

OTTOMAN MELODIES — HEBREW HYMNS

A 16th Century Cross-Cultural Adventure

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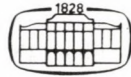


AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

ANDREAS TIETZE AND JOSEPH YAHALOM

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JOSEPH YAHALOM

HEBREW MYSTICAL POETRY AND ITS TURKISH BACKGROUND

The author is obliged for assistance
and for encouragement to
Ben-Zvi Institute
and to
Misgav Yerushalayim
Jerusalem

Of Israel's sweetest singer now I sing...
Whose Muse was dipt in that inspiring dew
Archangels 'stilled from the breath of Jove

(George Peele 1556-1596)

PREFACE

"Sweet singer of Yisrael" (II Sa. 23:1) — *Ne'im zemirot Yisrael* — such is King David, quintessential Hebrew figure of psalm and harp. And it was much in these years of the sixteenth century, while Peele was echoing the biblical praise for King David, that a poet arose whose first *diwan* of verse, *Zemirot Yisrael*, stirred the ancient words back into life — Israel Najara. No less a luminary than R. Isaac Luria Ashkenazi, the great 16th century Kabbalist from Safed, was said to have proclaimed Najara a "spark" emanating from the soul of King David himself. Emerging from the lands of the Ottoman Empire — home to many a Jewish exile following the Expulsion from Spain — Najara's mystical poetry commanded an avid following and underwent three editions during the poet's own lifetime: Safed (1587), Salonika (1599) and Venice (1600). Najara's poetry exerted a powerful influence on poets throughout the lands of the Mediterranean basin; poems and hymns of Najara's creation are sung to this very day with great fervor.

It is difficult today to grasp the innovative qualities of this poetry vis-à-vis the liturgical poetry of pre-Expulsion Spain. Indeed from a functional perspective, Najara's poems do not constitute a liturgical poetry in the narrow sense of the word. Neither the role of these poems nor the time of their recitation was rigidly anchored in the rites of synagogue tradition. Rather, they comprised a kind of para-liturgical poetry to be sung or chanted in special pre-dawn rituals of devotion. Yet in terms of content and imagery, Najara's poetic corpus does not immediately appear to deviate radically from much of the religious poetry long composed under the inspiration of the biblical *Song of Songs*. Well may we ask, therefore, wherein the unique magic of Najara's poetry; wherefore the "Kabbalistic" label?

Profoundly influenced by the saintly figure of R. Isaac Luria, the Kabbalah of this period was imbued with a distinctly mythical quality that continued to reverberate long after Luria's demise in 1572. A full century later it was said of the false messiah Sabbatai Zevi, that moments of religious ecstasy found him waltzing around — Torah scroll in arms — singing the strains of "Meliselda, Meliselda", lovely nymph of the famous Spanish *romance*.

Daughter to the king, vision of beauty emerging from the bath — the Torah and Meliselda welded into one, and the bridegroom of both was he.

Hence it is somewhere between sanctity and sacrilege — between the venerated Isaac Luria and the apostate Sabbatai Zevi — that the figure of Israel Najara looms forth. His poetry infused the masses with ardent religious fervor. And the ways in which Najara's poetry reflected its time and place, the manner of interaction within its historical and cultural framework — these are the issues we would seek to explore.

I. AND THEY HEARD THE SIRENS SINGING...

The Spanish Jews settling in the Ottoman Empire after the Expulsion of 1492 were confronted by formidable social problems. No sooner had they reached Turkey's hospitable shores than bitter disputes flared up between the Spanish emigres and the local Jewish communities. The cataclysmic afflictions of Expulsion now gave way to bitter squabbles of no less vehemence and passion. Thus, for example, within a decade of their arrival the exiles locked horns with the Jewish elders of Istanbul over the robes of office worn by the Spanish rabbis. That these robes had valiantly served the Spanish rabbis in days of yore impressed the local rabbi, Moses Capsali, not at all. Claiming that such robes came under the category of *huqqot ha-goy* — gentile customs — Capsali summarily forbade the use of such apparel. Never — the rabbi emphasised — had such garments been worn in Turkey. The origin of these 'crosses' (*sheti va-'erev*), as he euphemistically named the garments, was in the Christian countries, and there should they remain.¹

The collapse of the old world with its established social order and values created something of a vacuum in Jewish life. Flourishing years of prosperity for the Jews no less than for their gentile neighbours, the vacuum was rapidly and unsurprisingly filled by practices borrowed from the Turkish milieu. These influences were particularly evident in the realm of lodging and apparel, and it was upon their account that the renowned preacher of Salonika, Solomon Beit Halevi (d. 1600) castigated his erring flock time and again throughout the latter half of the 16th century. The ills of the Diaspora had found their malingering way to the Ottoman haven; the lure of wealth remained as potent as ever. Endless vying with the local aristocracy was omnipresent here as well and to prove his point, Halevi cited such external symptoms as dress and lodging.² Even in so intimate an issue as cosmetics Jewish women are found dipping their fingers in henna in emulation of their Turkish sisters.³ Of course, so small a detail is scarcely indicative of Jewish cultural assimilation. Yet perhaps even the tips of the fingers — like that of the iceberg — may at times suggest hidden depths lurking beyond surface expression.

¹ Cf. J. Hacker, *The Jewish Community of Salonika from the Fifteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, Dissertation, Jerusalem 1978 (Heb.) pp. 30*-42*.

² See Solomon le-Beit Halevi, *Divrei Shelomo*, Venice 1596, pp. 215 ff.; cf. J. Hacker, 'Israel among the Nations as Described by Solomon le-Beit ha-Levi of Salonika', *Zion* XXXIV (1969): 49 (Heb.); H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig 1891, vol. 9, pp. 391-395.

³ See *Responza 'Benjamin Ze'ev'*, Venice 1539 (repr. Jerusalem 1989), No. 152.

Leisure and recreation seem to offer another area of interesting contact between the new aristocracy and the wider social milieu. Rabbinic responsa from the mid-16th century refer to a new institution of increasing popularity in Turkish society in general — that of the coffeehouse, or tavern.⁴ According to R. David ibn Abi Zimra (d. 1573, Jerusalem):

Permissible though coffee-drinking may be, I cannot in any way consent to its consumption in gentile gatherings, for numerous offenses have ensued and Israel is holy...⁵

We even find the aroma of the coffeehouse wafting through the halachic discussions of R. Moses of Trani, the important decisor of Safed (d. 1580). Operating well into the night, the coffeehouses earned no less opprobrium from R. Moses than that of *moshav lezim* (gathering of fools).⁶ Performances of voice and instrument contributed no doubt to the waxing popularity of this institution.

That the Jews had indeed become well-versed in Turkish love songs was first obliquely noted by R. Moses Galante, one of the most renowned sages of Safed. The reference occurs in his Kabbalistically inspired commentary on Ecclesiastes, published in Safed in 1578.⁷ Propounding the verse from Ecclesiastes 7:5 ('It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise than... the song of fools'), Galante incorporates an interpretation of his brother Abraham, a figure of exceptional piety. Some people — Galante writes disapprovingly — lend a willing ear to amorous love songs:

and saunter forth shouting like the fractious and foolish, ripping their clothes to shreds from the licentious desire that has viper-like entered their hearts.

Nor will they heed words of rebuke, and when admonished merely reply that they will return soon enough to Torah and commandments *with love* — alluding, no doubt, to the view that songs capable of arousing such ecstasy are capable of arousing religious ecstasy as well.

⁴ Cf. R. S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouse — The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*, Seattle - London 1985, E. Horowitz, 'Coffee, Coffeehouses, and the Nocturnal Rituals of Early Modern Jewry', *AJS Review* XIV (1989): 17-46.

⁵ See David b. Abi Zimra, *Responsa*, III, Warsaw 1882, No. 637 (Heb.)

⁶ See Moses Trani, *Responsa*, III, Venice 1629-1630, No. 150 (Heb.)

⁷ See Moses Galante, *Sefer Kehillat Yaakov*, Safed 1578, p. 61 (Jerusalem 1977, p. 121); cf. J. Hacker, 'An Emissary of Louis XIV in the Levant and the Culture of Ottoman Jewry', *Zion* LII (1987): 25-44.

One of these 'fools' par excellence was Israel Najara, himself a native son of Safed. The great Kabbalist Ḥayyim Vital, disciple of Isaac Luria, testifies to Najara's frenetic practices in his *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot* (*Book of Visions*).⁸ Rending the air with his naked arms, loudly intoning his psalms in a frenzy of food and drink, Najara's behaviour sent the very Sabbath angels scurrying off in alarm.

At this time, an interesting distinction was emerging in the ethical literature between songs that were considered acceptable and those that were not. R. Elijah de Vidas, in the tenth chapter ('Gate of Love') of his popular ethics *Reshit Ḥokhmah* (*The Beginning of Wisdom*), draws a line between 'proper' songs which inspire heavenly devotion, and those songs carolled by women in an unseemly and ill-seeming language.⁹ Such are the songs, de Vidas points out, that prompted the words of the prophet Amos: 'Spare Me the noise of your songs, let Me hear not the music of your lutes' (Amos 5:23). Vidas, of course, was pouncing here on the paranomasia between *nevalekha* ('your lutes') and *nashekha* ('your women'). Yet de Vidas held liturgical song in the highest esteem. Just as a mortal king of flesh and blood is rendered homage in song and verse, so should the Almighty God himself be honoured. And since we are inept in arranging words of praise, adherence to the trustworthy texts composed by King David — 'sweet singer of Yisrael' — represents the better part of valour when singing praises unto the Lord. Most fortunately for posterity, however, Jewish poets across the ages have left these words unheeded.

II. FROM TURKISH MELODIES TO HEBREW POETRY

The first Hebrew poet to specify the melodies for his newly-created psalms, by citing the first line of popular Turkish songs in the incipit, was the Kabbalist and scholar Menaḥem de Lonzano. In an anthology of poems first printed in Constantinople in 1573–74,¹⁰ Lonzano quotes the first lines of various popular Turkish songs as incipits to his own compositions. Here he brings up to four different Turkish melodies suited to accompanying a single song of his own.

⁸ See Ḥayyim Vital, *Sefer ha-Ḥezyonot*, Jerusalem 1954, p. 34.

⁹ See Elijah de Vidas, *Reshit Ḥokhmah*, Venice 1579, p. 127.

¹⁰ Lonzano's *Pizmonim u-Baqqashot* was subsequently reprinted in an expanded format as part of his monumental *Shtei Yadot*, Venice 1618 (=L), pp. 66–82. For determining the time of the Constantinople edition see: J. Hacker, 'Agitation Against Philosophy in Istanbul in the 16th Century — Studies in Menachem de Lonzano's *Derech Ḥayyim*', *Studies in Jewish Mysticism, Philosophy and Ethical Literature Presented to I. Tishby*, Jerusalem 1986, pp. 533–536 (Heb.)

Israel Najara, unlike his predecessors, was not merely influenced by the general tenor of the foreign melodies. A gifted musician-poet, he modelled each and every poem on a specific Turkish melody, and such melodies are indeed cited by the hundreds as performing instructions in the incipits to his poems. He furthermore introduced a completely new element: the adoption of the Turkish *maqāmāt* and the arrangement of his songs and poems through their association with different *maqāmāt*. In fact, this musical principle guided Najara's classification and arrangement of his own works. As such, he was the first Hebrew poet to do so openly and without reservation;¹¹ Najara clearly felt no need for subterfuge or self-justification.

Already on the frontispiece to the first edition of his *Zemiroth Yisrael* (Safed, 1587), Najara sings the praises of his diwan, a "cycle of songs and poetry / all of them [in] clarity / founded on the pillars of melody / of Arabia and Turkey..." His introductory words make no attempt to camouflage the ambience of his creative environment. Many a good and pious Jew — Najara writes — yearns to offer praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty through poetry and song. Amongst them are those who would do so via melodies of foreign origin were it not for the difficulty in adapting their favourite melodies to the available lyrics. Since these difficulties were rooted in the syllabic and rhythmic structure of the Turkish songs, Najara accordingly stepped into the breach with Hebrew songs of his own devising, based upon the syllabic structure of the foreign songs. In order to succeed in his task, Najara was obliged to draw the melody closer with the one hand, as it were, while banishing the foreign text with the other. And indeed, the introduction to the Venetian edition of his poems (1600) finds Najara reviling 'speakers of falsehood and reciters of lewd songs'. Now that his works are available in print — Najara writes — the public will surely veer aside from their foreign ways and turn to his poems instead; poems that are a veritable Song of Songs and, as such, utterly sacred on the allegorical level. No doubt — Najara ventures to hope — people will reject the forbidden foreign songs in favor of these new and patently proper ones, all the more so as there is no musical chasm dividing his own songs from their Turkish counterparts. Anyone acquainted with the original words of the melody need only substitute a Hebrew syllable for each foreign syllable. And, as it seems, the public encountered no difficulty employing the techniques of *contrafactum*, adopting Najara's new prosodic system with alacrity.

¹¹ Cf. A. Z. Idelsohn, 'Die Maqamen in der hebräischen Poesie der Orientalischen Juden', *MGWJ* LVII (1913): 314-325; E. Seroussi, 'The Turkish *Makam* in the Musical Culture of the Ottoman Jews: Sources and Examples', *Israel Studies in Musicology* V (1990): 50-52.

The Safed edition of Najara's diwan, printed in 1587, includes more than one hundred poems. Yet as the wide diffusion of the diwan's various editions will attest, even the creative powers of the poet — and these were prolific indeed — could barely keep pace with the demands of a public eager for new lyrics. Only a few years following its publication in Safed, the diwan was reissued in Salonika (1599) in exactly the same format. The colophon of the new edition bears the words of its publisher: Finished and completed, praised be the Lord Creator of the Universe, the songs of Israel Najara, and from here the new ones newly devised (!) here Salonika (T 38). The volume proceeds to offer the reader more than fifty additional poems representing an assortment of poets. Upon examination, however, we find that Najara himself accounts for the lion's share, alongside his talented disciple Joseph Ganso of Bursa.

III. MYSTICAL RITUALS AND THE NEW LITURGY

The rapid dissemination of the poetry was rooted not only in factors of artistic consideration, but in the socio-religious sphere as well. Practices innovated by the Kabbalists of Safed had perceptibly broadened social horizons. Newly fostered religious rituals were manifold, and new rituals required new texts. Indeed, the publisher of the Salonika edition explains his own haste in light of the great public demand for songs with which to 'entreat the Lord in the early morning'. And entreaters there were: the publisher is alluding to confraternities known by such names as 'Early Risers', 'Awakeners of the Dawn' and 'Watchmen for the Morning'. Under the influence of Lurianic Kabbalah, the members of these confraternities would cluster together for *tikkunim*, special prayer ceremonies of eminently mystical overtones, in which devotional poems were fervently sung to melodies of great poignancy.¹² That Najara's poems enjoyed three editions during the poet's own lifetime is one indication of the wide circulation achieved by this devotional poetry. Najara was in fact one of the first Hebrew poets to see the publication of his collected works. Yet availability in print was not the only factor influencing the popularity of Israel Najara's poetry.

The poems included in the supplement to the Salonika edition have a most instructive aspect. The publisher was clearly uninformed as to the source of the 'new' [poems], citing Salonika as their place of origin. He could not have known that a large number of these much beloved songs were in fact corrupt versions of the work of Israel Najara himself. For one thing, he never published more than the first stanza of each poem, thereby omitting the complete

¹² Cf. G. Scholem, *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik*, Zurich 1960, pp. 193-202.

acrostic signature 'Israel'. Yet the publisher was not unaware of the volume's flaws, and indeed offers his apology at the outset. The melodies — as the publisher mentions — would be familiar to the public, but as for the text, 'the words are corrupt, crooked, this says one thing and that yet another, so I have published whatever I could procure...' Various errors indicative of oral transmission imply that Najara's poems from the supplement to the Salonika edition were not transcribed from a written source but taken down by ear, thereby resulting in various instances of metanalysis. Indeed, a comparison of the text with that of the authoritative Venice edition reveals numerous corruptions, all of a purely phonetic nature. One such example occurs in the poem beginning 'The bow of thine eye its arrows will tense' (V 37). Thus the Salonika edition (T 21) printed רבות בנות יקרורך את ערוכה בכל ושמורה (Many maidens are dear to thee [?], thou art esteemed in all and reserved) instead of רבות בנות יקרוך אך את ערוכה בכל ושמורה (Many maidens are dear, but thou art esteemed in all and reserved).¹³ Exchanges of paraphonetic letters abound.¹⁴ For instance, the poem 'My beloved shall wander, flee as a gazelle' (V 6) is found in the Salonika edition (T 15) with the obscure אחר יונתך צור כי נס דלק (After thy dove, O Rock, for the miracle pursueth [?]) rather than אחר יונתך שורך כי נץ דלק (After thy dove look, for the hawk pursueth).

IV. FROM SOUND TO TEXT

The heavy reliance of the Hebrew poem on Turkish models was ultimately responsible for the phonetic dependence on the words of the Turkish original, even to the point of obscuring the meaning of the text. Explicit testimony to this imitation of foreign phonemes at the beginning of a poem comes from Neḥemiah Ḥayon, a 17th century Kabbalist of known Sabbatian leanings. One of his Aramaic poems לא באֵלֶּהָא מְרַגְלִיתָא כְּפּוּם דְּכָל בְּרַיָּא (literally: Not in God, habitually in the mouth of all that liveth...),¹⁵ was fiercely attacked by his most bitter antagonist, R. Zevi Ashkenazi of Amsterdam. Not only did R. Zevi Ashkenazi detect Sabbatian overtones in the poem, but he also suspected the poet of recanting from the living God worshipped by all creation. Ḥayon, for his part, exonerated himself by stating that he was adapting a local custom. Jewish poets of Turkey — Ḥayon replied — were accustomed to launching their poems with Hebrew sounds acoustically similar to those of the popular

¹³ Compare Prov. 31:29.

¹⁴ On the identical pronunciation of [s] and [š] see C. M. Crews, 'The Vulgar Pronunciation of Hebrew in the Judaeo-Spanish of Salonica', *JJS* XIII (1962): 89-90.

¹⁵ See Neḥemiah Ḥayon, *Sefer Raza de-Yihuda*, Venice 1711, p. 48.

foreign songs, in order to define the intended melody. Blasphemy was far from the mind of our poet; Ḥayon's לא באלהא מרגליהא was merely echoing the opening lyrics of the Italian canto *La bella Margarita!*¹⁶ Clearly then, so common were these phonetic substitutions in the east that even the weighty charge of heresy retreated before the priorities of art.

Nor was the criticism relegated to the shores of the Zuider Zee. Considerable controversy attended the phenomenon even in its native soil. Menaḥem de Lonzano, Israel Najara's major foe, castigated both the poet and his poetry when the two men met in Damascus (L, pp. 141-142). Disapproval over this phonetic imitation figured prominently amongst his complaints. To illustrate his point de Lonzano cited the Spanish poem 'Muérome, mi alma, ay muérome' ('I am dying, my sweetheart, O I am dying'). Serving as model for the Hebrew poem מְרוֹמִי עַל מָה עִם רַם הוֹמָה, the first word, *meromi* (מְרוֹמִי) — exalted One — refers, of course, to the Almighty. In similar fashion did Lonzano reject sacred poems opening with *shem norah* ('Name of Awe'); the similitude to the Spanish *señora* of the model poem being much too close for comfort.¹⁷ Such poems, he remonstrated, are an abomination, 'for whoever recites them [at prayer] recalls the words of the adulterer and adulteress, and his heart and thoughts swerve over to them'. Scathing criticism indeed, but Najara seems to have paid little heed.

First lines beginning and ending with the Turkish word *yüri* — 'go ahead, march!' — are common in Turkish folk songs. Here the phonetic aspect was especially critical, and Najara could not — and would not — forego its use. His poem יְהִי לִי קְרָא בֶן בְּכוֹרִי, "God called me 'My firstborn son'" (F, p. 58) is composed in octosyllabic lines with a *-ri* rhyme, on the model of the song *yüri qara gözli yüri*, 'March ahead, O black-eyed one, march ahead!' Here, too, the Hebrew apostrophe *Yah li* echoes the Turkish *yüri*.

The influence exerted by the foreign model was not limited to the phonetic aspect alone; the sacred Hebrew poem is fraught with the spirit of the Turkish original. Metaphors and images merge together almost beyond recognition, and it is worth pondering whether coincidence alone metamorphosed Turkish expressions of sensual love into avowals of religious devotion in the Hebrew poem. A love song by the Turkish poet Tashkicali Yahya Beg (d. 1582) provides an instructive example:

¹⁶ See Idem, *Ha-Zad Zevi*, Amsterdam 1714, p. 36.

¹⁷ Cf. H. Avenary, 'Cantos españoles antiguos mencionados en la literatura hebréa', *Anuario Musical* XXV (1970): 67-79, nos. 105, 160. And cf. recently for the whole phenomenon, E. Seroussi & S. Weich-Shahak, 'Judeo-Spanish Contrafacts and Musical Adaptations: The Oral Tradition', *Orbis Musicae* X (1990-91): 164-194.

Yâ Rabbî, hasret-ile benüm alma cânumi
Bir daxi göreyim meh-i nihribânumi
Cânânumi, cefâ qilici nev-civânumi...

[Refrain:]

Sultânumi, efendimi, şâh-i cihânumi

(O Lord, do not let me die with longing,
May I once more see my ungenerous moon [-faced],
My beloved, my tormenting youth...

[Refrain:]

My sultan, my master, my king of the world!)

Compare this with Najara's poem transforming the personal love lyric of the Turkish poet into a national-religious song of the Community of Israel, languishing in exile and imploring the Lord to return to His land and rebuild His Temple:

יְהוָה הָאֵל עוֹשֶׂה פְּלֵא כְּנֶה אֵילֵמִי
וּמִבּוֹר גְּלוּת דָּלָה הַמּוֹן לְאֵמִי
חֲלַצְנִי אֶל מִבֵּית כְּלָא צוֹר מְרוֹמְמִי
(V 105)

O God of wonder rebuild my sanctum
And from the pit of exile raise up my nation
From prison, O God, deliver me, Rock of my exaltation

Invoking poetic licence, Yahya Beg casts the royal metaphors of the refrain at the feet of an earth-bound beloved, but Israel Najara hurls them up into the very heavens themselves. 'My king of the world' (*şâh-i cihânumi*) has been transfigured into the paraphonetic 'Rock of my exaltation' (*zur meromemi*), the woes of sensual passion into an affirmation of religious devotion.

V. LOCUTIONS FROM THE *SONG OF SONGS*

With eyes upon the Turkish models, Najara smoothly converted poems denoting secular love into songs of sacred import. The speaker of his poems is the female personification of the Community of Israel; the allegorical Shulamite beseeching her divine beloved. This is, of course, a convention of

Hebrew poetry from time immemorial, yet Najara also took the liberty of reversing the convention. Many of his poems feature a male speaker addressing a female and, more often than not, in terms befitting a lover of flesh and blood alone. In such cases Najara often intersperses his poems with words from *Song of Songs* 6:5: 'Deflect thine eyes from me for they overwhelm [or: alarm, wound] me'. One of his most beautiful poems opens with an anguished avowal of love:

דְּרוֹךְ חֲצִיזוֹ קָשְׁתוֹ עֵינַי / לְבִי נִצָּב לוֹ מִטְרָה
 הַסְבִּי עֵינַי מִנְגְדִי
 חוֹסֵי עַל לֵב לְנִדְרוֹךְ לֹא / יָנוּם לְחִשְׁקֶךָ לֹא יַעֲלֶה תַּפְאָרְהָ
 הַסְבִּי וְכוּ'

(V 37)

The bow of thine eye its arrows will tense /
 Mine heart its target doth verily present
 Deflect thine eyes from me
 Pity a heart that for thy straying shan't sleep /
 For thy craving shan't sleep, O gazelle so resplendent
 Deflect thine eyes from me

Thus the appeal 'Deflect thine eyes from me' pervades the entire poem; its biblical corollary 'for they overwhelm me' hauntingly present for all that it is unspoken. Other poems of Najara voice the lover's complaint of impassioned and sleepless nights: 'For desire of thee slumber has fled mine eyelids' (V 55). At this the ever-zealous Menahem de Lonzano quite rightly takes exception: The Almighty, after all, 'shall neither slumber nor sleep' (Psalm 121:4); what manner of caviling is this?

Daring though he was, Najara was not alone in his bold imagery. His poetry served as the model for an entire new school of poets, and for the enthusiastic youth in particular. The spell of language and ambience seems to have been especially potent on Joseph Gasno. Like his master, Gasno sings in one of his poems:

וְעֵינַי יוֹנָה הַלְלָה הֵם הִרְהִיבוּנִי
 דְּרָכוֹ קָשְׁתוֹתָם מוֹל עֵינַי וְכֵהֶם הַכוּנִי

(G 103)

And thine eyes, vaunted dove, have overwhelmed me
 Have drawn their bows at mine eyes and smitten me

Another poem finds Ganso drawing without reservation from the most intimate descriptions in the *Song of Songs*. Particularly striking in this respect is the poem beginning *יפו דוריך אחותי* ('How beautiful thy love, my sister' (G 103). Entreating his beloved directly with words from the *Song of Songs* 2:6, Ganso shifts from the third person to the second, and the words are now pronounced by the female beloved, rather than by the male:

שְׂמאלך תחת לראשי וימינך תחבקני

Thy left hand is under my head, thy right hand embraces me

Ganso also reverses the time-honoured role allocated by many a love lyric to the mother and brother of the beloved. Thus, in the *Song of Songs*, the beloved leads her lover to her mother's house (8:2) with a wistful 'O that thou were as my brother...' (*ibid.* 8:1). Yet in Ganso's poem, it is the lover who declares at the end of the third stanza:

אֶנְהֶגְךָ אֶל בַּיִת אִמִּי / וְאֶרְיֶדְךָ אֵלַי גַּנִּי

To my mothers's house shall I lead thee /
And to my garden shall I thee take

Role reversal also concludes the final strophe of the poem:

מִי יִתְּנֶךָ בְּאֶחָוֹתַי לִי / אֲשַׁקֶּךָ מֵעֵסִים רְמוּנֵי

O that thou were as a sister to me /
From the sap of my pomegranate thou wouldst partake

As stated earlier, the *Song of Songs* had long been perceived by Jews as the 'Holy of Holies'; had long served as the font of much of their most sacred poetry. Yet it rather strains credulity to believe that by virtue of the *Song of Songs* alone such sensuous expressions of physical love streamed through the liturgical poetry of the period. And indeed, as we shall see, yet another factor was at work here.

VI. THE RITES OF THE OTTOMAN MYSTICS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

Biblical sources in general, and the allegorically interpreted *Song of Songs* in particular, exerted an influence of indubitable significance. Yet above and beyond the biblical influences, the poetry of Israel Najara and his disciple

bear the impact of the Turkish environment. Such as we find, for example, in the imagery of this audacious liturgical poem:

יֵשֵׁב בְּמִאָרֶב אֹר עֵינֶיךָ / לְצוּר כָּל לִבְבוֹת יָפָה
שְׁמַתָּ לְכַבֵּם בְּגִאוֹנְךָ / כְּאוֹר מוֹצֵל מִשְׂרָפָה

(V 77)

The light of thine eye shall in ambush await /
All hearts to ensnare, O beauteous one
Thy majesty doth their hearts devastate /
Like a brand plucked from conflagration

The grievance aired by the languishing lover is patterned upon a conventional Turkish love song: *tig-i cefâ ile beni öldürme, sultânum*, 'O my sultan, do not slay me with the sword of torture', in which the all-devouring sword is but a metaphor for the lover's eyes!

Menaḥem de Lonzano, well acquainted with Najara's Turkish models, was unable to curb his indignation. While admitting that the *Song of Songs* does indeed portray God's love for his people in terms of bride and bridegroom, this in no way condones such terminology as is coveted by illicit lovers of flesh and blood. Lonzano bolsters his argument with the verse from Deuteronomy 12:30: 'How did these nations serve their gods? Even so will I do likewise'. Ostensibly irrelevant, this seemingly innocuous quotation may possibly conceal a grave accusation. Might Lonzano have been implying that Najara had been less than impervious to the ecstatic gatherings of the dervishes, the frenetic mystics of Turkey? These circles were indeed accustomed to singing sensuous love songs of mystical portent.

Though no concrete evidence can be brought to bear on an affinity between Israel Najara and the ecstatic rituals of Muslim mysticism, there is no doubt that in the time of Sabbatai Zevi at least, Jews actively participated in the ecstatic rites of the dervishes.¹⁸ Be as it may, Najara was acquainted with a hymn composed by Pir Sultan Abdal, one of the greatest poets of the mystical order of the Bektashi dervishes and a leader of the extremist Sufi sect in the

¹⁸ Cf. G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Şevi — The Mystical Messiah*, Princeton, N. J., 1973, pp. 836-837; F. B. Fenton, 'Shabbatay Sebi and his Muslim Contemporary Muhammad an-Niyazi', *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times*, III (ed. D. R. Blumenthal), Atlanta 1988, pp. 81-88.

mid-16th century. This beautiful *nefes* (religious hymn) implores the human heart to endure misfortune with fortitude, for He who visited man with sorrow will surely visit him with laughter:

Gel gönül sabreyle katlan bu cevre
Elbette seni agladan güldürür
(Come, O heart, be patient, patiently suffer the pain
He who makes you weep will certainly [also] make you laugh!)

Compare this with Najara's appeal in a song structured on the poem of the Turkish mystic:

לב נשקר ונדכה / פדות אל חכה
לב עשוק ורצון / עוד תשוב לשוב

(V 92)

O heart broken and oppressed /
Await thou for the Lord's redress
O heart shattered and maligned /
Rejoicing art thou yet to find

The problematic element yet to be explained, however, is not so much the Jewish assimilation of Turkish *spirituales*, but the adoption of frankly erotic love lyrics. Unaccompanied by any attempt to offer even a figleaf of reinterpretation, the question yet pending concerns the penetration of such sensualism in the repertoire of Jewish devotional poetry.

VII. THE KABBALISTIC PERSPECTIVE

The rejection of divine corporeality forms the theme of *Shi'ur Qomah*,¹⁹ a treatise composed by the greatest kabbalist of his generation and the master of Isaac Luria, R. Moses Cordovero. Condemning the critics of the mystical liturgical poetry, Cordovero showers praise upon the poets of such poems, providing, of course, that their hearts were attuned to a properly devout intention. For the earthy images of sensualism are but the mystical symbols denoting celestial intercourse of the male and female *sefirot*. *Tif'eret* (beauty) represents the world of the *sefirot*, and *malkhut* (kingdom), represents the

¹⁹ See Moses Cordovero, *Shi'ur Qomah*, Warsaw 1885, p. 33.

feminine aspect of the Divine Presence and the tenth *sefirah* — the *Shekhina*.²⁰ The usage of profane imagery — Cordovero maintains — is an unavoidable necessity; how else is the human tongue to express the ineffable? Did King Solomon not teach us the language of sublimity in his *Song of Songs*? With the *Song of Songs* before our eyes and devotional intention in our hearts, we may well sing forth the love of the male element for the female, or that of the female element for the male.

The view of this great Kabbalist is most instructive indeed. Yet it is far from clear whether Cordovero would acquiesce in transferring intimacies uttered in the *Song of Songs* by the beloved to the mouth of the lover. The matter is further complicated by the obscure identity of the lover in Najara's poems. The traditional interpretation would of course render God as the lover addressing his beloved — the Community of Israel. Such of course is the classical, allegorical interpretation of the *Song of Songs*, and as such its locutions were traditionally embedded in the filigree of Hebrew sacral poetry. Najara's poetry, however, is not liturgical. Rather, it is a personal, lyric expression of religious devotion. The languishing lover in a significant portion of these intimate poems is perhaps best construed as the devout believer yearning after the *Shekhina*, the symbolic female side of the Divine Presence. In these poems Najara renounces the need for paraphonetic divine names (i.e. the Hebrew *yah li* in place of the Turkish *yüri* etc.), and instead addresses the Divine Female in terms allowing no equivocation.

All this is in harmony with the mystical perception of conjugal union held by the guardians of secret lore, at least from the period of the *Zohar*: 'There is no male, when married, who does not stand between two females, one secret and invisible, and one, his wife, who is visible... You will hence find that the *Shekhina* does not rest upon an unmarried man'.²¹ *Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, attributed to R. Moses b. Naḥman (Naḥmanides), relates the ascendance of man's thoughts and their mystical union with the Supreme Light, which by strength of thought is drawn down to the lower world:²²

²⁰ Cf. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York 1941, pp. 212-217; L. Siegel, *Sacred and Profane Dimensions of Love in Indian Traditions as Exemplified in the Gītāgovinda and Jayadeva*, Oxford 1978, pp. 10-12.

²¹ See *The Book of the Pomegranate — Moses De Leon's Sefer Ha-Rimmon* (ed. E. R. Wolfson), Atlanta 1988, p. 223, and cf. *ibid.*, p. 138; cf. I. Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar*, Oxford 1989, III, pp. 991-993; J. Liebes, 'The Messiah of the Zohar', *The Messianic Idea in Jewish Thought*, Jerusalem 1982, pp. 122, 205 (Heb.).

²² See *Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, in *Kitvei ha-Ramban* (ed. C. B. Chavel), II, Jerusalem 1964, p. 333; and cf. M. Idel, 'Sexual Metaphors and Praxis in the Kabbalah', *Jewish Family* (ed. D. Kraemer), Oxford 1989, pp. 197-224.

And the *Shekhina* is found below..., for when man is united with his wife and his thought achieves union with the world above, his thought draws the Supreme Light downward.

Little wonder, then, that the contemporary public was enthralled by R. Isaac of Acre's story of the earthly lover who ultimately renounced all worldly pleasures and became a celibate. The full story is related by Elijah de Vidas in the fourth chapter ('Gate of Love') of his *Reshit Hokhmah*.²³ In view of its particular relevance to our subject, we cite the tale in its entirety:

Once it came about, that a princess rose up from the bath and a certain ne'er-do-well espied her and sighing a mighty sigh said: 'Would that I had her in my possession and could do with her as I pleased'. But the princess replied saying, 'That will be in the cemetery, not here'. When he heard her words he rejoiced, for he thought she had told him to proceed to the cemetery and await her there, so that he might do as he pleased. But she had no such intention, desiring only to say that there alone would equality reign between great and small, young and old, humble and noble. There all were equal but [not] here, for it was unthinkable that a king's daughter be approached by one of the common folk. So the man rose and went to the cemetery, sat there and fastened his thoughts upon her, thinking constantly of her form. So strong was his desire for her that he divested his thought of any sensation and concentrated it entirely upon the form of that woman and her beauty. Day and night, at all times, he sat in the cemetery. There would he eat and drink and there would he sleep for he said, 'If she does not come today she will come tomorrow'. So did he do for many and many a day and from so much withdrawal from sensation, and the incessant fastening of his thoughts upon one thing, and his utter solitude and desiring only for her — his soul became divested of all sensations and cleaved unto the intelligibles, until it was divested of all sensual things, even from the woman, and cleaved unto the Blessed Name.

De Vidas draws the story to a close with a quotation from the ancient Sufi mystics:

For he who has never desired a woman is like unto an ass or less,
for Divine Worship must be discerned from the sensual.

²³ See *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 89; cf. *The Treatise of the Pool* by 'Obadyah b. Abraham b. Moses Maimonides (ed. P. Fenton), London 1981, pp. 63-64.

Against such a background, the religious lyrics imbibing the poetics of Israel Najara may feasibly be considered a devotional poetry reflecting authentic religious experience.

This is especially true for the poems written in Najara's youth and published in Safed. These were the poems dismissed by Menaḥem de Lonzano as utterly defiled; no doubt the zealous scholar was dismayed by poems devoid of all Jewish-national sentiment. In these poems the poet avidly drew biblical verses from many a distant passage, soldering them into a picture of the Divine ray of light; an arrow piercing the darkness from which the yearning devout draws back trembling:

- (1) But God shoots his arrow at them: suddenly ... all that see them shake their heads. And all men are afraid... (Psalm 64:8-10).
- (2) ... they desire that God should be near (Isaiah 58:2)
- (3) ... behold the skin of his face shone and they were afraid to come near him (Exodus 34:30)

Najara's poem imbues all of these verses with a mystical-erotic dimension; all of them stream forth from the eyes of the woman whom the devout believer entreats:

יִפְתִּי לְמָה עֵינֶיךָ / לְעֵין כָּל דּוֹרְכִים קֶשֶׁת
יִתְנַדְדוּ כָּל רוֹאֵה בָּם / יִהְיוּ כְּדָגִים תּוֹף רֶשֶׁת
קִרְבָּתְךָ שׁוֹאֲפִים אֶכֶּל / לְאוֹרְךָ יִרְאוּ מִגִּשְׁת
הַיָּלֵל אֲשֶׁר כָּל מְאוֹרִים / לְנִגְדֶךָ יִלְבְּשׁוּ בִשֵׁת

(S62;V100)

My beauty, why do thine eyes / draw the bow in view so clear
That all who seeth them shake / unto as fish in a net appear
Their nearness desiring but / from thy light afraid to near
Thou, star of Venus, in thy presence / shame doth orbs besmear

Sorrow and pain, sleeplessness and awe — attributes not of Almighty God but of the yearning, fervent mystics. This was the spirit in which the Early Risers sang their songs at the rim of dawn, while performing their special holy vigils. And just as these were songs to which the Kabbalists were wont to cleave, so did the aura of Kabbalism cleave to the circumstances of their composition.²⁴

²⁴ See Elijah ha-Kohen ha-Itmari, *Shevet Musar*, Constantinople 1712, p. 111. G. Scholem did not consider Najara's nickname 'the Great Kabbalist', a very apt one, neither in view of his

VIII. THE DEITY — MALE OR FEMALE?

From a phenomenological aspect, consideration of devotional poetry from India provides an interesting comparison. Here we find that those who trod the mystic paths of divine love perceived the Lord in terms of the masculine, while only the soul of the lover is feminine. Thus even today a modern Hindu relates the custom of assembling together to sing hymns of divine love:²⁵

You know the philosophy here that all men and women in the world are spiritually women, and the Lord alone is male... The love of a woman for her husband or for her lover is very much more intense than any other sort of love in the world... and when the Lord Supreme is the husband or the lover of a woman, you can find no other love excelling or surpassing this love... Think constantly that you are a woman and that God is your husband or lover, then you will be a woman and God will be your husband or lover.

The problems besetting male-female relationships in religious poetry seems to have particularly engrossed Joseph Ganso, friend and disciple of Israel Najara. Ganso's poetry displays frequent shifts in the gender of the poem's addressee. Although such shifts might be attributed to the characteristics of Turkish grammar, which unlike Hebrew does not automatically specify gender, we shall not be far wrong in surmising that this phenomenon of Ganso's religious poetry also has a theological basis. Thus, a poem ostensibly addressing a maiden *יפית עפרה הללה* ('Thou [fem.] art beautiful, exalted gazelle') (G 105), concludes the first stanza upon a masculine note: *חוסי עלי רעיהי / שועתי האזינה* (Have mercy [fem.] upon me, my beloved / hear [masc.] my prayer). In the space of a hemstitch, therefore, the poet switches from the feminine to the masculine genitive. The shift to the masculine genitive occurs within a verse borrowed directly from Psalms 39:13. Demands of rhyme, it could be argued, might have brought the poet to leave the verse as an unmodified appeal to [the masculine] God. Yet there are other considerations as well.

poetry nor his other known works: see G. Scholem, 'A poem by Israel Najara as a Sabbatian Hymn', *I. Goldziher Memorial Volume*, ed. S. Lowinger & Somogyi, Budapest 1948, p. 42 (Heb.). On God as a beloved female, cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, pp. 441-443.

²⁵ Cf. M. Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes — An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*, London 1972, p. 234; R. J. Z. Werblowsky, "Review of J. Tishby's 'Mishnat ha-Zohar'", *Tarbiz* XXXIV (1965): 204 (Heb.); A. Schimmel, *As Through a Veil — Mystical Poetry in Islam*, New York 1982, pp. 151-152.

Genitive shift is a recurring feature in Ganso's poetry; passages addressed to the [female] Community of Israel abruptly switch gender mid-line. Thus for example: *גְּמוּל עָלַי וְחַיִּי ... הִתְעוֹרְרִי הִתְנַעְרִי וְכוּ* (G 159: 'Reward me and sustain me [masc.] ... Awake, arise [fem.]'.) These poems are, unquestionably, expressions of yearning for the *Shekhina*, interspersed with entreaties to a [male] lord. Why, then, if Ganso felt obliged to entreat a lord of the male gender, did he not compose poems uniformly masculine. Why did he prefer this generic medley? Poetic convention notwithstanding, it would seem that Ganso was also propelled by the wish to cloak his poetry in the elusive veils of concealment and enigma.

It was undoubtedly a youthful Israel Najara who composed the poems expressing masculine yearning for a masculine beloved. A poem appearing in the first edition of *Zemiroth Yisrael*, and headed 'To a bridegroom' (S 36), is launched by an openly erotic statement:

יְרִיבוֹנֵי לְחַיִּי דוֹד מָאֵד אֶדְמוּ
 וְעֵינַיִם לְלֵב קָרְעוּ וְלֹא דָמוּ
 לְחֶשֶׁקֶם נָד שָׁנַת עֵינַי וְלֹא נָמוּ
 (V 63)

My lover's cheeks so red do me arraign
 His eyes tear at mine heart and will not refrain
 From desire sleep evadeth and will not remain

The poet-lover subsequently confesses that the light of his lover guides him in darkness and distress. The groom is the 'crown of love's head'; his proximity — and his alone — is craved by one and all. We may surely conclude, together with Lonzano, that the poem was not written in praise of an earthly bridegroom. That the subject of this paean is the heavenly bridegroom — the *sefira* of *tif'eret* (beauty) — is settled beyond question in the poem's final stanza:

קָרְבִּי אֶקְרָבָה לְשֵׁמוֹ וְכִלְיוֹתַי
 וְאָבִיא לוֹ זְמִיר מְטוֹב זְמִירוֹתַי
 לְמִשְׁבִּיחַ שְׁאוֹן גְּלִי יְגוֹנוֹתַי
 אֶעוֹרֵר חֵיל מְזֻמוֹתַי
 וְאָצוּם לוֹ וְאֶתְפַּלֵּל יוֹם וָלַיִל

My entrails unto His Name and my innermost breast
 Unto Him bring a song from those of my best
 To He who calmeth my woe's raging crests

The force of my wits I'll arouse at His behest
To Him shall I fast and pray / even and night, day after day

The fruit of authentic mystical experience, such poems raised a hue and cry among the more captious scholars and Najara was ultimately obliged to adopt cautionary tactics. In the Venetian edition, for example, these poems troop in on the heels of the 'real' epithalamions addressed to mortal bridegrooms. But all to no purpose; such stratagems fooled no one. Lonzano reports that having properly censured the poet for addressing so brazen a poem to the Lord, Najara made no attempt to disguise his real intention. Utterly convinced of the poem's true nature, Lonzano rebuked Najara for having availed himself of Turkish nomenclature. For whereas the Almighty is properly entitled 'King of all Kings', here was Najara imitating the Turkish equivalent 'Lord of Lords', *begler begi*. Such slavish imitation of Turkish models left the Almighty demoted, as it were, from the customary title of מֶלֶךְ הַמַּלְכִּים to that of הַמַּלְכִּים.

IX. THE ROYAL ROBES OF POETRY

Contemporary Turkish society did not necessarily consider slavery a mark of inferior status. On the contrary, a slave's prospect of social advancement was generally better than that of the free Muslim subjects. Slaves recruited from the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire converted to Islam and were trained from birth to serve the Emperor and his court with blind devotion. The slave-master relationship symbolized unwavering loyalty and a personal attachment that bordered on love.

This was the background, therefore, in which the refined bonds of love were rendered in terms of a slave-master relationship.²⁶ Royal 'sultan' or 'king of the world', while the abject is most commonly a 'slave'. Hebrew poetry also employed these images. A poem by Israel Najara balances complementary metaphors for man and God line after line, in order to reach the pinnacle of pinnacles and the metaphor supreme: that of the pair 'slave-master'. Thus we find parallel complementary units in the boldly erotic:

לוֹ אֶהְיֶה אֶהֱלֶה וְאֶתֶּה שׁוֹכְנִי / נִתְעַלְסָה אֶהֱבֶה בְּגִיל נְחֹאזְרָה
(V 98)

²⁶ Cf. W. G. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song — Ottoman Lyric Poetry*, Washington 1985, pp. 89-91.

If I were a tent and thou dwelt within /
In love would we frolic, in joy be bedecked

as well as in the poem's final stanza:

לו אהיה עבד ואתה רוזני / אשאף עבודתך דרור לא אכחרה

If I were a slave and thou mine sovereign /
To derve I'd aspire, ne'er freedom elect

The celebrated poem of Eleazar Azikri, *Yedid Nefesh* (included in the prayer-book of numerous Jewish communities), is well attuned to this Turkish world of slavery.²⁷ A poem defined by its composer as 'a prayer for union and love's desire', the ardent God-seeker is portrayed as a slave prostrate before his master's splendour. His love-sick soul entreats God — 'Light of the World' — to show her (i.e., the soul, a feminine noun in Hebrew!) the splendour of His light. The result of such an encounter? That the soul:

אז תחזק ותתקפא והיתה לך שפחה עולם

Would then be strengthened and healed, your handmaiden
forevermore

Later generations, uninitiated in the delicate connotations of the Turkish context, altered the word שפחה 'handmaiden' to שמחה 'happiness', and adding a slight grammatical emendation produced the line:

והיתה לה שמחה עולם

... and she shall have happiness forevermore

Such an 'emendation', however, deprives the line of its rich Turkish background and renders it well-nigh meaningless.

The tropes of thralldom appear in many of the Turkish songs that served as models for Hebrew poems. Thus, for example, in one of the Turkish song utilized by Najara the poet exclaims *gyöngül bir şaha qul oldum*, 'O heart, I have become the slave of a king'. In other words: I have fallen in love with a lad.

²⁷ Eleazar Azikri, *Sefer Haredim*, Venice 1591, pp. 42-43. My gratitude to R. David Tamar for referring me to: N. Ben-Menachem, *Be-Sha'arei Sefer*, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 210-213.

One of Najara's most widely known poems, יְגִלָּה כְבוֹד מַלְכוּתְךָ עַל עַם דָּל עָנִי, 'יְהִלֶּךְ' (V 3), 'May the glory of Thy Kingdom be revealed to a poor and wayweary people', was adopted by the Sabbatians as the anthem heralding Sabbatai Zevi's kingship. Somewhat later it was taken up by an extremist sect in Podolia and sung in the conclaves of their secret gatherings. Nor did its career end with the Sabbatians, for it is found resounding in the Cathedral of Lublin in 1759, following the conversion of the notorious Jacob Frank and his disciples to Catholicism. Chroniclers indicate that this poem was the very glue binding Frank's adherents together, its strains accompanying their ministrations to his 'royal' dignity.²⁸ Such was the curious path of an innocent song of devotion, first intoned by rapt worshippers of the Almighty Lord in mystical dawn rituals of the East...

X. BEYOND THE HOLY LAND — THE DIFFUSION OF THE NEW LITURGY

The diffusion of new pietistic rites beyond the Land of Israel occurred primarily in Italy. To this effect we hear from R. Aaron Berechiah of Modena (fl. early 17th century), the disciple of the eminent R. Israel Sarug.²⁹ R. Aaron Berechiah complains that many wise and respected personages — who should have known better — declined to join the reciters of *Tikkunim* and refused to attend the nocturnal rites of devotion. Among other excuses offered by these malingers, the claims of tradition figure prominently. Unwilling to depart from ancient custom, they were equally unwilling to participate in services unknown to their forefathers for, as they said: 'to add is to detract, and whosoever does something unnecessary is called a fool'. The worst offenders, R. Aaron Berechiah states, are those learned scholars who hold that nighttime was created for nought if not for study, and who prefer to study in splendid isolation. The damage created by such scholars is all the more serious in view of the influence they wielded over the public. Their personal example had a most deplorable effect on the common folk, dissuading them from joining the

²⁸ See *The Kronika — On Jacob Frank and the Frankist Movement*, ed. H. Levine, Jerusalem 1984, pp. 44–45, 60–63; cf. Scholem, 'A Poem etc.' (n. 24), pp. 41–44 (Heb.); A. Kraushaar, *Frank i Frankisci Polscy*, I, Cracow 1895, p. 175.

²⁹ See Aaron Berechiah Modena, *Ashmoret ha-Boqer*, Mantua 1624, pp. 248–249 — according to the *Ez Hayyim* copy; cf. I. Yudelov, "'Ashmoret ha-Boqer' of R. Aaron Berechiah of Modena — A Censored and an Uncensored Edition", *Alei Sefer* X (1982): 113–117 (Heb.). A complaint that Lurianic Kabbalah was being left to the poor, who did not have the means to study it, came from Jacob Zemah, writing in 1643; cf. Scholem, *Sabbatai Zevi* (op. cit. n. 18), p. 70.

circles of Early Risers. And R. Aaron Berechiah provides us with a most apt description of the behaviour of one such scholar who chanced upon a band of ecstatic *tikkun* reciters:

Who has seen such a sight — for if once in a blue moon one of these personages happens, by pure chance, to encounter the Early Risers in the synagogue, he will hold aside and keep aloof, behaving as if he were going to his concubine by night...

Perhaps the scholarly opposition may be at least partially attributed to certain vulgar practices. Texts may have provided another source of unease. Thus, for example, R. Aaron Berechiah of Modena's *Ashmoret ha-Boḳer* ('The Morning Watch'; Modena 1624) includes Joseph Ganso's overtly erotic יפו דודיך אחותי (G 103; 'How beauteous your love, my sister'), as well as additional texts of a similar theme by Israel Najara.

Their liturgy had partly been gleaned from Lurianic pamphlets, and such poems as these pamphlets contained generally bore the influence of the liturgical and ritual innovations originating in Safed. Such innovations had been inspired by R. Isaac Luria himself, staunch opponent to the Spanish heritage of rationalism. Luria's renowned disciple, R. Ḥayyim Vital, stated that Luria 'never recited any refrain, hymn or supplication composed by the later [poets]'.³⁰ In their stead came ancient litanies and penitentiary prayers (*seliḥot*). Once reserved for the Days of Awe, these ancient texts were now transformed into the staples of daily prayer.

Under the influence of R. Aaron Berechiah and his disciples the new practices spread rapidly through northern Italy, and groups of their devotees sprang up in several communities. Some ten years prior to the publication of his *Ashmoret ha-Boḳer*, R. Aaron Berechiah was already leading a group of Early Risers in his own synagogue. By virtue of this book R. Aaron hoped to disseminate his message further afield and influence the patterns of worship throughout Italy.³¹

³⁰ See Ḥayyim Vital, *Sha'ar ha-Kavvanot — Nosah ha-Tefillah*, Tel Aviv 1962, p. 328.

³¹ See I. Tishby, 'The Confrontation between Lurianic Kabbalah and Cordoverian Kabbalah in the Writings and Life of Rabbi Aaron Berechiah of Modena', *Zion* XXXIX (1974): 8-85 (Heb.).

XI. OPPOSITION TO THE NEW LITURGY

R. Aaron Berechiah's efforts did not remain uncontested. His own brother-in-law, Joseph Jedidiah Karmi, set up opposition from the town of Modena itself. A disciple of R. Moses Cordovero — a figure unknown for Pietistic proclivities — Karmi composed poems of his own in order to foil the rapid dissemination of the mystical poetry from the East. He appears to have gathered a following amongst the Early Risers in Modena, for even prior to the publication of *Ashmoret ha-Boqer* members of the community seceded from R. Aaron Berechiah's group. Forming a rival congregation, they called upon Karmi to preside. Karmi's service consisted entirely of his own compositions;³² poems of the dawn that drew from the teachings of his illustrious master, R. Moses Cordovero.

Karmi composed his poems according to the prosodic principles informing the classical Hebrew poetry of medieval Spain. A quantitative prosody distinguishing between the duration of vowels, Hebrew terminology dubbed the unites including a hyper-short vowel *yetedot* (lit. 'pegs') and the long vowels *tenu'ot* ('cords'). Adopting an approach both old and new, Karmi set forth his ideas in the introduction to his *Kenaf Renanim*. In order to outfit a text with the wings of song, Karmi contended that the short vowels should really be eradicated altogether. However, since this would be rather difficult to achieve in practice, as the short vowels are an integral part of Hebrew language and grammar, they should at least be subjected to the rules of quantitative meter. Seeking to anchor his views on ideological bedrock, Karmi evolved a complex doctrine concerning the archetypal hyper-short vowel, the mobile *sheva*. A vowel in league with the forces of evil, its baleful influence must be neutralized — or to use Karmi's terminology: 'sweetened' — by annihilating it altogether and converting it into a *sheva quiescens*. This would produce the ideal syllabic state: a 'simple' (*pashut*) poem without any hyper-short vowels whatsoever. Falling short of this prosodic idyll, pegs commencing with a mobile *sheva* might be 'sweetened' by restricting the subsequent ones into a regime of absolute order. After all, Karmi points out, even the pegs of the Temple's Celestial Halls are uprooted and uplifted to the sound of the *Heikhalot* songs. Is not this the secret meaning of the verse from Job 38:7: 'when the morning songs sang together'? Since song is capable of sweetening the bitter evil of the mobile *sheva'im*, their retention in poetical

³² See Joseph Jedidiah Karmi, *Kenaf Renanim*, Venice 1626.

texts provides a rhythmical force. Karmi's ideas obviously stand in complete contrast to the poems composed by Israel Najara and like-minded poets, in which the offending *sheva* enjoys complete freedom of movement and is considered a legitimate and full-fledged vowel.³³

It would seem then, that much of the opposition to the nocturnal rites of the Early Risers in Italy was directed against the external trappings of meter in syllabic poetry! Yet it must not be imagined that the question of the *sheva* was entirely new to the annals of Hebrew poetics. The rise and fall of the *sheva* had already been played out centuries before, in 10th century Cordoba. There, a brash newcomer from Baghdad, Dunash b. Labrat, introduced the principles of quantitative meter that allowed Arabic influence to come sweeping through the front door of poetic content, genre, and motif. The fine points of the *sheva* occupied a prominent position here too as Dunash conducted his fierce polemic with the defenders of traditional Hebrew poetry.

Disapproval over religious song-making in Italy was recorded for all posterity by Samuel Archivolti, in a treatise completed in Padua by the early 17th century.³⁴ Archivolti classifies melodies into two types. The 'praiseworthy' melody essentially consists in proper accentuation and a discerning rendition of the text. Such, for instance, was the song of the Levites in the Holy Temple, with a melody subordinated to content. 'Unacceptable' melody, on the other hand, consists of folk songs whose sole purpose is to beguile the ear; the melody may be haphazard, and quite different texts feasibly sung to one and the same tune. A proofreader in the printing houses of Venice, Archivolti placed the blame for this situation squarely with the printers, who would blithely preface a psalm such as שִׁיר תּוֹדָה לְאֱלֹהִים תְּנָה (Shir todah lel-him tenah — 'Sing a Song of Thanksgiving to God') with the opening lines of the song:

en toda la transmotaña
nunca vi cosa mejor
que era su esposa de Antón
el vaquero del Moraña.³⁵

³³ Cf. D. Pagis, 'Hebrew Metrics in Italy and the Invention of Hebrew Accentual lambs', *Ha-Sifrut/Literature* IV (1973): 651-712 (Heb.); Sh. Morag, 'Medieval Hebrew Poetic Meters — Some Linguistic Reflections', *Tarbiz* LX (1991), pp. 405-421.

³⁴ See Samuel Archivolti, *Arugat ha-Bosem*, Venice 1603, p. 110 (Amsterdam 1730, pp. 100-101).

³⁵ Cf. M. Frenk-Alatorre, 'El antiguo cancionero sefardi', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispanica* XIV (1960): 315.

Nor did the cantors escape blame for leading the people in prayer with 'tunes of popular catches, so that the sacred words conjure up profanities and lewdness'. Archivolti contrasts such compositions with the sanctity of poems that uphold the distinction between short and long vowels and is not based upon doggerel of the common people. He himself contributed five poems written according to the principles of the proper metrical system 'for the members of the holy congregation of Morning Watcher in Venice'.³⁶ It is not clear why these poems, the clumsy and incondite work of a pedant, were incorporated in the Italian prayer book.

XII. LANGUAGE, POETICS AND PROSODY

The Hebrew pronunciation of current usage had long ceased to conform to the meter and linguistic distinctions favoured by Archivolti. A variety of contemporary evidence indicates that the mobile *sheva* was no longer pronounced as a vowel of snatched duration, but as one to be fully enunciated. Just as *ḥataf pataḥ* was pronounced like *kamaz*, so was *sheva* now considered identical with *zere*.³⁷ Moreover, as early as the 15th century we find certain *metrikoi* attempting to uncover metrical symmetry in biblical poetry on the assumption that the mobile *sheva* was isochronic with all other vowels. Thus, R. Simeon b. Zemaḥ Duran (d. 1444) cites the four parallel versets from Psalm 146:9. Each verset opens with the Tetragrammaton, and the first three contain three words each. That the fourth verset contains the 'superfluity' of the prepositional נח — contrary to grammar — is due in R. Simeon's opinion to considerations of poetic beauty and meter.³⁸ The concluding verses of Psalm 146 (beginning with v. 6) were presumably scanned by R. Simeon in octosyllabic metric symmetry, by treating each mobile *sheva* as a full vowel. According to the Spanish Moses ibn Ḥabib, in a treatise completed on Italian soil some time before 1486,³⁹ the latter part of the psalm also has metrical symmetry but in versets of nine syllables each:

³⁶ *Seder Taḥanunim u Selihot le-Leilei Ashmurot ke-Minhaq Italiani*, Venice 1587, pp. 70–76. I am indebted to Professor M. Schmelzer who enabled me to examine the copy in the Jewish Theological Seminary Library, New York.

³⁷ See S. Almoli, *Sheḳel ha-Ḳodesh*, ed. H. Yalon, Jerusalem 1965, p. 53, and L 80.

³⁸ See Simeon b. Zemaḥ Duran, *Magen Avot*, Leghorn 1785, p. 55.

³⁹ See Moses b. Ḥabib, *Darkhei No'am*, Redelheim 1806, pp. 5–6; cf. J. L. Kugel, 'Some Medieval and Renaissance Hebrew Writings of the Poetry of the Bible', *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature I* (1979): 57–81.

תּוֹם וְאַלְמָנָה יְעוֹרֵר

וְדָרְךָ רְשָׁעִים יַעֲוֶה

(*ibid.*)

All of these attempts to unearth a metrical symmetry in biblical poetry were apparently anchored in a poetic consciousness shaped by full syllabic meter. The road from theory to application must surely have been a short one. That the system of pegs and cords was obsolete became painfully apparent to those poets who tried their hands at it after being accustomed to the full syllabic meter. Israel Najara himself provides such an example in the introductory poem to the Safed edition of *Zemirot Yisrael*. Employing the quantitative *hataf shalem*, the Hebrew equivalent of the Arabic *kamil*, we read the following line in the eighth stanza:

מִתַּק לְחֶכֶם שִׁיר לְשׁוֹן קֹדֶשׁ וּבָחֵרוּ בְּשִׁיר מִזְמוֹר וְלִמְנַצֵּחַ

(S, p. 2)

‘The song of holy tongue to their palate was sweet
and they selected *shir mizmor* and *la-menazeah*’

Here the *hataf* in the word *ובחרו* (‘and selected’) has the duration of a full vowel, as though the word had been conjugated in its pausal form (*וּבָחֵרוּ*). A similar example is provided by Joseph Jedidiah Karmi. For all his avowed loyalty to quantitative meter, Karmi vocalized the word *הַלּוֹם* in *Kenaf Renanim* as if it had two full vowels. Vocalizing the first syllable not with a *hataf patah* but with *kamaz*, Karmi notes in the margin: ‘And even if (!) *הַלּוֹם* should have *hataf patah*, the poet is at liberty to change this to a *kamaz* for metrical purposes’.⁴⁰ Karmi bolsters his case by citing precedent from a poem of Samuel Archivolti, in which *הַלּוֹם* is vocalized with a *kamaz*.⁴¹

Prosody was clearly a thorn in the side of these poets. Israel Najara also took up arms in the controversy, as we learn from the collection of his polemic epistles *Mei Merivah* (‘Waters of Strife’).⁴² Praising the poems and songs of a certain young poet, Najara nevertheless takes his quantitative verse

⁴⁰ See *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 19.

⁴¹ See *op. cit.* (n. 34), Venice, p. 113; Amsterdam, p. 103. This is already evident in the poetry of Immanuel of Rome; cf. U. Cassuto, *MGWJ LXXII* (1928): 217. Incidentally, the initial syllable of the word *הַלּוֹם* is also pronounced with a *kamaz* in the Hebrew component of Yiddish.

⁴² See Israel Najara, *Meimei Yisra'el*, Venice 1605, pp. 156-157.

to task. Words such as הלום, Najara points out, betray his ignorance. Animating the 'pegs' and 'cords' terminology of quantitative measures Najara writes:

Approaching ... to smell your lilies I came thus far (lit., to [the word] הלום and could not summon strength to stroll through a garden beset with tangled thorns, for lo, it was overgrown with brambles... by claiming [your measures] to lay in the balance [cf. Psalm 62:10]. You should have 'pegged' the word הלום with your spade [cf. Deut 23:14], rather than give it two cords...

This young and promising poet, whose quantitative verse clearly left something to be desired, was probably Joseph Ganso. In the poetic anthology printed during his own lifetime, the few quantitative poems included therein do indeed betray his absolute ignorance of these metrical principles. Of course, it is entirely possible that Ganso regarded himself as an innovator of language and poetry. At any rate, he consistently uses *ḥataf pataḥ* as equivalent to *kamaz* and equates the *zere* in an open syllable with the mobile *sheva*. Moreover, he goes so far as to vocalize the prepositional adverbials בנ"ל before a *ḥataf* with a mobile *sheva*, rather than with the full vowels required by grammar. For example, the word כְּאֵרִי ('like a lion') which should be vocalized as a cord and a peg, is reversed by Ganso into a peg and a cord: כְּאֵרִי (G 223). Another example occurs in the same poem with the words וְעִטְרָה גְרוּלָה rather than the grammatically correct וְעִטְרָה. There are other examples as well.

Ganso's unique receptivity to the nuances of spoken Hebrew finds expression in another element of his poetry — that of his rhymes. Due to his familiarity with Spanish pronunciation, for instance, Ganso frequently treats the sound of *sh* as equivalent to *s*:

(*roshi*)
(*shimshi*)
(*maḥsi*)

סִדְּךָ חֲבוּשׁ הָיָה לְרֹאשִׁי
קוֹמָה אֵל תְּהִל גֵּר שְׁמִשִּׁי
כִּי אַתָּה אֲדֹנָי מַחְסִי

(G 54)

Weeds were twined around my head
Arise, God, illumine the candle, my Sun
For thou, o Lord, art my shield

The dictates of spoken language also led him to rhyme the letter עי"ן, when terminating a closed syllable, with the letter ח"ת:⁴³

סְכָל וּפְתִי מִנְעוּרָיו רַק רַע
כָּל יוֹם בְּפִתּוֹ לְחִבְרָה אָרַח

(G 206)

A dunce and a fool from his youth but a bane
Every day in his folly doth he entertain

The mystical poetry of Najara and Ganso combine to produce some of the fundamental elements of a renaissance. First and foremost, they abandoned old and fossilized linguistic traditions for the sparkling fonts of contemporary Hebrew usage, while galvanizing it into their revolutionary prosody. Moreover, both of these figures physically returned to the cradle of the Hebrew language — the Land of Israel. In the realm of ideas, they rejected elitist rationalism for an authentic Jewish mysticism. But whatever hopes they may have harboured were shattered by the rapid decline of the Safed center.

XIII. TRAITS OF THE EMERGING HEBREW POETRY

Already the preface to *Pizmonim u-Baqqashot* (Songs and Supplications) Constantinople 1573/4) finds Menaḥem de Lonzano announcing that he used Turkish melodies for the performance of his poems, but he explains this with an exceedingly pious explanation. For he finds the Turkish melodies heart-rending and oppressive, and it goes without saying that he had no intention whatsoever that frivolous people would sing them with instrumental accompaniment as was customary in the taverns. Because of the plaintive strain of his melodies he even prohibits recital of many of them on Sabbaths and holydays. And indeed the incipits of some of his songs announce this most explicitly. At the end of the poem צְדִיק וּמוֹשִׁיעַ אֵלַי ('Righteous and a Saviour is My Lord'; (L 74) the composer declares that he called it שִׁפְךָ שִׁיחַ (after the afflicted man who 'pours out his complaint' in Psalms 102:1). Hence, it was not to be recited on Sabbaths and holy-days. It is interesting that for this same poem, whose incipit bases it on a melody of the Turkish song "qardaşlarum yarenler[üm]" ('My brothers, my friends'), the composer elsewhere explains

⁴³ Cf. O. (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald, 'The Pronunciation of 'Ayin in the East Ladino Speaking Communities', *Lěšonénu* XLVI (1982): 72-75 (Heb.); Y. Tobi, 'The Messianic Poems of R. Samuel Isaac Modigliano', *Sefunot* XVI (1980): 217 (Heb.).

his choice (L 141-2) by the fact that in this melody the Turks raise their voice to the tenth key of the scale. Thus is the song reinterpreting the precept of King David who called to 'Praise the Lord with a lyre with the harp of ten strings' (Psalm 33:2). Since the song and praise are for the Holy One Blessed be He, 'tis fitting that it be in the sum of perfection'.

Even though Lonzano had such a great interest in melody, his preeminent concern was with the poetical text and not the melody. Words in this spirit he includes in his introductory poem to the section קול כלה ('The Voice of the Bride') of the collection of his poems composed as praise of the *matronita* in honor of her King, the King of Kings (L 75). This section of poetry was first published as part of *Shtei Yadot* (Venice 1618), in the expanded edition of *Shirim u-Pizmonim*. In his introductory משוררים החרישו ('Poets, fall silent'), that was apparently written after Najara's star was already in the ascendant, Lonzano criticizes the way of his fellow poets. For these poets regard the text as subservient to the melody, whereas he himself seeks to furnish the text with an appropriate melody (L 75):

אֲבַקֵּשׁ לְדַבְרִים קוֹל וְאַתָּם / תִּבְקָשׁוּן לְקוֹל מְלִים וְגִיב דָּל
 אֲשַׁמַּח אֶל בְּדַבְרֵי שִׁיר וְאַתָּם / תִּרְימוּן קוֹל יִשְׁמַח טָף וְגַבְדָּל

I seek out for the words music while you
 Seek out for the music words and poor utterance (*niv dal*)
 I delight the Lord with words of song while you
 Raise a voice delighting toodler and utter dunce (*nivdal*)

The word play between *niv dal* and *nivdal* expresses in its most concise form Lonzano's criticism of the new versifiers, whose poetic content is meager and geared at their co-religionists lounging at the fringes of the camp. He himself, on the other hand, is well aware before whom he doth stand when immersed in his holy work: 'I will sing with love and work with fear' (*ibid.*, *ibid.*). And even though he also seeks to move closer to the Lord, he does so with great restraint (*ibid.*, *ibid.*):

קִרְבַּת אֱלֹהִים יִחַפְצָהּ / יִגַּשׁ מְעַט לֹא יִפְרָצָהּ

To move closer to God would he sue /
 To slowly approach, not bursting go through

And indeed, when coming to examine his poetry we find him most cautious with his descriptions.

A declaration such as 'She who slept in my bosom by night' (L 72) is firmly entwined in a well-developed allegorical story concerning the relations

between the Community of Israel and the Holy One Blessed be He. A most unusual feature of the poem is the feminine voice of its speaker. According to her account she hears a sudden and terrifying lion-like roar of a comely young man, whom she immediately identifies as the father of her children. When questioned, he recounts that he once had a lovely maiden whom he greatly loved and who slept by night in his bosom. Having committed a sin she was banished from his presence, and for this he is now greatly agonized. Here the poem's speaker suddenly emits a great cry and reveals herself. She herself is none other than this lost love. Though her appearance has altered, as she proceeds to tell him, and though she has, alas, been possessed by others — her house ruined and herself polluted — she nonetheless remained steadfast to his love. Concluding with the lovers' mutual recognition, the man promises to exact revenge on the enemies and redeem the world. According to its incipit, the poem was written according to the melody of the Spanish *romance* 'Ya se partía la niña'. Even though its exact source is unknown, the allegorical poem fitted to its melody is reminiscent in its brief story line to *romances* belonging to the theme of "La Esposa fiel".⁴⁴ One of the variants of the *romance* rhyming with the sound "a" and that most approximates our poem is known from Judeo-Español tradition to our own day: "Cuando la blanca niña".⁴⁵

Exactly where Menahem da Lonzano became acquainted with this *romance* is something that we do not know. In his surroundings, at any rate, Spanish romances of chivalry such as *Amadís* and *Palmerín* were avidly devoured, so that he even found it incumbent upon himself to forbid their recital on the Sabbath (L 135). Against this tightly woven Spanish backdrop we must consider the extent of the penetration of Turkish language and literature in Jewish society, as well as its various stages.

Extant are three printed collections of poetry originating in Turkey and its environs from the first three generations following the Expulsion from Spain.⁴⁶ The oldest of these collections, which contains a poem written in commemoration of the Turkish conquest of Rhodes (1523), still has no melodies other than those from Hebrew and Spanish.⁴⁷ In the collection from the second generation *Shirim u-Zemiroth ve Tishbaḥot* ('Songs, Hymns and

⁴⁴ Cf. S. G. Armistead and J. H. Silverman, 'El antiguo cancionero sefardí: Citas de romances en himnarios hebreos (siglos XVI-XIX)', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, XXX (1981): 453-512 (No. 71)

⁴⁵ See M. Attias, *Romancero Sefardi*, Jerusalem 1961, pp. 93-94 (Heb.).

⁴⁶ Cf. also: H. Avenary, 'The Melodies in a Collection of Hebrew Songs from Greece', *Sefunot — Annual for Research on the Jewish Communities in the East*, XIII (1971-1978): 197-213 (Heb.).

⁴⁷ See N. H. v. Biema, *Eine seltne Gebetsammlung*, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, I (1858), pp. 87-88.

Laudations'), that was published in Constantinople in 1545 under the editorship of Solomon ben Mazal Tov, approximately one third of the poems are modeled after Turkish songs.⁴⁸ The Turkish songs of this volume are not actually denoted by name. Rather, they are concentrated in a single section of twelve songs (nos. 233-244), written by the editor and bearing the incipit: "An Ishmaeli melody", which is to say, a Turkish melody. Over two-thirds of the songs in Lonzano's *Songs and Supplications* (1573-74) are based on Turkish melodies. These are explicitly and for the first time given by name, though of course in Hebrew transliteration. Lonzano's special method is evident in his attempt to find several suggestions for melodies, sometimes as many as four to a single Hebrew poem. That he was breaking new ground is also evident in the internal contradictions between poetic manifesto and actual composition.

At the end of *Songs and Supplications* (L 80) Lonzano devotes a special chapter to the issue of melody and prosody. He places his opposition to those who sing any and all songs with whatever melody should chance along the way. So unfastidious are these poets that they sing such hallowed hymns as 'Nishmat Kol Hai' and 'Kaddish' to every melody under the sun. This causes them to draw out their words even when it is not fitting to do so. He cites in example *Adon 'Olam*, one of the most famous of Hebrew poems:

אָדוֹן עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ / בְּטָרָם כָּל יְצִיר נִבְרָא

Master of the World that did reign /
'ere any creature had been formed

Lonzano charges that they draw out the *hatafim* of the letters *aleph*, as well as the *sheva'im* of the first letters of בְּטָרָם and יְצִיר. Thus do they read the *aleph* as though it were vocalized with *kamaz*, and the other two letters as though with *zere*. *Adon 'Olam* seems to have been especially close to Lonzano's heart. He employs it, at all events, as the melodic indication to his poem לְזִכָּר לְמַלְכוּתְךָ מֶלֶךְ ('In memory of Thy Kingdom, O King'), which is written in full syllabic meter (L 78). One has only to check the number of syllables in this syllabic poem in order to understand that he himself considered the hyper-short vowels as full syllables. Such is to say: the very thing that the poet reproaches in his poetic treatise.

⁴⁸ See I. D. Markon, *Sefer Shirim u-Zemiroth ve-Tishbahot*, Dvir, I (1923), pp. 228-284. The first dated book that was published by Eli'ezer Soncino appeared in 1535 and the last one in 1547. Cf. A. Yaary, *Hebrew Printing at Constantinople*, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 93-103 (Heb.).

Close examination shows that Lonzano often sinned in the very matters against which he himself took up the banner. Especially in those poems that are ostensibly written in the meter of *tenu'ot*, without pegs at all (i.e., that exclude the hyper-short element). Lonzano tended to term such poems as "simple" alongside the indication of their Turkish melody. These poems are usually composed of hemistiches of eight cords without any pegs at all. However, a closer perusal reveals that in many cases he used vocalizations of *hataf* and mobile *sheva'im* as cords. And in one such poem the incipit even bears the poet's express apology for deviating from the "simple" manner, having been unable to carry out his mission in a few spots (L 80). Najara, however, extracted the matter from the realm of permissibility and turned it into the norm. Nor was he ashamed to admit that the words to his songs were created from the outset for the sake of a given tune whose words were Turkish. He even regarded this writing as a sacred task, for he had succeeded in filling vessels of impurity with a pure and untainted content.

XIV. A GLIMMERING INFLUENCE

Early in the 18th century, the young Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto apparently made an attempt to revive the mystical literary movement founded by Israel Najara. In his poetic treatise *Leshon Limmudim*, Luzzatto proposed to abolish the special prosodic function of the mobile *sheva*.⁴⁹ But no sooner had he made this proposal than he retracted the work that had advocated it. His proposal was of course based on the author of *Zemiroth Yisrael*, who, as Luzzatto mentions, had been highly esteemed by the great R. Isaac Luria himself. Yet Najara could not have met Luria, having been no more than a mere stripping at the time of Luria's demise in 1572. Even so, there does exist a strong affinity between the dissemination of the Lurianic rituals and the adoption of the melic practices initiated by Israel Najara. The legend weaving the poet of mysticism to the great mystic himself was presumably spun out of this affinity.

The traces of this poetry resounded well into the modern era. The great Hebrew national poet, Ḥayyim Nachman Bialik (1873-1934), seems to have been aware of the lures exerted by mystical poetry, though he chose to deride it:

⁴⁹ See Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, *Leshon Limmudim* (according to the author's autograph manuscript) Jerusalem - Tel Aviv 1951, pp. 134-136.

What the Italian Don Giovanni would croon to his *signora*, bouquet of flowers in hand, stealing beneath the window upon a balmy night — R. Israel Najara, ashes upon his head, would sing in the selfsame melody, in the sacred tongue to the Holy One Blessed be He... by the Holy Ark during the hour of midnight prayer...⁵⁰

In the post-Bialik years, Israel Najara's inspiration has been detected in one of the poet-laureates of lyric Hebrew poetry, Joseph Zevi Rimmon (1889—1958). The biblical hero of his 'Songs of Samson' (שירי שמשון) is a captive of love, communicating through its medium with God. And as he walks the paths:

רק אֱלֹהִים יִלְוֶהוּ
 אֶסִיר בְּאַהֲבָתוֹ,
 וְעַת יִחַקֹּר יָפִי בְּנוֹת זָרִים
 מִבֵּין עֵינֵיהֶן יִרְצֵד,
 מִתוֹךְ תִּלְתְּלֵי רֹאשׁוֹן זָהָב
 יֵרוֹם עִם נְשִׁימַת חַזָּן,
 לוֹ אוֹמֵר: נִקָּם, נִקָּם אֶהְבֶּה⁵¹

Only God alone accompanies him
 Captive in his love
 And studying the beauty of the foreign maids
 [God] darts out from their eyes
 From their golden locks
 Will rise with the heaving of their breasts
 To him [Samson] He says: Revenge, Avenge love!

The great lover and the great man of God — both come together in the figure of Samson. It is when he is in love that the nazirite achieves the summit of religious experience. The outer limits of sensual love and holiness are united as the jealous God, the wrathful God, the God of retribution seals the poem in the name of love's agony as well.

⁵⁰ See H. N. Bialik, 'Shiratenu ha-Ze'irah' (Odessa 1906), Rep. in idem, *Divrei Sifrut*, Tel Aviv 1965, p. 115.

⁵¹ See Joseph Zevi Rimmon, *Ketarim*, Tel Aviv 1944, p. 132; *Poems* (ed. Z. Luz), Ramat Gan 1973, p. 145; cf. D. Sadan, 'Ant Hu Malka Melekh Malkhaya', *A. Mirsky Jubilee Volume*, Lod 1986, pp. 551-552 (Heb.).

XV. CONCLUSION

During the sixteenth century, the interplay of three different factors shaped religious Hebrew poetry:

(A) Traditions imbibing from the Hebrew sources themselves, from the biblical *Song of Songs* — the Holy of Holies — to the poetry of exile and redemption bequeathed by the Hebrew poets of medieval Spain.

(B) A new trend of religious thought; one perceiving the individual as a partner in the celestial processes of redemption propounded by the Kabbalah of R. Isaac Luria. Such an individual required texts that would induct him into this new experience of a believer maintaining a personal and intimate relation with the forces of the upper worlds.

(C) A close acquaintance with Turkish love poetry. Addressed to a male recipient, this poetry has by its very nature a more sublime designation as well — that of the Almighty God.

During the month of October, we have had a very rainy season, and the
 ground is very wet, and the crops are very much injured. The
 weather is very much better, and the crops are very much improved.
 The ground is very dry, and the crops are very much injured. The
 weather is very much better, and the crops are very much improved.
 The ground is very dry, and the crops are very much injured. The
 weather is very much better, and the crops are very much improved.

ANDREAS TIETZE

FROM THE OTTOMAN POINT OF VIEW

I. INTRODUCTION

For thousands of years before history itself began we possess cultural documents in the form of ceramic, graffiti, tools and weapons, but these relics cannot tell us clearly what those people who made them thought, how they communicated, what songs they sang during their work. Only with the invention or introduction of a writing system does human history take shape. The same is true for the history of music. There always was music but only after some form of musical annotation had been devised can we really understand what it was like. Indirect information about it we may have since long before but its history only starts from the time when we can reproduce it. The continuation of a musical tradition is like oral transmission of literature: it teaches us the general outlines but we can never be sure to what extent we can trust its details, its spirit, as it is likely to have undergone changes through the changing tastes of subsequent generations.

The period of prehistory of Ottoman music lasted until the middle of the 17th century, until the time of the first noted Ottoman music that has come to us. We know from written sources that there always was music since the very beginning of Anatolian Turkish and Ottoman history. We have descriptions of musical performances at court and in derwish circles. We know the names of modes, of instruments. We read of works on the theory of music. We are told the names of composers, of master performers. But we lack the thing itself, the music. We are like deaf persons at a concert: we see the performing orchestra, the open lips of the singers, the enraptured faces of the listeners, but the music itself remains a mystery to us.

Starting from a very old time, there was a close connection between music and word. A reciprocal interrelation: music was enlivened by words, words by music; music lent rhythm to the words, words added meaning to the music; supporting each other they fixed the sound amalgam in the memory of audiences, of nations. By trying to connect the two components we may perhaps be able to move one step closer to an understanding of "prehistoric" music.

On the side of the word we are rich. Of the Ottoman poetry of the 14th century little has reached us but starting with the 15th century an abundant treasure of various forms of poetry has come to our days, the works of thousands of poets, unfortunately to a large extent still unpublished. We can assume — and in a few cases it is confirmed by a note in the manuscript — that a certain number of these poems were written for music or that they were

used by musicians as the base for a composition. Even without a hint to this effect in the sources, we can often guess from the general character of the poem that it might easily have been written for — or been used as — the text of a musical composition. To this point the following criteria:

Relatively simple language, avoidance of erudite vocabulary, of rare grammatical forms;

Expression of a simple, even commonplace, thought; absence of highly involved or very specific topics.

In short, what we *a priori* expect will be light poetry. However, as we will see later, our expectations are not always confirmed by our findings. We should nevertheless keep in mind that these expectations, which are based on the dominant features of the materials of later centuries, have been instrumental and even basic for the decyphering of the corpus that is being presented in this volume.

In the collections of the poems of individual Ottoman poets of the post-classical period (mainly from the 17th–18th centuries) we find a new subdivision, a new genre: the *şarkı* (in Turkish *şarkı*), which had not existed in the *dîvân*s of earlier centuries. This designation means “art song”, and is today the usual term for an urban style song. The word appears around the middle of the 17th century and its original meaning is “eastern, Oriental”. It goes together with Oriental music, the art music inherited from the Arabs and Iran. It is distinct from the *türkü* originally *türki* “song of the Türk”, i.e., “village song”, an older term, but still used. Thus the documented history of Ottoman music begins in the postclassical period of Ottoman literature, a period contemporary with, and influenced by, the European rococo. Its chief protagonist, its *poeta laureatus*, was Nedîm (d. 1730), who in his poems described the elegant, luxurious life of the “Tulip Period”. The section of the *şarkı* takes up a substantial part of Nedîm’s *dîvân*. Since this was also the time when the first concrete description and notations of Turkish music became known in Europe, one got the impression that this was the time when Ottoman music actually started. On the basis of the material presented here you will see that various types of Ottoman music were already in existence much earlier and that even the “light” genre thought to be characteristic for the post-classical period already had its antecedents in the 16th and probably even in the 15th centuries. What Nedîm and his period added as new to it was mainly respectability: the lover of poetry is taught to appreciate a new genre of which music is an integral part, essentially not unlike the amalgamation of the theatre with music in the Italian opera.

The first exact description and notation of Ottoman songs that has reached us is the manuscript codex *Mecmû'a-i sâz u sûz* in the British Library by the Polish captive Albert Bobowski (Albertus Bobovius), alias 'Alî Ufqî (1610-1676 ?), who for many years was working in the Saraglio as musician (*sançûr*-player). It seems that his work was written in 1650, with some later additions. An unfortunately very poorly printed facsimile edition was published by Şükrü Elçin in 1976 (here cited as Ufqî 1976). It contains also instrumental pieces but in connection with our present topic we shall only deal with the songs. All in all it presents over 360 Turkish songs plus a small number of Persian and Arabic ones. A part of the Turkish songs are non-metrical folksongs but literary songs are represented too, though mostly of the "light" kind. Maqâm, rhythm, type or title, notation (based on the European system) are usually given, sometimes also the composer; however as no serious musicological study and edition of the work has so far been published, a clear statement of which remark belongs to which song can often not be made. E.g., a musicologist will have to investigate whether the pages are bound in the right order. Nevertheless we have made the use we could of this work which proves that many of the songs popular in the 16th century were still sung by the middle of the 17th.

By making use of the Turkish incipits inscribed at the head of their own poems by Najara and other Hebrew poets to indicate the melody we are able to discover in what scale (*maqâm*, more exactly "mode") these Ottoman songs were presented in the 16th century. If this scale happens to be the same as the scale given in later sources, e.g. in Albertus Bobovus's collection, we can assume that the same melody was still applied to them at that later period and this will enable us to reproduce them as they were sung in the 16th century. We are thus gaining a means to avoid the pitfall of naively thinking that later recorded melodies have to be the original ones. As a warning example we can point to our incipit No. 157 *Gyönglüm aldi al ile* "He stole my heart with cunning" with the *maqâm* 'Uzzâl. The same text is still known today (see Üngör vol. 2, pp. 1175 f.) as composed by Küçük Hoca in the *maqâm* Şevq-i tarab. The composer Dervish Muştafâ, known as Kûchik Khôja, is reported to have died in 1683-84 (see Ergun 1942, p. 43). We must conclude that the old poem inspired him to a new composition. Indeed, even within the 16th century material there are quite a number of texts sung to more than one *maqâm* (unless they belong to versions from later centuries?). In the light of this warning we ought to be cautious in accepting L. T. Kazymova's observations on the musical tradition of a ghazal by Fuzûlî (see Bibliography).

We can assume that in 16th century Syria performances of Ottoman music were held in coffeehouses — a new social institution of that century (see Hattox 1985) — and that access to these performances was also open to non-Muslims. Possibly musical performances in derwish circles were also accessible to outsiders. Of course, taverns were always open to the public regardless of community affiliation, but we do not know whether the winehouses, which figure so largely in the traditional poetry, in reality offered such cultural delights. Thus we are left to our own imagination and assumptions as to the actual stagings of the transmission. Wherever and however it took place, we must be amazed at the relatively fast and deep effect of Ottoman culture, emanating from the center, on cultural life in these outlying provinces which had only two generations earlier been conquered and integrated in the Empire. The repertoire of the professional musicians and singers in the provincial centers of the area, which could have housed only a tiny layer of speakers of Turkish (administrators, soldiers, etc.), contained a rich variety of Ottoman-Turkish songs of all styles.

In the first place we have to distinguish between the refined art style cultivated at the Court and among the high-society circles of the capital, and the folk music ranging from popular hits to the derwish hymn (*nefes*) and the village song. Art style music is based on metrical poetry. The poems of the high literary style are mostly *ghazals* (having 5-7 mono-rhyme couplets), sometimes *qaşidas* (like *ghazal* but much longer) and rarely other forms. Folk poetry appears as *murabba*^c (the predecessor of the 17th century *şarqı*, usually in 4 line stanzas), military songs (“Janissary songs”), derwish hymns (*nefes*), and village songs (*türki*, *varsığı*, *qoşma*). Each of these styles is also distinguishable by lexical and topical characteristics.

Who were the poets who provided the texts for these songs or whose poems were taken by musicians to serve as base for their compositions? We have quoted scores of poets, some of the 14th-15th centuries but mainly of the 16th century, a number of them belonging to the most outstanding poets of their time. However it would be senseless to give a statistical breakdown of any kind. First of all because our survey of the pertinent literature was only quite patchy, our access to the sources (which are in the majority unpublished) was limited by availability and investment of time; and secondly our identifications of authorship can only be regarded as mere suggestions as they are entirely based on the incipits, which are often insufficient or of doubtful readability. These circumstances have the effect of agrandizing the contribution of the top poets as their works are more readily available in print, and in case of a choice one tends to regard the poem with the better known author's name as the original and the one by a less famous poet as an imitation (or

“parallel” [*naẓîre*]). After this caveat it is possible to point to the illustrious names of the poets Qâzî Burhânüddîn, Nesîmî (of earlier centuries) and Fuzûlî, Bâqî, Yahyâ Beg (of the 16th century) as the elite of poetry represented in this corpus, of course with many others more.

Did any one of these “masters of the word” actually write their verses “for music”? To answer this question one would have to study their life stories contained in the *tezkiire-i şu‘arâ* literature of the 16th century. For the purpose of this study the question is perhaps marginal. But to cite at least one example, let us see what ʿÂshiq Chelebî in his collection of biographies of (mostly contemporary) poets, completed in 1568-69, has to say about the poet and composer ʿUbeydî Chelebî (ʿÂshiq 1971, fol. 170-171a). Besides describing his person and dwelling on his poetic work he devotes several lines to ʿUbeydî’s musical talents and achievements, praising him in his usual rhymed prose:

ʿİlm-i edvârda şit u şadâsi şöhre-i dâr u diyâr
ve fenn-i mûsiqîde dem-i ʿÎsâ ile sihr i Sâmir-î cemʿ
itmekde muʿciz-âşâr-dur ...

“In the knowledge of musical theory (*ʿilm-i edvâr*) his fame has spread over the lands and in its application in the art of music he wrought miracles combining the [life-giving] breath of Jesus with the Samaritan’s (i.e., the creator of the Golden Calf) witchcraft.”

After a few decorative phrases he continues:

El-ḥaq taşnîf u ʿamelde
ve murabbaʿ ve taqşîm-i gâzelde
nefesi mizmâr-i Dāvuda nefes oğlı olub
bu ʿaṭîye cânib-i Haqdan aṇa sunulmuş
yâxod dem-i Mesîḥâdan bir ḥişşedür ki anuḡ
dehâniyçün baxş-i ġâyib qonulmuş dur.
Bundan bir tarz -i nağz
ve bir ṭavr-i pür-mağz
ixtiyâr idüb murabbaʿlar beş xâne iken üç xâne olmağı
bu ibdâʿ itmiş-dür
ve terennümât-i bî-maʿnîden bedel
müstezâd dâxil mebhâş-i murâd maʿmûr u maʿnîdâr
niyâz-i ʿâşiqîden nümüdâr
Bunuḡ bağladuğı türkîler ...

“Indeed, both in composing and in performing, be it a *murabbaʿ* or a *ghazal*, his breath was the breath-child (i.e., the inherited character implanted by

breathing) of David's shawm, a gift received from God, or perhaps a share in Jesus's [healing and resuscitating] breath that has been put into his mouth as a gift from the beyond. It enabled him to adopt an effectful style, a powerful expression. It was he who started the reduction of the five-foot *murabba*^c to the three-foot one. It was he who replaced the meaningless ornaments by pertinent and meaningful elements in harmony with the yearning of the lover. The *türkîs* which he composed..." etc. etc.

This example may suffice to show that there were indeed poets who were at the same time composers and performing musicians and that also the critics and the public were aware of such combination in one person and approved of it. It was a natural thing to them that there could be close connections between poetry and music, between writing and singing. Unfortunately, what remained was only what was written and we have to painstakingly assemble the fragments in order to reconstruct what was once an altogether natural unity.

II. REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE INCIPITS

The incipits presented in this corpus show certain linguistic peculiarities some of which are not without interest for historical linguists. However, their significance as source material for the knowledge of 16th-century Ottoman is diminished by certain phonetic limitations of the Hebrew writing system. The most obvious limitations in relation to Turkish are:

- a) the often careless treatment of the vowels which presupposes — as in the Arabic writing system of Ottoman — a prior knowledge of the reading potentials of a group of signs. Short vowels within a word may not be marked at all. The marked vowels distinguish only between "open" (*a*), "narrow" (*e*, *i*), and "rounded" (*o*, *u*). Thus "open" can mean Ottoman *a* or *â*, "narrow" can mean Ottoman *e*, *ê*, *i*, *î*, or *ı*, and "rounded" Ottoman *o*, *ô*, *ö*, *u*, *û*, or *ü*.
- b) There is no distinction between *b* and *v*.
- c) Very often there is no distinction between Ottoman *c* (pronounced *j*), *ç* (pronounced *ch*), palatal *g* (often spelled *gy*) and velar *ğ* (pronounced *gh*). The combination *ng* corresponds to the Ottoman phoneme *ŋ* (pronounced like English *ng* in *singer*).
- d) There is no distinction between *f* and *p*.
- e) The palatal *k* is not distinguished from *kh* (in Ottoman *x*). Furthermore the letter for the velar *k* (*q*) is very often used instead of the palatal *k* (often followed by *y* as *gy*), perhaps in order to underline its plosive character (in contradistinction from its fricativization at the end of Hebrew words).
- f) There is usually no distinction between *s* and *sh* (Ottoman *s* and *ş*).

In spite of these limitations we will try to derive some linguistic observations from our corpus of incipits. In the 16th century Ottoman is in a state of transition from Old Ottoman to Early Modern Ottoman which leads to a split between a more progressed colloquial and a more conservative "learned" form of the language. In our corpus the colloquial form is represented by the non-metrical material of folk poetry and the more conservative layer by the metrical poetry. A neat distinction between these two layers is, however, hindered or even rendered impossible by the fact that presumably both styles are transmitted by the same set of persons, the singers in the cafes of the provincial centers of Syria. Who were these transmitters? Were they Turks, Arabs, or of which other nationality? We do not know. That Sephardic musicians played a significant role in this transmission is proven by the existence of a considerable number of Judeo-Spanish incipits in the same corpus but not included in the Turkish material. The point we can establish is that this transmission was purely oral as emerges from spellings like *baştan* for *başdan*, *virmes* for *virmez*, *döqti* for *dökdi*, etc. Under these circumstances we can only state that certain phonological features of Early Modern Ottoman are already clearly discernable while, on the other hand, many of the archaic forms continue to exist.

Concerning the narrow vowels in non-first syllables, this is a period of transition from the twofold system of vowel harmony (in which rounded and unrounded vowels each formed a separate group) to the fourfold system (with rounded and unrounded vowels forming a single category). The Hebrew writing system allows us to distinguish between rounded and unrounded vowels (*u, ü* versus *i, i*) though not between front and back vowels. In the possessive suffixes we find both the older forms like *cânum*, *cevrüng* and the later unrounded forms *cemâlim*, *cevrin*. If these late forms do already occur in the printed sources of the 16th century, this means that the morphophonological shift was already far advanced in colloquial Ottoman of that time.

The disappearance of the closed *é* and its blending with the open *e* in the colloquial and with *i* in erudite style cannot be observed as there is no distinction between these vowels in the Hebrew script. The phoneme *ŋ* is usually rendered by *ng*, but it does also occur as *n* (*göngül* / *gönül*, *cevrüng* / *cevrin*). The Early Ottoman phoneme *x* (=kh) is often replaced by *h* as in Modern Turkish (e.g., *xasret* for *hazret*) — perhaps a Hispanism. Intervocalic palatal *g* is usually preserved, but there are cases where it is replaced by *y* (*sürmeye* [if our interpretation as dative of the infinitive is correct], see 250 on p. 149; and *niyar* for *nigyar*, but this may be under the influence of the Jewish pronunciation, see below).

Finally the change from initial *g* to *h* in certain interrogative pronouns is exemplified by *qaçan/haçan* which both are represented.

III. FURTHER REMARKS ON INDIVIDUAL OTTOMAN PHONEMES

The glottal stop (*ʿain*) in loanwords from Arabic is sometimes dropped (e.g., *tarif* besides *ta^ʿrif*, *lal* besides *la^ʿl*), but it appears also in Turkish *ʿala* besides *ala* 'hazeleyed' or in Arabic *alam* as *ʿalem* 'grief'.

Word initial aspiration is sometimes dropped (e.g., *hüsn/üsñ*, *haq/aaq*), but also the opposite occurs (e.g., *al/hal* 'cunning', *açıldı/haçıldı*) — this wavering again pointing to Hispanic heritage.

The phoneme *k* is often expressed by *q* (as already mentioned above). Sometimes both spellings are found (e.g., *mülk/mülq*, *küçücük-ten/qüçücükten*). A special case is *müşkil* which appears as *müşqil*, *müşgil* and *müşgül*.

The phoneme *s* is sonorized in the beginning (*sünbül* becomes *zünbül*).

The phoneme *v* is desonorized in the word *zefq*.

The phoneme *z* is regularly desonorized at the end of words (e.g., *bilmes*, *gyülsis*), occasionally also inside a word (*xasret* for *hazret*).

Some of these changes Meninski in the 17th century would have classified as vulgarisms. This label he would have used also for the following developments:

r is consistently replaced by *l* in the word *serv* > *selvi* 'cypress'.

The Arabic loanword *mahabbat* is pronounced *muhabet*.

Persian *u* 'and', being confused with the *i* in the Persian *izāfet* construction, is rendered as *i* in *cevr i cefā*, *mest i harab*, *zefq i safa*.

The question can be raised whether the incipits reflect features of certain dialects.

Some deviations from Standard Ottoman Turkish are so widespread that no conclusions can be drawn from them, as, e.g., the simplification of the consonant cluster *çt* (*çht*) to *št* (*sht*).

One incipit surprises by the phenomenon of the desonorization of word-initial medials, characteristic of the East-Pontic dialect. The incipit reads: *taxumil teyilimiş pir*. If it can be interpreted as *[mü]tehammil deyil-imiş bir* "a ... said to be unable to support hardships" we would indeed have *d>t* and *b>p* in the last two words. But as this interpretation is utterly hypothetical and since we have otherwise not noticed any trace of the influence of the dialect of Trebizond, the incipit has been relegated to the column of unsolved cases.

There is however one dialectical phenomenon that appears in the corpus in many places: that is the replacement of initial *b* by *m* when an *n* or *ŋ* follows in the same syllable, e.g., *men* for *ben*, *maŋa* for *baŋa* "to me". The phenomenon is widely spread among the non-Ottoman Turkic languages and dialects, notably in Chaghatay, the literary Turkic language of Central Asia, but even in dialects as close to Ottoman Turkish as Azerbaijani. Because of its occurrence in our material we need not suspect that there was a stray Chaghatayi or Azerbaijani among the transmitters of Ottoman music to the Syrian audience. These influences can easily be explained as purely literary. The highly developed Chaghatay poetry of the 15th century was greatly admired and emulated by its younger offshoot in the Ottoman domain and also the poetic output of Turkey's Azerbaijani-speaking eastern neighbors was very popular in Anatolia (especially the poems of *Khatā'i/Shāh Ismā'il*, the first Safavid ruler), notwithstanding religious and political antagonisms. There can be no doubt that these songs of non-Ottoman origin were also sung in the capital preserving their eastern form and without Ottomanizing their initial *ms* into *bs*. In this form they were also exported to the provincial centers together with the genuine Ottoman material.

Exactly the same could be said of the occasional Persian texts found among the incipits. Since we are not specifically dealing with these, we could have excluded them from our material, but as they are few and can be assumed to be firmly integrated in the traditional Ottoman repertoire they have been presented together with the Turkish incipits.

Finally we can state that the pronunciation of initial palatal *g* as *y*, typical for the dialect of Turkophone Jews of today, is frequently reflected in the spelling of the incipits. Does that mean that the transmitters, the singers in the cafes, were themselves Jews? Not necessarily, though that would of course be a possibility as we often read of Jewish performing artists in the Ottoman sources of earlier centuries. But this transformation could also have taken place in the last stage, in the minds of the Hebrew poets and their audiences themselves.

IV. A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In our study the writing system for Ottoman in Modern Turkish scholarly literature has been used with the following exceptions:

ġ has been used for the *gh* sound (Arab. *ghain*)

q has been used for guttural *k* (Arab. *qāf*)

ŋ has been used for the *ng* sound (but also *ng* when so transliterated in Hebrew)

x has been used for the *kh* sound (Arab.. *khi*).

ANDREAS TIETZE — JOSEPH YAHALOM

THE SONGS

THE INCIPITS

In this chapter we will present the incipits which can be read and interpreted with more or less plausibility. They are alphabetically arranged according to their reconstructed Ottoman text.

Each entry consists of:

- 1) the Hebrew transliteration (or transliterations) of the Turkish incipit, preceded by the abbreviation of the (printed or manuscript) source;
- 2) the reconstructed original Turkish text of the incipit with eventual comments;
- 3) a statement about the presumable prosodic character of the underlying poem;
- 4) the maqâm, if indicated in the Hebrew source;
- 5) the author and the first lines of the Turkish poem, if they can be identified;
- 6) comments and comparative materials, if necessary.

REMARKS

- 1a) The abbreviations used for the (printed or manuscript) Hebrew sources are on p. 183.
- 1b) Only the fullest texts and those deemed best by us are quoted.
- 2a) The Turkish text is presented in the Modern Turkish alphabet with the addition (for reasons of historical phonology) of the letters *ğ* (=velar *gh*), *q* (=velar *k*) and *x* (=kh).
- 2b) The text is a transliteration of the Hebrew transliteration. Therefore it often deviates from Standard Ottoman although it tries to keep as close to it as is possible (e.g., by showing for *w* the vowel *o*, *ö*, *u*, or *ü* used in the Turkish word). As the Hebrew transliteration shows no consonant gemination and no vowel length these are also not shown in our transliteration. The Turkish vowels *ı* and *i*, not distinguished in the Hebrew graphy, are all represented by *i*.
- 2c) Possible variant readings or text variations in different sources are indicated with a slash between them (e.g., *dilbere/dilberi* means that the word can be read both ways; *dilberde/dilberden* means that both forms occur in different manuscripts or printed versions).
- 2d) Letters in brackets are necessary additions (e.g., *dilberde[n]* means that the letter *n* is lacking in the Hebrew transliteration and must be added) but interconsonantal vowels are tacitly added.

- 2e) Garbled spellings, often caused by confusion of similar Hebrew letters, follow the correct word in parentheses as, e.g., *dilber* (text: *dlnr*).
- 2f) For remarks on the language of the incipits, see p. 52.
- 3a) Some incipits are so short, that nothing can be said about the prosodical structure of the poem.
- 3b) Since the incipits rarely present the full first line, the statements on their prosodic features often contain an element of doubt and are offered with reservations (“possibly”, “may be”, etc.).
- 3c) Turkish folk poetry is non-metrical. It is based on the stable number of syllables in each line (most often 7 or 11). It is also characterised by lexical and topical features.
- 3d) High style poetry (in Turkish *divan edebiyatı*) is based on a quantitative metrical system developed in Arabic and Persian. However only a limited number of its meters are commonly employed in Ottoman poetry. A list of these meters, with a definition of each one, is found on p. 204 (the list contains only the meters mentioned in this corpus).
- 3e) The reconstructed incipits do not always fit the permitted and common meters. We then speak of “faulty” meters. The reason for this may be an error in the reconstruction or a missing word or even letter in the text. But if they fit, they are a confirmation of the reconstruction.
- 4a) The *maqâm* is usually indicated in the Hebrew sources. However, there are cases when it is not.
- 4b) Sometimes the same poem is mentioned with two (even three) different *maqâms*. It is logical to assume that the same poem served again — after a period of time — as text for a song with different musical composition. In such cases more than one *maqâm* are indicated.
- 4c) A list of the *maqâms* mentioned in this corpus is found on p. 202.
- 4d) Our Hebrew sources indicate no other musical feature but the *maqâm*. Ufq’s 17th century musical manuscript, often quoted by us, does also show rhythm (*uṣûl*) and the notation of the songs quoted.
- 5-6a) Turkish personal names of the Ottoman period are spelled as they would be spelled in English scholarly publications, e.g., Tâjizâde Ja’fer (in Modern Turkish Tacizade Ca’fer), Sheikh-ul-Islâm Yaḥyâ (in Modern Turkish Şeyhulislâm Yahya), Khâqânî (in Modern Turkish Hakan). But modern Turkish personal names are spelled the Modern Turkish way, e.g., Mehmet Çavuşoğlu.
- 5-6b) Quotations of Ottoman texts are spelled as described above under 2a), only that the nasal *ng* (as in English *singer*) is represented by *ŋ* and not by the sequence *ng* as in the incipits (where it transliterates the Hebrew transcription).

- 5-6c) In the quotations from older Ottoman literature a standardised form of the language of the time has been used. In quotations of folk literature the linguistic form of the source has been preserved.
- 5-6d) Most of the quotations from older Ottoman literature stem from the 15th and 16th centuries. In many cases we have added life dates to the names of the poets mentioned. If they are lacking, they can also be found on pp. 206–208.

TEXT

1

אגפלאמה ביני א L5448 אם עוני ענה בי

acablama beni "Don't think I am odd". * *Maqâm Dügâh*. For comparison look at the first stanza of a *qoşma* by the folk minstrel Gevherî (1929, p. 56, No. 94; Köprülü 1940, p. 147):

Acablamañ dostlar melûl gezdügüm
Derûnumda dağlar qadar gamum var
Ah idüb taşlarla bağrum ezdügüm
Gül gül olmış gözlerümde nemüm var

"Do not find odd, O friends, that I walk around sadly,
In my heart I have mountains of sorrow;
That I sighing beat my breast with rocks –
My eyes, red like roses, are heavy with tears."

2

אגיף גייוול גזלי ג'יבאנום י J2000 יונה אל הוד לא ינום

‘aceb gyül yüzli (text: *gyüzli*) *civânum* "I wonder if my rosy-faced youth..."
* *Maqâm Nevâ*. The emendation *gül yüzli* 'rose-faced' instead of *gül-gözli* 'rosy-eyed' is confirmed by the beginning of a ghazal by Shâvur (15th–16th centuries), see Laîfî (1314, p. 200):

Dolub gül yüzli dilberlerle meclis döndi gülzâre
Güle yir yoq meger yapışdıram penbeyle divâre

"The party, filled with rose-faced beauties, has turned into a rose-garden,
There is no room left for the rose unless I attach it to the wall with some cotton thread."

3

אגיב אול יאדי J878 יה חוס דל ירא ונאשם דומם

‘aceb ol yad-i “I wonder if the memory of that...”. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

4

עגיש קאלדום גייוזיל שינין אילינדי L5448 אם עוני ענה בי ורוב כחשי

‘aciz qaldum, gyüzel, senin elinde[n] “I have become unable to do anything because of you, O beauty!” Non-metrical. * Maqâm not shown. Popular style poetry. Compare, e.g., this first quatrain by Öksüz Dede (end of the 16th century). See Köprülüzade (1930a, p. 38, No. 11):

‘Âciz qaldum dilberümün elinden
Benüm qara bağrum her-dem nâr eyler
Bülbülüm den gönça gülden ayrıldım
Deli gönül döstü arar zâr eyler

“I am desperate because of my beloved,
Incessantly fire consumes me in my heart.
I have been separated from my nightingale, from my rose-bud
[My] crazy heart mourns, missing the friend.”

Cf. also the poem by the 17th century poet Qayıqçı Qul Muştafâ (1930, p. 64, No. 21):

‘Âciz qaldum delü gönül elinden
Gurbete düşenün hâli böyle olur
Loqmân Hekîm derde dermân bulmamış
Dalgalanan işquş seli böyle olur

“I am desperate on account of [my] crazy heart.
That’s what happens when one is separated from one’s
homeland.
Loqmân the Wise has not found a remedy to this illness
Such is the flood of the waves of passion.”

אגלאדשון שין ביני V2788 יכמרו רחמיך דוד עלי
agladasin sen beni "That you make me cry". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Hüseynî. The first word could also be read as *i[n]gledesin*; compare, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal by Mihrî Khâtûn (d. 1506; cf. 1967, p. 241):

Niçe bir iñledesin derd ile ey yâr beni
 Niçe bir öldüresin cevr ile her bâr beni

"How long are you going to make me moan with pain, O friend,
 How long are you going constantly to kill me with torture?"

This poem is based on a ghazal by Ahmed Pasha (d. 1497, cf. 1966, p. 340, No. 335):

Nice bir iñledesin derd ile dölâb gibi
 Nice bir aqıdasın eşkümi seyl-âb gibi

"How long will you make me moan with grief like a water-wheel.
 How long will you make me shed tears like a flood?"

Another *naẓîre* was produced by Nejâtî Beg (cf. 1963, p. 544).

אגלאר ביזום יירלרי יN1021 יה ניב שפתים בורא
aglar bizüm yözlerim[üz] (Text: *yirlerimüz*) "Our eyes shed tears". N has *aqalar* instead of *aglar*. Of the required ending *imüz* only F has the *m*. Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Şabâ. This may be the incipit of an elegy for the death of a sultan.

אה אדירשם V264ז זמרו לאל חסידיו הודו
aḥ iderisem "If I sigh". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Hüseynî. This is the beginning of a ghazal by Qâzî Burhânüddîn (1314-98; cf. 1980, p. 418, No. 1075):

Âh ider isem âh ki âhumı işitmez
Sen şanmağıl iy dôst ki bu âh iş itmez

“When I sigh, alas, he does not hear my sigh.
Do not [wrongly] think, O friend, that that sigh has no effect!”

(The wronged person’s sigh causes the wrongdoer bad luck.)

8

אה פאקה זיאה י G1797 יומם השמש לא יכנו

ah pak (text: *pake*) *ziya* “Oh the pure light”. Meter not clear. * Maqâm Dügâh.

9

עאלה גיזלרי רומי מ L176 מבני האדם יפיפית דודי

עאלה גיזלרומי י S3312 יפה את יעלה עיניך יונים

אלה גיזלירומי א L5448 אם עוני ענה בי

ala (*S^ˆala*) *gyözli Rumi* “The hazel-eyed Greek”. Meter *mutaqârib*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. Folk songs addressing the “hazel-eyed sweetheart” are common but the exact model of this incipit has not been found. A collection of Turkish popular love songs in latin transliteration of 1657 (Korkut 1960, p. 46, No. 3, p. 56, No. 13, p. 57, No 14) has three of them:

Alla gioslérune kurban oldugum...

“You the victim of whose hazel eyes I have become...”

Benum ala giosli Jarum
Giundén giunde arti sarum...

“O my hazel-eyed beloved,
My tears got more from day to day...”

Bre Eé ala giosli dilbér,
Severlér korlarmi seni

“O hazel-eyed beauty,
They love you, would they let you go?”

אלדי בינום יונגלומי ביר א784א אשובה אל מקומי אל ארץ מחושקה

aldi benüm gyönglümi bir “A ... has stolen my heart”. Meter *rajaz* or *ramal*.
* Maqâm Râst. The beginning reminds of a religious hymn of Yûnus [Emre]
(d. 1320 ?; cf. 1965, p. 93, No. 101):

Aldı benüm gönglümi nolduğumu bilmezem
Yavı qıldum ben beni isteyüb bulımazam

“He took away my heart, I don’t know what became of me,
I have lost my self, I search for it but can’t find it.”

א'לדי גיתי י3822J ירוון דשן ביתך

aldi/öldi giti “He or she took/died and went away”. * Maqâm Panjgâh. A modern composition (by °Udî Hasan, 1865–1922) is based on a text that starts: *Aldı gitti gönglümi bir şivekâr* “A graceful one took my heart and went away”, mâqam *hicâzkâr kürdî*, usûl *devr-i hindî*, see Ismâ'il Haqqı 1314, p. 282. An old text? But if we accept the reading *oldi/öldi* (as in Cambridge p. 9), we can connect the incipit with a ghazal by °Âlî with this first verse (°Âlî Dîvân fol. 101^v):

Öldi gitdi hecr-ile bir nev-civân ister göngül
Eski derdin tâzeler bir nev-civân ister göngül

“[My] heart, deadly wounded by separation, longs for a youth,
The heart longs for a youth who would revive its old
anguishes.”

Another possibility is the beginning of a ghazal by Rûhî (cf. 1287, p. 189):

Öldi gitdi elem-i işquş ile °âşıqlar
Nedür ey şûx-i cihân sende bu ra'nâlıqlar

“Lovers have died of the pain of love for you;
O world’s graceful one, what are those coquetteries?”

עלמידי ביגון S880 יה חיש דרורי ושכון דבירי

'alemde bu-gün ah divitüm "In the world today, the sigh [is] my pencase".
Meter: a *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm Râst (S), Segâh (T). In its concept this must
be a variant of the first couplet of a ghazal by Khayâlî Beg (1945, p. 316,
No. 36):

Dûd-i âhum divitüm şafham olubdur gerdûn
Mekteb-i dehre gelelden iderem meşq-i cünûn

"The smoke of my sigh is my pencase (referring to its
blackness/ink-stainedness), my page is the sky,
Since coming to the school of the world, I do my (writing-)
exercises on insanity."

A similar image is used by the 16th century poet Shevqî Chelebî (see *Ahdî*,
fol. 118^r):

Dâğ-i pür xûnum devât surx-ı sînem levh-i zer
Yazmağa dil mâ-cerâsını eliflerdür qalem

"My bloody scar is the pencase, the red of my breast the gold
writing tablet,
The aleph-like cuts are the pens to write the adventures of [my]
heart."

עאלימום קאייסי קיאש G4007 ישועת נפשי חושה

אל מום קיישה קיאה שיתמרי לי מהמותי C3798 ירד לגנו דוד

'alemüm Qayse qiyas itme dil-i mahzunun. Some words corrupted. Translation
see below. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ. Beginning of a ghazal in meter
ramal by Bâqî (1935, p. 323, No. 372):

Elemin Qaysa qiyâs itme dil-i mahzûnûn
‘Aqli yog-idi ne derdi var-idi mecnûnuñ

"Do not compare the sorrow-filled heart's grief with Qays's!
He had no brains, so what grief had he, the crazy one?"

The famous Arab lover Qays is known as Majnûn "the Crazy One". The
second and third words are anagrams. The corruption of the first word shows

that the text was not understood. Baqî's poem inspired his contemporary °Âlî to write a poem with this first verse (°Âlî Dîvân fol. 90^r):

Bizi kim-ki Qaysa qiyâs ider ne aña ne °aqlına qâyiluz
Saçı leylimüzle muqayyedüz biz efendi xaylice °âqilüz

“We don't agree with the one who compares us with Qays nor do
we trust his brains,
We are attached to our black-haired/Leyli-haired one [but], Sir, we
are quite intelligent.”

14

אלמי אל מי לוטפי אחשן א3782 אל מי אקרא לי לעזרה
אלמי אל פי לוטפי אחסאן א3782

almi al mi/fi lutf i ihsan “The knower of the world of kindness and generosity”. Meter out of order. * Maqâm °Irâq (S), Hüseyinî (T). The reading of the first words is tentative, however the play on words is confirmed by the beginning of a ghazal by Zâtî (1477-1546; cf. 1967-87, vol. 3, p. 324):

°Âlim-i °âlem-i gayb olmasa yârûñ suxanı
Hiç keşf olmaz idi zerrece sirr-i deheni

“If the beloved one's word were not a knower of the hidden world
[of transcendency],
The secret of his mouth would never have been discovered.”

(The ideal beauty's mouth is all but invisible!)

15

אלינדי גיונגול יS1135 יה שיר ושבחה אערודך לך
אלינדי גיומול אL8100 אשמחה היום באל איום

alindi göngül “The heart was taken/took offense”. * Maqâm Râst.

אללי אלדי גיונלומי ביר שוחי דיל דובאר י C3407 יפליא חסדו לי דוד

al-le aldi gyönlümi bir şuh-dil gine “Again a gay-hearted one has stolen my heart with cunning”. G has only the first 3 words. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Evj-ârâ.

The incipit reminds of the first verse of a ghazal by ‘Ahdî-yi Bâghdâdî (d. 1592; cf. 1978-79, p. 130):

Âl ile gönlüm alan bir dilber-i mekkâredür
Yaqmağa dil kişverini xaddi âteş-pâredür

“The one who has stolen my heart with cunning is an artful
beauty
Whose cheek is a spark that can set a country on fire.”

The concept is also found in the beginning of a murabbaʿ by Niyâzî cited in Qınalızâde (1978-81, vol. 2, p. 1023):

Al-ile benüm gönlüm alan yârur elinden

“[God help me] against the friend that has stolen my heart with
cunning!”

aq-i qademi, see under 181.

אקטין יוזומי י S2889 ימהר פדותי וחיללים יגבר

aqitdin yüzüme “You made run over my face”. * Maqâm Segâh, ‘Irâq.

עאקלומי אלדי דילי רוחין ג'לאלין אחמדי י C633 ידלוף עיני כמו עיני

‘aqlumi aldi deli ruhî Celalî Ahmedî “O Celâl’s Aḥmed, your crazy spirit has robbed me of my wits”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

The incipit reminds of a *varsagı* by Üveys Paşa-zâde Meḥmed (d. 1014 h./1605-1606) who used the pen-name Qul Meḥmed (see Köprülüzâde 1930, p. 27):

Aqlumi yağmâ ider şirin edâsı Aḥmedün
Şive-i reftârınun yoqdur bahâsı Aḥmedün
Pâyine düşmiş gezer üftâdesi çoqtur velî
Ben gibi yoqdur cihânda mübtelâsı Aḥmedün

“Ahmed’s sweet gracefulness has plundered my wits,
Ahmed’s sweet elegant gait is priceless.
His lovers who crouch at his feet are many but
He has no one in the world as much in love with him as
myself.”

According to Köprülüzâde, there were two poets by the name Qul Meḥmed, one in the 16th, the other in the 17th centuries.

19

אקש'אם אולדי ייון דולונדי י3049V ינטו צללי כבודי פנה יום
aqşam oldi, gün dolundi “It became evening, the sun vanished”. Meter
probably *ramal*. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

20

ארז איילי רוחום יוספינגי אהלילים גיל י4179C ישעי מנוסי אתה ניסי שמך
לי דגל
arz eyle ruhum Yusufingi a halilim gel “Unveil your Joseph, O my soul,
come, my friend!” Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Segâh.

21

אשיק אולדום בילמישין א112T אדיר על כל נברא גדול
aşiq oldum bilmesin “I have fallen in love. He should not know”. Meter
ramal. * Maqâm not given.

The concept may be akin to the one expressed in the first verse of a ghazal by the 15th-century mystical poet Eshref-oğlu (1286, p. 53):

Duymasun bu cân göjül ben dôsta pinhân giderem
Aql-i cân bigânedür bî-dil u bî-cân giderem

“O heart, may this [my] soul not hear of it, I go to the Friend
(i.e., God) secretly,
The soul’s mind is aloof (a stranger, not participating), I go
without conscience, without soul.”

Compare with incipit 241 (ol benüm hâlümi...).

22

עשקטי אלים ני אייליר יוציאני למרחב צור V2180

עאשיקטי אילים נייליר יומם וליל לאל עליון אקום להודות G1982

‘aşıqta elem neyler/ ne eyler “What has sadness to do with a lover (= why should a lover be sad)?”. Meter: a variety of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevruz Ajam.

The incipit reminds of a *murabba*^c cited in Ufqî (p. 183):

Şarâb-ı la’lîni/la’lünjî nûş eyledüm xâtırda ğam neyler
Şafâ kesb idecek demler-dürür dilde elem neyler
Benüm-çün dögülür defler injiler dem-be-dem neyler
Derûn-i sîneden gûş eylegil âh-i cigersüzüm

“I drank the ruby-hued wine/the wine of your ruby lips, why
should sadness be in my heart?

These are moments to enjoy, why should the heart grieve?
For me the tambourines were beaten, the flutes moaned
without pausing.

Hear my heart-renting moan come out of inside my breast!”

23

אשמאם דאגלארי יום יום ידרושון לך רעיוני V1778

aşamam dağları “I cannot cross the mountains”. Non-metrical folk poetry.
* Maqâm Hüseyinî.

Crossing mountains is a much used motif in folk poetry. Compare this beginning of a narrative folk poem (Giese 1907, p. 52, No. 3):

Aşamadım Belirgadin dağların
Yağlıgım yüzüme dutdum ağlarım
Yısir virdik Belirgadin bêglerin
Aman imdâd dir de ağlar Belirgad

"I could not cross the mountains of Belgrade,
I hold my handkerchief on my face and weep.
The begs of Belgrade have become captives,
Ah, help! calls Belgrade in tears."

Or these first lines of a *türkü* from the Vilayet of Elazığ (Caferoglu 1945, p. 92):

Aşamadım şu dağların gurdu var
İçerimde bir gözelin derdi var

"I could not cross them, these mountains have wolves.
In my heart there is suffering because of a beautiful one."

Or this beginning of a modern folksong from the vilayet of Kırşehir (Caferoglu 1948, p. 131):

Aşamadım şu dağların garından
Yatamadım sevdüyimin zarından

"I could not cross those mountains because of the snow on them,
I could not sleep because of my sweetheart's crying."

24

עאטישי חאשטריטיליר י1560 יודע שבת נדכאים עמך ירדו פלאים

‘ateş-i hasret-ile (text: *hastretiler*) "With the fire of yearning/frustration".
Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Segâh.

The poem closest to this beginning is a ghazal by the poet Nev‘î (1533–1599, cf. 1977, p. 537, No. 523):

Âteş-i hasret ile cân eridür qâl ehli
Şâf ider cevher-i ‘ışq ile dilin hâl ehli

"The refiners smelt the soul with the fire of yearning,
The mystics refine the heart with the substance of love."

Another possibility is a five-liner (*mukhammes*) by the poet ‘Ulvî (d. in 1585, cf. Tarlan 1948, part 3, p. 16):

Âteş-i asretle yanub sine-biryân olduđum
Sâye-veş qaddüñ ğamiyle xâke yeksân olduđum
Şubĥ olunca her gice qapunđa nâlân olduđum
İd-i eđĥâ-yı ruxun şevqi-ile qurbân olduđum

“My breast is scorched, burning in the fire of yearning,
Pining for your [tall] body, I am cast on the ground like a shadow.
Every night I moan at your door until morning.
Eager for the Feast of Sacrifices of your cheek have I become a
sacrificial ram.
My becoming your sacrifice is all for you.”

Another poem, whose author is not given, is found — with notation — in
Ufqî (p. 306):

Âteş-i asret-le bađrım nice bir dâđlayalum
Nice bir sular gibi her cânibe çağlayalum
Yâr yoq dildâr yoq ĥâlüm kime ađlayam vây kime ađlayam
Hey Delü Bâlî zülfine dil nice bir bađlayam vây nice bir bađlayam

“How long am I to brand my breast with the fire of yearning?
How long am I to splash in all directions like water?
No friend, no sweetheart is around — to whom shall I pour out my
troubles?
O crazy Bali, how long am I to tie my heart to your hairlock?”

25

עאטישי היגראני שאלדי י184V יגביהו עוף עשתונותי

‘ateş-i hicrâni saldı “[It] filled [my heart] with the fire of frustration”. Meter
ramal. * Maqâm Dügâh.

26

אטיגין עאשייקי י3053V ינעם שיר לחכי גם אצפצף

atigin ‘aşıqi “The knucklebone which you have cast”. Possibly the beginning
of a folksong. * Maqâm Segâh.

איירי דושטום גון יארומדין א G162 אבי אויב עד אן ירדה

ayri düştüm çün yarümden "As I have been (or: When I was) separated from my friend/beloved". Meter: a faulty *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevrûz.

A very common topic. Compare, e.g., this first verse from a ghazal by Nejâtî Beg (d. 1509; cf. 1963, p. 358, No. 350):

Ayru düşdüm döstlar serv-i bülendümden benüm
Râstî ben böyle ummazdum efendümden benüm

"I have been separated, friends, from my tall cypress.
In truth, I had not expected this from my master."

Such a song was still known in the 17th century, see Ufqî (1976, pp. 89 and 140):

Yine ayrı düşdüm yârden
Gönül şabr eyle şabr eyle (etc.)

"Again have I been separated from the friend (beloved),
O heart, resign patiently, resign patiently!"

Of course, there were also folksongs with similar beginning as, e.g., this *türkü* (Hasan 1987, p. 339, No. 178):

Ayru düşdüm ey güzel şanma ferâgat eyledüm
Yalañuz qodum seni özge qabâhat eyledüm

"I am separated from you, O beautiful one, dont think I have
given up,
I have left you all alone, I have committed a great crime..."

בודאי ביר גורדאן איג'שאק C4329 יתחדשו ימי גילי

באדאיי ביר כוראדאן איג'זאק N4329

badeyi bir gurdan/curdan/xurdan içsek "What if we would drink the wine from a bumper?" The third word is in N *kurdan/xurdan*. We assume that it is Persian *jaur* "a bumper of wine presented to anyone" (Steingass, s.v.), though rare in Ottoman. Meter possibly *ramal*. * Maqâm "Irâq.

באדי סאבה שויליי יארום באגרום קאן אולדי י2175 נוצא צבא על צר
 ירום אוחיל כל חלדי

bad-i saba, söyle yarüm[e], bagrum qan oldi “Gentle breeze tell my beloved, my breast is covered with blood”. Non-metrical. * Maqâm Segâh. As an example for this typical topos, see, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal by Fighânî (d. 1532; cf. 1966, p. 37):

Ey şabâ âhumı var milket-i cânâna ilet
 Mûr-i lengem beni dergâh-i Süleymâna ilet

“O gentle breeze, go carry my sigh to the throne of the beloved;
 I am a lame ant, carry me to Solomon’s court!”

Reference to the story of Solomon and the ant.

באדי שיבה כאביר אפאר יאר'מי י2012 J יונה העלי אבר לעוף למקומי

bad-i saba, xaber apar yarüme “Gentle breeze, carry the message to my sweetheart”. Non-metrical. * Maqâm Hüseynî. Common topos in high-style and in folk poetry. See, e.g., a folksong according to Ufqî (p. 142), where a Persian/Turkish *varsagi* (quatrain with fourline refrain) starting with the line *Man ki az yâr por dardam* is recorded (with notation). The third quatrain runs as follows:

Bâd-i şaba xaber eyle yârüme
 Gör ki hicrân ne eyledi cânuma
 Müddaîler (text: medâîler) susayubdur qanuma

“O gentle breeze, give notice to my sweetheart:
 Look what frustration has done to my soul!
 The claimants (or, accusers) thirst for my blood...”

Apparently one line is missing. Another typical example is the beginning of a ghazal by the 15th century poet Ja'ferî (Ergun, vol. 2, p. 893):

Ey bâd-i şabâ halümi ol yâre xaber vir
 Dil derdini bir bir yüri dildâre xaber vir

“O gentle breeze, tell that friend my state of mind,
Go, tell the beloved what state my heart is in!”

The topos has survived in modern folksongs as, e.g., in this line from the vilayet of Van (Caferoglu 1951, p. 20):

Bâdi sabbah selam apar oyansın

“Morning breeze, carry greetings [to my beloved, tell her] she
should wake up...”

31

באגי וארדום אולגייולי י V2900 ימחץ ראש ולב נדוד דוד

bage vardum ol gyül-i “I went to the garden; that rose...” Meter *ramal*.
* Maqâm Segâh.

32

באגי הוסיניג רושין י J3009 ימסו הרים כדונג

baq-i hüs[n]üng ruşen [olsun?] “[May] your garden of beauty (i.e., the
garden of your beauty) [be] bright”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

33

באנה רחמי אילשא ג'אנום מיגיר י C443 ידיד שוב עמי

bana rahm eylese canum meger “If only my sweetheart would have pity on
me”. Non-metrical. * Maqâm 'Irâq.

34

בחק שוקי צבאח יאר גאנום י N3362 יפה ענף חורש מוצל הייתי

baq şevq-i sabah yar canum “Look, the shine of morning beloved, my soul!”
Possibly *yâr* is a mistake for *var*. Non-metrical. * Maqâm Awj- 'Irâq.

ניהי עאלא גיול דילביר ל507C להודות אל לבי חפץ

behey ʿala gözli/gyözli dilber “O you hazel-eyed beauty!” Non-metrical.
* *Maqâm Hüseyinî*. Records of two seventeenth-century songs, both beginning with this first line, are found in *Ufqî* 1976, one on pp. 77 and 111, the other on p. 93. The first stanza of the first runs like this.

Behey ala gözlü dilber,
Benüm ʿaqlum yerinde dür
Yüri, yüri, yüri
Ben severem sen qaçarsın
Dinün îmân/Din îmânun nereñde dür
Yüri, yüri, yüri

“O you hazel-eyed beauty,
My mind is in its normal place;
Go, go, go!
I love you — you run away;
Where do you have your good behavior?
Go, go, go!”

And the second one:

Behey ala gözlü dilber
Razı olsun Xudâ senden, Xuda senden
Yegânemde qirmizî güldür
Alur bülbül gıdâ senden, gıdâ senden
Dost

“O you hazel-eyed beauty,
May God be pleased with you!
My unique one is a red rose,
The nightingale nourishes on it.
O Friend!”

Both non-metrical.

36

ביר ביר גאריף כ373N כל עלמות אהבוך

ביר ביר גאריב י3886G יריבוני בני עולה

ben bir garib/garip "I am a stranger (a person away from his home)". N has *bir* instead of *ben*. Meter could be *rajaz*. * Maqâm Hüseynî or Dügâh.

37

בין ביר יידא אידום י2772V יכביר מילין לבי רעיונים

בין בי יירא א3935G אל נערץ בסוד קדושים רבה

ben bir yire i[r]düm "I reached/went to a place". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

38

בינדילירום ביר גיידה י4042V ישיחו בי יושבי שער

ben dilerüm bir cada "I wish that in a position/rank" (translation tentative). Meter ? * Maqâm Nevâ.

39

בין חשטה חאלש אולמיק איש'ון י697V יה אימת חלש תן על גיבור

ben hasta-halem ölmeg için (text: *işün*) "For me, the sick one, to die[is...]". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

40

בינדי שב'י ג'זלי י354J ידיד אדום וצח

ben-de severi[m] güzeli "I also love the fair one". Meter not clear. * Maqâm Segâh.

41

ביגזינישין אולור אושנילי גול י217T יגון בלבבי כי כל טובי
 בינגזיטסאם אולור י3380V יפוצץ פטיש נדודך דוד
 בינזיר שין אולור י217G

benzetsem olur seni gül[e] "I may very well liken you to a rose". Two manuscripts have the verb in the second person. The last two words appear only in one manuscript and with a cryptic *li* between them. Meter: a *hazaj* variant. * *Maqâm Segâh* (V) and *Nevâ* (G). For the concept compare, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal by Bahârî (d. 1531–32), Ergun (vol. 1, p. 659):

Beñzedürsem nola bu hüsn ile anı meleke
 O perî yüzli melâhetde bulupdur meleke

"I may well liken him with this beauty to an angel,
 That fairy-faced one has acquired mastery in gentleness."

42

בינום גאנום שין האי די לביר י304J ידאה לבבי יאבר
 בינום ג'אנום שין האי די לביר י080N ינום גבר ישן גבר
 בינום גאנום שין הי די לביר ב438G בי אל דבר

benüm canumsin hey dilber "O beauty, you are my soul". Meter *hazaj* (the meter requires *ey* instead of *hey*). * *Maqâm 'Irâq* and *Awj-'Irâq*.

43

בינום אוי לקי דושטום י202C יוצר הכל למי יחפץ

benüm evelqi dôstum "My former/first friend". Meter *hazaj*. * *Maqâm Zünbüle*.

44

בינום אול גישמי טטרום א1648S אודך יה צור ישעי

benüm ol çeşmi Tatarum "O my [beloved] whose eyes are [cruel, repacious] Tatars". Meter *hazaj*. * *Maqâm Nevâ*. The eyes of the beloved are likened to

Tatars (i.e., Mongol horsemen). See, e.g., this verse from 15th century poet Nejâtî Beg (1963, p. 466, ghazal No. 365):

Ġamzesi Tâtârlar sihrinden ađlar gözlerüm
Çaq řu yađmur yađduran boncuđa oxřar gözlerüm

“My eyes shed tears through the effect of the spell of his
Tatar-like glance,
My eyes resemble exactly those beads that make the rain rain.”

Even closer is a line from a satirical poem by the 16th century poet řadri, see Āhdî fol. 130 v:

Çeřm-i Tâtârları vař eylemedin Tâtâruđ
Yeg-idi řađa göređdüđ yine rammâllıđı

“Rather than to describe the Tatar eye of the beloved
It would have been better for you to stick to your job as a
geomancer.”

45

ברי גחל שיאח זולפניני י T441 שה פזורה אנה פנה

beri çal siyah zülfini “Throw forward your black forelock”. Meter possibly *mutaqârib* (with *siyeh* instead of *siyâh*). * Maqâm Dügâh. Cf. 305.

46

בילמים ניגי אידים י S3220 יעלת צבי איומה יפה

bilmem nice idem “I don’t know how to go about it”. Meter *muđârî*^c. * Maqâm Râst. This may be the incipit of a ghazal by the poet Hayretî (16th century, cf. 1981, p. 414, No. 450):

Bilmem nice idem řađa senden řikâyeti,
Biđ řařr ola yazılmaya en kem řikâyeti.

“I don’t know how to complain to you of yourself.
One could not write down its shortest story even if one had
[the time] of a thousand resurrections!”

47

ביר עאריזי גייוול V2115 יונתי בחגוי הסלע
 ביר עריזי גייוול L1627 אודך אורי בכנורי

bir ʿarizi gyül "A rosy-cheeked one". Meter: probably a variant of *hazaj*.
 * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

48

ביר בואי אוזאק יולא יידין V2725 יחס לבבי לנדודך דוד
bir boy uzaq yola yideyin "I should like to once go on a long journey". Non-
 metrical. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

49

ביר ג'ברי ג'יהאני דושטום V3438 יפרצני בן אמה
bir cevr-i cihane düştüm "I have fallen into a torture of world-dimension".
 Meter: probably a variant of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

50

ביר דימאן איירלמאג אולדום G823 יה דרורי חיש ופדני
bir demin ayrılmaz (text: *ayrılmaq*) *oldum* "I never leave [the sweetheart] for
 one moment". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

51

בי דילברי קאן אילדום יידך תנחני אל חי עושי
bir dilbere qan eyledüm "I made blood (i.e., committed a murder) to a
 beauty". The reading is clear but the sentence is unidiomatic as the expression
qan eyle- is used neither with the dative nor with accusative (*dilbere* can also
 be read as *dilberi*). Therefore the translation is tentative as long as it is not
 clarified by a parallel. Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Chârgâh.

52

ביר גאריף כ3733 F כל עלמות אהבוך כי שמן תורק שמך

bir garip "A stranger (a person away from home)". * Maqâm Hüseynî.

53

ביר גונגי י2986 S ימינך תסעדני

ביר גונגי י2459 G ישרי לבב הרנינו

bir gonçe "A (rose) bud". * Maqâm Nevruz Ajam. This could be the incipit of a poem by the 15th century poet Elvân-i Shîrâzî (quoted in Köprülüzade 1934, 119):

Bir gonçeyi sevdüm ki bugün güller içinde

Cânânelik eyler

Bağlandı gönül zülfine sünbüller içinde

Dîvânelik eyler

"I fell in love with a rose bud that today is a sweetheart among the roses,

[My] heart became a captive to its hyacinths (i.e., locks of hair, i.e., fetters) as an insane person [tied up in his cell]."

54

ביר גוליג עזל דימא י3030 J ינוב פי ניב לב

bir gülec gözli d[a]yima "One with smiling eyes always...". Probably non-metrical. * Maqâm Nevâ.

55

ביר גיול גיונלומי אלדי גיונלומי אלדי וירמיז באנגה י4032 C ישחר לבבי אל

אל

bir gyül gyönlümi aldi, gyönlümi aldi, virmez banga "A rose has taken my heart, and does not give [it back] to me". Non-metrical. * Maqâm Şabâ.

56

ביר גייזילי אש'יק אולדום V3505 יצוד לב כל אור עיניך
 ביר יוזלדין עשיק אולדום G2996 אין בלתך מלך קדום

bir gyüzele/yüzelden 'aşıq oldum "I have fallen in love with a fair one". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm 'Uzzâl.

57

ביר קיריט שאלין נאזיליאין שלוי C1178 יהגה לך חכי שיר חדש
 ביר קאיירי שאלו נאזילי אי שילואי J3419 יפעתך תמה מביש חמה

bir keret/kere salin nazilen selv-i revanum "Walk by gracefully only once, O walking cypress". Meter: a faulty *hazaj*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. The incipit reminds of the beginning of a ghazal by Remzî (d. 1547), see 'Âşiq (1971, fol. 240a); Qınalızâde (1978-81, vol. 1, p. 416):

Dur salın nâz-ile ey serv-i gül-endâmum benüm
 Sâye şeklin bağlasun yanunça endâmum benüm

"Get up, walk gracefully, my rose-bodied cypress!
 May my own body turn into the shadow by your side!"

58

ביר מיליק S238 יגיה חשכך וחושקך

bir meleq "An angel". Meter possibly *ramal*. * Maqâm Hüseyinî. There are at least four 16th century ghazals that begin with these words: one is by Zâtî (1477-1546, cf. 1967-87, vol. 2, p. 43, No. 539):

Bir melek gördüm bu gün dirler aña 'Abd-ül-'Azîz
 Dir gören 'ömrünj mezîd itsün Xudâ 'Abd-ül-'Azîz

"Today I saw an angel, they call him 'Abdul 'azîz.
 Whoever sees him says: May God augment your lifespan,
 O 'Abdul 'azîz!"

Another one is by Yaḥyâ Beg (d.1572, cf. 1972, p. 403, No. 193):

Bir melek sevdüm ki şehir içre bu gün mümtâz imiş,
 Lebleri mey-gûn, sözi eفزûn, gözi gammâz imiş.

“I fell in love with an angel who, they say, today is a paragon in
the city,
His lips are color of wine, his words are spells, his eyes are
tell-talers, they say.”

One by Uşûlî (d. 1538–39), see İz (1966–67, p. 238), with the first verse:

Bir melek sevdüm ki görse ins u cân hayrân olur:
Allah, Allah, ol perî-peyker ne xûb insân olur!

“I fell in love with an angel that human being or living creature
would become stunned when seeing him,
O God, O God, what a beautiful person is that fairy-faced one!”

Finally, Shânî, see Qınalızâde (1978–81, vol. 1, p. 503):

Bir melek yüzlü güzeldür yine gökden indi,
Mürdeler cismini ‘Îsâ gibi ihyâ qıldı.

“Again an angel-faced fair one descended from heaven,
Like Jesus he revived the bodies of the dead.”

With this frequency it is impossible to decide to which poem the incipit refers. It may just be a shorter version of the one now following.

59

בִּיר מִיֵּלִיק צוֹרֵתִי גֵאֲנָא שִׁין עֲלֵי לֵב דּוֹלֵק אֶשׁ אַהֲבַתְךָ

bir melek-surat (text: *-surati*) *canisin ‘Alî* “O ‘Alî, you are an angel-faced murderer”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Segâh.

60

בִּיר מִיֵּהֲאֲגִי נִין יִG919 יֵה כִּמְצַרְךָ כִּסְף וּכְמַטְהַר בְּמִי מַעִין

bir meyhanenin “A tavern’s...”. Meter unclear. * Maqâm Râst.

61

ביר מור שישני גירדום י86C יבוא דוד צח ואדום
 ביר מור גיגי ירדום G2326 יושב על חוג הארץ

bir mor çiçeği/suseni gördüm "I saw a purple flower/iris". Non-metrical.
 * Maqâm Mâhûr.

62

ביר פירי ביג' גיונגלום אלדי י428N ישמעו ענוים שירה
bir peri-vec[h] gönglüm aldi "A fairy-faced one has captured my heart".
 Meter: a faulty *ramal*. *perîveş* "fairy-like" would be metrically better than
perî-vech "fairy-faced". * Maqâm Râst.

63

ביר פיר אירי שביר י3010T ימעט מהבל כחי ורב גדלך גואלי
bir pir eri sever "She loves an old husband". Reading and translation
 doubtful. Unmetrical folk poetry? * Maqâm Nevâ.

64

ביר פוטי שימוטני א2397T אחד אשר אין לו שני
bir püt-i simin-teni "A silver-bodied idol [acc. or dat.]". Meter *ramal*.
 * Maqâm Dügâh.

Possibly to be connected with a ghazal by Aḥmed-i Dâ'î (1952, p. 66,
 14th-15th centuries):

Ol büt-i sîmîn-tenüñ serv[u] semendür qoqusi
 °Ârızı sûsen ve reyḥân-i çemendür qoqusi

"That silver-bodied one's fragrance is of cypress [and] jasmin,
 The fragrance of his cheek is of iris and sweet basil."

ביר לוחלירי קאן אילרום יN629 ידך תנחני אל חי עושי

bir ruhleri qan dilberüm “[I have] a darling whose cheeks are [red like] blood”. Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Chârgâh.

ביר שאנגלאין דילברימי בארימי וארדור יC3793 ירבו עצבותי על חובותי

bir sencileyin dilberüm yar-mi vardur “Is there a friend like yourself, O my beloved?” Meter: a faulty *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm ‘Irâq. The concept of this verse can be found in many variants. Its oldest may be the line at the beginning of a ghazal by the famous heretical poet Nesîmî (executed in 1407 ?, cf. 1973, vol. 1, p. 335, No. 153):

°Âlemde bugün sencileyin yâr[i] kimünğ var
Ger var dirseng yoğ dimezem var kimünğ var

“Who is there today in the world who has a friend like you?
If you say there is one, I don’t say there is none, there is one
[but] who has one?”

Variants: Beginning of a ghazal by Aḥmed Pasha (1966, p. 169):

Bir sencileyin yâr-i cefâ-kârı kimünğ var
Bî-raḥm ü sitem-kâr ü dil-âzârı kimünğ var

“Who has a cruel friend like yourself,
Such a merciless, torturing, heart-oppressing one?”

Aḥmed-i Dâ‘î (16th century, cf. 1952, p. 108; Ergun, vol. 3, p. 1123):

°Âlemde bugün sencileyin yâr kimünğ var
Luḥf issi vefâ ma‘deni dildâr kimünğ var

“Who in this world of today has a friend like you,
Such a generous, faithful, loving friend?”

Or this variant by the same poet (Aḥmed-i Dâ‘î 1952, p. 52):

Dünyâda sencileyin bir daxi xôş yâr ola-mi
Dilber-i çâbüğ-i şengül büt-i ‘ayyâr ola-mi

“Can there be in this world another fine friend like yourself,
A nimble and pleasant beauty, a crafty idol?”

The concept was widely imitated. See, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal by Ânî (d. 1569, cf. Ergun vol. 1, p. 56):

Dünyeye sencileyin gül-i ra'nâ mı gelür
Yâ daxı bencileyin bülbül-i gûyâ mı gelür

“Will there ever come into this world a beautiful rose like you,
Or also, a talking nightingale like myself?”

Or the first couplet of a ghazal by Nejâtî Beg (d. 1509; cf. 1963, p. 272, No. 205), also picked up by Revânî (d. 1524, cf. Tarlan 1948-49, part 4, p. 13):

Yanında kimün̄ sencileyin bir şanemi var
Kâfirdür eger zerrece gön̄linde gami var

“He at whose side is an idol like you
Is an Infidel if there is an inkling of grief in his heart.”

67

ביר שוחי גיסאנזה קוליי א3531 אל גדול אהיה אשר אהיה

bir şuh-i cihana (text: *cim-anza*) *qul* (text: *quli*) “I have become the slave of a world-graceful one”. Meter possibly *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

68

בי טורשי אל פטור עקלום אימאנום י338 ידור עמי הדור בלבשו

bi[r] tersa (text: *terse*) *aluptur 'aqlum imanum* “A Christian has robbed me of my wits, of my faith”. Non-metrical. * Maqâm Hüseyinî.

69

ביר כ'אביר יירום דין איבדי שיבה י12 יאבר לב יפרש כנף

ביר כאבירי אורי שיפה א3133 איש חבר אני לכל יראי אל

bir xaber yarümden [vir]ibdi saba “The gentle breeze sent news from my friend”. The third word is missing in N. As all manuscripts have *ibdi/ebdi*

instead of *viribdi* the emendation is tentative. No parallel has been found. Non-metrical. * Maqâm Zünbüle and Şabâ.

70

בִּיר חִימָר נִיגְזְלִי אוֹלוֹפוֹטוֹר עֲאֻקְלוֹמִי N2761 יִין חִמָּר יִשְׁקֵנִי

bir xumar/himar gözli (text: *nigzli*) *aluptur 'aqlumi* "A drowsy-eyed one has robbed me of my wits". F has only the first two words. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

bir yüzelden 'aşiq oldum, see under *bir güzele 'aşiq oldum*.

71

בִּיר יוֹזִילִי יוֹנְגוֹל וִירְדוּם G4256 אֵל תִּתְעַלֵּם מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם

bir yüzele yöngül virdüm "I have given my heart to a fair one". Possibly non-metrical. * Maqâm Nevâ.

72

בִּסְתָרִי סִנְגָּאֲבוֹס אוֹלְמִישׁ כָּאֵר וְכֹאֶץ N876 יֵה חוֹנֵן דֵּל וְלָדוֹר

bister-i sincabum olmiş xar u xas "My ermine bed has become [a couch of] rubbish and sweepings". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Râst.

73

בִּיטְמִישׁ יוֹרִיגוּם S3401 יִפִּית וְנַעֲמַת צְבִית חֵן

בִּיטְמִישׁ יוֹרִי גוּם L1627 אוֹדֵךְ אוֹרִי בְּכִנּוּרִי

bitmiş yüregüm "My heart[’s ...] is finished." * Maqâm Dügâh. The expression seems strange but compare the beginning of a ghazal by Khatâ’î (1486–1524; cf. 1959, p. 131, No. 210):

Cânüm tükendi ḥasret-i cânâne-em yine
Şem^c-i ruxine ‘işq ile pervâne-em yine

“My soul is at the end; I am again yearning for the beloved,
Full of passion I am again the moth that throws itself into the
flame of his cheek.”

74

ברי יארנליר ברי יולדאשלאר T8088 אשמורות לך אשחר

bre yarenler, bre yoldaşlar “O friends, O comrades!” Non-metrical. Folksong of military style. * Maqâm Dügâh.

75

בוגאני ואהוני י V3870 ירח לא יגיה אורו

bu canî bu hunî “This criminal, this bloody (murderous) [eye or glance]” or “This soul (acc.), this blood (acc.)”. Meter possibly *mutaqârib*. * Maqâm Segâh.

76

בו דידיאי גיור ע L587 על עלמות שיר

bu dideyi györ “Look at this eye”. * Maqâm: not indicated. The incipit reminds of the beginning of a ghazal by Qâzî Burhânüddîn (1314–98; cf. 1980, p. 244, No. 620):

Gözümü gör benüm ğarqâb içinde
Göñülün dut elin seylâb içinde

“Look at my eye, it is sunk in the floods;
Give the heart a hand, it is drowning!”

77

בו דילי חאראפ אישי G1155 יה שעה שיחי אל גאה

bu dili xarap iti “It/He has devastated this heart”. Meter? * Maqâm Nevâ.

בוגין בין ביר ידעתי כי חפצת בי

בוגון בין ביר שיחי עלי א4908אלי אלי למה מושי

*bu-gün ben bir şeh-i 'ali. Meter hazaj. * Maqâm Dügâh. Ufqî (p. 153) records the first quatrain of a song (with notation), defined as murabba^c (quatrain), maqâm 'Ajam, rhythm awfar:*

Bu gün ben bir şâh-i 'âlî-cenâba mübtelâ oldum
 Ğam-i sevdâ-yi zülf-ile giriftâr der belâ oldum
 Dehânun fikrine düşde fenâ-ender-fenâ oldum
 Miyânun yolına cümle varum-la der-miyân oldum.

“Today I fell in love with a noble-hearted sovereign,
 Yearning for the blackness of his locks I became engulfed by
 misfortune

I became annihilated by dreaming of his mouth.

With all my existence/possessions I became engaged in an
 attempt to embrace his waist.”

Metrical faults in lines 1 and 2.

בולבול גיבי ביר גון כי שן יוצרי אורי ממי אירא

*bülbül gibi bir gün ki sen “When you one day like a nightingale”. Meter rajaz. * Maqâm Mâhûr.*

בולבול גיירי ביר קונגופי א2262אזכיר תהלות אל אדיר

*bülbül giri vir gönlümi (text: qunlupi) “O nightingale, give my heart back!”
 Meter rajaz. * Maqâm Râst.*

81

ג'אן שיני כאביר לירין י3373 N יפו לי רגלי מבשר

can seni xaberlerin/(havlering) "Soul, I notify you". Reading and translation tentative. Meter: a *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm Râst.

82

ג'אנה ג'ימאלונג דורשיני י3663 V יקרה היא מפנינים

גאנה ג'ימאלי מבור סיני י3353 G יפה נוף משוש הארץ

cana, cemaüngdür (G cemaümdür) seni "O soul, it is your beauty that ... you". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

canim volungda (text: *yolunden*) *öleyim*, s. under 180.

83

גאנליר ויריף י892 G יה חסין מי כמוך עושה פלא ונסים

canler virip "Sacrificing lives". Meter *muđârî*^c. * Maqâm Nevrûz 'Ajam. Beginning of a ghazal by Fuzûlî (died 1556, cf. 1958, p. 311, No. 187), with this first verse:

Cânlar virüb senüñ kimi cânâne yetmişem,
Raḥm eyle kim yetince saña cânê yetmişem.

"Sacrificing [my] souls/lives (plural of intensification), I have
reached a beloved one like you,
Have pity (i.e., forgive me), until reaching you I became
disgusted with life."

84

גאנום דילביר גאנום דילביר י3038 C ינום גבר ישן גבר

גאנום דילביר גאנום דילביר י304 N ידאה לבבי יאבר

canum dilber, canum dilber "O beauty, my soul, O beauty, my soul!" No repetition in N. Non-metrical. * Maqâm 'Irâq, Awj, and Awj-'Irâq.

גיפה איילי בניי אולדורמה י V3489 יפתי למה עיניך לעין כל

cefa ile beni öldürme "Do not kill me with tortures". Meter probably *hazaj*.
* Maqâm Bû-Selik. The first verse of a ghazal by Zâtî (1967-87, vol. 2, p. 78)
comes pretty close:

Cefâ ile beni öldürdi Ilyâs
Benümçün cem^c oldu tutdı il yâs

"Ilyâs has killed me with his tortures,
The whole country assembled and mourned over me."

גיורי בור כאפירי י N2108 יונת נדודים למה תוך אטד

cevri bir kafir-i "An Infidel [of... ..] the torture (acc.)". Reading and translation tentative. Meter probably *ramal*. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

גיברינג גיקיאים י V621 ידך לי עזרה ממי אירא

גיברין גיקיאים י G133 יבושו בושת עובדי פסל

גיברין גיקיאים י G733 יה אל צבאות קץ פלאות החל לגלות

cevrüng/cevrin çeqeyim "May I suffer your pain". Meter probably *rajaz*.
* Maqâm Segâh. Compare this line from Nazmî (1928, p. 20, No. 56):

Bir bencileyin dünyede derdün çeker olmaz

"There is no one in the world that would suffer your pain (i.e., the
pain caused by the love for you) like me."

גי קייונים קיש דילמן י N850 יה הקשב ממעונה

çi kyunem kis dili men Şemşi "What can I do to get Şemsi out of my heart?"
Meter probably *ramal*. * Maqâm Evc-İrâq. Persian text in Ottoman trans-
literation.

גיהאן באגי נדי אי בולבול N775 יה אראה אור צר כי יהל

cihan bag[fin]da ey bülbül "In the garden of the world, O nightingale". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm 'Irâq. We find a similar beginning in a ghazal (of the same meter) by 'Ulvî (see Qınalızâde 1978-81, vol. 2, p. 648):

Cihân bâğında xadd u zülf u çeşm u qadduñ ey dilber
Biri güldür biri sünbül biri 'ar'ar biri 'abher

"In the garden of the world your cheek, your lock, your eye,
your stature,
Are one a rose, one a hyacinth, one a juniper tree, one a
narcissus."

90

ג'יהנדי שין בווי שילוי V412 ידיך נפשי בך חשקי
ג'יהאנדי שין א648 יה אל אמת גוחי

cihände sen boyi selvi "In the world — you with the stature of a cypress". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Şabâ and Dügâh.

91

גמלי עאלם שנאגה עאשק ד'אלומי J2791 יכסוף לאור נוגה לבבי וזממי

cümle 'alem sanga 'aşıq dolu-mi "Is the whole world full of lovers for you?" Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

92

דא גורדידיליר לאלי ויש' אול V1817 יום ליום אודה לשמך
דאגור דידילי א1627 אודך אורי בכנורי

dag ur didiler lale-veş ol "Mark [your breast] with scars, become [red] like a tulip/poppy". Probably non-metrical. * Maqâm Segâh. The incipit reminds of the first line of a ghazal by Âhî (1476-1517), cf. İz (1966-67, vol. 1, p. 221):

Dâğ oldı lâle gibi dil-i bî-qarârumuz

“My restless heart, the scars [on my breast] have become [red]
like tulips/poppies.”

The topos is common. Compare, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal by Fighânî (d. 1532; cf. 1966, p. 74):

Dağlarla sînemi naqş-i nigâr itsem gerek
Yâre bu resm ile gendüm âşikâr itsem gerek

“I must mark my breast with signs of the beloved,
In this way I must disclose myself to the friend.”

93

דימדום אגלאדישין י V3471 יפתי שאת לא אוכל
דימדין אגלאד אישין א G429 אגיד אחד מני אלף

dem-be-dem (text: *demedem*) *aglar isem* (text: *isen*) “If I don’t stop weeping,
[the reason is...]”. Meter probably *ramal*. * Maqâm ‘Irâq.

94

דים בודים קאן אגלאים י G580 ידידים חיש נבואה לבית האל והדומו
דים בדים י N4144 ישן על מטות שן

dem-be-dem qan aqlayam “Let me shed bloody tears drop by drop”. Meter probably *ramal*. N has only the first word. * Maqâm Segâh. It resembles a part of the first line of a ghazal by Fenâyî, see ‘Ahdî, fol. 162^f:

Hasret-i la’lüng-le cânâ dem-be-dem qan aqların
Gözlerüm yaşı ‘aqîqa dönse cânâ gam yemin (for yimeyiñ?)

“I incessantly shed tears, O soul, yearning for your ruby lips.
Don’t be frightened, O soul, if my tears turn into beads of
carneol (i.e., are mingled with blood).”

There is a pun involved: *dembedem* “moment by moment, i.e., incessantly” in Turkish sounds like *dem^c-be-dem^c* “tear by tear”. Compare, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal by 16th century poet Aṭâ (see ‘Ahdî, fol. 149^f):

Dem-be-dem gözlerümün yaşları aqmaq ister
Yâr kûyinden anuñ-içün beni ırmaq ister

“My tears want to flow incessantly from my eyes,
That is why my beloved wishes to chase me from his
neighborhood.”

95

דימי זיפקי שפ'א אירדי V1472 יהלל ניב שפתינו לשם
דימי זיפקי א G2396 אחד אשר אין כמותו

dem-i zefq i safa irdi “The time of joy and pleasure has arrived”. Meter *hazaj*.
G has only the first two words. * Maqâm Segâh.

96

דיל גונגי פ'יראק V3815 ירהיבונני עיניך יפה

dil günc-i firaq “The heart...corner of separation (or, longing)”. Meter
probably a *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm °Irâq. Somewhat similar is the incipit of a
ghazal by the poet Âhî (died in 1517), quoted in Nazmî, fol. 555^V:

Künc-i furqatde ümîd-i vaşl-i yâr egler beni,
Cân virürdüm derdile ol intizâr egler beni.

“In the corner of [mourning over] being separated [from the beloved]
the hope of being reunited with the friend diverts me,
I would die of grief would not that expectation divert [my thoughts].”

97

דילביר אוייאנמש אוייאנמש L1957 מעזי ומבטחי לי מר

dilber uyanmış uyanmış “The beauty has awakened, has awakened”. Meter
ramal or non-metrical. * Maqâm not indicated.

98

דילבירין קפישנדאן י S2916 ימי חפש קרב לי

dilberin qapisindan “From the sweetheart's door [do not chase me]”. Meter
khafif. * Maqâm Nevrûz Âjam.

דיל דר T240 דל דר תוך פה וּשן לבאים
 בילדאר אולונגאק שין גיליאים דG240
 דילדאר אולוגיאק שון V2764 יקץ כמו ישן

dildar/(bildar) sencileyim [olmali] "If one has a sweetheart, he should be like you". Supplementation and translation are tentative. Meter *muḏâri*^c. * Maqâm Nevâ.

100

דילי גיברי גיפה מיאי J738 יה אל שברי אל מתנאה

dile cevr i cefa mi ya "Does the heart [deserve ?] pain and anguish or". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

101

דיל נארי G2105 יונת חן לנדוד

dili nar-i Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Râst. This may be the beginning of a ghazal by the poet ʿUbeydî (d. 1573), see Tarlan (1948, part 2, p. 29, No. 27):

Dili nâr-ı firâq ile yaqub yüz bin ʿazâb eyle
 Eger yüz döndürürse dilberâ baña ʿîqâb eyle

"Burn the heart with the fire of separation, with a hundred
 thousand tortures,
 If it turns away [in lack of faith, treacherously], O sweetheart,
 punish me!"

The poet is known to have written poems for music which he composed himself.

102

דליני ביר רוחלירי J2705 יחיש עתידות דוד חמודות

dilimi bir ruhleri "One whose cheeks are [... has captivated] my heart". Meter: a faulty *ramal*. * Maqâm Segâh.

103

דוקטי טיגי גמזי בש'טאן V4147 ישנה בחיק תאווה

döqti tig-i gamze baştan “[The beloved one] poured sword[stroke]s of his glances, from the head”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. S has only the first two words. The beloved one’s glance seen as a sword or dagger is a common topos. For an early example compare the first verse from a ghazal by ʿIşqî (see ʿÖmer b. Mezîd 1982, p. 229):

Ġamzesi tîgin çeküb çün ol sitemger depredür
Fitne vü ğavġâ qoparur şûr ile şer depredür

“When that cruel one draws the dagger of his glance and waves it
He starts uproar and fight, he sets terror and evil in motion.”

104

דוקטי טיגי תורק S4147 ישנה בחיק תאווה

döqti tigi Türq “The Turkish horseman poured sword-[strokes]”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

105

דושטליר סלמא ביני V1976 יומי רד מאד

דושטליר שאנמג בני א T3950 אל עוזר פלטני

דושליר שאנמאן ביני G125 דוד צח למה מני

dostler sanmang beni “Friends, do not think that I ...”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Segâh and ʿIrâq. Without the first word (which could be understood as a vocative preceding the poem) it may be the beginning of a ghazal by Tâjî-zâde Jâfer (cf. 1983, p. 257, No. 60):

Şanmañ beni ol qaş u göz yâ tîr-i müjgân öldürür
Şol vaż°-ı qallâşâne vü çâk-i girîbân öldürür

“Do not think that that eyebrow and eye or the arrows of the
eyelashes kill me!

What kills me are that challenging posture and the slit in the
collar.”

Very famous was the *tarkīb-band* by Rūhī of Baghdad (who died in Damascus in 1605), with this beginning (Gibb 1900–1909, vol. 6, p. 171):

Şanmağ bizi kim şîre-i engûr-ile mestiz
Biz ehl-i xarâbâtaniz mest-i elestiz

In Gibb's translation:

“Deem not that we be flushed with new-fermented juice of vine;
We're tavern-haunters drunken with the Primal draught divine.”

106

דין ייגי חמאם איגינדי לג 785 G785 לך אודה ואתודה

dün (text: *din*) *yice hamam içinde* “Last night in the (public) bath”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm °Uzzâl.

107

דור אטי בייני איי רוכאן י4064 J4064 ישכון ישראל בטח בוד

dur/dud iti beni ey xuban “O fair ones, he has sent me far away/turned me into smoke”. Meter not clear, possibly a *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm Nevâ.

108

דורדום בין ייארדומו ווארדום י3396 S3396 יפית צבי עופר

durdum ben yarüme (text: *yardümn*) *vardum* “I got up and went to my friend/sweetheart”. Non-metrical. * Maqâm Nevâ.

109

דושמישום אוגמוני אולדום י493 C493 ידידי דוד צח ואדום

düşmesün/düşmişem öngüme (text: *ögmüne*) *oldum/öldüm/ aldim* “He should not fall before me; I have become...”. Although readable and clearly Turkish, a convincing interpretation and identification has not been possible. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevrüz.

דושטי דילי יונגול ייני G1027 יה סביבי היה חונה

düşti deli göngül yine "The crazy heart has again fallen...". Meter *muḏâri*^c or *hazaj*. * Maqâm Segâh. The incipit belongs to a ghazal by the 14th century poet Nesîmî (cf. 1973, vol. 2, pp. 137-139, No. 346):

Düşdi yine deli göñül gözlerünün xayâline
Kim ne bilür bu göñlümün fikri nedür xayâli ne

"My crazy heart has again sunk into dreaming of your eyes.
Who can tell what the thoughts, the dreams of my heart are?"

300 years later the poem was still sung, see Ufqî (1976, p. 250), where text and notation are recorded as *semâ'î*:

Ay düşdi deli göñül yine leblerinün xayâline
Yar yel le li (repeated)
Yar ye le le li cânüm dôst
Ay kimler bilür bu göñlümün fikri nedür xayâli ne
(repeat)

"Oh, the crazy heart has again fallen into phantasies of your lips
(plus melismata)
Oh, who has an inkling of what this heart is thinking, is dreaming
of" (plus melismata).

דושטי שין רוּחַי מוּשִׁיבִיר ק223 קומי רני בשיריך

düşti sen ruh-i musavver "It fell, you, the embodied soul". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Segâh. (V) and Dügâh (S). Reading clear but the meaning is obscure. It can perhaps be explained by comparison with the first verse of a ghazal by Şun'î (see Qınalızâde 1978-81, vol. 1, p. 571):

Qısmet idicek ʿaql u dil u canı güzeller
Göñlüm saña düşdi i rûh-i muşavver

"When the beauties divided among themselves mind and heart
and soul
My heart fell to your share, O embodied soul."

איגיר דירשאן ימים מקדם זכרתי G2951

eger dirsen "If you say". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm 'Irâq. This may be the beginning of a ghazal by the 16th century poet Enverî (see 'Ahdî fol. 59^V, Ergun vol. 3, p. 1302):

Eger dirseñ begüm ben bendeje qandan gelür yaşum
Ki bir seyyâh'dur Rûma qara qandan gelür yaşum

"If you, my master, ask from where my tear comes to me, your
servant,
[I tell you] that it is a traveller, it comes to Rûm (i.e., the Ottoman
lands) from the black blood."

(Perhaps there is a pun involved.) Another possibility could be a ghazal by Me'âlî (d. 1535-36; cf. 1982, p. 215):

Eger dirseñ ki qıl tevbe şarâb u dilber u sâza
Benüm qulağuma girmez ayâ şûfi bu âvâze

"If you say: Repent, renouncing wine, beauties and music!
O sufi, this call will not enter my ear."

Still another incipit of these words is found in a ghazal by Khâqânî (d. 1606, cf. İz 1966-67, vol. 1, p. 334):

Eger dirseñ ki sâqî câm-i meyden şeb-çirâğum var
Benüm-de şeb-çirâğ-âsâ tenümde niçe dâğum var

"If you, O cup-bearer, say: "I possess a shining gem in the
shape of the cup of wine",
[I can answer:] "I too have on my body gem-like shining
brandmarks."

איהלי עיש'קיש דונייאדי V2038 יונה מה לך הומיה

איהילי עישקי דונייאדי G1439 יהי שלום בחילך

ehl-i 'işqiz dünyede "We are the people of [mystical] love, in this world". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ and Chârgâh. For a partly identical incipit see this ghazal by Beyânî (d. between 1512 and 1519, cf. Ergun vol. 2, p. 834.):

Ehl-i ʿıŝqız ŧerâba mensûbuz
Dûd içinde ħabâba mensûbuz

“We are the people of [mystical] love, we belong to wine,
We belong to the bubbles that rise in smoke.”

114

אין אישי דיאי ג'אגירדום V4147 ישנה בחיק תאוה
איף איסי ביאי גאנירדום G652 ידעת שבתי וקומי

enisi (text: *en isi*) *deye çağirdum* “I called him, saying ‘My friend’”. Meter probably *hazaj*. * *Maqâm Nevâ*. Reading and translation tentative.

115

אטראפי גימין יושב שמי רום G2352
אטראפי גימין יוצר כל יצור G2217

etrafi-i çemen “The surroundings of the meadow”. Meter: a *hazaj* variant.
* *Maqâm Segâh* and *Dügâh*. Beginning of a ghazal by the very famous poet *Bâqî* (1526–1600, cf. 1935, p. 215, No. 213):

Etrâf-i çemenzârı yine âb dolandı
Gülzâra girüb her yaña salındı bulandı

“Water has again encircled the meadow,
It has entered the rosegarden and swung to every side.”

116

איזיל ייאש אולונגאק יG3105 יספר כל היום

evel yas oluncaq “When/Until spring comes”. Meter *rajaz?* * *Maqâm Râst*.

Note on the vocative participle *ey*: In manuscripts of the 15th century the vocalization is still given as *i*. We have assumed here that in unvocalized manuscripts of the 16th century the particle can be read as *ey*.]

117

איבאגיליטה פיטי בינום י G2451 יחד תקבצו ותנו תודות
ey bag-i letafet benüm "O garden of loveliness, my...". Meter: possibly a
hazaj variant. * Maqâm Nevâ.

118

אי פלייר קאזילי בגיליר ביגי אדיר T1123א שוכן בשמי שמי מרומים
ey begler (text: *pleer*) *qazile[r] begler begi* "O princes, cadis, governor". It is
 hard to conceive how such an unmetrical list of dignitaries should constitute
 the text of a song. Reading and translation tentative. Perhaps *qâzîler* stands
 for *gâzîler* "champions of the faith". * Maqâm Dügâh.

119

אי גיגיר פור דרדי דיל י N1175 יהגה חכי שיר
ey ciger pür derd-i dil "O heart full of love-sickness". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm
 Râst.

120

אדיל ייני ביר רוח לידי י N2705 יחיש עתידות דוד חמודות
 אידיל ייני ביר י G4082 ישמח הר ציון
ey dil, yine bir ruhleri "O heart, again one with cheeks like...". Perhaps
ruxleri gül "cheeks like roses" or *ruhleri qan* "cheeks red like blood" (as in
 65). Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Chârgâh. Cf. incipit No. 102.

איי איגיל גיירו ג'אן אלירשאן V2744 יחתה לבי אש בחיקו

ey ecel, girü can alirsan "O [Angel of] Death, when you again grab a soul...".
Meter *khafif*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. *Ecel*, the predestined hour of death, is often addressed in folkpoetry. See, e.g., this refrain of a *türkü* (Hasan 1987, p. 330, No. 168):

Qıyma ecel be şılaya varayım
Şılamda bir xânım var göreyim aman göreyim

"Don't kill me, O ecel, please, let me reach my home place,
In my home place I have a Sovereign whom I want to see!"

אי פיליק יהי ה' עמי G1214

ey felek "O destiny!" * Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam. Many poems start with this plaintive exclamation so that it is difficult to decide which one of them was so famous that mentioning these two words was enough to remind the reader of its melody. Of the 15 poems with this incipit we were able to find perhaps the oldest one, written by Sultan Bâyezîd II under his pen-name Ādlî (1447-1512, cf. Īz 1966-67, vol. 1, p. 191) was the one best known:

Ey felek dâyim beni sen nâ-murâd itmeḡ neden
Beni ġamkîn eyleyüb aġyâri şâd itmeḡ neden

"O destiny, why do you always have to frustrate my hopes?
Why do you have to make me sad and the rivals happy?"

Or was it a ghazal by Khayâlî Beg, who inspired many music-makers of the time, (cf. 1945, p. 396):

Ey felek, yâ hemnişin-i bezm-i cânân it beni
Cûy gibi yâ qara topraġa yeksân it beni

"O destiny, either let me share the company of the friends
Or let me sink into the black earth like a rivulet!"

Or a ghazal of "Khaṭâ'î", the Safavid Shah Ismail, whose poetry was popular among the Shia-oriented nomads of Anatolia (cf. 1966, p. 51, Īz, p. 226):

Ey felek devrüngde niçün ol nigâr elden gider
Qanum ilen elini qılmıŝ nigâr elden gider

“O destiny, why has that beauty been lost in your era?
The beauty whose hand is stained with my blood has been lost!”

The incipit may also be a shorter version of the following one.

123

אי פיליק יארום גיבי פירבי בפה C2759 יין הטוב רטוב השקיני מחכך בת
ey felek yarum gibi bir (text: *pir*) *bi-vefa* “O destiny, an unfaithful one like
my sweetheart”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevrûz. Possibly identical with the
incipit *ey felek* (see 122).

124

אי גולי גייול זאר איטמא בני זאר N3571 יקבץ מפוזר בגבורה נאזר
ey/hey gül-i gülzar/gyülzar itme beni zar “O rose of the rosegarden, don’t
make me cry!” Meter? * Maqâm Şabâ. The last two words only in N.

125

אי גייולי גייול זארי גיניט V766 יה אלי שמחת גילי
אי גייולי גייולי זארי L8896 אתיו אקחה יין
אי גייולי גייולי זארי L4908 אלי אלי למה מושי
הי גולי גולי זאר F3571 יקבוץ מפוזר בגבורה נאזר
ey/hey gül-i/gyül-ü gülzar-i / gyülzar-i cenet “O rose of the rosegarden of
Paradise”. The last word only in V. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. Perhaps
a variant of a poem by the famous 14th century poet Nesîmî (executed in
1404, cf. 1973, vol. 3, p. 47, No. 29):

Ey ruxuñ gülzâr-i cennet, saçlaruñ reyhânidür
Ey dudaguñ âb-i hayvân, cân anuñ hayrânidür

“Oh, your cheek — the garden of Paradise; your hair its sweet basil;
Oh, your lips — water of life; the soul is stunned by it.”

126

אי גיולי זיכה אי גיולי דענה י N373 ידיד גילי בא כי שועי ענה

ey gyül-i ziba (text: *zika*), *ey gyül-i ra'na* (text: *d-*) "O beautiful rose, O lovely rose!" Meter ? * Maqâm Hüseynî.

127

אי גיוחיליק טחטינה יישטינג י V3176 יעלה קומתך דמתה

ey gyü[zel]liq tahtina yeštng "Oh, you have ascended the throne of beauty".
Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Râst.

128

אימאה הלאל י J1241 יהי נא מהלל פי לך רצוי

ey mâhi hilal "O crescent moon". Meter: a *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm Mâhûr.

129

אימיני פאשיקי יושב בשמים מלך על כל שרפי מעלה

ey men (text: *meni*) *fasiqi* "Oh, ... me the sinner (acc)". Faulty meter.
* Maqâm 'Irâq.

130

אי מיני משטי חאראב איטי י V1640 יום בו כלו ארץ ושמים

מיני מישטי חארע איטי י G1762 יום אודה לשמך

ey meni mest i harab iti "Oh, he has made me completely drunk". Meter *ramal*, but in G the first word is lacking and therefore the meter is *hazaj*. * Maqâm Segâh.

אי מוחאמיט שאח V1989 יומם ולילה תכבד עלי

ey Muhamet Şah "O Muhammed Shah!" * *Maqâm Segâh and Segâh* "Irâq. Poems were addressed to persons named Muḥammed (or Meḥemmed) Şah (famous beauties in Istanbul) by the poets Tâjizâde Ja'fer (1452-1515), see his *Divân* (p. 239, No. 43), and Helâki (d. ca. 1575), see his *Divân* (p. 203, No. 7). In the collection of biographies of poets by Ahdî, written in 1564, there is a short biography of Meḥemmed Şah Efendi (fol. 26^f).

אי פירישאן האל G3598 יקום אלהים ויפדה עמו

ey perişan-hal "O perplexed one!" Meter *ramal*. * *Maqâm Bû-Selik*. A different meter (*hazaj*) is found in a ghazal by Zâtî (cf. 1967-87, vol. 1, p. 184, No. 184):

Perişân-ḥâl olub her dem qararmasun-mı giysular
O dilber yol başar bunlar diyü dâ'im ayaq dolar

"No wonder those locks are always confused/disheveled and
have become black (of shame)
They always trip the fair one because he commits robbery."

איפירטיבי אין ואר כדא J3427 יפר מחשבות דורשי אובות

ey pertev-i enver-i Xuda "O reflex of the divine light". * *Maqâm Râst*. Meter perhaps a *hazaj* variant. A close parallel is found in a ghazal by Ḥayretî (cf. 1981, p. 255) lacking however the vocative particle in the beginning:

Pertev-i nûr-i Xudâdur 'işq-i pâk
Ya'nî sirr-i Muştafâdur 'işq-i pâk

"Pure love is the reflex of the Divine light,
That is: pure love is the secret of the elect one (i.e., Muḥammed)."

134

אי קוירום קול S2388 יושב שבי קומי שבי

ey qo varum qul "Oh, allow, my friend, [that I become your] slave". Reading and translation tentative. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Dügâh.

ey ruhzar-i pür letafet, see under 265.

135

אי שינימי גאן סיטאר G1639 אודך בכל לבבי בורא כל

אישיניג מיגאן שיטאם T1639

ey sanem-i can-sitan "O soul-ravishing idol!" Meter *munsarih*. * Maqâm Nevrûz Ajam.

136

אי שאקי אגא זאדי דולדור איגלום באדי C1789 יום יום שם קדשך אודה

ey saqi aga (text: *ana*) *zade dol[d]ur içelüm bade* "O cup-bearer, Agha's son, let us drink wine!" The text has *ana* 'mother' instead of *aga* 'agha, older brother, etc.'. Unmetrical. * Maqâm Râst.

137

אי שוני ביר רחמי שין C3994 ישדר אלה פורקניה

ey sevene bi-rahm-sin "Oh, you are without mercy to those who love you". The reading of the second word is tentative. Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Irâq.

138

איי דוראשין דילבירי V3970 ישאו עיניך תשואות חן

eydüresin dilberi "You should change the fair one's mind". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

אי יאמאשיטה יישיטי בהאר י3753 יראי ה' בטחו בשמו
eyyam-i şita yeşti, bahar "The days of winter have passed by, spring...".
 Meter: a variety of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevruz 'Ajam. The incipit reminds of a
murabba' (given with its notation) maqâm Nishâpûr, in Ufqî (1976, p. 280):

Gitdi eyyâm-1 şitâ, erişdi eyyâm-1 bahâr
 Şimdi zencîrin sürür dîvânedür her cûyibâr
 Yârsuz (?) dil xaste ten evgârum 'aqlum târ u mâr
 Her kişi bir serv-i bâlâyı idübdür der-kenâr

"Gone are the days of winter, the days of spring have arrived.
 Now all rivers are lunatics that drag their chains behind them.
 [My] heart has no friend(?), my body is sick, my mind, my
 thoughts are confused.
 Everybody has embraced a tall cypress[-bodied one]."

פ'צל בהאר י3849 ירוץ ינהר ניב פי לשיר
fasl-i bahar "The spring season [has come]". Several meters possible.
 * Maqâm Nevâ. This may be the beginning of a ghazal by Zâtî (1477-1546;
 cf. 1967-87, vol. 3, p. 362):

Faşl-i bahâr irişdi cihânuñ güzelligi
 Virür şafâyı qalbe havânuñ güzelligi

"Springtime has arrived, the beauty of the world,
 The splendid weather pleases the heart."

An earlier example would be the first verse of a ghazal by Aḥmedî
 (1334-1413; see İz 1966-67, vol. 1, p. 172):

Faşl-i bahâr irişdi gel ey serv-qad nigâr
 Sinüñ yüzüñ yeter bize nevrûz u nev-bahâr

"Spring has arrived. Come, O idol of cypress tallness,
 To us your face is enough as for Naurûz and spring."

141

פיליק ביר מאהי תאבונדאן ג'אנום N479 נפשי באורך תתעדן
פיליק ביר מאאי טאבינדן א G1276 אהבתך צור מריט ראשי

(377–378, 554, and p. 14). *feleq, vir mahitabundan/mayitabinden canum*
“Heaven, give of your moonlight, my soul”. The last word only in N. Meter
hazaj. * Maqâm Nevrûz and Chârgâh.

142

גאם אש'ישיני לי זיטי דונייא י V77 יאתיו חשמנים מרננים

gam acisini (text: *aşisini*) *lezzet-i dünyeye*. Meter *muḍâri'*. * Maqâm not indicated. Beginning of a ghazal by the poet Khayâlî Beg (d. 1557, cf. 1945, p. 327, No. 59):

Ġam acısını *lezzet-i dünyâya* virmez
Künc-i belâyı *kişver-i Dârâyâ* virmez

“I would not give the agony of frustration for [all] the
pleasures of the world,
I would not give [my] corner of misery [even] for the domain of
Dârâ (Darius).”

143

גאם ימים י J2933 ימי עניה ומרודיה

gam yimem “I don’t worry”. Reading and translation tentative. Meter may be *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ. This could be the beginning of a ghazal by ʿÂlî (Dîvân, fol. 104^r):

Ġam yimem ġam ġuşşâ yirsem ger belâ (?) mihmâniyem
Teşne-leb cânın viren merd-i Xudâ mihmâniyem

“I don’t worry. If I worry and lament, I am misfortune’s guest.
I am the guest of the godly person who thirstingly offers his
soul/life.”

גאמי גאנאן איילי S2353 יושב שמי שחק בנה חצרותי
 גאמי גאן איילי L5448 אם עוני ענה בי

gam-i/nam-i canan ile "Grief because of the friend". The variant with *nâm-i* would make it "In the name of the friend"; it is less probable. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. For comparison see the beginning of a ghazal by Nejâti Beg (d. 1509; cf. 1963, p. 285, No. 228):

Ġam-i cânâneyi her cân götürmez
 Ki degme memleket sulţân götürmez

"Not every soul can bear the pain of love for the friend
 Just as not every country can bear a sultan."

גאריב בין ביר קייסים קינגי G2907 ימי צבאי וחלדי איחל לך

garib u (text: *ben*) *bi* (text: *bir*)-*qesem qünc-i* "I am away from home and all alone [in] the corner of [disaster]". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Chârgâh. Beginning of a ghazal by ʿUlvî (d. 1585), which runs (according to İz 1966-67, p. 293) as follows:

Ġarîb u bî-kesem, künc-i belâda maḥremüm sensin,
 Benüm-çün ağla, ey çeşm, ölünce hem-demüm sensin.

"I am away from home and alone, you are the only person
 close to me/my confident in the corner of misfortune.
 Cry for me, my eye, you are my only companion until death."

גייל דיל ביר סיניגלי איגילוס M829 יה הדבר בן עולה

gel dilber seni[n]gle içelüm "Come, sweetheart, let us drink together with you". Non-metrical. * Maqâm Hüseynî. A 17th century record of this song is found in Ufqî (1976, p. 306), with this first stanza:

Gele dilber senüñle mey içelüm
Bu devrân kimseye qalmaz efendim
Hey, bu devrân geçmezden bir xoş geçelüm
Bu devrân kimseye qalmaz efendi sulţânım cenâbum (text:
cenânum)

“Come, sweetheart, let us drink wine with you!
Master, nobody can have this world forever.
Oh, let us have a pleasant time before this life is over,
Nobody can have this world forever, [my] master, my Sultan,
my Highness!”

147

גייל אשירגיי בין קוליאים V2598 יחיד על כל ברואים

gel esirci, ben köleyem “Come, slave-merchant, I am a slave”. Meter roughly
ramal. * Maqâm Nevâ.

148

גייל גיינגול שברי איילי V4162 ישע אל תוחיל לב

gel gyöngül sabr eyle “Come, heart, be patient”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm
Hüseynî. Beginning of the first quatrain of a *nefes* (religious hymn) by Pîr
Sultân Abdâl (middle of the 16th century, cf. 1929, p. 65, No. 89):

Gel gönül şabreyle qatlan bu cevre
Elbette seni ağladan güldürür

“Come, O heart, be patient, patiently suffer the pain!
He who makes you weep will certainly [also] make you laugh.”

The popularity of this theme is also shown by another poem with similar
beginning, see the 17th century musical collection by Ufqî (1976, p. 202):

Şabr eyle gönül bu da geçer devr-i zamândur
Qaddum ki senüñ qabza-i işqunda kemândur
Âhumdur anuñ tîri zihi rişte-i cândur
Her tîr-i belâ kim atılır sarña qazâdur

“Be patient, O heart, this too will pass, it’s temporary.
In the grip of your love my body became a bow (=bent).
Its arrow is my sigh, its string my life string
Every arrow of fate that is shot is destiny for you.”

149

גילדום יארי ביר שלוי יC4214 ישראל אשר בך אתפאר
geldüm/gyeldüm yare bir selv-i “I came to the friend, a cypress...”. Meter out of order. * Maqâm Râst.

150

גינדי גאנום שT360 די איה פאך עמך
gendi canum “My own soul”. Meter may be *ramal*. * Maqâm Dügâh.

151

גייזיר איקיין ניגייארי גיירדום יV3432 יפרוש רשתו דוד צח אדום
gezer iken niçe yiri gördüm “When travelling around I saw many places”.
Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Segâh.

The beginning is typical for the repertoire of a vagrant singer; compare, e.g., the first stanza of a *goşma* by the folk minstrel Gevherî, supposed to have lived in the 17th century (cf. 1940, p. 163):

Gezerken şu yere uğradı yolum
Bu yerlerde böyle güzel olur mı
Quğum seni uçurmuşlar gölünden
Bu göllerde böyle quğu olur mı

“Wandering about my path led me to that place,
How come there are such beauties in these places?
My swan, have they chased you away from your lake?
How come there are such [beautiful] swans in these lakes?”

152

גיני ביר ד'גייה ורד'ם גונלומי י J678 יה אביר יעקב הקשב נאומי

gine bir derziye (text: *duciye*) *virdüm gönlümi* "Again have I given my heart to a tailor". The word *derziye* "tailor" is a conjection, however young craftsmen are often mentioned in erotic poetry. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm 'Irâq.

For comparison see the beginning of a ghazal by Celilî of Bursa quoted in Latîfî (1314, p. 119):

Yine bir derzî güzel sevdi gönül pâresi çoq
Rište-i zülfine baĝlu yeler âvâresi çoq

"The heart is again deeply in love with a pretty tailor,
Many are the loafers fettered by the chain of his lock."

153

גייול שני אולדי פוריאט י C191 יגדל אל חי נפשי בידו

gölşene/gyölşene eyledi feryat "[The nightingale] filled the rose garden with warbling". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm 'Ashîrân.

güzele de mir dimeli, see under 174.

154

גוזאליק אכ'טייאל איטי ניארום י C3294 יערג כמו אייל

güzeliq ihtiyal (text: *ixtiyal*) *iti niyarum* "My idol made use of deceit/magical illusion". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Zünbüle.

gyeldüm yare bir selv-i, see 149.

155

גנא דונדורדי כ'ייאלי י J248 יגל לבי באל נצח ישראל

gyine (text: *gyüne*) *döndürdi xayale* "Again [love] has turned [my body] into a specter". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Zünbüle.

For comparison see the beginning of a ghazal by Jelâl Chelebî, quoted in Laṭîfî (1314, p. 121):

Zâif cismümi döndürdi âh u zâr neye
Görün beni neye döndürdi rûzigâr neye

“Sighs and laments have turned my slim body into a reed flute;
See into what the times have turned me, into what!”

156

גייני די שפאיי נילין יN3423 יפקד אל אלהי הרוחות

gyine düşme safa-yi neylen “Do not again fall [into...] with the pleasure of the flute”. Translation tentative. * Maqâm ‘Irâq.

157

גיינגלום אלדי אלילי בV1828 בשיר חדש אקדמך

יונגלום אלדי עC703 עם אל מחצרותיו נעים

יונגלום אלדי אלילידי יG2415 יזל כטל אמרת מלכי

gyönglüm/yönglüm/yöngülüm aldi al-ile “He stole my heart with cunning”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Segâh, ‘Irâq and ‘Uzzâl: The text was later also made into music (maqâm *şevq-i tarab*) by Köçek Khoja (=Dervish Muştafâ, d. 1683–84) see Üngör (pp. 1175 f.):

Gönlüm aldın âl ile ey bî-vefâ
Dil virüp oldum saña ben mübtelâ
Naqd-i cânüm hep fedâ olsun saña
Ey felek-meşreb cefâ-cû dil-rübâ
Dil virüp oldum saña ben mübtelâ

“You have captivated my heart with cunning, O faithless one,
I have given my heart to you and become addicted to you.
May the ransom of my life forever be a sacrifice to you.
O cruel heart-ravisher, fickle like Destiny.
I have given my heart to you and become addicted to you.”

C has only the first two words. Apart from the possibility of regarding it as a shorter variant of the same incipit, it may also be taken for a (metrically possible) variant of the beginning of a ghazal by the 16th century poet

‘Ubeydî of whom we know that he also was a dedicated musician and wrote texts for songs (see Tarlan 1948–49, part 2, p. 18):

Gönlüm aldun hey begüm bu dil-rübâliqlar nedür
Qul idindün ‘âlemi bu pâdişâhlıqlar nedür

“You have stolen my heart, O my sovereign, what is the
meaning of these heart-robberies?

You have enslaved all the world, what is the meaning of these
Caesarian doings?”

Whereas these poems have the verb *aldun* “you have taken” in the second person, an older poem of the same type shows the third person like our incipit: a ghazal of the 15th century poet Nejâtî Beg (d. 1509, cf. 1963, p. 161, No. 27):

Aldı gönlüm bir perî-peyker melek-simâ yigit
Qaşd-i dîn itdi meded hey ol büt-i tersâ yigit

“A fairy-fair, angel-faced youth caught my heart,
He aimed at my religion — help! — oh, that youth, that
Christian idol!”

158

יונגלומי וירדי ייני יג3040 ינון מזה ובן מזה שלח לי

gyönglümü virdi yine “[He] again gave [back] my heart”. Meter *ramal* or *muḏâri*^c. * Maqâm Segâh.

159

גיינגלומי וירדום ייני ביר יג3740 יראה ורעד יבא בי

gyönglümü virdüm yine bir “I have again given my heart to a...”. Meter *ramal*.
* Maqâm Segâh.

160

גיינגול בילא דור יג3930 ירתח כסיר לבי מנוד אהובי

gyöngül bela dur “The heart is a calamity”. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. This seems to be a common expression. It occurs in a quatrain by Qayıqçı Qul Muş ʔafâ (1930, p. 61; Köprülü 1940, p. 104):

Göñül bir belâdur saña düşerse
Beni ferdâlara şalma sevdüğüm
Mâh yüzüñi görüp ‘aqlum şaşarsa
Baña delü deyü gülme sevdüğüm

“The heart is a calamity. If it falls to you,
Do not put me off, my sweetheart!
If I lose my mind, beholding your face,
Do not laugh at me as if I were crazy, my sweetheart!”

Or this in Ufqî (1976, p. 80):

Uğratduñ beni belâya, göñül ne belâ imişsin
Göñül ne belâ imiş-sin / etc.)

“You have thrown me into trouble,
What a calamity you are, O heart!”

Or in the refrain of a folksong (*varsagî*) recorded in Ufqî (1976, p. 207):

Sevmek benüm haqqum degül
Göñül belâdur sevdüğüm
Ben bir gedâ sen pâdişâh — xünkârîmâ
Göñül belâdur sevdüğüm
Ah sevdüğüm vâh sevdüğüm

“I have no right to fall in love (with you),
The heart is a [person’s] misfortune, O my beloved!
I am but a beggar, you are a king, O my sovereign!
The heart is a misfortune, O my beloved,
O my beloved, alas, my beloved!”

The refrain of another folksong (*türkü*) strikes similar notes (Hasan 1987, p. 364, No. 197):

Göñül belâ yüz qaradır amân amân
‘Âşılıq başa belâdır amân amân

“The heart is a calamity, deep shame, O heavens!
To be in love is a headache, O heavens!”

For the concept compare also the beginning of a ghazal by Fevrî (see Tarlan 1948–49, part 1, p. 103):

Cân belâ başqa belâdur bu dil-i zâr daxi
Ne belâdur baña bu cism-i pür efgâr daxi

“The soul is a calamity, also this tearful heart is a calamity
And what a calamity is this my body full of sores to me!”

Already much earlier a ghazal by Aḥmedî begins like this (see ‘Ömer b. Mezîd 1982, p. 142):

Saçuñ durur qamu cânlar belâsı
Yaluñuz ben degülem mübtelâsı

“Your hair is the trial of all souls.
I am not the only one hit by it.”

161

גיינגול ביר שאהי קול אולדום ידמה ידיד חשקי לצבי V638

gyöngül bir şaha qul oldum “O heart, I have become the slave of a king”.
Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Segâh. The last word may be an error for *oldı* which
would result in a more plausible text. This is confirmed by a poem by Muş ʿAlî
ʿAlî (1541–1600), see ʿAlî, *Divân*, fol. 84:

Göñül bir şâha qul oldı ki anuñ mişli nâdirdür
Lebi ihyâya qâdirdür gözi cân-küş tebâdürdür

“[My] heart has become the slave of a king whose equals are rare,
His lips are able to revive [the dead], his eye/glance represents
the idea of killing.”

Similar in concept is the first couplet of a ghazal by the 16th century poet
Gedâyî, quoted in *Nazmî* fol. 508:

Ey göñül bir şâha qul olduñ yine dil-şâd-sın
Gam d[egül] şimden girü kim guşşadan âzâdsın

“O heart, you have become the slave of a king and you are
again/nevertheless happy.

No doubt that from now on you will be free of sorrows.”

The concept is already found in earlier poetry. Compare, e.g., the first verse
of a ghazal by Avnî (Sultan Mehmed II, 1430–1481; cf. 1946, p. 43):

Bir şâha qul oldum ki cihân aña gedâdur
Bir mâha tütuldum ki yüzi şems-i zuhâdur

“I have become the slave of a king to whom the world is a
beggar.

I have been captivated by a moon whose face is the sun of
late morning.”

162

גיינוגול קימשיי קול אולמאש יכסוף לבי ירחי קדם

gyöngül qimseye qul olmas “The heart never becomes anybody’s slave”.
Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

163

גייור באנגה ני האל איטי יונת נדודים למה תוך אטד

györ banga ne hal iti Meter: possibly a *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm Dügâh. Ufqî
(1976, p. 234), records the first quatrain of a *murabba*^c, giving also the
notatiton. Rhythm *dü-yek*.

Gör baña ne âl itdi ol lâle-ruxuñ âli,
ol lâle-ruxuñ âli,

Bir gûşe-i çeşm-ile aldı dil-i meyyâli,
aldı dil-i meyyâli,

Bir serv-i xirâmânuñ oldum yine pâ mâli, (repeated)
Şimden girü nolısar ben xasta-dilüñ hâli, (repeated)

“Look what trick has done to me that tulip-cheeked one’s red!
With the corner of his eye has he captured the enraptured heart.
Again have I become the trodden-under-foot one of that strutting
cypress.

Heretoforth what will become of me, that heart-ailing one?”

With this may be compared a ghazal by the 14th-century poet Qâzî
Burhânüddîn (cf. 1980, p. 13, No. 88):

Yâr bizüm ile yine gör ki ne âl eyledi
Tâ ki yaşum qan ola yanağın âl eyledi

“Look what trick the beloved has again played on us:
To make me shed bloody tears, he has painted his cheeks red.”

164

גיוֹרדוֹם סיני עשיק אולדום הL129 הבוקר אור אל ליל ישן

györdüm seni aşiq oldum “I saw you and fell in love [with you].” Non-metrical. * Maqâm not indicated.

165

גיוֹרמיש דאגלארי לV3666 לבי כצפור נודדת מקנה

györmiş daglari “He saw the wounds/scars [on the lover’s breast]”. Metrically faulty. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

The concept is found in the first verse of a ghazal by Maqâlî (d. 1584), cited by Qınalızâde (1978–81, vol. 2, p. 921; Ahdî fol. 181^V; Âlî KA, fol. 495^F):

Sînemüñ dâğın görüb atar melâmet sengini
Gel gör ey şîrîn-dehen dag-ile taşuñ cengini

“Seeing the scars (tattoo?) on my breast, he hurled [at me] the
rock of blame:

Come and see, O sweet-lipped one, the fight of rock and
mountain!” (Pun: *dâğ* ‘scar’ ~ *dağ* ‘mountain’).

166

גיוֹן גיבי אישׁוֹן לV8066 לך אלי צור מהללי אערוד

gyül gibi işün “Like a rose, [all] you do is...”. Meter perhaps *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ. If we assume that the last word is a corruption, we can perhaps find similarity of sound with the beginning of a ghazal by Bâqî (1935, p. 161, No. 125, meter *muđârî*):

Gül gibi işret olmaz ise berg ü saz ile
Sünbül gibi geçinmek olur bir piyâz ile

“Though with leaves and reeds one cannot carouse as with
roses
But one can — like an hyacinth — get along with [only] one,
onion.”

167

גיולי כאני לוטפיש J3384 יפטירו בשפה יניעו ראש
gyüle kani letafet (text: *lutfes*) “[To call] the rose ‘mine of gracefulness’”.
Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ. Reading and translation tentative.

168

גיייר אג'לדי C2989 ימלא אז שחוק פינו
gy[ü]ler açildi “The roses burst into bloom”. * Maqâm 'Irâq. May be based
on a ghazal by Şâfi (15th century), cf. Köprülüzade (1934, p. 120):

Güller açıldı câyınızı cûybâr edün
Bir serv-i lâle-rûy ile 'ayş-i bahâr edün

“The roses are blooming. Make the river[-side] your place,
Relish the spring together with a tulip-faced cypress!”

Or the first verse of a *tesdîs* by Fevrî, based on a ghazal of Shemsî Pasha,
Tarlan (1948, part 1, pp. 76 f.):

Güller açıldı şahın-i çemen sebzezârdur
Devrân-ı lâle mevsim-i zülf-i nigârdur

“The roses are in bloom, the meadow is flourishing in green,
It is the time of the tulips, the season of the beauty's locks.”

More contemporary is a ghazal by Rûhî (1287, p. 275) with this beginning:

Güller açıldı gülün zevqin idün dir bâğun

“The roses are in bloom, come and relish the roses of the
garden, says he...”

Even a folksong might be the source, see, e.g., Hasan (1987, p. 332, No. 170):

Güller açıldı çemende sebzezâr oldı yine
İçelüm câm ile bâde lâlezâr oldı yine
Bülbül-i şûrîde-veş dil bî-qarâr oldı yine
Dem-be-dem sâ'at be-sâ'at ben senin hayrânesiyim

“The roses are in bloom, the meadow is again green,
Let us drink cups of wine, (the meadow) is again covered with
tulips/poppies,
The heart is again restless like the love-crazy nightingale,
I am your admirer every moment, every hour.”

gyülşene eyledi feryat, see 153.

169

יין יימי ייורמיילי G2734 יחרד לבי עת צרי ילטש עיניו לנגדי

gyün yüz[ü]ni görmeyeli “Since I last saw your sunlike face”. Meter *ramal* or *rajaz*. * Maqâm Nevrûz.

170

גיורי גיורי ג'אנום גיינרי V130 גורי גורי יונה גורי

gyüri gyüri canum gyüri “March ahead, march ahead, my soul, march ahead!”. Meter *rajaz*, but *hazaj* also possible. * Maqâm Râst.

For a remark on lines starting and ending with the word *yüri/gyüri*, see under *yüri*.

171

גיורי היי ביר דאפה J 790 יה בורא ניב שפה ידך הרם

gyüri hey bi-vefa (text: *bir defa*) “March, O unfaithful one”. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Hüseynî. No old text found. A modern poem with this beginning, purportedly by Riza Tevfik Bölükbaşı (1869–1949) and with music by modern composers (Leylâ Saz, 1850–1936, and Rakim Elcutlu, born 1872), maqâms Karcigar and Hicaz, is given in Üngör (pp. 559 and 240), resp.:

Yürü hey bivefa hercâi güzel,
Gönlüm o sevdadan vaz mı geçti,
Soldu açılmadan gonca-i emel,
Sonbahâra erdik, yaz geldi geçti (etc.)

“Go ahead, O faithless, fickle beauty !
Has my heart given up that dream?
The rose-bud of hopes has withered before bursting into
bloom.
We have reached autumn. The summer came and passed.”

Possibly its beginning was inspired by an older poem or song.

gyüri qara gyözli gyüri, see under 341.

172

גינזל חוקה יי J3939 יש זהב ורב פנינים

gyüzel hoqa (text: *xoqa*) “The beautiful jewelbox (i.e., mouth)”. Metrically not clear. * Maqâm Nevruz. The round jewelbox is a symbol for the mouth. Compare, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal by Qâzi Burhânüddin (1314–98; 1980, p. 402, No. 1036):

Şol hoşqa-ı yâqût ki vahdetden urur dem
Bir câm durur ki daxı görmedi anı Cem

“That casket [full] of rubies that announces [God’s] unity
Is a cup that even [the legendary king] Jam has never seen.”

173

גייזל מברודי V2621 יחידה בטוהר רעיון

gyüzel Mebrure “Beautiful Mebrûre”. Meter perhaps *hazaj*. * Maqâm ‘Uzzâl.

174

גיוזלי די מירדימילי י N4003 י שוך נחש בלי לחש את אויבי
 גוזלי מירדומיל י J1922 יום רשום בכתב אמת חוש

gyüzele/güzele de mir dimeli "Also the fair ones one must call princes". The second word only in N. * Maqâm Nevâ. The interpretation is unconfirmed by examples.

175

גיוזילשיס קלידימי עליס י S2937 ימי צבאי איחל אדום

gyüzelsis qaldi-mi 'alem "Has the world remained without beauties". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm 'Uzzâl. This line is the beginning of the repeat verses of a folk song (*varsagi*), see Ufqî (1976, p. 130):

Güzelsüz qaldı-mı 'âlem başa bir yâr bulunmaz-mı
 Gice gündüz firânuşa aqar yaşum silinmez-mi

"Are there no beauties left in the world? Can't there a
 sweetheart be [found] for me?
 Day and night my tears flow in yearning for you."

176

האגי ביקטאשי י G3365 יפה רעיה יפה את

"*Haci Beqtaşi*" * Maqâm Segâh. If we disregard the accusative ending *-i*, this could be the incipit of a *nefes* (religious hymn) by the 16th century poet Pîr Sulţân Abdâl (cf. 1929, pp. 71 f., No. 104):

Ĥâcî Bektaş tekkesinin dıřından
 Didiler bir suna aşdı yalınız
 Ayırmıřlar yâreninden eşinden
 Didiler bir suna aşdı yalınız

"Outside of the convent of Haci Bektash
 A pheasant flew over it all alone, they said,
 They separated him from his friend, from his partner,
 A pheasant flew over it all alone, they said."

Another *nefes* of the same incipit is by Qul Himmet (second half of the 16th century) see Nüzhet (1930, pp. 192 f., No. 16):

Hâcî Bektaş tekkesine gireli
Dervişleri gül göründi gözüme
Zâhir bâtin himmetine ireli
Dervişleri gül göründi gözüme

“Since entering the convent of Haji Bektash
Its derwishes appear to my eyes like roses.
Since attaining its visible and invisible blessing
Its derwishes appear to my eyes like roses.”

177

האגילדי גייוול V673 ידפוק לבבי על דלת

haçildi gyül “The rose burst into the bloom”. Meter *hazaj* or *rajaz*. * Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam. This may be the incipit of a ghazal by Nev’î (cf. 1977, p. 496, No. 449):

Açıldı gül içilür câm-i xōş-güvâr yine
Şafâ vü ‘işrete yüz tıtdi rüzgâr yine

“The rose has burst into bloom, one can again drink the
palatable cup,
The time of pleasure and carousing has again started.”

Another text is recorded in Ufqî (1976, p. 279) with its *peshrev* (prelude) composed by a certain Solaq-Oghli. The music is given, the maqam indicated, rhythm *devr-i kebîr*.

Açıldı gül gibi ‘âlem
Esdî nesîm-i şubh-dem
Cüş eyleyüb bülbül gibi
Muṭrib sūrûr it dem-be-dem

“The world has burst into bloom like a rose,
The morning breeze has started.
Rising up in exuberance like a nightingale
Jubilate incessantly, O musician!”

חלאש אולמאק יחידתי עוז חמדתי G2680

halas olmaq "To be rescued (saved, liberated)". Meter *hazaj*. * *Maqâm Nevâ*. The incipit refers to a poem (*tarjîc-band*) by the very famous 14th-century poet Nesîmî (executed in 1404, cf. 1973, vol. 3, p. 352, No. 111):

Xalâş olmaq dilersen çamdan ey dil gel gedâ olğıl
 Olub dervîş mülk-i işqa ya'nî pâdişâh olğıl
 Yüri gel gel çarîqatden yaña sen pişvâ olğıl
 Çarîq-i işqda ya'nî baña sen rehnümâ olğıl
 Gelürsen mülk-i sünnede zâhid-i bî-riyâ olğıl
 Murâduñ devlet ise çâlib-i faqr u fenâ olğıl
 Cihân sultânlığın istersen ey dil gel gedâ olğıl

"If you want to be freed of sorrow, come, O heart, become a
 beggar,
 By becoming a derwish (beggar), become the king of the realm
 of Love!

Come over, come, become my leader on the [mystical] path;
 In other words, become my guide on the road of Love!

If you come to the realm of orthodoxy (note: translation
 tentative), be a sincere devout;

If you long for kingship, search for poverty, and annihilation,
 If you aspire toward world rulership, become a beggar!"

Perhaps a later poem based on Nesîmî's *tarjîc-band* served as model for the Hebrew song, as, e.g., this ghazal by Şem'î (d. 1524, see *Âşîq* 1971, fol. 252a; *Naẓmî fol 513^f*; *Tarlan* 1948-49, part 2, p. 74):

Xalâş olmaq ne mümkin bir gönjül kim mübtelâ olsa
 Alınmaz işq elinden iki âlem bir yaña olsa.

"A heart that is stricken by love cannot be saved,
 It cannot be freed from the power of Love even if both worlds
 join/come together."

The same verse is also ascribed to Shemsî (d. 1580), see *Laṭîfî* (1314, p. 211).

חינדאן אול אי גייונגול V3877 ירחך לא יאסף

handan ol ey gyöngül "Laugh, O heart". Meter *muḏâri*^c. * Maqâm Râst. This is the incipit of a ghazal by Yahyâ Beg (died in 1582; cf. 1977, pp. 316 f., No. 57):

Xandân ol, ey gönjül, ki vişâl ihtimâli var,
Fürqat kemâle irdi, kemâlünj zevâli var.

"Rejoyce, O heart, because there is a chance of coming together,
Separation has reached its culmination, culmination is followed by decline (or, diminution)."

180

חאנום גיולונדי אולאים V3433 לבי ובשרי וטוחי ירננו לך

חנום גולונדין אולאים T7885 אשחר לך צורי משגבי

hanum/canum yolunden/gyolunda öleyim "I am ready to die for you, my king (khan)/my soul". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Segâh.

For comparison look at this beginning of a ghazal by Beyânî (died between 1512 and 1519), see Latîfi (1314, p. 107):

Didüm yolunđa cân virsem hey âfet
Geçer-mi minnete didi ne minnet

"I said: If I die for you, fatal beauty,
Will [such a favor] oblige you? He replied: What favor?"

181

חאקי קאדימי G550 נפשי קדמי אל בצרות יהי לך עזרה

חאקי קאדימי V4287 יתאו המלך יופיך

haq-i/aq-i qademi/qadem-i "The earth (soil, dust) on which he steps". Meter: a variant of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ. The text may be taken from a ghazal by the famous poet Bâqî (1526–1600, cf. 1935, p. 173) with this first verse:

Xâk-i qademünj kühli gelürse gözüm üzre
Kûyuñ yolunuñ xidmeti başum yüzüm üzre

“If the antimony (eye powder) of the dust on your foot touches
my eye,
I am ready to do service on the road of your quarter.”

182

חארב אולור י G3042 ינון שלח אלי דוד

harab olur “[...] is destroyed”. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm ‘Uzzâl. If we assume that *olur* stands for *oldı*, the incipit may belong to the first verse of a ghazal by the 16th century poet Ḥasibî (see Qinalızâde 1978–81, vol. 1, p. 286):

Xarâb oldı yeter/yatar seng-i melâmetden dil-i ‘âşîq
‘Îmâret qıl esirge qalmasun şâhum bozuq yazuq

“It is enough, the lover’s heart lies in ruins due to the rocks of
blame [you have thrown],
Have pity, my king, build it up again so that no destruction,
no fault remains!”

183

האשה מישין י G289 יד חרוצים עלי אצים חיש להלל

hast[a] misin “Are you sick?” * Maqâm Segâh.

184

האיי אגלאר גידור בינום שוגימיש י V3460 יפת תואר יפת מראה

hay agalar nedür (text: *gedür*) *benüm suçim* (text: *suçimis*) “O, aghas, what wrong did I do [to be punished like that]?” * Maqâm Nevrûz.

185

האי באנגה י J4335 יתעלה שמך על עמך ויגדל כח

hay banga “Oh, to me”. * Maqâm Şabâ. This is a possible beginning of a poem as, e.g., in the beginning of a ghazal by Vaşfi (late 15th or early 16th century, cf. 1980, p. 152, No. 94):

Ey başa ibrâm idüp her laḫza şoran derdümi
Gör benüm bu eşk-i gül-gûnumla rûy-ı zerdümi

“O you who all the time press me asking what my trouble was:
Look at my rose-colored (i.e., bloody) tears and at my yellow
(pale) face!”

Also two hymns by the popular religious poet Yûnus [Emre] (d. 1320 ?; cf. 1965, pp. 53 and 69) begin with these words:

İy başa eyü diyen benem qamudan kemter/yavuz

“O you who call me ‘good’, I am lower/worse than anybody.”

However, the incipit is so short that these quotations have little weight.

186

היגרין שיטימי V369 ידיד גאוני נעלם מני

hecrin sitemi “The torture of separation”. Meter: a *hazaj* variant.
* Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam.

187

היר האג'אן אה איילושם V270 יגתי בקראי מבור שביה

her haçan/qaçan ah eylesem “Each time when I sigh”. Meter *ramal*. S has only the first two words. * Maqâm Mâhûr.

Compare this first verse of a ghazal by Naẓmî (d. 1588; cf. 1928, p. 48, No. 172):

Qaçan derd-ile âh itsem cigerden
Gelür san qatı yel bir ıssı yirden

“Whenever I, full of grief, heave a sigh from the heart
A stiff wind, as it were, rises from a hot place.”

188

היי גאנום היגרי גאנום G1118 יה שומר אמונים

hey canum Hicri canum “O my soul, Hicrî, my soul”. Unmetrical. * Maqâm Râst.

hey gül-i gülzar itme beni zar, see under 124.

hey gül-i güli zar, see under *ey gül-i gülzar itme beni zar* or under *ey gyül-i gyülzar-i cenet*.

189

חושני גילא ליבאי יניא ראשי נוד דוד V3050

חושני ייולי ליבה יר G2719 יחלצון ידידך

אושני גולילי בגאי יר T2719

hüsn-i/üsn-i yüli lebe/leb-i “[To liken] the beauty of the rose to the lip [of the beloved]”. * Maqâm Nevâ. For this kind of an inverted comparison see, e.g., this first verse of a ghazal by Vaşfi (1980, p. 94, No. 36):

Ebrûña beñzerem dir imiş luṭf ile hilâl
Beñzer ki ey şanem yeñile oldı bu xayâl

“I resemble your brow in loveliness the crescent moon is said
to say condescendingly.

It seems, O idol, that this fancy is quite new.”

Or this first verse of a ghazal by the 15th-century poet *Senâ’î* (see *Laṭîfi* 1314, p. 113):

Xaddüñe beñzemeyeydi güle kim dirler idi
Zülfüñe beñzemesse sünbüle kim dirler idi

“If it (i.e., the rose) did not resemble your cheek, who would
have likened it (i.e., your cheek) to a rose?

If it (i.e., the hyacinth) did not resemble your locks, who would
have likened [your locks] to it?”

Another example: a ghazal by *Şadrî* (16th century) has this beginning (see *Laṭîfi* 1314, p. 222):

Gûşuña gül öykünürmiş kimseler işitmesün
Beñzerem zülfüñe dirse sünbül oñub bitmesün

“The rose tries to resemble your ear, may nobody hear of that!
May the hyacinth never prosper, if it thinks to resemble your
locks!”

Many more examples could be cited. Two nice ones from Me'âlî (d. 1535-36; cf. 1982, Nos. 44 and 45):

Lebüñe sehv idüb öykündi ammâ
Suçım bildi peşimân oldı ħalvâ

“Halva (Turkish honey) mistakenly tried to act as your lip
But it realized its fault and repented.”

And:

Qadduñā öykündügiyçün serverâ
Servi her dem silküben şarşar şabâ

“Because it wanted to imitate your stature, O sovereign,
The wind always shakes and batters the cypress.”

Or Me'âlî (1982, p. 382, No. 204):

Gözine öykünür ħabîbüñ
Etini yidiler âhû ħarîbüñ

“Because it wanted to ape the friend's eyes
They devoured the flesh of the poor gazelle.”

Honey lips, cypress statures, gazelle eyes are common similes.

Or a ghazal by Zâtî (1477-1546; cf. 1967-87, vol. 3, p. 448):

Mihr öykünür cemâlünje bilmez zevâlini
Meh beñzerem cebînünje dir gör kemâlini

“The sun apes your beauty, not thinking of its afternoon]
decline.
The moon claims to resemble your forehead [but] note its
perfection!”

190

אילאהי עאזימי הומקייאר V34 יאחזני כאב נעכר

ilahi 'azim (corr. *Allâhül'azîm*) *hünkyar* “God the Almighty, the Ruler”.

* Maqâm Râst.

191

אי להי האשריטי הינקייאר תשכח יד ימיני J566

ilahi xasret-i (corr. *hazret-i*) *hünkyar* "O God, his Majesty, the Ruler".
* Maqâm Râst.

i[n]gledesin sen beni, see under 5.

192

עישא מי שן מוסא מי שן היללי ירוה דשן נם על דשן N3818

'Isa misin, Musa misin helle "Are you Jesus, are you Moses? (i.e., it seems that you are able to perform miracles)". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Awj-'Irâq.

193

עישקום גאנא די בילמיס חאלמי F3452 יפת עין ובת טובת תמונה

'işqum gene de bilmes halümi "My love does still not know the state I am in". Meter? * Maqâm Şabâ. The personification of *işqum* "my love" strikes one as unusual. Compare with the incipit 21 (*aşiq oldum bilmesin*) and 241 (*ol benüm hâlümi cânüm bilmesin*).

194

אשטנבולדאן גייקטום V8988 לך תכלה עיני עופר

Istanbuldan/Istambuldan çiqtum "I left Istanbul". Non-metrical. * Maqâm Nevruz 'Ajam. Well-known anonymous folksong, for a modern version see Esen (1986, pp. 49–51, with many references):

İstanbuldan çıktım derya yüzüne
İrast geldim bir Ermeni kızına
Aç yaşmağın bak yavrunun yüzüne
Dönme m'ola gâvur kızı dinime

“I set out from İstanbul, [I set out] on the sea,
 I came across an Armenian girl.
 Unveil your face! Look at the kitten’s face...
 I wonder, would that child of an Infidel turn to my religion?”

In the last quatrain, Benli Hâlime is given as author’s name, but the editors do not believe in the authenticity of this name which also appears in several 19th-century historical poems, see Boratav (1982–83, vol. 2, pp. 434 f). See also in Saygun (1976, p. 318), Reinhard (1965, p. 162).

195

כימסדן בילמיס אידום בו מהבתי ידיד צח ואדום זה היום באתי
kimseden bilmes idüm bu muhabeti “I had never experienced this love from anybody”. * Maqâm Segâh.

196

כוג'וקטין שיבדים שיני V2917 ימי חרפי אהבתני
 קוג'וקטין שיבדום שיני G8055 אשירה נא שיר לידידי
küçücükten/qüçücükten sevdüm/sevdim seni “I have loved you since childhood”. Non-metrical. * Maqâm Nevâ. Folk poetry; compare, e.g., this stanza by the 17th century popular minstrel ʿÂşîq, see Sevengil (1965, p. 106):

Küçücükden bir yâr sevdüm
 Ne öpdüm ne qucaqladum
 Ne meclisinde oturub
 Ne bir bâde içebildüm

“When still quite young I was in love with someone.
 I neither kissed him nor embraced him.
 I never sat in his company
 Nor could I drink wine with him.”

Here a variant in a regional dialect (Hasan 1987, p. 315, No. 156):

Çoçuçaqdan bir yâr sevdim gör ne geldi başıma
 Kâfir encel mi qarışdı benim olmuş aşıma
 Gökde uçan humâ quşlar qonmaq ister leşime
 Virmezem yârümi yâde yoq mudur ʿârım benim

“Since childhood I was in love with a sweetheart, look what
 happened to me!
 That damned rival interfered with my ready meal.
 Those phenixes that fly in the sky are waiting to descend on
 my carcass.
 I’ll not leave my sweetheart to a stranger, have I no honour?”

197

כייין גיידאשין אול V639 ידמה נוד דוד כגור

kyuyun gedasin (sic!) *ol. Meter muḏârî^c. * Maqâm Ḥüseynî. Beginning of a ghazal by the poet Bâqî (1526–1600, cf. 1935, p. 404, No. 491):*

Kûyung gedâsı oldı dil-i mübtelâyı gör
 Sevdâ-yı mülk-i salṭanet eyler gedâyı gör

“Look at the misfortune-stricken heart: it has become the
 beggar of your street,
 Look at that beggar who fancies to possess a kingdom!”

198

לאלי לדין קי שור דוגום F1452 יהיו כמוץ עובדי כמוש

lal-i lebin (text: *ledin*) *qi sordugum* “It is the ruby of your lips that I am asking about (or, with intended ambiguity, that I suck/kiss)”. *Meter rajaz. * Maqâm Ḥüseynî. For an early example see the first verse of a ghazal by Qâzî Burhânüddîn (1314–98; cf. 1980, p. 310, No. 792):*

Laʿl-i lebünden soram qani yüregüm qani
 Qanını xöd görürem qani yüregüm qani

“I asked (or: sucked, kissed) your ruby lip: Where is my heart,
 where is it?
 Only it’s blood I see, where is my heart, where is it?”

לאלי ליבונגי טאריף תV164 תולה ארץ על בלימה

לאלי לי בונגי תאקיף יT2108 יונת נדודים למה

la^l-i/lal-i lebünġi ta^rif/tarif “To describe the ruby of your lips [is impossible]”. Meter: a *mudâri^c* variant. * Maqâm Nevâ and Dügâh. The concept is found, e.g., in the first verse of a ghazal by Qâzî Burhânüddîn (1314–98; cf. 1980, p. 33, No. 84):

Şerh idimeye lebünġi dilüm ola lâl

Gözlerümün yaşu anuġ için ola âl

“May my tongue not be able to describe your lip, may it be
mute,

May the tears of my eyes therefore be red (with blood)!”

Struggling for words the poet confesses his inability to express his thought — a frequent means of hyperbole as, e.g., in this verse from a ghazal by Âhî (see Tarlan 1949, part 4, p. 72):

Nice tahrîr ideyin vaşfını derd u elemün

Baġrı yufqa kağıduġ gözleri yaşlu qalemün

“How can I write down a description of my pain and grief

The paper is easily moved to tears, the pen has watering eyes?”

An anonymous *türkü* begins with this first line (Hasan 1987, p. 383, No. 213):

Hüsnünün târifi gelmez qaleme

“The pen cannot give a description of your beauty.”

לא באמי תJ566 תשכח יד ימיני

lavami “The lights”. Reading and translation tentative. * Maqâm Segâh.

201

ליכואפיטין בירי כילי יתנו בברותי ראש J4347

lebi afezin biri xeyli "One whose lips are of a *beauté fatale* ... very much".
Reading and translation tentative. * Maqâm Râst.

202

לטאפיט גיול L6810 אנכי יעלת החן

letaferet gyül * Maqâm not indicated. This fragment may be based on a ghazal by the poet Sa'dî (probably the one that died in 1539) with this beginning (see Nazmî, fol. 341^V):

Ey letâfet gülşeninde verd-i xandânum benüm
Ândelib-i xoş-nevâ kim dinle efgânüm benüm

"O my blooming rose in the rose-garden of gracefulness,
I am the melodious nightingale, listen to my elegy!"

A variant of it was still sung in the 17th century: it is recorded with notation in Ufqî (1976, p. 234) as a *semâ'î* (a note on the margin says that it was composed by 'Alî Ufqî himself, but this note possibly refers to the preceding entry):

Ey letâfet gülşeninüñ tâze açılmış güli
tâze açılmış güli
Sen bu hüsnile yine 'âqılları qılduñ deli
'Âqılları qılduñ deli
Bir kemân-ebrû civânsın şîr-i Yezdânüm 'Âlî
Şîr-i Yezdânüm 'Âlî
Tir-i müjgânüñ helâk itdi niçe şâhib-dili
Niçe şâhib-dili

"O freshly blooming rose in the rose-garden of gracefulness!
With this beauty you have again turned the wise ones into
fools.

You are a youth with bow-shaped eyebrows, Ali, my godly
lion,

The arrows of your eyelashes have destroyed numerous hearty
fellows."

203

מאקפול יילילי לי יחיד אלי גואלי G2500
maqpul yeledi li "Accepted" and melismata. * Maqâm 'Irâq.

204

מאייל אולדי ידך בעורף אויבך N614
mayil oldi "[My heart] became attracted toward..." Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Zircüle. This may be the beginning of a ghazal by Emrî (d. 1575), see Ergun (vol. 3, p. 1281):

Mâyil oldı göricek 'ârız-ı dildârı gönül
 Şu gibi aqdı görüb yine o ruxsârı gönül

"When seeing the sweetheart's cheek, the heart turned to him,
 When the heart saw his face it flowed to him like water."

205

מגנון גיבי ביר לליאני דיואני J3903 ירעד לבי עת שיר יהגה
Mecnun gibi bir Leylayi (text: *Leyliani*) *divane* "Like Majnun I am crazily [in love] with a Leyla". Meter out of order. * Maqâm Nevâ.

206

מידיט עאלם לארי פרי וירדי יארום C140 יבט עניי צורי צר עלי ירום
medet 'alemleri peri viridi yarum "Help! It is the fair one that has given [me] sorrows, O friend". Meter out of order. * Maqâm 'Irâq.

207

מידיט גינרינג ג'יפ'אי היג V396 ידיד לך המו מעי
medet cevr ü (text: *cinring*) *cefayi hic* "Help! Do not ... pain and torture!"
 Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

מידית אולדורמה ביני ימשול בי בן דוד S3015

medet, öldürme beni "Help! Don't kill me!" Several meters are possible.
* Maqâm Nevrûz Ajam. Somewhat similar is the beginning of a ghazal by Bâqî (1935, p. 165, No. 132):

Meded öldürdi beni derd u ğam-ı cânâne
Qâbil (qâ'il ?) olmaz dil-i divâne ise dermâne
"Help! Anguish and frustration because of the beloved have
killed me
But the crazy heart is not capable (or, variant: not willing) to
find a remedy."

The same beginning is also found in a ghazal by Ziyetî, see Ahdî (fol. 105^r), Qinalızade (vol. 1, p. 434):

Meded öldürdi beni i şanem-i şeh-r-âşûb
O levendâne revişler o xudâyî üslûb
"Help! O idol that causes chaos in the city — he has killed me
With his roistering gait, with his nonchalant manners."

מיקשורי דילי י G1564 יודעי ארחות עוברי דרך

meksur (text: *meksuri*) *dili* "The broken heart (acc.)". Meter *rajaz* or *muđârî*.
* Maqâm Segâh.

Commoner is the synonymous phrase *şikeste dil* as, e.g., in a ghazal by Aĥmed-i Dâ'î (d. 1427 ?), see İz (1966-67, vol. 1, p. 218):

Ğam yime ey şikeste dil bu daxi böyle qalmaya
"Don't worry, O broken heart, this too will pass."

210

מיל מאטי F3990 ישגיב אל עולם בכחו
מלאמיט J2807 ילבשו בושת וכלימה

melamet "Blame". * *Maqâm Mâhûr*. Perhaps based on this ghazal by Khayâlî Beg (1945, p. 283):

Melâmet mülkine mâlik olub tâ kim 'alem çekdüm
Selâmet defteri erqâmına evvel qalem çekdüm

"When I hoisted the flag conquering the realm of "melâmet"
(i.e., resigning oneself to being blamed),
I crossed out the figures in the ledger of salvation."

Meter *hazaj*.

211

מיני איגיטרי גיולדורמה J1507 יובילו לך מלכים שי

meni i[n]citeni (text: *igitri gyüldürme* "Don't make laugh (i.e., don't make happy) the one who tortures me". Meter probably *hazaj*. * *Maqâm Nevrûz*.

meni mest i harab iti, see under 130.

212

מיני נינגי J1781 יום יום יעמוס דוד על לבי עול

meni renc-i "[Torture] me [with] the pain of". Meter *hazaj*. * *Maqâm Hüseyinî*.

213

מיאי חורמאטי עאלים רוק G3749 יראו ישרים ישעך וישישו

meye hürmet-i 'alem yoq "Wine does not enjoy the respect of the world". There is a pun involved: the word *hürmet* 'respect' also means 'interdiction', especially in connection with wine. Meter *hazaj*. * *Maqâm Bû-Selik*.

Compare, e.g., this first verse from a ghazal by Rûhi of a Baghdad (died in Damascus in 1605; cf. 1287, p. 160):

Rez duxterine hürmetün eller gibi yoqdur
Adın çeküb ey şûfi dime qatı soğuqdur

“Like others you [too] have veneration for/aversion against the
daughter of the grape;
Don’t scold her, O Sûfi, saying “how awfully cold!”

214

מיניט חוראייה C1507 יתעלף לב נחשל

מיניט סודאייה J1507 יתעלף לב נחשל

minnet Xudaya “God be thanked!” Meter perhaps *muḏârî*. * Maqâm Şabâ.
This incipit may belong to a ghazal by Khurremî, quoted in Ahdî (fol. 83^v):

Minnet Xudâya hâşıl idüb devr-i kâmunuz
Qan yutdurur ‘adûlara şûrb-i müdâmumuz

“God be thanked for letting us have the era of our wishes!
Our constant drinking [wine] makes our enemies swallow
blood.”

215

מילקי דילדי פאטיש'אהום V110 לאבלי ציון נחום יתן מלכי

מולקי דילדים פאטיש'אהום G5233 אם אשכחך אלי מלכי

mülq-i/milk-i dilde (text: *dildem*) *paṭiṣahum* “My sultan in the kingdom of the
heart”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm ‘Irâq and Segyah ‘Irâq.

216

מושוגול ביני יאר C577 לו שמי ניר

müşgül/müşgil beni yar “The difficulty: the friend [has ...] me”. Syntactically
not clear. Meter perhaps *rajaz*. * Maqâm ‘Irâq.

217

מושג'ול גם אימיש' V44 יאכל אש נדוד קרבי

müşgül gam imiş "It turns out to be a troublesome affliction". Several meters possible. * Maqâm Segyah. Possibly the word *ne* is missing in the beginning and this incipit is identical with No. 226.

nam-i canan ile, see under *gam-i canan ile*.

218

נשיפ אולדי שיני שידומיק ימאסו כמו מים צרים G2882

nasip oldi seni sevmeq (text: *sedvmek*) "It was [my] destiny to love you". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Râst.

219

נאשיף אולורסה דאגי אשאלום א4035 אל רם ונשא

nasip olursa dagi aşalum "If fate allows, let us cross the mountain". Meter *hazaj* (if at all metrical). * Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam. Crossing mountains is a much used topos in folk poetry (cf. also incipit No. 23). Here an example from a dirge (*ağıt*) (Esen 1982, p. 64):

Aşalım gönül aşalım
Dersim dağına düşelim...

"Let us cross [the mountains], heart,
Let us get into the mountains of Dersim..."

220

נאזר דילבירי יתנשא כארי C4352

nazli (text: *nazil/nazu*) *dilberi/dilbere* "The coquettish beauty (acc. or dat.)". Meter unclear, probably non-metrical. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

ני באקאר אולדי י G265 יגן בעדי עוזי ומנוסי

ne baqar oldi “Neither was there anyone who would look.”. Although the text is quite readable, it is difficult to interpret it as the beginning of a poem or song. * Maqâm Râst.

A modern rural work song (*qoşma*) from the Vilayet of Kastamonu starts with this line (see Caferoglu 1943, p. 19):

Ne baxarsun dölükden

“Why are you looking through the hole?”

ני גינגי י N1781 יום יעמוס דוד על לבי עול

ne cengi/çengi “What a fight” or “neither the *çeng* (a kind of lute)”. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

A ghazal by Âhî (d. 1517) starts with this couplet (see Tarlan 1948–49, part 4, p. 73; Qınalızâde 1978–81, vol. 1, p. 195):

Seg-i kûyuñ ne ceng eyler bu cism-i nâ-tuvân için

Ne lâzım bunca gavgâlar bir iki üstüxân için

“What fight do the dogs of your neighborhood get into for
this emaciated body of mine!

Is it worthwhile to quarrel that much over just one or two
bones?”

Meter *hazaj*. (Lovers besiege the beloved one’s door, the area and domain of the street dogs). Now, it would be metrically possible to start the first line with the second foot:

Ne ceng eyler seg-i kûyuñ bu cism-i nâ-tuvân için

The meaning would not change. However, no such variant has been found.

223

ני איילידום שאנגה י2273V יורה חץ שנון נדוד דוד חנון
ne eyledüm sanga "What have I done to you?". Meter perhaps *hazaj*.
 * Maqâm Nevâ.

224

ניהי עאלא גיזל דילביר ל507C להודות אל לבי חפץ
 בירי האישלה נייזולי דילביר קפלאן י3669J יקרו לי כל רעיך אל
ne hey 'ala gözli dilber qaplan "What? O hazel-eyed beauty, the tiger...". The
 last word only in 3. The words *'ala gözli* show many corruptions. Reading and
 translation are therefore tentative. Meter not clear. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

225

ני עשקי פירי איסיר אולדום י8318N יפה ברה אשר אורה תדמה כמו סהר
ne işq-i pire esir oldum "I neither became a captive of the love for the *pîr*
 (i.e., saintly man, founder of a religious order)". Meter *muctess*. * Maqâm
 Şabâ.

226

ני מושקיל יפלא בעיני כל איש מדוע איחר ישעי
ne müşqil "How unbearable [a torture] ...". Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Râst.
 Possibly identical with 217 but the maqâm is different. This may be the begin-
 ning of a ghazal by Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1497; cf. 1966, p. 274, No. 234):

Ne müşkildür cüdâ düşmek kişi sevgülü yârından
 Xuşûşâ kim sefer qıla zârûretle diyârından

"How bitter it is to be separated from one's beloved friend,
 Especially, when he is forced to travel away from his country
 for a journey (or, military campaign)!"

This verse was made the refrain of a *müsemmen* by the poet 'Ishqî (see
 Tarlan 1948, part 2, pp. 42 f.).

If we assume that an interjection is missing in the beginning, the incipit may belong to a ghazal by Khayâlî Beg (cf. 1945, p. 397, No. 13):

Hey ne müşkil kâr imiş ʿâlemde yâr eksükligi
Cânuma kâr eyledi bî-ixtiyâr eksükligi

“Oh how difficult a matter is to be in this world without a friend.
That lack has involuntarily struck me deeply.”

Or to a very similar one by Zâtî (1967–87, vol. 2, p. 154):

Hey ne müşkil kâr olur ʿâlemde ey yâr ayrılıq
Nola ağlarsam idübdür cânuma kâr ayrılıq

“Oh, what difficult a matter in this world is separation!
No wonder I cry as separation is harassing my soul.”

Or another ghazal by Zâtî (vol. 3, p. 251):

Hey ne müşkil derd olur dil virmek ʿâlâ kimseye
Virmesün bu derdi ey dil Haq taʿâlâ kimseye

“How difficult a matter is it to give one’s heart to a high-placed
person!
May God the Almighty not assign such a trial to anyone!”

227

ני ק'נאים דיואנ'ים י3729 ירא חרד קמתי מלכי
ני אקוניים דיואניום י3729 F

ne oqunayim divaneyüm “Why should I have myself be cured [by prayers] ? I am insane.” Reading and translation tentative. Meter unclear. * Maqâm Râst.

228

ני דין ג'אק בוילי אונג'ינימיק י4159 V ישנתי אז ינוח לי

neden çaq böyle incinmeq (text: *üncinmek*) “Why be hurt/offended just like that?” Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm ʿIrâq.

229

ניבהאר אולדי הי בינפשיגי י746 V יה אלה מלכות עלם מלכותיה
nev-bahar oldi hey benefşeci "Spring has come, O seller of violets". Meter
khafif. * Maqâm Râst.

230

ניב ג'יב'א נום י841 V יה הפק מורשי לבי עליון
nev-civanum "My beautiful youth". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ. This could
 be a shorter version of one of the following entries.

231

ניב ג'יבאנום רקשי גירשא י3372 S יפו דודיך נעימה
 ניב ג'יבאנום חק שיע י3439 V יפרש לבבי לשחות
nev-civanum raqse girse/raksi görse "When my beautiful youth enters/sees
 the dance". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevrûz.

232

ניב גיבאנום שיר דילזום י841 S יה הפק מורשי לבי עליון
 ניב גיבאנום שיר דילאזום י2547 G יחיד ונאזר בגבורה
nev-civanum şir-dilanum (text: *-dilzum*) "My beautiful youth! My lion-
 hearted one!" Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

233

ניילא ביר שוכי פור שירה בול בול י512 N ידידי מה לך עלית לזבול
neyile bir şaki pür seda (text: *sera*) *bülbül* "Sing with the flute, O
 nightingale, with full voice". Metrically unclear. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

ניג'י ביר בין שאנגה דושטום אולאים י V1561 יודע תעלומות לב נדכאים

niçe bir ben sanga dostum olayim... "How long still have I, O my friend, to be your...". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Dügâh. The usual form of such a beginning can be typified by a ghazal by Ḥayretî (1981, p. 159, No. 38):

Niçe bir ağlayayın derd ile her gâh meded
Yâ niçe bir diyeyin âh meded vâh meded

"How long shall I keep crying with pain, help!
Or how long shall I call: Oh, help! Oh, help!"

ניג'י ביר מאג'אר מיזדה י V3866 ירזה משמן בשרי

niçe bir maceramuzda * Maqâm Nevâ. — This is the incipit of a 6-liner (*müseddes*) by the famous poet Yaḥyâ Beg (cf. 1977, p. 186, No. 17) (Meter *hazaj*):

Niçe bir mâcerâmuz döstâna dâsitân olsun
Niçe bir nâr-i 'iṣqum dūd-ı âhumdan 'iyân olsun
Mekânım 'ayn-ı 'âlemden nihân-ender-nihân olsun
Kilâb-i kûyuna cism-i za'ifüm armağân olsun
Ne kûyun âh ile dolsun ne qapunda figân olsun
Beni öldür vücûdumdan ne nâm u ne nişân olsun

"How long will my adventures have to be narrated to the
friends?

How long will the fire of my passion be observed through the
smoke of my sighs?

I wish my status were completely hidden from the eyes of
the world,

I wish my weak body were a gift to the dogs of your quarter!
Neither should my sighs fill the streets of your quarter, nor
should there be moaning at your door.

Kill me so that there be no trace left of my existence!"

236

ני גאר ני איילים יS3930 ירתח כסיר לבי מנוד אהובי
nigar, ne eyleyim "O beauty, what shall I do?" Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

237

נוש איילי גאמי בדידי יC4361 יתצני סביב נדוד דודי
nuş eyle cami vedidi "Empty the cup, O my friend!" N has *qâse/xâse* instead of *câmi* (both meaning 'cup'). Meter ? * Maqâm Sünbüle.

238

נוש' איילידיגום יV3126 יעור לב עגום
nuş eyledigüm "[That] ... which I drink/have drunk". Meter: a variant of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ 'Irâq.

Although the reading is quite clear, it is possibly a corruption of the beginning of a ghazal by Zâtî (cf. 1967-87, vol. 3, p. 84, No. 1138):

Nûş eyledüm şafâlar ile mihrünün meyin
 Nâhîd çarxa girdi görüb nâlemün neyin

"Rejoycing with pleasure have I drunk the wine of your affection.

Venus entered the firmament when she saw the reed flute of my moan."

239

נושליבין היר זירשי מוקבולימין יN722 יה אל מבין כל מורשי ולי אומן
nuşlebin her zeresi maqbûl-i men "The sweet-lipped one's every atom is welcome to me". Meter: a faulty *rajaz*. * Maqâm Nevrûz Şabâ.

Based on a classical Persian piece of music which was known to Ottoman musicians. Üngör (vol. 2, p. 975) calls it "*kâr, maqâm Şabâ, usûl nîm-şaqîl*", composed by the famous Persian writer on music 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî (d. 1435). Üngör transcribes the text as follows:

Nûş u leb der resid maḳbûl ü men hoş berdar-i hün cânüm
Ḥamd ü hüdâvend-i râ cânim aşk-i heme ez ḥüsn (etc.)

240

אוגראדום המאם ייולי ש971V שיר חדש אשיר לך א
ogradum hamam yoli[nda] “[On] the way to the public bath I encountered...”.
Unmetrical folksong. * Maqâm Segâh.

241

אול בינום האלומי ג'אנום בילמישין י3008V ימס לבי ימש מחשכים
ol benüm halümi canum bilmesin “My sweetheart should not know what state
I am in”. Meter: a *ramal* variant. * Maqâm Dügâh.

The incipit reminds of the beginning of a ghazal by Aḥmed-i Dâ'i
(d. 1427 ?), see İz (1966–67, vol. 1, p. 219):

Cânânei ben sevdügümi cân daxı bilmez
Cânüm dilegin dünyede cânân daxı bilmez

“Not even [my] soul knows that I love the Beloved.
Never on earth does the beloved even know what the heart
desires.”

The concept is similar to the ones of incipit 21 (*âşiq oldum bilmesin*) and
probably also of 193 (*işqum gene de bilmes halümi*).

242

אול קאמיטי שילו ראון י3876S ירחיק נוד דוד נעמן
ol qameti selv-i revan “That one whose stature is a walking cypress”. Meter
rajaz. * Maqâm Nevâ.

The topos is common, cf., e.g., a song for dancing (*raqşîye*) in Ufqî (1976,
p. 241), that begins:

Qâmeti serv-i revânüm
Qurbândur belüne cânüm
Nür-i didem güzidem hâlüm nic'olur

“O my [beloved] with the stature of a walking cypress,
May my soul (=life) be a sacrifice for your [slender] waste!
O light of my eyes, O my chosen one, what is going to become
of me?”

öldi giti, see under 11.

243

אלומישה עאשיקי זאר י387 G ידיד חשקי השכחת חנותך בין שדי
ol[d]um-ise 'aşıq-i zar “If I have become a sighing lover”. Meter *ramal*.
* Maqâm Nevrûz 'Ajam.

244

אולדורדי ביני כארה ניזליה י442 V יפת חן רני לאל מהלל
öldürdi beni kara gözli “The black-eyed one has killed me”. Meter *rajaz* or
muḏârî^c variant. * Maqâm Râst.

245

אולדורמאסין עדו י165 V יבער לבי כמו גחלת
öldürmesin 'adu “May the enemy not kill [him]”. Meter *muḏârî*^f.
* Maqâm Dügâh.

246

אולופטור גונלמוז י177 N יהגה לבבי הגות תבונות
oluptur gönlümüz “Our heart has become...” Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm 'Irâq.

247

פאטי שאהום י99 F יחיד עני אני צופה
patışahum “My Sultan”. * Maqâm Mâhûr. Either a shorter version of one of
the following entries or of another similar poem like, e.g., the ghazal by the
16th century poet Ferrukhî (see Qınalızâde 1978-81, vol. 2, p. 747):

Pâdişâhum xâtem-i la'l-i dürr-efşânuḡ-mı var
°Âleme ḡükm itmeḡe mühr-i Süleymânuḡ-mı var

"O my Sultan, do you possess a pearl-scattering ruby ring?
Do you possess Solomon's seal for ruling over the world?"

248

פאטי שאהום שאנגה לאלה יG1537 יודוך כל מלכי ארץ

patişahum, sanga lala "My Sultan, [I would like to be] your *lala* (male governess)". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm 'Irâq.

249

פאטישאהום שאנגה אולאן יה N869 יה זרועי אמצנו

פאטי שאהום שאנגה אלאן יF3363 יפה קול ומטיבי נגן

patişahum, sanga olan "My Sultan, the ... [I] have for you". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm 'Irâq and Nevrûz.

250

פאיני יאז שורמיאי בין יJ3321 יפה דוד לך אשא יד

payine yüz (text: *yaz sürmeye ben* "I [come] to rub my face at your feet (as a sign of humble respect)". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Râst. The expression appears even in folkpoetry, see, e.g., this stanza from a *türkü* (Hasan 1987, p. 331, No. 169):

Yüzüm sürsem xâk-pâyuna yârin
Amân ey qaşlar kemân diyeyim
Niyâza gelmişdir °âşıqun sana
Uyan ey qaşları civân diyeyim

"If I would rub my face on the soil of your foot
And I would say O [beauty] with bough-shaped eyebrows,
Your lover has come to you to implore you,
Awake, O [beauty] with elegant eyebrows!"

251

פרישאן האלינג י V3445 יפת עיניים ובבות

פרישאן דאלי אולדום י N4194 ישעשעו נפשי שירים

perişan-halüng oldum "I have become distressed because of you". The last word only in N where *hâlüng* appears as *dali*. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik and Râst. Beginning of a *murabba'* by Fuẓû'î (d. 1556; cf. 1958, p. 472), with this first quatrain:

Perişan-ḥâlün oldum, sormaduḡ ḥâl-i perişânüm,
 Ğamunḡan derde düşdüüm, qılmaduḡ tedbîr-i dermânüm.
 Ne dirseḡ, rûzgârüm beyle-mi geçsün, güzel xânüm,
 Gözüm, cânüm, efendim, sevdügüm, sulṡânüm!

"I have become distressed because of you [but] you never
 inquired about my distressed state.

I fell ill because of my anguish about you [but] you never did
 anything to cure me.

What do you say, will my life pass like that, O my lovely
 sovereign,

My eyeball, my soul, my master, my beloved, my Sultan?"

252

קאלעדאן גיקשאם ני יאהום ניילישין י G2574 יחיד ממעון קדשך השקיפה

qal'adan çıqsam niyarum neylesin "If I leave the castle, what should my sweetheart do?" Meter: a *ramal* variant or non-metrical syllabic. * Maqâm Nevâ.

253

קאלבום פירשו דידור י J2846 ילוח אישי אלי

qalbum pür sevdadur "My heart is full of passion". Metrically out of order.
 * Maqâm Hüseyinî.

254

קאנלי ייאשי דורמאז יC4009 ישועתך אני אומר לנפשי

qanlı yaşı durmas (text: *durmam*) "Its/Their bloody tears do not stop coming". Meter *rajaz* or *muḏârî*^c. * Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam. A continuation — *mutatis mutandis* — as, e.g., in the beginning of a ghazal by Āhdî-yi Baghdâ-dî (d. 1592; cf. 1978-79, p. 132) can be assumed:

Dem-be-dem durmaz aqar qan zaxm-i tîg-i yârdan

"Steadily flows the blood — never stopping — from the wound caused by the sword of the friend."

255

קפימדין איירמה יS3375 יפו פעמיך בת נדיב

qapimden ayirma "Don't chase away from my door!" Meter: a variant of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Hüseynî. Somewhat distorted incipit of a 4-liner (*murabba*^c) by Yaḥyâ Beg (1977, pp. 207 f., No. 34):

Qapundan ayirma beni zûlm eyleme xânum
 Bir merd-i ġarîbem ne yirüm var ne mekânüm
 Şabr idemez oldum døyemez cevrüje cânüm
 Beg-zâdecigüm begcegizüm tâze cüvânüm.

"Do not chase me away from your door (or: from your service),
 be not cruel, my King!

I am a stranger, have no place, no abode.

I can no more support it nor bear it, O my soul,

O my princelet, my young king, my tender youth!"

256

קראש ייאר ייאר ייאר יחלתי לדברך יום יום

qardaş, yar, yar, yar "Brother, friend, friend, friend!" Non-metrical.
 * Maqâm Bû-Selik and Hüseynî.

257

קארדש' גיגום י179V יבש כמו חרש כחי
קארדש גיגום י682G יה יי צור עולמים

qardaşcigum "My dear little brother". * Maqâm Nevruz Ajam.

258

קרדשלוּרם אי יארנילר צ130L צדיק ומושיע אלי

qardaşlarum, yarenler[um] "My brethren! My comrades!" Meter *rajaz*.
* Maqâm not indicated.

259

קארד דאגלארין כ30N כרה בור ויחפרהו

קארלי דאגלארין י679G יה בנה נא קרית חנה נאמנה

qarlı dağların "... of the snow-covered mountains". In J the adjective is *xara* "black". Meter *ramal* or non-metrical. * Maqâm Hüseynî, Bû-Selik and Dügâh.

Snow-covered mountains are often mentioned in folkpoetry. See, e.g., this stanza from a dirge (Esen 1982, p. 187, No. 84):

Qarlı dağların yelkesi
Geçdi felegin övkesi
Allı yelek mavi salta
Qaldı yigidin soxasi

"The peak of the snow-covered mountains,
The heavens' anger is over.
The red vest, the blue jacket,
All that's left of the young man."

260

קאשי הילחל ייוזי מישטרן י1575G יודעי שמך בך בטחו

qaşi hilal yözi mesten... "His eyebrow is a crescent, his eyes are intoxicated".
* Maqâm Chârgâh. This may be a variant of a poem by the popular poet Öksüz Dede (end of the 16th century), see Köprülüzade (1930, p. 36, No. 7):

Qaşuñ hilâl gözün mestân
Geh doğar (text: dogan) geh dolunursun
° Aşıqa cevretmek için
Xırâmânî salınursun.

“Your brow is crescent-shaped, your eyes are drunk.
(Like the moon) you now rise, now disappear.
To torture your adorer
You swagger along struttingly.”

qüçücükten sevdim seni, see under 196.

261

קובידום ייוק בי ואראים מG2058 מעשיך הם נפלאים

quvedüm yoq ki (text: *bi*) *varayim* “I don’t have the strength to go there”.
Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

262

רחמין ראכי יJ3017 ימחק לפי יין חכך מין אשכר

rahmin rahi (text: *daxi/raxi*) “Your mercy also (The wine of your mercy)”.
Metrically out of order. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

263

ראז אולדי יJ1449 יהיה לבבי אז

ראזו דולי גאם האלומיביר יG1113 יה רננות פי יערב

razu/raz[i] oldi gam halüme bir “A ... became satisfied with (or: agreed to)
my state of grief”. J has only the first two words. Meter unclear. * Maqâm
Awj/Eviç.

רוחום גיבי י3985 ישבתי בין משפתיים

ruhum gibi "Like my cheek". * Maqâm Râst. Apparently a corruption of the beginning of a *murabba*^c of which Ufqî (1976, p. 234) gives the first quatrain (with notation), rhythm *devr-i kebîr*:

Ruxuñ gibi leřâfet-puxte mihr-i münîr olmaz
 Cihânda bir saña beñzer řehr-i gerdûn-serîr olmaz
 Âli řâhum saña iqlîm-i ĥüsn içre nazîr olmaz
 Kemend-i zülf-i müşkinüñ görüb kimdür esîr olmaz

"There is no graceful shining sun like your cheek,
 There is in the world no sky-throning city (or, metrically
 wrong: city-dweller, i.e., inhabitant of Istanbul) that
 would resemble you.

O my Âli řâh, in the climes of beauty you have no equal.
 Who is who would not become a captive when seeing the
 musk-scented lasso of your hairlock?"

265

רוחזראר אי פור ליטפיט י3845 ירונו יושבי סלע

רוחזאר אי פור לוטפיט י4316 יתבשר אסיר שביה

ruhzar-i /ey ruhzar-i pür-letafet "A cheek/O cheek full of charm". Meter *muđârî*^c. * Maqâm Ĥüseynî.

266

סאבה גורביט י3098 יסמר שערות בשרי

saba gurbet [iline?] "The gentle breeze [brings a message to] the foreign [place]". * Maqâm Râst. Nostalgic songs sung by men who travel for work in far away places are commonplace in Anatolian folk poetry (cf., e.g., the list in Esen 1986, pp. 332 f.) though in this case the topos referring to *řabâ* "the gentle breeze" points to high-style poetry.

סאבא אולדי ני ייא טירשין קומה דודי אל היכלי שן
 סאבא אולדי ני יאטירסין הבוקר אור אל ליל ישן

sabah oldi, ne yatirsin "The morning has come, why are you still lying [in bed]?" Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

For an early parallel we can point to the beginning of a ghazal ascribed to Nesîmî (1973, vol. 2, p. 600):

Ne yatursan gâfil insân oyan vaqt-i seher geçdi
 Nedür bu sendeki 'işyân oyan vaqt-i seher geçdi

"Why are you still lying in bed, neglectful person, wake up, the
 early morning has passed,

What is this delinquency, wake up, the early morning has passed."

Compare also the beginning of a nefes by Sersem Âli Baba (d. 1569–70 as head of the Bektashi order of derwishes) or by a later namesake, see Nüzhet (1930, p. 337):

Uyan ne yatursın şafaq sökül-di
 Hep niyâzlar qabul olur şabâhdan

"Wake up, why do you sleep, dawn has broken,
 In the morning all prayers are complied with."

While these have to do with the fulfillment of the early morning prayer, a modern dirge figures the bride lamenting over the groom stabbed to death by a rival in the nuptial night (Ataman 1951, p. 28):

Şabaḥ oldu uyansana
 Gül yastığa dayansana
 Ölüyorum inansana a canım
 Uyan yârim şabaḥlar oldu
 Şabaḥ yıldızları doğdu

"Morning has dawned, awake,
 Lean against the embroidered cushion,
 Believe me I am dying, O my soul,
 Awake, the morning has come,
 The morning stars have risen."

שבה אולדי פירי זאדום דולונדי שC164 שבה אותי פרי כחשי וחובי
sabah oldi perizadum dolundi "It dawned, my fairie-child disappeared".
 Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Segyâh.

שברי איילי ייונגול בודא גייגיר לV407 לבי קוה עד יעבר זעם גלגל הוא
 חוזר

sabr eyle, yöngül, bu da geçer "Be patient, O heart, this too will not last forever". Meter: a variant of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. This is a repeat line in a poem of 3 quatrains recorded in Ufqî (1976, p. 202, with notation). The first quatrain is:

Ğam çekme gönül kim felegün oyunu zârdur
 Cevrine taħammül ide-gör âşıqa kârdur
 Her ağlamanuñ soñında bir gülmesi vardur
 Şabr eyle gönül bu da geçer devr-i zamândur

"Don't grieve, O heart, Destiny's game is with dice (or with lamentation).

Show patience to its tyranny, a lover benefits of it.

Tears always end in laughter.

Suffer patiently, O heart, this too will pass by, it is the revolution of time."

Meter and rhyme are out of order.

The concept itself is old. It is found already in the first verse of a ghazal by Dehhânî (13th century), see Aksoy (1978, p. 145):

Şabr eyle gönül derdüñe dermân ire umma
 Cân atma oda bîhûde cânân ire umma

"Be patient, O heart, do not expect that your trouble will be healed,

Do not cast your soul into the fire in vain, do not hope for the arrival of the Friend!"

270

ש'אפה ויריין באנגה היר דים ש2089 V שפה לנאמנים מסיר
 ספה ביראו יקרו לי כל רעיך אל N3669

safâ viren banga her dem "What gives me satisfaction every minute" N has only the first two words. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Râst (V) and Şabâ (N).

271

סיפאי האטירום אולדום לN1291 לפנות בוקר דוד אבקר

safa-yi hatirum oldur (text: *oldum*) "What pleases my heart is this". Meter *muctess*. * Maqâm Şabâ. A ghazal with this incipit by the Shaikhulislâm Yahyâ (1552/53-1643/44) has been published in *Îz* (1966-67, p. 362):

Şafâ-yı xâtirum oldur seni şafâda görem
 Bu ben belâ-keşi hicrânunça vefâda görem

"For me joy of the heart means to see you in joy,
 To see my unfortunate self in contentment with the separation
 from you."

A somewhat similar beginning (but in *hazaj* meter) is found in a ghazal by the 16th century poet Sâmi, see *Ahdî* (fol. 112^v):

Şafâ-yı xâtir olurdu velî seng-i havâdisden (?)
 Nihâl-i mîvedâr-âsâ şehâ gâyet şikestem ben

"I would be full of happiness but being the target of the rocks
 of events
 I am, O king, quite broken like a fruit-bearing branch."

272

שאהא גיירדום יחד כוכבי בקר יפצחו רנה T2437

şaha györdüm "O king, I saw..." * Maqâm Nevâ.

273

שאלרי ייני דיל פ'ורקינין יגזל V236 יגזל שנתי דוד חמדתי
saldi yine dil furqatasin (text: *furqinin*) "Again he launched the frigate of his heart". Meter ? * Maqâm Dügâh.

274

שאלניר ביר נאזילי יעף J3248 יעף בלב זעף וסר
 שאניליר ביר נאזילי ירעבו רשו כפירים N3901
salinir/(sanilir) bir naz-ile "[A beauty] parades with gracefulness" or, if we read *nâzli*, "A coquettish one walks gracefully". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Râst and Şabâ.

275

שאלניר ג'אנום פארסי אי גיוזל י313 V ידד מני דוד קדושי וגוזל
 סלניר גאנום פראסי T195 אבי רכבי ופרשי
salinir canum parsi, ey gyüzel "My sweetheart (lit. piece of my soul) walks swayingly, O beautiful one!" The last two words only in V. Meter ? * Maqâm Râst.

276

שאנגה אי שוכי כי פרי ויג י3147 C יעיר רנה ניב לשוני
sanga ey şux-i (text: *şux-i ke*) *perivec[h]* "To you, O fairie-faced joyful fellow". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Awj/Evc.

277

שאקלה דילדין ראזי איגאן י2727 G יחסו בכנפיך עם זו
saqla dilde (text: *dilden*) *razi ey-can/raz-i can* "Hide the secret in [your] heart, O soul/Hide the secret of the soul in [your] heart". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

278

שאקלאדום דילדי דידיני יריבי ריבה אל G3895

saqladum dilde dideni "I stored your eyes in [my] heart". The last word is doubtful. Meter *khafif*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

279

שאש אולוף מוטרוף דימי יG1079 יה צמאה אליך נפשי

sas alup (text: *olup*) *mutrip deme* "The musician takes the instrument and [starts to play] the music". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevrûz.

280

ש'יונבים גיבי שאגילשין יV1487 יהלמני ישופני נדוד דוד

שיבלי גירי שאגישר יG3403 יפית עפרה הוללה

şebnem (V *şevnbem*, G *şeble*) *gibi* (G *giri*) *saçilsin* (G *saçısır*) "May they scatter like dew-drops". Meter: a variant of *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ. Beginning of a ghazal by Bâqî (1526-1600, cf. 1935, p. 272, No. 296):

Şebnem gibi saçılsun qoş eşk-i firâvânım,
Güller gibi açılısun tek gonçe-i xandânım.

"Let my profuse tears scatter like dewdrops
As long as my smiling rose-bud can burst into bloom like a
rose."

According to Güngör p. 1303 the poem was set to music by the famous composer İtrî (d. 1711), but the maqâm is not known. It was also set to music by the composer Zakharya (presumably of Greek origin, see İnal (1958, pp. 305 ff.) — perhaps in the early 18th century — Maqâm Hüseynî, usûl Ağır Berefşân (notation in Subhi vol. 2, pp. 87 f.)

שיפטילי סולי סולי מ146L מבטח כל קצווי האיים

şefteli suli suli “Juicy, juicy peaches”. The meter could be *ramal* but the incipit looks more like non-metrical folk poetry. The word for peach (*şeftâlû*, today *şeftâli*, here in the dialectal or colloquial form *şefteli*) is today — and already was in the 16th century — a generally known cover-word for “kiss”. Compare, e.g., this stanza from a *türkü* (Hasan 1987, p. 346, No. 183):

Qaçan kim nâz ile çıqdı
Benim şâhım otağından
Sulu şeftallerü virse
Lebi göster dudagından

“When gracefully from his royal tent
My king steps outside
When he bestows juicy peaches/kisses
Point to the lips of your mouth!”

A 17th century *türki* begins with these lines (Ufqî 1976, p. 49):

Şeftâlî isterim maħrûm gönderme
İki lebleründen bir gerdânundan

“I want a peach/kiss, don’t send me away empty-handed,
Two from your lips, one from your neck!”

שיהירדי שימסילי דוגאן י2081V יונה תמה שררד אגן

seherde şems-ile dogan “... that rises with the sun in the early morning”.
Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

שיהירדין יורדיגום א5191G אם אדונים אני איה מורא

seherden yördigüm “... that I saw in the early morning”. Meter *hazaj*.
* Maqâm Nevâ.

284

שאהי שימין בידיים שין שין S2363 יושב תהלות צור מחסי

şeh-i simin-bedensin sen "You are the silver-bodied king". Meter *hazaj*.
* Maqâm Hüseynî and Dügâh.

285

ש'ה פז ניזום שיירדי דיואני שאלינסין C1018 יה נותן לחמי ומימי

şehpaz gyözüm seyirde divane salinsin "May my falcon eye rove around like crazy on its promenade". Meter unclear. * Maqâm 'Irâq. For the use of *divâne* cf. Burhânüddîn (1980, p. 394, No. 1016):

Sen bu erenler cem^cine divâne gel divâne gel
Gendü hisâbin aḡlayub defter qılub divâne gel

"Come to this gathering of derwishes like a madman,
Having done and recorded your own calculations, come to
the office!"

286

שימעו רוחי חובאנום V1846 שמעי נא זאת עניה

şem^c-i ruh-i hubanum "The candle of the cheeks of my beautiful ones!".
Meter probably *rajaz*. * Maqâm Segâh.

The topos (cheek compared to shining candle) is common, see, e.g., Ufqî (1976, p. 203), with the first quatrain:

Şem^c-i rûhuḡa (corr. ruxuḡa) cismimi pervâne düşürdüm
Evrâq-ı dili âteş-i sûzâne düşürdüm
Bir qatre iken gendümi ^cummâne düşürdüm
Ḥayfâ yolumu vâdi-yi hicrâne düşürdüm

"I threw my body into the candle of your cheek,
I threw the leaves of the heart into the burning fire.
I was but one drop, I threw myself into the ocean.
Alas, I threw my path into the valley of despair!"

287

שין בינום דינום אימנום י739 יה אל שוכן ברום

sen benüm dinüm imanum "You are my faith, my religion". * Maqâm Hüseynî.

288

שין בינום הלומי ש9099 שימני כחותם על לבך

sen benüm halümi "You [do not] ... the state I am in". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Dügâh.

289

שין בו גומליני הושניליר י3820 ירוחם יתום אביו חי

sen bu cemal-i (text: *cumleni*) *hüsn-ile* "With your loveliness and beauty". The first two words are missing in J. Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Hüseynî. A better form (with *kemâl-i* instead of *cemâl-i*) is found in the beginning of a ghazal by Fazlî (d. 1563), see ^cÂşiq (1971, fol. 198a); Qınalızade (1978-81, vol. 2, p. 756); ^cAhdî (fol. 156^v); İz (1966-67, vol. 1, p. 282):

Sen bu kemâl-i hüsn-ile mihr-i felek misin nesin
Nev^c-i beşerde görmedük yoxsa melek misin nesin

"With that perfect beauty are you the sun of the skies or what
are you?"

We have never seen [one like you] in the human species, are
you an angel or what are you?"

Fazlî's verse is echoed by the first verse of a ghazal by Shem'î (see Tarlan 1948, part 2, p. 66):

Bu kemâl-i hüsn kim virmişdür Allâhum saña
Virmemişdür kimseye illâki ey mâhum saña

"This perfect beauty which God has given to you
He has not given to anybody but to you, my moon."

290

שין ני דירשין אי גייוזיל V2118 יונתי זיו יפעתך דמה לכסיל

sen ne dirsın, ey güzel "What do you say, O beautiful one?" Meter *ramal*.
* Maqâm Bû-Selik.

The incipit reminds (besides incipit No. 112) of the first verse of a ghazal by Nejâtî Beg (d. 1509; cf. 1963, p. 291, No. 240):

Nice dirsın ey göñül kim hecrden cân ağlamaz
Yafnî kimse var-mıdur bu derd ile qan ağlamaz

"How can you say, O heart, that one does not cry over
separation?

Is there anybody, who does not shed bloody tears in this
agony?"

291

שינדי גיינגלום נקרין אלדי C2717 יחלוף עלי ידידי

sende gönglüm naqdin aldi[η] "You too have taken/appropriated my heart's
possessions/coins". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Evc-^oIrâq.

292

שינין איגיין יאנדום קאלדום G4968 אלי עד אן תהיה ישן

senin için yandum qaldum "For you I am consumed by fire". Non-metrical.
* Maqâm Râst.

293

שינגילי פחר אידרום שין C3894 יריבי ריב והפיל שן

sen[ün]gile fahr iderüm sen "I am proud of you, you ...". * Maqâm Râst.
Ghazal by Muştafâ ^oÂli, see Ergun (vol. 1, p. 43):

Senüñle faxr iderem, senden özge yârum yoq
Gamunla eglenürin, gayrilerle kârum yoq

“I am proud of you, I have no other friend but you,
I while the time away languishing for you, I have nothing to do
with others.”

Meter *mucteṣṣ*. Ufqî (1976, pp. 221 and 241) has three times (with notation, Maqâm Râst, usûl *düyek*) a quatrain (*murabbaʿ*) whose first two lines deviate little from Muṣṭafâ ʿÂlî's.

294

סיבדיגום גייני דיל ביר י V250 יגיל עליך ברנה דוד חכו ממתקים
sevdigüm cici dilber “The graceful little sweetheart I love”. * Maqâm Nevâ.

295

שיוודום אול יארומי י C3600 יקום דוד
sevdüm ol yârümi “I have fallen in love with that friend of mine”. * Maqâm Hüseynî. Maybe based on a ghazal by Yaḥya Beg (1977, p. 447, No. 265), meter *khafif*:

Sevdüm ol yâri mübtelâ oldum
Gendü gendüme bir belâ oldum

“I fell in love with that friend, I became painstricken,
I became a calamity to myself.”

seven ol laʿl-i, see 297.

296

שיברים דובלטי בינארי ב F40 באל אמן הן ירום לי ראש
שיהרים דובלטי ביכארי ב C40 באל אמן הן ירום לי ראש
severem/seherem dövlət-i behari “I love the happiness of spring”. Meter unclear. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

שיבין אול לאלי י G1546 יודע בגוים כי מקדם אתה מלכי

seveyin ol la^cl-i (text: *lali*) "May I caress that ruby [lip]". The first word could also be read as *seven* "whoever loves". Meter *rajaz* or (reading *seven*) *hazaj*.
* Maqâm Nevâ.

שו קולאעלו גיול מיכאנא שכלין בגלמיש י N2041 יונה מנהמת דוח

şevq-i la^clün-ile gönül meyxane şeklin bağlanmış "Yearning for your ruby[-lips] the heart has acquired the appearance of a wine-house". Meter *ramal*.
* Maqâm Hüseynî. Text and music are given in Ufqî (1976, p. 234), where the piece is called *raqşîye*:

Şevq-i la^clün-le gönül mey-xâne şeklin bağlanmış
Qana müstağraq ciger peymâne şeklin bağlanmış
Yolda zencîrin sürür divâne şeklin bağlanmış
İçmedin bir qatre men mestâne şeklin bağlanmış
Pâyimâl olmuş ser-i zülfün hevâsiyle gönül
Pîr-i gerdûn işq zunnârın quşanmış beline

"Because of the yearning for your ruby lips the heart has taken
on the appearance of a wine-house,

The blood-filled lungs have acquired the appearance of a cup
[of wine].

I have taken on the appearance of a demented person that drags
his chains along the road,

Without drinking one drop I have acquired the appearance of a
drunk fellow.

Trodden under foot is the heart by its longing for the end of
your hairlock,

The old man of the firmament has girt his waist with the belt of
love."

A *naẓîre* to this poem (by Ârâmî, of the late 16th century) is found in Ergun (vol. 1, p. 57):

Sâqiyâ la^cl-i lebin peymâne şeklin bağlamış
Cür'asin nuş eyleyen mestâne şeklin bağlamış

“O cup-bearer, your ruby lip has adopted the shape of a cup,
He who drinks [from it] to the bottom adopts the shape of a
drunk person.”

Another parallel (*naẓîre*) is found in the collection of biographies of poets by °Âshîq (1971, fol. 176a), where a ghazal by °Îṣretî with this incipit is quoted:

Şahñ-i sînem şafha-i xum-xâne şeklin baġladı
Rûh lâ-yaƣqıl yatur mestâne şeklin baġladı

“The area of my breast has acquired the appearance of a wine-
cellar,
The soul lies [there] unconscious, showing the appearance of a
drunk person.”

299

שיירי גיקשאן היר טאראפטה יG2206 יוצר הכל נגדך כל תאותי
seyre çıqsan her tarafta “If you go out for a walk, everywhere [you will] ...”.
Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm °Uzzâl.

300

שיר ריפטים ביר גיול ג'דים יC293 יד צר התם יושב קדם
seyre reftem be/bir gyül çidem “I went for a walk to collect flowers”. Meter:
possibly *khafif*. * Maqâm Şabâ. Persian song in Ottoman garb.

301

שימין איין שG1632 שמן חלקי יהיה מלכי
simin ayin “... of the silver moon”. Translation tentative. Meter *rajaz*.
* Maqâm Râst.

302

שינימדי ש'אהום V3216 יעלת חן קומי נס הרימי

sinemde şahum "In my breast, my king". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam. The concept reminds of the beginning of a ghazal by Me'âlî (1982, p. 290, No. 114):

Sînemde xayâluñ şanemâ mesken idindi
Bir rûh qurı qâlibi buldı ten idindi

"Your image, O idol, is lodged in my breast,
A spirit has found solid shape, has acquired a body."

303

שוחבוטי דילדארי קייפני G2735 יחרדו לקראתך בני האלהים

ש'חבטי דיל דארי קיבלם J341 ידי אליך פרשתי
sohbet-i dildar qiblem "My qibla (i.e., prayer-niche, target) is the conversation with the beloved". The first word not in J. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Nevâ. For comparison we can point to the first verse of a ghazal by Zâtî (1967-87, vol. 3, p. 387):

Benüm qıblemdür ol dilber ki dirlermiş anı Baxşî
Şafâda zemzemün 'aynı anuñ la'l-i şafâbaxşî

"That fair one whom they call Baxşî is my qibla
His pleasure-boding ruby [lips] are equal in pleasure to the
well of Zamzam [in Mecca]."

304

שול הוסריפין שירין זיבה V78 יבא דודי לגן עדנו

şol Hüsrevin Şirin-i ziyba "That beautiful Shirin of Khosroe's". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Hüseynî. The Persian king Khosroe and Shîrîn are legendary lovers much quoted in classical literature.

שׁוֹל שׁיִיא זֹלע׳יני V441 ידִיד רם נֹרָא וואַים

şol siyeh zülfini “Those black locks of yours (acc.)”. Meter probably *ramal*.
* Maqâm Hüseyinî. Cf. 45.

שׁופאַרי דױים בילאי ייזליר G2139 יהי נא חסדך לרחם על שארית פלטתך

şu peri-ruyum (text: *-duyum*) *belayi yözler* “That fairy-faced one expects trouble”. The unusual thought casts doubt on the coorrectness of the text. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Chârgâh.

שׁוגים ני יונאום ני T2233 בא מלכי ובנה הכלי

suçim ne yüna[h]um ne “What fault have I committed? What is my sin?”
Meter? * Maqâm not indicated.

For the concept compare this *semâ‘î* (Ufqî 1976, p. 207):

Ne şuc itdüm ben ‘aceb bilmezem ol yâre meded
Ki bu mecrûh dile urdı yine yare meded
Zülf-i zencir ile gönlüm şöyle bend eyledi-kim
Yoq xalâş olmağa bir/bu hâl ile bir çâre meded

“I don’t know what wrong I did to that friend, help!
That he again wounded this [my] wounded heart, help!
With the chain of [his] forelock has he again thus fettered my
heart
That there is no way somehow to free it, help!”

Another example: a *murabba‘* by Me’âlî (d. 1535–36; cf. 1982, p. 185)
begins with these lines:

Ne suçum var ki beni böyle dil-efgâr idesin
Qanumi dökmeğ-içün dem-be-dem ifkâr idesin

“What fault did I commit that you cast me into such
depression,
That you constantly ponder how to shed my blood?”

308

שיבשיני שיבדיאר א G5074 אליך נפשי מתפללת

suseni sevdi yar "The friend liked the iris". Reading and translation tentative. Meter *khafif*. * Maqâm Segâh.

309

טאדיר ילי י C13 יאדיר חשלי

ta dirile "So that he/it may come to life". Meter perhaps *rajaz*. * Maqâm 'Irâq. Reading and translation tentative.

310

טנגרי איהלי ש S1034 שירו יום יום לאל איום

tangiri ehli "The people of God". Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Râst.

311

תיני תן דיר דיר תן י C913 יה יתן ויתן ויחזור ויתן

tene ten dir dir ten "Tra-la-la!" Common form of melismata, cf., e.g., Üngör (vol. 2, pp. 878, 968, 975, 976). * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

312

טיגי שיפ'ה איילו ביני V3978 ישב במארב אור עיניך

טיאי גיפה איילי ביני אולדורמי שולטאנוה י G3371 יפו דודיך אחותי

ti[g]-i cefa/sefa ile beni öldürme sultanum "O my sultan, do not kill me with the sword of torture/pleasure!" Meter *rajaz*. The last two words lacking in V. * Maqâm Hüseyinî and Nevâ.

313

טיגי גיבדיאילי אולדורמיה ייוויל א2602 אחת שאלתי ממך צור פודה
tig-i cevr ile öldürme ah yüzel "Do not kill [me] with the sword of torture, ah
 beautiful one". * Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam.

314

טיגי ג'ברילי אולדורמה ביני V616 ידך גלה דוד מחמד עיני
tig-i cevr ile öldürme beni "Do not kill me with the sword of torture". Meter ?
 * Maqâm Nevrûz Ājam.

315

טולו אינו י1556 יודע מחשבות אדם
tulu iti "[The sun or another celestial body] has risen/rose". Meter *hazaj*.
 * Maqâm Nevrûz.

316

אוג אוגולמאש י2693 יחינו מיומיים
üç o[n]gulmas "Three incurable/never to recover/hopeless." Meter could be
hazaj. * Maqâm Nevâ.

317

אוג קיזי אידיק י269 געתי בקראי לך
üç qiz (text: *qizi*) *idiq* "We were three girls". Meter *rajaz* (if at all metrical).
 * Maqâm Īrâq.

318

אילקי שא שחדין וארדום י4285 ישתחו לך צור שוכני סנה
ülqesiz şahdan vardum "I have come from the King who has no country".
 Meter unclear. * Maqâm Nevrûz.

üsni-güli lebe, see under 189.

319

ווארמי ג'יהנדו ביר דאחי יקו לאור לב ואין
וארימי ג'יהאנדין ביר דאחי יחד לבבי ורוחי

var-mi cihanda/cihandan bir dahi "Is there in the world one more...". Meter *rajaz*. * Maqâm Râst.

xara daglarin, see under 259.

320

כראב אולפטור ילאה נשוא לב עול שביה
כוראב אולו פטור י785 יה את פניך אבקש

xarab oluptur "[My heart] lies in ruins". Meter probably *hazaj*. * Maqâm 'Uzzâl. The incipit may be based on a ghazal by Khayâlî (d. 1524; cf. Laṭîfî 1314, p. 150; Qinalızâde 1978-81, vol. 1, p. 353; İz 1966-67, vol. 1, p. 279):

Xarâb olubdur ol âbâd gördüğün gönlüm
Ġamunla dop doludur şâd gördüğün gönlüm

"In ruins lies my heart which you had seen flourishing,
Brimful of pain is my heart which you had seen happy."

The ghazal is also quoted in Khayâlî Beg (1945, p. 295, No. 51).

321

יא איבגי יחיד נמצא קדמון לא גוף

ya ayvaci "O seller of quinces". Meter could be *rajaz*. * Maqâm Râst. This short incipit requires confirmation by an existing poem.

322

יֵא דִּילִי בִּילִי לֵאלֵי בִּינוּם S818 יֵה דִּלְנִי מְבוּר לְמָה עֲזַבְתַּנִּי אֵלֵי

יֵא דִּילִי בִּילִי עֲL583 על עֵלְמוֹת שִׁיר

יֵא דִּיל בִּילִי אֲL1627 אוּדֵךְ אוּרִי בְּכִנּוּרִי

ya deli bali (text: *beli*) *lale benüm* "O my tulip with poisonous honey". L lacks the last two words. Reading and translation tentative. * Maqâm Nevâ.

323

יֵא רַב מִיִּדֵּיט יֵC2484 יֵחֲזִיק רַטֵּט נוּדֵךְ לְבִי

ya rab medet "O lord, help!" * Maqâm Mâhûr. Ufqî (1976, p. 261), with notation, *murabba'*, maqâm 'Irâq (?), usûl: *düyek*.

Yâ rabb meded ol | : mihr-i tâbânımı : | göster

Öldüm ğam-ı | : hecride ol cânımı : | göster

Reftâr güzel | : yafnî Süleymânımı : | göster

(repeat) Raḥm eyle gözüm yaşına | : cânânımı göster: |.

"O Lord, help! Let me see my resplendent sun!

The bitter separation kills me. Let me see my soul!

Let me see the one with graceful gait, namely, my Süleymân!

(Repeat:) Take pity on my tears, let me see my soul!"

324

יֵיא רַאב נִי דִּים אוּל שֵׁאֵהִי סִיטִים S1095 יֵה רַב מוֹשִׁיעַ וְעֵלְיוֹן

ya rab nidem ol şah-i sitem[kar] "O Lord, what shall I do, that cruel king (i.e., the beloved)..." Meter: a *hazaj* variant. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

325

יֵאֲרִיבִי חָאם דִּיטִילִיר יֵG772 יֵה אֲסַעָה וְגַם אֲלַכָּה

ya rabi hamd itiler "O my Lord, they praised". Meter out of order. * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

יֵא רַבִּי חֲסֵרִיטִילִי יֵא הָאֵל עוֹשֶׂה פֶּלֶא

ya rabi hasret-ile/hasritiler "O my Lord, with longing". Meter *muḏâri*^c.
* Maqâm Bû-Selik. Based on a *mukhammes* by Yaḥya Beg, (died 1582) see İz (1966-67, p. 463); Yaḥya Beg (1977, p. 191, No. 20):

Yâ Rabbî, ḥasret-ile benüm alma cânımı
Bir daxı göreyim meh-i mihribânımı,
Cânânımı, cefâ qılıcı nev-civânımı,
Şâhin baqışlu yârımı, rûḥ-ı revânımı,
Sultânımı, efendimi, şâh-ı cihânımı.

"O Lord, do not let me die with longing,
May I once more see my ungenerous moon[-faced one],
My beloved, my tormenting youth,
My hawk-eyed sweetheart, my living soul,
(Repeat:) My sultan, my master, my king of the world!"

יֵא רוּחִי רוּאן בּוּדִיר אֵלִי אֵלִי לִמָּה מוֹשִׁי

ya rûh-i revân bu der. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm not given. Folk song (*varsâğı*)
recorded (with notation) in Ufqî (1976, p. 130), meter *hazaj*:

Eyâ rûḥ-i revân, bu derdime dermân bulunmaz mı
Muqayyer-mi qalur bu xûbluğuñ bedri bulunmaz mı

"O living soul, can there no remedy be found for my trouble?
Will the full moon of your beauty remain daubed with pitch,
can it not be found?"

יֵאלָאן שִׁי אֵי פִּי'לֹק יֵאלָן שִׁין יֵאלָן V2737 יֵחֲרַק שֶׁן צֵר דּוֹלַק הֵלֵם לֵב הֵלֵם

yalansi[n], ey felek, yalansin, yalan "You are false, O Destiny, you are false, false". Non-metrical. * Maqâm Nevâ. The meaning of *yalan* is really exactly like Latin *vanus* ('vain'), 'having no content, meaningless'. Compare this verse from the 1451 ms. of the anonymous collection of stories *Faraj ba'd aṣ-ṣidda* (fol. 51^v):

Adıdur kişinüñ cihânda qalan,
Qalanı yalandur, yalandur, yalan.

“What remains of a person in the world is his name,
Whatever else remains of him is null and void.”

329

יִיאָנְדוּם גַּאמִי יִבֵּא כָּל בֶּשֶׂר אֵלַיךְ G94

yandum ğam-i “I am pain-stricken with the sorrow for...”. Meter can be *rajaz* or *muđârî*^c. * Maqâm Segâh.

330

יֵאֵרִי בִּינְדִין עַד אֵן אַרְדָּה G499

yari benden “[Do not separate] the friend from me”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Chârgâh. This is the incipit of a ghazal by the famous poet Nesîmî (executed as a heretic c. 1407, cf. 1973, vol. 1, p. 179, No. 71; also İz, 1966-67, p. 159):

Yârumi menden ayırdı çarx-i ğaddâr üşte gör
Yüregüm qan oldı ğamdan gel içüm yâr üşte gör

“See, cruel fate has separated me from my friend (beloved)
Behold my heart, O friend, it is drowned in blood because of
grief.”

331

יָרוּם יוּדוּלָר A רוֹכֵב עַרְבוֹת אֲדִיר בַּמְשֶׁרָה

yarum yudular “They washed my sweetheart[’s corpse]”. Folk poetry, probably part of a dirge. * Maqâm: not indicated. Compare these lines from a modern Anatolian dirge (*ağıt*) (Saygun 1976, p. 317):

İmam gelmiş goç yegidi yumağa
Yuyup onu dar mezere gomağa

“The imam has come to wash the valiant youth,
To wash him and to put him into the narrow grave...”

To contrast these simple lines with a passage from *divân* poetry, see this first verse of a ghazal by Jelîlî of İznîk quoted in Laţîfî (1314, p. 120):

Öldükde bu ben xastayi eşkiyle yusunlar
Cânâne güzâr itdüğü yollarda qosunlar

“When this heart-sick one died they should wash him with tears,
They should put him on the road where [his] sweetheart passes by.”

332

יֵאז אולדי הגילדי לאלי י209 C גדל שם אל חי עושני

yaz oldi açildi lale “Spring has come, the tulips/poppies are flowering”.
Meter *muctess*. * Maqâm Nevrûz. The appearance of the red-blooming tulip
or poppy is the typical sign of spring. Compare, e.g., the beginning of a ghazal
by Qâğî Burhânüddîn (1314–98; cf. 1980, p. 239):

Bahâr oldı güle başladı lâle
Qılır gülşende bülbül yüz âlâle

“Spring has come, the tulip/poppy burst into bloom,
In the rose-garden the nightingale broke into hundredfold
warbling.”

333

יוטזשמיש הקמים איזיל שריפי אי גיולי י2787 J יכמיס לב תוגות

yazmış hikmet[-i] ezal[-i] şerife ey gyül-i “The holy wisdom at the beginning
of eternity has written / so decreed it, O rose of [...]”. Meter out of order.
* Maqâm Nevâ.

334

ייסיר איטי שינין עישקי י2295 G יושב ברום שמי קדם

yesir ittî senin işq[in] “The love for you has made [me] a captive/slave”.
Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Nevâ.

The incipit reminds of a line of a ghazal by Ḥasan (d. 1611-12), see Riḡâ (1316, p. 31):

Esîr itdi beni ol ġamze zülfe

“That glance made me the captive of the forelock.”

335

יניי ביני די לי איילידי G2833 ילדי זמן הבהילוני

yine beni deli eyledi “He (or: The love for him) has again made me crazy”. Meter probably *hazaj*. * Maqâm Dügâh.

336

נייני דושטום דאגלארי בין ואי C2189 יוצר אמר לעולמו די

yine düştüm dağlere ben vay “I have again taken to the mountains”. Probably non-metrical, syllabic. * Maqâm °Irâq. We can compare with the beginning of a ghazal by Revânî (d. 1524), see Tarlan (1948-49, part 4, p. 18):

Dağlara düşmiş yürür Mecnûn-veş âvâre su
Bir saçı Leylî gözi âhû için bî-çâre su

“The water, errant like Majnûn, has taken to the mountains,
Poor water, yearning for someone with Leylî’s hair (i.e., black
hair) and with a gazelle’s eyes.”

Majnûn and Leylî: famous pair of Arab lovers.

Or a quatrain by Pîr Sultân Abdâl (Gölpınarlı-Boratav 1943, p. 119):

Ey benim divane gönlüm
Dağlara düştüm yalnız

“O my crazy heart,
I be took myself to the mountains all alone.”

yönglüm/yöngülüm aldi al-ile, see under 157.

יִיּוֹר נִי בִּילָא לִיר יִיטִירְדִי יוֹם גְּאוּלָּה הַקְּרִיבָה לִי

yör ne belaler yetirdi "See what disasters ... has brought". Meter out of order.
* Maqâm Nevrûz.

יוֹזוֹם יִיאֲשִׁי ג83 יבא אלי איש התשבי

yözüm yaşı "The tears of my eyes". * Maqâm Nevrûz. Two poems by the 14th century poet Qâzi Burhânüddîn (1314–1398) begin thus, see Burhânüddîn (1980, p. 76, No. 190):

Gözüm yaşı cihânı şehâ sebzêzâr ider
Zülfün hevâsi gönülümü bî-qarâr ider

"O King, the tears of my eyes turn the world into a green meadow,
The desire for your hairlock makes my heart restless."

and on p. 323, No. 827:

Gözüm yaşı ki seyl olıban axa dem-be-dem
Ne fâyide çü yüregümi yaxa dem-be-dem

"For the tears of my eyes to turn into a flood and to flow drop by drop,
Of what use is it as they constantly burn my heart."

Although quite old, Qâzi Burhânüddîn's poetry was still quite popular in mystical circles. A more recent poem (end of the 16th century) would be one in Âli, *Dîvân* (fol. 124^r), with the first couplet:

Gözüm yaşı ki dökülür zamân zamân xâke
Ğubâr anuñ şerefinden irişür eflâke

"As the tears of my eyes incessantly drop on the ground,
Honored by them the ground rises to the firmament."

Considered could be also a poem by Mesîhî (died 1512), quoted after Nazmî (fol. 445^r):

Gözüm yaşın döker ol zülf-i dîlcü
Aqubdur ebr-i nîsân şan-ki lü'lü'.

“That one with the pleasant locks causes my tears to flow,
As if the April cloud were shedding pearls.”

Also a ghazal by Remzî (died in 1548), cited in Nazmî (fol. 514^r), has a similar beginning:

Gözüm yaşın döküb dirdüm behâr olsa, behâr [olsa],
Çiçekler açılıb gönlüm açılsa rûy-i yâr olsa!

“With tears flowing from my eyes I would say: “If only it were
already spring, were it but spring,
Would the flowers open up, would my heart open up, would
the friend’s face be here!”

339

יולשיני קיואינדי פירייאש ימלא פי תהלת אר G2993

yülşen-i qyuyinde pür-yes “In the rose-garden of your quarter — full of
despair”. Meter *ramal*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik. The beginning resembles the in-
cipit of a ghazal by the 16th century poet Kâtibî (d. 1562–63), see Nazmî
(fol. 98^r):

Gülşen-i küyüñdan ey dilber qaçan itsem güzer
Şol raqîb-i xârî her dem görürem anda gezer

“Whenever I pass by the rose-garden of your quarter,
O sweetheart,
I at all times see the abject rival who walks around there.”

340

יירי גירקי פיליקיורי יוצרי חבוש מחלת צירי G2250

yüri çerq-i feleq yüri “Turn, O wheel of fortune, turn!” Meter *hazaj*.
* Maqâm Dügâh.

גיורי קארה גיוזלי גיורי י930 N יה לי קרא בן בכורי

yüri/gyüri qara gözli/gyözli yüri/gyüri "March ahead, O black-eyed one, march ahead!". Probably non-metrical. * Maqâm Hüseynî.

Remark concerning the incipits starting with *yüri/gyüri*: Lines beginning and ending with the word *yüri* "go ahead, march!" are a common feature in folk songs. In the 17th century music collection by Ufqî (1976, p. 96), we find, e.g.:

Yüri Murâd dağı yüri
 Aşqun çaglar şimden girü
 Yüri, yüri, yüri
 Qâdir Mevlâ mürvetinden
 Bahâr eyler şimden girü
 Yüri, yüri, yüri

"Ahead, Mount Murad, ahead!
 Henceforth your love will splash [like a waterfall].
 March, march, march!
 Through the Almighty's grace
 There will henceforth be spring.
 March, march, march!"

Modern examples of folksongs of this type can be found in Reinhard 1965, p. 150:

Yürü dilber yürü ömrümün varı
 Eridi kalmadı dağların karı (etc.)

"Geh, Schönste, geh, du meines Lebens Inhalt.
 Geschmolzen, nicht geblieben ist der Schnee der Berge..."

Or:

Yörü güzel yörü, yolundan kalma!
 Her yüze güleni dost olur sanma! (etc.)

"Geh, Schöne, geh, bleib nicht auf dem Weg.
 Glaub nicht, daß der, der dir ins Gesicht lächelt, immer ein
 Freund ist..."

The same feature can occasionally also be traced in high-style poetry. See, e.g., this first verse of a ghazal by Khayâlî Beg (1945, p. 434):

Yüri hey ‘âşığına ‘âdeti bî-dâd yüri
Yüri öñ biliş olub soñra olan yad yüri

“March, O [idol] whose habit is cruelty toward the lover, march,
March, who first befriends, then becomes a stranger, march!”

342

יוזיליקטי נאזירין יוק י G1816 יום ליום אביע אומר לך

yüzeliqte nazirin yoq “In beauty you have no equal”. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm Bû-Selik.

343

זעיפאן שאלני בין נאזילי י J4375 יתרומם על כל ברכה

zarifan salinir (text: *salin/salini bin naz-ile* “The graceful ones walk mincingly with a thousand coquetteries”. Meter *hazaj*. * Maqâm ‘Irâq.

344

זילי חאק שין י C1536 יודוך כל מלכי ארץ

zili Haq-sin “You are God’s shadow [on earth]”. * Maqâm ‘Irâq. Title of the Caliph.

345

זונבולי זונבולי שייא ג S1099 גואלי פדני יה אלי אלי

zünbül-i zünbül-i sivah “The hyacinth of the black hyacinth-hair”. * Maqâm Bû-Selik and Hüseynî. Ismail Dede (1777-1845) composed a piece (*naqsh*) in the maqâm *Şabâ* on this text (Üngör, vol. 2, p. 977; Persian text by Hasan Dihlavî, d. 1327):

Sümbüli sümbüli siyeh cânim
Bersemen bersemen mezen cânim
Ömrüm hey mîrim yar yar
Bersemen bersemen mezen cânim

Note: This is Üngör's reproduction of the Persian text in Modern Turkish. Regrettably we were not able to locate a copy of Ḥasan Dihlavî's rare dîvân (said to have been published in Hyderabad, and I want to thank all the colleagues who tried to help). Therefore the translation of the verses can only be tentative:

"The hyacinth, the black hyacinth[-black hair], my soul
Do not throw onto the jasmin[-white breast], onto the jasmin
[-white breast], my soul.
Refrain: My life, O my prince, beloved, beloved.
Repeat of line 2."

ABBREVIATIONS

Numeration of the incipit is based on the No. of the poem at whose heading it appears according to *Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry* ed. by I. Davidson, New York 1924.

- A Schirmann, J., A collection of Hebrew poetry from Turkey, in the National Library, *Kirjath Sepher* XII (1935) p. 519.
- C Yisrael Najara, *Sheerith Yisrael*, Ms. Cambridge University Library, Add. 531.*
- F *Hymnen des R. Israel Nagarah* ed. by M. H. Friedländer, Vienna 1858.
- G Ganso Yosef, *Pizmonim u-Baqqashoth u-Thehinoth* (date and place of print unknown). A damaged copy at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.
- J Yisrael Najara, *Sheerith Yisrael*, Jerusalem, National University Library, 6558 28°.
- M Mirsky, A., New Poems of R. Israel Nagara, *Sefunot — Annual for Research on the Jewish Communities in the East*, VI (1962) p. 289.
- N Yisrael Najara, *Sheerith Yisrael*, Jewish Theological Seminary Mss.
- L Menahem de Lonzano, *Pizmonin u-Baqqashoth*, Istanbul 1575.
- S Yisrael Najara, *Zemiroth Yisrael*, Safad 1587.
- T Yisrael Najara, *Zemiroth Yisrael*, Thessaloniki 1599.
- V Yisrael Najara, *Zemiroth Yisrael*, Venice 1599.

* For a description of the various MSS of Sheerith Yisrael cf. M. Benayahu, 'Rabbi Israel Najara', *Asufot — Annual for Jewish Studies*, IV (1990) pp. 256-271.

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2) *Usuls:*

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Nîm-Saqîl/Nim-Sakil (17th c.), s. 239.
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3) *Other musical terms:*

Kâr (17th c. ?), s. 239.
Nakş, s. Naqsh.
Naqsh/Nakş (18th c.), s. 345.
Peşrev, s. Pishraw.
Pishraw/Peşrev (17th c.), s. 177.
Raksiye, s. Raqsîya.
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II. PROSODIC TERMS

1) *Meters*

Note: Because of the shortness of the incipits, a definitive determination of the meter is often impossible.

Hafif, s. Khafif.

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Hazaj/Hezec variant A | . . . | | | . . . | s. 12, 41, 47, 66, 89, 96, 107, 115, 128, 133, 139, 163, 181, 186, 238, 255, 269, 324.

Hazaj/Hezec variant B | . . . | | . . . | . . . | s. 22, 47, 49, 96, 107, 115, 128, 186, 238, 255, 269.

Hezec, s. Hazaj.

Khafif/Hafif | . . . | | . . . | s. 98, 121, 229, 278, 295, 300, 308.

Müctes, s. Mujtathth.

Mudâri^c/Muzari | . . . | | | . . . | s. 46, 83, 99, 110, 142, 158, 166, 179, 197, 209, 214, 245, 254, 265, 326, 329.

Mudâri^c/Muzari variant | . . . | | . . . | . . . | s. 199, 244.

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Muzari, s. Mudâri^c.

Rajaz/Recez | | | | | s. 6, 7, 10, 20, 36-37, 39, 51, 65, 79-80, 82, 87, 116, 120, 137, 169-170, 177, 192, 198, 209, 216, 239, 242, 244, 254, 258, 286, 289, 297, 301-302, 304, 309, 312, 317, 319, 321, 329.

Ramal/Remel | . . . | | | . . . | s. 5, 10, 15-16, 18-19, 21, 24-25, 27-28, 31-32, 50, 56, 58-59, 62, 64, 70, 72, 86, 88, 91, 93-94, 97, 102-106, 109, 111-113, 119, 123, 125, 127, 130, 132, 134, 138, 143-144, 147-148, 150, 152-153, 155, 157-159, 166, 169, 187, 204, 215, 230-232, 234, 243, 248-250, 259, 261, 274, 276-277, 279, 281, 288, 298, 303, 305-306, 310, 330, 339.

Ramal/Remel variant | . . . | | . . . | s. 241, 252.

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2) *Other Prosodic Terms:*

Gazel, s. Ghazal.

Ghazal/Gazel, s. 2, 5, 7, 11-14, 16, 21, 27, 30, 41, 44, 46, 57-58, 64, 66, 73, 76, 83, 85, 92, 94, 96, 103, 105, 110-113, 115, 122, 132-133, 140, 142-145, 152, 155, 157, 160-161, 163, 166, 168, 177-182, 187, 189, 197-199, 204, 208-210, 213-214, 222, 226, 234, 238, 247, 254, 267, 271, 280, 289-290, 293, 298, 302-303, 320, 330-332, 334, 336, 338-339, 341.

Muhammes, s. Mukhammas.

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Tasdîs/Tesdis, s. 168.

Terciibend, s. Tarjî-band.

Terkibibend, s. Tarkîb-band.

Tesdis, s. Tasdis.

Varsağı (only Turkish), s. 18, 30, 160, 175, 327.

III. PERSONAL NAMES

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ʿAbdalqâdir Marâghî (d. 1435), s. 239.

ʿAlî Ufqî (Wojciech Bobowski, Albertus Bobovius; b. 1610, d. between 1673 and 1677, cf. C. Behar 1990 p. 42), s. 202.

İsmâʿîl Dede (1777-1845), s. 345.

ʿItrî (d. 1711), s. 280.

Köçek Khôja (Köçek Hoca, Dervish Mustafa; d. 1683/84), s. 157.

Leylâ Saz (1850-1936), s. 171.

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Zakharyâ (18th c.), s. 280.

2) *Poets:*

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Ahdî-yi Bâghdâdî (d. 1592), s. 16, 254.
Âhî (d. 1517), s. 92, 96, 199, 222.
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Ahmed-i Dâî (d. 1427 ?), s. 64, 66, 209, 241.
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 Mustafâ 'Âlî, s. 'Âlî.
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