

## The Creation of an Ottoman Turkish Psalter. Ali Ufkî's (Bobovius) *Mezmûriyye* (ca. 1665) and Maciej Rybiński's *Psalmy Dawidowe* (1608)

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**ABSTRACT:** Wojciech Bobowski is better known in international academia under the Latinised version of his name: *Albertus Bobovius* and by his Turkish name: *Ali Ufkî*. Most probably, he was born in Lviv, ca. 1610 and died in Constantinople, ca. 1675. He left for posterity numerous works that today we would classify as belonging to several fields of the humanities: musicology, linguistics, religious studies, cultural studies, political history and even ethnography. His best-known works include one of the earliest translations of the Bible into Turkish (1662–1664), an influential treatise on Islam (1690), a description of the Topkapı Palace (1665) – the main seat of the Ottoman sultan, where he lived and worked as a court musician – and collection of more than 500 Ottoman Turkish musical pieces written in European stave notation (ca. 1640–1650). In this paper, the author first presents outcomes of her current archival research on Bobowski's early life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Then, she demonstrates the possibility that when working on *Mezmûriyye* – the Ottoman Turkish psalter, Ali Ufkî took inspiration from the Polish translation of the *Genevan Psalter* from French by Maciej Rybiński, an influential bishop of the Reformed Church in the 17th-century Poland. This theory is based on the analysis of linguistic content of French, Polish and Ottoman Turkish lyrics, as well as the striking visual resemblance of Bobowski's *Mezmûriyye* and one specific old-print of Rybiński's *Psalmy Dawidowe na melodie francuskie uczynione* published in 1608.

**KEYWORDS:** Bobovius, Ali Ufkî, Bobowski, *Genevan Psalter*, *Mezmurlar*, *Mezmûriyye*

Wojciech Bobowski, born in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ca. 1610, is known in international academia by many different names. In Turkey, he is known as Ali Ufkî, a court musician in the *seraglio* of Sultan Mehmet IV and the author of manuscripts containing musical scores, which today may be regarded as the first “anthology” of Ottoman Turkish music.<sup>1</sup> In Western Europe, he is remembered as Albertus Bobovius or Ali Beg – the author

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1 *Mecmû'a-yı Sâz ü Söz* (ca. 1640–1650), see: Ali Ufkî, *Hayatı, eserleri ve Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Tıpkıbasım* (ed. Ş. Elçin) (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1976); Ali Ufkî, *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Bildirler* (ed. M. Uludemir) (İzmir [s.n.]: 1989); Ali Ufkî, *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Murabbaların Nota Çevirileri* (ed. M. Uludemir) (İzmir [s.n.]: 1991); Ali Ufkî, *Hâzâ Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz. Çeviriyazım – İnceleme* (ed. M.H. Cevher) (İzmir: Meta Basım 2003). For studies on the musical content of MS Turc 292 kept in Bibliothèque nationale in Paris,

of influential works concerning Islam<sup>2</sup> and some aspects of the Ottoman state and its culture,<sup>3</sup> teacher and interpreter of the Ottoman Turkish language for European diplomats, missionaries and orientalisks,<sup>4</sup> and translator of the Bible and other religious texts into

see: C. Behar, *Saklı Mecmua. Ali Ufkî'nin Bibliothèque Nationale de France'taki (Turc 292) Yazması* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2008); J.I. Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufkî's Compendium, MS Turc 292. Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context. Monograph* (Münster: Westfälische Schriften der WWU Münster 2019); J.I. Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufkî's Compendium, MS Turc 292. Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context. I. Edition* (Münster: Westfälische Schriften der WWU Münster 2020); J.I. Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufkî's Compendium, MS Turc 292. Analysis, Interpretation, Cultural Context. II. Critical Report* (Münster: Westfälische Schriften der WWU Münster 2020); for studies on the medicine-related content of MS Turc 292, see: J.I. Haug, "Medical Knowledge in 'Ali Ufkî's Musical Notebook (Mid-17th Century)," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 6/1–2 (2018) 117–143.

- 2 "Tractatus Alberti Bobovii Turcarum Imp. Mohammed IV olim Interpretis primarii, De Turcarum Liturgia, Peregrinatione Meccana, Circumcisione, Ægrotorum Visitatione, &c.," A. Farissol, *Itinera Mundi* (trans. T. Hyde) (Oxford [s.n.]: 1691) <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=235419> [access: 6.10.2023].
- 3 1) *Serai Enderum* – a description of the Topkapı Palace in Constantinople preserved in multiple versions which significantly differ from one another: A. Bobovio, *Serai Enderum, cioè Penetrabile dell'Seraglio* [...] (MS Harley 3409, 1665, Western Manuscripts Collection, British Library); P. de Girardin, *Description du Sérail du Grand Seigneur, par M. de Girardin, ambassadeur de France à la Porte* (Nouvelle Acquisition 4997, 1686, MS Français, Bibliothèque nationale) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10073802s> [access: 6.10.2023]; N. Brenner, *Serai Enderum. Das ist: Inwendige Beschaffenheit der Türckischen Kayserl* [...] (Wien: Kürner 1667) [http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO\\_%2BZ205030804](http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ205030804) [access: 6.10.2023]; C. Magni, *Quanto di più curioso, e vago hà potuto raccorre Cornelio Magni nel primo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi, e dimore per la Turchia* [...] (Parma: Rosati 1679) 502–604, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=G9lw3NEXRjgC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl#v=onepage&q&f=false> [access: 6.10.2023]; see also recent editions: A. Fisher – C.G. Fisher, "Topkapı Sarayı in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Bobovius's Description," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1985) 5–81; A. Bobovius – P. de Girardin, *Topkapı. Relation du sérail du Grand Seigneur* (eds. A. Berthier – S. Yerasimos) (Arles: Sindbad, Actes Sud 1999); A. Bobovius – P. de Girardin, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam. Albertus Bobovius ya da Santuri Ali Ufkî Bey'in Anıları* (eds. A. Berthier – S. Yerasimos, trans. A. Berktaş) (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi 2002); A. Bobovio – N. Brenner, *Saray-ı Enderum. Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam* (trans. T. Noyan) (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi 2013); A. Bobovio – N. Brenner, *Das Leben am Hof des islamischen Staates. Islam devletinin sarayında hayat* (ed. M.G. Schachiner) (Wien: mc publishing 2017); A. Pawlina, *Bobovius – Ali Ufkî. Życie Wojciecha Bobowskiego między faktami a legendą* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2023) 67–180; 2) the fourth chapter in: P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* [...] (London: Starkey & Brome 1668) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A58003.0001.001?view=toc> [access: 6.10.2023], see also a commentary on Bobovius's input to Paul Rycaut's work: H. Neudecker, "An Ottoman Palace Revolution as Witnessed by a Court Musician," *Dutch Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures* 3/1–2 (1997) 163–192.
- 4 1) *Dialogues en Français et en Turc* (undated); 2) *Grammatica Turcico-Latina* (1666); 3) a heptaglot lexicon kept in Bodleian Library in Oxford as MS Marsh 187 (undated); 4) Ottoman Turkish translation of Comenius' *Janua linguarum reserata* (1658). For studies on Bobovius's linguistics-related work see: Ali Ufkî Bey (Alberti Bobovius [sic!]), *Grammatica Turcico-Latina* (1666) (eds. F. Telatar – Y. Tokay – N. Besli) (Ankara: Grafiker Yayınları 2000); J. Clackson – B. Vaux, "Bodleian Library, Ms. Marsh 187, Wojciech Bobowski and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish," *Bodleian Library Record* 31/1–2 (2018) 76–96; G. Nandriş, "The Arumanian or Macedo-Rumanian Element in the Oxford Heptaglot Lexicon (MS. Marsh 187)," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1957) 345–359; H. Neudecker, "Wojciech Bobowski and His Turkish Grammar (1666): A Dragoman and Musician at the Court of Sultan Mehmed IV," *Dutch Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures* 2/2 (1996) 169–192; H. Neudecker, "Two Hitherto Little-Studied Turkish Translations by Wojciech Bobowski alias Albertus Bobovius," *Oriens* 45 (2017) 330–363; V. Swoboda, *The „Slavonice” Part of the Oxford Heptaglot Lexicon. A Ukrainian-Latin Vocabulary of the First Half of the 17th Century* (Slavistica 25; Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences 1956).

Turkish.<sup>5</sup> He can be perceived as an extremely colourful and multifaceted figure in the history of Polish-Turkish cultural and international relations, but unfortunately Polish academia has hitherto underappreciated Bobowski and his intellectual output.<sup>6</sup>

The multicultural personality of Wojciech Bobowski is reflected in the Ottoman Turkish *mablas* (pen-name) he chose for himself as a poet: *Ufukî*.<sup>7</sup> It is derived from the word *ufuk*, “horizon,” which in both Turkish and Polish languages has metaphorical connotations with intellect, comprehension, insight and understanding. In Polish, a person characterised as *o szerokich horyzontach* (“of broad, wide horizons”) is not only intelligent and knowledgeable, but also tolerant towards others. Judging from the works he left to posterity, Ali Ufki was a truly “broad-minded” man.

His attempt to create an Ottoman Turkish psalter, which is the subject of the present paper, is one of the most interesting literary and musical expressions of Bobowski’s outstanding intellect and personality. The psalter (Ott. Tur. *Mezmûriyye*) is known in Turkish musicology simply as *Mezmurlar* or *Mezamir* (“Psalms”). Judith I. Haug in her extended monograph on the Dutch, German, English and Ottoman Turkish versions of the *Genevan Psalter* fairly described this work as a “unique document for transcultural process between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.”<sup>8</sup>

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- 5 H. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible Translation by Yahya bin 'Ishak, Also Called Haki (1659)* (Leiden: Oosters Instituut 1994); H. Neudecker, “Ordinal Numbers in Bobowski’s Turkish Bible Translation (1662–1664),” *Folia Orientalia* 36 (2000) 219–225; Neudecker, “Two Hitherto Little-Studied Turkish Translations”; A. Pawlina, “The Pole Who Translated the Bible for the Turks. Wojciech Bobowski’s Bible Translation into Ottoman-Turkish,” *The Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 15/2 (2016) 31–37; B.G. Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations* (author’s pre-edition; 2014) <https://historyofturkishbible.wordpress.com> [access: 5.10.2023].
- 6 However, this situation has recently been changing. Tadeusz Majda established that Ali Ufki was not a painter as some scholars insisted, see: T. Majda, “The Râlab Album of Turkish Costumes,” *The Sultan’s Procession. The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–1658 and the Râlab Paintings* (ed. K. Adahl) (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul 2006) 197–265. Later, with the 600th anniversary of Turkish-Polish relations celebrated in 2014, interest in Wojciech Bobowski’s life and work increased in Poland, see: Ā. Aynuksa, “Ali Ufki Bey (Wojciech Bobowski) – Well-Known Musician, Forgotten Political Figure. A Luminary in the 600 Years of Turkish–Polish Diplomatic Relations,” *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations* 52 (2016) 271–284. A preliminary outline of the archival research conducted by the present author has been available for Polish readers for some time, see: A. Pawlina, “Wojciech Bobowski (Ali Ufki) – Polak na osmańskim dworze,” *Wschód muzulmański w ujęciu interdyscyplinarnym. Ludzie – teksty – historia* (eds. G. Czerwiński – A. Konopacki) (Białystok: Katedra Badań Filologicznych “Wschód-Zachód” Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku 2017) 147–165, and now, a monograph presenting the outcomes of her research on Bobovius is also available, see: Pawlina, *Bobovius – Ali Ufki*.
- 7 In his manuscripts it appears in both vocalised and unvocalised spelling. Even though both Latinised versions, *Ufki* and *Ufukî*, are valid, the shorter version had become established in contemporary academia and will also be used here. See also: Ali Ufki, *Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz. Bildirler*, 2–7; Haug, *Ottoman and European Music in 'Ali Ufukî's Compendium. Monograph*, 4–6.
- 8 J.I. Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter in den Niederlanden, Deutschland, England und dem Osmanischen Reich (16.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Tutzing: Schneider 2010) 80.

## 1. Wojciech Bobowski becomes Ali Ufki

A detailed investigation of Wojciech Bobowski's biography lies beyond the scope of this paper. However, it will be worthwhile to give a brief review and emphasise the possible impact of Polish source material on future research concerning Ali Ufki. At present, the story of his life may be reconstructed mostly on the basis of indirect sources. He left scarce personal information in his writings, and archival research has not yet brought any significant discoveries regarding basic biographical facts, such as where and when exactly he was born and where and when he died. Filling in the remaining "blank spots" in Ali Ufki's biography, especially those concerning his roots, might help understand his place as mediator between two cultures: the one into which he was born (the multicultural Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Rzeczpospolita) and the one that he learnt and absorbed over the course of his life (the multicultural Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire).

Most of the information on Bobowski has been derived by scholars from the dating he left in manuscripts, correspondence and the memoirs of diplomats, travellers and orientalisks who had contact with him or for whom he worked as a teacher, interpreter, translator or informant. Unfortunately, the information available in sources contemporary to Bobowski, as well as in the recent scholarly publications, seems incomplete and sometimes even contradictory. There are still many doubts and gaps in Bobovius' biography.

The most common (and most plausible) version states that Bobowski was born in Lviv, ca. 1610.<sup>9</sup> His extant work leave no room for doubt that he received part of his education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including knowledge of several foreign languages and musical education. His life changed completely when (probably) in his teens he was taken prisoner by the Crimean Tatars during one of their raids on Podolia.<sup>10</sup> The present author believes that this could have taken place in 1633–1634 during the unofficial Polish-Ottoman war (the so-called "Abaza Pasha war") or in the minor Tatar raids that preceded it.<sup>11</sup> As a prisoner-of-war, on his way eastward, Bobowski must have revealed some of his skills, for he was brought as a slave to the court of the Ottoman sultan. When he converted to Islam and adopted the Turkish name "Ali," he became an *içoğlan* – a member of the inner service of the palace – and his education in the *Enderûn Mektebi*<sup>12</sup> began. After settling into

9 All versions of Bobowski's biography found in international literature and in Polish archival and literary sources are discussed in detail in the present author's monograph, see: Pawlina, *Bobovius – Ali Ufki*, 19–53.

10 Or as a 10-year-old boy, according to Hannah Neudecker, who also assumes that this occurred "around 1632," thus moving Bobowski's date of birth to 1624, see: H. Neudecker, "From Istanbul to London? Albertus Bobovius' Appeal to Isaac Basire," *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (eds. A. Hamilton – M.H. van den Boogert – B. Westerweel) (Leiden: Brill 2005) 175. The present author considers that version false due to the fact that Bobowski displayed considerable knowledge of foreign languages and music when he arrived at the Ottoman court. The knowledge that he manifested in his works could have been acquired neither in just a few years of education in Lviv, nor through self-tuition in the Ottoman Empire.

11 J. Pajewski, *Buńczuk i koncerz. Z dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 1997) 70–74.

12 *Enderûn Mektebi* – the so-called "school for pages." It provided wide-ranging instruction which prepared boys for service in the palace, the state administration or the Ottoman army, depending on the aptitude of

the palace service, Ali Ufkî spent there about twenty years, serving as a court musician and eventually – a music teacher. Probably in early 1650s, he moved out of the Topkapı Palace and started to work independently as a translator for various European and Ottoman parties, occasionally returning to the sultan's service as an official state interpreter (*dragoman*). He died probably in Constantinople,<sup>13</sup> ca. 1675.

Until new documentary evidence surfaces, any information about Wojciech Bobowski's early years in Poland should be considered as a lore that emerged in connection with his life, rather than a proven historical fact. The most important outstanding questions concern: the exact date and place of his birth, his noble descent, the confession in which he was raised (see more below), and the circumstances which led to his arrival at the Topkapı Palace. None of these questions can be addressed without placing the period of Bobowski's life (ca. 1600–1675) into the context of the intense contacts, in both peace- and wartime, between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century,<sup>14</sup> as well as the Reformation and Counter-Reformation processes in Rzeczpospolita.<sup>15</sup>

The present author's archival research shows that in the 17th century there existed at least two separate branches of the Bobowski family. In the 19th-century armorials, one of them is referred to as “Bobowscy h. Gryf z Bobowy” (bearing the arms Gryphon [Jaxa] of Bobowa [a village in the Lesser Poland]) and the other as “Bobowscy z Bobów” (of Boby [a village in the Lublin region]).<sup>16</sup> Count Seweryn Uruski informs us that both branches had common ancestors in the 14th century, coming from Lesser Poland.<sup>17</sup> Documentary evidence confirms that over time the *Bobowscy* family's land holdings covered more and

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each student, see: M. İpşirli, “Enderun,” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı 1995) XI, 185–187; B. Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1941); S.J. Shaw, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego i Republiki Tureckiej* (trans. B. Świedlik) (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog 2012) I, 191–192.

13 Other possibilities mentioned in the sources are: Egypt, England, and even Kraków, Poland.

14 D. Kołodziejczyk, “Native Nobilities and Foreign Absolutism: A Polish-Ottoman Case,” *Studia Carolinensia* 3–4 (2004) 303–308; D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2011); D. Kołodziejczyk, “Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Turcją i Tatarami: Czy naprawdę byliśmy przedmurzem Europy?,” *Praktyka Teoretyczna* 26/4 (2017) 16–36; D. Kołodziejczyk, “Permeable Frontiers: Contacts between Polish and Turkish-Tatar Elites in the Early Modern Era,” *Foreign Drums Beating. Transnational Experiences in Early Modern Europe* (eds. B. Forsén – M. Hakkarainen) (Helsinki: Finnish Society for Byzantine Studies 2017) 153–168; D. Kołodziejczyk – A. Balcer – N. Królikowska (eds.), *Orzeł i Półksiężyc. 600 lat polskiej publicystyki poświęconej Turcji* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych 2014); Shaw, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego*, 297–298, 308–320.

15 J. Bahlcke, *Kalwinizm i Jednota braci czeskich w Europie Środkowej i Środkowo-Wschodniej* (ed. R. Mnich) (Berlin – Siedlce: Deutsche Comenius-Gesellschaft – Wydawnictwo IKR[i]BL 2017); J. Tazbir, *A State without Stakes. Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (trans. A.T. Jordan) (New York: Kościuszko Foundation 1973).

16 A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*. I/1. *Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich* (Warszawa: Gebethner & Wolff 1899) 303–306.

17 S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej* (Warszawa: Gebethner & Wolff 1904) I, 247.

more territory, stretching from Lesser Poland in the west, through villages around Lublin, Kraśnik, Sanok and Przemyśl, to some tracts of land in the province of Podolia in the east, including villages near Lviv.<sup>18</sup>

It was a family of noble descent and a glorious past, but not (yet) very influential at the time of Wojciech's birth. We cannot ascertain into which branch of the family Ali Ufkî was born. Most likely it was the "Lviv branch," but the "Lublin branch" is also possible, especially if we wish to assert that he was raised in the Reformed faith.<sup>19</sup> The insufficient influence may be the simplest (but not necessarily the correct) answer to the question of why Wojciech Bobowski was never ransomed from Turkish slavery, even though Polish legations to the "Grand Turk" brought many captives of war back home.<sup>20</sup> Other possible answers may be much more complex and lie beyond the scope of this paper.

The only certain fact about Wojciech Bobowski's youth in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is that he acquired a high level of education. Ali Ufkî's indubitable training in European music is probably the most important clue, which may lead to the discovery of new historical evidence. In early 17th-century Poland, one could become a musician through private tutoring (most commonly by Italian masters) or by attending schools that operated at churches (as part of Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox institutions), especially the Jesuit schools which began to emerge in Rzeczpospolita in 1565. In Lviv, such a school (*kolegium jezuickie*) was established in 1608.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps Wojciech Bobowski (if he was indeed born ca. 1610) attended the recently established *kolegium*?

Answers to the question of his education might also help solve another controversial problem associated with the initial period of Bobowski's life: Was he raised in the Catholic or Reformed faith? The religious adherence of Ali Ufkî is often discussed in the context of his writings on religion.<sup>22</sup> Although no final conclusion can be reached at the present

18 This information has been derived by the present author from archival records kept in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, the National Archives in Kraków (including its branch in Nowy Sącz), the State Archives in Lublin, the Diocesan Archives in Tarnów, and the Ossolineum in Wrocław.

19 Pawlina, "Wojciech Bobowski (Ali Ufkî)," 151–153.

20 For the subject at hand, the most interesting is the legation of Wojciech Miaskowski, who was sent to Constantinople in 1640 – when Wojciech Bobowski had already been living in the sultan's palace (or had just arrived there). Miaskowski brought back "two ships [that came] from Kezlev and Kaffa full of liberated captives of war, who had been taken during the Crimean Tatars' raid of 1640" – W. Miaskowski, "Lepsza wojna niż dyshonor. Polski poseł w Stambule w roku 1640," *Orzeł i Półksiężyc. 600 lat polskiej publicystyki poświęconej Turcji* (eds. D. Kołodziejczyk – A. Balcer – N. Królikowska) (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych 2014) 119.

21 L. Mazepa, "Szkolnictwo muzyczne we Lwowie (XV–XX w.)," *Lwów. Miasto, społeczeństwo, kultura* (eds. H.W. Żaliński – K. Karolczak) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP 1995) I, 19–26; G. Łuszczak, *Nauczyciele i wychowawcy szkół jezuickich we Lwowie 1608–1773* (Kraków: WAM 2010).

22 Ali Ufkî, *Hayatı, Eserleri ve Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz*, III–X; Aynuksa, "Ali Ufkî Bey (Wojciech Bobowski)," 276; C. Behar, *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık 1990) 22–24; C. Behar, *Musikiden Müziğe. Osmanlı/Türk Müziği. Gelenek ve Modernik* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 2008) 33–34; Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 571–573; J.I. Haug, "Surmounting Religious, Musical and Linguistic Frontiers: Ali Ufkî's Translation

stage of research, the author will address this subject further below, in the context of the Ottoman Turkish version of the “Protestant” *Genevan Psalter*.

## 2. *Genevan Psalter* becomes *Mezmûriyye*

The manuscript of Ali Ufkî’s *Mezmûriyye* (Ott.-Tur. “Psalms”) is kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Département des manuscrits as MS Suppl. Turc 472.<sup>23</sup> Its title and description in the catalogue are as follows: “مزموريه. Les quatorze premiers Psaumes, avec la traduction en vers turcs, et la notation musicale en plain-chant, par ‘Ali Beg Bobowski.”<sup>24</sup> The manuscript contains six 21 × 16 cm folios, covered with 18th-century binding. The musical notation and lyrics in the Ottoman Turkish language are written in black ink on paper, in three or four columns per page (fig. 1). On folio 5v only the columns, the title and the five-line staff appear (fig. 2). On folio 6r only the columns are sketched, and 6v is left blank.

The attribution of Suppl. Turc 472 to Ali Ufkî based on the handwriting was made by Cem Behar.<sup>25</sup> A few years later, Feza Tansuğ discovered that Bobowski did not compose these melodies, as Behar had thought, but they are in fact almost identical with the first fourteen psalms of the so-called *Genevan Psalter*.<sup>26</sup> The latter is also called the Huguenot Psalter. It was created for the purposes of the Calvinist Church between 1539 and 1562, as a result of John Calvin’s personal interest and efforts. Its final version was published in 1562. The French lyrics were written by Théodore de Bèze and Clément Marot, and the music is of mixed provenance.<sup>27</sup> Subsequently, the psalter was translated into other European languages (e.g., English, German, Dutch, Czech, Hungarian, Polish) and published in multiple versions throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>28</sup>

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of the Genevan Psalter (c. 1665) as a Transcultural Achievement,” *La frontière méditerranéenne du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Études Renaissance 12; Turnhout: Brepolis 2014) 377–378.

- 23 Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye* (MS Suppl. Turc 472, ca. 1665, Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q> [access: 5.10.2023].
- 24 E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs. I. Ancien fonds, nos 1–396. Supplement: nos 1–572* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale 1932) 364, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2094652> [access: 9.10.2023].
- 25 Behar, *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar*, 47.
- 26 F. Tansuğ, “*Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar* by Cem Behar (Book Review),” *International Journal of Music in Turkey* 1/1 (1997) 17–21.
- 27 C. Marot – T. de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise* (Genève: Bonnefoy 1563) <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1086792?rk=21459;2> [access: 6.10.2023].
- 28 Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*; P. Pidoux, *Le Psautier huguenot du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mélodies et documents* (Bâle: Bärenreiter 1962); R. Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum. Historia Biblii w języku polskim* (Poznań: Pallottinum 2016) I, 98–100, 296–309.



Fig. 1. Ali Ufki, *Mezmûriyye*, BnF, MS Suppl. Turc 472, f. 1, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q/f7.item> [access: 9.10.2023]

In *Mezmûriyye* Ali Ufki arranged the melodies of the psalms in such a way that, almost without changes, they adhere to the principles and aesthetics of Ottoman Turkish court music, so that they might be comprehensible to a supposed Ottoman Turkish “audience.”<sup>29</sup> The way Ali Ufki accomplished this has been described in detail by Judith I. Haug in her extensive comparative musicological analysis of both the French and Ottoman Turkish versions of the *Genevan Psalter*.<sup>30</sup>

29 In 2005, on the album *Sacred Bridges* (Signum Classics), psalms 2, 5, 6 and 9 were recorded by the Sarband ensemble in collaboration with the King’s Singers ensemble. In this beautiful arrangement, the listener can hear French and Ottoman Turkish versions of the *Genevan Psalter*, with European polyphony and Ottoman Turkish heterophony artistically combined.

30 Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 481–578; Haug, “Surmounting Religious, Musical and Linguistic Frontiers,” 375–392.



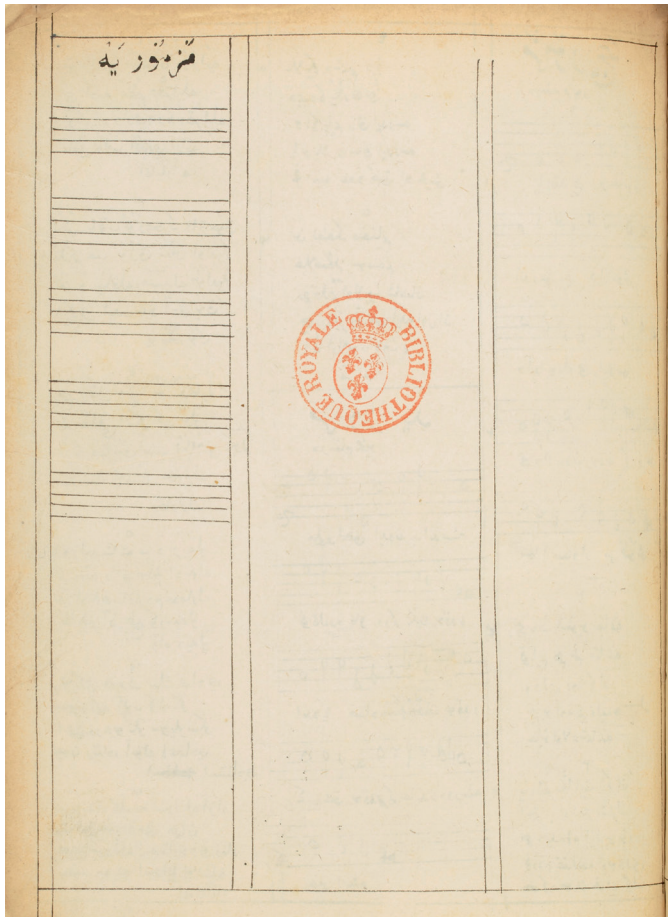


Fig. 2. Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, BnF, MS Suppl. Turc 472, f. 5v,  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q/f16.item> [access: 9.10.2023]

In the same work, she proposed a speculative but very plausible dating for the manuscript, as no indication of the date was left by Ali Ufkî. In her view, it was Levinus Warner – scholar, orientalist, and diplomat in the service of the Dutch Republic – who commissioned a musically notated “Ottoman Psalter” based on the melodies and linguistic content of the Huguenot Psalter. Indeed, he may have wished to publish it along with the Turkish translation of the Bible, which Bobowski worked on in the years 1662–1664.<sup>31</sup> The placing of *Mezmûriyye* in the context of Calvinoturcism and the history of the translation of the Bible into Turkish for Protestant intellectuals is justified for at least two reasons:

31 N. Malcolm, “Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg, and the Translation of the Bible into Turkish,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 87/3 (2007) 327–362; Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible Translation*; Neudecker, “Ordinal Numbers in Bobowski’s Turkish Bible Translation,” 219–225; Pawlina, “The Pole Who Translated the Bible for the Turks,” 31–37; Privratsky, *A History of Turkish Bible Translations*.

[The Ottoman Turkish] version of the *Genevan Psalter* would have made sense as an instrument to convert the ‘Turk’ directly to the Reformed confession of Christianity. Warner’s sudden and mysterious death [...] in June 1665 would at once provide a dating (first half of the year 1665) and an explanation for the abrupt abandonment of the work.<sup>32</sup>

### 3. Ali Ufkî’s *Mezmûriyye* and Maciej Rybiński’s *Psalmy Dawidowe na melodie francuskie urobione* (1608)

The aim of the present study is to establish on which version of the *Genevan Psalter* Ali Ufkî based his Ottoman Turkish translations. From the content of his other works we know that Bobowski was fluent in several languages, including French. It is likely that Levinus Warner provided him with an original French edition of the psalter. However, one should not rule out the possibility that Ali Ufkî worked with more than one version, as well as with other sources that were available to him during his work on the Ottoman Turkish Bible.<sup>33</sup>

He faced a challenge of considerable difficulty – translating poetry containing a significant amount of religious terminology and sophisticated metaphors, which were alien to its intended readers and listeners: the Ottomans. Ali Ufkî proved to be a talented poet, skilful in adhering to the rules of Ottoman Turkish prosody and poetic forms. Judging by the result of his work on the Bible, we can also ascertain that choosing proper Ottoman Turkish equivalents for terms describing the concepts and dogmas of Christian religion was an important matter for him. Considering these premises and adding to them the unquestionable eloquence and multifaceted knowledge of Ali Ufkî, the present author assumes that to prepare a transcultural translation of the psalms, he might have wanted to take inspiration from the images and ideas embodied in each of them in his own native tongue.

The first Polish version of the *Genevan Psalter* was written ca. 1605 by Maciej Rybiński (1566–1612), bishop of the Unity of the Brethren (Jednota Braci Czeskich) in Greater Poland. In the face of the emerging Catholic reaction, he was involved in the political and intellectual process of unifying the Reformed confessions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Rybiński wished to enable his Polish brothers in faith to worship God in the same manner as was done in Reformed churches abroad, and thus build an even stronger international, spiritual connection with Protestants living in Western Europe. He translated the French psalms written by Théodore de Bèze and Clément Marot into Polish, occasionally taking inspiration from the then most popular Polish version of the Book of Psalms: Jan Kochanowski’s *Psalterz Dawidów*, published in Kraków in 1579.<sup>34</sup>

32 Haug, “Surmounting Religious, Musical and Linguistic Frontiers,” 385.

33 Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 561–562.

34 A.B. Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce* (Vilnius: Zawadzki & Zawadzki 1857) III, 264–265; M. Jarczykova, “Zalecenia staropolskich edycji przekładów Księgi Psalmów,” *Wypowiedzi zalecające w książce dawnej i współczesnej* (eds. M. Jarczykova – B. Mazurkova – M. Marcinkowska-Malara) (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2015) 62; Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 298.

In 1605, Rybiński's translation of the *Genevan Psalter* was printed, along with mensural notation for a single voice, as *Psalmy Dawidowe przekładania ks. Macieja Rybińskiego. Na melodie psalmów francuskich urobione*, in the famous Racovian Academy (run by the Polish Brethren in Raków, Lesser Poland), by Sebastian Sternacki. That first edition has been lost, but some subsequent versions, published with small amendments in Raków by Sternacki (1624), in Gdańsk by Andreas Hünefeld (1608, 1616, 1619, 1628, 1632, 1633) and in Toruń by August Ferber (1617, 1618), have been preserved.<sup>35</sup> In 1636, Rybiński's psalter was incorporated into the first hymnbook compiled for use during liturgy in both the Calvinist's and the Czech Brethren's churches.<sup>36</sup> Thus, it became the most popular version of the Book of Psalms among followers of the Reformed faith in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. By the end of the 18th century, Rybiński's psalter had been published at least twenty times.<sup>37</sup>

Comparative evaluation of the linguistic content of Ali Ufkî's *Mezmûriyye* and the *Genevan Psalter* in French<sup>38</sup> shows the greatest divergence in the lyrics of psalms 2, 6 and 8.<sup>39</sup> A further comparison of the Ottoman Turkish and Polish versions of these psalms leads to the conclusion that it is very likely that Ali Ufkî worked not only with the French texts, but also with one of the 17th-century editions of Maciej Rybiński's psalter. Investigations led to the discovery of an old print of his *Psalmy Dawidowe*, published in Gdańsk with the title *Psalmy Dawidowe Przekładania X. Macieja Rybińskiego* in 1608.<sup>40</sup> This edition aroused the present author's particular interest, because even at first glance, a comparison with Ali Ufkî's *Mezmûriyye* shows a resemblance (figs. 3, 4).

The 1608 edition of Rybiński's *Psalmy Dawidowe* (fig. 3) is the only 17th-century version of the *Genevan Psalter* known to the present author, in which the editor used columns to present both musical notation and lyrics, instead of the simpler layout seen in other editions (figs. 5, 6, 7).

35 K. Estreicher, "Dawid. Psalmy Dawidowe przekładania x. Macieja Rybińskiego," *Bibliografia polska* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1897) XV, 74–75; Jocher, *Obraz bibliograficzno-historyczny literatury i nauk w Polsce*, 159; D. Jung, "Psalmy Dawidowe, z hymnami... z gdańskiej drukarni Andrzeja Hünefelda (1581–1666)," *Gdańskie hymny Jakuba Gembickiego* (Gdańsk – Gniezno: Wydawnictwo Zeszyty Poetyckie 2014) 8–12; Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 308–309; M. Przywecka-Samecka, *Dzieje drukarstwa muzycznego w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1993) 111, 139, 147–148.

36 The full title of this hymnbook is: *Kancyonał, to jest księgi psalmów y pieśni duchownych na chwałę Boga w Trojcy S. iedynego... za zgodą wszystkich Zborów ewangelickich koronnych, W. X. Lit. y państwa do nich należących, z dawniejszych kancyonałów, psalterzów y katechizmów zebrane y kuwoi jednostajnemu używaniu wydane* (Gdańsk: Hünefeldt 1636) <https://academica.edu.pl/reading/readSingle?uid=97738559> [access: 6.10.2023].

37 K. Estreicher, "Rybiński Maciej," *Bibliografia polska* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1915) XXVI, 506–507; H. Gmiterek, "Rybiński (Rybinus) Maciej," *Polski słownik biograficzny* (ed. H. Markiewicz) (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1991) XXXIII, 338–340.

38 Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime française*.

39 The same conclusion was reached by Judith I. Haug, who compared Ali Ufkî's translation not only with French but also with Dutch and German versions of the *Genevan Psalter*, see: Haug, *Der Genfer Psalter*, 561–564.

40 M. Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe Przekładania X. Macieja Rybińskiego. We Gdańsku Drukował Andrzej Hünefeldt* (Gdańsk: Hünefeldt 1608) [http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05\\_32\\_R040/index.html](http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05_32_R040/index.html) [access: 6.10.2023].

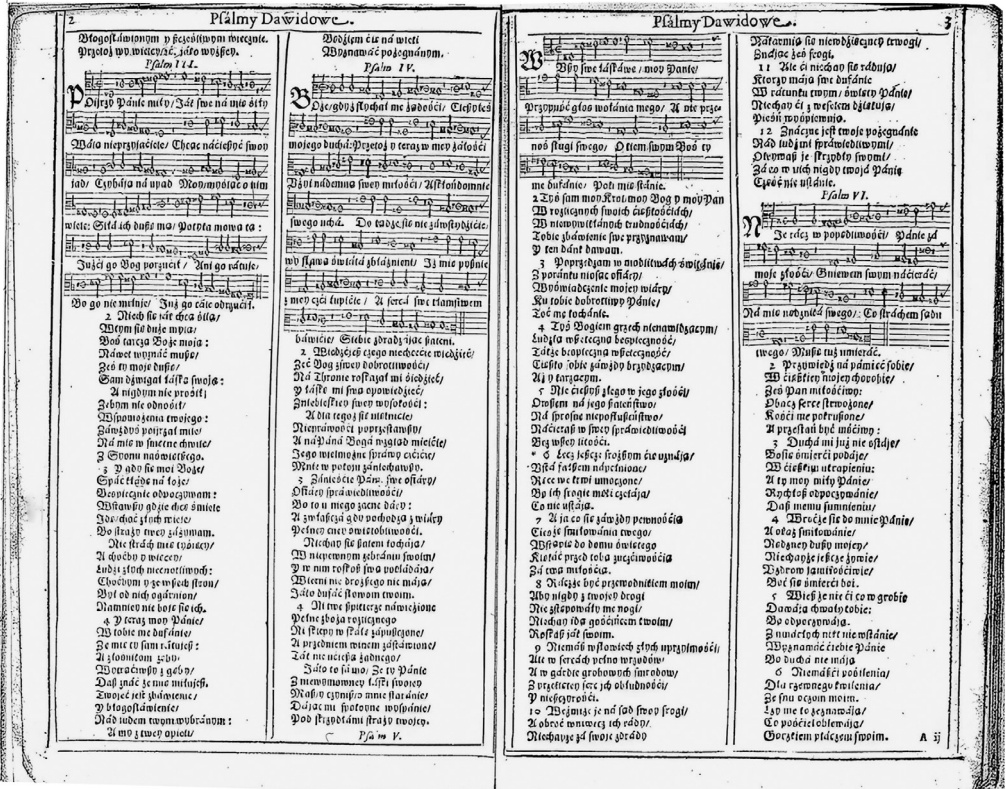


Fig. 3. Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 2–3,  
[http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05\\_32\\_R040/content/0006\\_large.html](http://nanki-ml.dmc.keio.ac.jp/M-05_32_R040/content/0006_large.html) [access: 6.10.2023]

مزمور ۲

امدی بایک و اولن آناه  
 کمیزدان قلوب در محبان  
 شاه اندی بن صلب درگاه  
 او تفریح ایدرم ناکاه  
 ایلده بی استیجاب  
 بس اولن لیزان و هواسان  
 ایشه ایشک هر کس  
 خوانیجاها بیکزه نوسان  
 نامل ایشک بالاسفیان  
 ایسم دورنک ایشک آتیه

دعای ایله استماع  
 ضمیمه فرج ویر یارغان  
 دعای ایله استماع  
 یخچر او نامور کشتیل  
 دعای ایله استماع  
 یخچر او نامور کشتیل  
 دعای ایله استماع  
 یخچر او نامور کشتیل

دلمن شاد و اجناسی  
 زیاد اولدی ننه ک اوله سینده  
 قجان ک بول اولده شواسی  
 هم بقدا اینک دیراسی  
 هر یاده چو غلبد و عینده  
 امدی امن و سلامتله  
 یا توب ایدم استراحت  
 چون یا الله بو علامتله  
 فقط سن ک ملامتله  
 تو میوب فرود سن راحت

مزمور ۲

دعای ایله استماع  
 ضمیمه فرج ویر یارغان  
 دعای ایله استماع  
 یخچر او نامور کشتیل  
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دلمن شاد و اجناسی  
 زیاد اولدی ننه ک اوله سینده  
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مزمور ۲

دعای ایله استماع  
 ضمیمه فرج ویر یارغان  
 دعای ایله استماع  
 یخچر او نامور کشتیل  
 دعای ایله استماع  
 یخچر او نامور کشتیل  
 دعای ایله استماع  
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دلمن شاد و اجناسی  
 زیاد اولدی ننه ک اوله سینده  
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 یا توب ایدم استراحت  
 چون یا الله بو علامتله  
 فقط سن ک ملامتله  
 تو میوب فرود سن راحت

Fig. 4. Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, BnF, MS Suppl. Turc 472, f. 2r, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8415002q/f9.item> [access: 9.10.2023]

# P S E A V. III.

O  
Seigneur, que de gens A nuire di' li gens,  
Qui me troublent & greuent! Mon Dieu, que d'enac-  
mis, Qui aux champs se sont mis, Et contre moy s'e-  
leuent! Certes plusieurs i'en voy, Qui vont disant de  
moy, Sa force est a bo' li e, Plus ne' trouue en son  
Dieu Secours en aucun lieu, Mais c'est a eux fo' li e.

Car tu es mon tresseur  
Bouclier & defenseur  
Et ma gloire esprouue:  
C'est toy, à brief parler,  
Qui fais que puis aller  
Haut la teste leuee.  
J'ay crié de ma voix  
Au Seigneur maintes-fois,  
Luy faisant ma complainte:  
Et ne m'a repoullé,  
Mais tousiours exaucé  
De sa montagne sainte.  
Dont coucher m'en iray,  
En seurté dormiray,  
Sans crainte de mes garde:  
Puis me resueilleray,  
Et sans peur veilleray,  
Ayant Dieu pour ma garde.  
Cent mill' hommes de front,  
Craindre ne me feront,

Encor'

Fig. 5. Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise* [Genève 1563] 4,  
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1086792/f19.item> [access: 6.10.2023]

ch  
lent.  
edzieć/

**Cześć Pierwsza.** 9

**Dajcie mi spokojne wyspanie/  
Pod strzydlami strazy twoiey.**

PSALM V. 64

Verba mea auribus percipe.

*David gdy wygnancem bedac wiele cierpiat,  
y boiac sie aby go co wiecy od Saulowych poctleb-  
cow nie potkalo, prozby swe do Boga obraca, y  
zym sie cieszy iz Bog zlych nienawidzi, a dobre  
miłuje.*

**W**szysze łaskawe moy Panie/Przypusc  
glos wolania mego/ A nie przechodz fugt  
swego Oficem swym: Bos ty me duszenie

Wiep to sam na mie.

1 Tys sam moy Zrocl/moy Bog/y moy Pan/  
W rozlicznych swoich cięstkościcach/  
W niewywiklanych trudnościcach/  
Tobie zbawienie swe przyznawam/  
A ten danek dawam.


3 Popprzedzam w modlitwach swiántel/  
Z poranku mojac ofiary/  
Wyświadczenie moicy wiary/

A v      Au

Da

Fig. 6. M. Rybiński, *Psalmi Dawidowe: Przekładania X. Macieja Rybińskiego na melodye psalmow francuskich urobione. We Gdansku Drukował Jendrzey Hünefeldt* (Gdańsk: Hünefeldt 1616) 9, <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/426050/edition/336947/content> [access: 6.10.2023]

Discantus.                      Psalmus I.



Er nicht mit den Gottlosen gehe zu rath/ Diñ nicht in sündlicher leit fußpfad/  
 Der auch nicht mit sitzt auf der spötte bäncke/ Sonder auß Gottes geseß mit fleiß thut denckē  
 Vnd sich des Tag vnd Nacht nimpet herzlich an/ Fürwar das ist für Gott ein selig Man.

\* Tenor.

Er nicht mit den Gottlosen gehe zu rath/ Diñ nicht in sündlicher leit fußpfad/  
 Der auch nicht mit sitzt auf der spötte bäncken/ Sonder auß Gottes geseß mit fleiß thut denckē  
 Vnd sich des Tag vnd Nachenimpet herzlich an/ Fürwar das ist für Gott ein selig Man.

2.  
 Dann er wird gleich sein einem Baum der fein/  
 Gepflancket steht an einem Wässerlein/  
 Der seine Frucht zu seinen zeiten treget/  
 Des Laub auch nimmer ab zu fallen pfleget/  
 So auch was solcher Mensch thut vnd begint/  
 Dasselb allzat ein glücklich end gewint.

3.  
 Dagegen die Gottlosen/mir das glaub/  
 Seynd nicht also/ sondern wie sprew vnd staub/  
 Welchen der Wind auff vooñ der Erden wecket/  
 Darumb ihr keiner für Gericht bestehet.  
 Die sündler auch in der gerechten rath/  
 Oder versammlung finden keine statt.

4. Dann

Fig. 7. A. Lobwasser, *Psalmen Davids. Nach Französöischer Meloden und Reymen Art in Deutsche Reymen artig gebracht Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser [...]* (Hofgeismar: Schadewitz 1649) 6, [http://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/5/50/IMSLP558846-PMLP572700-goudimel\\_mencke\\_Psalmen\\_Davids\\_1649\\_halle\\_3.1-569401.pdf](http://vmirror.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/5/50/IMSLP558846-PMLP572700-goudimel_mencke_Psalmen_Davids_1649_halle_3.1-569401.pdf) [access: 6.10.2023]



#### 4. The Genevan Psalter in French, Polish and Ottoman Turkish – A Comparison

The table below shows similarities and differences between the original French version of the *Genevan Psalter* (Marot and de Bèze, 1563)<sup>41</sup> and its subsequent translations into Polish (Rybiński, 1608)<sup>42</sup> and Ottoman Turkish (Ali Ufkî, ca. 1665).<sup>43</sup> The psalms' lyrics are analysed here in terms of structure – the number of stanzas (s), the number of lines in each stanza (L) and the rhyme scheme (e.g., aabbcc).

Table 1. Comparison of the French, Polish and Ottoman Turkish lyrics of the Genevan Psalter

	French	Polish	Ottoman Turkish
Psalm 1	4s (6L) aabbcc	4s (6L) aabbcc	4s (6L) aabbcc
<b>Psalm 2</b>	6s (8L) + 1s (4L) ababcdcd	6s (8L) + 1s (5L) ababcdcd	6s (8L) aabbccdd
<b>Psalm 3</b>	4s (12L) aabccbdeffe	4s (12L) aabccbdeffe	4s (12L) + 1s (2L) aabccbdeffe
Psalm 4	4s (10L) abaabcdccd	4s (10L) abaabcdccd	4s (10L) abaabcdccd
Psalm 5	12s (5L) abbaa	12s (5L) abbaa	12s (5L) abbaa
Psalm 6	10s (6L) aabccb	10s (6L) aabccb	10s (6L) aabccb
<b>Psalm 7</b>	8s (8L) + 1s (4L) aabbccdd	8s (8L) aabbccdd	8s (8L) aabbccdd
<b>Psalm 8</b>	9s (4L) aabb	6s (4L) + 1st stanza repeated aabb	8s (4L) + 1st stanza repeated aabb
Psalm 9	20s (4L) aabb	20s (4L) aabb	20s (4L) aabb
Psalm 10	9s (7L) ababbcc	9s (7L) ababbcc	9s (7L) ababbcc
<b>Psalm 11</b>	3s (7L) + 1s (3L) ababcbc	3s (7L) ababcbc	3s (7L) ababcbc
Psalm 12	8s (4L) abab	7s (4L) abab	7s (4L) abab
Psalm 13	5s (5L) aabba	5s (5L) aabba	5s (5L) aabba
Psalm 14	7s (5L) abbaa	7s (5L) abbaa	7s (5L) abbaa

Source: author's own analysis.

<sup>41</sup> Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime française*.

<sup>42</sup> Rybiński, *Psalmmy Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608].

<sup>43</sup> Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye* (MS Suppl. Turc 472, ca. 1665).

As we can see, the form of the lyrics is mostly consistent in all three versions of the *Genevan Psalter*. The exceptions, indicated in the table above in bold, are as follows:

- Psalm 2: a different rhyme scheme in the Ottoman Turkish version (*aabbccdd* instead of *ababcdcd*);
- Psalm 3: two additional lines written by Ali Ufki after the 4th stanza;
- Psalms 7 and 11: both Polish and Ottoman Turkish translations lack the last half-stanza of the French version;
- Psalm 8: the Polish version is three stanzas shorter than the other versions.

An analysis of semantics brought even more interesting results. The present author believes that all the significant differences between the French and the Ottoman Turkish version, in terms of the vocabulary used, can be explained by the choices made by Maciej Rybiński in the Polish translation. The most important differences are found in Psalm 2 (in the 6th stanza) and Psalm 8 (in the 3rd stanza).

Those fragments are presented below, with differences indicated in bold. The orthography of the French lyrics is kept unchanged, with one exception: the symbol ‘f’ is replaced by the contemporary ‘s’. The orthography of the Polish lyrics is modernised according to the rules proposed by the Polish Academy of Sciences.<sup>44</sup> The Ottoman Turkish lyrics have been transcribed from Arabic into Latin script by the present author, according to the rules proposed by İsmail Parlatur in the 9th edition of his Ottoman Turkish Dictionary,<sup>45</sup> with the addition of two symbols: ‘ğ’ for ‘ع’ and ‘ñ’ for ‘ئ’ in Gen., Dat. and Imperative suffixes.

- Psalm 2, stanza 6, the 5th line: the French version reads “pay tribute to the Son,” where in both Polish and Ottoman Turkish translations it is “kiss the Son”:

Du Seigneur Dieu seruiteurs rendez-vous,  
 Craignez son ire, & luy vueillez complaire,  
 Et d'estre: luy vous resiouissez tous,  
 Ayans tousiours crainte de luy desplaire.  
**Faites hommage au Fils** qu'il vous enuoye,  
 Que courroucé ne soit amerement.  
 Afin aussi que de vie & de voye  
 Ne perissiez trop mal-heureusement.<sup>46</sup>

Służcie już Panu z tą uprzejmością,  
 Statecznie zawždy w świętych cnotach stojąc.  
 Pochutniwajcież sobie z radością,  
 Zawždy się Pana Boga swego bojąc.  
**I pocałujcie Syna** na[j]milszego,

44 J. Woronczak – K. Górski, *Zasady wydawania tekstów staropolskich. Projekt* (Wrocław: Zakład im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo PAN 1955).

45 İ. Parlatur, *Osmanlı Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 9 ed. (Ankara: Yargı Yayınevi 2017).

46 Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*, 3.

Nie drażniąc jego zapalczywości,  
Aby nie natarł zasię na którego,  
W swej niewytrwanej ludziom srogości.<sup>47</sup>

Hak te'âlāya ibâdet edün  
Takvâdan serhat-i ifâde-i edün  
**Oğlunî öpün** aña edün bey'at  
Ki incinmeye ve olmayasız zay'at  
Hem ki size pek hışım edüb ol müllāk  
Yol u izlerde olmayasız helāk  
Ne mutlu aña mütevekillere  
Ugramayalar hiç tenkillere.<sup>48</sup>

- Psalm 8, stanza 3: there is no mention of “the sun” in the French version:

Mais quand ie voy & contemple en courage  
Tes cieux qui sont de tes doigts haut ourage,  
Estoilles, lune & signes differens  
Que tu as faits & assis en leurs rens.<sup>49</sup>

Wysokie nieba palców twych robota,  
Gwiazdy jaśniejsze niż świetny blask złota,  
**Słońce** i Miesiąc z odmienną twarzą,  
Same nie mówiąc, mnie mówić każą.<sup>50</sup>

Masnū'atınā nazar edügüm zamān  
Ki engüştlerün işleridür hemān  
Nücüm u kamer **şems** ü mu'azzam  
Mahlükun olub durur muntazam.<sup>51</sup>

Additionally, in Psalm 8, the first stanza is repeated as the last without any changes in the lyrics in both the Polish and Ottoman Turkish versions, but not in the French version:

O Nostre Dieu & Seigneur amiable,  
Combien ton Nom est grand & admirable.  
Par tout ce val terrestre spacieux,  
Qui ta puissance ele ues fur les cieux!

O Nostre Dieu & Seigneur amiable,  
Comme à bon droit est grand & admirable.  
L'excellent bruit de ton Nom precieux  
Par tout ce val terrestre spacieux!<sup>52</sup>

47 Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 1.

48 Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, 1v.

49 Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*, 13.

50 Rybiński, *Psalmy Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 5.

51 Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, 3r.

52 Marot – de Bèze, *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise*, 12–13.

Panie, którego imię na[j]sławniejsze,  
A nade wszystko zawżdy na[j]dziwniejsze,  
Ziemia jest pełna twej wielmożności,  
Niebo nie milczy twej wszechmocności.

Ey Perverd-gârimız Hak te'âlâ  
Ne kadar mu'cib ü azîm ü a'lâ  
İsim izzetüñ bahr ü berde  
Semâ üstünde hem cem' yerde.

Panie, którego / etc.<sup>53</sup>

Ey Perverd-gârimız Hak te'âlâ  
Ne kadar mu'cib ü azîm ü a'lâ  
İsim izzetüñ bahr ü berde  
Semâ üstünde hem cem' yerde.<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

Wojciech Bobowski's output, which includes both original and translated works, can be classified into a number of branches of the Humanities: music and musicology, linguistics, translation studies, anthropology, religious studies. In the context of the period, Bobowski's writings related to religion are characterised by remarkable objectivity. He does not evaluate religions: he does not deprecate Islam and Turkish customs, and he does not elevate Christianity, as subsequent 17th- and 18th-century authors who engaged this subject would do.

From a present-day perspective, Ali Ufkî appears to be an unbiased observer of both religions, and *Mezmûriyye* should be considered one of the most remarkable expressions of his bicultural personality. Since he was born Christian, he probably understood the importance of the Book of Psalms in the daily worship practices of his contemporaries in Europe.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, as a well-educated Ottoman, he was able to adapt the meanings contained in the lyrics and in the music of the original psalms to the aesthetics of Ottoman Turkish poetry and *makam*-based art music.

In this paper, the author attempted to demonstrate the possibility that when working on *Mezmûriyye*, Ali Ufkî took inspiration from the Polish translation of the *Genevan Psalter* by Maciej Rybiński, an influential bishop of the Reformed Church in the 17th-century Rzeczpospolita. However, it is important to emphasise that this does not necessarily mean that Wojciech Bobowski was born and raised as a Protestant, as some sources indicate.<sup>56</sup>

53 Rybiński, *Psalmi Dawidowe* [Gdańsk 1608], 4–5.

54 Ali Ufkî, *Mezmûriyye*, 3r.

55 E.R. Brink, "A Reformed Approach to Psalmody: The Legacy of the Genevan Psalter" (Calvin Institute of Christian Worship website, 10 June 2005) <https://worship.calvin.edu/resources/resource-library/a-reformed-approach-to-psalmody-the-legacy-of-the-genevan-psalter-emily-brink/> [access: 6.10.2023]; Jarczykowa, "Zalecenia staropolskich edycji przekładów Księgi Psalmów," 47–69; Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 127–128.

56 C. Rålamb, "A Relation of a Journey to Constantinople: Giving an Account of Divers Occurrences, how Far the King of Sweden's Commission was Executed There, as Also of the State of the Turkish Monarchy at that Time, Being a Report Made to the Most Potent Prince, Charles Gustavus, King of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals," *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now first Printed from Original Manuscripts, Others Now First Published in English. In Six Volumes* (ed. A. Churchill) (London: Linot & Osborn 1732) V, 669–716; Aynuksa, "Ali Ufkî Bey (Wojciech Bobowski)."

If we consider the international character of the Reformation and the importance of the exchange of knowledge between Protestants regardless of their nationality,<sup>57</sup> we may assume that Levinus Warner could have contacted an intellectual of Polish origin to ask him to send Rybiński's *Psalmi Dawidowe* to him or directly to Constantinople. Bobowski may have been a Protestant before his conversion to Islam, and he may have known these psalms from his childhood in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Equally he may have been unaware of the existence of the Polish version of the Genevan Psalter before he sat down to work on its Turkish translation.

In fact, Bobowski's religious stance cannot be judged either by the fact that he arranged the Huguenot Psalter (since it was probably a commission, not a case of an "inner need" for the artist to express his suppressed religious feelings), or on the basis of his personal preferences regarding his choice of associates in Constantinople. It is true that most of his works on religion, as well as Turkish language and customs, were commissioned by intellectuals of the Reformed faith (e.g., Levinus Warner, Isaac Basire, Henry Denton), but Bobowski also worked for Muslims (including the Ottoman sultan and his officials) and for Catholics (e.g., Teofil Rutka, Robert de Dreux).

If we take into account the multicultural and multid denominational nature of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, it seems that for the formation of Wojciech Bobowski's broad-minded personality, it was not really important whether he had been raised a Catholic or a Protestant. He left his homeland probably in the 1630s, before the times when the Counter-Reformation flourished in Rzeczpospolita, which finally led to the imposition of the death penalty for all Protestants by king Jan Kazimierz in 1668.<sup>58</sup> At the beginning of the 17th century, Calvinism was the third largest confession in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, after Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity. Interestingly, Lubelszczyzna (the Lublin region), where one of the branches of the *Bobowscy* family lived, was at that time an important centre of Calvinism and Arianism.<sup>59</sup> We also know that Protestant intellectuals from Lublin maintained contact with their brothers in faith living in the Netherlands.<sup>60</sup> Also, Lviv – a place where Bobovius was most probably born – often called "the Gate to the Orient" had a truly multid denominational and multiethnic character, with Christians, Jews, Karaites and Muslim Tatars working alongside each other.<sup>61</sup> A youth spent in such an environment, regardless of the faith he professed, could have led to the formation of Wojciech Bobowski's broad-minded personality, which would later also be brought to life in the work of "Ali Ufkî."

57 Bahlcke, *Kalwinizm i Jednota braci czeskich*, 9; K. Chodynicki, *Reformacja w Polsce* (Warszawa: Polska Składnica Pomocy Szkolnych 1921) 7.

58 M. Bogucka, *Dawna Polska. Narodziny, rozkwit, upadek* (Warszawa: Trio 1998) 262.

59 Chodynicki, *Reformacja w Polsce*.

60 Bahlcke, *Kalwinizm i Jednota braci czeskich*, 22.

61 A. Balcer, *Turcja, Wielki Step i Europa Środkowa* (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury 2018); I. Chodynicki, *Historia stołecznego królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi miasta Lwowa od założenia jego aż do czasów teraźniejszych* (Lwów: Pfaff 1829).

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