia nel De fa sol re etc” (“To play the *nevet* in Ḥüseynī, attune the *cadenza* to D la sol re [d’] because it goes more gently, and when you have the lute you will play Ḥüseynī on A la mi re and Dügāh on D fa sol re on their respective strings”). The placement of the note below a *Peşrev* suggests that the *ṭanbūr* was the intended instrument.<sup>32</sup> ‘Alī Ufuḫī repeatedly refers to the “Liuto”; the remarks on ff. 285a/131a and 368b/283b are similar instances; in the vicinity of a *Peşrev* the *ṭanbūr* is a possible candidate for both cases. On f. 218a/65a, however, such a reference is attached to a “Preambula auanti cantar il Turkij”, so that the *çöğür* was most probably intended. On f. 286a/132a, it remains unclear which instrument is meant with the “Fuga p[er] Liuto nel p[ro]prio logo”, possibly a musical game involving a canon all’unisono. Another instance of an unspecified lute instrument can be found on f. 363a/291b, where a notation that gives the impression of an example for embellishment is accompanied by the remark that the trill with which it begins should be “beaten with the fingers of the left hand”, i.e. without plucking the string for each new note.

<sup>29</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 160–163.

<sup>30</sup> The *Tekerleme Hay santürüñ kırk şen telī* (L f. 25b) should not go unmentioned. According to Karakaya, however, the *sanṭūr* of ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s day had 24 strings; Karakaya, Fikret (2010). *Unutulmuş Osmanlı sazları*. İstanbul: İstanbul 2010 Avrupa kültür başkenti, p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> Feldman (1996a), pp. 120–127, 154–156; Karakaya (2010), pp. 22f.

<sup>32</sup> The modal implications of this statement are equally mysterious. See also Behar (2008), p. 168.

Additional peculiarities, possibly connected to lute instruments, are occasionally occurring Arabic numerals in Ottoman instrumental music otherwise written in staff notation (e.g. ff. 280b/126b–281a/127a or 283b/129b–285a/131a). In the absence of other information, it may be suggested that they represent fingering or indicate the intended fret.

The instruments of the “field music” are referred to only once in a short text on the *meşk-hāne* (f. 244a/90a).<sup>33</sup> The list begins with the drum, *Dā'ire* (frame drum) and *zil* (cymbals) which ʿAlī Ufuḳī seems to be required to learn or intends to learn. He subsumes those instruments under the term “vssulij”, probably equivalent to a concept of “percussion instruments”. Compared with the passage from *Serai Enderum* cited above, those are different from the percussion instruments used in military contexts, so they could have been part of the chamber ensemble. This is also obvious from miniatures found in illuminated manuscripts such as the *Sūr-nāme-yi Vehbī* or the *Süleymān-nāme*.<sup>34</sup> The “Tamburgi” –like him a musician of the “chamber” ensemble– is required to learn *zurnā* and “pipe” (balaban, a double-reed instrument).<sup>35</sup> As so very frequently, context and deeper meaning remain obscure.

## 5.2 Ornamentation and voice production

Vocal style is a matter that interested ʿAlī Ufuḳī and which he felt obliged to collect information about concerning aesthetics, technique and application. Because the majority of the annotations discussed here are connected to certain notations, it is not entirely clear whether they are generally valid or whether they only apply to a special case. There are references to effects such as humming the last syllable of a word “through the nose” (f. 47a/249b: “Vm con le labra serrate in reddendo la uoce p[er] il naso-”), a wording as if he was unfamiliar with the concept of humming or did not know the equivalent Italian expression. “A long sigh with trill” (f. 122a/262a: “Hij. sospiro longo con trillo”) may be an interjection, but as the text to which

<sup>33</sup> “Si vai a la Meḫhana. Jmpara tutti li vssulij cioe il Tamburro il Daire il Zijl Tamburgi che impara la Surna et il Piffaro o Balaban. B Ali: [...] che impara ancor lui Zurna etc”.

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. Karakaya (2010), *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> Farmer (1936), pp. 21–24.



the note is attached comes without notation, a clear conclusion cannot be drawn. The exclamations or interjections customarily notated especially for the Türkī repertoire are referred to on f. 255a/101a, where ‘Alī Ufuķī noted to shout out at the beginning of every stanza (“alo principio de li beiiit fa Vn grido di veli He he heij”). The rhythmic duration of the cry is demonstrated with notes below the syllables (Sm Sm Br). On f. 154a/26b he makes a longer statement on vocal technique and æsthetics, comparing European and Ottoman concepts:

Cantar il Falsetto e vergogna in Turchia bisogna cantar la tua voce naturale – Il falsetto e voce de le donne – E sempre far diminution di gorga a strazzij e bona, a campanello non e grata. Cantando le parole ma cantando vn Peschrew si, et allora si seruono del tennenen. (Singing falsetto is shameful in Turkey, you have to sing in your natural voice. Falsetto is the female voice. – And always execute diminution with the throat in [...] [style] is good, in “bell” style is not welcome when singing the words, but when singing a Peşrev it is [welcome], and then they use the tennenen.)

One of the European styles he was familiar with did not meet the approval of his Ottoman fellow musicians. This pertains only to texted vocal music, however, for Peşrevler performed vocally with *terennüm* other customs apply. “Gorga” (correctly “gorgia”, “throat”) is almost synonymous with “diminution”. Diminution was the common term for ornamentation or embellishment used in the environment of ‘Alī Ufuķī’s musical upbringing, i.e. in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This highly virtuosic style is famously exemplified by the written-out diminution of the aria *Possente spirto* from the third act of Claudio Monteverdi’s *L’Orfeo* (first performed 1607).<sup>36</sup> Derived from the Latin *diminuere*, “to reduce in size”, it designates the segmentation of a melodic line into “smaller”, more rapid movements such as passages or circling motions. At least in the German tradition of the early Baroque there was a distinction between “simpler ornaments” such as trills or turns and “improvised diminution” that was added by the performer without “damaging the harmonic framework”.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Monteverdi, Claudio (1609). *L’Orfeo. Favola in Musica*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino. URL: <https://archive.org/details/imslp-favola-in-musica-sv-318-monteverdi-claudio> (visited on 10/01/2016), pp. 52–65.

<sup>37</sup> Butt, John (1991). “Improvised Vocal Ornamentation and German Baroque Compositional Theory: An Approach to ‘Historical’ Performance Practice”. In: *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* vol. 116, pp. 41–62, p. 45.

The technique of diminution also implies that the notated form of the melody was in principle not performed as written.<sup>38</sup> Applied to ‘Alī Ufuḫī’s repertoire in a strict sense, this notion may be misleading, as the section “Versions” above has shown: It clearly does not seem as though ‘Alī Ufuḫī only wrote a skeleton which he expected some hypothetical performers to fill.

‘Alī Ufuḫī employs the term diminution not only for vocal techniques, but also for instruments. Attached to an untitled Peşrev on ff. 200b/46b–201a/47a he records that the diminution of descending notes should be executed by “encircling from above” (“Diminution di Note descendenti girando p[er] di sopra”), probably comparable to the European *gruppetto*. The piece itself does not show a particularly high degree of ornamentation, hence the remark may be of a more general nature. The statement that an instrumental rendition of a Türki without vocal contribution could be ornamented does refer directly to a piece, but may be more broadly valid if “sonar senza turchi” is understood as “perform instrumentally”, perhaps in the sense of a prelude. In this case, the notated melody should be embellished (“piglia da qui il diminuito”, f. 232a/77–78a). Lastly, a small and contextless tablature on f. 284b/130b explains how to notate the “sbalzi” (rapid leaps including a change of melodic direction). Another vocal effect is the stressing of a certain note in order to obtain a kind of pulsation –possibly a kind of *messa di voce*, which results in the doubling of the syllable (ff. 248b/95b–249a/95a: “NB questa nota significa di dar la vehemenza ala otur del bizum Et dirai bizuhum”). This phenomenon can be traced in recurring cases of additional syllables or inserted vowels, which are easily discernible in the transliterated texts distributed to the melodies.

In addition to the tempo indications discussed in the context of *uşûl*, some remarks hint at expressivity or emotional content. On ff. 230b/75b–231a/76a, ‘Alī Ufuḫī records: “quando dice ben vldum fa gesto di [...] morir o fa il trillo”. Thus, when the words “ben öldüm” (“I am dead”) –the rhyme with which all stanzas of the Türki *Şol qarşudan güle güle* end– are uttered,

<sup>38</sup> Beyschlag, Adolf (1978). *Die Ornamentik der Musik*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, pp. 14, 17ff.

the singer is expected either to sing a trill or to “make a gesture of dying”. The matter-of-fact style of the description suggests a certain normality.

In instrumental performance, contrasts and opposites are regarded as pleasing: “Ale volte sonando forte et ale volte pian fa armonia bella” (f. 360b/281b; “take turns playing loudly and softly, it makes a beautiful harmony”).<sup>39</sup> The note is most probably directed at the Peşrev fragment under which it is placed, but may –as often– hint at a more general practice. Contrasting effects could also be generated by two different ensembles taking turns: “Si puo sonar in due bande p[er] alto et tenor”. The two groups are distinguished by their register, one high and one lower. This effect is reminiscent of the so-called polychoral style of late-Renaissance Europe, which employs several vocal and instrumental ensembles, the *cori spezzati*.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, a plucked string instrument could play along in the upper octave (“si uole pigla tiz al Liuto”, f. 368b/283b). The Türkī “Ağlaiub ağlaiub iağan duniade” on f. 275a/121a can –according to three annotations written at three different times by ‘Alī Ufuḳī– be played on three different pitch levels. While the first two, starting on d” and e” respectively (or one octave lower), relate to the tuning of the ḳopuz and presumably a slight *scordatura* of lowering by one tone, the third hints at transposing the song a fourth upward, which gives it a strident sound popular with youths or children: “Si vien sonata in questo ton e gustosa e senza far rumor [...] Ma si vien sonata et cominciata nel Alamire quinta scala de la prima corda vien piu furioso et fa strepito – et proprio p[er] li puti” (“It is played with this tone, pleasant and without making noise. Be careful that [...] the *uṣūl*. But it is played and begun in A la mi re, the fifth fret on the first string [of the ḳopuz, which is tuned in e as stated above], [then] the result is more furious and makes a shrill sound – and especially for youths”).

<sup>39</sup> See also *Turc 292*, f. 354a/196a.

<sup>40</sup> Winter, Paul (1964). *Der mehrchörige Stil. Historische Hinweise für die heutige Praxis*. Frankfurt am Main: Peters, pp. 7–12.

### 5.3 Dance and play

Even a *Murabbaʿ* with a text by *Bāḳī* could accompany dance.<sup>41</sup> A similar performance direction can be found on f. 243a/89a, involving a “dwarf” who was expected to dance and clap his hands to a vocal *Semāʿī*. This statement is important for the discussion of stylistic level.<sup>42</sup> The remark on the dying gesture mentioned above could also be grouped here, likewise probably the note on f. 243b/89b: “*Moueti sonando come si giocasse*” (“While playing [your instrument], move as if you were playing [along with the game]”). As the song is of a comic character, it should probably be accompanied by body movements of some sort. And indeed, a second note further down the page alludes to the game of “hanging the rat”, which is to be played while singing the song “*Ederheden istambola*”. The recurring rhyme is “*sician*” (“*şıçan*”, the rat, which is eventually eaten by the cat of the household). A game could also be intended with the vulgar song on f. 244b/90b. It features a short repeated section to which an additional line of text seems to be added with every new stanza (“*Et cosi li dirai sempre ogni uerso reitterando*”).

The notation of the *Türkī* “*Hei bizum ierin beglery*” (f. 277b/123b), a song by *Ḳaraca-oğlan*, is accompanied by the note “*quando si beue vino si canta questa*” (“This is sung when drinking wine”). At first glance, this comment makes sense because wine-drinking and passing around the goblet is described in the first stanza. But actually the song is critical of the ruling class (“*bizum ierin beglery*”) who drink and carouse with young boys (“*ter mahbub giwanlarile*”), while the cranes in the sky, symbols of loneliness and loss of one’s home – are holding their “*semah*” ritual. Its L version has the title “*Türkī berāy-ı kıyāmet*” (*Türkī* about the last judgement; f. 151a).

### 5.4 Form and structure

A large group of performance-related annotations refer to formal concerns such as the execution of repetitions, interludes or transitions. F. 3b/254b contains an especially detailed example: “NB: *quando che si canta questa*

<sup>41</sup> “*Murabbaʿ raḳṣ*”; P f. 392b/302a, L f. 93a.

<sup>42</sup> See above chapter 4.5; “*quando cantarai li Semai fa che lo giuge si leua subito et batendo le mani che balli*” (“When you sing the *Semāʿī*ler, make the dwarf get up immediately and dance, clapping his hands”).

muraba insieme con li Sazende, che mentre il Honende dira vna volta medet bir dem eman bir dem eman. auanti che cominci il secondo verso li Sazende reiterano, con li instrumenti la mede[si]ma voce del medet bir etc. dal segno de la pausa”. That is, in the case of a mixed vocal-instrumental performance (seemingly a purely vocal interpretation was possible), the phrase making up the second half of the section designated as A\* in the edition is first sung and then played on the instruments before the “secondo verso”, i.e. the *miyān* section, begins. Evidently this piece (and probably others like it) could be performed with instrumentalists or without. The term *h<sup>v</sup>ānende* could aim at the court singers who would perform this repertoire, while a singer “without the instrumentalists” may have accompanied himself on a lute instrument. The present comment also shows that performances were consciously styled to have instrumental interludes that make recourse to the melodic material of the vocal line. The possibility of either vocal or instrumental rendition is also alluded to in an only partially legible remark on f. 6a/257a, “Semai – come voi o p[er] okunur o non” (“Semāṯ – as you wish or [...] it is sung or not”). The intention does not become entirely clear as the note may also hint at a performance sequence consisting of a *Murabbaʿ* and an instrumental *Semāṯ*.

A comparatively lengthy explanation is attached to the *Türkī Kūheylān atlar beslerler* (f. 15b/273b): “Ogni Verso e di otto sil[labe] e il primo Verso reiterato la Tripula parole con Voce differente Ogni Due - et poi tre et poi tre sillabe vn durmak”. While the first half is understandable and applicable to the notation –octosyllabic verses, repetition of the first verse–, the continuation is difficult to interpret as it is unclear what is meant by “Tripula”. The term itself is reminiscent of the European concept of the *Nachtanz*, a fast dance in triple meter following a slow, pacing dance in even meter.<sup>43</sup> “Durmak” (“to stand”) can be understood as a kind of *cæsura*, possibly comparable to the “cadenza magior” that has to be accomplished after every twelfth beat of the *Peşrev* in *uşûl Şaķil* (ff. 17b/1b–19a/2a). While a change of speed in the course of a *Peşrev*, even within the iteration of a long *uşûl*, seems hardly imaginable, in other cases slowing down at the

<sup>43</sup> Cusick, Suzanne G. (2001). “Nachtanz”. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Sadie, Stanley. 2nd ed. Vol. 17. New York: Macmillan, pp. 587–588; Gstrein, Rainer (2016). “Pavane”. In: *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*. Ed. by Riethmüller, Albrecht and Bandur, Markus. Vol. 5. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. URL: <http://www.vifamusik.de/search?q=bsb00070513f75t80> (visited on 10/04/2016), p. 4.

closing points could have been used as a stylistic means: “TEKERLEME SI Canta come si vuol ma si appoggia ala cadenza” (f. 242b/88b). The Tekerleme is “sung as desired”, but one should “appoggiarsi” in the closing motion. A reduction of speed could be a meaningful interpretation of the Italian “appoggiarsi”, which means “to lean” or “to rest” against or upon something. After each “beitt”, the second half, marked B in the edition, has to be repeated twice (“questo verso si sona due volte dopo ogni beitt”).<sup>44</sup>

An instrumental interlude can be played at a higher speed (f. 241b/ 87b: “Presto. mentre non si Canta”), loudly (f. 33a/15a: “repete la forte”), or one octave higher (f. 274b/120b: “et questo medesimo reitera al ottava piu alta”, referring to a second section of an Oyun which can be repeated).

On f. 6a/257a, ‘Alī Ufuḫī describes a compositional figure called *tecnīs*. This term signifies that the music is repeated but the words change (“reiteratio in musica ma in uersi no che e una figura chiamata teḡnis iki mana czikar [...] bir sozden”; “Repetition of the music, but not of the verses [the text?], which is a figure called *tecnīs*. Two meanings emerge from [...] one word”). *Tecnīs*, according to Meniński, means “Homogeneum facere, & assimilatio generis *pec. paronomasia*” in the context of rhetoric and poetics, also “æquivocatio, seu uti homonymis aut æquivocis, ad delectandum fallendum *ve aliquem*”.<sup>45</sup> While the first part of the note is clearly applicable to music, the second part including the explanation in Ottoman Turkish, is more difficult to reconcile. In conclusion it can be said that while the number of remarks on performance practice is high compared to *maḳām*, for instance, it is doubtful whether reliable, generally valid conclusions can be drawn from them and practically applied.

## 5.5 Historically informed performance practice

Following this line of reasoning, the present chapter should be closed with a few thoughts on historically informed performance practice. In Ottoman music, this branch of performance and research is confronted with the major

<sup>44</sup> Another remark which could be grouped here, found on f. 245a/91a, has been passed over due to poor legibility.

<sup>45</sup> Meniński, François a Mesgnien (1680b). *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae [...]* Vol. 1. 4 vols. Vienna: Franciscus a Mesgnien Meninski, col. 1082.

problem that only isolated notations exist and their practical value for modern performance is doubtful. This is especially the case with ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s collections, as the information he gives on *maḳām* is generally insufficient to reliably recreate an *original* sound. The continuous *meşḳ* chain, on the other hand, is a kind of living historically informed performance practice tradition. In contrast to Western notions of reconstruction and revival, it incorporates centuries of historical change. In this context, Bülent Aksoy describes reactions to performances of the music notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, addressing a major issue: “Some look down on these two *mecmû’âs* and do not show any interest in this repertoire. These are mostly musicians of the older generations who grew up with a repertoire based on an oral tradition. They reject this rediscovered repertoire questioning such as: ‘Are these simple songs the remnants which belong to those old glorious days?’ However, the same people identify with a seventeenth-century composition in a form notated in the twentieth century, or with a composition attributed to ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâghi without any hesitation”.<sup>46</sup> The opinion that ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s notations are somehow wrong or faulty because as a European *other* he was supposedly unable to faithfully reflect the whole reality of seventeenth-century Ottoman music must be considered: ʿAlī Ufuḳī is subject to othering on account of his non-Ottoman origins.<sup>47</sup> However, it cannot be denied that especially the vocal compositions stand in diametral contrast to any expectation of vocal style in Ottoman classical music as consumed today and that the role of “folk” music was likewise very different from present conditions. As mentioned above, Ursula Reinhard gave *Türkilèr* notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī to a number of ʿĀşīḳlar for a performance experiment. She describes how all the four singers involved in the study affirmed that the songs were “strange” to them, tried to come to grips with the unknown repertoire but in the end found a way to perform them in their own local tradition. This means that modern-day ʿĀşīḳlar are capable of performing the texts transmitted by ʿAlī Ufuḳī, but according to their own “makam”.<sup>48</sup>

From the preceding analyses a few meaningful and applicable conclusions could be reached:

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<sup>46</sup> Aksoy (2015), p. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Comparable opinions are encountered regarding Demetrius Cantemir and Hampar-tsum Limonciyan; personal communication from Jacob Olley, August 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Reinhard (1992), p. 215.

- Instrumentation: There are distinct groups of instruments for different styles and genres. For the ʿĀşık repertoire, the çöğür is the prevalent instrument, while the ʿanbūr dominates what ʿAlī Ufuḳī calls “chamber music”, i.e. the repertoire constituted by Peşrev and Semāʿī (if the Peşrev is not performed by a *mehter-hāne*).
- Stylistic spheres: ʿĀşık songs have an uncontested place in the entertainment of the ruling class: Türkī and Varşāğī stand side by side with Peşrev and instrumental Semāʿī in performance sequences.
- Arrangement of pieces in a performance sequence: While it is dangerous to generalize, it seems as though the compilation of multi-part sequences was common, and the existence of Passaggi, Cadenze and comparable notations suggest that there were transitioning interludes between the single elements of the sequence and/or framing improvisations.
- Interpretation of form: Repeating the closing section of a Türkī melody as an interlude and changing the volume or intensity when repeating the *hāneler* of a Peşrev or taking turns between different instruments or instrument groups are stylistic devices that can easily be integrated into a modern performance. Such means of interpretation are accessibly and applicably described by ʿAlī Ufuḳī. Others are more elusive or refer to one specific piece.
- Dance definitely played a role in courtly performance contexts and should be considered in more detail in future research and performance practice.

Without doubt the perception and interpretation of modal entities must have changed considerably. In addition to repertoire loss, the loss of style is a major issue in orally transmitted music.<sup>49</sup> Comparisons of the ornamentation styles of ʿAlī Ufuḳī, Cantemir and Kevşerī may yield insights into seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century performance practices and into different renditions based on the technical peculiarities of the instruments played. Ekinci optimistically stated that the extant sources, being written by a sanṭūrī trained in the palace, an aristocrat ʿanbūrī and a Mevlevī nāyī, represent a wide range of performance styles which can be made

<sup>49</sup> Behar (2012), pp. 156, 170ff.



fruitful for modern practice.<sup>50</sup> This does not solve the issue of vocal music of all genres: Fikret Karakaya, himself leader of the historically informed group *Bezmâra*, pointed out that vocal compositions, notated without ornamentation, posed major problems to performance compared to Peşrev and instrumental Semâ'î: “Whereas *peşrevs* and *sazende semâîs* can thus be played without any further elaboration, the songs remain uninspired if performed without embellishment”.<sup>51</sup> He draws this conclusion from comparison with the instrumental repertoire, but the question remains whether vocal style differed from instrumental execution, or why ‘Alî Ufuķî should have notated vocal skeletons but instrumental music in full detail.

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<sup>50</sup> “Ali Ufkî gibi sarayda musiki icra etmiş bir santûrî ile Kantemirođlu gibi aristokrat bir çevrede musiki icra etmiş bir tanbûrînin yazdığı notalara ek olarak Mevlevî tekkesinde musiki icra etmiş bir neyzenin yazdığı notalar, gerek repertuvardaki çeşitliliđi, gerekse muhit ve çalgıya bađlı tavır özelliklerini daha iyi görüp kavramamızı sağlayabilir. *Mecmûa*’daki notaların sözü geçen diđer koleksiyonlarla yapılacak ayrıntılı bir mukayesesi, bizi 17. ve 18. yüzyıl müziđin icrâ pratiđi hakkında önemli ipuçlarına ulaştırabilir”. Ekinci (2016), pp. 77f.

<sup>51</sup> Karakaya (2015), pp. 214f.

## Chapter 6

# Tradition and parallel transmission

Directly relatable theoretical sources are scarce and ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s manuscripts are not firmly embedded in a clearly recognizable tradition: looking forward chronologically, there is a discernible connection to Demetrius Cantemir’s notations and the Kevserī manuscript, but only concerning the instrumental repertoire. Retrospectively lies the territory of oral tradition. Concordances between ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations, Cantemir and Kevserī have already been located by Owen Wright and Mehmet Uğur Ekinci; what remains to be done in this field are detailed analyses of compositional technique and stylistic change in the course of time. A further step in contextualizing the instrumental repertoire will be an extensive comparison with the Hampartsum and post-Byzantine notations not readily accessible yet. As such an enterprise, given the high density of parallel transmission, exceeds the scope of the present work, the focus is on the vocal repertoire, which has not received much attention in this regard, with the important exception of Owen Wright’s *Words Without Songs*.<sup>1</sup> The useful and promising method employed there and also in the present study is to adduce song-text collections –in an ideal case the kind with *maḳām* and *uṣūl* designations– which allow insights into repertoire collocation and sometimes even offer parallel transmission, be it in the same *maḳām* and *uṣūl* or in different ones. Dating is not always clear for those manuscripts, though, and they often cannot supply additional metadata. Comparative outlooks to Cantemir and Kevserī will be added in the second section of the present chapter.

The manuscript survey conducted in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, the British Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Topkapı Sarayı Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi and Süleymaniye Kütüp-

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<sup>1</sup> Wright (1992).

hanesi, Istanbul, was guided by two questions: 1. Do concordances of song texts notated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī exist? and 2. Are there manuscripts that resemble Turc 292 in their choice of material, for instance, the coexistence of Murabba‘ texts by acknowledged *divān* poets mainly of the sixteenth century with strophic Türkī and possibly also other, non-musical material? The survey was thus expected to yield insights into the issue whether ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s combination of repertoires was an exotic phenomenon or whether comparable collocations exist elsewhere. Further, if the entire Ġazel text from which a Murabba‘ quatrain has been taken can be found in another text collection, it can be attributed to its author, as names are stated in the last distich of a Ġazel. And lastly, parallel versions may offer assistance in cases of poor legibility. For this study, a corpus of sources as diversified as possible has been chosen (a complete list can be viewed below). Evidently this survey by a single person in four libraries out of the dozens worldwide housing thousands of potentially matching manuscripts, cannot reasonably claim to be exhaustive, but it is a first step toward ascertaining the methodology, proving its meaningfulness and understanding the context of transmission.<sup>2</sup>

## 6.1 Ottoman vocal repertoire

In ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s time and until much later, Ottoman lyric poetry was transmitted in three rough categories of sources: 1. Personalized *divān* manuscripts containing the œuvre of one single poet; 2. Individual collections of lyric texts of more or less mixed genres (which may also contain non-musical information); 3. Individual collections with the clear aim of musical performance, i.e. containing a *makām* and/or *uṣūl* table, being ordered in *faşullar* and/or featuring headings that supply necessary information for performance. The middle ground between types 2 and 3 is occupied by mixed collections that have occasional music-related paratext such as *makām* and/or *uṣūl* headings but are not systematically prepared

<sup>2</sup> The special case of a concordance outside of the Ottoman sphere, namely with Giovanni Battista Donado’s *Della Letteratura de’ Turchi* (Donado [1688]), is discussed in the author’s joint article with Mehmet Uğur Ekinci, who has to be credited with this discovery. Ekinci and Haug (2016), pp. 95–96.

for the use of a (professional) singer.<sup>3</sup> Sources from all groups have been surveyed here. A special feature of types 2 and 3 is their individuality as they represent a certain compiler's view on the musical world around him or her, mirroring his or her taste and repertoire (which, as in the case of ʿAlī Ufuḳī's compendium, does not preclude the presence of other hands). They are "private anthologies, with the text of the poem opening up greatly with lines being added and omitted or modified. Such a context has fluid notions of authorship and text".<sup>4</sup> This is also true for "courtly" as well as "folk" poetry as collected by ʿAlī Ufuḳī and accounts for the differences in wording encountered in the tables below.

The one manuscript most resembling Turc 292 is MS Thurston 30. The catalog by Ethé does not have an estimated dating, but the major poets in the source belong to a generation flourishing in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> While the small *mecmū'a* contains eight parallel versions, which is a high number in comparison with most of the other sources reviewed, a more general resemblance lies in the style of writing and presentation, but most importantly in the collocation of repertoire. Containing contributions by various different hands employing different writing styles, it features Türkī, Murabbaʿ (without *terennüm*), Semāʿī, İlähī, lyric genres not meant for vocal performance (Müfred, Meşnevī) and small drawings of birds. The vocal genres are not supplied consistently with *maḳām* and/or *uşul* designations. Different papers and page layouts make the external similarity obvious. MS Sup Turc 240 is another source resembling the compendium: Among its contents written by several scribes there are Murabbaʿ without *terennüm* (often in the guise of quatrains with *maḳām* heading) but also Türkī and Varşığı.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This categorization is personal and based on the sources reviewed for the present study. Other classifications are conceivable; for instance, Kılıç suggested a large number of possible approaches; Kılıç, Atabey (2012). "Mecmū'a tasnifine dâir". In: *Mecmū'a: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkamarı*. Ed. by Aynur, Hatice, Çakır, Müjgan, and Koncu, Hanife. İstanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, pp. 75–96. However, the issue of music-related paratext is not taken into account.

<sup>4</sup> Csirkés, Ferenc (2015). "Messianic Oeuvres in Interaction: Misattributed Poems by Shah Esmāʿil and Nesimi". In: *Journal of Persianate Studies* vol. 8, pp. 155–194, p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Ethé, Hermann (1930). *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī and Pushtū Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 1218.

<sup>6</sup> On the role and occurrence of ʿAşık poetry in *mecmū'as* see Koz (2012).

Although the collections surveyed are all evidently without notation, comparison is fruitful in the sense that trajectories can be constructed, e.g. concerning the popularity of *maḳām*lar, poets and genres.<sup>7</sup> In some cases, metadata on *maḳām* and *uṣūl* enable comparison, and we can even conjecture whether a certain text found in another manuscript actually is the “same” piece as the one recorded by ʿAlī Ufuḳī. As an example the group of song-text collections R 1722–1725 from the Topkapı Sarayı library are compared with P. This group of sources is connected to the same musical environment in which ʿAlī Ufuḳī received his training and worked: the Ottoman palace. However, they all belong to a later stratum as they present the Şarkı with refrain as well as works by younger composers, especially ʿİtrī (d. 1711).<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, all four contain Murabbaʿ texts without *terennüm*, a crucial feature of the tradition of this genre in ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s collections, as has been established above. Besides immediate insights into special cases, this comparison of four related manuscripts is intended as a blueprint for the envisioned further studies of Ottoman song-text collections.<sup>9</sup> After the evaluation of the notated music, detailed research into the song-text collections’ contents, interrelations, transmission methods, writing styles and of course musical features such as *maḳām* and *uṣūl* attributions as well as ascription to composers and poets, is the necessary next step toward a better understanding of Ottoman music culture.<sup>10</sup> The titles are juxtaposed one MS after another, with short assessments of their possible relation to P and with each other. *Maḳām* statements are retrieved from the respective faşıl:

<sup>7</sup> This has already been stated by Wright, Wright (1996), p. 467.

<sup>8</sup> Say (1992b), p. 631.

<sup>9</sup> With the same method, Mehmet Söylemez located two pieces attributable to Ḥāfız Pōst –one of them even stating his name– in Sloane 3114, ff. 73b and 15b. Söylemez (2015).

<sup>10</sup> Korkmaz (2015), p. 54.

☞ R 1722: *Mecmū'a-ya mūsīkī / Harem-i hümāyūn / Mecmū'a-ya mūsīkī ve gazaliyāt [...]*<sup>11</sup>

- f. 9a: [Rāst] Evfer [...] *Yeter cevr édersin ben nātüvāne*; P f. 361b/293a: Rāst-Pençgāh uşuleş Evfer *Yeter cevr étidñ ben nātüvāne*; L f. 115b: Varşāğı Pençgāh – *Maķām* and *uşul* concurring: with high probability the same piece.
- f. 140b: [Muḥayyer] Devr-i revān İtrī *Bir şanem hicrilen kāri kimseniñ zār olmasun*; P f. 403b/310a: ‘Acem *Bir şanem hicr ile kāri kimseniñ zār olmasuñ* (no notation) – Both the differing *maķām* ascription and the later composer preclude a match.
- f. 146a: [Muḥayyer] Semā'ī *Yār başar ķaddim dīde-yi giribānıma minnet*; P f. 404b/312a: Semā'ī Muḥayyer [sic] *Yār başar ķaddim dīdeyi ğiribānıma minnet* – With high probability the same piece as *maķām*, *uşul* and thus also the genre correlate.
- 148a: [Muḥayyer] Semā'ī *Ġoncalar içre nihān eyleme ğülberk-i teriñ*; P ff. 395b/242b–396a/311b-6: Muḥayyer *Ġoncalar içre nihān eyleme ğül-berk-i teriñ* – With high probability the same piece on the grounds of *maķām* and *uşul* (which is stated with the additional text, not with the notation).
- f. 159a: [Zīrgüle], Fer' *Ġamzeñ okıyyla baĝrım pür yara eylediñ*; P f. 376a/212b: Beyātī *Ġamzeñ okıyyla baĝrımı pür yara eylediñ*. – As *maķām* Zīrgüle does not appear in ‘Alī Ufuķī’s notations, conclusions regarding the proximity of Zīrgüle and Beyātī cannot be drawn.
- f. 199b: [Nevā] Ķadrī Devr-i revān *Benimle seyr-i ğülzār eylese dıldār-ı yār olsa*; P f. 379b/221b: Nevā Devr-i revān *Ey benimle seyr-i ğülzār eylese dıldarı yār olsa*; L f. 54b [Nevā] – With high probability the same piece.
- f. 215b: [‘Uşşāk] [... yürük[?]] *Fezā-ya evc-i istiĝnāda bir şehbāzdır ğöñlüm*; P f. 376a/121b: ‘Uşşāk *Fezā-ya evc-i istiĝnāda bir şehbāzdır ğöñlüm* – With reasonable probability the same piece.

<sup>11</sup> Dated to the eighteenth century. Karatay (1961), p. 635. In general, legibility of the headings is poor due to the small writing in red ink often across the previously notated text in black.

- f. 231b: [Acem] Remel ‘İtrī *Dil hasta ve hem cānile müştāk-ı kirişme*; P f. 402b/241a: Hüseynī *Dil hasta [sic] ve hem cān ile müştāk-ı kirişme* – With high probability not the same piece on account of the younger composer and the differing *maḳām*.
- f. 268b: [Nihāvend] [... ‘Ömer] *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firḳatda ḳaldı keştī-yi dil*; P f. 373a/219b: *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firḳatda ḳaldı zevraḳ-ı dil* – Conclusion impossible in absence of metadata in P.
- f. 285b: [Beyātī] Semāī *Ġurbetde ğarīb şādumān olmaz imiş*; P f. 399b/306a Söfyāne *Ey zülfiñ çevgān [...] Ġurbetde ğarīb şād-kām olmaz imiş* and f. 400b/240b: *Ġurbetde ğarīb şād u amān olmazımış* – As far as conclusions are feasible, the pieces are most probably different.
- f. 314a: [Evc] [...] Çenber *Ḳomayub ṭāḳatım feryāda nālān olmasun dersin*; P f. 404b/312a: Beyāt [sic] üşüli [sic] Evfer *Ḳomayub ṭāḳatım feryāda nālān olmasun dersin*. – Most probably not the same piece, as the *maḳām*lar differ.
- f. 329b: [Segāh] Ḥafif *Ey Şehinşāh-ı Ḥorāsān*; P f. 405a/305b: Segāh *Kār Ḥafif Ey Şehinşāh-ı Ḥorāsān*; L f. 106b. – With near certainty the same piece.
- f. 337a: [Segāh] Şöfyāne düyek Derviş ‘Ömer *Şems-i rūḫuña cismimi pervāne düşürdüm*; P f. 352a/194a Māye, “Szemi ruhune gismini [sic] perwane duşurdum”; L f. 105a [Segāh] – As *maḳām*lar Segāh and Māye were obviously related in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s eyes,<sup>12</sup> the two pieces may be identical.
- f. 337b: [Segāh] [no *uşūl* statement] *Ey bugün şādım ki yār ağlar benimişün*; P f. 242a/88a: no information, “bughiun bademj ki iar ağlar benim jciun”, L f. 55b: [Nevā]. – Most probably not the same piece.
- f. 338b: [Segāh] Düyek *Ġonçaya şol teşne kim çāk-ı ğiribān étidirir*; P f. 391b/303a: Faşl-ı maḳām-ı nişābur şöfyāne *Ġonçaya ol teşne kim çāk-ı ğiribān étdürür*; L f. 105b [Segāh] – In spite of the differing *maḳām* attribution in P, it can still be the same piece, as two types of Nişābūr seem to have existed, one of which was closer to Segāh.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See chapter 4.2.4.

<sup>13</sup> See chapter 4.2.4.

📄 R 1723: *Mecmū‘a-yı Beste*.<sup>14</sup>

- f. 52a: [‘Uzzāl] Ḥafif [sic] velehü [probably referring to the composer named with the Murabba‘ above, Na‘lçı], *Miyân-ı lücce-yi firkatda kaldı keşte-yi [sic] dil*; P f. 373b/219b Murabba‘ *Miyân-ı lücce-yi firkatda kaldı zevrak-ı dil* – In absence of metadata in P, a conclusion is impossible (see also below f. 105b; R 1722, f. 268b, R 1724, f. 157b and R 1725, ff. 44b, 71b).
- f. 75b: [Segāh] Kār Ḥvāce şeş-āgāze Ḥafif [sic] *Ey Şehinşāh-ı Ḥōrasān* [sic]; P f. 405a/305b, Segāh Kār Ḥafif; L f. 106b. – Same piece; see also R 1722, f. 329b.
- f. 100b: [‘Acem-‘Aşīrān] Evsat A‘mā [probably referring to the composer A‘mā Qadrī] *Kimi mestāne-seher yār ile gülşende yatur*; P f. 399b/306a Murabba‘ maqām-ı ‘Uşşāk üşüli [sic] Evfer *Hey kimi mestāne-seher yār ile gülşende yatur* – Most probably not the same setting, even though the composer would be plausible.
- f. 105b: [Nihāvend] Şakīl A‘mā [probably referring to the composer A‘mā Qadrī] *Miyân-ı lücce-yi firkatda kaldı keşte-yi [sic] dil neyleyelim*; P f. 373b/219b Murabba‘ *Miyân-ı lücce-yi firkatda kaldı zevrak-ı dil* – In absence of information in P, no conclusion can be drawn (see also above f. 52a and R 1722, f. 268b, ascribed to ‘Ömer; R 1724, f. 157b and R 1725, ff. 44b, 71b). Evliyā Çelebi ascribes it to Derviş Şadāyī.<sup>15</sup>

📄 R 1724: “Ḥāfız Pōst Mecmū‘ası”<sup>16</sup>

- f. 6b: [Rāst] Şarkı Uşüleş Evfer beste-yi Koca ‘Oşmān *Yeter cevr eylediñ ben natüvāne*; P f. 361b/293a Rāst-Pençgāh üşüleş Evfer *Yeter cevr êtdiñ ben natüvāne*; L f. 115b: Varşağı Pençgāh – with high probability the same piece (see also R 1722, f. 9a).

<sup>14</sup> Estimated in the seventeenth century. Karatay (1961), pp. 634f.

<sup>15</sup> Evliyā Çelebi (1996), p. 302.

<sup>16</sup> This title was added by a different hand with pencil on the flyleaf. The two concordances between L and HP identified by Wright –ff. 162b and 93a– are not extant in P. Wright (1992), p. 165. Karatay (1961), p. 634.



- f. 50b: [Hüseynî] Semâ'î beste-yi 'Acemler *Ya'ķubım ve beytül-hüzni ben bilürüm*; P f. 403b/310a [untitled, without notation] *Ya'ķubım ve beytül-hüzni ben bilürüm* – Only the first distich is identical; further on the texts deviate from each other and also the treatment of *terennüm* is different. P gives no information on the musical design of the piece and only the first distich, so this may be a case of two different settings.
- f. 75b: [Beyâtî] Devr-i revân *Şol 'arāk kim ol gül-endāmın yañağın-dan çıkar*; P f. 374b/220b *Şol 'arāk kim ol gül-endāmın yañağın-dan çıkar* – Only the first distich is identical. P has 6 distichs and no allusion to the musical design, so these two items are most probably unrelated.
- f. 88b: ['Acem] uşüleş Remel Beste-yi Buķūrî-zāde, Güfte-yi Nef'î *Dil hasta ve hem çānile [sic] müştāk-ı kirişme*; P f. 402b/241a Hüseynî Fer muħammes [sic] *Dil hasta [sic] ve hem cān ile müştāk-ı kirişme* – On account of the composer belonging to a generation younger than 'Alî Ufuķî, the different *maķām*, *uşül* and text (only the first distich is the same), the two pieces are most probably unrelated. R 1722, f. 231b is the same piece.
- f. 88b: ['Acem] Evfer *Cām aldık ele gül gibi handānlığımız var*; P f. 412a/239a 'Acem *Cām aldık ele gül gibi handānlığımız var* – Although there is no information about the *uşül* in P, it may well be the same piece.
- f. 153b: ['Uzzāl] Semâ'î *Ġurbetde ġarib şād-mān olmazımış*; P f. 399b/306a Sōfyāne *Ey zülfiñ çevgān [...] Ġurbetde ġarib şād-kām olmaz imiş* and f. 400b/240b: *Ġurbetde ġarib şādumān olmazımış* – The first version is a Semâ'î with *terennüm*, the second gives no further information. Probably the three items are unrelated. See also R 1722, f. 285b.
- f. 157b: [Hiçāz] Uşüleş Düyek *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firķatda kaldı keştî-yi dil*; P f. 373b/219b Murabba' *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firķatda kaldı zevrak-ı dil* – As the P version does not yield any information, no conclusion can be drawn. This is the fourth setting in a different *maķām* of this obviously very popular text.

☞ R 1725: *Beste mecmū'ası*<sup>17</sup>

- f. 11a: [Rehāvī] [untitled] *Felek 'aksine döndürdi meh-i ğarrādan ayrıldım*; P f. 400a/240a Rāst *Felek 'aksine döndürdi meh-i ğarrādan ayrıldım* – On account of the *maḳām*, it is less probable that the pieces are identical.
- f. 38a: [‘Acem] Uşüleş Evfer Beste-yi [blank] *Cām aldık ele gül gibi handānlığımız var*; P f. 412b/239a ‘Acem *Cām aldık ele gül gibi handānlığımız var* – May be the same piece, if the *uşul* intended in P is also Efver. See also R 1724, f. 88b.
- f. 38b: [‘Acem] Uşüleş Remel Beste-yi ‘İtrī *Dil hasta ve hem cānile müştāk-ı kirişme*; P f. 402b/241a Hüseynī Fer muḳammes [sic] *Dil hasta [sic] ve hem cān ile müştāk-ı kirişme* – On account of the composer belonging to a generation younger than ‘Alī Ufuḳī, the different *maḳām*, *uşul* and text (only the first distich is the same), the two pieces are most probably unrelated. R 1722, f. 231b and R 1724, f. 88b are the same piece.
- f. 44b: [‘Acem-‘Aşīrān] [untitled] *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firḳatda ḳaldı keştī-i dil* (with short *terennüm* attached); f. 71b: [unknown; in this part of the MS the rubrics have not been entered, including *faşıl* headings, *uşul* names etc.] [untitled] *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firḳatda ḳaldı keştī-i dil*; P f. 373b/219b Murabba‘ *Miyān-ı lücce-yi firḳatda ḳaldı zevrak-ı dil* – None of these two versions can be reconciled with any of the previously identified versions, including P.
- f. 77b: [unknown] [untitled] *Bir şanem hicrinle kāri kimseniñ zār olmasun*; P f. 403b/310a ‘Acem *Bir şanem hicrile kāri kimseniñ zār olmasuñ* – In absence of information no conclusion could be drawn. The same text can be found in R 1722, f. 140b.

<sup>17</sup> The titles of *R 1722*, *R 1723* and *R 1725* have been added on their flyleaves by the same hand, probably a later librarian. Located in the early eighteenth century during the reign of Aḫmed III. Karatay (1961), p. 635. It bears the *tuğra* of Sultan Maḫmūd I. Its rate of concordance with the Hāfız Pöst collection is high, although it was compiled after his death. (Popescu-Judetz [2007], p. 16).

- f. 91a [unknown] [untitled] *Ḳomayub tākātım feryāda nālān olmasun dērsin*; f. 404b/312a Beyāt [sic] ūşūli [sic] evfer *Ḳomayub tākātım feryāda nālān olmasun dērsin* – In the absence of information no conclusion could be drawn. The same text can be found in R 1722, f. 314a.

To this group of obviously relevant song-text collections, another source must be added.<sup>18</sup>

🍃 K 447 [untitled song-text collection]

- f. 1b: Segāh<sup>19</sup> ūşūleş [sic] Düyek *Açamaz çeşmini olyār olhumār-ı nāzdan*; P f. 402b/241a Segāh Şōfyāne *Açamaz çeşmini ol yār humār-ı nāzdan*; L f. 105b [Segāh] Murabbaʿ *Açamaz çeşmini ol yār humār-ı nāzdan* – May be the same piece in spite of the deviating *uşūl* attribution. Both Düyek and Şōfyāne are eight-beat cycles.
- f. 1b: Segāh ūşūleş [sic] Evfer *Ḳaddımki seniñ ğamze-yi ʿaşkıñda kemāndır*; P f. 374a/220b *Ḳaddımki seniñ ğabza-yı ʿaşkıñda kemāndır*. In absence of information no conclusion could be drawn.
- f. 4r: Pençgāh ūşūleş [sic] Devr-i revān *Tābekey ʿaşkıñla feryād eylerim*; P f. 123b/263b rast “Tabekei eßkinle feriad eilerem”. – The proximity of *maġāmlar* Pençgāh and Rāst has been pointed out above. The notation shows a six-beat structure, hence the two specimens are with high probability the same piece.
- f. 8b: Nevāʿī ʿuşşāġ ūşūleş [sic] Şōfyāne *Yine evvel bahār geldi yaz oldu*; P f. 398b/238a “Jine ewel bahar oldu iaz geldi” / ʿUşşāġ faşıl ūşūli Şōfyān *Yine evvel bahār oldu yāz oldu*; L f. 69r ʿUşşāġ Varşaġı şōfyāne *Yine evvel bahār oldu yaz geldi*. – In spite of the *terķib* stated in K 447, it may be the same piece.

<sup>18</sup> K 447 reached me at a late stage, hence only the most pressing issues could be addressed, namely the transmission of the vocal repertoire. The manuscript has considerably higher potential, though. I express my special gratitude to Harun Korkmaz for sharing this crucial source with me and answering my questions related to it. See Korkmaz (2018), p. 20, footnote 10.

<sup>19</sup> In general, the source features both *faşıl* headings as well individual headings stating *maġām* and *uşūl*.

- f. 8b: Nevā-ī ʿUṣṣāk ūṣüleṣ [sic] Evfer, *Kimi mestāne-seher yār ile gülşende yatur*; P f. 399b/238a Murabbaʿ maḳām-ı ʿUṣṣāk uṣūli Evfer *Hey kimi mestāne-seher yār ile gülşende yatur*. – In spite of the deviation between *terkīb* and *maḳām* these may be two instances of the same setting. R 1723, f. 100b is a different piece.
- f. 9b: Beyātī Evfer, *Derdā ki meni çarḫ-ı felek ğurbete şaldı*; P f. 234b/80b “Derdaj ki meni czarjhij felek, wai Gurbette saldy” / Murabbaʿ *Derdā ki menī çarḫı felek ğurbete şaldı*; Beste-nigār *Derdā ki menī çarḫı felek ğurbete şaldı* / f. 391a/303b Nevāyī E[v]fer Sefer Ağā-zāde *Derdā ki beni çarḫı felek ğurbete şaldı*; L f. 56a Murabbaʿ maḳām-ı Nevā uṣüleṣ Evfer *Derdā ki meni çarḫ-ı felek vay ğurbete şaldı*. – This is a more complicated case. If the text version on f. 234b/80b with the *maḳām* heading of Beste-nigār is disregarded and variance between *maḳām*lar Beyātī and Nevā, which, for ʿAlī Ufuḳī, can both close on d’ = dügāh and are actually exchanged in two of the four versions in P, we may indeed be dealing with different instances of the same piece.
- f. 10b: Beyātī Semā-ī *Bugün şādımki yār ağlar benim için*; P f. 242a/88a SEMAI Pesante Dopo il Ałdi aklıjmen “bughiun ßademj ki iar ağlar benim jciun” / Murabbaʿ *Men bugün şādım ki yār ağlar benim için*; L f. 55b [Nevā] Semā-ī *Ey bugün şādım ki yār ağlar benim için*. – While the *uṣūl* is clear, again the difference between *maḳām* attributions may hint at a perceived similarity of the two entities, in which case it can be the same piece. R 1722, f. 337b in Segāh is a different setting.
- f. 14a: Şabā ūṣüleṣ [sic] Devr-i revān *Géce gündüz hātırcıjım perīşān etme*; P f. 63a/265b “Gedze ghiunduz attérġiim perişan itme”. – K 447 has two stanzas more, and the wording deviates occasionally. The notation in a rhythm divisible by four does not match, hence the melodies of those two ʿĀşık songs can be thought of as different.
- f. 15b: Hüseynī ūṣüleṣ Rehī bālā [sic] *Arzulamış bizim bāġıñ gülünü [sic]*; P f. 325b/180b Muraba mekamind[en] gid[en] Bahiri seciebilir misin “Arzulamiß bizum baghin giulunij” / Türkī ʿĀşık *olmuş bizim bāġıñ gülüne*; L f. 49b [Muḫayyer] Türk oynı / ʿĀşık *olmuş bizim*

*bāḡuñ gülüne*. – Identification of the possible melodic versions rests solely on the similarity of *maḳām*lar Hüseynī and Muḡayyer; textual similarity ends after the first stanza.

- f. 17b: Hüseynī üşüleş [sic] Düyek *Dil hasta ve hem cânla müştāk-ı girişme*; P f. 402b/241a Hüseynī Fer Muḡammes [sic] *Dil hasta ve hem cân ile müştāk-ı kirişme*. – While the *maḳām* is the same, the *uşüller* are more difficult to reconcile. The setting attributed to ‘İtrī (R 1722, f. 231b; R 1724, f. 88b; R 1725, f. 38b) is again different.
- f. 18a: Hüseynī Semā‘ī *Sünbül zede ser sünbül zede ser zi rehrevî*; P f. 346a/188a “Sunbul zedeler ki rehrewi”. – In absence of more detailed information, it can still be tentatively assumed that the two pieces are the same. The rareness of the Persian text is the chief argument for this.
- f. 26b: Muḡayyer [sic] üşüleş [sic] Devr-i revān *Ḳomayub tāḳatım feryāda nālān olmasun dērsin*; P f. 404b/312a Beyāti üşüli [sic] Evfer *Ḳomayub tāḳatım feryāda nālān olmasun dērsin*. – While *uşüller* Devr-i revān and Evfer in its six-beat form could have been interchangeable, the *maḳām*lar are not. R 1722, f. 314a is different on account of the *maḳām*, R 1725, f. 91a does not support any conclusions.
- f. 27b: Muḡayyer üşüleş [sic] Düyek *Olmasaydım ‘āleme ‘aşḳıñla rüsvāy kāşki*; P f. 397b/244a *Olmasaydım ‘āleme ‘aşḳıñla rüsvāy kāşki*; L f. 38b Murabba‘ der maḳām-ı mezbūr [Muḡayyer] üşüleş Düyek *Olmasaydım ‘ālemde ‘aşḳıñla rüsvāy kāşki*. – According to L, the two items are with high probability the same composition.
- f. 29a: Muḡayyer [sic] Semā‘ī *Ġonçalar içre nihān eyleme gül berk-i teriñ*; P f. 396a/311b Semā‘ī Muḡayyer [sic] *Ġonçalar içre nihān eyleme gül berk-i teriñ* / “Eij gondzieler icre nihan eileme gel berki terin”. – The probability that these two notations represent the same composition is high; cf. R 1722, f. 148a.

If those pieces sharing the same *maḳām* and *uşül* were indeed the same “setting” of a given text, the unsolvable question is how they were performed one or two generations after ‘Alī Ufuḳī. Looking back to the chapter “Repertoire and Style”, we wonder whether Murabba‘ compositions were

still short and unassuming or were the *terennüm* sections later distinguishing the genre already developing? If they were part of the composition, they would surely have been notated as fixing them is essential for the correct transmission.<sup>20</sup> A particularly interesting case are the texts transmitted by ʿAlī Ufuḫī and attributed to ʿİtrī in the Topkapı group, *Bir şanem hicrile kārī kimseniñ zār olmasiñ* and *Dil hasta ve hem cān ile müştāk-ı kirişme*.<sup>21</sup> The MSS of the Revan group contain famous pieces ascribed to ʿİtrī, for example *Hem şoḫbet-i dildār ile mesrūr olduḫ evvel*;<sup>22</sup> R 1724 is a paramount source for this composer. Although the lifetimes of ʿAlī Ufuḫī and ʿİtrī overlapped, differing *maḫām* and *uşul* attributions make the identity of the compositions near impossible; in any case, those texts were obviously quite popular.

The following table shows all concordances identified, ordered according to their succession in Turc 292. Concordances with Sloane 3114 are not included; for a general table of Sloane 3114 concordances see chart 8.6. Refer to “Description of the Manuscripts” for a complete list of the MSS surveyed for their full citations and resolution of the sigla.

<sup>20</sup> Eckhard Neubauer, personal communication, August 2016.

<sup>21</sup> The latter can also be found in the *Derviş Avnî güfte ve şiir mecmûası* (first quarter of the eighteenth century), MS Konya Büyükşehir Belediyesi Ahmet Râsih İzzet Koyunoğlu Müzesi ve Şehir Kütüphanesi No. 14695, f. 40b. Composer, *maḫām* and *uşul* attributions are the same. Çıpan, Mustafa (2012). “Güfte ve şiir mecmûalarımız hakkında bir değerlendirme: Derviş Avnî güfte ve şiir mecmûası”. In: *Mecmûa: Osmanlı edebiyatının kırkambarı*. Ed. by Aynur, Hatice, Çakır, Müjgan, and Koncu, Hanife. İstanbul: Turkuaz Yayınları, pp. 201–251, p. 227.

<sup>22</sup> R 1723, f. 9a; R 1725, f. 10b.

Folio	Title	Concordant source	Folio
31b/13b	“Ne humider ghiozum sakij ki bagrumden kebab ister” / <i>Ne hūmidir [sic] göziñ şākē ki bağrumdan kebab ister</i>	Sup Turc 675	77b
46b/250a	◁ <i>Aceb ne diyārdan uçub gelürsiz</i>	Sup Turc Turc 303	14a 46b, 47a
47a/249b	“Kerem eile murwet eile”	Sup Turc 240 Bodl.Or. 4	45a 29b
47b/249a	“Dost. Her sabahin karşimuzda Salijna” [same refrain]	Turc 307	22b–23a
52a/251b– 51b/248a	“Bize bizden olan iakijnu karib” / <i>Bize bizden olan yaqın u karib</i>	B 402 Thurston 30 Sup Turc 1377 Sup Turc 1626	88b–89a 36a 2a–2b 42b
63a/265b	“Gedze ghiunduz attërgiim perifban itme”	K 447	14a
123a/263a	“Tabekei eßkinle feriad eilerem”	K 447	4a
123a/263a	“Şehriji Stamboij baftan başa seirettim heb”	Sup Turc 240	31a
124a/264a	“Eßkimile halijm dondu giunune” / ◁ <i>Aşkımla aşkıbm düşdi cününe</i>	Sup Turc 1615	9a
129a/298a	<i>Uyan ey gözlerim ğafletden uyan</i>	B 402 Ouseley 121	213b–214a 3b
132a/268a	<i>Bir ğamzest mestâne kaşđ étđi dil ü cāna</i>	Sup Turc 240	94a

Folio	Title	Concordant source	Folio
151b/22b	“Ne suc itdim ben ageb bilmezim”	Pococke 22 Turc 289	24a 6a
154a/26a	“Menki ez iar pur derdem”	Pococke 22	14a
156b/25b	“[Dār-] dunia bir musafir hanedur”	Hyde 43	ia
206a/52a	<i>Mevlām seniñ ‘aşaqların</i>	Sup Turc 1626	39a
234b/80b 391a/303b	<i>Derdā ki menī çarhı felek gurbete şaldı</i>	K 447	9b
242a/88a	“Bughiun İademy kiıar agfar benim jciun” / <i>Men bugiun şadım ki yār aqlar benimiçün</i>	AK 164 R 1722 Sup Turc 599 Sup Turc 675 K 447	61a–61b 337b 60a 65b 10b
243a/89a	<i>Başlar kesilür zülf-i perişanın ucundan</i>	EH 1625	98a–98b
264b/110b	<i>Kaıar kaıar gelen fıınam</i>	Sup Turc 1616	15a
277a/123a	<i>Bir oğ urdı bu sineme perv-zād</i>	Sup Turc 1377	41a–41b
322b/177b 402a/241b	<i>Gelse nesim-i şubhale müjde şeh-i bahardan</i>	H 922	59a
325b/180b	“Arzuıamıf bizum baghin giıunıj”	K 447	15b
346a/188a	“Sııbul zededer ki rehrewi”	K 447	18a
352a/194a	“Szemi ruhune gismimi perwane duıurdum” / <i>Şem-i ruhune cismimi perwane dıııurdım</i>	R 1722 Thurston 30 Sup Turc 377 Sup Turc 731	337a 27a 5b 7a



Folio	Title	Concordant source	Folio
361b/293a	<i>Yeter cevr êtdîn ben nâivvâne</i>	R 1722 R 1724 Ouseley 121 Thurston 30	9a 5b 3a 11a
373a/219b	<i>Miyân-ı lüce-yi firkatda kaldı zevrağ-ı dil</i>	R 1722 R 1723 R 1724 R 1725	268b 52a, 105b 157b 44b, 71b
373b/219b	<i>Gönder efendi sîneme tîr-i belâların</i>	EH 1625 Turc 280	80b-81a 37b
374a/220a	<i>Çaddim ki senin kabîza-yı aşkıñda kemândır</i>	R 793 K 447	30b 1b
374b/220b	<i>Ey put-ı şürin [sic] zebân kâmit serv-i revân</i>	Sup Turc 361	22a
374b/220b	<i>Şol arağ kim ol gül-endâmın yañağından çıkar</i>	R 1724	75b
376a/212b	<i>Lebînden büseler al ziymed-i ruhsârı seyr eyle</i>	Sup Turc 377	1b
376a/212b	<i>Bir teşnelik var gönülden şu içsem şerâb olur</i>	R 770	24a-24b
376a/212b	<i>Çamzen okıyla bağrımı pür yara eyledin</i>	R 1722	159a
376a/212b	<i>Fezâ-yı evc-i istîğnâda bir şehbâzdar gönlüm</i>	R 1722	215b
379b/221b	<i>Ey düştâ deli gönül yime leblerimin hayâlîne</i>	Sup Turc 1377	41b
379b/221b	<i>Ey benimle seyr-i gülsâr eylese dildârın yâr olsa</i>	R 1722	199b

Folio	Title	Concordant source	Folio
382a/215a	<i>Gerçi olmuşdur muqarrer herkese dünyada gamm</i> <sup>23</sup>	Thurston 30	55a
383b/216b	<i>Açıldı defter-i ehl-i melâmet kayd olan gelsün</i>	Sup Turc 1626	183b
389b/304a	<i>Rûhân bâği leîâfet bir sâmen hâft-i fem sensün</i>	R 793	36a
391b/303a	<i>Ğoncaya şol teşne kim çâk-i gîrbân êtdürür</i>	R 1722 Sup Turc 1377 Thurston 30	338b 34a-34b 12a
392b/302a	<i>Reftâre gelüb nâzile mestâne şalında</i>	EH 1625 Turc 244	124a 51a
395b/242b- 396a/311b-6	<i>“Eij gondzieler icre nihan eileme” / Ğonççalar içre nihân eyleme gül-berk-i terin</i>	EH 1625 R 1722 Sup Turc 1377 Sup Turc 1615 K 447	81b-82a 148a 12a 54a 29a
396b/311a	<i>Her ki hezâr âferin</i>	Sup Turc 1377	24b
397b/244a	<i>Olmasaydım âleme aşkımla rüsvây kâşki</i>	EH 1625 K 447	127a-127b 27b
397b/244a	<i>Veîâ gelmek muhâl oldu nigâr-i dil pesendimden</i>	Thurston 30	13a
398a/238b	<i>Göñün alub gönça-veş ahile dil-teng êddiler</i>	EH 1625	62b-63a
398b/238a	<i>Yine evvel bahâr oldu yaz oldu</i>	Hyde 43 K 447	90b 8b

<sup>23</sup> This text is a *Kıf'a*, not destined for musical performance and thus not part of the edition.

Folio	Title	Concordant source	Folio
399b/306a	<i>Hey kimi mestāne-seher yār ile gülşende yatur</i>	YB 4750 R 1723 Sup Turc 599 Sup Turc 1619 K 447	68b 100b 61a 45a 8b
400a/240a	<i>Felek ʿaksine döndürdi meh-i garrādan ayrıldım</i>	R 1725 Thurston 30	11a 52a
400a/240a	<i>Be bu yerlerde ne [hōş] şüh cihānlar [sic] var imüş</i>	Thurston 30	20a*
400b/240b 399b/306a	<i>Ġurbetde ğarab şād u âmān olmazımış</i>	R 1722 R 1724	285b 153b
402b/241a	<i>Dil hasta [sic] ve hem cān ile müştâķ-ı kırışme</i>	R 1722 R 1724 R 1725 K 447	231b 88b 38b 17b
402b/241a	<i>Açamaz çeşmini ol yār humār-ı nazdan</i>	K 447	1b
403b/310a	<i>Bir şanem hicrile kārî kimseniñ zār olmasın</i>	R 1722 R 1725	140b 77b
403b/310a	<i>Ya-ķubım ve beytū'l-ķüzni ben bilirim</i>	R 1724	50b
404a/312b	<i>Düşdi dil āfeti şüh cihān ğavġasma</i>	Sup Turc 323	130b

Folio	Title	Concordant source	Folio
404b/312a	<i>Komayub iřakatum feryada nâlan obmasun dersin</i>	R 758 R 1722 R 1725 Sup Turc 361 K 447	20b 314a 91a 5b 26b
404b/312a	<i>Yâr basar kıddim dideyi ğaribânıma minnet</i>	R 1722	146a
405a/305b	<i>Yamandar hicrile hâlim baña yâr</i>	Sup Turc 377	2b
405a/305b	<i>Ey Şehinşâh-ı Hürāsân</i>	R 1722 R 1723	329b 75b
406a/309b	<i>Reng-i ruĥı gülizâr tebâh eyledi bûlbûl</i>	Add MS 22911 <sup>24</sup> Sup Turc 377 Haşim Bey	459a 5b p. 313
412b/239a	<i>Câm aldık ele gül gibi ĥandânĥımız var</i>	R 1724 R 1725	88b 38a
201*a	<i>Ey gönül dâllerdesin efsâne olduñ bilmediñ</i>	YB 5950	45b-46a
202*a	<i>Ana ruĥından tenim şol dem ki şüret bağladı</i>	Turc 280 Add MS 11252	58b 33a

Table 6.1: Concordances with song-text collections

<sup>24</sup> This MS is not a *güfte mecmû-ası* but John Covel's correspondence. The text in transliterated Ottoman is written in 'Alî Ufukî's hand on a small slip of paper. Covel noted "alî-beghi's hand".

The survey, although it evidently covered only an infinitesimal portion of the extant material, led to the following conclusions: 1. The overwhelming majority of the vocal pieces and texts recorded by ʿAlī Ufuḳī which have concordances in other song-text collections are Murabbaʿ or Semāʿī, i.e. compositions and texts from the *divān*-based genres. The reason for this may be that most song-text collections reviewed contained ʿĀşık material in very small amounts, making matches less probable. It should not be concluded hastily, though, that the ʿĀşık repertoire was not recorded in writing because it was part of a purely oral tradition or considered less valuable (which seems improbable due to the popularity of Türkī and Varşığı at court as described by Evliyā Çelebi). 2. The repertoire of song texts is so enormous that juxtaposing (for instance) five manuscripts of 323 (Turc 292), 350 (R 1722), 155 (R 1723), 177 (R 1724) and 228 (R 1725) folios respectively yielded few concordances. 3. One crucial result of this line of enquiry is certainly the importance of the *güfte mecmūʿaları* for the historiography of Ottoman-Turkish music,<sup>25</sup> and further studies in this field are a major desideratum for the future.

A first glimpse into a potentially very fruitful line of enquiry has been made possible by Harun Korkmaz' catalog of the music manuscripts in the İstanbul Üniversitesi library. Younger sources can yield important information about which compositions were still performed in later times. Especially promising is the *Mecmūʿatü'l-Leʿāif Şundūkatü'l-Meʿārif* (T.Y. 3866 and T.Y. 5641), containing compositions by familiar personalities such as Koca ʿOşmān, Südcī-zāde and Şolāḫ-zāde. As can be seen from a detail reproduced in the catalog, this song-text collection contains quatrains without *terennüm*, i.e. repertoire stylistically related to the one notated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī.<sup>26</sup> The same holds true for T.Y. 10841, which also counts Koca ʿOşmān and Südcī-zāde among the composers represented.<sup>27</sup> It is clear that research in this direction has only just begun: While preparing the present volume for publication, a recent article by Fatma Adile Başer reached me, in which an illuminated mid-eighteenth-century –in the author's English

<sup>25</sup> Behar (2012), p. 163.

<sup>26</sup> Korkmaz (2015), pp. 89–103.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162f. See e.g. also shelfmarks T.Y. 591, 966, 1020 (which is earlier than ʿAlī Ufuḳī), 3595, 3608, 5634, 5640, 5657, 5658 and 9896, not to forget the potentially very important mixed MSS containing also Türkī and İlähī; pp. 271ff.

terminology—“lyric codex” is analyzed for its repertoire. Başer’s description of the *güfte mecmû’aları* as “yazarların mûsikî hafızasının kâğıt üzerindeki bir kopyası” is fitting.<sup>28</sup>

## 6.2 Ottoman instrumental repertoire

Compared with the vocal genres of the mid-seventeenth century, the instrumental genres are at a clear advantage. As Peşrev and Semâ’î in principle remained in use over the centuries, chances of detecting parallel versions in later repositories are much higher than in the vocal sector, where genres changed drastically and even fell into disuse. This holds true especially for the Murabba’ without *terennüm*, but also for the Türkî in the context of the *faşıl*. Early on, H. Sadettin Arel already pointed out the parallels between L and C, citing the Peşrev on ff. 10b–11a (P f. 353a/195a) as an example.<sup>29</sup> Comparisons with Cantemir<sup>30</sup> and Kevserî<sup>31</sup> have already been made, in the case of Cantemir including a critical apparatus listing differences note by note; see table 8.2 for an overview. In contrast to ‘Alî Ufuķî’s method of writing Ottoman music, Cantemir’s notation had some albeit small repercussions: Nâyî ‘Alî Muştafâ Kevserî’s collection written with the same method contains a copy of Cantemir’s treatise and collection with the addition of a substantial number of other pieces (again, exclusively courtly instrumental).<sup>32</sup>

Comparing P, L, C and K, the tables below include only the pieces present in P; there are a considerable number of additional compositions shared by L and K, but not by P. This may be explained by loss of material from P or acquisition of new repertoire. However, there is no clear division between P and L, and it seems highly probable that the two manuscripts were being composed simultaneously at least for some time.

<sup>28</sup> Başer, Fatma Adile (2017). “Minyatürlü bir güfte mecmuası”. In: *M. Fuad Köprülü Türkoloji ve Beşeri Bilimler Sempozyumu (21-22 Kasım 2016) Bildirileri*. Ed. by Turan, Fikret, Temel, Emine, and Korkmaz, Harun. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, pp. 125–164, p. 125.

<sup>29</sup> Arel (1951), pp. 3f.

<sup>30</sup> Cantemir (1992).

<sup>31</sup> Ekinci (2016).

<sup>32</sup> See Ekinci (2012); Ekinci (2016); Popescu-Judet, Eugenia (1998). *XVIII. Yüzyıl Musiki Yazmalarından Kevserî Mecmuası. Üstüne Karşılaştırmalı bir İnceleme*, passim.

Loss is hence more likely than a notation directly into L. The Teheran manuscript of Cantemir notation contains “at least 120 correspondences” with ‘Alī Ufuḳī.<sup>33</sup>

In his assessment of the compositional style of K, Ekinci states that the pieces in the collection resemble the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries much more than the later repertoires and thus stand for a continuity that reaches back about a century before the collection, which is dated between 1720 and 1740.<sup>34</sup> This arch of tradition thus encloses the repertoire and composers recorded by ‘Alī Ufuḳī, for instance Şolaḳ-zāde, Muḳaffer or Şerīf. He especially links this to formal traits of the Peşrevler such as the prevalence of the three-*hāne* form. This is true for P, which was used as a point of reference together with L. Concerning *uşūl*, the instrumental Semāī is predominantly six-beat, i.e. the Aḳşak Semāī has not yet gained its later importance. Indeed, the ten-beat Aḳşak Semāī is absent from ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections. Furthermore, he observed that the melodic progression was “still” closely attached to the *uşūl*, i.e. went hand in hand with the main beats of the rhythmic cycle. Ekinci’s statement that the Peşrevler rarely modulate to distant *maḳām*lar is difficult to relate to ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notations on account of the inconsistent use of alteration signs and verbal designations which often effectively precludes *maḳām* attribution and analysis.<sup>35</sup> First comparisons between the versions of P, L, C and K have shown that, while differences in interpretation of the melodies certainly exist, the essence of the Peşrev and Semāī compositions remains relatively unchanged in most cases.

<sup>33</sup> Neubauer (2018), p. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Ekinci (2012), p. 208.

<sup>35</sup> “*Mecmûa*’daki orijinal notalar yapısal olarak incelendiğinde buradaki eserlerin 19. yüzyıl koleksiyonlarındaki eserlerden ziyâde 17.–18. yüzyıl koleksiyonlarındakilere benzerlik gösterdiği açıkça görülmektedir. Sonradan ortadan kaybolacak olan Teslîm/Mülâzime ayrımı bu eserlerde mevcuttur. Eserler çoğunlukla üç hânelidir. Semâiler 6 zamanlı olarak yazılmıştır. Melodiler hâlâ usûlün ana darblarıyla birlikte ilerlemekte, daha büyük bir yoğunluk arz etmemektedir. Eserlerde uzak makâmlara yapılan geçkilere pek rastlamamaktadır. Kısacası müellifin yaşadığı döneme gelindiğinde müzik bir önceki yüzyıla göre henüz köklü değişimler geçirmiş değildir. Bestekârlık ve icrâdaki tavır Ali Ufki’nin koleksiyonlarını derlediği 17. yüzyıl ortalarına kadar götürülebilecek bir devamlık göstermektedir”. Ekinci (2016), p. 70.

Thus, the actual difference between ‘Alī Ufuḳī and the successive stratum of Ottoman music collections lies clearly not in compositional style of the instrumental genres, but in the development of the vocal genres in all their aspects: The Murabba‘ as a relatively short, predominantly syllabic setting without *terennüm* but based on artificial poetry will disappear toward the end of the century, and the Şarkı (with refrain) and Beste (with *terennüm*) will take its place. Neither Cantemir nor Kevşerī regarded vocal music as important enough to record it. The reason can hardly be found in the fact that both were instrumentalists – Cantemir a *tañbūrī*, Kevşerī a *nāyī*<sup>36</sup> –, because ‘Alī Ufuḳī was an instrumentalist as well.

*Maḳām* attributions deviating between P/L and C/K open possibilities for further analysis. A few examples serve to illustrate this: Fluidity between Rāst and Peñçgāh has been observed already concerning L and P; comparison with C and K supports this (f. 355a/276a-1 is attributed to Rāst in P and L, but to Peñçgāh in C). Slightly differently, the Peşrev on f. 378\*b/224b is headed “Pengigia”, its L version is found in the *faşl-ı Rāst*, and C as well as K ascribe it to Peñçgāh. The Peşrev in *Żarb-ı fetḥ* on f. 377\*a/223a is attributed to a *terküb* Nevā-yī ‘Uşşāk in P, to ‘Uşşāk in L and to Nevā in C; see also ff. 311b/167b–312a/168a-1 and 368b/238b-2. Another case of a *terküb* being discarded later is the Peşrev on f. 375b/281a-1: Dügāh-Ḥüseynī in P, Ḥüseynī in L and C.

Overall, there are 65 pieces shared by P and C; three of them are not included in L, and three others do not appear in K. On the other hand, seven more compositions are common to P, L and K, excluding C. The pieces living on in the tradition of the early eighteenth century but discarded by ‘Alī Ufuḳī while compiling L are especially intriguing. The first case is a Peşrev titled ‘*Acemī* on ff. 229b/74b–230a/75a (K 437). The *uşul* in both versions is stated as Evfer (in its older, six-beat form). Ekinci describes ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s five-beat version as faulty.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, there are few corrections in ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s notation and no errors requiring emendation. It is a possible scenario, however, that ‘Alī Ufuḳī felt that something was wrong with the Peşrev, and he decided against recording it in L. The piece on f. 369a/284a-2 not transferred is the Peşrev “Dewri rewan Dugiahde”. Comparable to the case described before, there is a peculiarity concerning *uşul* interpretation: The (notationally unproblematic) P version follows

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 77f.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 234f.



the older, six-beat interpretation of *uṣūl* Devr-i revān, while C and P have the essentially same melody in the newer, seven-beat interpretation. It seems more and more likely that ʿAlī Ufuḳī discarded pieces whose *uṣūl* interpretation was somehow not exactly defined or had come undone in the course of historical change.

The later developments after the onset of Hampartsum notation and the systematic collections in Western notation published by the *Darü'l-elḥān* (the Istanbul conservatory) from the mid-1920's onwards,<sup>38</sup> have been consciously excluded from the present study as they constitute a whole new area of research.<sup>39</sup> Another promising corpus of sources are the post-Byzantine manuscripts. In the notation collections surveyed by Kalaitzidis, the following concordances have surfaced:<sup>40</sup>

- Peşrev – ff. 200b/46b–201a/47a (L f. 35b): Gritsanis 3, f. 154b, *Muhayer douyek kioutsouk Ali Pei*.
- *Der maḳām-ı Hüseyinī Peşrev-i Külliyyāt nazāresi Husta disse che si chiama Schehmurat* – ff. 283b/129b–285a/131a (L ff. 25b–26a): Gritsanis 3, f. 139b.
- Peşrev *Pengigia* - *Hāvī [sic] Duwek* – ff. 378\*b/224b (L f. 118b): Gritsanis 3, f. 146b, *Gioulistan pentziougiah*.

It is not unreasonable to expect more connections to come to light, and critical editions of those manuscripts which will allow detailed comparisons are eagerly awaited.

<sup>38</sup> Jäger (2015), pp. 35, 43.

<sup>39</sup> This extremely important field is currently being worked on by the *Corpus Musicae Ottomanicae* (CMO), a joint critical edition and cataloging project at the University of Münster and the Orient-Institut Istanbul. In the future the findings from ʿAlī Ufuḳī's compendium will be integrated into the network of concordances established by CMO. Already in 1988, Wright had pointed out that pieces from the seventeenth-century collections remained in the current repertoire; Wright (1988), p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Kalaitzidis (2012), pp. 79–85, 199.

## Chapter 7

# Conclusion and desiderata

Turc 292 is doubtlessly an exceptional source created by an exceptional author, who was able to make the best of his life's circumstances. It is witness to processes of transcultural mediation and knowledge exchange, a receptacle of Ottoman and European musical, literary and scientific production fed by the most diverse sources many of which we can only imagine. It is itself a transcultural process, containing the transfer of orally transmitted music into a sign system developed for and within an alien music culture. ʿAlī Ufuḳī's prejudice-free, undiscriminating and non-elitist curiosity is mirrored in the striking range of styles and genres he considered worthy of being recorded. An astonishing achievement, ʿAlī Ufuḳī's compendium is without precedent or successor. While not a journal or a memoir, it is still one of the most "colorful examples of personal literature" in Ottoman cultural history.<sup>1</sup>

ʿAlī Ufuḳī was a successfully bicultural personality, and he was certainly not an outsider. His seemingly effortless and practice-oriented handling of languages, musics and probably also religious beliefs, visible in all of his extant works, discourages notions of him as an "other". Perceiving him as different and as an outsider and thus dismissing his contribution, risks devaluing his life's achievement. In the environment of the seventeenth-century Ottoman palace, who was not "different"?

An important conclusion drawn from the present study regards the vastness of the repertoire. Following the approach of Owen Wright,<sup>2</sup> song-text collections have been compared in order to find trajectories of parallel transmission. Considering the number of manuscripts and editions surveyed

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<sup>1</sup> Kafadar, Cemal (1989). "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature". In: *Studia Islamica* vol. 69, pp. 121–150, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Wright (1992).

(and the immense number of song-text collections in libraries worldwide which have not yet been surveyed), the number of parallels between ‘Alī Ufuḳī’s collections and comparable sources is small. The repertoire of ‘Āşık poetry still known today is even smaller. To give one example: Mehmet Fuad Köprülü’s four-volume study-cum-edition of ‘Āşık literature contains only two texts also found in P.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless the method has proved to be valid and productive, promising more advances in knowledge in the future.

Another central topic is genre and the palpable stylistic change of the seventeenth century, the question being which musics were played and enjoyed in the Sultan’s palace and in the city of Istanbul and how they fit into an historical narrative of stylistic change. Walter Feldman’s theory of the cultural renaissance and the emergence of an “Ottoman” music following the “cultural loss” in the course of the seventeenth century, has been referred to repeatedly.<sup>4</sup> With regard to Ottoman cultural production in general and specifically to poetry and music, Mehmet Kalpaklı also sees the period after the banishment of the *Ḳazı-zādeli* and the instalment of Köprülü Mehmed Pāşā as Grand Vizier (1656) as a “renaissance”.<sup>5</sup> Yet the repertoire transmitted by ‘Alī Ufuḳī could not be seamlessly reconciled with this view. In the compendium, the overall picture shows permeability of stylistic spheres, coexistence in performance and a broad range of choices. *Murabba‘* and *Türkī* as two expressions of the same culture, complementarity rather than valuation in a narrative of decay and growth:<sup>6</sup> The interpretation of the repertoire transmitted by ‘Alī Ufuḳī supports this summary, which is corroborated by the description of a performance at court by *Evlīyā Çelebi* cited above.<sup>7</sup> This simultaneity, in itself, could be

<sup>3</sup> *Yār meclisde gülse güller açılır, Turc 292*, f. 253b/99b, and “Be ei ala ghiozlu dilber”, f. 267a/113a. Köprülü (2004), pp. 147f., 330.

<sup>4</sup> Feldman (2015), p. 111 and *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Kalpaklı (2013), p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> “(1) the gazel is placed within the mainstream of historic Turkish culture, or, to be more exact, one mainstream of Turkish culture is recognized rather than two; (2) divan poetry and folk poetry are seen as complementary parts of a literary/cultural whole within which each is a valuable resource for interpreting the other; (3) social divisions during the Ottoman period do not define quite as strictly the audiences of poetry nor do they differentiate separate cultures; (4) certain highly unprofitable and political arguments about the relative value and relative “Turkishness” of various kinds of Turkish poetry diminish in importance”. Andrews (1985), p. 182.

<sup>7</sup> Dankoff (2004), pp. 35ff.

interpreted as the symptoms of a period of change. For instance in the employment and interpretation of certain *uṣūller* and *maḳām*lar, it can be reasonably presumed that ʿAlī Ufuḳī was aware of developments as well as distinctions between the “old” and the “new”. In the area of theory he also had access to older traditions that have no practical counterpart in the repertoire he transmits.

The solidity and unambiguity of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s notations, which at first glance evoke the solidity and unambiguity of modern European staff notation many musicologists grew up with as a kind of native language, are misleading. While preserving a large repertoire from diverse stylistic contexts, his collections do not offer a straightforward prescription for analysis and performance. P in particular leaves many questions unanswered; among those, the most problematic area is the interpretation of *maḳām* and the ascription of unassigned pieces, followed by the interpretation of *uṣūl*. From what ʿAlī Ufuḳī supplies, only limited conclusions can be drawn, avoiding superimposition of later concepts. It seems as if ʿAlī Ufuḳī worked on the development of a notational system with the aim of being understandable and logical from within the Ottoman music tradition, for which the *uṣūl* designation system implemented in L is the strongest argument.

The Paris manuscript should not be viewed separately from its sister source in London, although the two collections are different regarding aim, contents and design. Where P is a compendium, a notebook into which ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s daily life, work and interests entered unfiltered and almost unmediated, L is restricted in its choice of material and gives the impression of being consciously designed. Poetic texts without musical notation are interspersed, but considerably less frequent. While it is impossible to establish a chronology, L in some way proceeded from P, and the process of repertoire selection is still visible to a certain extent.

The paramount aim of the present study was to make ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s notations accessible, to describe the functionality of his sign system and to draw first conclusions on his understanding and use of Ottoman theoretical concepts and practical applications. Deep analysis of compositional technique and style especially in the Peṣrev and Semāʿī repertoire are a possible next step. The detailed comparison that Jacob Olley has conducted for

*maḳām* Şabā<sup>8</sup> can (and should) be extended to the other modal entities, which, however, may not yield results as easily and as coherently, as the analyses of the *maḳāmlar* used by ʿAlī Ufuḳī have shown. The results of the *Corpus Musicae Ottomanicae* project under the direction of Ralf Martin Jäger in Münster, will open important new fields of activity for research into historically more remote parallel transmission in Hampartsum sources. Evaluation of the post-Byzantine music manuscripts is promising, too, as there is a substantial corpus of sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries containing “mourambades” (Murabbaʿlar) and instrumental music. The most interesting manuscripts described by Kyriakos Kalaitzidis are the codices Gritsanis 8, written in 1698, and Iviron 949, likewise from the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup> Experiments with historically informed performance practice may yield insights, but they have to be undertaken in the consciousness that they are forever constrained by the limits of our knowledge about issues such as *maḳām* interpretation and performance speed.

As a musicologist, the present author has refrained from addressing a group of highly important questions outside her own field. First and foremost, linguistic scholars are called upon to evaluate ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s compendium from the viewpoints of pronunciation, dialect and vocabulary. First steps toward a contextualization of ʿAlī Ufuḳī’s spelling, which can be understood to represent the Ottoman Turkish spoken in the palace, in regards of linguistic changes between his day and modern Turkish, have been made by Hannah Neudecker on the basis of the *Grammatica Turcicolatina*.<sup>10</sup>

The minimal venture into the terrain of religious history –especially concerning the practices of heterodox groups in the environment of the Ottoman palace– can only claim to be a first step into a territory well worth being charted in minute detail. Likewise, historians of medicine will find rich material in Ottoman Turkish, Italian and Polish to analyze and

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<sup>8</sup> Olley (2012).

<sup>9</sup> Kalaitzidis (2012), pp. 30ff., 39.

<sup>10</sup> Neudecker (1996), pp. 184-186. A similar study has been conducted by Heidi Stein on Hieronymus Megiser’s *Institutionum linguae turcicae libri IV*; Stein, Heidi (2004). “Die ‘Institutionum linguae turcicae libri IV’ as türkisches Sprachdenkmal”. In: *Archivum Ottomanicum* vol. 22, pp. 75-105.

compare, in order to better understand the diversity of medical knowledge available in seventeenth-century Istanbul.<sup>11</sup>

‘Alī Ufuķī’s bicultural view on a multi- and transcultural environment, his curiosity and his diligence in recording detail regardless of its origin make his compendium an extraordinary source for insights into a specific segment of human history: the mid-seventeenth century Ottoman court and the city of Istanbul.

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<sup>11</sup> Haug (2018b).



## Chapter 8

# Tables

### 8.1 Concordances with L

The following table is ordered according to the succession in L; the titles, often long and informative, are added to the customary incipits; the beginning of new *faşullar* are indicated.

Folio L	Title	Folio P
	<b>Faşl-ı Hüseynî</b>	
10b	Peşrev-i ‘Osmān Pāšā el-‘atīk der maḳām-ı Dügāh-Hüseynî uşüleş Düyek	353a/195a
11a	Peşrev-i Tunc ‘Alî der maḳām-ı mezbür uşüleş Devr-i kebîr	282b/128b– 283a/129a
12b	Şarkı der maḳām-ı mezbür uşüleş Düyek / <i>Şu karşıdan gelen elâ gözüñe</i> Türki muḥabbet / <i>Gel civān böyle şalınma</i>	378*a/224a  156b/25b
13a	‘Āşık nām-ı ‘Alî Pāšā etdi defteri ‘aşkı inşā / <i>Yār meclisde gülse güller açılır</i>	253b/99b
13b	Türki berāy-ı kanlı kavaḳ / <i>Dallı dallı budaklarınñ kurasun</i>	262a/108a
14b–15a	Peşrev-i Dölāb der maḳām-ı mezbür uşüleş Düyek	313b/169b– 314a/170a
15b–16a	Peşrev-i Kız der maḳām-ı mezbür uşüleş Düyek	321b/176b– 322a/177a
15b	Varşığı / <i>Erişdi yine faşl-ı gül</i>	153a/25bisa
17b	Semā‘î der maḳām-ı mezbür	280b/126b– 281a/127a



Folio L	Title	Folio P
18a	Semā'ī der maḳām-ı mezbūr	313b/169b– 314a/170a
18b–19a	Peşrev-i Ƙarḳa [sic] Ferrūḥ der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Devr-i kebīr	372a/287a
20a	Semā'ī / <i>Vefā gelmek muḥāl oldı niğār-ı dil pesendimden</i>	397b/244a
22b–23a	Peşrev-i Şāh Ƙulu der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Şaḳīl	382*a/228a– 382*b/228b
23b	Peşrev-i Melek Cān der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Dū	381*b/227b
24a	Semā'ī der maḳām-ı mezbūr	384*a/230a
24b–25a	Peşrev-i Toz-ḳoparan der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Düyek	383*a/229a
25a	Türkī oyun / <i>Şeftālī isterim maḥrūm gönderme</i>	347a/189a
25b–26a	Peşrev-i Şāh Murād der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Fāḥte	375b/218a, 283b/129b– 285a/131a
28b	Şarkı-yı Cüce ‘Alī Āğā / <i>Şaç-ı leydim seniñ meylñ kandedir</i>	267b/113b
	bu. Varşağı / <i>‘Āşık oldum bir ḳaşları ḳaraya</i>	153b/25bisb
29b	Murabba‘ Hüseyinī / <i>Tāzelendi ḥatırım şiri terennümi tāzedür</i>	241b/402a
30a	Raḳş / <i>Geliboluda bir gelin</i>	269b/115b
30b	Türkī-yi ğurbet / <i>Nola düşdüm ise ğurbet ellere</i>	122a/262a
32a	Türkī der ḥaḳḳ-ı ‘asī Haydar [sic] / <i>Haydar [sic] oğlı ‘aḳlñ yok mı başıñda</i>	139b/267b
	[Türkī] <i>‘Āşık oldum bir ḳaşları ḳaraya</i>	153b/25bisb
32b	Peşrev-i Ciğer-delen Żarb-ı feth	383*b/229b
	Türkī / <i>Ƙādir mevlām baña bir yār vèrmışdir</i>	155a/24a, 119a/45a-1

Folio L	Title	Folio P
33a	Türkî duṣā / <i>Biñ bir adnñ hürmeti [sic] çün murādım</i>	154b/26b
34a	Türkî berāy-ı firāḫ / <i>Düşüb ğurbetlik ellere</i>	408b/236b
35a	Türkî muḥabbet / <i>Elīm ermezse bu yāre</i>	175a/299a
	<b>Faṣl-ı Muḥayyer</b>	
35b	Peşrev-i ḶAlī Beğ der maḳām-ı Muḥayyer [sic] uşüleş Düyek Murabbaṣ / <i>Şanma kim ben bende-yi cānā cefādan incinür</i>	200b/46b– 201a/47a 152b/23b
36a	Peşrev-i Mışr der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Düyek	22b/5b– 23a/6a
38a	[genre unknown] <i>Āsāsiyā ğaraḫtanī yā laylī</i>	343a/185a-3, 398b/304a-2
38b	Murabbaṣ der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Düyek/ <i>Olmasaydım Ḷālemde Ḷaşkıñla rüsvāy kāşki</i>	397b/244a
	Semāḩ ḩarbī / <i>Şāh Allāh ğördüm seni ğönül ḩan olasın</i>	400a/240a
39a	Muḥabbet türkî Devr-i kebūr / <i>Behey ālā ğözlü dilber</i>	122b/262b
39b	Türkî berāy-ı turna [sic] ve ğurbet ve muḥabbet / <i>Turna [sic] bizim yerde bizi şorana</i>	249a/95a, 253a/99a
	Türkî berāy-ı muḥabbet / <i>Meded Allāhu seversen</i>	299b/175b, 269b/133b
	Türkî medḩ-ı Şehinşāh-ı Āl-ı ḶOşmān Sultān Meḩmed ḩān 1075 sene / <i>Pādişāhım ḩullarınā eyle dāḩm himmetiñ</i>	220a/66a
40a	Türkî berāy-ı aşḩ / <i>Sevdāyn [sic] Ḷaşḩ mekān dutdı cānımda</i>	382b/215b, 237b/409b
	Türkî berāy-ı ḩazān / <i>Şimden gerü ğüz eyyāmı erişdi</i>	409b/237b
40b–41a	Peşrev-i Emīr-i ḩacc der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Düyek	357b/278b

Folio L	Title	Folio P
41b–42a	Peşrev-i Çengî Ca'fer der maḳām-ı mezbûr uşûleş Düyek	359a/280a, 359b/280b, 360a/281a
41b	Türkî berây-ı sefer bahrî / <i>Beğler sunulsun pîyâle beğler</i>	299b/145b
42b–43a	Peşrev-i Şolâḳ-zâde der maḳām-ı mezbûr uşûleş Zarb-ı fetḥ	352b/194b
42b	Devrân-ı dervîşân zevîyyü's-şân / <i>Ey her ki hezâr aferîn</i>	396b/311a
43b–44a	Peşrev-i Varşağı der maḳām-ı der maḳām-ı [sic] mezbûr uşûleş Devr-i kebîr	377*a/223b
44a	Türkî / <i>Ahûya beñzer gözleri</i>	301a/130a
44b	Varşağı-yı Beyâtî / <i>Gel benim nâzlı yavrum gel</i>	129b/298a
	Dîğەر / <i>Behey cefâsı çok dilber</i>	124a/264a
	Dîğەر / <i>‘Aşkñ ile ‘aqlm düşdi cününe</i>	124a/264a
45a	Varşağı nisvân / <i>Çıkamadım kayalarñ başına</i>	126b/297b
46a	Türkî berây-ı fetḥ-i Retme / <i>Şükür hey Allâhım güler cânımız</i>	326b/181b
46b	Türkî berây-ı firâḳ tarz-ı Dobruca / <i>‘Aceb dîr ki şu fenâyâ geleli</i>	231b/76b– 232a/78a
	Türkî berây-ı firâḳ avâz-ı Dobruca / <i>Bu derde düşmüşüm çäre bulunmaz</i>	232b/78b– 233a/79a
	Türkî berây-ı sefer-i Bağdâd âheste / <i>İslâm ‘askeriyüz gâzâ kaçdına</i>	409a/237a
47a	Türkî berây-ı seyrân-gâh-ı ḥâzret-i Eyyüb / <i>Döştlar benim mekânımı ararsa</i>	410a/247b
	Türkî berây-ı dilber / <i>Behey âlâ gözlü dilber</i>	409a/237a
48a	[Türkî] <i>‘İbret alñ döştlar inşâfa geliñ</i>	328b/183b
	Türkî-yi Cânsiner Ḥalife berây-ı medḥ-i ḥüsn / <i>Güzelliğñ ermiş kemâle beğim</i>	301a/147a
48b	Türkî berây-ı evvel bahâr / <i>Yüri Murâd tağı yüri</i>	327a/182a

Folio L	Title	Folio P
49a	Türk oynı / <i>‘Āşık olmuş bizim bâğün gülüne</i>	325b/180b
	Türkî berāy-ı ğurbet / <i>Şu fenā dünyāya geldim gelesi</i>	261a/107a, 328a/183a
49b	Türkî berāy-ı [illegible] / <i>Nādān ile münkirdeñ ne ğamım var</i>	375a/218b
50a	Türkî berāy-ı firāk / <i>Çünkü ayrı düşdüm ğara gözlümden</i>	327b/182b
	<b>Faşl-ı Nevā</b>	
50b	Peşrev-i Bāyezīd der mağām-ı Nevā uşüleş Düyek	281a/127a– 282a/128a
51a	Türkî berāy-ı muĥabbet / <i>Ben ‘aĥlımı hıç perişān etmezdim</i>	119a/259a
54a	Semā’ī der mağām-ı mezbūr	286b/132b– 287a/133a
54b	[Murabba <sup>ç</sup> ] <i>Hey benimle seyr-i gülzār eylese dildār-ı yār olsa</i>	379b/221b
	[genre unknown] <i>Hem ğadeh hem bāde bir şüh-ı sākīdür göñül</i>	398b/238a
55b	Semā’ī / <i>Ey bugün şādım ki yār aĝlar benimişün</i>	242a/88a
56a	Semā’ī / <i>Gel kākülüñi ğerdānıma şar meded yār</i>	407a/308b
	Murabba <sup>ç</sup> mağām-ı Nevā uşüleş Evfer / <i>Derdā ki meni çarh-ı felek vay ğurbete şaldı</i>	234b/80b, 391a/303b
	Murabba <sup>ç</sup> merĥūm Fetvā’ī / <i>Aldı ‘aĥlım ol semenber zülf-i ‘anber bār ile</i>	411a/243b
57a	Peşrev-i Bāyezīd nazīre-yi Küçük [sic] Aĥmed Beĝ der mağām-ı Nevā uşüleş Fāhte	356a/277a
58b	Varşāĝı / <i>Göñül tama<sup>ç</sup> étme cihān dārına</i>	345a/187a
	Varşāĝı / <i>Ĝarīb ğarīb öten bülbül</i>	218b/64b
59a	Varşāĝı berāy-ı cülüs-i Sultān Meĥmed Hān bin Sultān İbrāhīm Hān Devr-i kebīr / <i>Kimi ğonar kimi göçer feleĝñ kervānıdır</i>	398a/238b

Folio L	Title	Folio P
59b	Türkî berây-ı ehl-i dil / <i>Ĥamdülillāh çok şükür bārî Ĥüdānîñ [sic] varına</i>	406a/309b
60b	Peşrev-i Aĥmed Beĝ Miskālî [sic] uşüleş Düyek	355b/276b
61a	Semā'î-yi Şolak-zāde	355a/276a
61b	Peşrev-i Cüce 'Alî Āĝā uşüleş Muĥammes	287b/133b– 288a/134a
	<b>Faşl-ı 'Uşşāk</b>	
62b	Peşrev-i [deleted: Dervîş 'Oşmān] Şāh-ı ĥubān [sic] Şerîfîñ der maĥām-ı 'Uşşāk uşüleş Muĥammes [sic]	381a/217b
63a	Peşrev-i Bülbül-i 'āşîĥ der maĥām-ı mezbür uşüleş Düyek	362b/283b, 362a/283a
64a	[Murabba'] <i>Lebinden būseler al ziynet-i ruĥsārî seyr eyle</i>	376a/121a
64b	Peşrev-i Dilkeş der maĥām-ı mezbür uşüleş Devr-i kebîr	311b/167b– 312a/168a
65a–65b	Peşrev-i Żarb-ı fetĥ der maĥām-ı mezbür uşüleş Żarb-ı fetĥ	377*a/223a
66a	Semā'î der maĥām-ı mezbür	413b/235a
66b	Türkî / <i>Baĝdādî Başrāyî seyrān eylesen</i>	270a/116a
67a	Murabba' der maĥām-ı mezbür uşüleş Şöfyāne / <i>Vefāda misli bulunmaz bu gün ben bu civān buldum</i>	304b/160b
	Dġer / <i>Mestāne oldum 'aşķnġ elinden yār baña bir çāre</i>	297b/143b, 302a/148a
	[Türkî] <i>Ĥancerîñ eliñe al derdlü sġnem del</i>	298b/144b
67b	Murabba' / <i>Be bu yerlerde ne ĥōş şūĥ-i civānlar var imiş</i>	400a/240a
68a	Murabba' / <i>Ĝamzeñ oķuyla baĝrımı pür yara eyledin</i>	376a/212a

Folio L	Title	Folio P
69a	‘Uşşāk Varşığı Şöfyâne / <i>Yine evvel bahār oldı yaz geldi</i>	398b/238a
69b	Varşığı / <i>‘Aşkıñıla ‘aqlım döndi cününe</i>	124a/264a
70a	Varşığı / <i>Bir ğamzesi mestâne</i>	132a/268a
	<b>Faşl-ı Beyātī</b>	
70b	Peşrev-i ‘Arazbārī der maqām-ı Beyātī uşleş Devr-i kebīr	140a/295b
71a	Peşrev-i Şerīf der maqām-ı mezbūr uşleş Fāhte	311b/167b–312a/168a
71b	Semā‘ī der maqām-ı mezbūr	415b/246b–416a/307b
	Varşığı / <i>Men ki ez yār pūr derdim</i>	154a/24a
72b	Varşığı ya‘nī varşığılıkla Adio valediction / <i>Behey cefāsı çok dülber</i>	124a/264a
73a	Varşığı-yı Devr-i kebīr / <i>Yār ‘aşkıñıla yanub bişdim</i>	254b/100b
	Varşığı-yı Devr-i revān / <i>Hañçeriñ eliñe al dertli sīnem del</i>	298b/144b
	Dığer Devr-i revān / <i>Bir ğamzesi mestâne</i>	132a/268a
74b	Semā‘ī-yi Sulţān Murād Hān Fātīh-i Bağdād / <i>Gelsene nesīm-i şubhıyla müjde şāh-ı bahārdan</i>	322b/177b, 402a/241b
	Rağş ve Semā‘ī/ <i>Bir oğ urdı bu sīneme peri zād</i>	277a/123a
	<b>Faşl-ı ‘Acem</b>	
77a	Peşrev-i Māfrudunyā [sic] der maqām-ı mezbūr uşleş Berevşān	126a/297a
78a	Peşrev-i Żarbeyn der maqām-ı mezbūr	361b/286b
78b	Varşığı / <i>Qādir Allāh kalem çekmiş</i>	382b/215b
79a	Varşığı / <i>Şu qarşuda şalınan yār</i>	278b/124b
79b	Murabba‘ der maqām-ı mezbūr Şöfyâne / <i>Sevmişim rüz-ı ezelden dāne bilmem neyleyim</i>	416b/397a

Folio L	Title	Folio P
80a	Semā'ī / <i>Sen siz bu gönül meclis-i 'ayş demī neyler</i>	378*a/224a
82a	Türkī berāy-ı ğurbet/ <i>Kaᅇı birin Őerhı edeyim ğāziler</i>	353a/195a
82b	Türkī berāy-ı Celālī / <i>Haydar [sic] oĝlı 'aqlıñ yoĝmı baŐında</i>	139b/267b
83b	PeŐrev-i Gül-i ra'nā der maĝām-ı mezbūr uŐüleŐ [sic] Düyek	379*a/225b
	[Türkī] <i>EŐim dōstum ĝalkdı ĝitdi Őu yerden</i>	250a/96a, 366a/288b
	<b>FaŐl-ı Őabā</b>	
88b	PeŐrev-i Südcı-zāde der maĝām-ı mezbūr uŐüleŐ Őarb-ı fetħ	201b/47b– 202a/48a
89a	PeŐrev-i Frenk MuŐtafa der maĝām-ı mezbūr uŐüleŐ Őarb-ı fetħ	371b/286b
89b	PeŐrev-i Mülāzime-yi HiŐār der maĝām-ı mezbūr uŐüleŐ Őarb-ı fetħ	381*a/227a
90a	PeŐrev der maĝām-ı mezbūr uŐüleŐ Őenber	380*a/226a
90b	Semā'ī der maĝām-ı mezbūr	201a/47a– 202a/48a
93a	Murabba' raŐŐ / <i>Reftāre ĝelüb nāzile mestāne Őalındı</i>	392b/302a
	<b>FaŐl-ı Őārgāh</b>	
97a	PeŐrev	387a/234a
98a	Semā'ī	387a/234a
	<b>FaŐl-ı Segāh</b>	
100a	PeŐrev-i Gıdā-yı [sic] rüh der maĝām-ı mezbūr uŐüleŐ Düyek	367b/282b
100b	Büyük Segāh der maĝām-ı mezbūr uŐüleŐ Düyek	368b/283b
103a	PeŐrev-i Beste-yi nigār uŐüleŐ Düyek	307b/163b

Folio L	Title	Folio P
103b	Peşrev Meded-i rûh der maqâm-ı mezbûr uşûleş Zarb-ı fetḥ	289b/365a
104a	Semâ'î der maqâm-ı mezbûr	362b/292a
	Ġazel <i>Ne Süleymāna esrîz ne Selîmîñ kulu yuz</i>	375a/218a
104b	[Murabba <sup>c</sup> ] <i>Ġamm çekme gönül kim feleġin oyunu zâr dir</i>	374a/220a
105a	[genre unknown] <i>Şem'-i rûhuña cismimi pervâne düşürdüm</i>	352a/194a
105b	Murabba <sup>c</sup> / <i>Ġoncaya ol neşe-yi [sic] kim çāk-ı giribân êtdirir</i>	391b/303a, 402b/241a
	Murabba <sup>c</sup> / <i>Açamaz çeşmini ol yâr humâr-ı nâzdan</i>	402b/241a
106b	[Kâr] <i>Dir dir ten [...] Ey Şehinşâh-ı Hôrāsân Türkî berây-ı dervîş the dorbish Lament.<sup>1</sup> / Sevdiğim Hakkı seversen girme benim kanıma</i>	405a/305b 326a/181a
107a	Semâ'î / <i>Ne şuc etdim ben aceb bilmezem ol yâre meded</i>	151b/22b
109a	Şarkı / <i>Komazlar ki ben yârime varayım</i>	410a/247b
	<b>Faṣl-ı Râst</b>	
109b	Peşrev-i Şedd-i aşr uşûleş Düyek ḥarbî	343b/185b
110b	Peşrev-i Ḥasan Āġâ der maqâm-ı mezbûr uşûleş Devr-i kebîr	358b/279b
111a	Peşrev-i Benefşe-zâr der maqâm-ı mezbûr uşûleş Düyek-i ḥarbî [sic]	372b/287b
111b	Peşrev-i Rûḥ-efzâ uşûl-i Ḥafîf	343b/185b– 344a/186a
112a	Peşrev der maqâm-ı mezbûr uşûleş Şakîl	291a/364a
112b	Peşrev der maqâm-ı mezbûr uşûleş Devr-i revân	367b/282b
	Semâ'î li-şâhibihi der maqâm-ı mezbûr	29a/11a–2 8b/10b

<sup>1</sup> This note has been added by the same English hand that also wrote the index.



Folio L	Title	Folio P
113a	Semā'ī der maḳām-ı mezbür	371a/286a
	Semā'ī der maḳām-ı mezbür	361a/293b
113b	Murabba' uşüleş Evfer / <i>Hengām-ı bülbül faşl-ı gül dīvāneler eyyāmıdır</i>	62a/270b
	Murabba' Düyek / <i>Seniñle fahr ederim senden ğayri [sic] yārim yok</i>	407a/308b
114a	Murabba' uşüleş Şöfyāne / <i>Ne deñlü nāz ederse ol gözi mestāne incinmez</i>	249b/95b, 395b/242b
	Murabba' uşüleş Düyek / <i>Hālimi tā 'aşığı zār olmayınca bilmedüñ</i>	241b/87b, 232*b
	Semā'ī Nevā / <i>Ey surr-ı 'aşık-ı [sic] 'aşıka mestāne söyleñ söylesün</i>	197*a
114b	Varşağı-yı Penggāh uşüleş Evfer / <i>Yeter cevri eylediñ ben nātüvāne</i>	361b/293a
115a	Murabba' Gerdāniyye / <i>Felek 'aksine döndürdi mah-i ğurrādan [sic] ayrıldım</i>	400a/240a
	[Semā'ī] <i>Lezzet artırır tatlu diliñ sükkere cānā</i>	242a/88a
	[Murabba'] <i>Seniñle fahr ederim senden ğayr-i yārim yok</i>	407a/308b
116b– 117a	Peşrev-i Şedd-i rūḥ der maḳām-ı mezbür uşüleş Düyek	370b/285b
117b	Peşrev-i Zencir der maḳām-ı mezbür uşüleş ḥamsa	289b/135b– 290a/136a
118a	Peşrev-i Ṭabaḳāt-ı benefşe-zār uşüleş Düyek	369b/284b
118b	Peşrev-i Dil-şitābān uşüleş Çenber	378*b/224b
119a	Peşrev-i Şerif der maḳām-ı mezbür uşüleş Źarb-ı fetḥ	355a/276a
119b	Peşrev-i 'Ālem-ārā uşüleş Düyek	356b/277b
120a	Peşrev-i Se zarb Toz-ḳoparan	27b/9b– 28a/10a

Folio L	Title	Folio P
121a	Semā'ī beste-yi 'Alī Ufukī berāy-ı ma'şūḫ ḥōd Gürçī 'Alī gūlām-ı Sultān Meḥemmed Ḥān / <i>Ey leṭāfet gülşeniniñ taze açılmış güli</i>	297b/143b
	<b>Faşl-ı Māhūr</b>	
124a	Peşrev-i Kuṭbī der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşūleş Faḥte	416a/307b
125a	Murabba' / <i>Öldürür 'aşuḳı āh ol nergīsī mestāneler</i>	122b/262b
125b	Semā'ī / <i>Çıkdılar seyrāne ḥūblar geşd edeler [sic] nāzile</i>	233*a
	[Murabba'] Rāst / <i>Seniñle faḥr ederim senden ğayr-i yārim yok</i>	407a/309b
126a	Türkī berāy-ı naşīḥat-ı merdān / <i>Söz tutub uludan diñleyin ögüt</i>	285b/131b
128a	Semā'ī der maḳām-ı mezbūr	415b/246b– 416a/307b
	<b>Faşl-ı Evç [sic]</b>	
130a	Peşrev-i Rūḥ [deleted: fezā] fütūḥ der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşūleş Ḥafif [sic]	359b/280b
130a	İlāhī / <i>Ḳamū işim ḥaṭā estağfuru'l-lāh</i>	379*b/225b
131b	Peşrev-i Meclis-ārā der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşūleş Düyek	414b/245b– 415a/246a
	Türkī / <i>Dünyāda iylik dōstuna</i>	294a/140a
132a	İlāhī-yi Sultān Murād Ḥān ṭāba şurāhu der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşūleş Devr-i revān / <i>Uyan ey gözlerim ğaftletden uyan</i>	129a/298a
	Türkī berāy-ı aşḫ / <i>Sañā yalvarırım ey Ğanī Kerim</i>	233b/79b
132b	Semā'ī der maḳām-ı mezbūr / <i>Düşdi deli gönül yine tebleriññ hayāline</i>	379b/221b
	Türkī berāy-ı meclis / <i>Dōsta toğrı olan kişi</i>	381b/217a
133a	Semā'ī / <i>Reng-i rūy-i gülzār tebāh eyledi bülbül</i>	406a/305b

Folio L	Title	Folio P
	<b>Faṣl-ı ‘Irāk</b>	
134b	Peşrev-i Hünkār uşüleş Düyek	21b/4b– 22a/5a, 344a/186a
136a	Peşrev-i Tātār-nāme uşüleş Şakīl	18b/1b– 19a/2a
136b	Peşrev-i Kāse-bāz uşüleş Żarb-ı fetḥ	384*b/230b
137a	Semāī	293b/139b
137b	Peşrev-i Kāse-bāz-ı mıṣrī uşüleş Devr-i revān	356a/277a
	Peşrev-i Kāse-bāz uşüleş Devr-i revān La‘āl-pare [sic]	356b/277b– 357a/278a
139b	Peşrev-i Kāse-bāz mıṣrī uşüleş Şakīl maḳām-ı Ārāk [sic]	370a/285a, 414a/245a
140a	Peşrev-i Bülbül-i ‘Irāk uşüleş Düyek	324b/179b
140b– 141a	Peşrev-i Seyfūl-Mıṣrī der maḳām-ı ‘Irāk muḥālif uşüleş Düyek	290b/136b– 292a/138a
	<b>Faṣl-ı Nihāvend</b>	
–	–	–
	<b>Faṣl-ı ‘Uzzāl</b>	
145b	Türkī berāy-ı seher / <i>Uyan gözler mestān uyan</i>	269b/115b
148b	Peşrev-i Şolaḳ-zāde der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Żarb-ı fetḥ	325a/180a
150b	Türkī berāy-ı turna [sic] / <i>Ḳaṭar ḳaṭar gelen turnam [sic]</i>	264b/110b
151a	Türkī berāy-ı ḳıyāmet / <i>Dünyā benim diyen beğler</i>	265a/111a
151b	Peşrev-i Bōstān uşüleş Düyek	358a/279a
	<b>Faṣl-ı Nişābūr</b>	
154b	Peşrev-i Żarb-ı fetḥ der maḳām-ı mezbūr	231*b

Folio L	Title	Folio P
155a	Semā'ī efrenċi der maḳām-ı mezbūr	371a/286a
	Murabba' der maḳām-ı mezbūr güfte-yi Frenk Muṣṭafā el-merḥūm / <i>Olur melül u ğarīb elem çeker mi 'āşık</i>	395a/242a
155b	Dıĝer [Semā'ī] / <i>Ey şeh-i melek cefā u cevri ile inletme beni</i>	197*a
	<b>Faşl-ı Sünbüle</b>	
156b	Peşrev	345a/187a
157a	Peşrev-i Kemānī Muṣṭafā Āĝā	344b/186b
	<b>Faşl-ı Şehnāz</b>	
159b	Peşrev uşüleş Faḥte [sic]	234*b
	<b>Faşl-ı Nigrīz</b>	
161b	Peşrev-i Revān-ı baḥş uşüleş Perevşān	361a/282a
162a	Peşrev	361a/282a
162b	[Murabba'] <i>Derdle yar [sic] olmuşum ben nice dil vërdim saña</i>	152a/23a
164a	Semā'ī	361a/272a
	<b>Faşl-ı Būselik</b>	
166b	Peşrev der maḳām-ı mezbūr uşüleş Żarb-ı feth	248b/94b– 249a/95a, 352b/194b
	<b>Faşl-ı 'Aşīrān-Būselik</b>	
169b	İlāhī der maḳām-ı 'Acem-'Aşīrān / <i>Mevlām seniñ 'āşıkların devrān ederler hū ile</i>	206a/52a
170a	[İlāhī] <i>Küyünden aldın mı haber</i>	199a/45a

Folio L	Title	Folio P
173b	Nevā-yı Devr-i revān / [Murabba <sup>ç</sup> ] <i>Āteş-i haşretle [sic] bâğrım nice bir dağlayayım</i>	343a/185a
	[Türkî] Melûl gönlümüzün pasın açalım / <i>Gele dîlber seniñle mey içelim</i>	396b/311a, 343a/185a
	Türkî berây-ı aşk der maķâm-ı Beste nigâr / <i>Ağlayu ağlayu derde düşmüşüm</i>	52b/251a
	<b>Faşl-ı Hîşâr</b>	
176a	[Türkî] <i>Şu karşıda güle güle</i>	230b/75b, 406b/309a
	Türkî <i>Ben aklıma hiç perîşân etmezdim</i>	119a/259a
176b	Varşağı türkî berây-ı dervîş / <i>Bârekallâh hōş yaratmış gülse halk âlem güler</i>	379*a/225a
	Türkî medh-i esb / <i>İndim seyr eyledim kızul almayn</i>	271b/61a
178b	Tesbîh Arabî / <i>Esselâmu aleyka yâ şehra'l-lutfi ve'l-ihsân</i>	132b/268b– 133a/269a
	Tesbîh Arabî / <i>Subhân al-meliki el-hannân el-mannân yâ mevlâ</i>	133b/269b

## 8.2 Concordances with C and K

Concerning Cantemir, this list is based on the work of Owen Wright, who not only states the folio number, *maķâm* and title of the L version, but also explains variations in great detail.<sup>2</sup> Comparison with Kevserî relies on Mehmet Uğur Ekinci.<sup>3</sup> Spelling and titling follow Wright, even in cases where his transliteration system differs from the one used here; if there is no C version, titling and spelling follows Ekinci.

<sup>2</sup> Cantemir (1992).

<sup>3</sup> Ekinci (2016).

C	Title C	Folio P	Folio L	K
3	Şerif pençgâh fetih darb	355a/276a	119a	55
5	Muẓaffer segâh fetih darb	365a/289b	103b	102
7	Muẓaffer ırak fetih darb	384*b/230b	136b	27
11	Muẓaffer hüseyini fetih darb	383*b/229b	32b	200
12	[saba] mülâzime-yi hisar fetih darb	381*a/227a	89b	196
13	‘acemler saba fetih darb	201b/47b– 202a/48a	88b	132
14	Meḥmed ‘Alî saba fetih darb	371b/286b	89a	133
15	Muẓaffer uzal fetih darb	325a/180a	148b	143
16	Şerif buselik fetih darb	352b/194b, 248b/94b– 249a/95a	166b	124
19	Şerif neva fetih darb	377*a/223a	65a–65b	154
21	Solakzâde muhayyer fetih darb	352b/194b	42b–43a	293
24	Muẓaffer [hüseyini] nazîre-yi külliyyât fahte	283b/129b– 285a/131a, 375b/218a-1	25b–26a	203
27	‘acemler pençgâh gülistân düyek	378*b/224b	118b	58
29	‘acemler uzal bostân düyek	358a/279a	151b	151
34	Seyf el-Mıṣrî ırak düyek	290b/136b– 292a/138a	140b– 141a	29
35	[ırak] bülbül-i ırâk	324b/179b	140a	34
41	sünbüle nazîre-yi ḳuṭb-i Nâyî	344b/186b	157a	308
49	arazbar mâh-i dünyâ berefşan	126a/297a	77a	287
50	Muẓaffer acem berefşan	369a/284a-1	118a	258
54	Behrâm neva devr-i kebir	140a/295b	70b	171

C	Title C	Folio P	Folio L	K
55	Ahmed Beg neva devr-i kebir	311b/167b– 312a/168a	64b	172
58	Nefiri Behram beyati fahte	311b/167b– 312a/168a	71a	189
60	Beyazit neva fahte	356a/277a	57a	179, 428
69	Şah-i Hübân neva düyek	381a/217b	62b	183
71	neva Bülbül-i ‘âşık düyek	368a/283a– 368b/283b	63a	184
75	Büyük ‘Alî Beg muhayyer düyek	200b/46b– 201a/47a	35b	300
77	Melek Can hüseyini çenber	381*b/227b	23b	247
78	Şah-ı kuli hüseyini sakil	382*a/228a– 382*b/228b	22b–23a	213
81	Feruh muhayyer devr-i kebir	372a/287a	18b–19a	103
86	hüseyini kız düyek	320b/176b– 312a/177a	15b–16a	
96	Edirneli Ahmed saba çenber	380*a/226a	90a	140
106	rast ‘alem arâ düyek	356b/277b	119b	80
108	Şerif rast zencir	289b/135b– 290a/136a	117b– 118a	72, 376
120	Hasan Āgâ pençgâh devr-i kebir	358b/279b	110b	61
126	‘acemler pençgâh sakil	370b/285b	116b– 117a	56
127	Papa Feruh rast sakil	291a/364a	112a	69
129	Muzaffer irak büyük sakil [sakil]	414a/245a, 370a/285a	139b	37
132	eviç meclis arâ düyek	414b/245b– 415a/246a	131b	273, 484

C	Title C	Folio P	Folio L	K
138	acem gül-i ra'nā düyek	379*a/225b	83b	
141	acem eğlence düyek	231*b-2	91a	266
144, 307	Papa irak sakil	18b/1b– 19a/2a	136a	38, 39
145	Zurnazen İbrāhīm eviç küçük hafif [hafif]	359b/280b	130a	272
154	Ermeni Murād Çelebi kürdi darbeyn	371b/286b	78a	98
158	varsagı [baba tahir] nazīre-yi devr-i kebir [devr-i kebir]	377*a/223b	43b–44a	306
164	Şāh Murād hüseyini Tozkoparan düyek	383*a/229a	24b–25a	232
167	nigriz berefşan	367a/282a	161b	52
169	rast benefşezār düyek	372b/287b	111a	82
170	rast qadīm devr-i revan	367b/282b	112b	77, 175
171	‘acemī hüseyini devr-i revan	369a/284a-2	100a	240
176	segāh gīdā-i rūh düyek	367b/282b		117
177	segāh bestenigar düyek	307b/163b	103a	118
183	segāh segāh-i kebīr düyek	368b/283b	100b	116, 390
223	Mīr-i Hāc muhayyer düyek	357b/278b	40b–41a	298, 464
243	pençgāh semai	361a/293b	113a-2	330
245	mahur semai	415b/246b– 416a/307b	128a	
246	mahur semai	415b/246b– 416a/307b-2	128a	353
249	segāh semai	362b/292b	104a	340
253	irak semai	293b/139b	137a	325



C	Title C	Folio P	Folio L	K
287	mahur büyük ʔabaqāt düyek	369b/284b	118a	279, 372
299	ıraq hünkâr peşrevi	21b/4b– 22a/5a, 344a/186a	134b	33
310	rast mevc-i deryâ düyek	343b/185b	111b	81
316	‘Osmân Paşa hüseyinî küçük muhammes [muhammes]	353a/195a	10b	249
341	Çengî Ca’fer muhayyer düyek	359a/280a, 359b/280b, 360a/281a	41b–42a	302
	Der-Mağâm-ı Râst Düyek Şeddü’l-Aşl	343b/185b	109b	374
	Der-Mağâm-ı Nevâ Düyek Bâyezîd	51a/248b, 280b/126b– 282a/128a	50b	416
	Der-Mağâm-ı Nevâ Şağîl Tatar Han	357a/278a	51b	421
	Der-Mağâm-ı Bayâtî Uşûleş Evfer Bektaş Han	229b/74b– 230a/75a		437
	Der-Mağâm-ı Hüseyinî Çifte Düyek Dolâb	313b/169b– 314a/170a-1	14b–15a	459
	Der-Mağâm-ı Sünbüle Uşûleş Devr-i Kebîr Acemleriñ	345a/177a	156b	500
	Hüseyinî Semâ’î Bağdâ[d]dan Gelmişdir	313b/169b– 314a/170a-2	18a	530
	Evc Semâ’î	371a/286a-2	155a	532

### 8.3 Poets and composers

This chart contains names of poets and composers as stated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī or identifiable in parallel transmission as well as secondary literature. Texts not intended for musical performance are included to give a better overview of the cultural repertoire to which ʿAlī Ufuḳī had access. The poets and composers are organized by name; if the person stated by ʿAlī Ufuḳī could not be detected in other sources or in literature, the name is not standardized. Deviant attributions in other sources (mostly P and C) are stated. Texts of all stylistic spheres are in most cases not verbatim identical, but still variants of the same song. Analyzing the differences in detail is beyond the scope of the present study.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
“‘Abdūn” (L: ‘Alī)	<i>Ahāya beñzer gözleri</i>	130a/301b	<i>mahlās</i>
‘Abdül-Kādir Merāḡī	<i>Segāh Kār Hafif</i>	405a/305b	İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, <i>Revân Kōşkū Kātaphān 1723</i> [R 1723], f. 75b
‘Abīdī	<i>Deme cānāneye aḡyārīle şöhet etme</i>	373b/219b-1	<i>mahlās</i>
‘Acemler	[Peşrev]	201b/47b- 202a/48a	C 13
	[Peşrev] “Bostani mekami Vzzał Vssulij duvek”	358a/279a	C 29
“Agbaba” [Aḡbābā]	[Peşrev] “Mekami rast pengigiah vbutij SAKIL”	370b/285b	C 126
	[Peşrev] “Pengigia - Ĥāvī [sic] Duvek”	378*b/224b	C 27
“Ahmed Baba”	“[...] Lazir sakil Agbaba peschrewi”	363b/291a- 364a/290b	heading; C 127 Pāpā Ferrūh
	“NEWA Ahmed Baḡa pefrewi vssulij DVWEK”	311b/167b- 312a/168a	heading; C 55 Ahmed Beḡ
Ahmed Beḡ	<i>Ahmed Beḡ Peşrev</i>	355b/276b	heading; L 60b: Ahmed Beḡ Miskālī [sic]
Ahmed, Edirmeli	[Peşrev] <i>Şabā Çember</i>	380b*a/226a	C 96
Ahmed	<i>Aşçı başı olmuş bir püre</i>	308b/164b	<i>mahlās</i>

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Ahmed Eflâkî	<i>Her ki hezâr âferîn bu nice sultân otur</i>	396b/311a	Çeviköğlü, Timuçin (2011). <i>Melevî Âyînleri. Usûller ve Arûz</i> . Vol. 2. Konya: Konya Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, p. 440
Ahmedî	<i>Ey put-i şîrîn [sic]-zebân kâmeti serv-i revân</i>	374b/220b	heading <sup>4</sup>
“Ahmedî” <sup>5</sup>	“Bagdadi basrajî seiran eilesem”	270a/116a	<i>mahlûş</i>
“Aksade”	“Al kafftan gheter boiunge”	3a/254a	<i>mahlûş</i>
Albert, Heinrich <sup>6</sup>	<i>Es fieng ain schaffer an zu klagen</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	208*a	Albert, Heinrich (1904). <i>Arien von Heinrich Albert</i> . Ed. by Moser, Hans Joachim. Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst vol. 13, II. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, p. 196
	<i>Mein lieb wil nichts nach liebe fragen</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	208*a	ibid., p. 168

<sup>4</sup> This gazel is not part of the divân as edited by Yaşar Akdoğan. Ahmedî (2013). *Ahmedî Divân*. Ed. by Akdoğan, Yaşar. Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı. URL: [http://ekitap.kulturizim.gov.tr/Eklenti/10591\\_ahmeddivaniyasarakdoganpdf.pdf?0](http://ekitap.kulturizim.gov.tr/Eklenti/10591_ahmeddivaniyasarakdoganpdf.pdf?0) (visited on 09/03/2013). For a probable reason see Bardakçı (1993), pp. 171f.

<sup>5</sup> We suppose that the ‘Aşık “Ahmedî” is not the same person as the *divân* poet and probably also not the author of the preceding text.

<sup>6</sup> The first attribution was made by Ralf Martin Jäger; Jäger (1998b), pp. 321f.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Albert, Heinrich	<i>Ich lobe die al alhie der zeit</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	208*b	Albert (1904), p. 203
	<i>Die lust hat mich gezwungen</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	208*b	ibid., p. 169
	<i>Der truben trauer tage</i> (Text: Andreas Adersbach)	209*a	ibid., p. 185
	<i>So gantzlich ist auf nichts alhie zu bawen</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	209*a	ibid., p. 185
	<i>Greif dich nu/ o karschaw an</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	209*b	ibid., p. 191
	<i>Al so wird du wehrter held</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	209*b	ibid., pp. 187–191
	<i>Seelchen/ habt ihr nicht gesehen</i> (Text: Robert Roberthin)	210*a	ibid., p. 192
	<i>Vnd du auch must hie eben dein arges</i> (Text: Johann Sand)	210*a	ibid., p. 186
	<i>Hier wo die diecken paume stehn</i> (Text: Johann Peter Titz)	210*b	ibid., p. 201
	<i>Wol dem der ihm wor allen dinghen</i> (Text: Johann Peter Titz)	210*b	ibid., p. 199
	<i>Dein annuth phüis hat mich ietzt</i> (Text: “Barchedas”)	211*a	ibid., p. 202

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Albert, Heinrich	<i>Was ist die lieb auf allen seiten</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	211*a	ibid., p. 203
	<i>Laß sterben was bald sterben kan</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	211*b	ibid., p. 215
	<i>Der habe lust zu wirfeln und zu karten</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	211*b	ibid., p. 202
	<i>Ihr seelen die ihr durch den todt selig</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	380*b/226b	ibid., 227f.
‘Alī <sup>7</sup>	<i>hat meines hertzens keusche brunst</i> (Text: Simon Dach)	384*a/230a	ibid., p. 233
	<i>Bende gördium seyröderken</i>	30a/12a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Şu ‘ālemde bizi gedā bilenler</i>	322b/177b-2	<i>mahlās</i>
‘Alī Beg	<i>Yüri Murād dağı yüri</i>	327a/182a	<i>mahlās</i>
	[untitled]	200b/46b-201a/47a	L 35b; C 75
‘Alī Ber-fu‘ād <sup>8</sup>	<i>Peşrev-i Feth-i bāb der maḳām-ı Nigrīs [sic] üşül-i [sic] Düyek tasnif-i ‘Alī Ber-fu‘ād diğār-ı Frenkistān</i>	367a/282a	heading

<sup>7</sup> While the possibility that ‘Alī and Kātib ‘Alī are the same person cannot be excluded, ‘Alī without addition is listed separately.

<sup>8</sup> Can be identified with ‘Alī Ufukī according to Behar; Behar (2005), p. 55.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
‘Alī Sanṭūrī <sup>9</sup>	[Peşrev] <i>Beste-yi ‘Alī Sanṭūrī [sic]</i> <i>Şehnâzî Zârbeyn Sâkîl [sic] ü Düyek [...]</i>	234*b	heading
‘Alī Şîr Nevâ’î	<i>Çûrbetde garb şâd u âmân olmazımış</i> <sup>10</sup>	399b/306a-1, 400b/240b	heading; ‘Alī-Şîr Nevâ’î (1966). <i>Divanlar. 4</i> <i>Türkçe, 1 Farsça Divan.</i> Ed. by Levend, Ağâh Sırrı. Ali Şîr Nevâ’î Eserleri vol. 2. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 72
‘Alîm / Alîm	“Giwan soiumuîş geimîş abal”	66a/258a	<i>mahlâş</i>
‘Alîl / Alîl	<i>Bize bizden olan yakm u karb</i>	52a/251b– 51b/248a	<i>mahlâş</i>
‘Anbârî Efendi	<i>Bu gece sâkîm idim hânîka-i gâfletden</i> <sup>11</sup>	201*b	heading
‘Âşîk <sup>12</sup>	<i>Gözlerimden yaşı bir zamân akar</i>	241a/87a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Bunca gündür ey perî ‘âlemde medhîñ yâd idim</i>	382a/215a	<i>mahlâş</i>
“Bañîjm” [Balım Sulṭân] <sup>13</sup>	“Ağalar bir giwan seudim”	261b/107b	<i>mahlâş</i>

<sup>9</sup> Can be identified with ‘Alī Ufukî according to Behar; Behar (2005), p. 55.

<sup>10</sup> This poem is actually a Rubâ’î, but on account of its appearance in other song-text collections (see chapter 6.1), it is included here and in the edition.

<sup>11</sup> This text is not meant for musical performance and hence not part of the edition.

<sup>12</sup> May be the nameless ‘Âşîk from Sultan Murad IV’s time, Kocatürk (1963), p. 79.

<sup>13</sup> The intended person is with high probability Balım Sulṭân (d.922/1516). Ergun (1930), p. 419.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution	
Bākī	“Bağlar kesilir zuljfu perişanige vgiunden”	243a/89a	Bākī (2011). <i>Bākī Dîvânı. Tenkîtlî Basım</i> . Ed. by Küçük, Sabahattin. 2nd ed. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, p. 329	
	<i>Gönder eîfendi sîmeme tîr-i belâlarvî</i>	373b/219b	ibid., p. 261f	
	<i>Reftâre gelüb nâz ile mestâne şabındı</i>	392b/302a	ibid., p. 417f	
	<i>Çonçalar içre nihân eyleme gül-berk-i terîvî</i>	395b/242b–396a/311b-6	ibid., p. 271	
	<i>Olmasaydım âleme aşkımla rîsüvây kâşkı</i>	397b/244b	ibid., p. 409	
	<i>Gönlüm alub gönça-veş alile dîl-î teng êtdîler</i>	398a/238b	ibid., p. 175f	
	<i>Câme-yi şîhat Hüdâdan halka bir hak at gîbî</i> <sup>14</sup>	413a/239a–412b/235b	<i>mağlûş</i> ; ibid., p. 90f	
	[Pesrev]	51a/248b, 280b/126b–282a/128a	L 50b; K 416	
	Behrâm	“Neva Beiazet Fahte zarb”	356a/277a-1	heading; C 60
		“Dewri Kebir”	140a/295b	C 54

<sup>14</sup> The Tahmîs is not meant for musical performance and hence not included in the edition. ‘Alî Ufuķî added the note “muhibbî Sultan Soleiman machlasi”. Identification by Hakan Özkan.



Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Ber-fuʿād <sup>15</sup>	<i>Dōsta toğrı olan yola</i>	381b/217a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Bülbül ağlar [sic] dāʾim zārdan</i>	403a/310b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Eḡim dostum kalktīj gitti siu ierd[en]”	366*a/288b	<i>mahlās</i>
Beyānī <sup>16</sup>	<i>Nādān obmaz meclās-i ʿirfān arasmda</i>	413a/235b	<i>mahlās</i>
Budałam ([Kul] Budala[m]) <sup>17</sup>	“Antepte bir karıdan, bir kaz aldum”	245a/91a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Eğər yazdır eğer kişdir</i> <sup>18</sup>	245b/91b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Gertze ierenlerin semai tutuldi”	263a/109a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Sakij doldur peialeie icelim”	328b/190b	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>15</sup> Not disregarding the possibility that Ber-fuʿād and ʿAlī Ber-fuʿād may be the same person, the two variants are listed separately.

<sup>16</sup> The *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü* lists eight poets with the pen name Beyānī from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. İsen, Mustafa et al., ed. (2016). *Türk Edebiyatı İsimler Sözlüğü*. URL: <http://www.turkedebiyatimsimlersozlugu.com> (visited on 10/13/2016).

<sup>17</sup> For more poems of this author see Ergun (1930), pp. 205–207, Eröz (1990), p. 108.

<sup>18</sup> “Budala”.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Cevrî	<i>Câm aldak ele gül gibi hândânılgımız</i> <i>var</i> <sup>19</sup>	412b/239a-1	Cevrî (1981). <i>Cevrî. Hayâtı, Edebî Kâşığı, Eserleri ve Divanının Tenkidli Metni</i> . Ed. by Ayan, Hüseyin. Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi, p. 214
	Râzıyım [sic] devrân beni bir lahza hândân etmesün	412b/239a-2	ibid., p. 249, Erkal, Abdulkadir (2007). “Divan şirinde ayyon ve esrar”. In: <i>Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi</i> vol. 33, pp. 25–60, p. 55
Cüce ‘Alî ‘Āgâ	<i>Peşrev-i Ramazânî [sic] uşul-i Muhammes</i>	287b/133b–288a/134a	L 61b
Çengî Ca‘fer	<i>Peşrev-i Çengî Ca‘fer makâm-ı Muhayyer [sic] uşul-i [sic] Düyek</i>	359a/280a	heading; C 341
	“Duvek”	359b/280b	concordance
	“Czenghi Giafer”	360a/281a	heading

<sup>19</sup> The second Murabba‘ text on the page could be identified online via the article by Erkal, Abdulkadir (2007). “Divan şirinde ayyon ve esrar”. In: *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* vol. 33, pp. 25–60, p. 55; the conclusion that the first one may be the same poet’s work could be confirmed with the edition.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
“Çiopanlij”	“Hakta Alah ciun iaratti ademi”	2b/253b	<i>mahlās</i>
“Çior ogłu”	“Hudaden destir otunge”	257b/103bf Notation	<i>mahlās</i>
Demir-oglı <sup>20</sup>	“İne ewel bahar oldu”	1a/262a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Her zamān bu sevdā başa</i>	241a/87a	<i>mahlās</i> ; Eren, Hasan (1952). <i>Türk Saz Şairleri Hakkında Araştırmalar</i> . Vol. 1. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 22
(L: ‘Alī)	“Siu fena duniaie geldim geleli”	328a/183a	<i>mahlās</i> ; ibid., p. 21f
(gloss: Taspas Ali)	<i>Dīvāne oldum ‘aķılcıgım</i>	29b/11b	<i>mahlās</i>
Derviş ‘Ömer	“Şzemi ruhune gismini [sic] perwane duşurdum”	352a/194a	R 1722, f. 337a

<sup>20</sup> Mentioned by Evliyā Çelebi, thus dateable to the first half of the seventeenth century, Kocaturk (1963), p. 96. Eren, Hasan (1952). *Türk Saz Şairleri Hakkında Araştırmalar*. Vol. 1. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 19f.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Dervîş Şadâyî <sup>21</sup>	<i>Miyân-ı lüce-yi fırkâtda kaldı zevrak-ı dîl<sup>22</sup></i>	373a/219b	Behar, Cem (2010). <i>Şeyhülislâm'ın Müzîği</i> . 18. <i>Yüzyılda Osmanlı/Türk Musikisi ve Şeyhülislâm Es'ad Efendi'nin Atrabü'l-Asâr</i> . İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 247f., 330
Emîr-i Hacc	<i>Maķâm-ı Hüseyî Peşrev-i Emîr-i [sic] Hacc üşüli [sic] Düyek</i>	357b/278b	heading; C 223 <sup>23</sup>
Eşref-oğlı	<i>Gel bu nefsin zulumetini tozunu sür aradan</i>	201*a	heading; Eşrefoğlu Rûmî (2000). <i>Eşrefoğlu Rûmî Dvâna (İncelemeli – Karşılaştırmalı Metin)</i> . Ed. by Güneş, Mustafa. Ankara: s.n., pp. 323–325
Evlât (gloss: Taspas ali)	<i>Beğler bir haķkî döst bulsamda</i>	276b/112b	<i>mahlûş</i>
	<i>Ķâdir Allâh kalemi çekmiş</i>	382b/215b	<i>mahlûş</i>
	<i>Ħamdüli'l-lâh çok şükür bâr-ı Ħudânn varna</i>	406a/309b	<i>mahlûş</i>

<sup>21</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi (1996), p. 302.

<sup>22</sup> R 1722, f. 268b: “Ömer”. R 1723, f. 105b: A mâ (Ķadır). R 1723, f. 52a: Na'ıçı.

<sup>23</sup> Maķâm Muħayyer.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Fehîm	<i>Ey vücûdun pertevindendir ‘adim olmak başa</i>	207*b	heading; Fehîm (1991). <i>Fehîm-i Kadîm. Hayatı, Sanatı, Dîvân’i ve Metnîn Bugünkü Türkçesi</i> . Ed. by Üzgör, Tahir. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, p. 310
Fetvâ’î	<i>Aldı ‘aqlım ol semender zülf-i ‘anber bârile</i>	61b/271a	heading
	<i>Nice ey dil nice bir ney gibi nalân olahm</i>	62a/270b	heading
Frenk Muştafâ	<i>[Peşrev-i Frenk Muştafâ der maqâm-ı mezbur usûleş Zarb-ı feth]</i>	371b/286b	heading L 89a
Fuzûlî	<i>Cânlar vürüp seniñ gibi cânâne yetmişim</i>	51b/248a	Fuzûlî (1958). <i>Türkçe Divan</i> . Ed. by Akyüz, Kenan et al. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 311
	“Lachza lachza lebum vgub idiğek efganlar” / <i>Lahza [sic] lahza lebuñ öğüb êdecek efganlar</i>	250b/60b, 395b/242b– 396a/311b-2	ibid., p. 191
	<i>Her kîmîñ var ise tab‘ında şerâret kîlf-i<sup>24</sup></i>	204*b	heading; ibid., p. 482

<sup>24</sup> Not intended for musical performance and hence not part of the edition.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Gedâ <sup>25</sup>	<i>Yâr ‘aşkıñla yanub bişdim</i>	254b/100b	<i>mahlās</i>
Gedâ Aḥmet	“Airdin zarile iaremdan beni”	16a/274a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Engel kabrı olmasaydı</i>	254a/199a	<i>mahlās</i>
Gevherî (L: Ufukî) <sup>26</sup>	“Turna bizuhum ierde bize sorana”	174b/44b, 249a/95a, 253a/99a	L: <i>mahlās</i> ; Gevherî (1998). <i>Gevherî Divânı</i> . <i>İnceleme – Metin – Dizin – Bibliografya</i> . Ed. by Elçin, Şükrü. 2nd ed. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 255f.
Ġübārî <sup>27</sup>	<i>Cümle zerrât-ı cihân maṭla‘-ı ‘ibretdür</i> <i>heb</i>	200*b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Sendedür mahzen-i esrâr-i hüt sende</i>	207*a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Sen ḥubâb-i feleği ḥâm-ı muşaffâ</i> <i>şandıñ</i>	207*a	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>25</sup> In absence of concordances, it is difficult to decide whether one of those poets is Gedâyî, who is mentioned by Evliyâ Çelebi alongside Kâtibî, Kûl-oğh and Kûl Muşafa, Kocatürk (1963), p. 75.

<sup>26</sup> On f. 174b/44b, the last stanza containing the *mahlās* is missing, while the other two ff. have only the first stanza.

<sup>27</sup> All texts by Ġübārî are Bend, not intended for musical performance and hence not part of the edition.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Hacı Bektaş [L: Cüce ‘Alī Āgā] <sup>28</sup>	“Turnam selam eile bizden dostlara”	265b/111b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Dost Satzi leilum senin meilin kandader”	267b/113b	<i>mahlās</i>
Hālī <sup>29</sup>	<i>Yolı görmez gözler ‘aqlım aldırđum</i>	31a/13a	<i>mahlās</i>
Ĥalūk	<i>Eğ̃er mūr vezīr ü eğ̃er halka</i>	232*b	<i>mahlās</i>
Hāsan Āgā	“Mekami Rast. Hassan Ag[a] Dewri”	358b/279b	heading; C 120
Hayālī	<i>Ana rahmīnden tenīm şol dem ki şūret bağladı</i>	202*a	heading; Hayālī (1945). <i>Hayālī Bey Dīvānı</i> . Ed. by Tarlau, Ali Nihat. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Yayınları, p. 421
Hayretī	<i>Ne Süleymāna esrīz ne Selāmūn kuluğuz</i>	375a/218b	heading; <i>mahlās</i> ; Hayretī (1981). <i>Hayretī Dīvān</i> . <i>Tenkıdli Basım</i> . Ed. by Çavuşođlu, Mehmed and Tanyeri, M. Ali. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, p. 219f

<sup>28</sup> In the last stanza, the *mahlās* is Şāhīn. The attribution “Cüce ‘Alī Āgā” probably refers to the composition.

<sup>29</sup> From Bursa, died 1636; also Kıl Hālī. Kocatürk (1963), p. 84. Köprülü (2004), pp. 62ff.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
“huseini” <sup>30</sup>	“Ehli eflki bizda haldan biliruz”	251b/97b	<i>mahlās</i>
İbrāhīm	<i>Ėyyü deđil řařın gelür yoluña</i>	252a/98a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Ėy felek ben bu cihānda neyledim netdim saña</i>	300b/146b	<i>mahlās</i>
İbrāhīm, Zurnazen	[Peşrev] “Eug Hařf”	359b/280b	C 145
İřhāk <sup>31</sup>	<i>KĖmi řonar kĖmi göçer</i>	398a/238b	<i>mahlās</i>
Ķabŭli	<i>Eyleyŭb dil murğma zŭlfĖn o sim-endām dām</i>	201*b	heading: <i>mahlās</i> ; Duyar, Hidayet (2009). “On altıncı yüzyıl řairlerinden Ķabŭli’nin řiirleri”. In: <i>Turkish Studies</i> vol. 4, pp. 307–362. URL: <a href="http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/ESKI%20TURK%20%20EDEBİYATI/hidayet_duyar_kabuli_siir.pdf">http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/ ESKI%20TURK%20% 20EDEBİYATI/hidayet_ duyar_kabuli_siir.pdf</a> (visited on 07/11/2016), p. 342

<sup>30</sup> This author may be the same as “Ķul Huseyin”, see Ergun (1930), pp. 232-236.

<sup>31</sup> As the poem cited here commemorates the accession of Mehmed IV in 1648, this little-known ‘Ařlık was a direct contemporary of ‘AlĖ Ufuķi. Elçin (1997a), p. 519.



Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Kādrī [A ʿmā, Kōr] <sup>32</sup>	<i>Miḡān-ı lüce-yi fırkatda kaldı zevrak-ı dil</i>	373a/219b	<i>R 1723</i> , f. 105b <sup>33</sup>
	<i>Ey benimle seyr-i gülzār eylese dildārı yār olsa</i>	379b/221b	İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi, <i>Revân Köşkü Kâtaplığı 1722</i> [ <i>R 1722</i> ], f. 199b
Kaıkcıj Mustafa, Kūl Mustafa <sup>34</sup>	<i>Kīmi mestāne seher yār ile gülşende yatur</i>	399b/306a	<i>R 1723</i> , f. 100b
	“Endim seirelidim kijizil Adajj”	61a/271a	headings; <i>mahlās</i> ; Eren (1952), pp. 92f
Ḳanber-ođl <sup>35</sup>	<i>Yārı ben ađyara vērsem bārıa yārđan ne haşıl</i>	63b/265a	<i>mahlās</i>
Ḳandemir Hān	[ <i>Peşrev-i Ḳan Demir Hān der maḳām-ı mezbur uşuleş Şakıl</i> ]	357a/278a	L 51b; K 421: “Tatar Hān”

<sup>32</sup> Feldman (1996a), p. 95. Two statements of “A mā” are tentatively subsumed here.

<sup>33</sup> Attributed to Derviş Şadāyī by Behar (2010), pp. 247f., 330. *R 1723*, f. 52a: Naʿiçı. *R 1722*, f. 286b: ʿÖner.

<sup>34</sup> Ergun stresses that “Kayıkcı Mustafa is not the same person as ‘Kūl Mustafa’”, Ergun (1930), p. 237. Kocaturk, however, assumes they are identical, Kocaturk (1963), p. 62. This is more probable because of the occurrence of both name forms in the same piece, one in the heading and the other one as *mahlās*.

<sup>35</sup> Tentatively located in the sixteenth century. Ibid., p. 22.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Karaca-ođlan	“Toplandik eziktik derede”	17a/275b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Medet allahij sewersen”	175b/299b	<i>mahlās</i> ; Karaca Ođlan (2004). <i>Karaca Ođlan</i> . Ed. by Sakaođlu, Saim. Ankara: Akçađ Yayınları, p. 441
	“Her Sabahijñ danlardamı”	256b/102b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Be iarantar be ioldađlar”	258b/104bf-1	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Dost Be ei ala ghiozlu dilber”	267a/113a	<i>mahlās</i> ; Karaca Ođlan (1971). <i>Karaca Ođlan</i> . <i>Bütün Şiirleri</i> . Ed. by Öztelli, Cahit. Türk Klásikerli Dizisi vol. 1. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, p. 258, Karacaođlan (1950). <i>Karacaođlan. Hayatı ve şiirleri yeni ilavelerle</i> . Ed. by Ergun, Sadeddin Nüzhet. Halk Şairleri Serisi vol. 2. İstanbul: İstanbul Maarif Kitaphanesi, pp. 220f (Semai), Karaca Ođlan (2004), pp. 450f

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Karaca-oğlan	“Hei Agatar ghiordunuzumi”	271b/117b-3	<i>mahlās</i>
	“ <i>‘Alemi yaradan Allāh</i> ”	272b/118b-1	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Hei bizum ierin begleri.” <sup>36</sup>	277b/123b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Karβimuzdan giule giule gelene”	297a/143a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Aḫai aḫai ohub gelen turnatar”	306b/162b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Çıkdam seyran eйдim ‘Osmān elimi</i>	310a/166a-1	<i>mahlās</i> ; Karacaoğlan (1950), pp. 192f, Karaca Oğlan (2004), p. 635
	<i>Hūdānān [sic] kasmete eđer kifāyet</i>	310a/166a-2	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Dewesi menegbe iukli”	318a/174a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Szeftali isterem mehrum ghiondurme”	346b/188bf	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Kān eyleme kanlu zālīm seni kandan şakınuram</i> <sup>37</sup>	381b/217a-2	<i>mahlās</i>
Karga Ferrūh, Ferrūh	<i>Kornazlar ki göçüm yāre gümege</i>	410a/247b-1	<i>mahlās</i> (L 109a: Muştafa)
	“Karga ferruh Mekam Huseini Vssulij Duiek”	372a/287a	heading; C 81

<sup>36</sup> A highly similar text is part of the Kör-ogh canon. Okay, Haşim Nezih, ed. (1970). *Köroğlu ve Dadaloğlu*. İstanbul: May Yayınları, pp. 64ff. More than a misattribution or pseudography, this could also be an instance of *nażire*. On this phenomenon –related to instrumental music– see Feldman (1996a), pp. 414f.

<sup>37</sup> Also attributed to Gevheri; Gevheri (1998), pp. 497f.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Kātīb <sup>38</sup>	“Czarhij felek deldi bagrim czarij bilmem neileim” (gloss: Tasbas)	47b/249a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Derd u mihnetile ayrıldım senden</i>	219a/65a	<i>mahlās</i>
Kātīb ‘Alī <sup>39</sup>	<i>Haydār-oğlı [sic] ‘aqlāñ yoqımı başvında</i>	139b/267b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Biri bir adnı hürmeti çün murādım</i>	154b/26b	<i>mahlās</i>
Kātībī	<i>Gel göñül hazret-i mevlāyn seversen</i>	62b/270a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Ne faide wirir abika vgiut”	292b/138b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Çün ‘id erdi yeririn [sic] baylar giyüp atlas-ı diba</i>	305b/161b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Nādān ile münkârden ne gamam var</i>	375a/218b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Efkâr atı ile menzil görenler</i>	375a/218b	<i>mahlās</i> ; Ergun, Sadettin Nüzhet, ed. (n.d.[a]), pp. 9f.
Ey gonca fem her dem gamāñ	<i>Sevdāyn [sic] ‘aşq mekân dutdı cānumda</i>	382a/215a	<i>mahlās</i>
		382b/215b	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>38</sup> According to Elçin, Kātīb, Kātībī, Kātīb ‘Alī, Dertli ‘Alī and ‘Alī are the same person. Elçin (1997a), pp. 108–114.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 108–114.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Kâtilî	<i>Ṭa'n êtmek baña dârı yoğ deyiü</i>	383a/216a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>İslâm askeriyüz gözâ kaçama</i>	409a/237a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	“ñimden geru giuz eiami eriñti”	409b/237b	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Sevdâ-yı aşk mekân dutdı cämümda</i>	409b/237b	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Döstlar benim mekânımı ararsa</i>	419a/247b	<i>mahlâş</i>
(gloss: Taspas)	<i>Ağlayu ağlayu derde düşmüşüm</i>	52b/251a	<i>mahlâş</i>
“Kel Szakir”	“Dinlen Joldañlar idelim kielin”	33b/15b	<i>mahlâş</i>
Keşfi	<i>Hüdâdan destür olunca</i>	257b/103b– 258a/104a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Yeter cevr êtdiñ ben nâtiwâne vây</i>	361b/293a	<i>R 1724, 6b</i>
Kıoca ‘Osmân	<i>Söz tütub uhudan dinleyim ögüt</i>	285b/131b	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Beğler sunulsun piyâle</i>	299b/145b	<i>mahlâş</i>
Kör-oğl <sup>41</sup>	<i>Behey âlâ gözli dülber / Benim ‘aqlım</i>	122b/262b	<i>mahlâş</i>
	“Beiler bize soranlara”	248a/94a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Kațar kațar gelen turnam</i>	264b/110b	<i>mahlâş</i>

<sup>40</sup> Mentioned by Evliyâ Çelebi as a player of the *çöğür*; thus dateable to the first half of the seventeenth century; Kocatürk (1963), p. 94. Eren (1952), pp. 11f. Elçin (1997a), pp. 105–107.

<sup>41</sup> Nur (1931).

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Kör-oglı	<i>Karlı dağların aşayım</i>	269b/115b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Kör-oglımın bağıryanadı</i>	269b/115b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Kucuzgiukten deli kanlım”	299a/145a	<i>mahlās</i>
Kul dewegi	“Alai aḫai olub gelen giuzeller”	306b/162b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Gel giozel gel gioimul teselli eile”	324a/179a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Kaḡı birin şerḫ édeyim gáziler</i>	353a/195a	<i>mahlās</i>
Kul H'ace (replaced with Kul ‘Alı)	“Aḫik oldum bir kaḫlari karaie”	153b/25bisb	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Eḫim dostum kaḫkti giḫti siu ierden”	250a/96a	<i>mahlās</i>
Kul Süleymān	“Daḡhi taḫij dolanersen”	6b/257b	<i>mahlās</i>
	‘Aḫḫ olmuḫ bizim bāḡın güline	325b/180b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Be yaramlar görün neler geldi başuma</i>	233*b	<i>mahlās</i>
Kul-oglı	“Artuk bana dunia malij”	1b/252b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Ageb ne diar den vczub gelerisis”	46b/250a	<i>mahlās</i> ; Ergun, Sadettin Nüzhet, ed. (n.d.[b]), pp. 30f
	“Gel benim nastij iarum gel”	129b/298b	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>42</sup> Following Köprülü, this poet is often understood to be the same as Kaḫıḫı Muḫtaḫā as well as the addition-less Muḫtaḫā and located in the first half of the seventeenth century. Köprülüzade (Köprülü) (1930), pp. 5–8. Eren (1952), pp. 57ff.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Kul-ođlı	“Surahiler duzulubdur”	217a/63a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Giozel sana bir niaze gehmişem”	252b/98b	<i>mahlās</i> ; Ergun (n.d. [b]), pp. 28f
	“Ja Jlahij sen bilursen halijimi senden medett”	263b/109b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Dunia benim diien begler”	265a/111a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Dünyāda iyiliđi dōstuna</i>	294a/140a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Bād-ı şabā İstānbula varırsan</i>	308a/164a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Zelle senden Pır Mehemmed</i>	320a/176a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>İbret abāñ dōstlar inşāfa gelin</i>	328b/183b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Yaz olunca her çiçekler açıldı</i>	209a/55a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Kulu mehmet” <sup>43</sup>	“Kadijr meulam senden bir dilegium var”	3b/254b
“Kulu resul”	“Zijle senden pir Mehemed”	256a/102a	<i>mahlās</i>
“Kul resul”	“Girid meidaninden gellen kazijlar”	262b/108b	<i>mahlās</i>
“Kuru oglu”	“Elin erimese bir zeman” <sup>44</sup>	175b/299b	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>43</sup> This author is very probably the same as “Kul Mehmet”; Ergun (1930), p. 236. Eren (1952), pp. 39–42.

<sup>44</sup> This text is also transmitted with the *mahlās* of (Kul) Muştafā; *ibid.*, p. 78.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Kuṭib-i Nāyī [Ḥamzā Dede?]	<i>Peşrev-i Kutbî [sic] Nay [sic] der makâm-ı Sümbüle [sic] üşüleş [sic] Devr-i kebîr [sic]</i>	345a/187a	heading; K 500: “Acemler”
	“Fahte Zarb Peschrewi Kutbî”	416a/307b	heading
Lawes, Henry <sup>45</sup>	<i>To heare me lord be thou inclined</i>	383*b/229b	Lawes, Henry and Lawes, William (1648). <i>Choice Psalmes put into Musick, For Three Voices.</i> [..] London: James Young for Humphrey Moseley, No. XII
Lawes, William	<i>Lord thy deserved wrath asswage</i>	315a/171a	ibid., No. XVIII
Maḫşud	“Çiunki airi dußtū[m] kara gıozhumd[en]”	327b/182b	<i>mahlās</i>
Manşūr	“Dembedem assilari kat [sic] eilemekten kiarimuz”	5b/256b	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>45</sup> Attribution was made with the help of the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (n.d.). URL: <http://www.rism.info/home/>.



Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Marino, Giambattista	<i>Mi saluta costei ma nel souave inchino</i> <sup>46</sup>	19a/2a	Marino, Giovan Battista (1605). <i>Rime del Marino, parte seconda, Madriali, e Canzoni</i> . Venice: Giovan Battista Ciotti. URL: <a href="http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:byb:12-bsb10756721-9">http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:byb:12-bsb10756721-9</a> (visited on 08/15/2016), pp. 70f
		19a/2a	ibid., pp. 70f
		19a/2a	ibid., pp. 70f
		19a/2a	ibid., pp. 70f
Meftunı	<i>Temer cor mio non dei</i>	19a/2a	ibid., pp. 70f
	<i>Gia piu Volte tremante</i>	19a/2a	ibid., pp. 70f
	<i>Mio cor Vorrei dir molto</i>	19a/2a	ibid., pp. 70f
	<i>Hikmetin izhār için</i>	295a/141a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Şalına şalına çkda uğrama</i>	299b/145bf	<i>mahlās</i>
Meftunı (originally “taspas”)	<i>Güzelliğın ermiş kemāle begım</i>	301a/147a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Handıli'l-lāhi kem gör bizi</i>	302b/148b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Geçdim cümle hānumāndan meded hey</i>	298a/144a	<i>mahlās</i>
	[Peşrev]	371b/286b	C 14
“meħmet cielebi”	“Bir peri aldum aktijmi”	2b/253b-2	heading

<sup>46</sup> The four madrigal texts are transmitted without music and hence not part of the edition.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Melek(î) Cân	<i>Peşrev-i Melekî Cân der mahâm-ı Hüseyinî üşüleş [sic] Çenber</i>	381*b/227b	heading; C 77
	[Peşrev] <i>Şabâh [sic] Mülâzime-yi Hisâr [sic] üşüleş [sic] Zarb-ı fetâh</i>	381*a/227a	K 196
“Muhiettin”	“Bu efbk tekesine ehvali oldum”	2a/253a	<i>mahlâş</i>
Murād Çelebi, Ermeni	[Peşrev] “Ağem Darbein Devr [-i kebîr] hem Perevşan”	371b/286b	C 154
Muslî <sup>47</sup>	“Kani siol giuller gemali iar idi eglengemuz”	347b/189b	<i>mahlâş</i>
Muştafâ <sup>48</sup>	“Siu bende ah edub sagladighimij”	1b/ 252b	<i>mablâş</i>
	“Noña dußtum ise gurbet”	122a/262a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Gel civân böyle şakıma</i>	156b/25b	<i>mablâş</i>
	<i>Saňa yalvarurım ey Ganî Kerim</i>	233b/79b	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Şol karşudan güle güle</i>	239b/75b	<i>mablâş</i>
	“Derunimden czıkar Ahij zarime”	244a/90a	<i>mablâş</i>

<sup>47</sup> Gedâ Muşlı; Evliyâ Çelebi (1996), pp. 304f.

<sup>48</sup> With high probability, Muştafâ and Kûl Muştafâ are the same person; *Yâr meclisde gülse güller açılır*, for instance, is ascribed to the latter in the edition as cited below.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Muştafâ	<i>Yâr meclisinde gülse güller açılır</i>	253b/99b	<i>mahlâş</i> ; Köprülü, M. Fuad (2004). <i>Saz Şairleri I-IV</i> . 3rd ed. Ankara: Akçağ, pp. 147f; Köprülüzade (Köprülü), Mehmet Fuat (1930). <i>XVIIinci asır Sazşairlerinden Kaynakçı Kul Mustafa ve Genc Osman Hikâyesi</i> . Türk Sazşairlerine âit metinler ve tetkikler vol. 5. İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, pp. 66f
	“Her sabahij karbımızda”	259b/105b	<i>mahlâş</i>
	“Be giwan seni seumişem Juzundeki benglerile”	307a/163a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	“Selawet wırdım angdim ismin suikiub”	318a/174a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Ah edüb kalkdı gâzî kapûdân</i>	323a/178a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	‘ <i>Aduların kahrı çekdim deyi</i>	381b/217a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Kemân kaşlarına kurbân olduğum</i>	383a/216a	<i>mahlâş</i>
	<i>Şol karşıdan güle güle</i>	389a/304b	concordance 230b/75a (L 176a: Şahin)

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Muştafâ	<i>Behey elâ gözli dilber</i>	409a/237a	<i>mahlûs</i>
	<i>Şu karşıdan gelen elâ gözüne</i>	378*a/224a	<i>mahlûs</i>
Muştafâ ‘Alî	<i>Bağlandı kaldı râh-ı inâyet dedükleri</i> (erroneous: Mehmed ‘Alî Efendi)	392a/302b	Öztürk, Murat (2013). “Klasik Türk edebiyatında padışahlara yapılan yergiler”. In: <i>Turkish Studies</i> vol. 8, pp. 2143–2164. URL: <a href="http://turkishstudies.net/Makaleler/437280610_107_%c3%96zt%c3%bcrk%20Murat-edeb.pdf">http://turkishstudies.net/ Makaleler/437280610_ 107_%c3%96zt%c3% bcrk%20Murat-edeb.pdf</a> (visited on 09/03/2013), p. 2155.
	<i>Gönliüm ayırma yanından hem-nâşin olsun saña</i>	395b/242b– 396a/311b-1	İsen, Mustafa and Aksoyak, İ. Hakkı (2013). “Âli/Çeşmi, Gelibolulu”. In: <i>Türk Edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü</i> . Ed. by İsen, Mustafa et al. URL: <a href="http://www.turkededebiyatitisiiml&lt;br/&gt;ersozlugu.com/index.php?sayfa=detay&amp;detay=943">http: //www.turkededebiyatitisiiml ersozlugu.com/index.php? sayfa=detay&amp;detay=943</a> (visited on 09/25/2016)

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Mustafa fakir” Muzaffer	“Dumanlıj daglar Suilari czaglar”	269a/115a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Der maḳām-ı Segāh Beşrev [sic]</i> <i>Żarbü’l-feth</i>	365a/289b	C 5
	<i>Peşrev Żarb-ı feth der maḳām Uzzāl</i> <i>[sic] Muzafferin [sic]</i>	325a/180a	heading, C 15; L 148b: Şolaḳ-zade
	“Newruz Agem Perewβ[an] bir serhanesis peschrew [...]”	369a/284a-1	C 50
	<i>Peşrev-ı Cığır-delen Hüseyinī Żarb-ı</i> <i>feth</i>	383*b/229b	C 11
Nā’ilī	<i>Der maḳām-ı İrāk-ı şūleş Żarb-ı feth</i>	384*b/230b	C 7
	[Peşrev] Sakil / [Peşrev] < <i>İrāk-ı muḳālif</i> <i>[sic] Sākīl [sic]</i> SAKIL ARAK	370a/285a, 414a/245a	C 129
	<i>Reng-i ruḫı güüzār tebāh eyledi bālbül</i>	406a/309b	Nā’ilī (1990). <i>Nā’ilī Divānı</i> . Ed. by İpekten, Haluk. Ankara: Akçağ, p. 254
Nalçı	<i>Miḳān-ı lüce-yi fırkatda ḳaldı zevrak-ı</i> <i>dil</i>	373a/219b	<i>R 1723</i> , f. 52a <sup>49</sup>
Nasūḫ	<i>Köçek kendim eydir beğler Āğalar</i>	264a/110a	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>49</sup> Attributed to Derviş Şadâyî by Behar (2010), pp. 247f., 330. *R 1723*, f. 105b; A-mā (Ḳadrî). *R 1722*, f. 286b; Ömer.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Necâti	<i>Ey benim gül yüzlü mâham gel berü</i>	373b/219b	heading; Necati (1997). <i>Necati Beg Divanı</i> . Ed. by Tarlan, Ali Nihat. Türk Edebiyat Dizisi vol. 25. İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 412
Nefî	<i>Nice mest olmasun ‘âşık felek peymâne ğamm şahbâ</i>	383b/216b	heading
	<i>Hem kadeh hem bâde bir şüb-ü sâkî dir gönül</i>	398b/238a	Nefî (2000). <i>Nef’i. Hayati sanata eserleri</i> . Ed. by İpekten, Haluk. Ankara: Akçağ, pp.219ff
Nesîmî <sup>50</sup>	<i>Dil hasta ve hem cân ile müştâk-ı kırıgme</i>	402b/421a	<i>R 1724</i> , 88b
	<i>Çünkü bildiñ mürüminñ kalbinde [beyt]u l-lâh var</i>	207*a	heading, <i>mahlâs</i> ; Nesîmî (1969). <i>Onyedinci Yüzyıl Tekke Şairi Kul Nesîmî</i> . Ed. by Öztelli, Cahit. Ankara: Töyko, pp. 77f

<sup>50</sup> This author is not the *düân* poet Nesîmî, but the seventeenth-century mystic poet also known as Kûl Nesîmî. Csirkés (2015). Ergun (1930), p. 295.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Nürî	<i>Ey görüñ dillerde sen efsâne olduñ bilmedüñ</i>	201*a	heading: Ergun, Sadeddin Nüzhet, ed. (1942). <i>Türk Musikisi Antolojisi. Dimâ Eserler</i> . Vol. 1. İstanbul: Rıza Koşkun Matbaası, p. 110f: “G. Abdülahad Nürî”
“Osman” <sup>51</sup>	“Sag ol nazlıjım Seumezisen”	4b/255b	<i>mahlās</i> ; resembles Ergun (n.d.[a]), pp. 54f
‘Osmān Pāšā	‘Osmān Pā[šā] Peşrev-i Hüseyini uşūleş Düğjek	353a/195a	heading; C 316 <sup>52</sup>
Öksüz <sup>53</sup>	“Her sabahın karfımızda Salıjna”	47b/249b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Deime bir ghiozelle ghiozel demezim”	121b/261b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Eiu deghil saken gelur tohuna”	252a/98a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Dagların salijnde sigirdub enen”	260a/106a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Siu Alemden ben de pir peri Seudim”	260b/106b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Ei hak diien iaradane siginsem”	305b/161b	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>51</sup> Even though this Türkî is not contained in the text collection following the biographical sketch, this poet may be the same as the ‘Aşık ‘Osmān located in the reign of Mehmed IV. by Elçin, Elçin (1997a), pp. 166–188.

<sup>52</sup> *Uşul* Muḥammes.

<sup>53</sup> It is not entirely clear which poet is meant: Öksüz Dede (sixteenth century) or Öksüz ‘Aşık (seventeenth century); Kocaturk (1963), pp. 41, 102. Eren states that the variations of Öksüz are in fact the same person, located in the sixteenth century; Eren (1952), pp. 1–5.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Öksüz	<i>Sevdiğim Hakkı seversen arada rûkûb neder</i>	310b/166b	<i>mahlûş</i>
	“Bulbul ne iatersen iaz behar oldı”	323b/178b	<i>mahlûş</i>
	<i>Bir derbeder hamâma girdiğim için</i>	233*b	<i>mahlûş</i>
‘Ömer <sup>54</sup>	<i>Miyân-ı lücce-yi fırkâtda kaldı zevrak-ı dil</i>	373a/219b	<i>R 1722, f. 286b<sup>55</sup></i>
Pâpâ	<i>Peşrev-i Sakıl</i>	18b/1b–19a/2a	C 144, 307
Pîr Sultân Abdâl	‘ <i>Âlemî yaradan ol Ğanî Settâr</i>	253a/99a	<i>mahlûş</i>
Pîr Süleymân	<i>Açıkda yüksekte yatan erenler<sup>56</sup></i>	311a/167a	<i>mahlûş</i>
	“Siu fena dünyâie geldim gelesi”	261a/107a	<i>mahlûş</i>
Rûhî Bağdâdî	<i>Halka kîn eyleme eğer var ise belâğat sende</i>	392a/302b	heading; Musabeyli, Azad, ed. (2005). <i>Ruhi Bağdadi: mihîbi, hayatı, poetikası ve Divanı (ölyazma gaymaqları əsasında)</i> . Baku: Elm, p. 621
	<i>Kimi mestâne seher yâr ile gülşende yatur</i>	399b/306a	ibid., p. 263

<sup>54</sup> May be identical with Derviş ‘Ömer.

<sup>55</sup> Attributed to Derviş Şadâyî by Behar (2010), pp. 247f., 330. *R 1723, f. 105b; A’mâ (Kadîr. R 1723, f. 52a; Na’lçı.*

<sup>56</sup> This text is not part of Cahit Öztelli’s edition, Pîr Sultan Abdal (2008).



Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Ruhî Bağdâdî	<i>Açıldı defter-i ehl-i melâmet kayd olan gelsün</i>	383b/216b	heading; Musaböyli (2005), p. 574
	<i>Sanmañ bizi kim şüre-yi engür ile mestiz</i> <sup>57</sup>	200*a	Ruhî Bağdâdî (1870 [1287]). <i>Külliyât-ı es'âr</i> . İstanbul. URL: <a href="http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:vbv:12-bsb10622343-0">http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:vbv:12-bsb10622343-0</a> (visited on 08/01/2016), pp. 74–75
	<i>Hırka giyseñ eñiñe izhâr-ı zerķ ü şeyd olur</i>	202*b	heading; ibid., pp. 184f
	<i>Maibahıarma aç varan âdem değmek yer</i> <sup>58</sup>	204*a	ibid., pp. 80–82
	<i>Çün cehldedür zevķ-i kemâi nêdelim biz</i> <sup>59</sup>	205*a	ibid., pp. 79–81
	<i>‘Alimidir ki kâmil çeke gamm zevķ êde câhal</i> <sup>60</sup>	205*b	ibid., pp. 77–79

<sup>57</sup> The Tenkûb-i bend is not meant for vocal performance and thus not part of the edition. Identification by Hakan Özkan. Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki (2014). *Nesimî – Usûlî – Rûhâ*. İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, pp.172–209. f.200\*a contains 1. bend, bendiyye, 2. bend, bendiyye, 3. bend v.1–10 (incomplete).

<sup>58</sup> F.204\*a contains 13. bend v.7–8, bendiyye, 16. bend, bendiyye, 17. bend and bendiyye.

<sup>59</sup> F.205\*a contains the bendiyye of the 12. bend, 14. bend, bendiyye, 15. bend, bendiyye, 13. bend v.1–4, 9–14, 5–6.

<sup>60</sup> F.205\*b contains the 11. bend v.5 and 8, bendiyye of the 10th bend, 11. bend v.1–4, 9–12, 7–8, 5–6 and 13–14, an unidentified distich, 8. bend, bendiyye, 12. bend v.1–4 and 7–14.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Sâ'î Efendi	<i>Budur çü fenâ-ya ahır bu kaçd-ı felek bâmî</i> <sup>61</sup>	373a/219a	heading
Sandys, George	<i>Lord thy deserved urath assuage</i>	315a/171a	Lawes and Lawes (1648), No. XVIII
	<i>To heare me lord be thou inclined</i>	383*b/229b	ibid., No. XII
Şaruhânî Sürûrî/Dervîş Servî	<i>Şol [‘arâk] kim ol gül-endâmün yañâğundan çıkar</i> <sup>62</sup>	374b/220b	Ördek, Şerife (2014). “Servî/Sürûrî, Dervîş Sürûrî-i Mevlevî”. In: <i>Türk Edebiyatı isimler sözlüğü</i> . Ed. by İsen, Mustafa et al. URL: http: //www.turkedebiyatiiisiml ersozlugu.com/index.php? sayfa=detay&detay=5668 (visited on 09/25/2016); Genç, İlhan, ed. (2000). <i>Esrar Dede. Tezkire-i Şu'arâ-yı Mevleviyye</i> . Ankara: Aratürk Kültür Merkezi Baccskanlığı Yayımları, p. 241

<sup>61</sup> This text is not destined for musical performance and hence not part of the edition.

<sup>62</sup> Three distichs of this *gazel* are used as example in Esrar Dede's (d. 1796) *Tezkire-yi Şu'arâ-yı Mevleviyye*. The dates of his life are unknown.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Sefer Ağâ-zâde	<i>Derdâ ki benî çarhı felek: ğurbete şaldı</i>	391a/303b	heading
“Señl abîk”	“Jne dort inanuz aldı iagli dolai dotai”	350a/192a	<i>mahlâş</i>
Señfî mesiri (Şeyfî'l-Mişri)	“Wuszul duwek Mekami Arak Peschrew Señfî mesiri”	290b/136b– 292a/138a	heading; C 34
Sırrî	<i>Kemân kaşım ğamzelerin yeter iken</i>	320a/175a	<i>mahlâş</i>
Şolak-zâde	<i>Peşrev Zarb-ı feth der maķâm-ı Uzzâl [sic]</i>	325a/180a	heading L 148b; P: Muzaffer [sic]
	<i>Şolakzâde der maķâm-ı Muhâyyer [sic] uşüleş [sic] Zarbü'l-feth</i>	352b/194b	heading
	<i>Peşrev der maķâm-ı Büselik uşüleş Zarb-ı feth</i>	352b/194b	C 21
	<i>Semâî Nevâ</i>	355a/276a	heading L 61a
Sultân Murâd <sup>63</sup>	<i>Gelse nesim-i şubhile müjde şeh-i bahârdan</i>	322b/177b, 402a/241b	heading L 74b <sup>64</sup>
	<i>Uyan ey gözlerim ğafteden uyan</i>	129a/298a	<i>mahlâş</i>
“Sultan muradin kuñj”	“Bahar oldu ğiuller bitter”	309b/165b	<i>mahlâş</i>
Südcî-zâde	[ <i>Peşrev-i Südcî-zâde der maķâm-ı mezbur uşüleş Zarb-ı feth</i> ]	201b/47b– 202a/48a	heading L 88b

<sup>63</sup> Tetik (2010).

<sup>64</sup> Semâ'î-yî Sultân Murâd Hân Fâtih-i Bağdâd.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Süleymān	“Vnrum geldi getzti kadim bulkiuldi” <sup>65</sup>	251a/97a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Sevdiğim Haqqı seversen gırme benim kanama</i>	326a/181a	<i>mahlās</i>
Şāh Murād	<i>Der makām-ı Hüseyinī peşrev-i Külliyyāt nazīresi Hustā disse che si chiama Schehmurat</i>	283b/129b– 285a/131a	heading <sup>66</sup>
	<i>Peşrev-i Şāhmurād der makām-ı Sünbüle [sic] uşüleş [sic] Devrikebir [sic]</i>	344b/186b	heading (L 157a: Kemānī Muştafā Ağā, C 41: nazīre-yi Kutb-i Nāyī)
	<i>Fahte [sic] zarb Şānturī [sic] Şāh Murād der makām-ı Dügāh-Hüseyinī uşüleş [sic] Fahte [sic]</i>	375b/218a	heading
Şāh-kuh	<i>Peşrev-i Toz-koparan Hüseyinī Düyek Gülşeni raz simle</i>	383*a/229a	C 164
	<i>Peşrev-i Şāh-kuh makām-ı Hüseyinī uşüleş Sakil [sic]</i>	382*a/228a– 382*b/228a	heading; C 78

<sup>65</sup> A nearly identical text is transmitted with the *mahlās* of (Kul) Muştafā; Eren (1952), p. 80.

<sup>66</sup> Cantemir ascribes this Peşrev to Muzaffer; C 24.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Şahin	<i>Çarib garib öten bülbül</i>	218b/64b	<i>mahlās</i> ; Eren (1952), p. 29
	“Ben bu eflka ta ezelden”	266b/112b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Merd-i şadık olan zâh</i>	268b/114b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Vücüdüm mülkümi yaқта yandırđ</i>	289a/135a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Wugiudum mulkiimi iakti ianderdi”	296b/142b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Gönül şamas etme cihân dârna</i>	345a/187a	<i>mahlās</i> ; ibid., pp. 33f
	“Sana kul olaiim bana nedersin”	4a/255a	<i>mahlās</i>
Şahin-ođlı <sup>67</sup>	“Ben akhjimi hicz perifian itmezdim”	119a/259a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Kader meulam bana bir iar wermifdur”	155a/24a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Ageb dur kim siu fenaie geleli”	232a/78a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Bir derde dubmissem czare butunmas”	233a/79a	<i>mahlās</i>
	“E gazeller hitz merdilen namerjdim”	234a/80a	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Ķatarlanmış mahbûbların sür-üsü</i>	315b/171b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Bir katre yüz düşdüük nehr-i fenâyâ</i>	324a/179a-2	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>İster hey Allâhum güldür cânımız</i>	326b/181b	<i>mahlās</i>

<sup>67</sup> First half of the seventeenth century, Kocaturk (1963), p. 97. Eren (1952), pp. 25f. Elçin (1997a), pp. 198–202, 242–243. Şahin and Şahin-ođlı are with high probability the same person.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
replaced “Vfukî”	“Badîbahîjm kuŋharinie eile daim hummetuŋ”	220a/66a	<i>mahlâş</i>
alternative “Kuŋ berfuwad”	<i>Ol Hudannî ħikmetin gör ceddin</i> ‘ <i>Osmân ne eyledi</i> ’	309a/165a	<i>mahlâş</i>
Şem‘î	“Ne hunider għiozum sakij”	31b/13b	heading; <i>mahlâş</i> ; Şem‘î (2014). <i>Şem ‘î Divanı. Prizrenli Şem ‘î</i> . Ed. by Karaveliöglu, Murat A. İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, pp. 155f., 303
Şerîf	“BUSELİK Zarbul feth”	248b/94b– 249a/95a	C 16; K 124.
	“Vsuller Peshrewi Zengir Mekam Rast”	289b/135b– 290a/136a	C 108
	“Vssulij Fahte Peshrewi Beiati [...] Szerifn [...]”	311b/167b– 312a/168a	headings; C 58: Nefrî Behrâm
	“Rast fethi zarb”	355a/276a	L 62b; C 3
	<i>Żarbü'l-feth Nevâ'î 'Uşşâk Şerîfîn</i>	377*a/223a	headings; C 19
Şeyh Bahrî	<i>Ĥabâk kulundan intikâman yine 'abâile ahur</i>	310a/166a	<i>mahlâş</i>

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Seyhü'l-İslâm Yahyâ	<i>Komayub takatım feryâda nâlan obmasun dersin</i>	404b/312a	Yahya (1995). <i>Şeyhülislâm Yahya Divanı</i> . Ed. by Ertem, Rekin. Ankara: Akçağ, p. 167
Talîî	‘ <i>Ahd etmişdi vaştım dün âşka cāmān</i> ’	328b/183b	<i>mahlās</i>
Tamburğî Kenan	[ <i>Peşrev-i ‘Alî Beğ der maķām-ı Muḥayyer [sic] uşuleş Düyek</i> ]	200b/46b–201a/47a	heading (L 35b: ‘Alî Beğ)
Tas-pās; “Taspas” <sup>68</sup>	“Arganadan geller bir arab”	17b/275b	<i>mahlās</i>
	“Akβam oldu ghuun tepete dolundu”	47a/249b	<i>mahlās</i>
	<i>Tas-pās ‘Alî sarrūñ açdı</i>	175b/299b	<i>mahlās</i>
“Taspas alî”	“Ewwel bahar iaz Ailarij gelinge”	12b/272b	<i>mahlās</i>
“Alî taspas” (gloss: Meftumi)	“Ahijm kiorpe gioghe czikti”	306a/162a	<i>mahlās</i>
Tās-bāz (Kul)	<i>Şundan yavri geldigimün ḥakmetü</i>	293a/139a	<i>mahlās</i> ; Elçin, Şükrü (1997a). <i>Halk Edebiyatı Araştırmaları 1</i> . 2nd ed. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Ankara: Akçağ, p. 279
	<i>Cefā etme yeter cāmım</i>	295b/141b	<i>mahlās</i> ; ibid., p. 279

<sup>68</sup> On this little-known figure see Elçin (1997a), pp. 269–272.

Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Tasso, Torquato	<i>Giro tuta la notte, e tuto il giorno</i> <sup>69</sup>	23b/6b– 24a/7a	Tasso, Torquato (1804a). <i>Gerusalemme Liberata</i> . Vol. 1. Opere di Torquato Tasso vol. 1. Milan: Società Tipografica de'Classici Italiani, pp. 250–252
	[...] <i>Et pugna [...] auolto</i> <sup>70</sup>	24b/7b– 25b/8b	Tasso, Torquato (1804b). <i>Gerusalemme Liberata</i> . Vol. 2. Opere di Torquato Tasso vol. 1. Milan: Società Tipografica de'Classici Italiani, pp. 379–383
	<i>Canto l'armi pietose il Cap[<i>ij</i>]ta[n]o</i> <sup>71</sup>	32a/14a– 32b/14b	Tasso (1804a), pp. 1–4, 77
	<i>Aperta e l'aurea porta e quiui tratto</i> <sup>72</sup>	138a/266a– 139a/267a	Tasso (1804b), pp. 135–136, 139–140

<sup>69</sup> *Gerusalemme Liberata*, canto VII, 3–4, 6–10, 12–13. This text and the following extracts from the verse epic are not part of the edition.

<sup>70</sup> Canto XIX, 1–4, 6, 6–9, 10, 10–14. Stanza 1 is damaged; 6 appears in two versions; 9 is damaged. F. 25a/8a contains additional unidentified verses. Stanza 10 is damaged and was added a second time in the margin.

<sup>71</sup> Canto I, 1–10; Canto III, *argomento*.

<sup>72</sup> Canto XII, 48–52, 65–69.



Name	Title	Folio	Attribution
Ṭunc ʿAlī	“Ṭunge ali peschrew vssul dewrikebir”	282b/128b– 283a/129a	heading
ʿUlvi	<i>Bizimle kūy-i cānāna gelen gelsün giden gitsün</i>	391a/303b	heading <sup>73</sup>
Yākīmī	<i>Bahr-i firāka fülk-i dil şaldım</i>	404a/312b	Yākīmī (2009). <i>Divân. İnceleme – Metin ve Çeviri – Açıklamalar – Sözlük.</i> Ed. by Zülfe, Ömer. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kütüphaneler ve Yayımlar Genel Müdürlüğü. URL: ekitap.kulturturizm.gov. tr/Ekklenti/10661, girismetinpdf.pdf?0 (visited on 02/25/2014), p. 168
Yūnus	<i>Hakdım bakdım yeri beğler üstüne</i>	279b/125b	<i>mahlûs</i>

<sup>73</sup> This Gazel is not part of the available *divân*; ʿUlvi (1290/1873). *Divân-i ʿUlvi*. İstanbul: El-Hâcc Muştafa Efendi Matbâası. URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/ujp.3210107793675> (visited on 10/10/2016).

8.4 *Maĳāmlar*

This chart lists *maĳām* occurrence as stated by ‘Alī Ufuĳī in P; concordances are disregarded. Texts without notation are included; theoretical and practical comments are not.

<i>Maĳām</i>	Folio
‘Acem	52a/251b–51b/248a, 52b/251a, 309b/165b, 371b/286b, 389b/304a, 403b/310a, 412b/239a, 416b/307a, 378*a/224a, 379*b/225b, 231*b
‘Aĳīrān	199a/45a, 206a/52a
Beste-nigār	234b/80b
Beyātī	124a/264a, 254b/100b, 298b/144b, 311b/167b–312a/168a, 351a/193a, 376a/212b, 404b/312a (2x), 415b/246b–416a/307b
Būselik	248b/94b–249a/95a, 352b/194b
Ķārgāh	234*a
Dūgāh	299b/145b–300a/146a, 369a/284a, 405b/305a
Dūgāh-Ĵūseyṅī	375b/218a, 381a/217b
Dūgāh-Şabā	389b/304a
Evç	354b/196b, 359b/280b, 414b/245b–415a/246a
Evç-‘Irāĳ	392b/302a, 406a/309b
Ĵicāz muĳālif	241b/87b, 244a/90a
Ĵiṣār	360b/281b
Ĵūseyṅī	153a/25bisa, 272b/118b, 283b/129b–285a/131a, 299b/145b–300a/146a, 349b/191b, 353a/195a, 357b/278b, 372a/287a, 376a/212b, 396b/311a, 397b/244a, 402a/241b, 402b/241a, 404a/312b (2x), 381*b/227b, 382*a/228a–382*b/228b, 383*a/229a, 383*b/229b, 384*a/230a, 233*a

<i>Maḳām</i>	<i>Folio</i>
‘Irāḳ	243a/89a, 274a/120a, 290b/136b–292a/138a, 293b/139b, 324b/179b, 344a/186a, 356a/277a, 356b/277b, 379b/221b, 381b/217a, 414b/245b–415a/246a, 384*b/230b
‘Irāḳ muḫālif	414a/245a
Māhūr	414b/245b–415a/246a
Māye	352a/194a (2x)
Muḫayyer	352b/194b, 359a/280a, 395b/242b–396a/311b, 400a/240a, 404b/312a
Muḫayyer-Sünbüle	397b/244a
Nevā	124a/264a, 153b/25bisb, 299b/145b–300a/146a, 302a/148a, 311b/167b–312a/168a, 343a/185a, 355a/276a, 356a/277a, 357a/278a, 376a/212b, 379b/221b, 391a/303b, 404a/312b, 405a/305b, 407a/308b, 410b/247a (2x), 413b/235a, 378*b/224b, 379*a/225a
Nevā-Beyātī	277a/123a
Nevā-yı ‘Uṣṣāḳ	377*a/223a
Nevrüz-‘Acem	369a/284a
Nevrüz-i ‘arab	392b/302a
Nigrīz	366b/288a, 367a/282a (2x)
Nihāvend	
Niṣābūr	5a/256a, 371a/286a, 391b/303a, 197*a, 231*b, 233*a
Pençgāh	378*b/224b
Rāst	123b/263b, 199a/45a, 289b/135b–290a/136a, 343b/185b (2x), 355a/276a, 356b/277b, 358b/279b, 367b/282b, 369b/284b, 371a/286a, 372b/287b, 400a/240a, 403a/310b, 407a/308b, 232*b
Rāst-Pençgāh	249b/95b–250a/96a, 313a/169a, 361a/293b, 361b/293a, 370b/285b, 395b/242b–396a/311b

<i>Maḳām</i>	Folio
Rehāvī	377*a/223a
Sāzkār	368a/283a (2x)
Şabā	241b/87b, 392b/302a, 399a/306b, 380*a/226a, 381*a/227a
Segāh	132b/268b–133a/296a, 307b/163b, 362b/292a, 365a/289b, 367b/282b, 368b/283b, 389b/304a, 402b/241a (2x), 405a/305b
Sünbüle	344b/186b, 345a/187a
Şehnāz	234*b (2x)
‘Uşşāk	322b/177b, 368b/283b, 376a/212b, 382b/215b, 398b/238a, 399b/306a, 400a/240a, 402a/241b
‘Uzzāl	325a/180a, 358a/279a, 395a/242a

## 8.5 Uşûller

This chart lists *uşûl* occurrence as stated by ‘Alī Ufuḳī in P; concordances are disregarded. Texts without notation are included; theoretical and practical comments are not. Semā‘ī is understood as an *uşûl* as well as a genre designation.

<i>Maḳām</i>	Folio
Berevşān	126a/297a, 367a/282a, 369a/284a
Çenber	397b/244a, 380*a/226a, 381*b/227b
Devr-i kebīr	140a/295b, 254b/100b, 263b/109b, 282b/128b–283a/129a, 344b/186b, 345a/187a, 358b/279b, 398a/238b, 377*b/233v, 379*a/225a
Devr-i revān	218b/64b, 267b/113b, 272b/118b, 343a/185a, 345a/187a, 352a/194a (2x), 356a/277a, 356b/277b, 367b/282b, 369a/284a, 379b/221b

<i>Maḳām</i>	<i>Folio</i>
Düyek	62a/270b, 290b/136b–292a/138a, 307b/163b, 311b/167b–213a/168a, 313b/169b–314a/170a, 324b/179b, 343b/185b (2x), 344a/186a, 351a/193a, 353a/195a, 356b/277b, 357b/278b, 358a/279a, 359a/280a, 359b/280b, 367a/282a, 367b/282b, 368b/283b, 372a/287a, 372b/287b, 395a/242a, 414b/245b–415a/246a, 379*b/225b, 383*a/229a, 231*b, 232*b
Evfer	349b/191b, 361b/293a, 376a/212b, 382b/215b, 391a/303b, 399b/306a, 404b/213a
Evşāt [sic] + Semāī	298b/144b
Fāḥte	311b/167b–213a/168a, 356a/277a, 375b/218a, 415b/246b–416a/307b, 234*b
Fāḥte + Devr-i kebīr	411a/243b
Fer <sup>c</sup> Muḥammes	402b/241a, 377*a/223a
Ḥafīf	359b/280b, 405a/305b
Ḥāvī [sic] Düyek	378*b/224b
Muḥammes	61b/271a, 287b/133b–288a/134a, 381a/217b
Ṣaḳīl	18b/1b–19a/2a, 357a/278a, 363b/291a–364a/290b, 370a/285a, 370b/285b, 414a/235a, 382*a/228a–382*b/228b
Semāī	2b/253b, 201b/47b–202a/48a, 241b/87b, 242a/88a (2x), 243a/89a (4x), 277a/123a, 293b/139b, 213b/168b, 322b/177b, 355a/276a, 361a/293b, 362b/292a, 366b/288a, 368a/283a, 371a/286a (2x), 379b/221b, 392b/302a, 395b/242b–396a/311b (2x), 396b/311a, 397a/244b, 399a/306b, 400a/240a, 402a/241b, 402b/241a, 403a/310b, 404b/312a (2x), 406a/309b, 407a/308b, 413b/235a, 415b/246b–416a/307b, 384*a/230a, 234*b

<i>Maḳām</i>	Folio
Şöfyāne	249b/95b–250a/96a, 302a/148a, 391b/303a, 396b/311a, 398a/238b, 398b/238a, 399b/306a, 400a/240a, 402b/241a, 416b/307a
Žarbeyn	371b/286b, 234*b
Žarb-ı feth	20b/3b–21a/4a, 248b/94b–249a/95a, 325a/180a, 352b/194b (2x), 355a/276a, 365a/289b, 377*a/233a, 381*a/227a, 383*b/229b, 384*b/230b, 233*a, 234*a
“zarbi Safi”	369b/284b
Zencīr	289b/135b–290a/136a

## 8.6 Genre designations

The list is arranged according to vocal, instrumental and European/other pieces. If two versions of a text on the same page have the same heading, they are counted as one occurrence. *Maḳām* and *uṣūl* headings, instrument names, names of composers and poets as well as geographical notations are not taken into account. Mentions of genres in other notes such as performance instructions are also not taken into account.

Genre	Folios	Total
Ġazel	31b/13b, 123a/263a-1, 328b/183b-2, 354b/196b-2, 373b/219b-4, 374b/220b-2, 383b/218b-1, 400b/240b	8
İlāhī	52a/251b–51b/248a-1, 199a/45a-T, 206a/52a-1, 326a/181a, 382a/215a-1, 406a/309b-2, 202*a-2, 379*b/225b-3	8
Kār	405a/305b-2	1

Genre	Folios	Total
Murabba <sup>c</sup>	61b/271a-1, 62a/270b-1, 129b/298b (strophic), 234b/80b-1, 242a/88a-2 (2 texts), <sup>74</sup> 250b/96b-1, 297b/143b-3, 302a/148a-1, 304b/150-160b, 313a/169a, 325b/180b (strophic), 373b/219b-3, 376a/212b-1, 376a/212b-2, 395a/242a-1, 395b/242b-396a/311b-1, -5, -6, 399b/306a-1, 405a/305b-1, 232*b	22
Semā <sup>ī</sup>	2b/253b-2, 242a/88a-1, 242a/88a-2, 243a/89a-1, 243a/89a-3, 277a/123a, 297b/143b, 312b/168b, 322b/177b-1, 348a/190a, 379b/221b-1, 392b/302a-3, 395b/242b-396a/311b-3, 396b/311a-2 (strophic), 397b/244a-3, 399a/306b, 400a/240a-3, 402a/241b-2, 402b/241a-4 (strophic), 404b/312a-1/-3, 406a/309b-1, 407a/308b-2	23
Havā	47a/249b-1 (Tobrigie hawa), 200a/46a-199b/45b-3 (Turki hawasi), 229a/74a (Turki hawasi), 230b/75b-231a/76a-6 (Deli Hormanin Hawasi), 264b/110b (Türki havāsi), 314b/170b-4 (Raḥş [sic] havāsi [sic]), 322b/177b (Turki hawasi), 345a/187a-2 (Türki havāsi [sic]), 346a/188a-2 (Turki Hawasi), 353a/195a-2 (turki hawasi), <sup>75</sup> 414b/245b-415a/246a-5 (arak turki hawasi), 379*b/225b-2 (Turki hawasi)	12
Şarḳı	272a/118a-1, 382b/215b-2	2
Taḳsīm	376a/212b-3	2
Tekerleme	242b/88b-1, 271b/117b-2, 308b/164b-1, 233*b-2, b-3	4
Tespīḥ	132b/268b-133a/269a	1

<sup>74</sup> One text is titled Murabba<sup>c</sup>, its notated version Semā<sup>ī</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> The notations on ff. 264b/110b, 345a/187a-2 and 353a/195a-2 belong to a text and are thus counted twice, as Havā and as Türki).

Genre	Folios	Total
Türkî	5b/256b-1, 15b/273b, 31a/13a-1, 46b/250a-1, 52b/251a-1, 61a/271b-1, 63b/265a-1/2, 66a/258a-1, 122b/262b-T, 130a/301b-1, 154b/26b-1, 155a/24a-1, 156b/25b-1, 200a/46a-199b/45b-4, 210a/56a, 218b/64b-1, 219a/65a (Selâm türkisi), 230b/75b-231a/76a-1, 233b/79b-234a/80a-1, 241a/87a-1, 241a/87a-2, 245b/91b, 251a/97a, 252b/98b, 253a/99a, 253b/99b, 254a/100a, 254b/100b, 257b/103b-258a/104a, 260b/106b, 261a/107a, 261b/107b, 264a/110a, 264b/110b, 265a/111a, 268a/114a, 268b/114b, 272a/118a-2, 273a/119a, 276a/122a-2 (Arnavt turki), 276b/122b-1, 279a/125a, 283b/129b-285a/131a-1 (Frenk turki), 285b/131b, 289a/135a-2, 292b/138b, 293a/139a, 294a/140a-2, 297a/143a, 298b/144b, 299b/145b-300a/146a-2, 300b/146b, 305a/161a, 305b/161b-2, 308a/164a, 309a/165a, 310a/166a-1/-2, 319b/166b (Türkî bayrām), 315b/171b (Dobriže hêwasi Türkî) , 320a/175a, 321a/176a, 323a/178a, 323b/178b, 325b/180b, 327a/182a, 327b/182b, 328a/183a, 328b/183b-1, 345a/187a, 347b/189b, 348b/190b, 353a/195a, 375a/218b-1/-2, 381b/217b-1/-2/-3, 382a/215a-2, 382b/215b-1, 383a/216a-1/-2, 408b/236b, 409a/237a-1/-2, 409b/237b-1/-2, 410a/247b-1/-3, 378*a/224a, 379*a/225a	93
Varşağı	132a/268a-1, 272b/118b-1, 273b/119b	3
Külliyât	153a/25bisa	1
Nāğme	274a/120a, 360b/281b-3, 414b/245b-415a/246a-3/-4	4
Oyun/Oymı	47a/249b-4, 274b/120b-2, 280b/126b-281a/127a-3, 286a/132a, 306a/162a-2, 315a/171a-2, 410a/247b-2, 379*b/225b-5, 233*a-2	7



Genre	Folios	Total
Peşrev	18b/1b–19a/2a-1, 19b/2b–20a/3a, 20b/3b–21a/4a, 21b/4b–22a/5a-2, 22b/5b–23a/6a, 282b/128b–283a/129a, 283b/129b–285a/131a-2, 287b/133b–288a/134a-1, 289b/135b–290a/136a-1, 290b/136b–292a/138a-1, 311b/167b–312a/168a-1/-2, 313b/169b–314a/170a-1, 325a/180a, 343b/185b-1/-2, 344a/186a-1/-2, 344b/186b, 345a/187a-1, 352b/194b-2, 353a/195a-1, 355b/276b, 357b/278b, 359a/280a, 363b/291a–364a/290b-1, 365a/289b, 367a/282a-1/-2, 369a/284a-1, 372b/287b-1, 381a/217b-2, 377*a/233a-3, 379*b/225b-1, 381*b/227b, 382*a/228a–382*b/228b-1, 383*a/229a-1, 383*b/229b, 231*b-2, 233*a-1, 234*a-1	40
Semā'ī	201b/47b–202a/48a-2, 241b/87b-3, 293b/139b, 355a/276a-2, 361a/293b, 362b/292a, 366b/288a-1, 367a/282a-3 (principio), 368a/283a-1, 371a/286a-1/-2, 413b/235a, 415b/246b–416a/307b-3, 384*a/230a-1, 234*b-2	15
Aihijn	271a/117a-1	1
Arab Kiar	314b/170b-3	1
Aria	47a/249b-2 (senza parole)	1
Breambulo	219a/65a-1	1
Cadenza	297b/143b, 299b/145b–300a/146a-2/-3/-4, 314b/170b-1	5
Cantio turcica	204*b	1
Canzon	1a/252a-3	1
Gözlü	175b/299b	1
Fischiata	30b/12b	1
Frenk	3a/254a-2	1

Genre	Folios	Total
Keyf kār fregī	363a/291b-1	1
Palpitatio manuum	31b/13b-2	1
Passag(g)io	1a/252a-2, 276a/122a-1, 362a/292b-1/-2	4
Sāzkār fregī	368a/283a-2	1
Illegible	245a/91a, 271a/117a, 315a/171a	3

## 8.7 Stanza types

The formal diversity of texts from the ʿAṣīḫ repertoire is considerable, including forms with refrain. In the table, small letters designate formal units of the text, capital letters refer to musical sections. In some cases the distribution of the text is unclear. When there are only two vv underlaid, we have to suppose that the intended melodic structure is the indeed very common ABAB. If insights could be gained from a parallel version in L, the page number will be marked “L”. If there is no notation at all, inferences from L are not made as the unity of text and melody is not generally given.

Rhyme	Melody	Folios
aaaa bbba ...	ABAB	266a/112a, 347b/189b (suggested)
aaaa bbba ...	ABCD	47b/249a, 220a/66a
aaaa bbba ...	AA*BC	132a/268a (Varṣaḡı)
aaaa bbba ...	text only	272a/118a-2, 305b/161b-2, 309a/165a
aaaaa bbbaa ...	AAA*BC	298b/144b
aaaaa bbbaa ...	ABCCB	5b/256b-1
aaab cccb ...	AAAB	126b/297b, 255a/101a, 265b/111b, 301b/147b ( <i>terennüm</i> ), 349b/191b-3
aaab cccb ...	AABC	263b/109b, 379*a/225a
aaab cccb ...	ABAB	12a/272a

Rhyme	Melody	Folios
aaab cccb ...	ABBC	398a/238b-2
aaab cccb ...	ABCB	361b/293a
aaab cccb ...	ABCD	124a/264a-1, 256b/102b-257a/103a, 262a/108a, 309b/165b-1
aaab cccb ...	text only	3a/254a-1, 175b/299b-3, 217b/63b, 277a/123a, 278b/124b, 318b/174b, 365b/289a, 396b/311a-1, 403a/310b, 233*b-1
aaabr cccbr <sup>76</sup> ...	AABCD	153a/25bisa (L 15b)
aaabr cccbr ...	ABABC	3a/254a-1, 46b/250a-1
aaar bbbr ...	AA*BCD	129b/298b
aaar bbbr ...	text only	17a/275a-2
aaarr bbbrr ...	AABC	351a/193a
:a: aarr  :b: bbr rr ...	ABCC	269a/115a
aaba ccca ...	AABC	151b/22b
aaba ccca ...	text only	300b/146b
abab cccb ...	AAAB	345a/187a-2, 356b/188b-347a/189a-2/-3
abab cccb ...	AAABC	4b/255b
abab cccb ...	AAA*B	274b/120b-1
abab cccb ...	AABC	230b/75b-231a/76a-4 (assumedly; only one stanza extant), 231b/76b-232a/77-78a-1, 265a/111a, 267a/113a-1 (with repetition of v. 1: AAABC), 267a/113a-2, 274b/120b-2, 328b/183b?, 343a/185a-2, 398b/238a-1 (L 69r)
abab cccb ...	AA*BC	29b/11b-1

<sup>76</sup> “Bentleri dörtlü, kavuştağı tek dize olan türküler”, Dizdaroğlu (1969), p. 110. Rhyme schemes ababr cccbr... and abcbr dddbr... are also possible, see below.

Rhyme	Melody	Folios
abab cccb ...	ABAB	1b/252b-1, 1b/252b-2, 4a/255a-1, 31a/13a, 66a/258a, 119a/259a-1, 122a/262a-1, 123b/263b, 153b/25bisb-1?, 155a/24a?, 250a/96a, 251b/97b, 252a/98a (addition), 252b/98b-2?, 254a/100a, 256a/102a, 260b/106b?, 267b/113b, 270a/116a-1, 276b/122b, 294b/140b, 295a/141a, 297a/143a, 298a/144a-1, 301a/147a (additions), 302b/148b, 306b/162b-1, 323b/178b (suggested), 382b/215b-2 (Şarkı), 409b/237b-1
abab cccb ...	ABBC	119a/259a-2
abab cccb ...	ABCB	30a/12a-1, 156b/25b-2, 253a/99a?, 328a/183a-1 (L 49a), 348b/190b
abab cccb ...	ABCD	2a/253a-1, 3b/254b-2, 47a/249b-1, 47b/249a-3, 61a/271b-2 (with extension of D), 62b/270a, 63a/265b, 121b/261b, 139b/267b, 154b/26b, 156b/25b-1, 175b/299b-1,-2, 200a/46a-199b/45b-2 (with extension of D), 233b/79b-234a/80a-1, 253b/99b, 257b/103b-258a/104a, 261b/107b, 268b/114b-2, 273b/119b, 277b/123b, 278a/124a, 289a/135a-1, 289b/135b-290a/136a-3, 292b/138b, 296b/142b, 299b/145b-300a/146a-1 (music fragmentary; with additions), 307a/163a, 310b/166b-1, 322b/177b-2, 324a/179a-1, 325b/180b (Murabba'), 327a/182a-N (L 48b), 327b/182b, 350a/192a, 353b/195b, 381b/217a-3, 382b/215b-1, 383a/216a-1, 354b/196b, 409a/237a-1, 409a/237a-2

Rhyme	Melody	Folios
abab cccb ...	text only	12b/272b, 15a/273a, 16a/274a, 17a/275a-1, 52b/251a-1, 124a/264a-3, 130a/301b-1, 174b/44b, 208b/54b, 209a/55a, 233b/79b-234a/80a-2, 241a/87a-1, -2, 244a/90a-4, 264a/110a, 266b/112b, 268a/114a, 279a/125a, 285b/131b, 289a/135a-2, 293a/139a, 294a/140a-1, 294a/140a-2, 299b/145b-300a/146a-T2, 305a/161a, 305b/161b-1, 306a/162a, 306b/162b-2, 308a/164a, 308b/164b-1 (Tekerleme), 308b/164a-2, 310a/166a-2, 315b/171b-T, 316a/172a, 323a/178a, 324a/179a-2, 326b/181b, 327a/182a-T, 366a/288b, 375a/218b-1, 375a/218b-2, 382a/215a-2, 383a/216a-2, 389a/403b-1, 408b/236b, 409b/237b-2, 410a/247b-3, 378*a/224a-1, 233*b-2
a+ba+b c+cc+b ...	ABAB	254b/100b-1 (L 73a)
a+ba+b c+cc+b ...	text only	295b/141b
:a: bab  :c: ccb ...	ABCDE	15b/273b, 218b/64b-1
ababr cccbr ...	ABCDE	232b/77-78b-233a/79a-1, 232b/77-78b-233a/79a-2
ab :a: br cc :c: r ...	ABCC*DE	275a/121a
abbb cbbb ...	text only	2b/253b
abbb cccb ...	AAAAR	269b/115b-2
abbb cccb ...	ABABR	248a/94a
abbb cccb...	text only	245b/91b
abcb dddb ...	ABAB	153b/25bisb-2, 260a/106a, 263a/109a, 269b/115b-1, 328a/183a-1

Rhyme	Melody	Folios
abcb dddb ...	ABCB	328a/183a-2, 328a/183a-3
abcb dddb ...	ABCD	130a/301b (additions), 251a/97a, 264b/110b (additions), 299a/145a, 311a/167a, 353a/195a-2
abcb dddb ...	text only	122b/262b, 230b/75b–231a/76a-T1, 253a/99a-T, 271b/117b-3, 272b/118b-1 (Varşığı), 310a/166a-1, 320a/175a, 321a/176a, 381b/217a-1, 381b/217a-2, 410a/247b-1, 233*b-3 (Tekerleme)
abcbr dddbr ...	ABCDR	6b/257b, 61a/271b-1, 272a/118-1? (Şarkı)
abcdddd eedddd ...	ABCDR	258b/104b–259a/105a

The following outliers are not included in the table:

- f. 175a/299a: The melodic scheme is clearly ABCB, but as only two verses are underlaid the textual structure can only be suggested. It is most probably abab cccb.
- ff. 248b/94b–249a/95a-2 ABAB can be assumed (L f. 39b): The version in P is incomplete, as comparison with L shows. The original form is abab cccb, ABCD.
- f. 379\*b/225b: The untexted melody is most probably meant to be ABBC.
- The following pieces are problematic due to poor legibility, chaotic presentation, fragmentary transmission or similar reasons: ff. 1a/252a-1, 2a/253a-2, 199a/45a-1, 255b/101b, 259b/105b, 261a/107a, 262b/108b, 273a/119a, 275a/121a, 296a/142a (section A marked with 3: AAAB; text unknown), 310b/166b-2, 315b/171b (ABAB / aaab for stanza I, AAAB / cccb for stanza II; placement of II,2 may be erroneous), 318a/174a (abcc dddc ...; stanza I may be erroneous).



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## Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster

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Judith I. Haug

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