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## Music and musical terms in Bobovius' *Serai Enderum* (1665, MS Harley 3409)

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### Abstract

This paper examines Bobovius' *Serai Enderum* (British Library, MS Harley 3409), with a focus on its insights into seventeenth-century Ottoman music. While the manuscript primarily describes the inner workings of the sultan's palace in Constantinople, it can serve as a source for understanding Ottoman musical culture. Although Bobovius, a former court musician (Ali Ufkî), did not extensively detail music in his account, his use of terminology and facts related to musical education and performance provide valuable information. This study explores MS Harley 3409 as both a musicological and a linguistic resource, highlighting Bobovius' role as a "multilingual terminologist" who translated Ottoman Turkish musical terms (and concepts) into Italian for European readers. By presenting a glossary of musical terms excerpted from *Serai Enderum* and comparing them with contemporary dictionaries (Menirski 1680, Molino 1641) and musicological information, this research demonstrates the potential of linguistic analysis to enrich the historiography of Turkish music.

**Keywords:** Ali Ufkî; Bobovius; Bobowski; Music terminology; Ottoman music; Turkish music

### Introduction

Wojciech Bobowski (c. 1610–1675), a Pole born in Lviv, became one of the most important figures in contemporary Turkish musicology as an invaluable source of information on seventeenth-century Ottoman music. Under what circumstances he ended up in the sultan's service is not entirely clear. The sources suggest that he left his homeland in the early 1630s, a well-educated young man versed in music and foreign languages. The subject literature presents several versions of events: the prevalent one states that he was taken prisoner by Tatars during one of their regular raids on the eastern part of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. On his way east, Bobowski must have shown his abilities because he was deemed sufficiently valuable to be sent into the service of the Ottoman sultan. He spent several years in the palace in Adrianople and eventually entered the inner service (*Enderûn*<sup>1</sup>) in the sultan's main seat in Constantinople, today known as the Topkapı Palace. He lived there until the early 1650s, serving as a court musician (and probably a physician) using the Turkish name Ali and a *mahlas* Ufkî. From this period, he left to posterity hundreds of musical pieces notated using the five-line stave notation. His musical manuscripts remain one of the most important sources for investigations into musical practice in seventeenth-century

<sup>1</sup> All Ottoman Turkish glosses provided in this article are spelled according to the ninth edition of the *Osmanlı Türkçesi Sözlüğü* (Parlatır 2017).

Istanbul and on the possibilities of the historically informed performance of Ottoman music (cf. Ali Ufkî 1976; 1989; 1991; 2003; Ayangil 2008; Behar 2008a; 2008b; 2019; Doğrusöz et al. 2020; Feldman 2015; 2022; 2024; Greve 2015; Haug 2019; 2020a; 2020b; Karakaya 2021; Pekin 2015; Tansuğ 1997; Wright 1992).

After the *çıkma* (i.e. leaving palace service) other “personae” of Wojciech Bobowski emerged. He stayed in the Ottoman capital and started to work as a teacher of Turkish language and customs, translator and informant for various European and Ottoman parties. He became well known among diplomats, missionaries, travellers and intellectuals interested in the Orient under his Latin name, Albertus Bobovius (often in its Italianized version Alberto Bobovio), or under a simplified Turkish name: Ali Bey. Among his most important works of this period are: Turkish translations of the two influential treatises on Islam, Turkish grammars and dictionaries, and two narrative texts used by Paul Rycaut in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (Rycaut 1668): a description of the plot against Kösem Sultan (cf. Neudecker 1997), and the so-called *Serai Enderum* (1665), a detailed account of the way of life and work at the Topkapı Palace.<sup>2</sup>

In this paper, I focus on the latter. For my research I chose the Italian version of the work, kept in The British Library, Western Manuscripts Collection, under the signature MS Harley 3409. I read *Serai Enderum* not only as an important source of information about the seventeenth-century Ottoman court’s organization, administration, and customs (a perspective employed by previous scholars, see: Miller 1931; 1941; Kurt 2017) but also as a source of Ottoman Turkish linguistic data, and a record of Bobowski’s autobiographical memory. We assume that he wrote the *Serai Enderum* in 1665, that is more than 10 years after being released from the service at the palace. Hence, the text as a whole is written in retrospect, which is not always obvious due to the chaotic usage of Italian grammatical tenses in MS Harley 3409. Keeping that in mind, I will focus on the music-related memories and musical expertise of Ali Ufkî emerging (or not) from 13 passages excerpted from the manuscript.

In the following sections I will present the state-of-the-art on the *Serai Enderum* and its contemporary editions. After that, I will investigate what we can learn about Ottoman music from its practitioner and teacher, what new insights about Ali Ufkî’s role as a court musician we can find in the record of his memories, and the terminology and conceptual apparatus Bobovius used to explain Ottoman music to the potential European readers of his work. In this primarily philological and terminological study, I interpret Bobovius as a “multilingual speaker” and a “terminologist”, who on the pages of the *Serai Enderum* undertook the demanding task of providing Italian equivalents and definitions of Ottoman Turkish musical terms.

This feature of Bobowski’s transcultural intellectual output has been overlooked by scholars. In fact, even if he would not label his efforts as a “terminology work” (cf. Engel and Picht 1999; Faber and L’Homme 2022; Galinski and Budin 1999; Lukszyn and Zmarzer 2006), employing a contemporary perspective allows us to discover that when Bobovius was explaining Ottoman Turkish words pertaining to any kind of specialized knowledge in his manuscript collections, authored works and translations (be it music, medicine, religion, administration or education), he was indeed “clarifying and organizing concepts and names, as well as systematizing concepts and the terms that lexicalize them” (Mazurkiewicz-Sułkowska 2014: 15). Sometimes he would use terminological explanations for himself, in the form of glosses and marginalia we can now observe in his manuscript collections. Other times, his choice of specific words would have to convey (often complex) meanings to the potential reader unfamiliar with the socio-cultural reality of the Ottoman Empire. Terminology provided by Bobowski in the *Serai Enderum* belongs to the latter group.

<sup>2</sup> For the most recent investigation of the theories and source-supported facts regarding Bobowski’s biography and details on his works and their editions, see: Haug 2019: 19–85; Pawlina 2023a: 19–53; 2024.

MS Harley 3409 is rich in Turkish vocabulary – a feature hitherto overlooked by researchers. I gathered 316 Ottoman Turkish glosses and 13 phrases written in the Latin alphabet influenced by the rules of Italian orthography. I interpret one- and two-word lexical items excerpted from the *Serai Enderum* as specialized terms of the following fields of expertise: Ottoman state administration, *seraglio* administration and customs, medicine and hygiene, warfare, sport and entertainment, religion, religious and secular celebrations, music, clothing, cuisine and diet, education. At the end of this article, in a tabular glossary, I try to encapsulate Bobovius' terminological efforts relating to his specialized knowledge of music. Description of the musical terms is accompanied by a comparative analysis of their usage as recorded in two seventeenth-century Ottoman Turkish dictionaries: Franciscus a Mesglen Meniński's *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* (Meniński 1680) and Giovanni Molino's *Dittionario della lingua italiana, turchesca* (1641, ed. Siemienieć-Gołaś 2005).

In this paper, I am more interested in *how* Bobovius “speaks” about music, less in *what* he is saying about it. However, I engage with the musicological literature providing a commentary on selected matters regarding the theory and practice of music. A detailed discussion on the contribution of the part of the material presented here to our understanding of Ottoman music had already been provided by Judith I. Haug in her monograph on the “Compendium” *MS Turc 292* (Haug 2019). I will refer to her seminal work frequently. My aim is to provide the scholarly community with easy access to the music-related excerpts from the *Serai Enderum* and hopefully to inspire further musicological discussions. More importantly, I would like to present yet another dimension of Wojciech Bobowski's intellectual personality and the multifaceted cognitive process that transpires from his work.

### Saray-ı Enderūn – Serai Enderum

The title of Wojciech Bobowski's description of the Topkapı Palace, *Serai Enderum*, is in fact an Italianized (and misspelled by a copyist) name of the (inaccessible to the outside world) “inner” part of the palace, called in Ottoman Turkish *Saray-ı Enderūn* (*Enderūn* of the Palace). According to our current knowledge, Bobovius completed this text in May 1665, that is, more than 10 years after leaving the palace service. The work since its creation has been of great interest to Orientalists. It is the only work by Bobovius published in print while the author was still alive, and it immediately received international recognition as an important source of information about Ottoman administration and culture.

Bobovius described in detail a specific space of the palace: *Enderūn* was a part located behind its third gate (the so-called, *Bāb-üs-sa'āde*, “Gate of Happiness”), by the third courtyard. It was adjacent to the *Hās Oda* (i.e. sultan's private chambers) and the *Harem* (Miller 1941: 50). The space housed male slaves, known as the *ıçoğlan*, of various ranks and occupations. A palace school, in subject literature referred to as *Enderūn* or *Enderūn Mektebi*, also functioned there. Bobovius depicted this space on a schema (MS Harley 3409, p. 9). A detailed description of its inhabitants, their occupation, daily routine, and the hierarchy to which they were subjected in their functions followed. He devoted several pages to the palace education system – its purpose was to make officials and military officers out of the new arrivals at the palace. Thus, Bobowski's *Serai Enderum* is a description of the *Enderūn* in all three of its meanings: 1) a specific space of the Topkapı Palace of the seventeenth century; 2) the “inner service” – an element of the Ottoman state administration system; and 3) an important element of the Ottoman education system – the palace school (cf. Bayerle 1997: 22, 61–2; İnalçık 2020: 55; Miller 1931; 1941; Shaw 2012: 191–240).

My current research is based on the Italian manuscript of the *Serai Enderum*, which remains the oldest version of Bobovius' text at our disposal. It is kept at the British Library, Western Manuscripts Collection, under the signature MS Harley 3409. It was discovered for modern Oriental studies by Barnette Miller in the 1930s. It became an important source for her research on the administrative structure of the Topkapı Palace (Miller 1931), and on

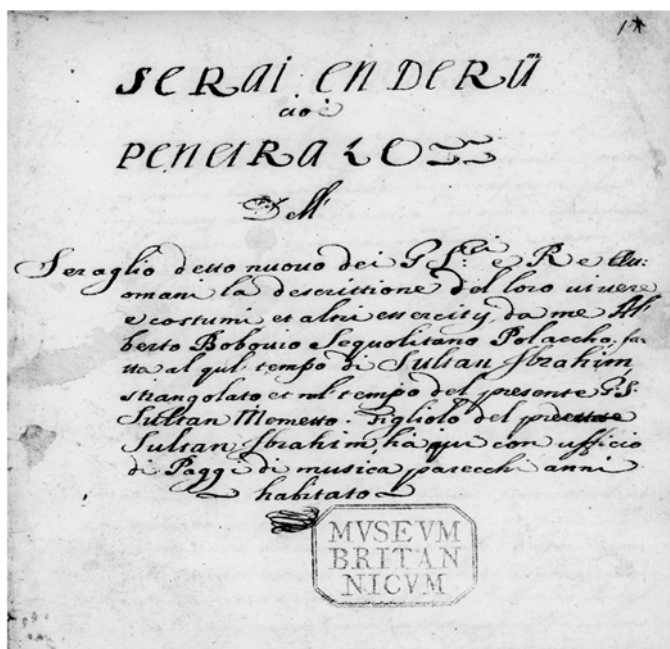


Figure 1. Serai Enderum, MS Harley 3409 (British Library, Western Manuscripts Coll.), p. 1\*.

the *Enderün Mektebi* (Miller 1941). More recently, fragments of the MS Harley 3409 regarding music (pp. 47–54) have been used by J.I. Haug (2019; see more below). A full translation and critical edition of the MS Harley 3409 is available for Polish readers (Pawlina 2023a).

The manuscript contains 66 pages sized 21 x 15 cm and 40 pages sized 20 x 14 cm, bound together with a wider (23 x 19 cm) binding. The first two pages are empty aside from the librarian's annotation. The third page (see Figure 1) is numbered by the copyist's hand as 1\*, and it shows a lengthy title of the work:

*Serai Enderum, cioè Penetrale Dell'Seraglio detto nuovo dei G[rand]. S[igno]ri e Re Ottomani; la descrizione del loro vivere e costumi et altri essercitij, da me Alberto Bobovio Sequolitano Polaccho, fatta al qu[e]l tempo di Sultan Ibrahim strangolato, et nel tempo del presente G.S. Sultan Memetto, Figliolo del predetto Sultan Ibrahim, ha qui con ufficio di Paggi di musica parecchi anni habitato.*

Serai Enderum, that is an Inner Part of the Seraglio known as The New Palace of the Ottoman Sultan; a description of the place, where they live, their clothing and other matters [written] by myself, Alberto Bobovio [=Wojciech Bobowski], a Polish secular man, who has been living there for several years under the reign of Sultan Ibrahim [I], who had been strangled, and [then] during the reign of his son, Sultan Mehmed [IV], serving as Page of Music.

There is no text on the back of the title page. The description of the palace begins on the page numbered 1 by the copyist, which is technically the fifth page of the manuscript. From this point on, the numbering is continuous, clearly visible on each page, and ends with the number 93. On the last page (see Figure 2), we can see the name of the author, along with a dedication, and a date and place of the work's completion:

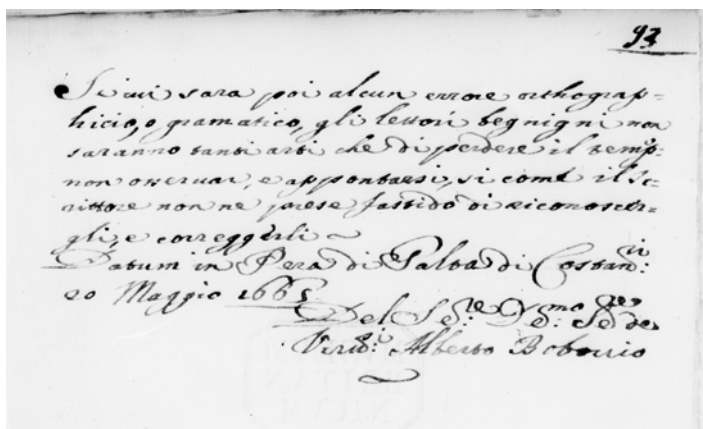


Figure 2. *Serai Enderum*, MS Harley 3409 (British Library, Western Manuscripts Coll.), p. 93.

*Datum in Pera di Gal[a]ta di Costan[tinopo]li/20 Maggio 1665/Del Ser[vito]re D[estis]simo  
Ser[vito]re De Virtudi: Alberto Bobovio.*

[Dated in Pera on [the hill of] Galata in Constantinople/20 May 1665/By a Righteous  
Servant of all Servants of Virtues, Alberto Bobovio].

In the initial phase of this research, I assumed that MS Harley 3409 might be the first, original version of the *Serai Enderum*. Even though the handwriting does not belong to Bobovius, there was a chance that it was an original text dictated by him to a scribe. However, I ruled out this possibility due to some factual errors regarding Ottoman customs and the repeated misspelling of Turkish glosses. The distortions of the phonetic value of multiple words allow us to ascertain that the scribe of the MS Harley 3409 did not know Turkish. They further indicate that the scribe was rewriting the text from an earlier version written in blurred handwriting. He had problems with correctly rewriting glosses with the letters “m” (e.g. OT *mızrak* in MS Harley 3409 is written as *sızrak*), “n” (e.g. OT *Enderün* > *Enderum*, OT *nefer* > *hefer*) and “ş” (e.g. OT *başkapıoğlanı* > *başchapaoglani* and *başchikapaoglani*). I also observed shifts of syllables and letters that linguistically can only be explained as mistakes made during rewriting a word unknown to the scribe in its phonetic form.

Considering these, I support the claims of previous scholars in the field: the original version of Bobovius’ *Serai Enderum*, most likely written in Italian, had been lost and remains so (cf. Fisher and Fisher 1985: 7; Haug 2019: 48, 145; Miller 1941: 48). However, the work has been copied by various hands, paraphrased, translated into German and French, and printed by subsequent authors. As a result, *Serai Enderum* has been preserved in several manuscript versions, as well as in old prints, which differ in their contents.

As well as the MS Harley 3409, there are two other manuscripts of the *Serai Enderum* written in Italian. They have been found by Pier Mattia Tommasino: one in the Biblioteca dell’Accademia dei Filopàtridi in Savignano sul Rubicone (dated 1669), the other (undated) in the Biblioteca Comunale Federiciana in Fano (Tommasino 2011: 111; 2015: 15, 20). A detailed comparison of the three manuscripts is a potential research area for experts in Italian linguistics, especially those interested in the language variations used in the Eastern Mediterranean of the Early Modern period.



Cornelio Magni included a paraphrase of Bobovius' *Serai Enderum* in one of his elaborated "letters from travels in the Levant" printed in Parma between 1679 and 1692, entitled: *Quanto di più curioso, e vago ha potuto raccogliere Cornelio Magni nel primo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi, e dimore per la Turchia ...* (Magni 1679: 500–604).<sup>3</sup> He reworked the text and produced a distinctive compilation, which is "shorter and linguistically cleaner" (Tommasino 2011: 111) when compared with MS Harley 3409. He included it in *Lettera Sesta* [The Sixth Letter] dated "Galata di Constantinopoli, 14 Ottobre 1672" (Magni 1679: 604). The beginning of the *Serai Enderum* is indicated by a headline (Magni 1679: 502). Its ending bears a different date from the letter itself, and shows the name of its author: "Dato nelle Vigne di Pera li 20. Marzo 1670. Alberto Bobouio" (Magni 1679: 602).

Magni may have received a copy of the text from Bobovius himself when they met in Istanbul in 1671 (cf. Haug 2019: 48). Then he would use it to create his own version that differs stylistically and partly factually from the contents of the MS Harley 3409. A detailed comparison of all Italian versions of the *Serai Enderum* has not yet been undertaken, making it impossible to determine whether Magni used any of the manuscripts mentioned here, or perhaps a lost original or another copy unknown to us, made by Bobovius in 1670.<sup>4</sup>

A German translation of the *Serai Enderum* by Nicolaus Brenner was published in Vienna in 1667 with the title: *Serai Enderum. Das ist: Inwendige Beschaffenheit der Türckischen Kayserl...* (Bobovio and Brenner 1667).<sup>5</sup> In 2013, Türkis Noyan prepared the first Turkish translation of this version of the text (Ali Ufkî Bey 2013). In 2017, another edition of the Viennese old print along with a facsimile and a new Turkish translation by Memo G. Schachiner was published (Bobowski 2017).

A French version of the *Serai Enderum* has attracted the strongest scholarly attention so far. Its manuscript is kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the signature NAF (Nouvelle Acquisition Français) 4997.<sup>6</sup> The translation was made in 1686 by Pierre de Girardin, ambassador of King Louis XIV in Constantinople in the years 1686–88. During his first stay in the Ottoman capital, in 1665, he learnt Turkish from Bobowski (Fisher and Fisher 1985: 7; Haug 2019: 62). The first English translation of this heavily amended paraphrase of Bobovius' *Serai Enderum* was by Alan Fisher and Carol Fisher (1985). In 1990, its excerpts concerning music were published in English in the form of a short article (Martin 1990), which was then used as a reference by Walter Feldman in his ground-breaking monograph on Ottoman court music (Feldman 2024, first published in 1996). A few years later, Annie Berthier and Stéphane Yerasimos prepared a full critical edition of Girardin's manuscript enriching the text with commentary (Bobovius 1999). This publication, in turn, was translated into Turkish by Ali Berktaş and published in 2002 (Bobovius 2002).

The content of the widely available French version of the *Serai Enderum* differs significantly from both Italian and German versions of the text. While reading it, we clearly feel the presence of two narrators: Bobovius and Pierre de Girardin. The latter has altered, often expanded, the information given originally by Bobowski. He also included his own comments on the cultural and political phenomena described in the work and, importantly, presented Turkish glosses in both the Latin transcription (different from the one observed in MS Harley 3409) and in the Ottoman Turkish alphabet. This feature of Girardin's manuscript awaits linguists' attention.

<sup>3</sup> See: <https://books.google.pl/books?id=G9lw3NEXRjgC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl#v=onepage&q&f=true> (accessed 09/08/24).

<sup>4</sup> The discussion has been opened by Tommasino's important remarks on Bobovius' usage of Italian in the MS Harley 3409, compared to MS held in Savignano sul Rubicone and Cornelio Magni's paraphrase (Tommasino 2011: 115–8).

<sup>5</sup> See online: [http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ205030804](http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ205030804) (accessed 09/08/24).

<sup>6</sup> See online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10073802s> (accessed 09/08/24).

During my research focused on the contents of the MS Harley 3409, I made several observations regarding its convergence with other versions of the *Serai Enderum*. I discovered that Brenner's translation is the most similar to the Italian manuscript in terms of the factual content, terminology, and layout of the text. Even though both versions display significant differences (e.g. different schemes of the *Enderün*,<sup>7</sup> numbers referring to rooms and courts shown on them, different order and length of several paragraphs) it would be much more difficult to decipher and interpret some vague passages of the MS Harley 3409 without consulting the German text. Brenner's work is better structured, translator's annotations are clearly indicated by parentheses. In comparison, MS Harley 3409 seems to be a copy rewritten from another (rather confusing) source without much consideration for the inner structuring and logical, clear flow of the final text. We may ascertain that the German translator worked with another Italian manuscript, or, if he worked with the MS Harley 3409, he has corrected the text based on his own knowledge of Turkish customs or on other sources at his disposal.

An even more exciting discovery pertains to the possible usage of the *Serai Enderum* by Paul Rycaut during his work on *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (Rycaut 1668). The latter was published for the first time in London in 1666, and was printed anew many times and translated into several languages. It was one of the most influential works on the early modern Ottoman Empire and remains an important source for Ottoman studies. Rycaut refers to Bobowski as his main informant twice (Rycaut 1668: *The Epistle to the Reader* and p. 133) but makes no mention of any written source (cf. Haug 2019: 61, 81; Pawlina 2023a: 43; 2024: 28). Yet the resemblance of several passages in the first book of *The Present State ...* to the factual contents and paragraph structure of the MS Harley 3409 allows us to conclude that the detailed description of the inner workings at the Topkapı Palace might have been commissioned from Bobovius by Rycaut himself. The English Orientalist may have used the MS Harley 3409 or the lost original of the work. This lead is worthy of further investigation.

### Music-related excerpts from the MS Harley 3409

In the *Serai Enderum* Bobovius did not devote as much attention to the musical life of the Ottoman court as one might expect from an ex-court musician and music teacher. However, the terminology he uses to describe it, as well as his selection of facts pertaining to musical education and performance included in the text make this source particularly interesting for musicology. I have found 13 passages related to music and musicianship. I present all of them below, in the order in which they appear in the MS Harley 3409 (except for the autobiographic passage no. 13). I provide my own English translation and interpretation in terms of the interpunction and division into paragraphs (both inconsistent in the manuscript). Each passage is accompanied by a short musicological and/or philological commentary. Detailed terminological investigation of the Italian and Ottoman Turkish lexical items excerpted from the text, which led to the interpretations presented here, are given in the next section of the article.

#### 1) MS Harley 3409, p. 2

If the palace needs the services of craftsmen or artists, the *kapı ağası* lets them in at designated times. Among them are for example: the sultan's teacher [...],

<sup>7</sup> MS Harley 3409 and the old print of the German text are the only sources showing the scheme. Other versions of the *Serai Enderum* just mention its existence. To compare both schemes, see Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 12, [http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ205030804](http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ205030804) (accessed 09/08/24); Ali Ufkî Bey 2013: 23; Bobowski 2017: 40; Miller 1941: 52–3; Pawlina 2023a: 80).

physicians, both Jewish and Turkish; surgeons; [chamber music's] instrument teachers and [teachers of the *mehterhâne*] orchestra; blacksmiths; masons; jewellers and watchmakers.

From this passage, we learn that at the palace music was taught not only by musicians residing in the *Enderûn* but also by “musical instrument teachers and [teachers of the] orchestra [*maestri di strumenti e di Musicha*]” invited from the outside, i.e. from Istanbul. Bobovius does not give us any further details on whom these *maestri* were or from where exactly they would come to the palace. Sources contemporary to Ali Ufkî and our current understanding of the history of Ottoman music points to the members of the Mevlevî order (cf. Behar 2006; 2019: 35, 59–60; Feldman 2022: 143–50; 2024: 87–93; Güneygöl 2021: 109–17; Haug 2019: 208, 325; Kahraman and Dağlı 2008; Pekin 2015: 42–7).

## 2) MS Harley 3409, p. 20

In the section on a daily routine of the *acemi oğlans*, Bobovius mentions *müezzin*'s call to prayer (i.e. *ezan*):

After all this is finished and they have returned to their places, each one of them takes a book called the *Al-Quran*, and reads it aloud until the *müezzin*, that is, “the convener”, cries out for them so they would come to the mosque.

Here, we could take note of Bobovius' choice of the verb lexicalizing the “voicing of the *ezan*”: *il Muesin, che vol dir convocatore, grida, che venghino alla moschea*. Choosing the verb *gridare* “to shout, to cry, to call up on somebody” for Tur. *ezan okumak* “to recite the *ezan*” (lit. “to read the *ezan*”) might have been a conscious decision of the author to use European conceptual apparatus (“to shout, to call [for prayer]”), instead of the Turkish one. It can also be, simply, a *calque* of the Turkish verb *çağırma* “to shout, to call upon (somebody)”, sometimes used in this context (*ezan* can be explained as Tur. *çağırısı* “a call”).

## 3) MS Harley 3409, p. 37

In this passage, Bobovius describes preparations for the Kurban Bayram celebrations. As a part of these, the strongest of pages are carrying carpets from the vault to one of the palace gates. The next day, the sultan will have received ceremonial greetings from his subjects by this gate, therefore it must be decorated. The task becomes a contest for the strongmen, and an occasion to enjoy entertainment and music by *içoğlans*:

When the strongmen are carrying carpets, the pages are given permission to come out of their chambers to watch their struggle and cheer them on. Open-air music on drums, pipes and trumpets resounds, and the pages are shouting *Allah, Allah kuvvet vere!*, that is, “God, God, give [them] strength!”

In this passage, terminologically the most interesting is a compound term: *la m[u]sica campestra*.<sup>8</sup> The latter word is a Spanish borrowing meaning [here] “open-air, field”.<sup>9</sup> The

<sup>8</sup> [*La mosica campestra sona fra tanto gli tamburi, le pife, et trombette*]. This is the sole instance of the use of this Italian term. Further below, Bobovius consistently uses different wording: *la musica di campagna* (see passage no. 6 and the glossary).

<sup>9</sup> On the origin of Spanish borrowings (Ital. *iberismi*) in seventeenth-century Levantine Italian, and their occurrence as an important characteristic of Bobovius' usage of the language, see Tommasino 2011: 118.



term “open-air music”<sup>10</sup> connotes music of the *mehterhâne*, or – in a broader sense – the *kabasâz*, *kaba mūsikî*, that is, music designed to be played “outdoors”, as opposed to the *incesâz*, *ince mūsikî*, that is, chamber music designed to be played “indoors” (cf. Behar 2006: 402–3; Feldman 2024: xx f., 173, *passim*).

#### 4) MS Harley 3409, p. 47

From this passage, we learn that court musicians may have become favourites of the sultan, and perhaps even lovers, as it is a fragment of a longer paragraph on homosexual relationships observed by Bobovius at the palace:

The current ruler, named Sultan Mehmed [*sic*], fell in love with a certain young man from Constantinople, who was his music page, named Kuloğlu. He is now not only one of his musicians, but he plays and sings when[ever] His Majesty commands it, [being] also his favourite.

Judith I. Haug has already established that “Sultan Mehmed [IV]” in this passage, is erroneous for “Sultan Murad [IV]” (Haug 2019: 210). Perhaps that is the scribe’s mistake. Since it appears that the scribe did not know Turkish, it is likely that he simply confused the two names, which are frequently mentioned in the text. This mix-up would not be surprising given his lack of knowledge of the language. The mistake is repeated in Girardin’s version of the *Serai Enderum* (MS NAF 4997: 159), while in Brenner’s German translation, Kuloğlu is properly named a favourite of Sultan Murad IV (Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 72).

“Kuloğlu”, the second historical figure evoked in this passage, is one of the quite well-documented musicians from the early seventeenth century, an *aşık* and *çöğür* player, contemporary and acquainted with Evliya Çelebi (Güneygül 2021: 79; Haug 2019: 208–9, 352–3; Kahraman and Dağlı 2008: 640, 642).

#### 5) MS Harley 3409, p. 48

In this passage, we are given vague general information on Ottoman music and the position of musicians in the palace’s inner service hierarchy:

Another [official of a higher rank serving at the palace] is *sāzendebaşı*, meaning “head or a master of music”. [Music performed] among the Turks is ancient and monophonic. When His Majesty wants [to listen to] music, he [*sāzendebaşı*] is responsible for it, and accompanies [the musicians on the way to the *Hās Oda*], and remains with them until they have finished playing. However, he himself never joins in the performance. He waits, according to the custom and rank, to be promoted to a higher position in the *Hās Oda*. In my time, this rank was held by a Genoese renegade.

To describe Turkish music, Bobovius used the words: [*é*] *antica*, [*é*] *unica*, which can be interpreted as “[it is] ancient” and “[it is] unique”. The German version of this passage is clearer in its terminology: “Ein anderer heit *Sazende Baci* nemblich Maister ber die Music, welliche [*sic*] bei denen Trcken alt, aber nur einstimmig ist” (Bobovio and Brenner 1667:

<sup>10</sup> J.I. Haug refers to this term in English as the “field music” (Haug 2019: 423). Walter Feldman uses the expressions “outdoor music” and “outdoor performance” (Feldman 2024: xx, 102, 173, *passim*).

73). Hence, I decided to interpret the word *unica* here as “single-voiced, monophonic”, just as the interpreter contemporary to Bobovius had done.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, Bobovius provides a curious description of the activities of the *sāzendebaşı*, noting that he accompanies the orchestra to the Sultan’s private chambers but “he is not singing anymore [Ital. *non canta più*]”. This wording is unexpected, as we would anticipate the author to use the phrase *non sona più* (“he is not playing anymore”) for the head of the instrumentalists. The verb *cantare* (“to sing”), used in the passage, would be more appropriate for describing the duties of a *hānendebaşı*. Another question that arises from this fragment: was *sāzendebaşı*’s role limited to organizing and preparing musical performances without actively participating in them “anymore”?

Last but not least, I was not able to identify the Genoese *sāzendebaşı* mentioned in the text. Is it the same person, who “was brought [to the sultan] by the Barbary corsairs” (see passage no. 6)? It is a lead worth further investigation not only from the musicological perspective. Tracing the history of this “Genoese renegade” could help us better understand the timeline of Bobovius’ stay at the Topkapı Palace.

## 6) MS Harley 3409, pp. 49–54

This is the longest passage on music and other performing arts in the *Serai Enderum*, interrupted briefly on pages 50–51 by autobiographical information which I have decided to present separately in the next section of the article. The passage is dense with details on the education (*meşk*) and performance practices of both chamber musicians and members of the *mehterhāne*. Notions worth emphasizing concern: the close relationship between Ottoman poetry and music, especially between *usuls* and the prosody of the poems used in compositions; the monophonic nature of Ottoman music; the instruments used in “courtly” and “folkloric” repertoire performed at the palace; and a historical instance of a certain Italian *sāzendebaşı*, who composed European-style music for the sultan, but did not gain any recognition for the deed.

The majority of this passage has been already transcribed, translated, and analysed in terms of its musicological value by J.I. Haug (2019: 46, 143, 198, 226, 271, 273, 327, 359, 372, 376, 416–7). The general conclusion from her analysis, which should be kept in mind, is that information on genre, division between “court” and “folk” musics, and some details of the performance practice given by Bobovius are contradictory to the repertoire and marginalia excerpted from his musical manuscripts. Since there is already an in-depth analysis of the data, instead of a further commentary below the quote, I use footnotes to: a) point out differences between MS Harley 3409 and other versions of the *Serai Enderum*;<sup>12</sup> b) point out the factual contradictions with Ali Ufkî’s repertoire, as established by J.I. Haug; c) point out the differences in my reading of the MS Harley 3409 compared to existing scholarly interpretations; and d) provide a short commentary on terminological issues, which are further elaborated in the next section of the article.

*Meşkhāne*, that is a music practice room, is open throughout the day into the evening, and no one lives inside. It is a place where performers of outdoor music come to practise. Teachers of chamber music [p. 50] come from the outside [from the city] every day after [the meeting of] Divan is finished, that is at nine o’clock, and they

<sup>11</sup> Cf. this passage in subsequent manuscripts, old-prints and editions: Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 73–4; Ali Ufkî Bey 2013: 48; Bobowski 2017: 104–6; Magni 1679: 550; MS NAF 4997: 157–8; Bobovius 1999: 89–90; 2002: 74.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the whole passage in subsequent versions of the *Serai Enderum*: Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 74–5; Ali Ufkî Bey 2013: 48–52; Bobowski 2017: 106–14; Bobovius 1999: 93–103; 2002: 76–83; Magni 1679: 550–5; MS NAF 4997: 165–89. In the following, I refer only to the sources: Bobovio and Brenner 1667, Magni 1679 and MS NAF 4997.

come to the *meşkhāne*. Then, the pages [who take music lessons] come here from their chambers, and stay with their masters to practise together for an hour. Their music [Turkish music] is monophonic. They have some knowledge about our [music].<sup>13</sup>

Sultan Murad had a splendid *maestro di musica* [*sāzdebebaşı*], who was an Italian, brought [to the padishah] by the Barbary corsairs. He composed a concert song and an instrumental piece, but such [European-style] music was foreign to their ears. Moreover, Sultan Murad had deemed [these pieces] bad and effeminate, so he did not want to listen to them more than once.

They also have knowledge of tones [here: scales, tunes]<sup>14</sup> and they use them to compose music for their poems [retrieving the tunes] from their memory. They always beat out the rhythm on drums,<sup>15</sup> and the various types of their songs: *murabba*, *kār*, *nakiş*, *semāʿī*, are differentiated [from one another] by them<sup>16</sup> and [they] have 24 types of tempo in their music, which are changing according to the length of a given line [of a poem's stanza]. In the religious songs, called by them *tesbīh*, *ilāhī* [and] *tevhīd*, they do not show the tempo<sup>17</sup> with raising and lowering the hand above the knees.<sup>18</sup>

(...) [autobiographical passage, see passage no. 13]

[p. 51] Other simple Turkish poems [here: songs] are called *türkī*, which are sung in certain [sets of] tones known by them by heart.<sup>19</sup> The themes [of *türkīs*] are their wars, victories, love, suffering and estrangement from their homeland. Fools [i.e. the uneducated] delight in these, just as the learned and more civilized [find entertainment] in the aforementioned *murabbas*, which are usually [sung] in Persian.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> In Brenner's and Girardin's translations the last statement is omitted (Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 75; MS NAF 4997: 165–89), while in Magni's account we read: “[h]anno cognizione della musica Italiana [they know Italian music]” (Magni 1679: 551).

<sup>14</sup> J.I. Haug reads *ancora* as “still”, which slightly changes the interpretation of this passage. To provide a valid alternative, I present Haug's reading along with her commentary: “*hanno ancora notizia di thoni* [...]” (‘they still have knowledge of the *toni*’). The term *tonus* is used in the sense of ‘octave species’ or recitation tone. This shows that Ali Ufukī was aware of conceptual similarities between the *makām* system and the European modal system as well as the shared Ancient Greek roots” (Haug 2019: 226).

<sup>15</sup> J.I. Haug reads the following passage differently: “[...] the beat is always executed with drums, and in the songs adapted to their *Murabbāʾ*, *Kār* [and] *Çavuş-Semāʾī* [...] which are diverse and have twenty-four measures in all of their music according to the length or shortness of the verse[.] In the spiritual songs, which are called *Tesbīh*, *ilāhī* [and] *Tevhīd* in Arabic they do not give the measure raising their hands and lowering them to their knees [...]” (Haug 2019: 273).

<sup>16</sup> I.e. by the “24 types of tempo” (*usuls*) mentioned in the following part of this sentence.

<sup>17</sup> This information is contradictory to Ali Ufukī's repertoire, in which *tesbīh* is metered (Haug 2019: 372; cf. Güneygül 2021: 110).

<sup>18</sup> For *murabba*, see Behar 2021: 169, 187; Feldman 2022: 219, 245; 2024: 407; Haug 2019: 333 ff.; Wright 158 ff.; *kār*: Behar 2021: 170 ff.; Feldman 2022: 154; 2024: 496; Wright 1992: 166 ff. *passim*; *nakiş*: Behar 2021: 160 ff.; Feldman 2022: 154; 2024: 497; Wright 1992: 127 ff., 173 ff. *passim*; [vocal] *semāʿī*: Behar 2021: 178 f.; Haug 2019: 333 ff.; Wright 1992: 179 ff. *passim*; *tesbīh*: Behar 2006: 401; Haug 2019: 371 f.; Güneygül 2021: 110; Wright 1992: 317; *ilāhī*: Behar 2006: 401; Feldman 2022: 17 f., 243 *passim*; Wright 1992: 311; *tevhīd*: Özler 2012.

<sup>19</sup> For *türkī*, see: Haug 2019: 351 ff.; Şenel 2015.

<sup>20</sup> This is contradictory to Ali Ufukī's repertoire, in which the majority of the *murabbas* is composed in Turkish text (cf. Ali Ufukī 1999; Feldman 2022: 156; Haug 2019: 333–51, 407–8).

Their instruments are:<sup>21</sup> *kemānçe*, that is, a violin; [lutes] *tanbūr* and *şęstar*;<sup>22</sup> cithara [*çeng*?] and decachordum [*kanun*];<sup>23</sup> *santur*, that is, a psaltery [erroneous for dulcimer].<sup>24</sup> All [of them] are different from our instruments. [There are also] *miskal* [that is] bagpipe [erroneous for panpipe],<sup>25</sup> flute [called] *nāy*, [trumpet] *nefir*, a Persian shawm,<sup>26</sup> and a lute [called] *ūd*.<sup>27</sup> And on these, they accompany the aforementioned delicate songs [i.e. *incesāz*].<sup>28</sup> To accompany the *türkīs*, they have other instruments, such as [p. 52] *çöğür*, *colascione* [*bağlama/tambura*],<sup>29</sup> drums, [and lutes] *tel tamburası* and *çeşte*.<sup>30</sup>

They have also their [poets called] *şā'ir*, that is Turkish poets, who sing improvised rhythmical [poems].

The pages who are [trained as] dancers are called *rakkās*, and [those trained as] comedians are called *mukallid*. They practise in the aforementioned chamber [*meşkhāne*] from early afternoon until evening, accompanied by musicians [who play for them

<sup>21</sup> The passage on instruments seems to have been difficult to decipher for interpreters contemporary to Bobowski. The list of instruments is shorter in both Brenner's and Girardin's versions, and the definitions/equivalents of the Ottoman Turkish terms differ (cf. Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 78; MS NAF 4997: 175–6; see also: Güneygül 2021: 150). Alas, in this part of Girardin's text, Ottoman Turkish glosses written in Arabic script, which could be conclusive for the present terminological study, are missing. Cf. Haug 2019: 416–9, for her reading and interpretation of this passage.

<sup>22</sup> W. Feldman, based on Girardin's translation (Martin 1990), assumed that "Bobowski is treating the terms *tanbur* and *şęstar* as though they were synonymous" (Feldman 2024: 144). MS Harley 3409 indicates that this may not be the case. The conjunction *ò/o* "or" used in this sentence is ambiguous. Based on its usage throughout the MS Harley 3409, I interpret *ò* as: 1) "and", when Bobovius simply lists the names of instruments; 2) "that is", when it pertains to a Turkish name of a given instrument juxtaposed to its European [quasi-]equivalent. It is noteworthy that a similar ambiguity of conjunctions 'and'/'or' was present in Middle Polish (i.e. the Polish language of 16th–18th centuries). Perhaps it is an instance of the "language transfer" from Bobowski's mother tongue to his language of education (Italian).

<sup>23</sup> This pair of instruments [Cithara *ò* Exacordon] remains unclear. I propose this interpretation following Meniński's definition of the *kanun*. An alternative translation, also based on the *Thesaurus*, is: "zither, that is decachordon [*kanun*]" (see notes 45 and 51). Another possible reading of the *Exacordon* is: "[He]xacordon [*şęshane*?]". For *şęshane*, see Farmer 1936: 32; Feldman 2024: 131–3; Güneygül 2021: 64.

<sup>24</sup> For *kemānçe*, see: Farmer 1936: 41–2; Feldman 2024: 106–8, 124–8; Güneygül 2021: 174–80; *tanbūr*: Farmer 1936: 33–4; Feldman 2024: 140–5; Güneygül 2021: 91–107; cf. Haug 2019: 420 ff.; *şęstar*: Farmer 1936: 32, 34, 40; Feldman 2024: 140–5; Güneygül 2021: 64, 68–73; *çeng*: Farmer 1936: 30–1; Feldman 2024: 103, 105, 117–22, 151–3; Güneygül 2021: 154–68; *kanun*: Farmer 1936: 31; Feldman 2024: 103, 105, 122–3, 153–7; Güneygül 2021: 183–7; *santur*: Farmer 1936: 32; Feldman 2024: 103, 157–61; Güneygül 2021: 187–90; cf. Haug 2019: 421–2.

<sup>25</sup> The error permeated the German and French translations of the *Serai Enderum* (Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 74; MS NAF 4997: 175). We observe the same erroneous wording in Molino's definition of *miskal* (see n. 56).

<sup>26</sup> This may stay for *zurna*, *balaban* or *Acemī zurna* (cf. Farmer 1936: 24).

<sup>27</sup> For *miskal*, see Farmer 1936: 20–1; Feldman 2024: 103, 161–7; Güneygül 2021: 190–3; *nāy*: Farmer 1936: 16–8; Feldman 2022: 85–104; 2024: 104, 114–6, 133–40; Güneygül 2021: 131–41; *nefir*: Farmer 1936: 28; Feldman 2024: 102; Güneygül 2021: 213–5; *ūd*: Farmer 1936: 39–40; 2024: 103, 108–11, 130–1.

<sup>28</sup> It is curious that Bobovius enlists *nefir* and *zurna* in the group of *incesāz* performance forces. The usage of the latter in chamber music can be traced in other sources (cf. Feldman 2024: 64–5, Haug 2019: 423). Putting *nefir* in this context seems erroneous.

<sup>29</sup> This interpretation is based on Meniński's usage of the Ital. "colascione" (see n. 52) and Girardin's usage of the OT *tambura* (spelled: *tambourah*), instead of Ital. "gallassone" ["colascione"] (MS NAF 4997: 175). When providing the name of the specific Italian type of long-necked lute, Bobovius probably had in mind one of the similar-looking lutes of the *bağlama* family (cf. Feldman 2024: 103, 167 ff.; Güneygül 2021: 46 ff.).

<sup>30</sup> For the Turkish folk lutes (*çöğür*, *tel tamburası*, *çeşte*, *tambura*), see Farmer 1936: 34, 37; Feldman 2024: 167–73; Güneygül 2021: 46–9, 73–90; cf. Haug 2019: 150, 417–20. J.I. Haug ascertained that Ali Ufki himself played the *çöğür* (Haug 2019: 326, 417 f.). For the Italian *colascione* see Kirsch 2001.

on] drums, rattles and castanets, which the Turks call [respectively] *dā'ire*, *çağana* and *çalpara*.<sup>31</sup>

In the afternoon, the outdoor music teachers come in and [the musicians] practise [with them]. Their instruments are: the shawm, called in Turkish *zurna*, and trumpets [called] *boru*. They play [them] to the beat on drum[s] [called] *davul*, small *nakkāre*, *kudüm*, *dümbelek*, and cymbals [called] *zil*.<sup>32</sup> They also train [musicians] to play the large drums made of bronze [*kös*], which are placed on the back of a camel; [during war expeditions these camels] walk in front of the sultan.

These [military] musicians, who live outside [the Enderün] are obliged [to come to the palace] every morning to play [the sultan] a good day and good night wishes – an hour before sunrise and an hour-and-a-half after sunset.<sup>33</sup> [Their music] also announces the *bayram*[s], and [is played] when the padishah solemnly walks [through the city]. Some *mehterhâne* [orchestra players] can stay in the houses of the highest dignitaries, who had been awarded ceremonially with a *kaftan* [p. 53]. They receive their gratuity from them.

There are also [musicians] who reside in [the palace], but who are not *ıçoğlans*.<sup>34</sup> They perform during the two *bayrams*, when [strongmen] are carrying the carpets [see passage no. 3] or when someone is given the title of *beylerbey* or *paşa*, and leaves the seraglio [see passage no. 7]. Moreover, when the padishah takes a boat ride, he is always accompanied by [musicians playing] two shawms and a [kettledrum] *nakkāre*. They play while the *bostancı*, that is, “gardeners”, are rowing.

Every Tuesday, chamber musicians sing and play for the sultan when [the barber] trims his hair and beard. Moreover, when it pleases the padishah, musicians enter the ladies' chamber [*Harem*]. But [there they] play and sing blindfolded, with their heads bowed, not to see the women gathered there. Additionally, the eunuchs stand over them to make sure that no one raises his head. If someone does that, [eunuch] immediately slaps him on the neck [i.e. executes *hapas*].

During the circumcision ceremony of Sultan Mehmed, the musicians stayed in the *Hās Oda* for twelve days, and they had to play and sing there with very little sleep. In addition, various domestic comedies, simple [performances] were performed. Since then [Sultan Mehmed] has not been particularly fond [p. 54] of music. [...] Sultan Murad

<sup>31</sup> For *dā'ire*, see Farmer 1936: 10–1; Feldman 2024: 102 f.; Güneygül 2021: 117–20; cf. Haug 2019: 423; *çağana*: Farmer 1936: 8; Güneygül 2021: 170–2; *çalpara*: Farmer 1936: 8–9; Feldman 2024: 103; Güneygül 2021: 168–70.

<sup>32</sup> For *zurna*, see Farmer 1936: 21–4; Feldman 2024: 102 f.; Güneygül 2021: 208–10; *boru*: Farmer 1936: 26–30; Güneygül 2021: 210–12; *davul*: Farmer 1936: 15–6; Güneygül 2021: 202–5; *nakkāre*: Farmer 1936: 12–3; Feldman 2024: 103; Güneygül 2021: 123, 126, 206–7; *kudüm*: Farmer 1936: 12; Feldman 2024: 102, 104; Güneygül 2021: 123–6; *dümbelek*: Farmer 1936: 14–5; Feldman 2024: 103; *zil*: Farmer 1936: 7; cf. Güneygül 2021: 129; Haug 2019: 423.

<sup>33</sup> This may be a reference to the military musicians stationed at the Yedikule Fortress mentioned by Evliya Çelebi: “(...) there was the guild of the military musicians of the Seven Towers which numbered forty men. They (...) played twice daily at *al-ı şhā* and *al-şabāh*, a custom introduced by Sulṭān Muḥammad II” (Farmer 1936: 5; cf. Feldman 2024: xix; Güneygül 2021: 200; Kahraman and Dağlı 2008: 624–5).

<sup>34</sup> It seems that Bobovius distinguishes two groups of musicians: chamber music players who were *ıçoğlans* and outdoor music players, most likely members of the Janissary corps, who lived at the Topkapı Palace, but were not included among the *ıçoğlan* numbers. Here, he might also have meant *mehter-i birün*.



liked music very much, because he liked to spend time with men, contrary to Sultan Ibrahim, who liked to converse with women.

### 7) *MS Harley 3409, pp. 62–3*

In this passage, Bobovius describes one of the occasions when pages living in the Enderūn were allowed for some entertainment with music:

According to custom, when a [newly promoted] *beylerbey* departs from the seraglio [...] he orders two pots to be filled with silver and gold; two eunuchs carry these pots to a place resembling an arcaded stage located in front of the entrance to the audience chambers [...] [p. 63]. Then the outdoor musicians enter, beating drums, playing trumpets and pipes. Watching the pages trying to catch the silver and gold flying in all directions, and snatching the pots thrown at them from each other's hands is very entertaining.

### 8) *MS Harley 3409, pp. 65–6*

In this passage, we are given some more details on the location of musicians during the circumcision ceremony of young Sultan Mehmed IV:

[It is] a loggia in front of the entrance to the *Hās Oda*. [There is] a window, behind which the Sultan sits when he [listens to] music, [receives] the grand vizier [p. 66] or mufti. This is where the entertainment went on during the circumcision of the now-reigning Sultan.

### 9) *MS Harley 3409, pp. 67–8*

In a longer passage regarding a ceremonial choosing of a new *haseki*, a sultan's concubine, Bobovius evokes music-making by women. At the end of the *Serai Enderum*, the author informs us that he has received the information on the customs of the imperial *Harem* from a woman who lived there (MS Harley 3409: 93). He was not an eyewitness to these events.

The chosen one picks it up [the handkerchief thrown at her by the sultan] and places a kiss on it, bowing to the sultan. When the padishah returns to his chamber, the other women congratulate the new favourite, and falls to her feet [...]. [Then] accompanied by music and songs played and sung by the women, she is escorted to the door marked H [on the Enderūn's scheme]. Here, she is awaited by a eunuch who enjoys the sultan's greatest favour; he informs him of the odalisque's arrival and, upon his permission, ushers her inside. [...] Meanwhile, [p. 68] the other women continue to sing [at the door] until the above-mentioned woman [the new *haseki*] is dismissed.

### 10) *MS Harley 3409, p. 72*

In the longer section on imperial weddings, Bobovius gives special attention to music-making by men and women during the sultana's wedding ceremony. We learn that after the bride and groom have eaten a meal together in sultana's chamber, all the servants go out and leave them alone for an hour. After an hour:

The groom's friends gather musicians and they [start to] make noise with drums and other instruments; [while the music is playing, they] bring the groom out to the men's quarters. Once the groom is out, the women come to the sultana's chamber and then, until dawn, [they] enjoy themselves with games, songs and music.

### 11) MS Harley 3409, p. 75

Here, Bobovius once again mentions the barred window in the loggia from where the sultan would listen to music:

From here the sultan also listened to music, and when he was circumcised, here [behind this window] he would lie covered with sable furs for fifteen days; [he was there] together with his mother [Hatice Turhan] and the old queen [Kösem].<sup>35</sup>

### 12) MS Harley 3409, p. 84

From the paragraph entitled “The pastime of the pages”, we can learn that music-making was not a common entertainment, allowed only several times a year:

During the three days of the two *Bayrams*, i.e. their Easter [*sic*], and when the war victories are being celebrated, the pages are allowed by the *Grand Signore* to freely enjoy talking, singing, playing instruments [and] jesting.

### Bobovius recalls Ali Ufkî's life

The thirteenth passage on music from the *Serai Enderum* deserves special attention. It considers musicianship, but – more importantly – it is a rare example of biographical information written by Bobovius himself. It may be short, but it is dense with information (see Figure 3). It has been transcribed, translated and analysed from a musicological perspective by J.I. Haug (2019: 144–5). My analysis therefore focuses on autobiographical and linguistic data.

### 13) MS Harley 3409, pp. 50–1

For them [palace musicians], writing down and reading music is an extraordinary ability; and they were astonished to see me taking my lessons from the masters and writing them down [with notes], and after many months to [see me] playing [the pieces we had learnt] the same way from my book, [p. 51] while the masters would have forgotten [these pieces]. The Turkish teachers began to show me respect when they saw this rare skill of mine, they recognized me and eventually appointed me a *kārbaşı*<sup>36</sup> [*sic*], that is, a choirmaster [*sic*].<sup>37</sup> Then, the other pages would come to me

<sup>35</sup> On this and other places in the seventeenth-century Topkapı Palace, both in the *selamlık* and in the *harem*, where music performances were organized, see Güneygöl 2021: 152–3.

<sup>36</sup> I read this illegible Turkish gloss (see Figure 3) differently from other sources and editions, i.e. as *Kerbaschi*. In Brenner's translation we see “Erbaſſi” (Bobovio and Brenner 1667: 77), Magni provides “Erbaſci” (Magni 16: 551), and Girardin, “Erbashy” (MS NAF 4997: 169). Editions use Tur. *erbaşı* “a head of men” (Ali Ufkî Bey 2013: 49; Bobowski 2017: 108; Bobovius 1999: 154; 2002: 77; cf. Haug 2019: 144). To my knowledge, the term is not attested in other sources from the period.

<sup>37</sup> The Italian wording is curious, since “the choir” (Ital. *coro*) was not a concept known to seventeenth-century Ottoman court music (Behar 2019: 32).

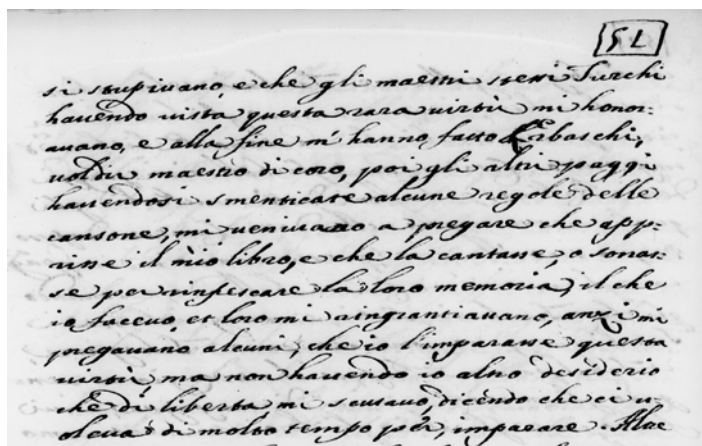


Figure 3. Serai Enderum, MS Harley 3409 (British Library, Western Manuscripts Coll.), p. 51.

when they had forgotten a song, and ask me to open my book and to sing or play it to refresh their memory. I did so, and they were grateful to me. Some even begged me to teach them this rare skill, but having no other desire but [to regain my] freedom, I would [refuse to teach them and] apologise, saying that it took a very long time to learn.

This is the only instance of Bobovius speaking directly about his role as a court musician. We learn that writing down music was an important skill that helped him gain respect in the Enderün, eventually leading to his promotion to a higher rank. He also mentions his music “book” twice. We can only speculate on whether he evokes *Mecmû’a-yı Sâz ü Söz* or the *Compendium Turc* 292 (cf. Haug 2019: 415). The narrative style reveals the charismatic personality of someone who was familiar with the inner workings of the palace and consciously used his skills to his advantage in a highly competitive environment. However, it is important to remember that Bobowski wrote this text long after he had left palace service. We can assume that he reinvented his persona to appeal to potential European readers (and employers), emphasizing his knowledge to demonstrate that he was a reliable source of information.

From a terminological (and autobiographical) point of view, the biggest revelation is the wording he uses to describe his rank: “*kārbaşı*, that is *maestro di coro* [choirmaster]”. If not for Bobowski’s definition, I would be inclined to interpret the term *kārbaşı* as deriving from the older, Persian meaning of *kār* “work, profession; [piece of] work, *opus*; pursuit; deed” (cf. Stachowski 1998: 150). “Master of [various] pursuits” would be a fitting title for a person who served as a musician, music teacher and physician. Other interpretations derive from the Ottoman Turkish meanings of *kār* “work; effect [of work], impact; [piece of] work (here: musical piece?); *mus.* a vocal-instrumental genre of court music”. Being a “master of musical pieces” would also be a proper description of Ali Ufkî, who had written down so many musical works; it would not necessarily mean that he composed them, but that he was able to notate them and become a unique *maestro* of this “rare ability”. The absence of the term *kārbaşı* from other sources of the period could be explained by the uniqueness of his output noticed by his peers.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Interpreting Ali Ufkî as “a master [performer? composer?] of *kār*” contradicts to his notated repertoire, hence I dismiss this simple interpretation.

However, Bobowski juxtaposed the term with a definition *maestro di coro*, explicitly pointing to vocal music. Even if he did not mean “a choir” *per se*, but a “group of singers” (who were not necessarily singing together at the same time, as a European reader would think), it seems it was important to him to distinguish terminologically his own rank, from both *maestro di strumenti* “teacher of music” and *maestro di musica*, i.e. *sāzende başı*.<sup>39</sup> Does this mean that while serving as a court musician Ali Ufkī was recognized primarily as a singer, not as an instrumentalist, as we tend to believe today?<sup>40</sup>

The interpretation of Ali Ufkī as a singer is reinforced by the abundance of vocal pieces in his repertoire (Ali Ufkī 1976; Behar 1990; Haug 2020) and the notes on voice production found in his “Compendium” (Haug 2019: 423–6). Additionally, J.I. Haug’s assessment that he played the lute (çöğür, cf. n. 30) further bolsters this interpretation. If we consider the possibility that Wojciech Bobowski, in his youth, received musical education from an Italian *maestro* (Haug 2016; Pawlina 2023a; 2024), it is reasonable to speculate that he was taught to sing and accompany himself on the lute – skills that align with the highly favoured performance practices of Italian Renaissance and Early Baroque music. Alas, we must add this intriguing terminological choice to the many other mysteries of Bobovius’ biography. This is not the first time that a new piece of information about him raises more questions than it answers.

### Glossary: Ottoman Turkish and Italian musical terms in MS Harley 3409

Passages of the *Serai Enderum* relating to music may not be numerous, but, as seen above, they are dense with terminology and can be difficult for an uninformed reader follow. The conscious terminology work of Bobovius transpires in his consistent usage of expressions introducing an Italian definition [Y] after or (less frequently) before the Ottoman Turkish term [X]. The most frequent examples are: [X], [che] vol dir [Y] “[X], which means [Y]”; [X], cioè [Y] “[X], that is/namely [Y]”; [X], o [Y] “[X], or/that is [Y]”; [Y] si chiamano [X] “[Y], that is called [X]”; [Y] nominate [X] “[Y] called [X]”; [Y] in turchesco [X] “[Y] in Turkish [X]”. Usually, a Turkish gloss is written with a capital letter. More importantly, Bobovius consistently uses Italian descriptive terms invented by himself in various forms (in singular, plural, as a part of compounds), for instance: *musica di campagna* “outdoor music”, *musicisti di campagna* “performers of the outdoor music”; *maestro di Musica* “teacher of [the *mehterhâne*] orchestra”, *maestri do Musica* “teachers of [the *mehterhâne*] orchestra”.

In Table 1 I present the full conceptual apparatus pertaining to music employed by Bobovius in the *Serai Enderum*. In alphabetical order I present 36 Ottoman Turkish terms and 44 terminologically interpreted Italian expressions (including nouns, adjectives, and verbs) excerpted from the MS Harley 3409. I put linguistic and musicological data in the following order: 1) Ottoman Turkish term spelled according to the ninth edition of *Osmanlı Türkçesi Sözlüğü* (Parlatır 2017); 2) the original spelling of the MS Harley 3409 and a page number in () brackets; 3) Bobovius’ original definition of a given term or an Italian musical term in original spelling with a page number; 4) English equivalent or a short definition of a given term.

<sup>39</sup> In this context, naming Ali Ufkī a *sāzende başı* seems far-fetched (cf. Güneygül 2021: 150).

<sup>40</sup> Scholars ascertained that Ali Ufkī was a *santur* player based on the colophon of the *Mecmū‘a-yı Sāz ü Söz* and several compositions and poems ascribed to him (cf. Ali Ufkī 1976: IV; Behar 2008a; Feldman 2024: 158; Haug 2019: 24, 455). Haug has also established that he was (also?) a lute player (Haug 2019: 326, 417 f.).

A description of the musical terms is accompanied by footnotes providing a comparative analysis of their usage as recorded in two seventeenth-century Ottoman Turkish dictionaries: Franciscus à Mesgnen Meniński's *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* (Meniński 1680) and Giovanni Molino's *Dittionario della lingua Italiana, Turchesca*, written in 1641 (Siemienieć-Golaś 2005: 96). The former is of particular value for the current research. Meniński was not only the greatest authority on Ottoman Turkish lexicology of the period, but also Wojciech Bobowski's pupil. He enlisted Bobovius' translation of *Janua linguarum reserata* as one of his sources for Ottoman Turkish vocabulary (abbreviated as *Bob.*). We can assume that *Serai Enderum* or orally transmitted information regarding music was at his disposal as well. In fact, definitions of musical terms included in the *Thesaurus* appear to be influenced by Ali Ufki's expertise in this field.<sup>41</sup>

**Table 1.** Glossary of musical terms used in the *Serai Enderum* (MS Harley 3409)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/ term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
		<i>accompagna[re]</i> (51)	"to accompany"
		<i>balla[re]</i> (52)	"to dance"
		<i>batte[re]</i> (63)	"to beat [the drum]"
		<i>battuta</i> (50) <sup>42</sup>	here: "beat"
boru	<i>Boru</i> (52)	<i>Trombett[a]</i> (52)	"1. trumpet, 2. horn"; here: trumpet used in outdoor music <sup>43</sup>
		<i>cansonetta per cantare in concerto</i> (50)	lit. "a song to [be] sung at a concert"; "concert song"; a European-style vocal or vocal-instrumental piece
		<i>[cansonetta] per sonare in concerto</i> (50)	lit. "[a song] to [be] played at a concert"; "instrumental piece"; a European-style instrumental or vocal-instrumental piece

(Continued)

<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the most striking trace of Bobovius' influence on musical knowledge presented by Meniński in the *Thesaurus*, is an entry on "vocal-instrumental music", not directly related to the contents of the *Serai Enderum*, yet resembling the title of Ali Ufki's *Mecmua-i Saz ü Söz* and worth mentioning in the current context: "sözü sâz[: ] verba & harmonia, cantus & sonitus; canti e simfonie. (...) sâzü söz ile[: ] cum musica vocali & instrumentali" (Meniński 1680: 2513). Another trace of Bobowski's influence on the *Thesaurus* could be the usage of Polish-influenced spelling in Latin transcription of Ottoman Turkish words (e.g. "c" for [ç], "w" for [v], "s" for [ş], etc.).

<sup>42</sup> Meniński uses this expression in a definition of *usul*: "tonus, seu modus musicalis; cadenza, ò battuta della musica" (Meniński 1680: 261).

<sup>43</sup> Dictionaries are similarly non-specific as to what kind of a trumpet or horn *boru* actually was. Molino defines it as "tromba, istrumento da sonare" (Siemienieć-Golaś: 96); Meniński provides two spelling variants of the term, *boru* and *buru*, and its equivalents in several languages, including Italian "Trombetta" (Meniński 1680: 790, 917).



Table 1. (Continued.)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
		<i>cansonette delicate</i> (51) <sup>44</sup>	lit. “delicate [fine, gentle] songs”; “ <i>incesāz</i> ”, “indoor [vocal] music”, “chamber [vocal] music”
		<i>canta[re]</i> (47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 67, 84)	“to sing”
		<i>cant[o]</i> (68, 72)	“1. singing, 2. song”
		<i>Citara</i> (51) [ <i>&lt; cetra?</i> ]	“cithara”; here: <i>çeng</i> or <i>kanun</i> [unclear] <sup>45</sup>
		<i>compo[rre]</i> (50)	“to compose, to create” (used in the context of both European and Ottoman music)
çağana	<i>Tchagame</i> (52)	<i>sistri</i> (52) [“rattles”] <sup>46</sup>	here: small, wooden Turkish crescent used in dance music
çalpara	<i>Tchelpara</i> (52)	<i>castagniole</i> (52) [“castanets”] <sup>47</sup>	castanets used in dance-music; in Bobovius' times consisted of four oblong pieces of wood (hence their Persian name, lit. “four pieces”)
çeşte	<i>tcheschte</i> (52)		six-stringed lute; here: used in “folkloric” repertoire
çöğür	<i>thigur</i> (52)		small four-stringed lute; here: used in “folkloric” repertoire
dā'ire	<i>daire</i> (52)	<i>Tambur[o]</i> (52) [“drum”] <sup>48</sup>	here: [frame] drum used in dance-music
davul	<i>Daul</i> (52)	<i>tamburo</i> (52)	“drum”; here: type of a drum used in outdoor music <sup>49</sup>
dümbelek	<i>odumbelik</i> (52)		small drum; here: used in outdoor music <sup>50</sup>

(Continued)

<sup>44</sup> This term coined by Bobowski is a *calque* of the Turkish “*incesāz*”, lit. “delicate [gentle, fine] music”. To my knowledge, it is the first attempt to provide an equivalent of this term in any European language.

<sup>45</sup> *Thesaurus* is not conclusive, because Meniński uses Latin *cithara* > Italian *cetra* “zither” in definitions of harps, lutes and fiddles (Meniński: 753, 1663, 2272, 3129).

<sup>46</sup> Meniński (1553, 1622) does not use Italian “*sistri*” as an equivalent.

<sup>47</sup> Meniński (1556) also juxtaposes *çalpara* with castanets but uses Italian “*castagnette*”.

<sup>48</sup> Meniński uses Italian “*tamburro*” as an equivalent of *dawul/tawul* (2016, 3150), *dühül* (2202), *tābul* (3079), *tæbl* (3087); while Molino for *daul* (Siemieniec-Golaś 2005: 96). For *dā'ire* Molino uses “*timpano*” (p. 86), while Meniński provides a definition: “*tamburello con sonagli*” (Meniński 1680: 2017).

<sup>49</sup> According to Meniński (3087) *dawul* is a vernacular name for the *tæbl*.

<sup>50</sup> Meniński (2146) provides a definition and describes the word *dümbelek* as a vernacular name of the *ṭablaḳ* (3087).

**Table 1.** (Continued.)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
		<i>esercita[re]</i> (50,52)	"to practise, train [music]"
		<i>Exacordon</i> (51)	"decachordon"; here: " <i>kanun</i> " <sup>51</sup>
		<i>gallasone</i> (51)	"colascione" <sup>52</sup> ; here: an instrument from the "folkloric" <i>bağlama</i> family/" <i>tambura</i> "
		<i>grida[re]</i> (20)	lit. "to shout, to cry out for (sb)"; here: "to voice the <i>ezan</i> "
ilāhī	<i>Tesbihilahiteuhid</i> (50)	<i>canzon[e] spiritual[e]</i> (50) ["spiritual song"] <sup>53</sup>	"a hymn", here: religious song in Sufi music
		<i>inculca[re]</i> (51)	lit. "to instil", here: "to learn by heart"
		<i>[i]strumenti</i> (2, 51, 52, 72)	"[musical] instruments"
kār	<i>Murabakiar</i> (50)	<i>canson[e]</i> (50) ["song"]	the most elaborate vocal-instrumental genre of Ottoman court music derived from the Persianate tradition
kārbaşı	<i>Kerbaschi</i> (51)	<i>maestro di coro</i> (51) ["choirmaster"]	unclear; Bobovius uses it as a name of his own rank at the <i>seraglio</i> (see above)
kemānçe	<i>Kemangi</i> (51)	<i>violino</i> (51) ["violin"] <sup>54</sup>	three-string, bowed instrument with a long neck and the body covered with skin membrane
kudüm	<i>Kadum</i> (52)		small kettledrum used in Sufi music; here: used in outdoor music

(Continued)

<sup>51</sup> Meniński's entry on *kanun* is the most comprehensive among the musical terms excerpted from the *Thesaurus*. It provides "decadordo" as an Italian equivalent (3601).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ali Ufkî Bey 2013: 50; Haug 2019: 416. Meniński uses Italian "colascione" in definitions of *berbut* [*barbut*] (Meniński 1680: 753; cf. Güneygül 2021: 180–3; Feldman 2024: 167) and *tamburani* [*tambura* player] (Meniński 1680: 3129).

<sup>53</sup> We observe similar wording in the *Thesaurus*: "ilāhī [...] cantio spiritualis, hymnus; canzone spirituale, hinno" (Meniński 374).

<sup>54</sup> Meniński uses Italian "violon" as an equivalent, provides two spelling variants (*k'emānce*, *k'emānġe*) and a list of [quasi-]synonyms (*kemāne*, *ıklık*, *çağane* [*sic*]) (ibid. 4014).

Table 1. (Continued.)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
mehterhâne	<i>Mihterhaniesi</i> (52)		Ottoman military band (a division of the Janissary corps), consisting of wind and percussion instruments <sup>55</sup>
meşkhâne	<i>Meschhanne</i> (49) <i>Meschhane</i> (50)	<i>camera di esercitio della musica</i> (50) ["a room dedicated to practicing music"]	specific part of the Enderûn where the music lessons took place < <i>meşk</i> 1. the Meshk system, i.e., traditional oral system of teaching music; 2. music lesson (in the Meshk system)
miskal	<i>Miskal</i> (51)	<i>sampona</i> (51) [ <i>sic</i> ] ["bag-pipe"] <sup>56</sup>	pan flute used in Ottoman chamber music
murabba(s)	<i>Murabakiar</i> (50) <i>murabe</i> (51)	<i>canson[e]</i> (50)	vocal-instrumental genre of Ottoman chamber music composed to a quatrain from <i>divân</i> poetry; <sup>57</sup> here: using Persian texts [ <i>sic</i> ], cf. n. 22
		<i>musica</i> (37,48,50,53,67,75) <i>musicha</i> (2,47,65)	"music"
müezzin	<i>Muesin</i> (20)	<i>convocatore</i> (20) ["convener"]	"muezzin"
		<i>maestri di Music[h]a</i> (2,50)	"teachers of [the <i>mehterhâne</i> ] orchestra [players]" <sup>58</sup>
		<i>maestro di musica</i> (50)	lit. "master of music"; here: " <i>sāzende başı</i> "
		<i>maestri di strumenti</i> (2)	"musical instrument teachers"; here: " <i>incesāz</i> music teachers"

(Continued)

<sup>55</sup> *Thesaurus* provides a definition "*mehter châne* musicorum bellicorum coetus, vul. [vernacular:] capella; capella di musica guerriera" (Meniński 1680: 5048) and other names of the orchestra: *tæbyl chane* and its vernacular variant *dawul chane* (Meniński 1680: 3087).

<sup>56</sup> Molino also incorrectly defines *miskal* as "zampogna [bagpipe]" (Siemienieć-Golaś 2005: 96). Meniński (1680: 4377) provides a correct definition but no Italian equivalent.

<sup>57</sup> Meniński provides another phonetic value of the term and different Italian wording: "*mürebbî* [...] *mürebbæ* [...] epigramma aut cantilena quatuor versuum [...] epigramma, ò motteto [*sic*], ò canzoncina [*sic*] di quattro versi [...] quatrain [...]" (Meniński 1680: 4552).

<sup>58</sup> It seems that Bobovius differentiates *musica* "music" and *Musica* "[military] orchestra" > *mehterhâne*.

**Table 1.** (Continued.)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
		<i>m[u]sica campestra</i> (37)	lit. “open-air music”; here: “outdoor music”; “ <i>mehter</i> /military music”; “ <i>kabasāz</i> ”
		<i>musica di camera</i> (50)	lit. “chamber music”; here: “ <i>incesāz</i> , indoor music”
		<i>musica di campagna</i> (50) <sup>59</sup>	lit. “field music”; here: “outdoor music”, cf. <i>musica campestra</i>
		<i>musicanti</i> (72)	“musicians”
		<i>musici</i> (48, 50, 52, 53)	“musicians”
		<i>musici di camera</i> (50, 53)	“chamber [indoor] music players”
		<i>musici di campagna</i> (50, 52, 53)	1. “outdoor music players”, 2. “ <i>mehterler</i> ”, i.e. members of the <i>mehterhâne</i> orchestra
		<i>musico</i> (47)	“musician”; here: a musician who both plays an instrument and sings <sup>60</sup>
nakiş	<i>Xuuschsemai</i> (50)	<i>canson[e]</i> (50)	here: Persianate vocal-instrumental genre of the <i>incesāz</i>
nakkāre	<i>Niacchera</i> (52) <i>Niachera</i> (53)	<i>Niacchera piccola</i> (52) [small <i>nakkāre</i> ] <sup>61</sup>	the smallest of kettledrums used in Ottoman music; here: used in outdoor music
nāy	<i>Nai</i> (51)	<i>flauto</i> (51) [flute] <sup>62</sup>	“ney”; the iconic reed-flute of Sufi music used also in Ottoman court music

(Continued)

<sup>59</sup> Terms “indoor/outdoor music” are not evidenced in the *Thesaurus*.

<sup>60</sup> Similarly, Meniński uses Italian “musico” next to both “cant[at]ore” [singer] and “sonatore” [instrumentalist] in definitions of the *hānende* (Meniński 1680: 1962), *mugannī* (4800), *mutrib* (4727) and *sāzende* (2515).

<sup>61</sup> Molino defines the term in its vernacular variant (*naghara*) simply with an Italian equivalent “nacara” (Siemienieć-Golaś 2005: 96). It seems that this particular instrument was known to the Italian speakers long enough to provide the language with a Turkish borrowing for its name. *Thesaurus* presents another Italian equivalent: “gnaccare” (Meniński 1680: 5231–2).

<sup>62</sup> Molino provides the same phonetic value and definition of the term: “*nai*[:] flauto, strumento musico” (Siemienieć-Golaś 2005: 96). Meniński gathered equivalents in several languages that seem to be contradictory in defining the instrument as used in both, military and Sufi music: “*nāj* [...] fistula [...] [...] Pfeiffe, Flöte, Querpfeiffe, Feldpfeiffe [*sic*]; [...] flauto, piffero, quale suonano li Deruisi; [...] flute, flageolet, fifre; [...] piszczałka, surmeczka, fujarka” (Meniński 1680: 5123).

Table 1. (Continued.)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
nefir	<i>Neffio</i> (51)		large trumpet/horn used in the Ottoman military music
		<i>paggi[o] di musica</i> (2, 47)	lit. “musical page”; an <i>ıçoğlan</i> whose main occupation is musicianship
		<i>Piffa persiana</i> (51)	lit. “Persian pipe”; here: “zurna” (“ <i>Acemi zurna</i> ”?) or/and “balaban”
		<i>pife</i> (37) <i>piffe</i> (53) <i>piue</i> (63)	lit. “pipes”; here: “zurnas”/“balabans” <sup>63</sup>
rakkās	<i>Rakaas</i> (52)	<i>ballarin[o]</i> (52)	“dancer”
santur	<i>Santur</i> (51)	<i>saltero</i> (51) [ <i>sic</i> ][psaltery]	hammered dulcimer used in Ottoman court music <sup>64</sup>
sāzendebaşı	<i>Sanzendebassi</i> (48)	<i>capo, o maestro della musica</i> (48) [head, or master of music]	commander of musicians residing in the Enderün < <i>sāzende</i> “a musician, an instrumentalist”
semā'ī	<i>Xuuschsemai</i> (50)	<i>canson[e]</i> (50)	here: “vocal <i>semā'ī</i> ”, vocal-instrumental genre of Ottoman court music <sup>65</sup>
		<i>sona[re]</i> (37, 47, 50, 52, 53, 63, 67, 84)	1. “to play [an instrument]”, “to play [music]” 2. “to (re)sound”
		<i>sonatori</i> (52)	“musicians [instrumentalists]”
		<i>sorte di tempi</i> (51)	lit. “types of tempo”; here: “usuls”. Cf. <i>tempo</i>

(Continued)

<sup>63</sup> It seems that Bobovius used the term *piffa/piua* as “1. A generic name of all kinds of shawms used in Turkish music, 2. *zurna*”; and *piffa persiana* – as a specific expression for “*Acemi zurna*” or “*balaban*”. Comparatively (alas not conclusively), Meniški uses Italian “*piua*” in the definition of *zurna* (Meniški 1680: 2602), while Molino refers with it to *dūdük* (Siemienieć-Golaś 2005: 96; cf. “Mehter dūdügü” in Güneygöl 2021: 215).

<sup>64</sup> Both Molino and Meniški define *santur* correctly as “*cimbalo*” [dulcimer] (Siemienieć-Golaś 2005: 96; Meniški 1680: 2991). Meniški’s entry refers to “*Bob.*”, that is, Bobowski’s Turkish translation of Comenius’ *Janua linguarum reserata* (cf. *Thesaurus*’ introduction). None of the other musical terms excerpted from *Thesaurus* for the purposes of this article provide a similar reference. Comparatively, Meniški uses the Latin “psalterium” in definitions of *çeng* (1663), *kanun* (3601) and *nakur* (5107), but not when defining *santur*. Hence, the erroneous juxtaposing of the *santur* with “*satero*” in the MS Harley 3409 remains a curiosity.

<sup>65</sup> Meniški’s definition of the *semā'ī* pertains to a dance and a song type, and (perhaps) *usul*-type: “*semā-y ad choream pertinens, et chorea aut cantus velox; corrente; courante*” (Meniški 1680: 2667).



**Table 1.** (Continued.)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/ term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
		<i>strepita[re]</i> (67) <i>fa[re]</i> <i>strepiti</i> (72)	“to resound, to make noise”; here: <i>strepita[re]</i> <i>con canti</i> “to make noise with singing”, <i>fa[re]</i> <i>strepiti con tamburi</i> “to make noise with drums”
şā‘ir	<i>Schiar</i> (52)	<i>poeti Turchi che cantano Rhithmico d'improviso</i> (52) [Turkish poets, who sing improvised rhythmical [verses]]	“poet (of <i>divān</i> poetry)”
şēṣṭar	<i>schektar</i> (51)		a variety of six-stringed lute used in indoor music <sup>66</sup>
		<i>tamburi</i> (37, 50, 52, 72)	“drums”
		<i>tamburi di bronzo</i> (52)	lit. “drums [made] of bronze”, here: “ <i>kös</i> ”
		<i>tamburini</i> (63)	“[small] drums”
tanbūr	<i>tambur</i> (51)		a variety of long-necked lute used in indoor music
tel tanbūrası	<i>teltambursi</i> (52)		a variety of lute, here: used in “folkloric” repertoire <sup>67</sup>
		<i>tempo</i> (50)	here: “[musical] time measure”, “ <i>usul</i> ”
tesbih	<i>Tesbihilahiteuhid</i> (50)	<i>canzon[e]</i> <i>spiritual[e]</i> (50)	hymn in which the names of Allah are repeated
tevhīd	<i>Tesbihilahiteuhid</i> (50)	<i>canzon[e]</i> <i>spiritual[e]</i> (50)	hymn praising Allah
		<i>thuoni</i> (50, 51)	1. “ <i>makams</i> ”, 2. “tunes” <sup>68</sup>
		<i>trombette</i> (37) <i>Trombette</i> (63)	“trumpets”

(Continued)

<sup>66</sup> Meniński provides the Italian equivalent “mandora” and refers to a [quasi-]synonym *tanbūr* (Meniński 1680: 2812).

<sup>67</sup> Meniński enlists *tel tanbūrası* in the definition of *tambura*: “aliud instrumentum simile, sed vilius; mandora Turchesca [...] *tel tanbūrası* cithara fere nostrae similis, sed plerumque trium sidium aenearum” (ibid.).

<sup>68</sup> Meniński uses this term in definitions of *makam* (spelling it *mekām*, just as Bobowski in his manuscripts) (4821–3), *hava* [melody, tune] (5508) and *perde* “tone, pitch” (765).

Table 1. (Continued.)

Ottoman Turkish term	Original spelling (MS Harley 3409)	Bobovius' Italian definition/term (MS Harley 3409)	Equivalents/definition
türkî	<i>Turchi</i> (51)	<i>poesie semplice Turchesche</i> (51) [simple poems in Turkish] <i>canson[e]</i> (51)	“folk song”; here: a vocal-instrumental “folkloric” genre composed to Turkish text <sup>69</sup>
ūd	<i>Ud</i> (51)	<i>Liuto</i> (51) [lute] <sup>70</sup> [musica] <i>unica</i> (50)	“oud” here: “monophonic, single-voiced [music]”
zil	<i>crotalizil</i> (52)	<i>crotal[o]</i> (52) [rattle] <sup>71</sup>	clash cymbals used in Ottoman military music
zurna	<i>Zurna</i> (52)	<i>piffa</i> (52) <sup>72</sup>	double-reed oboe; nowadays, the most iconic Turkish folk instrument

## Conclusion

The main objective of this article was to provide the scholarly community with access to music-related fragments of the MS Harley 3409, a non-digitized Italian manuscript of the *Serai Enderum* created by Wojciech Bobowski (Bobovius, Bobovio, Ali Ufkî) in 1665, held in The British Library. By providing a descriptive glossary of musical terms used by Bobovius, I wanted to focus on a hitherto overlooked feature of his work: its richness in Ottoman Turkish specialized vocabulary.

The 36 Ottoman Turkish terms (with their Italian definitions or equivalents) and 44 Italian expressions excerpted from the MS Harley 3409 form a corpus that helps us understand Bobovius' efforts to create a terminological framework for Ottoman music intended for European readers. Bobovius explains Ottoman Turkish music by briefly comparing it to European music, which he refers to as “our [music]”. Notably, he never judges one musical tradition as superior or inferior to the other, nor does he claim any cultural superiority of “Western music”, unlike some later authors.

Vocabulary presented in the glossary above shows that Bobovius was a skilful terminologist. In addition to several names of instruments, he succeeded in creating correct, short definitions of Ottoman Turkish terms (e.g. *türkî*, *şair*, *meşkhâne*, *sāzendebaşı*), providing their Italian equivalents (e.g. *çalpara*, *davul*, *rakkas*), coining new Italian terms (e.g. *musicci di*

<sup>69</sup> Molino uses the Italian equivalent “canzona” (Siemiec-Golaś 2005: 65), while Meniński provides a quasi-synonym *ir*, equivalents in several languages and information on vocal technique employed while singing *türkî*: “cantilena, cantio; ein Gesang; canzone; chanson; pieśń, piosnka [...] *türki ciaghyrmak* cantilenam canere, quod quod sit valde elata et ex imo pectore tracta voce; ein Gesang singen; cantar una canzone; chanter une chanson; pieśń śpiewać/zaśpiewać [...] *bir türki baghlamak* componere cantilenam; ein Gesang/Lied machen/erdichten; comporre una canzone; composer une chanson; pieśń złożyć [...]” (Meniński 1680: 1160).

<sup>70</sup> Meniński provides the same Italian equivalent: “ūd [...] chelys, testudo; [...] Laute; [...] leuto; [...] lut; [...] lutnia” (3349). Molino did not include an *ut*, but enlists “*lauta[:]* liuto, stromento di sonare” (Siemieniec-Golaś 2005: 96).

<sup>71</sup> This equivalent, meaning “an instrument that rattles”, aptly describes the *zil*. Meniński provides a definition: “*zill tintinnabulum*, genus organi musici bellici, suntque duo orbes ærei, quorum unum alteri allidunt ad modum & resonantiam; sorte di cembalo” (Meniński 1680: 2457).

<sup>72</sup> Both Molino (Siemieniec-Golaś 2005: 96) and Meniński (1680: 2602, 2443) provide an unvoiced phonetic variant of the term: *surna*.

*campagna*, *cansonette delicate*, *paggio di musica*) and using them consistently throughout the text.

An in-depth analysis of the musicological value of the material presented is beyond the scope of this paper, but its interdisciplinary nature compels me to draw some general conclusions. Music-related passages of the *Serai Enderum* provide us with details on musical practices at the Topkapı Palace, both in the *selamlık* and in the *harem*. We learn that music was played not only during religious and state celebrations, for the sultan's leisure, and at imperial wedding ceremonies, but also simply for the entertainment of the inhabitants of *Enderūn*, providing a break from their heavy duties and strict discipline. Bobowski enlisted 21 names of Turkish instruments, seven names of musical genres, names of performing forces and musical professions. He even mentioned certain musicians residing in the *seraglio* in his times (Kuloğlu and the unknown Genoese *sāzende başı*). Additionally, he invoked two particular historical events: musical performance during the circumcision ceremony of Sultan Mehmed IV (which took place in October 1649), and a short (unsuccessful) concert of European-style music performed in the presence of Sultan Murad IV. It appears that Bobowski intentionally selected terms and information that would be relevant to a potential European reader who was not a music specialist. He omitted highly specialized music theory terms, such as *makam* and *usul*, even though we know he used these terms in his other manuscripts and possibly taught them to his pupils.

Terminologically, Bobowski distinguishes two main types of music: "indoor music" and "outdoor music", with a clear distinction between two groups of performers: "chamber musicians" (*musici di camera*) and "outdoor musicians" (*musici di campagna*). They played different instruments, learned music separately with different teachers, at different times, and their duties varied. Moreover, from the narrative we can infer division between folkloric and courtly music, as well as a separate category of religious repertoire. There is also a mention of "women's music", but there is not enough data to consider *musica donnesca* and *musica delle Dame* as terminological items lexicalizing a separate genre.

The verbs used to describe musical activities are in line with what one might expect. Musicians usually "play" (*s[u]onare*) and "sing" (*cantare*), occasionally they "make noise" (*strepitare*) and "practice" (*esercitare*). The Italian *comporre* "to compose" is used in the context of both European and Ottoman music. Perhaps, the verb *inculcate* "to instil" used to describe "learning by heart via *meşk* system" has been chosen to emphasize the difficulties of the process. It is also notable that the verbs *cantare* and *s[u]onare* are used together in all but one instances. This suggests that, on most occasions, vocal and instrumental music were performed together, while performances featuring only instrumental or only vocal repertoire were rare.

The most striking issue observed in the material presented is the contradiction between the content of the *Serai Enderum* and Ali Ufkî's repertoire. Factual errors and discrepancies can be observed in definitions of several Turkish instruments and genres, as well as in the omissions (e.g. in the list of musical genres, instrumental genres are missing, while many examples can be found in Bobowski's musical manuscripts). It is highly speculative, but possible, that the knowledge of music presented in the *Serai Enderum* came from orally transmitted information from Bobovius, as well as some written sources he provided to the scribe who assisted in compiling the manuscript. One can reasonably infer that during a particularly busy period of his "professional life" (around 1665) he hired a scribe to assist him in order to fulfil a commissioned work for an employer (possibly Paul Rycaut). It seems that in the material provided to the scribe, Bobovius may have included his earlier loose notes, as well as the same written sources that Evliya Çelebi used in his *Seyahatnâme* (cf. Pekin 2012), perhaps translated by Bobowski into Italian for his own learning purposes at the beginning of his Ottoman education. That could explain both the factual errors, and

the similarity of several passages presented above to the contents of *Seyahatnâme*. If this were the case, MS Harley 3409 could be the first, original, version of the *Serai Enderum* after all, even though it was not written in Bobowski's own hand.

The exact origins of the creation of the *Serai Enderum*, as well as details about the musical activities of Bobowski and other members of the sultan's court mentioned in his text, may remain elusive to us. However, it is evident that analysing how an author (in this case, Bobovius) articulates a particular phenomenon (here: Ottoman music) through the examination of the idiolect transpiring from the pages of any given written work (here: *Serai Enderum*), can offer valuable insights into both the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of the text. This article highlights the potential benefits of incorporating linguistic and, more specifically, terminological research into music history studies. I contend that this approach can significantly deepen our understanding of both the history and historiography of Turkish music. It is my hope that in this article I was able to demonstrate how a meticulous examination of Ottoman Turkish lexicography and lexicology can serve as a valuable supplementary resource for musicology. Given the limited availability of musical notations and other sources relevant for studying historical performance practices, I believe that even the smallest piece of information – such as a single musical term used in a specific narrative context – can spark a discussion and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the Ottoman music.

**Acknowledgements.** I am grateful to the British Library (Western Manuscript Collection) for preparing a digital version of the MS Harley 3409 for the purposes of my research and for permission to use and reproduce the manuscript. I would like to thank Sandra Strugała for the help with deciphering and transcribing MS Harley 3409. I also wish to acknowledge suggestions of the BSOAS reviewers, which greatly strengthened the final version of this article.

**Funding statement.** This article was written within the framework of research project no. 2018/29/N/HS2/01686 funded by the National Science Centre Poland. To explore all its findings, see Pawlina 2023a; 2023b; 2024.

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**Cite this article:** Pawlina, Agata. (2025). "Music and musical terms in Bobovius' *Serai Enderum* (1665, MS Harley 3409)", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X25000321>