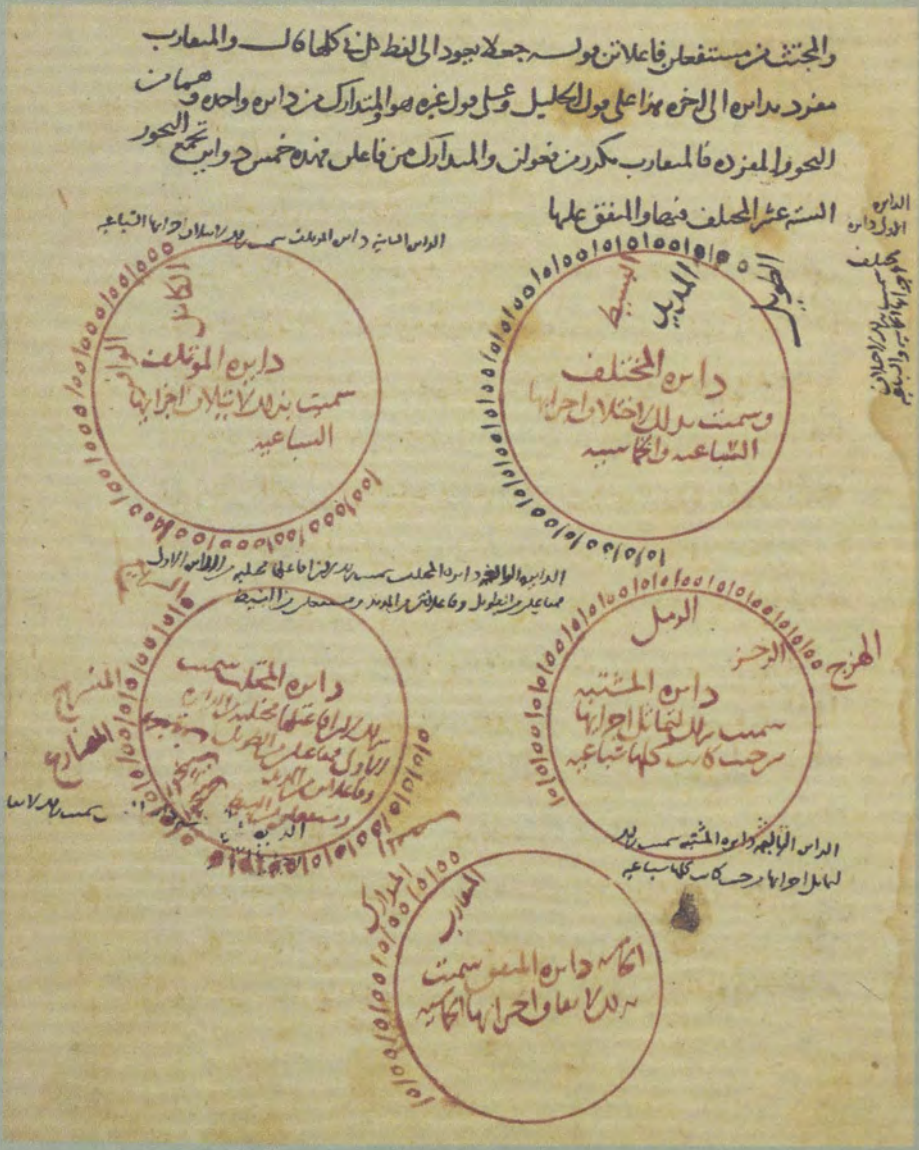


ARABIC PROSODY AND ITS APPLICATIONS IN MUSLIM POETRY



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*Edited by Lars Johanson
and Bo Utas*



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ABSTRACT

Arabic prosody and its applications in Muslim poetry

Editors: Lars Johanson & Bo Utas

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This collection volume is partly based on papers read at a colloquium on the applications of Arabic prosody, *'arūd*, arranged at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul in April 1992. It has, however, been enlarged into a more general introduction to the applications of Arabic prosody in Muslim poetry. After an introductory chapter by Lars Johanson, there are three contributions on Arabic applications, paying special attention to the relation between quantity and stress, four contributions on Turkic applications, including studies on the origin of the *rubâ'î*, the use of *imâle* and other aspects of Ottoman poetry, three contributions on applications in Classical Persian poetry and one on the epic metre in Baluchi. An index of key terms is included.

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Formal aspects of *ʿarūḍ* versification

LARS JOHANSON

The present volume is dedicated to various aspects of *ʿarūḍ* versification and its applications in Arabic, Persian and Turkic poetry of the Islamic tradition. The following brief comments concern some of the formal issues that dominate the contributions.

Most of the considerations relate to the *metrical structure*, taken as a formal arrangement based on rhythm, produced by the periodical recurrence of prominent and non-prominent elements in some regular order. The verse design underlies the construction of each line as a creative pattern, determines the invariant properties and delimits the variants. It is essential to bear in mind that such poetic devices per definition produce deviations from ‘ordinary’ or ‘natural’ language and that the language of literary poetry is *formalized*, metrically regulated. Moreover, the metrical structure of written Muslim poetry is generally not independent of visual aspects connected with the Arabic script.

Syllabic verse systems are based on the contrasts between the syllabic nuclei, which form peaks in the phonemic chain, and less prominent non-syllabic segments between them. Versification may also be based on the *relative* prominence of such peaks. The contrast may be produced by interaction of more or less accentuated syllables, carrying stress and/or pitch. This is one of the most common creative factors of rhythm. A metrically operative word accent will be referred to as *ictus*. Though perceptual properties of natural languages are used to produce metrical prominence, the ictus is in principle not identical with linguistic accent, but represents a *metrical evaluation* of it.

The realization of *relative* prominence may also rely on the perceptual prominence of *quantity*. Greek or Arabic verse, e. g., is based on metrical evaluation of relative length, measured by the quantitative unit *mora*. Traditionally, weak or light syllables, containing one mora, are taken to contrast with strong or heavy ones. The latter have a second mora, consisting of the rest of the syllable; they thus contain a long vowel or a diphthong, or are closed by a consonant. Here, too, linguistic properties must be distinguished from metrical ones. A phonological syllable must be distinguished from the prosodic use of it, the metrical syllabation. Phonetic duration is not always decisive for metrical quantity. Syllables are *deemed* metrically light or heavy. It is, e. g., a convention in Greek and in Arabic metre that any line-final syllable of stichic verse counts as heavy. A metrical line is thus a sequence of weak and strong positions. The strong ones form a beat of greater prominence. Traditionally, a verse line is also considered to have a hierarchical constituent structure, to be a sequence of metrical constituents, ‘feet’, within which the strong-weak relation is defined. A foot is a sequence of relatively prominent and relatively non-prominent syllables, with certain allowed exceptions.

Traditional metrics thus takes the syllable as the basic unit of which feet are composed. From many prosodic systems we know, however, that not every syllable counts in metrics. On the one hand, there are extrametrical syllables. On the other hand, a bisyllabic sequence may count as metrically monosyllabic. Descriptions in terms of counting phonological syllables thus often lead to loss of generalization. Variation is simply described as replacement of basic feet by other feet, which does not produce satisfactory definitions of metres.

Arabic verse offers good examples of this problem. Scanning in short and long syllables often fails to produce lines of a fixed quantity in most metres. In al-Khalil's metrical theory, however, the abstract positions are not represented by short and long syllables, but by metrical building blocks (with certain equivalences). As Willem F. G. J. Stoetzer points out—in his monograph (1989) and in his present contribution—the single short syllable does not play an independent role in the Arabic quantitative prosodical system, and is not the smallest unit of metrical syllabation. It fills a metrical position only together with a following long syllable. Gotthold Weil (1958), however, had taken the short syllable as an independent metrical element and therefore also assumed the existence of a fixed stress pattern for each metre, an ictus being metrically operative besides the quantity of syllables. Weil presumed that al-Khalil's metrical circles were a way of describing patterns of ictus. Stoetzer argues that Arabic metrics is purely quantitative, that stress does not play a constitutional role and that no ictus factor is necessary to explain the pattern of Arabic verse or to justify the equivalents.

Nevertheless, since metrics generally uses more than one contrast of prominence, secondary, non-quantitative rhythmic factors may still be operative in quantitative verse. Given the systematic relations of quantity and accent, the assignment of accent may not be entirely arbitrary, but a potentially relevant linguistic property of the verse design. The prominence of vowels depends on length and accent, increasing along the scale (1) short + unaccentuated, (2) short + accentuated, (3) long + unaccentuated, (4) long + accentuated. Arabic metre displays certain correspondences in this respect: thus, accentuated syllables are mostly metrically strong. Bo Utas shows how, in recitation of Persian poetry, quantity, stress and pitch interact in complex ways. Though quantity carries the metrical pattern, stress and pitch are integral elements of the design. However, if such connections are even difficult to examine in contemporary verse, there is so much more uncertainty about accent patterns and their significance for versification in languages such as classical Arabic or early New Persian and Turkic.

While some contributions are dedicated to central problems of Arabic metrics, other papers deal with the application of principles of *ʿarūḍ* versification in non-Arabic literatures. These phenomena can be viewed as a *copying* of poetic forms and their accommodation to the prosodic properties of a non-Arabic language. The copies are never structurally identical with their models. The copying does not have to follow a previous poetic tradition but might produce new forms (cf. the role of the Greek hexameter in European literatures).

Some articles deal with characteristics of the Persian *ʿarūḍ* system with its considerable modifications. When it was introduced in New Persian literary poems of the 9th century, Arabic *ʿarūḍ* was, as Johannes T. P. de Bruijn points out, already firmly established among the Persians, since Arabic poetry was a basic element of Muslim education. The literary dominance of Arabic in Iran started in the first centuries after the Arabic invasion. Some scholars have doubted that the Persian metrical system has been copied from the Arabic one, and have rejected the use of Arabic terms for the description of Persian metres. As Utas remarks, however, Persian poets did not compose without regard to Arabic practice and theory, but were eager to follow the prestige models. In the oldest known pieces

of poetic writing in New Persian, the metrical rules governing classical Persian poetry are already well established.

Though early New Persian versification thus in principle adheres to the Khalilian system, it also differs considerably from its Arabic models. The realization of *‘arūḍ* is different, as there is no analysis based on the Khalilian units *watid* ‘peg’ and *sabab* ‘cord’. As Utas shows, a set of ‘rhythmic elements’, based on regular alternation of long and short syllables, but not synonymous with metrical ‘feet’, are combined in different ways to form hemistichs of varying length. It has been claimed that Khalilian ‘feet’ are only a theoretical concept in Persian metrics and lack a clear function in the structure of the verse.

In New Persian versification, the quantitative length of the line, the number of morae, is constant, whereas it varies considerably in Arabic verse. Whether this may indicate a partly different origin of the Persian metrical system will be discussed below. In Arabic metrics, one long syllable is seldom equal to two short ones, as in most positions in Persian poetry. The mora-counting style may have its origin in the fact that Middle Persian poetry was sung or accompanied by musical instruments, whereby (as, e. g. also in Greek poetry) it was not the number of notes, but their temporal duration that became decisive. Characteristic is the so-called overlong syllable (long vowel + syllable-closing consonant or two syllable-closing consonants), which is treated as three morae = two syllables (long + short).

A number of articles discuss aspects of Turkic *‘arūḍ*, which was introduced by Qarakhanid poets in the 11th century and follows, with certain exceptions, the Persian pattern. Many features do not correspond to Arabic *‘arūḍ*. Persian prosodic rules are applied to basically Turkic material. Ottoman poetry copied most principles of Persian metrics, e. g. rules of reading overlong syllables.

An interesting question is how *‘arūḍ* metrics deals with ‘natural’ language. As mentioned, linguistic structure must be distinguished from metrical structure. There is often tension when a metre is superimposed on a linguistic form. It is thus of interest to study the role of the structural distance between the ‘natural’ and the ‘poetic’ language. Heikki Palva shows that the metrical patterns of the Bedouin *qaṣīda* are relatively regular in Central and Northern Arabia, which is partly due to the small difference between the poetic language and the vernacular dialect. This poetry is an organic continuation of the Old Arabic tradition of oral poetry and displays quantitative patterns similar to the Classical Arabic poetry. In spite of changes in the phonetic structure, the linguistic distance is short and the system still discernible. In more peripheral areas, the structural distance is longer, which has led to a decline of the quantitative framework.

The relations between metre and phonotactics are crucial. The phonotactic rules of Classical Arabic, Persian and Turkic differ considerably from each other. The syllable structures, which are most relevant to metrics, are different. The distribution of syllable types is different: certain types are, e. g., excluded in certain positions. Are differences in metrical structure connected with such differences? Is, for example, as Stoetzer has suggested, the restricted role of the short syllable in Arabic metrical syllabation connected with the shape of morphological words in Arabic? Dealing with different syllable types in Bedouin dialects, Palva shows that differences in syllable structure are decisive. Dialects spoken in the traditional core area of the North Arabian Bedouin poetry have a syllable structure that is easy to adjust to the needs of quantitative metrics.

There are many other relevant relations between ‘natural’ and ‘poetic’ structure. Verse design is a comprehensive linguistic phenomenon which leads far beyond questions of sound shape. To what extent should grammatical features be

taken into account to predict the metrical structure of a line? What syntactic factors are relevant? Dealing with the neutralization of syntactic rules in Ottoman metrical poetry, Andreas Tietze demonstrates that syntactic deviations from ‘ordinary’ language (e.g., disruption of the normal word order) may become an additional element to signal poetry. Many deviations are, however, acceptable in living colloquial speech. Under the influence of the Persian model, Turkish court poetry treats the syntax rather freely to comply with the exigencies of poetic form. Complicated rules of literary poetry increase the distance to ‘natural’ language and may harm the intelligibility of the text. However, even in high-style Ottoman poetry, the deviations constitute only a relatively small percentage of the total of verses. Only when harmony between ordinary grammar and poetic form was impossible, the poets made use of certain liberties, which thus became additional signals of poetry.

On the other hand, features which are, in reality, properties of the respective ‘natural’ language may be mistaken for parts of the metrical system. Jan Retsö discusses the linguistic background to the treatment of final syllables in classical Arabic metres and shows—on the basis of devices in modern Arabic dialects to establish long syllables in prepausal position—that the lengthening taking place here reflects a pausal system in a natural spoken language. The distribution is regulated by position in discourse; the pausal forms seem to be conservative. Pausal lengthening is not a poetic device, but intrudes into the metre and overrules its rules: a syllable that should be metrically short is lengthened if it stands in pausal position.

How does, on the other hand, ‘natural’ linguistic structure affect and contribute to creating metre? In composing poetry, different properties of the syllables are evaluated. Arabic metre is generally explained with reference to the specific structure of Arabic. Certain differences between Greek and Arabic metre with respect to metrical equivalences seem to rely on linguistic differences. If linguistic structure thus affects the construction of metres, there are also cases where a metrical design created for language B and naturally resulting from its system does not fit language A. Turkic with its specific structure is often claimed to be particularly ill-suited to sustain the Arabic type. Its quantity oppositions of vowels, e.g., were dissolved early (after the 12th century). And still, *‘arūḍ* dominated Turkic poetry for many centuries.

The Arabic model was certainly not readily applicable to New Persian and Turkic when poets started composing literary poems in these languages. Certain differences between Arabic and New Persian/Turkic versification are due to the structural differences between the languages. Persian possesses syllable types not present in Arabic—with final consonant clusters and with long vowel + consonant(s)—, which leads to the phenomenon of overlong syllables, unknown in Old Arabic metrics. Turkic, which has the same syllable types (e. g., *türk*), has taken over this problem as well as the Persian solution to it, viz. the treatment as trimoric (heavy + light), possibly recited with length + additional *schwa*. The Persian and Turkic system of anceps vowels is also based on structural differences from Arabic phonological structure, namely the possibility of pronouncing word-initial vowels without a glottal stop. This allows for liaison (*waṣl*), so that word-final syllables ending in consonants in front of word-initial vowels can be treated as short instead of long (or as long instead of overlong). The structure of Persian and Turkic also explains the treatment of final geminates as short consonants, etc. As we shall see, however, there are reasons to suppose that the differences between Arabic and New Persian/Turkic *‘arūḍ* versification go far beyond the linguistic differences.

One interesting group of questions concern borderline cases between quantitative and non-quantitative systems. Sometimes it may even prove difficult to distinguish the systems from each other, e. g., to discern the differences between quantitative and accentual metrics. Palva discusses the question whether the metrical system of the orally composed contemporary Bedouin *qaṣīda* is based on syllabic quantity and can be traced back to classical metres, or if its metrical system is accentual. However, metrical ‘reconstruction’ with some slight adjustments of the surface representation reveals regular quantitative patterns. When poems are recited or chanted, short final vowels in certain positions may be added to split overlong syllables in two, a use which implies a metrical system based on syllable quantity.

There are also interesting cases of transition from quantitative to accentual metrics. Examining how close the recital of the Bedouin *qaṣīda* comes to the quantitative metrical analysis, Palva states that in certain areas (Sinai and the Negev), the quantitative structure has reached the point of collapse and stress is the basis of the metrical structure. The quantitative basis can still be traced, but the surface representation is predominantly accentual. The author characterizes this situation as a stage of transition to accentual metrics. A quantitative analysis is obviously not appropriate here, but the example raises the question at what point of the development an analysis based on stress becomes more adequate.

As mentioned, the classical Arabic system shows no signs of transition in this sense. Stoetzer, who, on the one hand, rejects all contentions of this kind, on the other hand points out that there is also a musical-accentual system operative in Arabic, used in certain forms of strophic poetry in colloquial language. Only in this sense, he argues, does Arabic metrics find itself “between quantity and stress”.

The transition to *‘arūḍ* in Persian and Turkic poetry is not a less interesting matter, connected with complicated metrical phenomena: mixtures of systems, imperfect *‘arūḍ* with traces of syllabic verse etc. This situation seems to have dominated in Persian poetry at least prior to the 10th century. As for Turkic poetry, Barbara H. Flemming stresses that the boundaries between syllabic verse and *‘arūḍ* metrics have been blurred from the earliest times and that *‘arūḍ* patterns were superimposed on syllabic poetry. In a survey of the development of Turkic prosody in Central Asia and Anatolia (1994), which stresses the continuities of the developments, Gerhard Doerfer recognizes several mixed systems along with “pure” ones. Many old poems can be read as quantitative *or* as syllabic. We find irregular transitional forms—e.g. in Maḥmūd al-Kāṣṣārī’s archaic poetical quotations—with many traces of genuine Turkic versification. “Qutaḍyu bilig” from the same period (11th century) is written in clearcut *‘arūḍ*, though several scholars have considered it to be syllabic. In the West Turkic area, there are similar cross-breeds and much metrical uncertainty for a long period. The oldest Anatolian *‘arūḍ* poetry contains clear elements of syllabic verse; e. g., Šayyād Ḥamza’s verses seem to combine the two systems. It is often difficult to distinguish syllabic verse from *‘arūḍ* applied with much *imāla*, i. e. short syllables in strong positions (see below). The violations of the quantitative rules, however, decrease in the course of time in both East and West.

Given the situation at the beginning of Persian and Turkic *‘arūḍ* versification, there is reason to ask whether there is a substratum of pre-Islamic poetry and if certain metres have developed out of non-quantitative ones. It has been suggested that the Persians subordinated Iranian syllabic metre to Arabic quantitative prosody. In his contribution to the present volume, Utas claims that pre-Islamic poetical traditions have influenced New Persian versification and that a fusion of forms must have taken place. He tries to establish the characteristics of the indig-

enous poetry and to compare them to those of the earliest known New Persian poetry. The pre-Islamic poetry seems to have been predominantly oral, generally linked to music, which influenced the rhythmic pattern. As mentioned, in modern recital of Persian poetry, quantity carries the metrical structure, but interacts with natural stress and pitch. Similar patterns might have been relevant in Middle Iranian poetry and transferred into New Persian versification of the 9th and 10th centuries. Evidence for this is found in Iran in old types of popular oral poetry without a regular quantitative pattern but with a certain number of ictuses to the line. As the author demonstrates, some of these pieces of poetry can, with small changes, be fitted into a nearly passable New Persian *rubā'ī* form.

In a rather similar way, Gilbert Lazard analyses the relation of classical Iranian metrics to pre-Islamic Iranian versification. More specifically, he compares the technique of the traditional Baluchi epic verse, which is, in principle, not influenced by Arabic metrics, with *mutaqārib*, the metre of the Persian epos. The common features seem to indicate that the latter emerges from the adaptation of an essentially accentual verse to a quantitative metre inspired by the Arabic pattern.

It is thus possible that certain *arūḍ* metres unknown in early Arabic poetry originate in patterns belonging to the pre-Islamic Iranian traditions, to the oral poetry sung by minstrels. Earlier rhythmic patterns based on accent seem to have been *reformatted*, i. e., adapted to a quantitative structure. Even the *xaff*, which seems to originate in a marginal pattern of pre-Islamic bedouin poetry (see de Bruijn's article), may in its Persian form be considered a reformatted Middle-Persian metre.

Doerfer takes a further step, discussing possible Turkic contributions to the Persian tradition. The Persian *rubā'ī*, occurring in many metrical variants, seems to display a mixed system which might go back to a non-*arūḍ* prosody. Doerfer suggests that the *rubā'ī* might have been taken over from oral Turkic poetry or created, under Arabic influence, in a Turkic-Persian contact area. One of Doerfer's structural arguments is the struggle between an older mora-counting, musically determined prosody and an intruding syllable-counting pattern, which must be due to Turkic influence. In the oldest known patterns of Turkic popular poetry, the number of syllables in each line is constant, and there are no overlong syllables. Similarly, in older New Persian poetry, overlength often counts as simple length. Moreover, the strict caesura typical of the Turkic short and long *rubā'ī* is also found in Persian *rubā'īs* of the oldest period. Doerfer claims that an analysis of the general development shows a successive structural transition from the Qarakhanid Turkic form to the classical Persian one.

Discussions of this kind raise several questions regarding the comparability of quantitative, accentual and syllabic metrical systems. There are clear similarities between the abstract patterns, even if the rules relating them to an actual text may be very different. The concrete units are mostly incommensurable. To catch basic similarities, we need more abstract, system-independent notions, which allow for comparison. This is also necessary in order to understand how metrical patterns may be reformatted, restructured under the influence of other systems. An analytic apparatus that renders different systems more comparable would also probably reveal more real similarities than generally assumed.

The first general notion necessary is one of *relative strength*, which may be expressed by stress, pitch, length or combinations of such features. The second question concerns the constituency. Traditionally, the verse is considered to have a hierarchical constituent structure. The line is divided into a number of repeated sequences, metrical 'feet', within which the relations of strong and weak syllables

are defined. According to certain recent generative theories, however, a metre consists of a simple sequence of weak and strong metrical positions, each of which is normally occupied by one syllable (or, under certain conditions, by more than one or by none at all). There are no 'feet', but sets of rules which yield different metrical patterns. However, the strength relations seem to be restricted by constituency and should be analysed accordingly. To describe complex metrical patterns and to predict periodicity, some grouping of the differentially prominent elements is needed. The question is how a sequence of weak and strong positions divides into metrical constituents. There are obviously reasons for operating with basic rhythmic shapes, e. g., in the sense of the 'rhythmic elements' suggested by Utas, units which acquire their specific rhythmic character only in certain combinations. They are not synonymous with traditional metrical 'feet', which, as mentioned, seem to lack clear functions in the actual structure of Persian verse. A promising recent approach is the definition of such basic shapes in terms of binary branching of strong and weak positions, e. g., in the model proposed by Alan Prince (1989), where the metrical pattern of a line specifies the allowed feet, the types of iteration, the strength relations, and divided positions, so-called *position-splitting*, to which we shall return.

The differences between *ʿarūd* and *syllabic verse* are often claimed to be considerable. The latter is said to count syllables only: each line contains a certain number of syllabic peaks with a syntactic pause at the end. The types known to us contain at least one obligatory word-juncture, *caesura*, a grammatical limit, in front of a certain syllable. ('Word' is taken here in the sense of a free form plus possible surrounding clitics.) There is thus no further constituency, no formal schema dividing the line (or the half-line) into relevant elements. Quantity and accent are supposed to be inessential.

The differences should not, however, be exaggerated. Much syllabic verse is not even syllable-counting in the strict sense of absolute isosyllabism, a constant number of syllables to the line. Moreover, there are clearly quantitative and accentual properties of prosodic relevance, though their roles may be rather subtle. Among the syllabic peaks, there are relatively strong positions with quantitative and/or accentual prominence signals, some of which occur regularly, whereas others are more or less likely to occur. The signals are more frequent in certain positions. Slots normally filled with prominent syllables form prosodically strong positions; those preferring non-prominent syllables form weak ones. The identification and division of syllables in more or less strong ones may reveal superimposed metric patterns of regular alternations, of recurrent 'foot-like' rhythmic shapes.

As for accentual verse, it is normally based on a fixed number of stresses to the line, but often offers irregularities as to the number of syllables. Such patterns are thought to have obtained, e. g., in Middle West Iranian metrics. The rhythm in the Baluchi poetry analysed by Lazard is produced basically by the ictus, whereas the number of syllables varies within certain limits. The epic verse of Middle Persian or Parthian may have been similar in structure. Utas comments on old types of popular oral poetry with a fixed number of ictuses to the line, rather freely distributed over two to four times as many syllables. As mentioned, Palva gives an example of a stage of transition from quantitative to accentual metrics, based on natural stresses. Here, the positions of the stressed syllables may vary, and the unstressed elements between them are quite irregular. One of the decisive features is the constant number of stressed syllables in all lines.

In cases of this kind, the verse offers a certain number of strong positions, beats of greater prominence, forming a metrical grid to which various phrasings can be imposed. The number of syllables may vary within certain limits. A useful notion

for the description of such cases is the one of position-splitting, which implies that a position of a binary foot can split into two metrical subpositions: a metrically weak extra syllable may be mapped into a strong position. A similar device might be necessary for the description of the classical Arabic quantitative metrics as defined by Stoetzer, in particular the restricted prosodic role of the single short syllable. The syllable can certainly be considered a metrical universal, but, as is obvious from Stoetzer's argumentation, not necessarily the basic unit of metrical syllabation.

As the borderline and mixed forms show, transition from one system to another is often not a very long step. This is valid for the transition from syllabism to *‘arūd*. Both in quantitative and syllabic verse, there is a complex interaction of pitch, stress and quantity. E. g., Bernt Brendemoen claims that *imāla* was more acceptable in the phase of transition from syllabic metre to *‘arūd*. Particularly revealing is the close structural similarity, observed by Lazard, between Baluchi poetry and the *mutaqārib*. The syllables which are likely to carry a word accent (possibly pitch) in the *mutaqārib* verse mostly correspond to the ones carrying the ictus in the accentual verse. The ictus, which does not necessarily coincide with the word accent, falls on long syllables only.

One highly interesting topic is the choice of metres for different purposes and genres. As Utas points out, early New Persian poetry does not yet display the later differentiation of the *mutaqārib* for historic, *hazaj* for romantic, and *ramal* or *xafif* for religious-didactic topics. On the other hand, this differentiation was never carried through completely. de Bruijn raises the question to what extent the *xafif* can be related to the development of genres in early Persian poetry and whether its choice was directly related to the choice of the subject-matter. In early Islamic Arabic poetry, it was considered a suitable pattern for love poems. Searching for its generic qualities and trying to trace its range of use during the earliest period of Persian literature, the author concludes that the same association seems to have lived on in Persian poetry for a considerable time. The choice of one metrical pattern instead of another was not made at random. However, the specialization of the *xafif* never excluded other applications of it, e. g., for gnomic and topical poetry or for religious didacticism. This flexibility allowed for new associations to develop in the course of the literary history. The associations with one or more genres which a metre acquired may be more relevant to the definition of its 'individuality' than its intrinsic qualities. As de Bruijn states, a poet's freedom consisted in a choice from the stock of metrical patterns available. After this choice had been made, however, the rigid rules of convention and theory deprived him of almost all freedom.

Another important issue is the choice between *‘arūd* and non-*‘arūd* for specific purposes. In Turkic poetry, the choice of metres was, as in Persian poetry, associated with genres. Tietze stresses that oral poetry hardly ever transgresses the limits of natural language. The popular Turkish religious poetry preferred a style in which the syntax of the natural spoken language dominates. The mystic poets chose the popular syllabic verse forms. The *‘arūd* tradition dominated court poetry, which, under the influence of the Persian model, treats the syntax more freely to comply more strictly with the exigencies of poetic form.

As Flemming remarks, the two traditions of Turkic poetry combined to produce a prosodic skill, which remained rather flexible in the application of the classical theories of Persian prosody. The author's comments on old Turkish anthologies of poetry and their specific purposes and priorities are rather instructive in this respect. The numerous collections, published and unpublished, display a differentiation according to specific purposes. Some of them were regarded as re-

positories of representative prosodic paradigms of sophisticated *‘arūd*. Others are rather collections of works of religious teaching and singing, where *‘arūd* was not all-important, but left room for poetry in the syllabic metre.

Tietze’s remark on the characteristics of oral poetry also raises the question whether syllabic verse is relatively easy to produce, whereas quantitative metre of the complicated kind found in Islamic poetry can only be mastered by literates. Palva touches on the issue of whether quantitative poetry can be composed by illiterates or if it requires a knowledge of too many rules that can only be comprehended by seeing the written word on the page. A further issue connected with *‘arūd* poetry is whether it is composed primarily for the *ear* or for the *eye*. As mentioned, the metrical structure of written poetry is generally not independent of visual aspects of the Arabic script. For example, as Flemming remarks, ‘graphic rhymes’ often served to adapt *‘arūd*. The problem of purely ‘graphic length’ will be commented on below.

Another interesting aspect is what metrics may tell us about the natural language it is applied to. What, for example, does the application of metrical rules reveal about phonetic and phonological properties of older linguistic material? One example is the question of the phonologically long vowels in Turkic.

Except for some conservative varieties, Turkic has no systematic quantitative oppositions of vowels after the 12th century. In the oldest known example of genuine Turkic *‘arūd*, the *meşnevî* “Qutaḍyu bilig”, written in the 11th century in the Qarakhanid variety of Old Turkic, the quantity is still mirrored in first syllables, where etymologically short vowels are always treated as prosodically weak, whereas etymologically long vowels can—like long vowels in Persian words—be evaluated as strong or weak. Phonological quantity is thus reflected here. In non-first syllables, however, no length oppositions can be detected, since the *mutaqārib* metre does not allow for sequences of short syllables. In much Turkic verse of the following period, however, open syllables with etymologically short vowels are not seldom treated as strong, i. e. assigned metrical strength to fit into the quantitative metre, a phenomenon known in Turkic prosody as *imāla*.

In all discussions of these matters, it should be borne in mind that metrical functions do not mirror, in a direct and clear-cut way, properties of the ‘natural’ linguistic material subject to versification. Poetry is conservative, frequently preserving obsolete features. Moreover, little is known about the actual nature of the quantitative vowel oppositions in Turkic and the processes of their liquidation. The break-down of length oppositions does not mean that there were no phonetically long vowels left. We do not know the role of accent for the evaluation of syllables with etymologically long vowels as metrically strong. It is even difficult to decide whether graphically marked *imāla* is just a graphic device to comply with the exigencies of *‘arūd*—as ‘purely graphic length’—or if it really mirrors linguistic properties.

Brendemoen deals with etymologically ‘justified’ and ‘unjustified’ *imāla* in South-East and South-West Turkic poetry. In Chaghatai poetry, the justified type occurs at least until the end of the 15th century. There is, however, an increasing uncertainty about the tradition going back to original long vowels. The use of such vowels for metrical strength is less consistent; in many cases, the metrical strength is not etymologically justified. In later Chaghatai poetry, the uncertainty increases.

In the oldest Ottoman poetry, *imāla* is mostly operative in first syllables and is to a certain extent graphically marked by *plene* notation. It is, however, not likely to reflect old vowel length, of which there are only sporadic remnants already in Old Anatolian Turkic: mixtures of etymologically justified and unjustified metri-

cal strength. From the 16th century on, the frequency of *imāla* decreases considerably. According to Brendemoen, it is due to indirect influence exerted by the Turkic literature languages of the East. The model character of Qarakhanid and Chaghatai poetry led to imitation of the *imāla* practice and to the idea that certain lexeme syllables should or could be scanned as long. But the tradition, based on phonological length, that regulated this *imāla* practice became weaker, and finally disappeared. Since the Ottoman poets did not understand the distribution of metrical strength in first syllables, they gave it up earlier than the Chaghatai poets. When they needed *imāla* to write Turkish *‘arūd*, they lengthened open final syllables and thus created a system similar to the Persian one.

Finally, one contribution to the present volume focuses on the characteristics of an individual poetic style. Finn Thiesen examines the rhythm and rhyme technique in a *ghazal* composed by the Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ and endeavours to define what features might be considered typical of his *divān*.

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İmāle in der osmanischen und tschagataischen Dichtung

BERNT BRENDEMOEN

1.0. *İmāle*, das auf Arabisch nur ‘geneigt machen’ bedeutet und eine gewisse Neigung des Vokals *a* in Richtung *e* oder *i* bezeichnet, wird in der persischen Prosodie als Bezeichnung eines prosodischen Kunstmittels benutzt, wodurch man ein langes arabisches *ā* mit einem persischen *yā*’-e *majhūl* reimen lassen kann. In der osmanischen Prosodie bezeichnet aber *imāle* etwas ganz anderes, und zwar die lange Lesung eines (von Natur aus kurzen) Vokals in einer offenen Silbe eines türkischen Wortes, also eine Methode, wodurch die türkischen Wörter dem quantifizierenden ‘*arūz*-Metrum angepaßt werden. So lautet z.B. das erste *beyt* (Doppervers) des im 15. Jahrhundert von Süleymān Çelebī verfaßten Feiergedichtes auf die Geburt des Propheten (*Mevlid*) folgendermaßen:

Allah adın zikr edelüm evvelā
Vācib oldur cümle işte her kula
(‘Laßt uns zuerst den Namen Gottes erwähnen
Das ist eine Pflicht für jeden Menschen in allen Angelegenheiten’)

Um den Vers dem *remel*-Metrum – 0 – – / – 0 – – / – 0 – anzupassen, muß das *a* im Wort *adın*, das *e* im Wort *idelüm*, das *e* in *işte* und das *a* in *kula* durch *imāle* gelängt werden. (Der Langvokal im Wort *vācib* ist aber kein Beispiel für *imāle*, weil es sich um ein arabisches Wort mit ursprünglich langem Vokal handelt.) In den verschiedenen Handbüchern über osmanische Prosodie ist *imāle* in der folgenden Weise beschrieben: Da das türkische Sprachelement im Osmanischen keine langen Vokale besitzt, ist die Sprache für die quantifizierende arabisch-persische Metrik sehr wenig geeignet (obwohl geschlossene Silben natürlich als lang gelten können). Um genügend lange Vokale zu schaffen, wurden zwei Methoden angewandt: Teilweise wurden kurze Vokale in offenen Silben durch *imāle* gelängt; teilweise (und zwar besonders ab dem 16. Jahrhundert) wurden die türkischen Wörter durch arabische oder persische Wörter ersetzt. In den osmanischen und modernen Beschreibungen osmanischer Prosodie wird *imāle* fast immer als etwas Übles bezeichnet, das es zu vermeiden gilt¹. Obwohl man vielleicht ver-

¹ Z.B. Dilçin 1983, S. 13 f. Die Beispiele, in denen dem Autor zufolge *imāle* bewußt verwendet wird, sind nicht überzeugend: Zumindest das folgende *beyt* von Nedīm muß aus einem *şarkı* stammen, der in erster Linie zum Singen bestimmt war, wobei die „gedehnten“ Silben eigentlich nur taktstarke Silben darstellen:

Döğülmeğe söğülmeğe koğulmağa bi’llah
Hep kailim ammâ ki efendim senin olsam

(Im vorliegenden Aufsatz gebe ich alle Zitate aus osmanischen und tschagataischen Texten in der vom jeweiligen Herausgeber benutzten Transkription wieder. Aus praktischen Gründen ist es nur in wenigen Fällen möglich gewesen, die verschiedenen lateinschriftlichen Editionen anhand der Handschriften zu überprüfen. Die Ergebnisse meiner Untersuchung wären aber auch kaum anders ausge-

stehen kann, daß ein sprachlicher Kunstgriff wie die künstliche Längung offener Silben notwendig war, um für das ‘*arūz*-Metrum genügend lange Silben zu schaffen, fragt man sich dennoch, ob *imāle* nur ein Kunstgriff ist, der der Sprache aufgezwungen wurde oder ob sie vielleicht eine tatsächliche sprachliche Grundlage gehabt haben mag, z.B., ob sie mit den ursprünglichen, alttürkischen Langvokalen in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Diese Fragestellung wird besonders durch zwei Faktoren oder Tatsachen aktualisiert. Die eine Tatsache ist, daß es den letzten Dichtern, die ‘*arūz* benutzt haben, wie z.B. Yahya Kemal (1884–1958), gelungen ist, *imāle* fast niemals zu verwenden, obwohl sie arabische und persische Lehnwörter sehr sparsam benutzen. Dadurch wird also deutlich, daß es nicht *unmöglich* war, ohne *imāle* ‘*arūz*-Gedichte zu schreiben, obwohl ein türkischer Wortschatz benutzt wurde. Der andere Faktor, der unsere Fragestellung aktualisiert, ist die von Talat Tekin 1967 nachgewiesene Tatsache, daß die Vokale, die in der karachanidischen Dichtung im Zentralasien des 11. Jahrhunderts durch *imāle* gelangt zu sein scheinen, tatsächlich die alttürkischen Langvokale reflektieren.

1.1. Im Osmanischen gibt es aber, wie später genauer besprochen werden soll, keine offensichtliche Verbindung zwischen *imāle* und ursprünglicher Vokallänge. Auf den ersten Blick scheint vielleicht die Verwendung von *imāle* in der *klassischen* osmanischen Dichtung von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts an, wenn die relative Frequenz von *imāle* in Suffixen und in auslautenden Stammsilben im Vergleich zu Inlautsilben wesentlich höher ist als vorher, eine übertriebene Weiterführung der persischen prosodischen Kunstmittel und Prinzipien zu sein. Wie bekannt, wurden die meisten prosodischen Regeln der persischen Metrik ganz sklavisch ins Osmanische übernommen, wobei sie auch auf Wörter türkischen Ursprungs angewandt wurden, z.B. die Regeln, die die Lesung der sogenannten überlangen Silben betreffen, oder die Regel, die es ermöglicht, die Wortgrenze vor einem vokalisch anlautenden Wort als Konsonant gelten zu lassen. Auf dieselbe Weise gibt es in der persischen Prosodie zahlreiche offene Auslautsilben, die *anceps* sind, besonders das „*ižāfet-i*“ (*kasre-ye ežāfe*) und die Konjunktion *u*, aber auch gewisse Endungen (Thiesen 1982, S. 13–38). Man könnte sich vielleicht vorstellen, daß dies als prosodisches System ins Türkische übertragen und auch auf Wörter türkischen Ursprungs angewandt wurde. In der ältesten osmanischen Dichtung ist aber *imāle* wirksamer in Stammsilben als in den Suffixen. Weil aber im Persischen sehr wenige An- und Inlautsilben *anceps* sind², kann persischer Einfluß keine allgemeine Erklärung für das Phänomen *imāle* im Osmanischen sein. Es ist eine andere Sache, daß sich nach dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in der osmanischen Dichtung ein *imāle*-Muster entwickelt, das dem persischen System insofern mehr ähnelt, als besonders Endsilben verlängert werden.

1.2. Eine andere mögliche Erklärung des Phänomens könnte vielleicht sein, daß die verlängerten Vokale nur graphisch motiviert sind. Die osmanische Dichtung hat einen visuellen Aspekt, der der modernen – östlichen wie westlichen – Dich-

fallen, wenn ich als Material die Handschriften direkt hätte benutzen können.) Die Auffassung, daß *imāle* im allgemeinen etwas zu Vermeidendes ist, findet man auch bei Gibb 1904 (S. 14), obwohl auch die in der Fußnote ausgedrückte Auffassung, daß *imāle* bei den größten Dichtern bewußt verwendet werde, durch keine Beispiele unterstützt wird. Eine andere Einstellung gegenüber *imāle* im allgemeinen findet man aber bei Banarlı 1971, S. 158, wo behauptet wird, daß die osmanischen Autoren durch die *imāle* eine ‚persische Stimmung‘ zu schaffen versucht hätten; s. Fn. 2.

² Ausnahmen sind meistens einsilbige Wörter, in denen der Vokal zugleich im absoluten Auslaut steht, wie *do* ‘zwei’, *to* ‘du’ und, wie erwähnt, *u* ‘und’. Zu anderen Fällen s. Thiesen 1982, S. 62–64. Obwohl Anlautsilben im Persischen also selten *anceps* sind, schwebt Yahya Kemal wahrscheinlich ein genereller persischer Einfluß vor, wenn er über *Sene 1140*, sein erstes im ‘*arūz* abgefaßtes Gedicht, sagt, daß eine Lesung wie *a:yina* und *a:la:yina* eine besondere Wirkung habe, da dadurch der ‚persische Ton‘ („*Fârisî edâ*“), den er im Gedicht zu schaffen versucht habe, erhalten bleibe (Banarlı 1971, S. 158).

tung ganz fremd ist. So begegnet man in der osmanischen Dichtung nicht selten *göz kâfiyesi* – dem „Augenreim“ – also keinem wirklichen Reim, sondern nur ähnlichen Buchstaben am Ende zweier Verszeilen, die miteinander reimen sollen, aber unterschiedliche Aussprachen haben³. Man könnte sich wohl denken, daß die *plene*-Schreibung von Vokalen in Wörtern türkischen Ursprungs, also das Vorhandensein von Vokalzeichen, in den Augen der Dichter eine Rechtfertigung dafür war, diese Vokalzeichen – genau wie in arabischen und persischen Wörtern – als lange Vokale gelten zu lassen. In der theoretischen osmanischen Prosodie, wenigstens im vorigen Jahrhundert, scheint es sogar eine Regel gegeben zu haben, daß ein Vokal, der mit *imāle* gelängt werden sollte, auch graphisch mit einem sogenannten „imlā’ ḥarfi“ repräsentiert sein mußte (Andrews 1976, S. 17 und 46, Anm. 2). Im vorigen Jahrhundert war die osmanische Orthographie natürlich so festgelegt, daß diese Regel nur bedeutete, daß die graphische Repräsentation eines Vokals eine Voraussetzung für eine lange Lesung war, aber im älteren Osmanischen, und besonders im Altosmanischen, wo die Schreibung der Vokale große Schwankungen aufweist, war es die *imāle*, die im hohen Maße die Orthographie bestimmte und nicht umgekehrt. Schon Tarlan 1935 hat gezeigt, daß es in Diwanen des 15. Jahrhundert die Regel ist, die durch *imāle* gelängten Vokale immer *plene* zu schreiben. Dasselbe betrifft sogar vokalisierte Texte, also Texte, die mit *hareke*-Zeichen geschrieben sind (Tarlan 1935, S. 229–232). Im allgemeinen scheint diese Regel in den meisten Werken vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert stichhaltig zu sein⁴. Zugleich ist es wichtig zu bemerken, daß z.B. Suffixe wie das Possessivsuffix *-(s)I*, das Akkusativsuffix *-(y)I* und das Perfektsuffix der 3. Person *-DI*, also Suffixe mit auslautendem *i* oder *ı*, die im späteren Osmanischen immer mit dem Vokalzeichen *yā* geschrieben werden, im Altosmanischen nicht unbedingt *plene* geschrieben wurden. Außer den Fällen, wo der Vokal durch *imāle* gelängt werden soll, scheinen hier *hareke*-Zeichen zu genügen, um den Vokal zu markieren, und zwar besonders im Perfektsuffix *-DI* (Dilçin 1991, S. 39). Betrachten wir die Stammsilben, gibt es zwar gewisse Ansätze zu einer Orthographie, die nicht nur durch *imāle* bestimmt ist: So scheinen z.B. Wörter wie **ben**, **sen**, **biz** und **bir** immer ohne Vokalzeichen geschrieben zu werden, und zwar unabhängig davon, ob der Vokal durch *imāle* gelängt worden ist oder nicht. Auf dieselbe Weise wird z.B. der Verbstamm **de-** normalerweise *plene* geschrieben, ohne Rücksicht darauf, ob der Vokal kurz gelesen wird oder nicht. Es ist mehrmals behauptet worden, daß die mehr oder weniger konsequente Schreibung der Vokale in gewissen Wörtern, in denen das Alttürkische einen langen Vokal gehabt haben muß, diesen langen Vokal reflektiere⁵. Natürlich ist es nicht auszuschließen, daß die *plene*-Schreibung dieser Wörter eine orthographische Tradition vertreten mag, die letzten Endes auf die alttürkischen Langvokale zurückgeht, aber die altosmanische Orthographie ist nichtsdestoweniger so inkonsequent, daß sich dies ganz schwer beweisen läßt. Sowohl interessant als auch

³ S. Andrews 1976, S. 50, 62. In manchen Fällen handelt es sich aber um tatsächliche Reime, die aber nur dann als Reim verständlich werden, wenn man die sprachgeschichtliche Entwicklung berücksichtigt; s. das von Dilçin 1991 (S. 141) zitierte Beispiel aus *Süheyl ü Nevbahār*:

Ger anda kuş uşa dökeydi yüni
Nite kim kılıç kamı at köpügi

Hier muß das letzte Wort der ersten Zeile als **yügi** gelesen werden, s. Clauson 1972, S. 910. (Ich bin Prof. Robert Dankoff, der meinen Aufsatz durchgesehen hat und mir einige sehr wertvolle Einwände gegen gewisse Punkte meiner Darstellung mitgeteilt hat, für diese und ähnliche Auskünfte, die ich teilweise in den Text einzuarbeiten versucht habe, sehr dankbar.)

⁴ Dilçin 1991, S. 37. Diese Regel hat Ausnahmen, wenn auch relativ wenige, z.B. *Süheyl ü Nevbahār* 757 **göri:nür**, wo das *i* im Passivsuffix (مُحَرَّرٌ) und **tu:rayın** ibidem, 874 (mit einem abweichenden Suffix bei Mordtmann: مَرَّابِيم) (Mordtmann 1925, S. 52 und 60), wo das *u* in der Stammsilbe gelängt werden muß, ohne graphisch repräsentiert zu sein.

⁵ Z.B. Korkmaz 1973, S. 101–104, Korkmaz 1980, S. 256–258. Vgl. dagegen Doerfer 1990, S. 30.

relevant wäre eine Untersuchung dazu, inwieweit in der altosmanischen Dichtung, etwa des Karachanidischen, zwischen den Vokalen, die — ob graphisch repräsentiert oder nicht — mit *imāle* lang gelesen werden müssen, und den alttürkischen Langvokalen ein Zusammenhang besteht. Korkmaz 1968 hat behauptet, daß es einen Zusammenhang dieser Art gebe, aber ihre Argumente sind von Doerfer 1976, S. 112 f. unter Hinweis auf die Tatsache widerlegt worden, daß auch viele Wörter, die in der altosmanischen Poesie langvokalisch gelesen werden müssen (wie es bei vielen langvokalischen Stämmen in den westanatolischen Dialekten der Fall ist), in allen relevanten Türkssprachen kurzvokalisch sind. Doerfers zweites Argument gegen Korkmaz' Auffassung ist, daß altosmanische Verfasser wie Ahmed Fakih und Şeyyād Ḥamza ihre Gedichte eigentlich gemäß der traditionell türkischen silbenzählenden Metrik (*parmak hesabı* oder *hece vezni*) und nicht im 'arūz abgefaßt haben (ibidem). Zwar muß es für die sehr häufige Verwendung von *imāle* in der altosmanischen Dichtung von Bedeutung gewesen sein, daß man von einem metrischen System, in dem nur die Zahl und nicht die Länge der Silben eine Rolle spielte, zu einem anderen System überging, wo alles auf der Quantität der Silben basierte, und man kann sich auch gut vorstellen, daß in einer Übergangsphase Verwirrung entstand, wobei *imāle* nicht unbedingt als störend empfunden wurde. Die Behauptung Doerfers, daß die ältesten osmanischen Dichtungen (besonders die ältesten *meşnevīs*) tatsächlich in *hece vezni* geschrieben sein sollen, erscheint jedoch nicht ganz überzeugend, da – wie Gandjei 1955 betont – z.B. in **Yūsuf u Züleyhā** von Şeyyād Ḥamza ganz klar eine bewußte Nachahmung der metrischen Variation Rūmīs vorliegt und da die Verwendung von Wörtern arabischen und persischen Ursprungs beinahe immer prosodisch richtig ist; s. 3.3. unten. Hinzu kommt die Tatsache, daß geschlossene Silben in türkischen Wörtern ganz richtig ohne Ausnahme als lang gelten. Als Argument für seine Auffassung, daß das Metrum nur auf der Anzahl der Silben beruht, zieht Doerfer Beispiele für kurze Lesung langer Vokale in arabischen Wörtern heran (*ziḥāf*, also der Gegensatz zu *imāle*). In der altosmanischen Poesie kommen aber solche kurzen Lesungen langer arabischer Vokale im allgemeinen relativ selten vor. Im karachanidischen **Ḳutadġu Bilig** (das, wie schon längst nachgewiesen, im 'arūz geschrieben ist) scheinen sie weder öfter noch seltener als im Altosmanischen vorzukommen⁶.

2.1. Um das Phänomen *imāle* in der osmanischen Dichtung näher zu beleuchten, habe ich für drei Dichter kleine Statistiken ausgearbeitet. Der erste Dichter ist **Mes'ūd bin Ahmed**, dessen altosmanisches Epos **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** im 14. Jahrhundert geschrieben ist. In den hundert von mir zufällig ausgewählten *beyt* (Doppelversen)⁷ finden sich 462 Beispiele für *imāle*⁸. Durchschnittlich enthält also jedes *beyt* 4,6 Beispiele für *imāle*, oder, um die Frequenz anders auszudrücken: je 100 Silben kommen 21 Fälle von *imāle* vor. 281, also 60,8%, von diesen Beispielen befinden sich in Stammsilben, und 181, also 39,2%, in Suffixen. Von den 117 verschiedenen Stammsilben, die repräsentiert sind, sind 50 (42,7%) Stämme, in denen – gemäß Doerfer 1971 und Clauson 1972 – in keiner

⁶ Zur Diskussion über die metrische Struktur des **Ḳutadġu Bilig** s. besonders Thiesen 1982, S. 211. Für Beispiele für *imāle* und *ziḥāf* in arabischen Wörtern s. ibidem, S. 213f.

⁷ Das als Material benutzte Textstück umfaßt die Doppelverse 796–895 bei Dilçin 1991 und besteht aus 2200 Silben.

⁸ Die Prinzipien, die ich für die Feststellung von *imāle* benutzt habe, stimmen mit den z.B. bei Thiesen 1982, passim, festgestellten prosodischen Regeln überein. So wird z.B. die letzte Silbe einer Verszeile immer als *anceps* gezählt (und als Beispiel für *imāle* also nicht mitgezählt). Dasselbe gilt für eine Wortgrenze vor einem vokalisch anlautenden Wort: da es immer möglich ist, die Wortgrenze als einen Konsonanten zu zählen, gelten geschlossene Silben, die vor einem vokalisch anlautenden Wort (außer u 'und') lang gelesen werden müssen, nicht als Beispiele für *imāle* (Thiesen 1982, S. 19). *Imāle* des *izāfet-i* wird natürlich nicht mitgezählt.

relevanten Türkische⁹ ein langer Vokal belegt ist¹⁰. 50 (42,7%) sind Stammsilben, in denen gemäß denselben Quellen entweder im Alttürkischen, im Karachanidischen, im Chaladsch oder im Türkmenischen langer Vokal belegt ist¹¹. 17 (14,5%) sind Stammsilben, über deren Länge ich keine eindeutigen Auskünfte gefunden habe oder in denen die Länge sekundär sein mag¹². Von den 50 Stammsilben, in denen die Länge etymologisch berechtigt zu sein scheint, stehen 16 im absoluten Stammauslaut. Da man vielleicht argumentieren könnte, daß die Längen in dieser Stellung sekundär sein mögen oder nicht so sicher wie Längen in geschlossenen Stammsilben sind, ist es eine relevante Auskunft, daß der Anteil der etymologisch berechtigten langen *Inlautvokale* 29 % der gesamten gelängten Stammsilben beträgt¹³. Daß bei einem so relativ großen Anteil der Stamm in einer anderen relevanten Türkische Langvokal hat, scheint vielleicht nicht unmittelbar signifikant zu sein, aber es sollte in diesem Zusammenhang unterstrichen werden, daß auch kurze Lesungen derselben Stämme vorkommen. Zugleich kommt besonders bei zweisilbigen Wörtern, deren erster oder zweiter Vokal im Alttürkischen lang zu sein scheint, öfters eine Lesung vor, bei der nicht der ursprünglich lange, sondern der ursprünglich kurze Vokal lang gelesen werden muß. So hat z.B. das Wort für Vater, *ata*, ursprünglich langes *ā* in der zweiten und nicht in der ersten Silbe, aber in *Süheyl ü Nevbahār* muß das Wort (neben Lesungen mit der ursprünglichen Länge) manchmal mit langem *ā* in der ersten oder in beiden Silben gelesen werden. Dasselbe betrifft z.B. auch das Wort *kişi*, das im Alttürkischen langes *i* in der zweiten Silbe zu haben scheint. Hier kommen Lesungen mit langem *i* in der ersten Silbe ebenso oft wie Lesungen mit langem zweiten *i* vor. So auch beim Wort für 'Süßes, Wein', *süçig*, das z.B. im Karachanidischen langes *ū* hatte: hier sind im Altosmanischen Lesungen mit langem *ū*: geläufig, *sü:çi* sowohl als *süçi*. Zahlreiche solche Beispiele für unetymologische Längen sowie die sehr hohe Frequenz von *imāle* im allgemeinen

⁹ In diesem Zusammenhang wäre vielleicht auch ein Vergleich mit den westanatolischen Dialekten relevant (zumal Mes'ūd bin Ahmed am Hofe der Aydınoğulları gelebt zu haben scheint, s. Dilgin 1991, S. 11). Da die diesbezüglichen Auskünfte (Korkmaz 1953; vgl. dagegen Doerfer 1976, S. 112 und 1990, S. 20.) so zweifelhaft sind, habe ich sie jedoch hier außer Acht gelassen. Hervorzuheben sind auch die schwankenden und teilweise widersprüchlichen Auskünfte, die man über ursprüngliche Vokallänge besitzt und die die Auswertung meines Materials erschweren. Dies betrifft besonders die Vokale im absoluten Auslaut mehrsilbiger Wörter, worüber die Quellen widersprüchliche Auskünfte bieten. Im Alttürkischen (und im Karachanidischen) scheinen auslautende Stammvokale (sowie die meisten vokalisierend auslautenden Wortbildungssuffixe) fast immer lang gewesen zu sein (s. Clauson 1962, S. 138 und 144–159), während dieselben Vokale im Türkmenischen und Jakutischen im allgemeinen kurz sind (s. Doerfer 1971, S. 250). (Auszuschließen ist auch nicht, daß die scheinbare Länge dieser Vokale im Karachanidischen nur eine orthographische Konvention vertritt; s. Dankoff – Kelly, 1982–1985, Bd. I, S. 68.) Vgl. auch unten 3.1, 5.1. und Fn. 52. Neben den ursprünglichen Längen haben sich in den verschiedenen literarischen Traditionen wahrscheinlich auch sekundäre Längen gebildet, die ebenso „kanonisch“ wie die ursprünglichen Längen geworden sind, z.B. im Demonstrativstamm *an-*, der wahrscheinlich unter Einfluß des gleichlautenden persischen Stammes sehr oft langvokalisch ist und zu derselben literarischen *imāle*-Tradition wie die berechtigten Längen zu gehören scheint; s. 4.1, Fn. 17, 46 und 51.

¹⁰ Z.B. *a:na* 'Mutter', *a:ta* 'Vater', *a:yır-* 'trennen', *ba:k-* 'sehen', *be:liñ-* 'fürchten', *be:ni* 'mich', *bi:züm*, *bi:ze* (Gen. und Dat. von *biz* 'wir'), *bu:l-* 'finden', *bu:yur-* 'befehlen', *bü:g-* 'biegen', *di:le-* 'wünschen', *dö:k-* 'gießen', *i:r-* 'erreichen, ankommen' (kommt sehr oft vor).

¹¹ Z.B. *a:ğ-* 'aufstehen', *a:ra* 'Zwischenraum', *a:ş* 'Essen', *ba:ş* 'Kopf', *bi:r* 'ein', *boşa:n-* 'sich leeren', *dah:* 'auch', *de:-* 'sagen', *to:n* 'Kleidung', *döşe:k* (aber auch *döşek*) 'Bett', *dö:g-* 'schlagen', *dü:ş* 'Traum', *i:d-* 'machen', *ge:ce* 'Nacht', *gi:y-* 'anziehen', *i:-* 'sein', *iki:*, *i:ki* 'zwei', *i:l* 'Land', *i:ş* 'Arbeit', *ka:l-* 'bleiben', *qara:* 'schwarz', *kı:z* 'Mädchen'.

¹² Nämlich *aqça:* 'Geld', *a:n-* (oblique Form vom Pronomen *ol*; vgl. Fn. 9), *bo:yan-* 'geraten', *çeri:* 'Heer', *ta:ğid-* 'verteilen', *tu:r-* 'stehen', *gi:r-* 'hineingehen', *i:le*, *ile:* und *i:le:* 'mit' (s. Fn. 17), *qamu:* 'all', *ka:zan-* 'verdienen', *tapu:* 'Anwesenheit', *uğra:-* 'begegnen', *ulu:* 'groß', *ü:şen-* 'nicht wollen', *ya:ban* 'fremd', *yo:r-* 'deuten', *yüre:ğ-* 'Herz'. Zur möglichen sekundären Längung vor *ğ* und *ğ* (G) s. unten 2.2, 4.1. sowie Fn. 32 und 54.

¹³ Die Prinzipien der Zählung stimmen im großen und ganzen mit denjenigen überein, die in Fn. 29 in Verbindung mit den tshagataischen Dichtern dargelegt werden.

(die entsprechende Frequenz in **Ḳutadḡu Bilig** ist 14,8 Fälle von *imāle* je 100 Silben) deuten wahrscheinlich an, daß die Beziehung zum alten silbenzählenden Metrum noch stark war.

Trotzdem ist es interessant, die Beispiele in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** zu betrachten, in denen die Verwendung von *imāle* mit den ursprünglichen Längen übereinstimmt. Es kann als signifikant gelten, daß z.B. das Wort **aş** 'Essen', das ein ursprünglich langes **ā** hat und im gesamten *meşnevī* 13mal vorkommt, nur zweimal mit kurzem Vokal gelesen werden muß. Ebenso kann behauptet werden, daß es kein Zufall ist, daß das Wort **baş** meistens Langvokal hat und daß z.B. **ḳara** fast immer (wie im Alttürkischen) mit langem **a** in der zweiten Silbe gelesen werden muß. Besonders das letztgenannte Beispiel ist bezeichnend: Weil das Wort zwei offene Silben hat, muß im *mütekārib*-Metrum die eine gelängt werden. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, daß die Tatsache, daß fast immer der ursprünglich lange Vokal gelängt wird, etwas mit der alttürkischen Vokallänge zu tun haben muß. Da dies aber nur vereinzelte Wörter betrifft und ungefähr die Hälfte der durch *imāle* gelängten Silben im Alttürkischen kurz gewesen sein muß, kann nicht, wie im Karachanidischen, von einem direkten Reflex der alttürkischen Langvokale, sondern allenfalls von sporadischen Resten die Rede sein.

Derselbe Mangel an Systematik begegnet uns auch bei den Suffixen. Die Suffixe, die im untersuchten Textstück mit *imāle* auftreten, verteilen sich wie in Tafel A dargestellt¹⁴. Wie bei den Stammsilben findet man auch bei allen Suffixen zahlreiche Beispiele kurzer Lesungen. So kommt z.B. das Perfektsuffix der 3. Person Singular **-DI-**, welches (wie aus Tafel A hervorgeht) dasjenige Suffix ist, das in unserem Textstück am häufigsten mit *imāle* gelesen werden muß, in 61 % der Belege mit *imāle*, in 39 % ohne *imāle* vor. Bemerkenswert ist aber dabei, daß das Suffix der 3. Person Plural **-DIAR** im Textstück überhaupt nicht mit *imāle* vorkommt. Der Umstand, daß Suffixe, die im Alttürkischen ganz sicher langen Vokal enthielten (wie das Possessivsuffix **-(s)I**), nicht häufiger mit *imāle* vorkommen als die anderen (und daß z.B. das Aoristsuffix **-Ir/-Ur**, das ebenfalls langen Vokal enthalten haben muß (Tekin 1968, S. 70), überhaupt nicht mit *imāle* vorkommt), sowie die (relativ selten vorkommenden) Beispiele für *imāle* von Bindevokalen, die in der türkischen Sprachgeschichte niemals lang gewesen sind, sind Tatsachen, die noch einmal zeigen, daß keine direkte Beziehung zu den langvokalischen alttürkischen Suffixen bestehen kann und daß das Phänomen *imāle* im Altanatolischen anders erklärt werden muß. Wir beobachten jedoch, daß der durch *imāle* gelängte Suffixvokal in 69 % der Fälle im absoluten Auslaut des Wortes steht.

2.2. Wenn wir die osmanische Dichtung einer ungefähr 100 Jahre späteren Periode untersuchen, finden wir, daß die *imāle*-Frequenz viel geringer geworden ist. Als Beispiel habe ich hundert *beyt* vom Diwan des Sulṭān Cem, des unglücklichen Sohns Meḡmets des Eroberers, ausgewählt¹⁵. Im gewählten Textstück kommt *imāle* 236mal vor, also kaum halb so häufig wie in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār**. Da aber die Verszeilen der Ghasele von Sulṭān Cem länger als die von **Süheyl ü**

¹⁴ Zu bemerken ist, daß das Possessivsuffix der 3. Person vor einem Kasussuffix oft nicht graphisch repräsentiert ist, obwohl es durch *imāle* gelängt wird, z.B. **yü:zi:ni** (يُذِنِي) geschrieben, Z. 832) und **ö:ni:ne** (أُونِي) geschrieben, Z. 841; beide Mordtmann 1925, S. 57). Die in Tafel A nicht aufgeführten Suffixe, die 14 % der gesamten Suffixe ausmachen, sind Suffixe, die nur ein- oder zweimal mit *imāle* auftreten, wie z.B. Lokativ **-DA**, Infinitiv **-mAK**, Kausativ **-DÜR-** und Plural **-IAR**.

¹⁵ Die ausgewählten Ghasele sind Nr. 20–24, 26–29, 31–33, 35 und 38–40 in Ersoylu 1989. Da es sich um einen Diwan mit vielen verschiedenen Versmaßen handelt, habe ich mich bemüht, Ghasele auszuwählen, in denen das Versmaß – wie das *mütekārib*-Metrum in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** – das Nebeneinanderstehen von zwei kurzen Silben nicht erlaubt. Allerdings habe ich den bestimmten Eindruck, daß die Frequenz von *imāle* in Versmaßen, in denen mehrere kurze Silben erlaubt sind, nicht niedriger ist.

Nevbahār sind¹⁶, ist die Frequenz niedriger als die Hälfte, nämlich 9,3 Fälle von *imāle* je 100 *beyt*. Wenn wir uns aber die Verteilung der Beispiele auf Stamm- und Suffixsilben anschauen, so finden wir, daß *imāle* in Stammsilben seltener, in Suffixen aber häufiger geworden ist; s. Tafel A. Die Reduktion der Zahl der gelängten Stammsilben hängt teilweise mit dem — im Vergleich zu **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** — größeren Anteil arabischer und persischer Lehnwörter zusammen. Der Anteil von etymologisch berechtigter *imāle* in Stammsilben ist aber ziemlich hoch – 53 %. Doch sollte bei dieser unerwartet hohen Zahl die Erklärung hinzugefügt werden, daß viele von ihnen im absoluten Stammauslaut stehen, wo, wie schon erwähnt, die Länge nicht sehr signifikant zu sein scheint. Wenn man nur diejenigen Stammvokale zählt, die entweder in geschlossener Silbe stehen oder fast immer suffigiert auftreten, so ergibt sich eine viel niedrigere Zahl etymologisch berechtigter Langvokale, nämlich 36 %. Wie bei **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** scheint also auch hier die Möglichkeit, eine direkte Beziehung zu den alttürkischen Langvokalen aufzuzeigen, ganz gering zu sein. Jedoch ist es bemerkenswert, daß auch hier gewisse Wörter, die im Alttürkischen langen Vokal haben, wie z.B. **ķara:** ‘schwarz’, **ve:r-** ‘geben’, **ta:ş** ‘Stein’, **ķa:ş** ‘Augenbraue’ eine starke Neigung aufweisen, eher mit als ohne *imāle* gelesen zu werden¹⁷. Wie in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār**, ist aber auch hier die Zahl der Stammvokale, die gelängt werden, ohne im Alttürkischen Langvokal zu haben, sehr hoch. Geklärt werden sollte aber, warum gewisse Wörter, die im Alttürkischen kurzen Vokal hatten, wie z. B. **ulu** ‘groß’, **ölü** ‘tot’ und **ķamu** ‘all’ sowohl in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** als auch bei Sulţān Cem normalerweise mit langem Vokal (in der zweiten Silbe) auftreten. Man kann sich fragen, ob es sich um eine poetische Tradition handelt, in der die Länge auf die ursprünglich geschlossenen Silben in **uluġ**, **ölüġ** und **ķamuġ** zurückgeht. Obwohl die Auskünfte über den Wegfall des auslautenden G nicht eindeutig sind, muß dieses auf jeden Fall lange Zeit vor dem Entstehen der altosmanischen literarischen Tradition, wahrscheinlich im 12. Jahrhundert, verschwunden sein¹⁸.

Wenn wir die Suffixe bei Sulţān Cem betrachten, scheint jetzt — im Vergleich zum hundert Jahre älteren **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** — die Auswahl von Suffixen, die mit *imāle* gelesen werden können, etwas besser fixiert zu sein; s. Tafel A.

2.3. Wenn wir noch ungefähr hundert Jahre weiter in Richtung auf unsere Zeit gehen, begegnet uns ein ganz verändertes Bild, in dem es deutlich geworden ist, daß *imāle* als etwas zu Vermeidendes empfunden wird. Bākī (1526–1600) gilt als ein Neuerer in der osmanischen Dichtung, gerade weil er es war, der auf bewußte Weise versuchte, die Verwendung von *imāle* zu umgehen (Gibb 1904, Bd. III, S. 142 f.). Der osmanische Dichter und Literaturwissenschaftler Ziyā Paşa (1825–1880) läßt in seiner Einteilung der osmanischen Litteraturgeschichte sogar aus diesem Grunde das zweite oder „mittlere“ Zeitalter mit Bākī anfangen. In hundert zufällig ausgewählten *beyt* (Ghaselen und *ķasīden*¹⁹) von Bākī finden wir 81 Beispiele für *imāle*. Die Frequenz ist 2,8mal *imāle* je 100 Silben. 41 Fälle, also 50 %,

¹⁶ Die 100 *beyt* in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** umfassen 2200 Silben, die von Sulţān Cem 2520 Silben.

¹⁷ Andere Stammsilben, die im Textabschnitt von Sulţān Cem ab und zu mit etymologisch berechtigten Längen vorkommen, sind z.B.: **a:s-** ‘aufhängen’, **bu:** ‘dieser’, **de:-** ‘sagen’, **e:t-** ‘tun’, **i:ki** ‘zwei’ (< **ikkī**), **ķa:n** ‘Blut’, **ķo:-** ‘lassen’, **ni:ce** ‘wie’, **saķla:-** ‘aufbewahren’, **sa:n-** ‘denken’, **su:** ‘Wasser’, **topra:ķ** ‘Erde’, **yara:-** ‘taugen’, **ya:ş** ‘Alter’, **ya:** ‘Bogen’, **ye:r** ‘Stelle’, **yo:ķ** ‘nicht vorhanden’, **yo:l** ‘Weg’ und **yü:z** ‘Gesicht’. Die Wörter **gi:bi** und **i:le** sind weder als etymologisch berechtigte noch unberechtigte Beispiele für *imāle* mitgezählt, da die Etymologien relativ unsicher sind (< **ki:p** und **birle**?). Der oblique Demonstrativstamm **a:n-**, der zu derselben literarischen *imāle*-Tradition gehört (s. Fn. 9), ist als etymologisch unberechtigt gezählt.

¹⁸ S. Doerfer 1976, S. 130. S. weiter 4.1. unten sowie Fn. 12, 32 und 54.

¹⁹ Die ausgewählten Gedichte sind die Ghasale c (S. 303), f (S. 304), u (S. 309), y (S. 310), o₁ (S. 315), ü₁ (S. 317), b₂ (S. 319) und e₂ (S. 320) bei İz 1966, Nr. 2, 3, 5, 8, 12, 15, 46 und 55 bei Yeşirgil 1963 sowie Nr. 1, 5 und 6 (S. 218–240) bei Cengiz 1982. Es handelt sich insgesamt um 2832 Silben.

kommen in Stammsilben, 40 Fälle, also 50 %, in Suffixen vor. Da aber viele (ca. 30 %) der Belege in Stammsilben absolute Auslautsilben in gewissen Wörtern (wie **gibi** und **ile**) darstellen und da die Gesamtfrequenz gering ist, hat der Leser unmittelbar den Eindruck, daß *imāle* jetzt eine besonders in den Endsilben vorkommende Erscheinung sei. Von den Beispielen in Stammsilben, die nicht im absoluten Auslaut auftreten, stehen 4, also 10 %, vor einem mehr oder weniger spirantisierten **g** und repräsentieren deshalb wahrscheinlich eine tatsächliche, sekundäre Länge, s. 2.2 sowie Fn. 32 und 54. Wie bei Mes‘ūd bin Aḥmed und Sulṭān Cem bemerken wir auch hier, daß unter den mehrmals belegten Stämmen Wörter wie **a:d** (‘Name’; 3mal im Textstück), **ka:n** (‘Blut’, 4mal), **e:t-** (‘machen’, 1mal) vorkommen, also Wörter, die im Alttürkischen langen Vokal haben. Der Eindruck, daß gewisse Wörter eher *anceps* sind als andere, bestätigt sich also.

Von den 40 gelangten Suffixsilben kommt nur eine im Inlaut²⁰, alle anderen im absoluten Auslaut der Wörter vor. Zur Verteilung der verschiedenen Suffixe s. Tafel A.

3.0. Wie schon festgestellt, scheint es nicht möglich zu sein, eine Beziehung zwischen den Suffixen im Osmanischen, die am häufigsten mit *imāle* auftreten, und Langvokalen in den entsprechenden alttürkischen Suffixen festzustellen. Die osmanischen Suffixe, die gelangt werden können, sind bei den drei untersuchten Verfassern ungefähr dieselben, nämlich überwiegend Suffixe mit auslautendem **-I** oder **-A**. Unter diesen hat aber, wie bekannt, wahrscheinlich nur das Possessivsuffix **-(s)I** im Alttürkischen Langvokal gehabt. Interessanter ist jedoch die Frage, warum gewisse Suffixe wie das Lokativsuffix **-DA** und besonders Suffixe, die aus geschlossenen Silben bestehen, wie das Pluralsuffix **-IAr** und das denominale Nominalsuffix **-II** (< **IXG**) nicht gelangt auftreten. Die Tatsache, daß Suffixe mit auslautendem **-I** eher als andere gelangt werden, könnte vielleicht mit dem persischen *izāfet-i*, das ja traditionell *anceps* ist, in Verbindung gebracht werden, und man könnte zweifellos auch behaupten, daß im Lauf der Jahrhunderte eine literarische Tradition geschaffen worden war, derzufolge gewisse offene Suffixsilben gelangt werden konnten. Da aber die *imāle*-Tradition, was *Stammsilben* betrifft, zu den alttürkischen Vokallängen eine unklare Beziehung hat, die jedoch nicht direkt sein kann (dazu sind die Daten allzu vage), wäre es vielleicht am Platz, im Bereich der Vokallängen einen *indirekten* Einfluß des Alttürkischen zu suchen, und zwar durch die große türkische Literatursprache im Mittelalter, die auch altosmanischen Dichtern als Muster diente, nämlich das Osttürkische, also das Karachanidische und später das Tschagataische.

3.1. Wie erwähnt, wurde von Tekin 1967 behauptet, daß die durch *imāle* gelangten Vokale im karachanidischen *mesnevī* **Ḳutadḡu Bilig** (Entstehungsjahr 1069) auf die alttürkischen Langvokale zurückgehen. Doerfer 1971 hat gezeigt, daß Tekins Ergebnisse, zumindest was die Stammsilben betrifft, richtig sind, und im Rahmen seiner Behandlung der Vokallänge im Chaladsch diese Ergebnisse mit der allgemeineren Längenproblematik der Türksprachen in Verbindung gebracht. Was aber die Suffixe (einschließlich Flexions- und Deklinationssuffixe usw.) und die auslautenden Vokale in Stammsilben betrifft, hat das Karachanidische wahrscheinlich eine sekundäre Sonderentwicklung durchgemacht, durch die alle Suffixvokale in offenen (und viele in geschlossenen) Silben – bis auf denjenigen, die “Bindevokale“ sind und sowohl labiale als illabiale Realisationen haben, sowie die auslautenden Vokalen in Stammsilben – gelangt worden sind²¹. Doerfer ist der Meinung, daß die Tatsache, daß die Stammsilben, in denen man

²⁰ Das Beispiel für nicht-absoluten Auslaut ist das Possessivsuffix in **sünbülleri:ni**.

²¹ Doerfer 1971, S. 251. Zur Möglichkeit, daß diese Vokale nur wegen eine orthographischen Konvention *plene* geschrieben sind, s. Dankoff – Kelly, 1982–1985, Bd. I, S. 68.

die ursprüngliche Länge beobachten kann, *anceps* und nicht nur lang sind, damit in Zusammenhang gebracht werden muß, daß die ursprünglichen Längen zu der Zeit, als das **Ḳutadḡu Bilig** geschrieben wurde, schon halblang geworden waren und deshalb sowohl eine kurze als auch eine lange Realisation haben konnten, und daß besonders die poetische Sprache des *mesnevî* den Gebrauch von langvokalischen „Lento-Formen“, die die alttürkischeren Formen waren, förderte²². Die Tradition, die besagte, welche Silben durch *imāle* gelängt werden konnten, muß also, weil es sich um eine fakultative Eigenschaft handelt, im Bewußtsein der Dichter auf einer niedrigeren Stufe gestanden haben als z.B. die Länge in arabischen und persischen Lehnwörtern. Mit der Zeit (und in der von den Osmanen übernommenen Ausprägung dieser Tradition) muß diese Stufe allmählich noch niedriger geworden sein, bis das Bewußtsein bezüglich der Längen schließlich völlig verschwand. Vielleicht läßt sich diese Tradition mit der Tradition in der persischen Dichtung vergleichen, gemäß welcher ein *yā’-e majhūl*, also ein auf ein altes *ē* zurückgehendes langes *ī*, lange Zeit nicht mit einem langen *ī* in einem arabischen Wort reimen konnte, obwohl der Lautübergang von *ē* zu *ī* längst vollzogen war und die Laute phonetisch identisch geworden waren.

3.2. Wie können aber die Reste der alttürkischen Langvokale, die wir in der karachanidischen Dichtung des 11. Jahrhunderts beobachten, die erst viel später anfangende osmanische Dichtung beeinflussen? Während die karachanidische Dichtung eine bis zum Alttürkischen zurückgehende ununterbrochene Tradition vertritt, steht die altosmanische Dichtung ja ganz außerhalb dieser Tradition. Ich bin aber der Meinung, daß das Vorbild, das die karachanidische und später auch die tschagataische Dichtung für die osmanische darstellte, eine Nachahmung der karachanidisch-tschagataischen *imāle* rechtfertigte. Die osmanischen Dichter konnten aber *imāle* nicht richtig verwenden, weil sie kein Wissen darüber besaßen oder besitzen konnten, welche Stammsilben *anceps* sein konnten und welche es nicht sein konnten. Bei gewissen viel verwendeten Wörtern hat sich aber die Neigung zur langvokalischen Behandlung in der osmanischen Dichtung durchgesetzt. Auch das *imāle*-Muster in den Suffixen wurde mehr oder weniger direkt vom Osttürkischen übernommen.

Diese Vermutung wäre wahrscheinlich leicht zu widerlegen, wenn nicht nachgewiesen werden könnte, daß die Vokallänge im Osttürkischen auch nach dem **Ḳutadḡu Bilig** weiterbestand, und ferner, wenn nicht bewiesen werden könnte, daß es dauernde literarische Kontakte zwischen dem osttürkischen und dem westghusischen Sprachraum gab.

3.3. Wie Arat 1947 gezeigt hat, waren die kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen dem osmanischen Staat in seinen ersten Jahren und den

²² Ibidem, S. 209–215. Prof. Robert Dankoff hat mich aber darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß Doerfers etwas kategorische Behauptung, daß Formen wie *ātım* ‘mein Pferd’ im **Ḳutadḡu Bilig** nicht vorkommen (1971, S. 210), nicht genau zutrifft; vgl. Arat 1947 S. 531 (beyit 5336): *bu begke vezir ol tutup yitgüçili kapḡı atı bu ol itgüçi*. (Das sehr sporadische Auftreten von *imāle* etymologisch kurzer Vokale in geschlossenen Stammsilben im **Ḳutadḡu Bilig** soll aber nicht unbedingt als Argument gegen den Hauptgedanken Tekins und Doerfers aufgefaßt werden, da die Zahl solcher Beispiele sehr gering und marginell ist.) Vgl. auch Thiesen 1982, S. 215 f., der im Ausgangspunkt ganz richtig betont, daß die Tatsache, daß ein Vokal in ein und demselben Wort *anceps* ist, die Vermutung schwächt, daß die ursprüngliche Quantitätsopposition im Karachanidischen erhalten ist. Die Kritik Thiesens an Tekins Methodik und Ergebnissen ist aber in einigen Punkten unberechtigt. Man hat z.B. den Eindruck, daß die Regel „a non-final open syllable following another open syllable in the same word is always long“ (S. 213) eine universale Regel im Karachanidischen sei, zumal behauptet wird, daß Formen wie *i:disi* und *tu:rayın* nicht zu finden seien, nur *idi:si* und *tura:yın*. Ein Blick auf die Liste bei Tekin zeigt aber, daß solche Beispiele nicht selten sind: *ti:mäḡüi*, *ya:sıña*, *ya:şıma*, *ya:tıña* (S. 161). Thiesens Regel sollte deshalb folgenderweise umformuliert werden: „In the *motaqārep* metre a non-final open syllable following another open, short syllable is always long“.

zentralasiatischen türkischen Staaten viel lebendiger als in späteren Epochen²³. Birnbaum 1976 hebt das große Interesse hervor, das die frühen Osmanen besonders im 15. Jahrhundert für ihre zentralasiatische Vergangenheit gehegt haben müssen, und erwähnt auch, daß schon im 14. Jahrhundert zentralasiatische Türken in Anatolien literarisch tätig waren und sich dabei der uighurischen Schrift bedienten, welche auch im 15. Jahrhundert ab und zu in Istanbul verwendet wurde. Schon von den ersten Jahrzehnten des 15. Jahrhunderts an (bis zum vorigen Jahrhundert) war es nicht ungewöhnlich, daß osmanische Dichter Verse in Tschagataisch schrieben²⁴. Dies wurde natürlich eine große Mode, nachdem die Werke des 'Alī Şīr Nevā'ī (1441–1501), der neben den persischen Dichtern das große Vorbild für die klassische osmanische Dichtung werden sollte, am Istanbul Hof bekannt geworden war, was schon in der Lebenszeit des Dichters geschah.

Beweise für noch frühere Kontakte zwischen dem osttürkischen und dem westoghusischen sprachlichen und literarischen Raum werden von der Tatsache erschwert, daß man über die Entwicklung der oghusischen Literatursprache zwischen dem 9. und dem 13. Jahrhundert nur sehr spärliche Auskünfte besitzt. Trotzdem ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß, wie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, schon im 11. Jahrhundert, als **Ḳutadġu Bilig** geschrieben wurde, Kontakte zwischen den Karachaniden und den Oghusen bestanden. Letztere standen im Begriff, Anatolien zu erobern; oder ihre Nachkommen sollten später in Anatolien einwandern. Auch die Tatsache, daß Osttürkisch die Sprache der mongolischen Horden war, muß für die anatolischen Oghusen eine Anregung gewesen sein, die Sprache des bedrohlichen Feindes zu lernen und sich mit der in dieser Sprache geschriebenen Literatur zu beschäftigen. Daß Einwanderer wie Rūmī (1207–1273) z.B. aus Chorasān ein Sprachgut mitbrachten, das zur Entstehung einer Mischsprache in Anatolien, der sog. **olga-bolga dili**, führte, ist schon von Doerfer 1976 ausführlich behandelt worden. Ebenso läßt sich denken, daß die prosodischen Prinzipien, die wir im **Ḳutadġu Bilig** feststellen können, dem westoghusischen Sprachraum schon durch die früheste türkische Einwanderung nach Anatolien vermittelt wurden. Gegen diese Annahme läßt sich aber argumentieren, daß das karachanidische *imāle*-System dann direkt ins Westoghusische hätte übernommen werden können, weil die Langvokale im Westoghusischen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts wahrscheinlich noch mehr oder weniger lebendig erhalten waren. Man sollte aber nicht vergessen, daß die Westoghusen nicht dieselbe literarische Tradition wie die Osttürken hatten und daß sie deshalb ihre neue Literatur in Arabisch und Persisch schrieben. So ist es vorstellbar, daß die Tatsache, daß die karachanidische *imāle* auf tatsächlichen Längen basierte, während der Jahrhunderte, in denen die Westoghusen kein Türkisch schrieben, vergessen wurde. Als man wieder in Türkisch zu dichten anfang, war es vielleicht, da die Quantitätsopposition im Oghusischen bereits verloren gegangen war, nicht mehr möglich, genau zu verstehen, welche Stammsilben gelängt und welche nicht gelängt werden konnten. *Īmāle* brauchten die Dichter aber, um im 'arūz-Metrum Türkisch zu schreiben; am Anfang hatten sie wahrscheinlich auch keine größeren Einwände dagegen, da das einzige Metrum, das sie bis dahin (für ihre mündliche Volksliteratur) verwendet hatten, das silbenzählende war. Deshalb enthalten die frühesten Beispiele anatolischer 'arūz-Dichtung so viele Elemente, die sich auf das silbenzählende *parmak hesabı* zurückführen lassen²⁵. Daß es aber die *Absicht* der Dichter war, im 'arūz

²³ Arat 1947, S. xxxv. Vgl. auch Bombaci 1968, insbesondere S. 273.

²⁴ Birnbaum 1976, insbesondere S. 160 f. Sertkaya 1972, passim.

²⁵ S. 1.2. oben, Doerfer 1976 S. 112 f. und Gandjei 1955. Dies betrifft teilweise auch *Sūheyl ü Nevbahār* und kann, wie erwähnt, der Grund dafür sein, daß die Zahl etymologisch unberechtigter Längen so hoch ist.

zu schreiben, wird z.B. aus folgendem *beyt* des Şeyyād Ḥamza offenbar, indem der Dichter von sich selbst sagt:

Nä ‘arüz bilür ol, nä naḥv u taşrif,
nä qāfiyā, radif nä tacnis-i tām²⁶

Somit ist die Annahme naheliegend, daß die Unfähigkeit der frühesten osmanischen Dichter, *imāle* richtig zu verwenden, letzten Endes auf dem Gegensatz zwischen einer mehr oder weniger lebendigen Quantitätsopposition im Osttürkischen und dem Mangel dieser Opposition im Westoghusischen beruht. Es ist aber nicht notwendig, das ganze Phänomen in den ersten Jahrhunderten der osmanischen Literatur von einem mehr oder weniger hypothetischen Einfluß der karachanidischen Dichtung des 11. Jahrhunderts abhängig zu machen. Da im Tschagataischen wenigstens bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts die etymologisch berechnete Verwendung von *imāle* in geringerem oder höherem Maße weitergehend, verfügten die osmanischen Dichter über eine Quelle zeitgenössischer Beispiele für die Anwendung von *imāle*. Da aber auch im Tschagataischen eine gewisse Unsicherheit in bezug auf die *imāle*-Tradition geherrscht haben muß, wurden die Reflexe dieser Tradition bei den altosmanischen und osmanischen Dichtern entsprechend schwächer und vager.

4.1. Ich habe drei tschagataische Dichter der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts (s. Bombaci 1968, S. 112.) untersucht, nämlich Sekkākī, Gedā’ī und Luṭfī. In den 100 *beyt* des Sekkākī, der wahrscheinlich der älteste der drei ist²⁷, gibt es 278 Fälle von *imāle*, was eine Frequenz von 8,7 *imāle*-Fällen je 100 Silben ergibt, s. Tafel B²⁸. 116 Fälle, also 41%, befinden sich in Stammsilben. 77 der Stammsilben sind Inlautsilben²⁹. Diese 77 Fälle repräsentieren 55 verschiedene Stämme. Es muß betont werden, daß, genau wie im **Ḳutadġu Bilig**, all diese Stämme — wie es auch bei den Suffixen der Fall ist — auch mit kurzem Vokal vorkommen. 38 von den 55 Stämmen, also 69 %, sind solche, die in den relevanten Türkspra-

²⁶ S. Mansuroġlu 1954, S. 80. Seine Übersetzung lautet: „Er kennt weder Metrum ... noch Syntax und Deklination, weder Reim und Refrain noch ein komplettes Homonym ...“ Obwohl dieses Gedicht ungewöhnlich viele Beispiele sowohl für etymologisch unberechtigte *imāle* als auch für *ziḥāf* arabischer Wörter enthält, interpretiert Mansuroġlu das zitierte *beyt* wie folgt: „Wie andere Mystiker der islamischen Welt, behauptet unser Dichter, er sei unwissend. Doch verraten die hier veröffentlichten Gedichte seine gründliche islamische Schulung“ (ibidem) Die Bestrebungen der frühesten anatolischen Dichter, in den persischen Versmaßen zu dichten, lassen sich gewissermaßen mit den Bestrebungen der frühesten römischen Dichter, die griechischen Versmaße ins Lateinische zu übertragen, vergleichen (s. Palmer 1968, S. 103f). Da es aber im Lateinischen einen Unterschied zwischen kurzen und langen Vokalen gab, ist es verständlich, daß die Schwierigkeiten bei den Römern geringer als bei den Westoghusen waren. Die größten Schwierigkeiten der Römer bestanden darin, daß die älteste römische Dichtung auf expiratorischem Akzent als Hauptprinzip beruhte, während der (musikalische) Akzent des Griechischen in der griechischen Dichtung keine Rolle spielte. Für einen parallelen Fall zu der Diskussion, ob die älteste anatolische Dichtung in ‘*arüz* oder in *parmak hesabı* gedichtet ist, s. die Diskussion über die römischen Saturnier; Drexler 1967, S. 79–84.

²⁷ S. Eraslan 1986, S. 569. Die Gedichte von Sekkākī, die ich durchgegangen bin, sind die Ghasele Nr. VII und VIII (S. 174–177) in Sertkaya 1972, das Ghasele in Eckmann 1966, S. 263 f. und das ganze Material bei Eraslan 1986 (S. 570–574). Das Material umfaßt 3184 Silben.

²⁸ Zum Vergleich soll bemerkt werden, daß die Frequenz im **Ḳutadġu Bilig** 14,8 ist. (Die Zählung basiert auf den *beyt* 701–800.)

²⁹ Bei der Zählung sowohl hier als bei den anderen tschagataischen Dichtern habe ich die auf langen Vokal auslautenden Verbalstämme (wie **tile:-**) und auch Nominalstämme, die fast immer suffigiert vorkommen (wie Postpositionen wie z.B. **ara:**), aber nicht andere auf langen Vokal auslautende Nomina (wie z.B. **kara:**) als Inlautsilben mitgezählt. Dieses Prinzip ist vielleicht nicht das beste, aber das im Augenblick praktischste, da die Auskünfte über ursprüngliche Vokallänge in offenen nicht-ersten Stammsilben relativ unsicher sind; s. Fn. 9. Die Auskunft Doerfers (1971, S. 251), „short vowels in open last syllables do not occur in Karakhanid, except for some affective exclamations“ ist unklar. Gemeint ist wahrscheinlich, daß die Vokale prosodisch *anceps* sind; vgl. die Listen bei Tekin 1967.

chen oder bei Maḥmūd al-Kāşġarī Langvokal aufweisen³⁰. 7 der anderen Stämme sind Wörter, in denen ein Vokal vor palatalem oder velarem Verschlußlaut sekundär gelängt worden zu sein scheint³¹. Wegen der schwankenden, oft spirantischen Aussprache von (palatalem wie velarem) **G**, besonders im Auslaut, kann man sich einen sporadischen Wegfall dieses Lautes mit Ersatzdehnung des voranstehenden Vokals gut denken. (Der schwankende Lautwert von **G** ist im Osttürkischen sehr früh belegt³².) Unter den 11 Fällen, in denen die Länge nicht etymologisch berechtigt ist, sind besonders zwei Wörter bemerkenswert. Der oblique Demonstrativstamm **an-** hat nicht nur bei Sekkākī, sondern auch bei anderen tschagataischen (und osmanischen, s. Fn. 9) Dichtern häufig langen Vokal, höchstwahrscheinlich in Anlehnung an das gleichlautende persische Demonstrativpronomen. Ferner hat die Postposition **sarı** 'in Richtung von', die im Alttürkischen kurzes **a** in der ersten Silbe zu haben scheint, sehr häufig ein langes **ā**, und zwar nicht nur bei Sekkākī, sondern auch bei 'Aṭā'ī, 'Alī Şīr Nevā'ī und anderen tschagataischen Dichtern³³. Es handelt sich hier offenbar um eine sekundäre Länge, oder richtiger, um eine sekundäre „Ancepsität“, die in der Literatursprache kanonisch geworden ist. Die anderen 8 Wörter, die mit etymologisch unberechtigter *imāle* gelesen werden müssen, kommen in den untersuchten Textstücken fast ohne Ausnahme nur einzeln, nicht wiederholt vor, und machen nur 14,5% der Beispiele aus³⁴. Solche unberechtigten Längen zeigen wahrscheinlich, daß die literarische Tradition, die bestimmt, welche Silben lang gelesen werden können, zur Zeit des Dichters schwankend und am Aussterben war. Zur Verteilung der 162 Beispiele für gelängten Suffixvokal bei Sekkākī s. Tafel B³⁵.

4.2. Wenn wir zu Luṭfī weitergehen, wird noch deutlicher, daß die tschagataischen Dichter in ihrer Verwendung von *imāle* an eine alte auf die ursprünglichen Langvokale zurückgehende Tradition gebunden sind. In den von mir gewählten 100 *beyt*³⁶ finden sich 200 Beispiele für *imāle*, und die Frequenzzahl ist 8 *imāle*-Fälle je 100 Silben. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß die Zahl der verschiedenen Wörter, die gelängt werden können, nur 29 beträgt, und noch bemerkenswerter, daß 25 dieser Wörter in den relevanten Türksprachen oder bei Kāşġarī mit Langvokal belegt sind³⁷. Obwohl nur 10 dieser Wörter auch im untersuchten Textstück

³⁰ Wie z.B. **a:l** 'rot', **a:t** 'Name', **bi:r** 'eins', **bi:r-** 'geben', **çıka:r-** 'ausnehmen', **i:l** 'Land', **i:s** 'Arbeit', **i:t-** 'machen', **ka:n** 'Blut'.

³¹ Die Wortformen sind: **başa:kınga**, **işi:kiñ** (= Tt. eşiġin), **ite:kim** (= Tt. eteġim), **kamu:gınga**, **ki:gürüp** (=Tt. ġirdirip), **kirpü:künün** und **koru:ġdur**.

³² S. Doerfer 1976, S. 129. Zum Schwund von spirantischem **G** s. Brockelmann 1951, S. 43. Zur Vokallänge vergleiche man Aussprachen wie **ulu:g** im Komul-Dialekt, von Brockelmann als „sekundäre expressive Vokallänge“ bezeichnet; s. ibidem, S. 52. Wenn meine Theorie über den tschagataischen Einfluß auf die anatolische Dichtung richtig ist, kann diese sekundäre Länge wegen des Wegfalls des velaren Konsonanten die Ursache des Langvokals in Wörtern wie **ulu**, **tapu** und **kamu** sein, die in der älteren osmanischen Dichtung überwiegend mit langem Vokal in der zweiten Silbe gelesen werden. In *Süheyl ü Nevbahār* kommt z.B. das Wort **ulu** in 80 % der Fälle mit langem Vokal in der zweiten Silbe vor. (Diese Beobachtung steht im Widerspruch zu Banguoġlu 1938, S. 28.) S. weiter Fn. 54.

³³ Dasselbe gilt für die Form dieses Wortes im Chaladsch, **sa:ru**, s. Doerfer 1988, S. 96.

³⁴ Die Wörter sind: **a:n-** 'sich erinnern', **ka:tġ** 'hart', **ki:t-** 'gehen', **ku:rul-** 'sich setzen', **mi:ni** ('mich', zweimal), **si:ni** 'dich', **ta:laş-** 'kämpfen' und **uya:l-** 'sich schämen'. Das Wort **sa:riġ** 'gelb' habe ich mit Doerfer 1971, S. 302 und **bö:ri** 'Wolf' mit Doerfer 1971, S. 215 zu den etymologisch berechtigten Längen gezählt. So verfare ich — nicht ohne Zögern — auch bei **u:r-** 'schlagen, streiten', das im Jakutischen langen Vokal hat (Doerfer 1971, S. 201), und **tava:r** 'Vieh, Güter', das bei Kāşġarī mit Langvokal belegt ist, s. Dankoff – Kelly, 1982–1985, Bd. III, S. 181 f.

³⁵ Es ist bemerkenswert, daß nur ein Beispiel für gelängten Bindevokal vorkommt (**oku:nüzuñ**).

³⁶ Das Ghasel auf S. 166 f., die Ghasele nr. IV, V, VI, X, XI und XII in Sertkaya 1972, das Ghasel bei Eckmann 1966, S. 263 f. sowie das Material bei Eraslan 1986, S. 589–592, die **tuyuġlar** und **müfredler** auf S. 590 ausgenommen. Das Material umfaßt 2518 Silben.

³⁷ Von den vier Wörtern mit „unetymologischer Länge“ ist vielleicht **çeri:ġi** 'sein Heer' noch ein Beispiel für sekundäre Länge vor **G**, wie es oben besprochen wurde. Die anderen Wörter sind **bulu:t** 'Wolke', **sa:c** 'Haar' und **yö:rü-** 'gehen'.

von Sekkākī (mit langem Vokal) belegt sind³⁸, handelt es sich also um ein relativ begrenztes Vokabular von Stammsilben, die *anceps* sind³⁹. Zu den Suffixen s. Tafel B⁴⁰.

4.3. Bei Gedā'ī, der ebenfalls in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts lebte, finden wir, daß die ursprünglichen Längen deutlich am Verschwinden sind und daß die Verwendung ursprünglich langer Vokale für *imāle* inkonsequenter geworden ist. In den hundert zufällig ausgewählten *beyt*⁴¹ habe ich 169 Beispiele für *imāle* gefunden, was eine Frequenz von 5,9 Fällen von *imāle* je 100 Silben ergibt. In den gelängten Stammsilben sind 33 verschiedene Wörter repräsentiert, wovon 22 (66,6 %) ohne Zweifel etymologisch berechtigt sind⁴². Zu den Suffixen s. Tafel B⁴³.

4.4. Der von den ältesten tschagataischen Dichter vermittelte Eindruck, daß *imāle* zwar mit einer auf tatsächlicher Vokallänge basierenden Tradition verknüpft ist, der aber während des 15. Jahrhunderts am Aussterben ist, wird bei 'Alī Şīr Nevā'ī bestätigt. In 100 *beyt* aus zufällig gewählten Ghaselen⁴⁴ finden sich 204 Beispiele für *imāle*, was eine Frequenz von 6.7 je 100 Silben ergibt. 96 der Beispiele, also 47 %, finden sich in Stammsilben, von denen 52 nicht in absolutem Auslaut stehende offene Silben sind. Diese Stammsilben repräsentieren hier nur 28 verschiedene Wörter. Wie auch bei den anderen tschagataischen Autoren werden die etymologisch berechtigten der 28 Wörter (16, also 57 %⁴⁵), sowie die-

³⁸ Unter den (im Vergleich zu Sekkākī) 'neuen' Wörtern sind z.B.: *ara*: 'Zwischenraum', *ata*:- 'nennen', *aya:k* 'Fuß', *bi:l* 'Rücken', *di*:- 'sagen', *i*:- 'sein', *köz* 'Auge', *söz* 'Wort'.

³⁹ Es sollte aber nicht verschwiegen werden, daß bei sowohl Sekkākī als bei Luţfī einige Gedichte in bezug auf etymologisch berechnete *imāle* konservativer als andere zu sein scheinen. So sind z.B. ganze 5 der unberechtigten *imāle*-Fälle in Stammsilben bei Sekkākī in ein und demselben Ghasel belegt (Ghasel Nr. 1 bei Eraslan 1986, S. 537). Ebenso enthält der *tevhid* bei Eraslan 1986, S. 578 mehrere Beispiele für etymologisch unberechnete *imāle*. Ob diese Variation mit Graden literarischer Traditionsverbundenheit in den verschiedenen Gattungen zu tun haben kann, könnte nur durch eine viel breiter angelegte Untersuchung festgestellt werden. Zu bemerken ist z.B. auch, daß das metrisch und inhaltlich traditionsverbundene *Gül ü Nevruz* von Luţfī, wenigstens in dem bei Eraslan 1986, S. 590–592 wiedergegebenen Textstück, kein Beispiel für langvokalisches Dativsuffix enthält; es fragt sich, ob dies nur ein Zufall ist.

⁴⁰ Bei Luţfī finden sich zwei Beispiele für gelängten Bindevokal (*kizi:nip*, *yüzü:ne*) und kein Beispiel für gelängtes Mehrzahlsuffix *-IAr*.

⁴¹ Die 100 von mir untersuchten *beyt* sind die Ghaselen Nr. 10–25 bei Eckmann 1971, S. 22–37. Das Material umfaßt 2880 Silben.

⁴² Von den unberechneten Längen können z.B. *bo:l*- 'sein', *a:ç*- 'öffnen', *er*:- 'sein', *e:şik*, *eşi:k* 'Schwelle', *kö:r*- 'sehen' usw. erwähnt werden. Die etymologisch berechtigten Wörter sind *a:çığ* 'Weh', *ba:ş* 'Kopf', *çolpa:n* 'Venus', *de*:- 'sagen', *doda:k* 'Lippe', *e:v* 'Haus', *ka:n* 'Blut', *ka:ş* 'Augenbraue', *ke:çä* 'Nacht' (s. Doerfer 1971, S. 297), *köz*: 'Auge', *ne:çä* 'wie', *o:t* 'Feuer', *öz*: 'eigen', *sa:ğın*- 'denken', usw. Im Anfangsvers von Gedā'īs Ghasel Nr. 12: *Yaz faşl el barı bu lazzat u 'israt bilä* (Metrum: Remel) ist, wie in ähnlichen Fällen bei den anderen untersuchten Texten, *yaz* als ein Beispiel für *imāle* gezählt. Wenn nämlich der Vokal nicht lang wäre, wäre die Silbe nicht überlang und könnte nicht mit *medd* gelesen werden. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es interessant zu beobachten, daß die meisten der (von Dilçin 1991, S. 138 f. genannten) Beispiele für *medd* in *Süheyl ü Nevbahār* in Silben vorkommen, die im Alttürkischen langen Vokal haben: *ba:ğ*, *i:l*, *yi:l* (= *ye:l*, 'Wind'), *u:y*- 'folgen', *kü:y*- 'warten', *göz*, *söz*, *ta:ş*, *yü:z*, *bi:r*. (Mit etymologisch unberechneter Länge jedoch *a:ç*-, *ka:ç*- und [wahrscheinlich auch] *sava:ş* [Clauson 1972, S. 793]. Die Länge in *anca:ğdur* und *oyunca:ğdur* kann sekundär sein.) Wenn man dann bei Nevā'ī (in seinem Ghasel mit der Anfangszeile *Kad-ı cânım kıldı hicr ay kâtil-i hün-h'âr kil* [Metrum: Remel]; Eraslan 1986, S. 652) der Zeile *Kilgeç ok barğıl velî cânımın alğaç bar kil* begegnet, in der *bar* lang und mit *medd* gelesen werden muß, fragt man sich, ob vielleicht das Verb *bar*- im Tschagataischen im 15. Jahrhundert (wie in den westanatolischen Dialekten) eine sekundäre Länge bekommen habe. Die Form *ba:r*- ist auch bei 'Alī Şīr Nevā'ī belegt; s. Fn. 47.

⁴³ Der Bindevokal ist auch hier nur einmal repräsentiert, und zwar in dem in *körü:nür* auftretenden Passivsuffix.

⁴⁴ Die fünf Ghaselen von 'Alī Şīr Nevā'ī bei Eckmann 1966, S. 266–268, und folgende bei Eraslan 1986: Nr. I–III, S. 648 f., Nr. I–VI, S. 651–653 und Nr. IV, S. 655. Sie enthalten insgesamt 3030 Silben.

⁴⁵ Z.B. *ba:ş* ('Haupt', 7mal), *de*:- ('sagen', 5mal), *ke:çä* ('Nacht', 3mal), *o:t* ('Feuer', 2mal). Ich habe die von Eraslan (1986, S. 651, Gazel I, 6. Bt.) als *dirisinden* transkribierte Form mit einer be-

jenigen, die durch die tschagataische Tradition eher lang als kurz vorkommen⁴⁶, mehrmals wiederholt, während die etymologisch unberechtigten⁴⁷ nur vereinzelt vorkommen. Trotzdem entsteht durch die niedrige Zahl der etymologisch berechtigten Längen der bestimmte Eindruck, daß das Bewußtsein bezüglich alter Langvokale, oder richtiger, der Vokale, die traditionell *anceps* sein können, am Verschwinden ist. Zu den Suffixen s. weiter Tafel B⁴⁸.

4.5. Die erwähnte Verteilung ist nicht nur auf die Ghasele 'Alī Şīr Nevā'īs beschränkt; auch in Nevā'īs *meşnevī* entsteht ungefähr derselbe Eindruck: In 100 zufällig ausgewählten *beyt* von Nevā'īs Ferhād u Şīrīn⁴⁹ kommt *imāle* 178mal vor, was eine Frequenz von 8 Fällen je 100 Silben ergibt. 34 der Stammsilben sind Inlautsilben, die sich auf nur 13 verschiedene Wörter verteilen, die alle wieder entweder etymologisch berechtigt sind (10 Stück, also 77 %⁵⁰) oder durch die tschagataische Tradition eher als lang denn als kurz gelten⁵¹. Es bestätigt sich der bei den Ghaselen 'Alī Şīr Nevā'īs entstandene Eindruck, daß die Zahl der Silben, die gelängt werden können, beschränkt ist. Zu den Suffixvokalen s. Tafel B.

5.1. Ein Blick auf die späteren tschagataischen Dichter zeigt eine Weiterentwicklung der selben Tendenz. Da es sich nicht — wie in arabischen und persischen Lehnwörtern — um konstant lange Vokale handelt, sondern die Länge nur eine fakultative Eigenschaft ist, wird die Auswahl von Stämmen, von denen der Dichter mit Sicherheit weiß, daß er sie längen kann, immer begrenzter und die Unsicherheit allmählich größer.

Ungefähr dieselbe Entwicklung ist in der osmanischen Dichtung zu beobachten. Dort haben die Dichter, seitdem sie anfangen, auf türkisch zu dichten, die karachanidische und später die tschagataische Dichtung als Muster benutzt. Diese bewußte Nachahmung wird bei den osmanischen Dichtern vor Bākī in der Anwendung von *imāle* in *Suffixen* und in offenen Auslautsilben in Wortstämmen noch klarer als in den inlautenden Stammsilben. Erstens muß festgestellt werden, daß es — im Gegensatz zu den inlautenden Stammsilben, in denen die Längen nicht voraussagbar sind — möglich ist, das karachanidisch-tschagataische Muster für Längen in Suffixsilben (und für den absoluten Auslaut in Stammsilben) mehr oder weniger direkt nachzuahmen oder von einer Sprache auf die andere zu übertragen. Das aus dem Tschagataischen ins Osmanische übertragene Prinzip besagt, daß alle Vokale im absoluten Auslaut, sowohl in Stammsilben wie in Suffixen, oder richtiger, alle Vokale, die im absoluten Auslaut stehen können, also alle Stammvokale im absoluten Auslaut und alle Vokale in einsilbigen Suffixen mit der Struktur **-(K)V** (wo **V** kein Bindevokal ist), *anceps* sind. Dieses Prinzip hatten die tschagataischen Dichter vom Karachanidischen übernommen, wo die Länge der in offener Silbe stehenden Suffixvokale und des vokalischen Stammauslautes das Ergebnis einer Lautentwicklung zu sein scheint⁵². Gegen die Auffassung, daß

rechtigten *imāle* in der 2. Silbe gelesen (< *dirig*). Man kann sich gut denken, daß das **g**, falls es tatsächlich weggefallen ist, eine Länge hinterlassen hat; s. 4.1. oben.

⁴⁶ **a:n-** (obliquer Stamm von **ol**) (6mal) und **sa:rı** 'zu, in Richtung auf' (2mal), s. 4.1.

⁴⁷ Z.B. **a:s-** 'hängen', **ba:r-** 'gehen', **bi:l-** 'wissen', **evür-** 'drehen', **me:ni** 'mich', **o:l-** 'sein', **ta:p-** 'finden' usw. Von der Form **me:ni**, die auch bei Sekkākī vorkommt, und **se:ni** (siehe oben), könnte man annehmen, daß die lange Lesung der Silbe auf eine Akkusativform **men-ni**, **sen-ni** zurückgeht, wobei das *nominale* Akkusativsuffix auf dieses Pronomen übertragen worden ist.

⁴⁸ Es gibt nur ein Beispiel für *imāle* eines Bindevokals: **derdi:nī**.

⁴⁹ S. 123 bis zum ersten *beyt* auf S. 133 in Levend 1967, Bd. III. Die gesamte Silbenzahl ist 2200.

⁵⁰ Die Stämme sind **ara:-** ('Zwischenraum'; s. Fn. 29), **a:t** ('Name'), **aya:k** ('Fuß'), **ba:ş** ('Haupt', 3mal), **i:t-** ('machen', 2mal), **ka:k:a:n** 'Schild', **o:t** ('Feuer', 2mal), **ta:ş** 'Stein', 3mal), **ya:şa-** ('leben') und **yıla:n** ('Schlange').

⁵¹ **a:n-** (Demonstrativstamm, 9mal) und **sa:rı** ('in Richtung auf', 3mal). Im Wort **ça:ğı** kann die Länge durch die Wirkung des **G** erklärt werden; s. 4.1.

⁵² Wie schon in 3.1. oben angedeutet, scheint es, daß die (postulierten; s. Fn. 9) alttürkischen Längen der vokalisches auslautenden Stämme und der Wortbildungssuffixe sich im Karachanidischen auf die Deklinations- und Konjugationssuffixe derselben Struktur weiter ausgedehnt haben.

dieses Prinzip gerade aus dem Tschagataischen ins Osmanische übernommen worden sei, könnte eingewendet werden, daß Längung von Vokalen im absoluten Auslaut möglicherweise eine osmanische Neuerung darstellt (da in vielen Sprachen sekundäre Länge im absoluten Auslaut mehr oder weniger spontan vorkommt), und daß sogar im modernen Türkietürkisch eine solche spontane Länge heute noch in pathetischer, rhetorischer Sprache vorkommt⁵³. Gegen diesen Einwand muß aber hervorgehoben werden, daß das osmanische *imāle*-System gewisse Ähnlichkeiten mit und Abweichungen von dem tschagataischen System aufweist, die nur durch tschagataischen Einfluß erklärt werden können. Abgesehen von generellen Übereinstimmungen, z.B. der relativen Abwesenheit von *imāle* in Bindevokalen, sind die sehr seltenen Belege von *imāle* im denominalen Nominalsuffix **-IX** im Osmanischen auffallend. Dieses Suffix hat im Tschagataischen die Form **-IXG**, erhält aber im Osmanischen sehr früh die Form **-II** oder **-IU** mit Schwund von **-G**. Obwohl es scheint, daß im Osmanischen überwiegend auslautende **-A** und **-I**, aber nicht **-U** durch *imāle* gelängt werden, müssen die Formen auf **-II** so verbreitet gewesen sein, daß sie ohne Zweifel gelängt aufgetreten wären, wenn *imāle* in Suffixen eine osmanische fakultative Längung aller offenen Auslautsilben auf **-A** und **-I** wäre. Der Umstand, daß dieses Suffix im Tschagataischen nicht gelängt wird (weil es Bindevokal hat), muß dieselbe Lage im Osmanischen bewirkt haben. Es soll aber nicht geleugnet werden, daß die Verwendung von *imāle* in osmanischen Suffixen Probleme bietet, die sehr schwer zu lösen sind: Ist es z.B. nur ein Zufall, daß das Lokativsuffix bei den osmanischen Dichtern selten gelängt vorkommt? Bei 'Alī Şīr Nevā'ī wird *imāle* in diesem Suffix seltener als bei anderen tschagataischen Dichtern verwendet, aber dies erklärt nicht die fehlende Längung desselben Suffixes in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār**. (In **Ḳutadḡu Bilig** scheint *imāle* von Lokativsuffixen häufig vorzukommen; s. Tekin 1967, S. 170.) Eine ähnliche Frage ist, warum in **Süheyl ü Nevbahār** Beispiele für gelängtes Perfektsuffix **-DI** fehlen, wenn das Mehrzahlsuffix **-IAr** folgt. Um diese Fragen zu beantworten, wäre wahrscheinlich eine umfassendere Untersuchung der gesamten altosmanischen Dichtung nötig.

5.2. Was die Stammsilben betrifft, wurde die Distribution der fakultativen Längen im Tschagataischen von den Osmanen nicht verstanden, da sie keine auf Türkisch basierende literarische 'arūz-Tradition besaßen. Dennoch sind viele Wörter, die im Tschagataischen langvokalisches sein können, mit derselben Eigenschaft ins Osmanische übertragen worden. Angesichts des hohen Grades dichterischer Nachahmung, wobei oft ganze Zeilen übernommen wurden, ist es denkbar, daß auch die Vorstellung, daß gewisse Stammsilben lang skandiert werden sollen oder können, sich durchgesetzt hat. So entsteht der Eindruck, daß der älteren osmanischen Dichtung gewisse Reminiszenzen an ein Stadium anhaften, in dem die Vokale noch nicht gekürzt waren. Der Grad von Geschicklichkeit der früheren osmanischen Dichter, *imāle* in Stammsilben „richtig“, also in Übereinstimmung mit den alttürkischen Längen und der tschagataischen Tradition zu verwenden, ist wahrscheinlich proportional zu ihrer Vertrautheit mit den tschagataischen Dichtern⁵⁴. Dies scheint der Grund dafür zu sein, daß gerade bei Sulṭān Cem eine so

⁵³ Z.B. in politischen Reden und im *vaaz* der Imame. Diese fakultative „pathetische Länge“ scheint besonders Vokale in absolutem Auslaut (nicht Vokale in geschlossenen Auslautsilben) zu betreffen und ist möglicherweise etwas anderes als das, was in den Grammatiken als „emphatische Länge“ bezeichnet wird, wie z.B. in **fakaaat**.

⁵⁴ Die Langvokale der zweiten Silbe in Wörtern wie **ulu**, **ölü** und **ḳamu**, die im Alttürkischen kurzvokalisches sind, können wahrscheinlich als Beweis dafür verstanden werden, daß es sich um einen Einfluß gerade des Osttürkischen handelt. Da die zweite Silbe im Tschagataischen geschlossen ist (**uluḡ**, **ölüḡ**, **ḳamuḡ**) und da es sich in den drei Fällen um Adjektive handelt, die selten mit Suffixen auftreten, ist die zweite Silbe fast immer eine geschlossene Auslautsilbe, die vor Konsonanten lang

TAFEL A

Statistik der Verwendung von *imāle* bei den untersuchten osmanischen Dichtern.

	Süh. ve Nevb.	Sultān Cem	Bākī
Frequenz von <i>imāle</i>	21 (462)	9,3 (236)	2,8 (81)
% in Stammsilben	60,8% (281)	43% (102)	50% (41)
Zahl versch. Stammsilben	117	55	18
% davon, die etymologisch berechtigt sind	42,7% (50)	53% (29)	33% (6)
% davon, die etymol. berechnigte Inlautsilben sind	29% (34)	36% (20)	33% (6)
% davon, die etymologisch unberechtigt sind	42,7% (50)	42% (23)	56% (10)
% der gesamten Fällen von i. (Stämme + Suffixe) im absol. Auslaut	41% (190)	53% (118)	61% (50)
% der Suffixe, die im absoluten Auslaut vorkommen	69% (125)	76% (102)	97,5% (39)
Possessivsuffix. -(s)I	21% (38)	27% (36)	
Akkusativsuffix. -(y)I	10,5% (19)	7% (10)	35% (14)
Dativsuffix. -(y)A	18% (33)	25% (34)	15% (6)
Perfektsuffix. -DI	16,5% (30)	10% (14)	23% (9)
Optativsuffix -(y)A-	5,5% (10)		10% (4)
Lokativsuffix. -DA	3,3% (6)	4% (5)	
Konverb suffix. -(y)A	3,9% (7)		
Negationsuffix -mA-	2,2% (4)	6% (8)	
Konverb suffix -ÜbAn	3,9% (7)		
Denomin. verb. Suff. -IA-	3,3% (6)		
Bindevokal	3,3% (6)	2% (3)	

hohe Anzahl etymologisch berechtigter Stammsilben vorkommt. Als Sohn Mehmeds des Eroberers muß seine Vertrautheit mit den tschagataischen Vorbildern groß gewesen sein. Weil aber die Osmanen nicht dieselbe literarische Tradition wie die zentralasiatischen Türken hatten, wurden die Bestrebungen, das grundsätzlich unverständliche *imāle*-System in Stammsilben zu verlassen, um so stärker, und aus demselben Grund wurde es früher aufgegeben, als es in der tschagataischen Literatur der Fall war. Ein zweiter Grund dafür, daß *imāle* in Stammsilben im Osmanischen als fremder empfunden wurde als im Tschagataischen, könnte sein, daß die tschagataischen Dichter im 15. Jahrhundert viel traditionsgebundener gewesen zu sein scheinen als die osmanischen⁵⁵. Und besonders im 16. Jahrhundert, zur Zeit des Bākī, war Osmanisch die Sprache eines neuen, starken Imperiums, was sich auch in der Dichtung widerspiegelt: Dichter

und vor Vokal aneeps ist. (Eine Dehnung des Vokals vor G im Tschagataischen ist aber ebenfalls denkbar; s. Fn. 32.) In ähnlicher Weise könnten tschagataische Formen wie **bizni**, **sizni** das Muster für die häufig vorkommende osmanische *imāle* in **bi:zi**, **si:zi** sein.

⁵⁵ Vgl. sehr veraltete Schreibweisen wie **adak** für **ayak** und eine sehr konservative Auswahl von Metra in den Ghaselen.

TAFEL B.

Statistik der Verwendung von *imāle* bei den untersuchten tschagataischen Dichtern.

	Sekkākī	Luṭfī	Gedā'ī	Nevā'ī Ghas.	Nevā'ī Meḡn.
Frequenz von <i>imāle</i>	8,7 (278)	8 (200)	5,9 (169)	6,7 (204)	8 (178)
% in Stammsilben	41,7% (116)	37,5% (75)	44% (75)	47% (96)	43% (63)
% davon in Inlautsilben	66,3% (77)	53% (40)	61% (46)	54% (52)	54% (34)
Anzahl verschiedener Inlautsilben	55	29	33	28	13
% davon, die etymologisch berechtigt sind	69% (38)	83% (25)	66,6% (22)	57% (16)	77% (10)
% davon, die etymologisch unberechtigt/ unklärbar sind	14,5% (8)	17% (4)	30,3% (10)	35,7% (10)	0%
% der Suffixe, die im absoluten Auslaut vorkommen	80% (130)	83% (104)	92,5% (87)	74% (80)	69% (79)
Possessivsuff. -(s)I	27% (43)	39% (49)	21% (20)	47% (51)	47% (54)
Akkusativsuff. -nI	15,4% (25)	8% (10)	17% (16)	10% (11)	3,5% (4)
Dativsuff. -GA	17% (28)	10% (13)	15% (14)	24% (26)	13% (15)
Perfektumsuff. -DI	15,4% (25)	13% (16)	18% (17)	4,6% (5)	20% (23)
Lokativsuff. -DA	5,5% (9)	13% (17)	12,5% (12)	4% (4)	7% (8)
Bedingungssuffix -sA	5,5% (9)	6% (8)	4% (4)	2% (2)	2,6% (3)
Negationsuffix -mA-	4% (7)	3% (4)		2% (2)	
Plural -IAr	2,4% (4)				
Konverbiumsuff. -GAII				4,6% (5)	
Bindevokal (Anzahl Fälle)	1	2	1	1	

des ganzen Imperiums zogen zum Hof in Istanbul, und neue Gattungen wurden erprobt. *Imāle* wurde von Bākī vielleicht als etwas Altertümliches empfunden, als etwas, was der (in seinen Augen) eleganten Hofsprache des neuen Imperiums fremd sei. Da er aber in einigen Fällen dazu gezwungen war, *imāle* in seinen Gedichten zu benutzen, längte er meistens die überwiegend offene Endsilben. So gelang es ihm und seinen Nachfolgern, ein System zu schaffen, das als eine Weiterführung des persischen interpretiert werden konnte.

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The individuality of the Persian metre *khaffif*

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By the time the first Persian poems were written, Arabic ‘*arûḍ*’ was already firmly established as a scholarly tradition, also amongst the Persians. The earliest poets were undoubtedly familiar with its basic rules as, together with Arabic poetry itself, it had become a basic element of Muslim education. One of the unfortunate consequences of this situation was that an adequate set of terms for the metres at that time current in Persian poetry was never established. Even at present, individual Persian metres cannot be named other than by resorting to clumsy formulas, which are not only needlessly complicated but also misleading as some of their parts have no meaning at all in the Persian system as it actually works.

Elwell-Sutton made an effort to improve on this handicap of Persian metrics by introducing a set of numerical codes. These codes did away with the illusion of a relationship where there really was none, while retaining the possibility of indicating the length of the pattern concerned. Unfortunately, numerical codes have a great mnemotechnic disadvantage, and Elwell-Sutton’s innovation, therefore, is not likely to replace the timeworn names of the traditional system.

The metre dealt with in the present paper received the code “4.5.11” in the numerical classification,¹ which indicates that it has normally eleven syllables per hemistich. It is still better known under its ‘*arûḍ*’ appellation: *khaffif-i musaddas-i makhbûn-i maḥdhûf*. The bit of useful information contained in this name is that every distich written in this metre is divided into six metrical feet. As a matter of fact, this formulation is slightly more exact than the reference to the syllables contained in Elwell-Sutton’s formula, which fails to indicate that a half-verse in this pattern may also have ten syllables instead of eleven. It should be noted here that, according to Elwell-Sutton, the feet are only a theoretical concept in Persian metrics and do not have a clear function in the actual structure of the verse.² In our discussion, the abbreviated name *khaffif* will be sufficient, because the supposed variation of the ideal metre *khaffif* is virtually the only pattern carrying this name that can be met with in classical Persian poetry. Elwell-Sutton could only record a few cases of the use of one other pattern, the catalectic *khaffif* (4.5.12).³

¹ L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Metres*, Cambridge 1976, p. 104; two other variants are mentioned, of which only “4.5.12”, or *khaffif-i musaddas-i makhbûn*, is supported by a quotation from the works of a poet.

² *Op.cit.*, p. 85.

³ *Op.cit.*, pp. 154–55: no more than three poems, whereas his corpus contains 1789 poems in the catalectic form. The term ‘pattern’ is used here to denote the individual metre, not the clusters of metres which in Elwell-Sutton’s theory take the place of al-Khafil’s circles (pp. 86 f.).

The metrical pattern to which the Arabs gave the name of *khaffif*—“the light or nimble” in Wright’s translation—really consists of a cluster of variations, only a few of which are relevant to the Persian pattern. The latter could be described as the “catalectic trimeter” of Wright’s scheme,⁴ but it should be noted that even within this restricted framework it allows for less variation than its Arabic counterpart: the second foot occurs invariably in the form *mafâ‘ilun* and the third foot can be either *fa‘ilun* or *fa‘lun*, but never *fâ‘ilun*. As the trimeter is most common, in Persian as well as in Arabic, the relationship between the *khaffif* in both languages seems to be close enough to support the claim, implied by traditional theory, that the Persian pattern was indeed derived from the Arabic. Perhaps the most important feature shared by the metre in both languages is the same alternation between two rhythmical sequences, which are fully realized only in the first and the second feet, respectively *fâ‘ilâtun/fa‘ilâtun* and *mafâ‘ilun*.

Notwithstanding the considerable progress in the research into Persian metrics made in recent years, studies on individual metres are still extremely rare. The only monographs of this kind known to me all pertain to a single pattern, the *mutaqârib*, especially as it is used in the *Shâh-nâma*. It is therefore often qualified as the ‘epic metre’. The first to devote attention to the subject was Robert Gauthiot, who in 1908 published a ‘Note sur le rythme du vers épique persan’.⁵ Theodor Nöldeke added a lengthy *Anhang* to his study on the national epic of Iran⁶ in which he examined the deviations found in his manuscripts of the *Shâh-nâma* from the norms prescribed in the textbooks. By far the most interesting contribution from a methodological point of view is an article by Jan Rypka entitled ‘La métrique du *mutaqârib* épique persan’.⁷ In this essay, Rypka tried to find clues for the development in Firdausî’s handling of the metre in the course of his career by comparing samples taken from an early and a late section of the *Shâh-nâma* and from the poem *Yûsuf-u Zulaykhâ*. Unfortunately, he was not aware at the time of the problems concerning the authenticity of the latter poem, which is now no longer regarded as one of Firdausî’s genuine works. This has robbed his conclusions of most of their validity although his attempt to find linguistic parameters for an investigation of metrical patterns as they are actually applied is still of great interest. One of these parameters was the occurrence of word-boundaries in relationship to the boundaries of the metrical feet.

In the present essay I will restrict myself to a more external approach. I want to trace the range of the use of the *khaffif* metre during the earliest period of Persian literature, roughly up to the middle of the 12th century A.D. The focus will thus be on the role of this metre in literary history. The main question to which an answer will be sought is to what extent a metrical pattern like the *khaffif* can be related to the development of genres in early Persian poetry, in other words whether or not it can be regarded as the bearer of certain ‘generic associations’. The question has, of course, been raised before, but only in passing, and it has certainly not yet been answered satisfactorily, in one way or another. The poetical form usually considered in this respect is the *mathnavî*. According to a tradition recorded by Blochmann (who refers to “native teachers” as his source), the choice between one metre or another was directly related to the choice of the subject-matter for a *mathnavî*: epics about war and courtly revelry (*razm-u bazm*) were written in *mutaqârib* (ES 1.1.11), romances in two variations of *hazaj* (ES 2.1.11

⁴ W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge 1951, II, pp. 367–68; according to Wright, the trimeter is the “far more usual form”.

⁵ *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XIV, 1906–1908, pp. 280–5.

⁶ *Das iranische Nationalepos*, Zweite Auflage, Berlin und Leipzig 1920, pp. 91 ff.

⁷ The original paper was read in 1934 at Tehran at the Firdausî Millennium Congress; it was published in *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague*, Vol. 6, 1936, pp. 192–207.

or 5.1.10), homiletic and Sufi mathnavîs in two forms of *ramal* (either ES 2.4.11 or 3.1.11) and *sarî* (ES 3.4.11.). Finally, our *khaffî* is defined as a metre for poems on courtly revelry (*bazm*), undoubtedly because it was chosen by Nizâmî for his *Haft Paykar*, the romanticised story of the life of the great Sasanian king Bahrâm Gûr.⁸

It is not difficult to see that such identifications have only a very limited value; the use of the *mutaqârib*, for instance, was by no means restricted to heroic epics like the *Shâh-nâma*, as it also can be found in poems of quite different genres, such as Abû Shakûr's *Âfarîn-nâma* with its secular didacticism, the romance *Varqa-u Gulshâh* by 'Ayyûqî, Nizâmî's *Iskandar-nâma*—partly a heroic story, partly a 'book of wisdom'—and the *Bûstân* of Sa'dî, one of the major works of mystical poetry. However, the fact that this opinion of the later prosodists was an unwarranted generalisation does not mean that it was completely mistaken. There can be no doubt that by the time the list quoted above was drawn up, certain associations had developed in the tradition of Persian poetry concerning the generic values of metres, especially in narrative and didactic poetry. The choice of a metre had become a part of the formula for a *nazîra*, the 'emulation through imitation' of a great classic. A remarkable instance of the generic colouring of a metrical pattern can be found in the succession of romances which runs from Gurgânî's *Vîs-u Râmîn* through Nizâmî's *Khusrau-u Shîrîn* to Jâmî's *Yûsuf-u Zulaykhâ*: in all three poems the use of the same form of *haza*⁹ points to a fundamental identity of the plot, in spite of the change in protagonists and all the external circumstances in each of the three stories. We learn from editorial remarks in manuscripts that there was indeed an awareness of such relationships in the textual tradition. In a 15th-century copy of the collective works of Nizârî (d. 1320) the mathnavîs of this Ismâ'îlî poet are all marked by a reference to the great works of predecessors which were written in the same metre: *bar vazn-i Hadîqa*, *bar vazn-i Mathnavî-yi ma'navî*, *bar vazn-i Khusrau-u Shîrîn* etc.¹⁰

The search for the generic qualities of *khaffî* need, therefore, not entirely despair of achieving some results, although one's expectations should not be too high. As we have learned so far, the *khaffî* metre could be used for such different works as a homiletic poem (Sanâ'î) and a narrative poem demonstrating the values of ideal kingship (Nizâmî). The inquiry should begin with a few data concerning the use of *khaffî* in Arabic poetry. Recently, Jamal Eddine Bencheikh has given an account of the development of the *khaffî* metre in a book on Arabic poetics. Elaborating on frequency counts which had been carried out earlier by E. Bräunlich and J.-C. Vadet, Bencheikh was able to assign an important role to the Arabic *khaffî* as a gauge of stylistic change in the early Islamic period.¹¹ As appears from the graph which summarises his findings, the *khaffî* developed from a very marginal pattern of pre-Islamic bedouin poetry into a prominent feature in the love poetry of 'Umar ibn Abî Rabî'a, the leading figure among the Hijâzî poets at the beginning of the 8th century. 'Umar opted for this metre in 23 % of his recorded poems, a percentage which is only slightly less than that of his most

⁸ H. Blochmann, *The Prosody of the Persians according to Saifî, Jâmî and other writers*, Calcutta 1872, p. 88; see also Elwell-Sutton, *op.cit.*, p. 244.

⁹ ES 2.1.11; earlier, towards the end of the Sâmânîd period, the same metre had been used for a strictly utilitarian purpose in Maysarî's medical poem *Dânish-nâma* (ed. by Barât Zanjânî, Tehran 1366/1987; see also G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, pp. 36-40).

¹⁰ Cf. the description of the St. Petersburg manuscript of Nizârî's *kullîyât* in Ch.G. Bayburdi, *Zhizn' i tvorchestvo Nizâri—persidskogo poeta XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscow 1966, pp. 18-21.

¹¹ Jamal Eddine Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe, précédée de Essai sur un discours critique*, Paris, Gallimard, 1989, pp. 203 ff. Bencheikh's book was brought to my notice by Dr. Willem Stoetzer.

frequent metre *tawîl* (24.3 %). In the following two centuries the khaffif still maintained a relatively high place on the frequency lists of the poets, reaching a second peak in the works of al-Buḥturî (821–897), who chose khaffif in 16.7 % of his poems. According to Bencheikh, the metre acquired a noticeable generic connotation as a “mètre lyrique”, a qualification which it shares with the metre *sarî‘*. The term “lyrique” should not be taken here as a reference to short forms of poetry, but has the specific meaning of ‘love poetry’, or rather *taghazzul*, the cluster of motives later associated with the Persian *ghazal*. It may therefore be taken to also include the themes marked by the catchwords ‘love’, ‘wine’, ‘revelry’ and ‘nature’.

Paul Schwarz, the editor of ‘Umar’s *Dîwân*, had already noticed the importance of khaffif and other metres not commonly used by the bedouin poets. He attributed this to the different style of the urban poets, who introduced lighter forms of melodious songs in shorter metres than those applied to the more solemn *qaṣîdas* of the past. Looking for a possible origin of this innovation Schwarz pointed to the popular metres (*Volksrhythmen*) of the Persians. He considered the Arabic khaffif, like the *mutaqârib*, to be the offshoot of a dance rhythm (*Reigenrhythmus*) borrowed from ancient Iran. The variant most frequently found in ‘Umar’s poetry was the already mentioned acatalectic trimetre.¹² Schwarz’ hypothesis inevitably remains unproven because the documentary basis for a comparison with Middle-Persian poetry does not exist. At the most it can be accepted as a plausible explanation. More recently Ewald Wagner located the origin of khaffif and other light metres in the court of al-Ḥîra, where Sasanian influences must have played a major role. Commenting on the remarkable rise in the popularity of khaffif, Wagner also stressed the importance of musical practice in this development: “nicht das Thema, also die Liebesdichtung, (war) primäre Ursache für die Wahl neuer Versmasse, sondern die Verwendung der Gedichte für den Gesang, der in städtischen Kreisen gepflegt wurde.”¹³

If we turn to the Persian poets we find that khaffif was fairly popular throughout the history of Persian poetry. In his *Persian Metres* Elwell-Sutton has entered several statistics on the frequency of the use of the various metres.¹⁴ The outcome, as far as khaffif is concerned, was that in Elwell-Sutton’s sample of 20,000 poems, taken from all periods of Persian literature, 8.9 % were written in this particular metre. This means that it occupies a fifth place, behind the *mujtathth* (ES 4.1.15: 15 %), the *muḍâri‘* (ES 4.7.14: 13.2 %) and two forms of the *ramal* (ES 2.4.15: 12.2 %; 3.1.15: 9.7 %). It is further shown that it can be found most often in *qiṭ‘as* (22.1 %, i.e. 13.2 points above the average for all poems without regard to their form) and least in *ghazals* (2.9 %, i.e. 6 points below the same average). *Mathnavîs* were not taken into account.

Khaffif is already well represented in the fragments of Sâmanid poetry collected by Gilbert Lazard,¹⁵ being used from the very beginning for short poems and *mathnavîs* alike. The defective state of the material makes it futile to give precise percentages for this early period, but there can be no doubt that the metre was probably already a favourite with the philosopher-poet Shahîd-i Balkhî, who lived at the court of Bukhara in the early 10th century. About 25 % of the lines

¹² *Der Diwan des ‘Umar ibn Abi Rebi‘a*, 4. (Schluss-) Heft, Leipzig 1909, pp. 175–76, 182–83.

¹³ *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung*, Band I, Darmstadt 1987, p. 53; see also Band II, Darmstadt 1988, pp. 61–67.

¹⁴ See especially the Statistical Survey in Chapter IV, pp. 145–167.

¹⁵ *Les premiers poètes persans (IXe–Xe siècles)*, 2 tomes, Tehran–Paris 1964. I have not used the ‘Anthology’ on which Elwell-Sutton based his statistics as far as pre-Ghaznavid poetry is concerned. The main reason for this is that the present discussion is only concerned with poems in khaffif, not with individual lines. It is not clear to what extent this distinction was made in the Anthology.

attributed to him are in khaff; in an attempt to define the genre of the twenty-two lyrical lines attributed to him, I found that eleven could be qualified as gnomic verse (nos. 11–13, 16, 48–49, 65–69), that five are satirical lines (nos. 36, 39–40, 43, 60), three lines might have belonged to panegyrics (nos. 28, 30, 38) and two to each of the themes of love and nature (nos. 56 and 88–89).¹⁶

The metre was also prominent in the fragments of Rûdakî's poetry as they were assembled by Sa'îd Naffisî. In his case, percentages might have some meaning although they should be considered with due regard to the uncertain state of the textual tradition. Of the 126 poems or fragments of more than one line 21 poems in khaff can be found (16.6 %). This percentage is more or less confirmed by the occurrence of the metre among the 176 single lines: 27 instances or 15.3 %, and is in both cases significantly higher than the average of 8.9 % calculated by Elwell-Sutton. Only the poems and fragments lend themselves to a specification according to genre. Conspicuous among them are nine specimens of gnomic verse (nos. 65–70, 77–80, 86–87, 88–89, 95–96, 103–109, 175–78, 296–301 and 510–11). They treat of themes such as the transience of the world and its dream-like nature often broached in Rûdakî's poetry. A second group includes seven fragments on love (nos. 54–58, 508–09, 571–72), wine (nos. 250–57, 331–32) and music (nos. 61–64, 280–86), all lyrical themes, to which a poem on the festival of *mihrigân* (nos. 141–46) should be added. Of the remaining pieces, three seem to belong to satirical poems (nos. 311–14, 345–50, 459–60), and one is an elegy on his fellow-poet Shahîd-i Balkhî (nos. 317–22).¹⁷

Meagre and philologically uncertain as they are, these few data deserve to be mentioned here because they are the very first instances of the use of khaff in Persian poetry available to us at all. In the first half of the 11th century, the three leading poets of the early Ghaznavid school used khaff in varying frequencies. Farrukhî takes the lead with 21 poems or 10% of his *Dîvân* (i.e. slightly above the average), whereas it is almost unknown in the poetry of 'Unşurî and Manuchihrî. The instances found in Farrukhî all occur in panegyric *qaşîdas*. The theme of the prologue (*nasîb*) could, therefore, have been an important factor in the poet's choice of a metre, especially as other features distinguishing them from *qaşîdas* in other metres are hard to find. Of the *nasîbs* concerned, 17 deal with the subjects of love, nature, revelry and wine, which together correspond to the general genre of 'lyrical poetry' as seems to be intended by Bencheikh. Two *nasîbs* are devoted to the craft of poetry and could perhaps be characterized as topical poems. In three others the poem starts directly with the panegyric address.¹⁸

Abû'l-Faraj Rûnî, Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân and Mukhtârî all worked at the courts of Ghazna and Lahore in the late 11th and the early 12th centuries A.D. They were close enough to each other, both in time and place, to be regarded as representatives of a single school of court poetry. However, there are clear differences amongst the three poets as far as their use of the khaff metre is concerned.

First of all, it should be noted that there is a substantial rise in frequency, which can only be compared with the similar rise on the graph of Bencheikh, at the point where khaff suddenly appears to be a prominent metre in the poetry of the Hîjâzî poet 'Umar b. Abî Rabî'a. This may be interpreted as a 'breakthrough' of this particular pattern in Persian lyrical poetry, even if due reservation is made for the considerable gaps in our documentation regarding the previous periods. The ef-

¹⁶ Lazard, *op.cit.*, i, pp. 62–69/ii, pp. 23–36.

¹⁷ *Muhtî-i zindagî va ahvâl va ash'âr-i Rûdakî*, Tehran 1341/1962, pp. 491–513 (poems and fragments), 519–531 (scattered lines).

¹⁸ The figures concerning Farrukhî's *Dîvân* are based on an unpublished M.A. thesis by Gabrielle van den Berg, 'Met een karavaan van kostbare stoffen ...'. *Een onderzoek naar de qaşîda's van Farrukhî* (Leiden University, 1991; in Dutch).

fect is entirely due to the popularity *khafif* gained with two of the three poets: Abû'l-Faraj Rûnî and Mas'ûd.

As regards the former, whose poetry has without any doubt only been preserved defectively, one can only take the *qaşîdas* into account; here we find the metre in 72 poems, or 36 % of the total number of Rûnî's *qaşîdas*. The number of his *qit'as* in the available editions of his *Dîvân* is too small to be of any statistical value.¹⁹ Of Rûnî's *qaşîdas* in *khafif*, only one begins with a *nasîb*, the others are poems which immediately open with the panegyric. Omission of the *nasîb*, a device called 'improvised' (*muqtaḍab*) by the rhetoricians, was a special element of Rûnî's style in the *qaşîda* and can therefore hardly be seen as a distinctive feature as far as choice of the metre is concerned.²⁰

The data on Mas'ûd's use of *khafif* provide a better insight into the scope of this development. We can observe that by far the biggest increase is to be found in the *qit'a* section of his voluminous *Dîvân*, where the pattern can be found in almost half of the examples (67 out of 142 poems, or 47 %). In the *qaşîdas* the *khafif* is represented by a quarter of the total number (76 out of 312 poems, or 24 %). The generic association is here quite obvious: the overwhelming majority of the poems can be classified as topical poems, that is, poems which deal with matters of actual importance to the poet or to the person addressed. As we know, this kind of poetry occupies a very important place in Mas'ûd's work. Not only do nearly all the *qit'as* (the form most often used for topical poems) belong to this category, but a great number of the *qaşîdas* as well. Among them are several examples of the *ḥabsîyât* genre (the 'prison-poems', on account of which Mas'ûd has become famous), as well as other poems containing complaints or pieces of moral advice. The only *ghazal* in *khafif* preserved in his *Dîvân* also belongs to the genre of the prison poems.²¹

Mukhtârî, on the other hand, appears to have given no more attention to the *khafif* than the average Persian poet of all times: he used it in 11 *qaşîdas* (8.6 %) and in 4 *qit'as* (9%). This may be significant as an indication of a considerable stylistic distance from his two contemporaries, which can perhaps be explained by the long years of Mukhtârî's absence from Ghazna, when he wandered around the courts of Central Asia and Eastern Iran.²²

Finally, we come to Sanâ'î who, as far as time and place are concerned, must also be regarded as a member of this second Ghaznavid school. We know that he was in close personal contact with both Mas'ûd and Mukhtârî. Eventually, however, his career developed in a quite different direction, causing him to turn his back on the traditions of court poetry. The statistics on his use of *khafif* confirm its increased importance as a metre for topical poems in the form of *qit'as* (55 out of 179 poems, or about 30 %). In his *qaşîdas* (18 out of 312 poems, or 5.7 %), on the other hand, he appears to have paid even less attention to this pattern than Mukhtârî. Nevertheless, an interesting point is that, in the case of Sanâ'î, we have for the first time a collection of *ghazals* at our disposal which is sizeable enough to allow some conclusions about this particular form as well. The number of *ghazals* in *khafif* is considerably higher than that of the *qaşîdas* and also exceeds

¹⁹ As these kinds of poems are also poorly represented in the collections of earlier Ghaznavid poets, this should perhaps be attributed to the deficiencies of the textual tradition and does not mean necessarily that Rûnî actually wrote only a few *qit'as*. For the same reason, it is possible that the preponderance of the *khafif* in this kind of poetry was considerably older than our present documentation allows us to say.

²⁰ *Dîvân-i Abû'l-Faraj Rûnî*, ed. by Maḥmûd Maḥdavi Dâmghânî, Tehran 1347/1968; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition. Supplement*, s.v. Abu'l-Faraj b. Mas'ûd Rûnî.

²¹ Ed. Rashîd Yâsimî, Tehran 1339/1960, p. 675 = ed. Maḥdî Nûrîyân, Tehran 1365/1986, pp. 966–67.

²² *Dîvân-i 'Uthmân-i Mukhtârî*, ed. by Jalâl ad-Dîn Humâ'î, Tehran 1341/1962.

its low average in Persian ghazals as a whole: 32 out of 408 poems, or 7.8 %, against 2.9 % in Elwell-Sutton's corpus. It is worthwhile to note, if only in passing, that among the poets of the later 12th and 13th centuries, Khâqânî (168 out of 956 poems, or 17.5 %), 'Aṭṭâr (90 out of 824 poems, or 10.9 %) and Sa'dî (297 out of 1688 poems, or 17.6 %) are, according to Elwell-Sutton's count, distinguished by a high percentage of poems in this metre. They are also known to have been influenced by Sanâ'î. Eight of Sanâ'î's ghazals in khaffî are really didactic poems dealing with the theoretical aspects of mystical love; the others are love poems of the usual type.²³

The development of our metre in the mathnavî should be considered separately. The occurrence of the khaffî, with some frequency, in mathnavîs written in the Sârnânîd period is well established, but it is nearly always impossible to define the proper subject from the scant remnants left to us. From Shahîd's hand, five lines in mathnavî are extant. They can be divided into three lines referring quite evidently to an erotic subject (nos. 94–95, 97) and two which seem to describe scenes from practical life and might, for that reason, very well have belonged to popular anecdotes as we know them from later didactical poetry: one tells of a poor Kurd who needs a pot to put his curdled milk in (no. 96); the other describes someone who is unloading his pack animal (no. 98). It is of course impossible to say whether these lines all belonged to the same poem or not.²⁴

After Shahîd, several other poets of the Sârnânîd period wrote mathnavîs in the same metre: Nafîsî listed 28 lines from a mathnavî (or more than one) by Rûdakî, the proper subject of which is hard to ascertain;²⁵ there are further scattered lines attributed to Abû'l-'Abbâs Rabinjanî, Abû Shakûr, Ma'rûfî and Daqîqî.²⁶ In neither of these cases, however, can the precise nature of the poem be ascertained. With regard to the mathnavî lines in khaffî attributed to 'Unsurî, it can only be said that they must have belonged to a romance, presumably the story of *Shâdbahr-u 'Ayn al-Hayât*.²⁷

The poets of the late Ghaznavîd period are the first to provide us with precise information in the case of the mathnavî as well. Both Mukhtârî and Mas'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân have written a mathnavî in khaffî. The former's *Hunar-nâma* contains the fantasy of the poet's meeting with an astrologer who puts his talents in the composition of poetical riddles to the test.²⁸ In the *Dîvân* of Mas'ûd, a poem occurs which describes a banquet at the court of the Ghaznavîd viceroy of Lahore.²⁹ Both poems are intended to serve the professional interests of the poet and may for that reason be classified among the topical poems. The same holds for the first of the three mathnavîs of Sanâ'î, the *Kârnâma-yi Balkhî*, which mingles praise and satire in a panorama of the poet's patrons in the city of Ghazna. Important for the destiny of the khaffî was Sanâ'î's decision to stick to this metre in the mathnavîs he subsequently wrote: a didactical allegory followed by a panegyric (*Sayr al-'ibâd ilâ'l-ma'âd*) and a lengthy didactical work also linked to a panegyric address (*Fakhrî-nâma*, better known as *Hadiqat al-haqîqa*).

²³ See further the present writer's *Of Piety and Poetry*, Leiden 1983, pp. 192–193. The figures are based on Sanâ'î's *Dîvân* as published by Mudarris-i Raḡavî, 2nd ed., Tehran 1341/1962.

²⁴ Lazard, *op.cit.*, i, p. 69/ii, p. 38.

²⁵ Nafîsî, *op.cit.*, pp. 545–46; some of these lines were also ascribed to Daqîqî (no. 1012; cf. Lazard, ii, p. 168), Firdausî (no. 1011), 'Unsurî (no. 1003; cf. *Dîvân-i 'Unsurî*, ed. Y. Qarîb, Tehran 1341/1962, pp. 23, 33) and Nizâmî (no. 1008; cf. *Haft Paykar*, ed. J. Rypka and H. Ritter, Prague 1934, ch. 15, l. 16).

²⁶ Lazard, *op.cit.*, respectively, i, p.93/ii, p. 76; i, p. 101 f./ii, p.89–90; i, p. 133/ii, p.137; and i, p. 157/ii, p. 168.

²⁷ Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, p. 175.

²⁸ *Dîvân*, ed. Humâ'î, pp. 641–745.

²⁹ *Dîvân*, ed. Yâsimî, pp. 562–79; ed. Nûrfiyân, pp. 787–817.

Thanks to the success of his *Hadiqat al-ḥaqīqa*, which became one of the great models of Sufi-didactic poetry, a further aspect was added to the khaffīf. The metre was regarded as a mark of adherence to Sanâ'î's tradition by imitators: the earliest whose work is still extant is the almost forgotten Transoxanian poet Mu'ayyid-i Nasafî, who lived about the middle of the 12th century and whose two poems *Pahlavân-nâma* (an allegory and a panegyric) and *Nasîm aṣ-Ṣabâ* (combining allegory, didacticism and panegyric) are to be found in unique copies in the India Office Library.³⁰ The chain is very long and can be followed up to the present century when, in the 1930's, Malik al-shu'ârâ Bahâr wrote his *Kâr-nâma-yi zindân*, a prison-poem from the reign of Riḍâ Shâh Pahlavî, in the metre khaffīf; it was a deliberate imitation of both Sanâ'î and Mâs'ûd-i Sa'd-i Salmân.³¹ The metre of the genuine works of Sanâ'î was also carefully maintained in a number of pseudo-epigraphical forgeries which passed under Sanâ'î's name in later manuscripts.³²

From the very beginning khaffīf was a fairly prominent metrical pattern, although—if we consider the whole of the classical Persian tradition—it did not belong to the group of the three or four most frequently used metres. In this respect there is a similarity to its relative position in the poetry of the Arabs. Another common characteristic seems to be the possibility to acquire a certain semantic 'flavour': in early Islamic times Arab poets came to regard it as a suitable pattern for love poems, a 'mètre lyrique', as it was called by Bencheikh. The existence of this association since the time of 'Umar ibn Abî Rabî'a can be accepted as a fact, whether or not the ultimate origin of the pattern was conditioned by external factors such as its suitability for songs.

There are indications that the same association lived on in Persian poetry for a considerable time. Such indications can be found already in the remnants of the poetry of Shahîd and Rûdakî. They are more evident in the case of Farrukhî. The earliest mathnavî specimens we know of in the works of Shahîd and—especially—of 'Unṣurî allow us to presume an association with romantic themes in narrative poetry as well. It is quite likely that Niẓâmî's choice of khaffīf as the metre for his mathnavî on the life of king Bahrâm Gûr, the *Haft paykar*, in which love-stories play a very prominent role, still reflects this early association of the pattern.

However, it is evident that a semantic specialization of this kind was never an exclusive one. There was always room for other, often quite different applications of the same pattern. It was this flexibility which made it possible for new associations to develop at all. Rûdakî's use of the metre in gnomic poetry shows beyond doubt that another focus existed as early as the 10th century. About a century later, the khaffīf appears in the available sources as a suitable vehicle for topical poetry, often mingled with themes derived from secular wisdom. The qit'a and, to a lesser extent, the qaṣîda became appropriate poetical forms, but at the same time the mathnavî, in its short form, was used in a similar fashion. With Sanâ'î the turn towards religious didacticism was made, in particular because the association with one of the most influential mathnavî poems of Persian mystical literature was added to the other generic associations of the pattern.

The individual traits of the khaffīf are by no means exhaustively dealt with here. It would, for instance, be interesting to reconsider the approach chosen by Rypka

³⁰ Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, Oxford 1903, no. 929.

³¹ *Divân-i ash'âr*, Tehran 1335–36/1956–57, ii, pp. 2–126.

³² See Bo Utas, *Tariq ut-tahqiq*, Lund 1973, pp. 71–86.

in his pioneer article on the *mutaqârib* and put it to the test by using a more secure corpus. This, however, is beyond the scope of the present discussion. A basic assumption of this paper is that Persian metres are essentially individual items in a well-furnished stock of metrical patterns available to the poet. About thirty of these patterns were currently used, in greatly varying frequencies, of course. The choice of a metre, along with other prosodical features such as rhyme and poetical form, was at the discretion of the poet. After he had made his choice, the rigid rules of convention and formulated theory took over and robbed him of almost all freedom of manoeuvring the application of the chosen patterns. Therefore, if we want to discover some of the idiosyncrasies of a given metre, we should concentrate our attention on that brief moment of free choice. In other words, we are primarily concerned with the considerations which might have led poets to opt for the use of *khaff* instead of any other metrical pattern. The possibility that such choices were simply made at random must be ruled out for the simple reason that this would contradict the differences in frequency between the various patterns.

I have avoided dealing with the question to what extent intrinsic qualities may have been important in determining the development of certain semantic colourings of *khaff*. I must confess that I would not know which parameters should be used to measure the suitability of a metrical pattern applied equally to love poems, to a variety of topical items and to mystical and ethical subjects. The dangers of unfounded speculations are all too obvious. When speaking about the *Ḥadîqat al-ḥaqîqa*, Edward Browne ascribed his dislike of Sanâ'î's poem partly to the "halting and unattractive" nature of the *khaff*. The qualification is rather a curious one in the case of a metre which owed its name to the fact that it was considered to be 'light and nimble'. Perhaps Browne's impressionistic judgment was derived from an aversion to didactical poetry as such, for when later he criticized Nizâmî's *Makhzan al-asrâr*, he also put the blame on the metre, which in the latter case is the *sarî*, the 'swift' one.³³ In a way, this confirms the contention of this paper that the associations which a metre acquired in the course of literary history with one or more genres are perhaps more relevant to a definition of its individuality than any intrinsic qualities.

³³ *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge 1906, ii, pp. 319 and 403.

arabischen Lyrik älterer Zeit nichts Vergleichbares. (Offen bleibt die Frage, ob nicht auch die älteste türkische Metrik, wie die klassisch-abendländische, quantitativ war.)

(3) Auch der Reim scheint sich am besten durch arabischen Einfluß zu erklären. Aber konnte er nicht auch in oraler persischer Dichtung entstanden sein? Und sind nicht auch in der türkischen Lyrik Reime seit alters heimisch? Diese ist allerdings erst seit der 11. Jahrhundert belegt.

(4) Die semantische Folge $xyz \rightarrow x$ scheint in der Tat innovativ zu sein. Sie ist weder mittelpersisch, noch arabisch, noch türkisch.

Wir sehen nun die Themenstellung in ihrer ganzen Problematik. Zur Lösung sind folgende Hypothesen aufgestellt worden:

(1) Laut Mir 'Alī Šīr Navā'ī² (1441–1501) hat al-Xalīl b. Aḥmad, der Begründer der arabischen Prosodie und Grammatik (st. 786) auch die Regel des *rubā'ī* erfunden. Dies ist ungläubwürdig und nur aus Ehrfurcht vor den großen Manne so gesagt worden.

(2) Das *rubā'ī* ist original-persischer Entstehung. Salemann³ und Gershevitch⁴ leiten es vom *spenta-mainyu*-Typ des Avesta ab (vier Zeilen zu 4+7 oder 5+7 Silben); dieser Vergleich ist zu vage und schon aus zeitlichen Gründen kaum annehmbar. Meist aber wird die Entstehung eher innerhalb frühneupersischer Zeit vermutet, so bei Elwell-Sutton⁵: „The one metre whose purely Persian origin has never been challenged is the *rubā'ī*“. So auch Eilers, der gleichzeitig für das *rubā'ī* das Weiterleben einer alten, vorislamischen Form der iranischen Literatur ablehnt; ähnlich Meier 4f., 8, 12.

(3) Laut Kowalski⁶ hat sich das *rubā'ī* unter dem Einfluß der türkischen Volkspoesie entwickelt, für die Vierzeiler ja durchweg charakteristisch sind. In der persischen Literatur sei dies die einzige Produktion mit Strophik und die einzige, die nicht einem Muster des arabischen 'arūd entspricht. Auch habe die Wiege der persischen Poesie im Kontaktgebiet zum Türkentum gestanden (Chorasan, Transoxanien).

(4) Bausani⁷ unterstützt Kowalski und weist ergänzend auf chinesische Vierzeiler der Tang-Zeit (7.–9. Jh), als rege Kontakte zu Zentralasien bestanden. Türkische lyrische Elemente mochten sowohl nach China wie auch nach Iran geflossen sein.

Wir wollen nun Kowalskis und Bausanis These verfechten und zuschauen, was dabei herauskommt. Mein Verfahren wird dialektisch sein in dem Sinne, daß ich zunächst mit dem Worte contra Einwände erhebe, die türkische These zu widerlegen suche, danach die Widerlegung widerlege (mit dem Worte pro), also zeige, daß Kowalskis These doch haltbar ist.

Gegen die türkische Hypothese gibt es, soweit ich übersehen kann, drei grundsätzliche Einwände (A 1–3) und sieben aus der Struktur des *rubā'ī* resultierende (B 1–7).

A1. Contra: Das persische *rubā'ī* ist viel früher belegt als das türkische, nämlich mindestens 944/5 bei Abū Šakūr⁸, das erste türkische erst bei Mubārakšāh (Ende des 12. Jh.)⁹.

Pro: Die klassische Struktur des *rubā'ī* mit allen vier geschilderten Charaktere-

² Lebte 1441–1501. Vgl. S. 209.

³ S. 101f.

⁴ Darin eine Gesamtdarstellung. Bei Hans-Heinrich Schaefer (Ein indogermanischer Liedtypus in den Gāthās, ZDMG 94, 1940, 399–408) und Bertel's 1960, 53 etwas anders.

⁵ 1975, 633. Vgl. auch Andrews 167.

⁶ Vgl. am einfachsten das französische Resümee S. 155–181.

⁷ S. 527–578, vor allem 535.

⁸ Vgl. Lazard 1964, s. auch Anlage 3.

⁹ Vgl. auch Köprülüzade 118–120.

ristika ist auch im Persischen erst im 11. Jh. zur Norm geworden. Ihr gehen gewisse Vorstufen voraus, die mit den türkischen Vierzeilern des 11. Jh. verglichen werden müssen. Bei Manūčihri (1000–1041) findet sich der Satz¹⁰

ba-rāh-i turkī mānā ki xūbtar gū'ī
tu šī'r-i turkī bar xwān marā u šī'r-i γuzzī

‘auf türkenähnliche Weise äußerst du dich besser, (darum)
trage du mir ein (ost-)türkisches Gedicht vor und ein oghusisches Gedicht’.

Da Vierzeiler aber bis heute bei allen türkischen Nationen weit verbreitet sind, ist es wahrscheinlich, daß Manūčihri eben solche meinte. Damit kommen wir in eine Zeit, die von der persischen gar nicht so entfernt ist.

Hinzukommt, daß auch in China Vierzeiler in Mode waren. Wir finden nicht nur die yüè-fü-Gedichte¹¹ des 4./5. Jh., teilweise als Übersetzung aus dem Tabyač, das eine mongolische Sprache war, also einer steppennomadischen Gruppe angehörte, die mit den Türken große Ähnlichkeiten und kulturelle Kontakte aufwies. Hier war die Reimfolge i.a. xaxa, seltener auch axax, xaax, auch Zweizeiler aa ... sind belegt. Nach den Wei nahm China Kontakte mit den Alt-türken des 6.–8. Jh. auf. Die Kenntnis der alttürkischen Sprache war weit verbreitet, die türkische Musik war, vor allem als Militärmusik, einflußreich; Zelte, Reiten, Kleidung der Türken kamen in Mode¹². So finden wir denn im 8. Jh. (in der Tang-Zeit) auch Vierzeiler der Reimfolge aaba, z.B. das Gedicht des Li poh (st. 762, also vor dem ältesten Vierzeilerbeleg des Typus aaba bei dem Perser Ḥaṇṣala, 9. Jh.). Hier ein Zitat¹³:

chūn mián bǔ jué xiǎo
chù chù wén tí niǎo
yè lái fēng yǔ shēng
huā lào zhī duō shǎo

‘Schlafen im Frühling, den Morgen nicht spüren,
überall singende Vögel hören.
In vergangener Nacht: Wind und Regen lärmten.
Blumen fallen; weiß man: wieviele?’

Bausanis Vermutung einer Weitergabe der türkischen Form nach Ost (China) wie auch nach West (Persien) kann also nicht durch einen Hinweis auf die Datierungen widerlegt werden.

A2. Contra: Es ist ein anerkanntes Faktum, daß die ältesten persischen Dichter des 9./10. Jh. sämtlich aus dem Osten des persischen Sprachgebiets stammten, nämlich aus Gurgān (Abū 'l-Ḥayḍam, Abū Salīk), Herāt oder Nebenorte (Ḥaṇṣala, Abū Šu'ayb), Sēstān (Muḥammad b. Vašif, Muxallad), Buxārā (Murādī), Balx (Šahīd, Abū Šakūr, Ma'rūfī), bei Samarqand (Abū 'l-'Abbās, Rabinjanī), Ṭūs (Daqīqī), Marv (Mas'ūdī)¹⁴; ja, noch Rūdakī und Firdōsī stammten aus dem Osten. Dies wird von Lazard¹⁵ so erklärt, daß der Osten weiter entfernt vom arabisch geprägten Khalifat war, daher eher Eigenständigkeit entfalten konnte.

¹⁰ Vgl. Köprülüade 28–32.

¹¹ Vgl. Özerdim, Tökei; auch Nagasawa 138–149, Liu 1962, 22–29, Schmidt-Glintzer 151, Yip 312.

¹² Vgl. Liu 1958, I, 465–468.

¹³ Vgl. Bausani 535 (Gedicht des Li poh, st. 762), auch Yip 312; ein ähnliches Gedicht bei Liu 1962 29 (Vierzeiler des Wang Wei, 699–759).

¹⁴ Vgl. zu allen Lazard 1964.

¹⁵ 1975, 608–610.

Pro: Die geographische Nähe Ostpersiens zum Türkentum ist ein gewichtiges Faktum. Nun erwähnt Lazard selbst¹⁶, daß das Arabische als Verwaltungssprache im Westen bis 697/8 (oder 701/2) eingeführt wurde, im Osten 741/2. Das aber bedeutet einen Widerspruch zu Lazards These: Der arabische Einfluß war im Osten kaum geringer als im Westen. Auch waren viele frühe Poeten biling, persisch-arabisch, so Šahīd, Muṣ‘abī, Murādī und b. Vaṣīf¹⁷. Und gerade das *rubā‘ī*, das ja im Osten allmählich aufkam, ist weder aus der arabischen, noch aus der mittelpersischen Prosodie erklärlich.

In den altertümlichen Texten, die Lazard 1964 herausgegeben hat, werden denn auch permanent Türken erwähnt, z.B. Astrologen der Qarluq¹⁸, Bogenherstellung aus Ṭarāz¹⁹; ebenso in der Geschichte Sēstāns²⁰ (etwa von 1062) immer wieder über freundliche und feindliche Beziehungen mit den Türken berichtet. Wie Kowalski gezeigt hat²¹, stammen die ältesten Erwähnungen von Türken in der islamischen Literatur aus dem 7. Jh., und die persisch-türkischen Beziehungen seit Xusrau Anōšīrvān (6. Jh.), wobei die Türken oft verbündet waren mit Persern und Sogdern, sind wohlbekannt. (Vgl. auch Ḥudūd²² und Tamīm²³.) All dies bekräftigt eher die Möglichkeit einer (zunächst wohl oralen) Übernahme türkischer Muster in die persische Poesie. Ein historischer Einwand gegen Kowalskis These ist nicht ersichtlich.

A3. Contra: Arabische Lehnwörter erscheinen schon bei den ältesten Dichtern wie Abū ‘l-Hayḍam, Ḥanzala, b. Vaṣīf²⁴, dagegen sind türkische nicht zu finden — wieso dann ein türkischer Einfluß in der Poesie?

Pro: Ich muß mich tadeln. Eine solche contra-Aussage würde nämlich beruhen auf meiner Arbeit Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen²⁵, worin die ersten türkischen Lehnwörter erst aus dem Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam (982) und vor allem Firdōsī stammten. Lazards Ausgabe der ältesten persischen Dichter hätte mindestens im 4. Band berücksichtigt werden müssen. Prüfen wir dieses Material, so finden wir an türkischen Lehnwörtern: *miyāncī* ‘Mittler, Schiedsrichter’, zwar mit persischer Wurzel, aber typisch türkischen Suffix (produktiv, vgl. heute *tilifonçi* ‘Telefonist’) bei b. Vaṣīf (867) und Abū Šakūr (944/5), aber laut Dihxudā²⁶ auch bei Firdōsī (Werk von 975–1010), Nāšīr-i Xusrau (1072–77), Xāqānī (1121/2–1199), Niẓāmī (1141–1209). (Das Wort ist heute noch im Azeri belegt, *miyançi* laut Orudžev, auch im Tadschikischen laut Bertel’s *miyonçi*.) Andere Lehnwörter, durchweg auch bei Dihxudā belegt, sind: *āḍram* ‘Sattelkissen’ (Rabiñjanī 7), *āyāγ* ‘Becher’ (Abū Šakūr), *amrāγ* ‘Geliebter’ (Abū Šakūr), *bagtar* ‘Panzer’ (Abū Šakūr, etwas unsicher), *bagmāz* ‘süßer Weinsaft’ (Abū Šakūr), *tārāč* ‘Plünderung’ (Daqīqī), *čaxmāx* ‘Feuerzeug’ (Abū Šakūr), *xadang* ‘Weißpappel’ (Daqīqī), *γalīvāč* ‘eine Vogelart’ (Rabiñjanī 17)²⁷. Die türkischen Wörter erscheinen also besonders oft bei Abū Šakūr und Rabiñjanī. Beide Dichter schrieben in einem eher niederen Stil²⁸. Bedenken wir: Das Arabische, die heilige Spra-

¹⁶ Ebenda, 602.

¹⁷ Ebenda, 615.

¹⁸ Lazard 1964, II, Rabiñjanī 8.

¹⁹ Ebenda II, Daqīqī 41.

²⁰ Vgl. die Stichwörter: *Tarxān, Türk, Xallux, Ṭarāz*; auch Vf. sub *türk* = Nr. 888.

²¹ S. Anm. 6.

²² Eines der ältesten geographischen Werke (von 982), auch das Türkentum erfassend.

²³ Trotz dem arabischen Namen ein am Türkentum interessierter Perser (vielleicht türkischer Herkunft?), Werk von 821.

²⁴ Vgl. vor allem die Liste der *ištīlāḥāt* bei Lazard 1964, II.

²⁵ Eine Arbeit, bei der ich heute manches anders schreiben würde.

²⁶ Vgl. Bibliographie; hätte in meiner vierbändigen Arbeit herangezogen werden müssen.

²⁷ Dihxudā gibt viele weitere Zitate, vor allem von Dichtern des 11.–13. Jh.

²⁸ 1964, I, 27. Auch im Westen war ja das Türkische als Sprache wenig angesehen (vgl. ‘Āšīq pašas berühmtes *Türk diline kimsene bakmaz idi*). Es ist vorstellbar, daß Türken weithin eine ähnliche Rolle

che des Korans, galt als die Hochsprache schlechthin, in noblen Texten werden also arabische Termini gepflegt, dies war ja auch die Sprache der Verwaltung. In der einfachen, volkstümlichen Sprache Rabinjanīs und Abū Šakūrs jedoch erscheinen auch türkische Termini häufig.

Es ist also nicht auffällig, daß zwar ein starker Einfluß des arabischen 'arūd auch einem starken lexikalischen Einfluß des Arabischen entsprach, daß jedoch dem unarabischen, jedoch populären *rubā'ī* sehr wohl ein türkisches Muster zugrundeliegen konnte und sich dieser auch in anderen populären Texten, aber zuerst eben im türkisch-persischen Kontaktgebiet, auswirkte. Kommen wir nun zum speziellen Teil B, der Struktur des *rubā'ī*.

B1. Contra: Die ältesten Muster der türkischen Volkspoesie, die Vierzeiler bei Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī, sind silbenzählend, wie auch die arabische Poesie; dagegen zählen die persischen *rubā'īyyāt* die Moren, d.h. eine Länge gilt gleich zwei Kürzen. Ein *rubā'ī* kann 10–13 Silben je Zeile aufweisen, hat aber stets 20 Moren²⁹. Die türkischen Gedichte MKs dagegen haben i.a. in jeder Zeile die gleiche Silbenzahl.

Pro: Dies trifft zu für die klassische persische Literatur. Ich stimme auch mit anderen Forschern überein, die die Eigenart der neupersischen Prosodie daraus erklären, daß die mittelpersische Poesie gesungen oder von Musikinstrumenten begleitet wurde³⁰. Es mag die These verfochten werden, daß die mittelpersischen, z.B. die parthischen „Gedichte“³¹ eher frei skandierter Prosa in einem hohen Stil waren, ähnlich wie die Orchoninschriften oder Hölderlins Hyperion oder Kirchengesänge. Beim Gesang aber sind ja zwei halbe Noten gleich einer ganzen; hier entscheidet nicht die Zahl der Noten, sondern deren Zeitmaß.

Jedoch sind zwei Dinge zu beachten: Zunächst: MKs Metren stehen tatsächlich in der Mitte zwischen den persischen und den arabischen. Während z.B. das Grundmaß des *raǰaz* im Arabischen – – ◡ –, aber auch ◡ ◡ ◡ –, ◡ ◡ ◡ – und ◡ ◡ ◡ – seine konnte, in vier Varianten, und während im Persischen ein Metrum dieser Art gewählt werden, dann aber stetig im Gedicht gelten muß, kommt bei MK als Variante neben – – ◡ – allein ◡ ◡ ◡ – vor. Und dies erscheint recht selten, als nur gelegentliche Abwechslung. Bei 11 von mir geprüften Gedichten fand ich 219 Fälle mit – – ◡ – = 93,2%, nur 16 Belege von ◡ ◡ ◡ – = 6,8%.

Von 225 Versen bei MK sind 119 als oghusisch markiert, 12 als nichtoghusisch; die markierten Verse stammen also zu 90,8% von jenem türkischen Volk, mit dem die Perser die engsten Kontakte hatte. (Vgl. Dankoff 335ff.)

Ferner ist die persische Morenzählung doch nicht ganz so unverbräglich; ein *ramal musaddas maxbūn maḥḍūf* z.B. des Metrums ◡ ◡ – – / ◡ ◡ – – / ◡ ◡ – kann als Variante im ersten Teil auch die Ursprungsform – ◡ – – aufweisen. Vgl. auch Meier 12. Auch ist gerade die alte neupersische Poesie keinswegs strikt in der Morenzählung, so etwa in Muxallads Gedicht des Versmaßes – ◡ ◡ – / – ◡ ◡ – (~ – ◡ ◡ ◡) / – ◡ –, worin die Vorsilbe *ba* als „Länge“ erscheint, dagegen *ān* 'jener' als „Kürze“. Verstöße gegen die Quantitäten sind häufig. (Vgl. Henning³², Lazard³³.)

Dies alles mag gedeutet werden als Kampf zwischen einer eingedrungenen

spielten wie die Neger in den U.S.A.: sozial wenig angesehen, aber künstlerisch (musikalisch) einflußreich.

²⁹ Vgl. Elwell-Sutton 1976, 45f., 126; Andrews 23–25. Es wird verglichen ein arabisches Gedicht des Jahdar b. Dubay'a, das durch weg 12 Silben hat, jedoch in der ersten Zeile, persisch gerechnet, 18 Moren hätte, in der zweiten 21, während ein Gedicht des Persers Ḥāfiẓ eine Morenzahl 22, jedoch in der ersten Zeile 10 Silben, in der zweiten 15.

³⁰ Rempis 224; Lazard 1985, 386; Shaked 397.

³¹ Lazard 1985.

³² 1962, 93.

³³ 1975, 612–614.

arabischen oder türkischen Metrik und dem älteren morenzählenden Gesangsstil.

B2. Contra: Charakteristisch für die persische Metrik ist die überlange Silbe, nämlich Langvokal + silbenschießender Konsonant oder aber zwei silbenschießende Konsonanten, sie zählen als Länge + Kürze, also drei Moren. Bei MK gibt es derlei nicht: Wörter wie *alp* 'tapfer' gelten schlicht als lang. (Entsprechendes gilt auch für das Qutaḍyu Bilig und das 'Atabatu 'I-Haqā'iq.)

Pro: Bei den älteren neupersischen Dichtern gilt Überlänge oft = einfacher Länge, also z.B. bei Muxallad *zād* als –, nicht als – ʾ³⁴. Auch Belege wie *kārd* = – kommen vor. Da das Arabische keine Silben des Typs Langvokal + Konsonant oder Vokal + zwei Konsonanten im Silbenschuß kannte, kann der Sachverhalt *hier* nur gedeutet werden als Kampf zwischen der alten persischen musikalisch bestimmten Prosodie und einem eingedrungenen Muster, das allein das türkische sein kann. Dann aber dürfen wir auch B1 so beurteilen, also als türkisch geprägt.

B3. Contra: Das Metrum des *rubā'ī* ist ausschließlich persisch, in der türkischen Literatur des 11. Jh. noch gar nicht belegt.

Pro: Das erste untadlige persische *rubā'ī* findet sich bei Abū Šakūr (944/5), zuvor nur Vorstufen dazu. Ich schlage einige Abkürzungen vor: R = das Metrum des persischen *rubā'ī*, KR „Kurzes *rubā'ī*“ = das häufigste Maß des türkischen Vierzeilers, nämlich – ʾ – / – ʾ – (fakultativ statt der ersten Länge auch Kürze und der zweite Taktteil als ʾ – –). Ferner LR „langes *rubā'ī*“ = die längere türkische Verszeile, der Struktur – ʾ – / – ʾ – / – ʾ – (Wobei im ersten und dritten Taktteil die je erste Länge auch kurz sein kann) bzw. – ʾ – / – – ʾ – / – – (wobei die erste Länge des ersten Taktteils und die mittlere Länge des dritten Taktteils auch kurz sein können). Es ist leicht zu sehen, daß LR eine Erweiterung von KR ist; anders gesagt, KR ist die Basis von LR. Wir wollen nunmehr das von mir zusammengestellte Schema betrachten: Anlage 1. Man findet in der ersten Zeile das Grundschema des R, in der zweiten eine Variante. Zeilen 3 und 4 erbringen die Varianten des LR, 5 und 6 jene des KR. Ein Vergleich Zeile 3 mit 1/2 zeigt die außerordentliche Ähnlichkeit, im 1. und 2. Taktteil des R ist lediglich eine Kürze hinzugekommen, während im 3. das türkische Metrum eine Kürze mehr hat. Zeile 4 weist im 1. und 3. Taktteil eine zusätzliche Kürze auf, während im 2. eine fehlt. Wir untersuchen nun die Entwicklung, wie sie sich uns bei einer Musterung der Quellen, vor allem Lazard 1964, darstellt. In Zeile 7 ist ein bei Ṭabarī (unter dem Jahre 726) aufgeführter Vierzeiler vermerkt, ein Spottgedicht der Einwohner von Balx auf den Gouverneur von Xurāsān, als dieser dem türkischen Herrscher unterlag³⁵. Es lautet:

Az Xuttalān āmaḍīh
bā rū tabāh āmaḍīh
āvār³ bāz āmaḍīh
bēdil farāz āmaḍīh

‘Von Xuttalān bist du gekommen,
mit verstörtem Gesicht gekommen,
ruiniert wiedergekommen,
schockiert zurückgekommen’.

Das aber ist ein einwandfreies KR nach dem Muster – ʾ – / – ʾ –. Bemerkenswert ist die Überlänge in *āvār* (falls nicht ursprünglich *āvāra* gestanden hat),

³⁴ Vgl. Lazard 1964, I, 46.

³⁵ Vgl. Bausani 259f., Lazard 1975, 605.

ebenso findet sich eine Cäsur vor *āmadīh*, wie im KR. Die Reimfolge ist aaaa, die Sinnfolge recht simpel xxxx, bloße Aufzählung. Ob dieses Hohngedicht bewußt im türkischen Versmaß gehalten ist?

Andere „Gedichte“ der Frühzeit, wie sie bei Rempis aufgeführt werden, sind lediglich volkstümliche Reimereien ohne strenger gestaltete Metrik³⁶, sie ähneln MKs Ortsneckerei über die Barsyan-Leute³⁷. Man hat den Eindruck, daß auch hier türkische Vierzeiler und Zweizeiler befruchtend gewirkt haben mögen. Dies gilt auch für die vorislamischen Stücke aus Tārīx-i Sēstān³⁸, wo aber feste Silbenzahlen vorliegen, jedoch ohne Beachtung der Quantität: Die türkisch-persischen Beziehungen sind ja vorislamisch. Dem Versuch, Suydīs Zweizeiler als Vorläufer von R zu deuten³⁹, kann ich mich, mit Rempis⁴⁰ gegen Lazard⁴¹ nicht anschließen.

Dem R etwas näher steht Ḥanzala (864)⁴². Der Anfang entspricht genau dem KR, dann wird erweitert. Die Reimfolge ist aaba, die Sinnfolge xxyy. Dem R sehr nahe stehen die beiden folgenden: Mašriqī (936)⁴³, mit Abweichung allein im 3. Takteil, wo zwei Kürzen fehlen. Die Reimfolge ist xaxa, die Sinnfolge xxyy. Bei Abū 'l-Ḥusayn (923)⁴⁴ fehlt nur noch eine Kürze im letzten Takteil, hier liegt allerdings ein Zweizeiler vor. Bei Šahīd⁴⁵ und Farālāvī (beide 936)⁴⁶ finden wir dann das echte R-Maß, wobei aber eventuell nur Zweizeiler vorliegen, die Reimfolge ist aabb, die Sinnfolge xxyy. Schließlich gibt es des erste unzweifelhafte und untadlige R bei Abū Šakūr (944/4)⁴⁷, Reimfolge aaaa, Sinnfolge xxyy.

Fassen wir die Gesamtentwicklung zusammen:

a) Am Anfang, vorislamisch und bis ins 7. Jh., verspätet noch bei Xurdādbih (1. Hälfte 9. Jh.)⁴⁸, findet sich Silbenzählung ohne Quantitätsbeachtung, aber mit Reim, meist auch Cäsur.

b) Bei Ṭabarī (8. Jh.) gilt noch der türkische KR.

c) Es folgt eine Zeit der Vorstufen von Ḥanzala bis Abū 'l-Ḥusayn (9., frühes 10. Jh.).

d) Im 10. Jh. setzt sich das R durch, jedenfalls was Vierzeiligkeit und Metrum betrifft.

Diese historische Reihenfolge spricht für türkische Herkunft des R. Dafür spricht auch seine durchschnittliche Silbenzahl: 11,5, erinnernd an den in der türkischen Volksliteratur weit verbreiteten (sich auch bei MK findenden) Elfsilbenvers.

³⁶ Gemeint ist (s. Anlage 3): b. Mufarriq, b. Xurdādbih. Wahrscheinlich gehört hierhin auch Rypka 50f. (mit KR-ähnlichem, aber unklarem Versmaß), während Lazard 1975, 605 ein wenig rubā'ī-ähnlich ist, aber nur drei Zeilen aufweist, keine eindeutige Morenzahl und keinen vernünftigen Reim hat. Möglicherweise liegt hierbei eine sekundäre nationalistische Fälschung vor.

³⁷ Original S. 220: *quš yavuzi sayizyan, yīyač yavuzi azyan, yer yavuzi qazyān, bodun yavuzi Barsyan* 'der übelste Vogel ist die Elster, der übelste Strauch die Hundsrose, das übelste Land der Sumpf, das übelste Volk die Barsyan' — ein Vierzeiler mit Reim, aber weder mit silben-, noch morenzählender Metrik, daher von al-Kāšyarī auch nicht als Gedicht, sondern als „Sentenz“ (*maṭal*) bezeichnet.

³⁸ Vgl. Rempis 233f., 235–238.

³⁹ Thiesen 171.

⁴⁰ 220f.

⁴¹ 1970.

⁴² Vgl. Anlage 3.

⁴³ Vgl. Anlage 3.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Anlage 3.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Anlage 3.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Anlage 3.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Anlage 3.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Bausani 529f., Lazard 1970 und 1975, 605.

B4. Contra: KR und LR wiesen eine strenge Cäsur auf, das persische R nicht. Vergleichen wir mit dem anfangs zitierten R ein Stück aus MK⁴⁹:

*Bäčkäm urup / atlaqa
uyyurdaqı / tatlaqa
oγrı yavuz / itlaqa
quşlar kepi / učitimiz*

‘Auf den Pferden die Banner aufrichtend
gegen die Heiden im Uigurenlande,
gegen die diebischen, grausamen Hunde
flogen wir wie Vögel dahin’.

Pro: In der Tat spielt die Cäsur in der gesamten neupersischen Prosodie eine geringe Rolle. Sie ist jedoch gerade in der Gedichten der ältesten Epoche deutlich spürbar, z.B. im Karkōy-Poem⁵⁰:

*Avroxtay / bwāḏā rōš
hamē bēlrast az jōš
dōst ham gīr / bad āgōš
hamēšay / nēkī kōš*

‘Entzündet sei die Leuchte,
für stets erlöst von „Wallung“,
den Freund nimm in die Arme,
bemüh dich stets ums Gute’

Wir fühlen deutlich eine Cäsur 3/3. Das vielbesprochene Āhū-yi kōhī⁵¹ scheint eine Cäsur 5/3/5 aufzuweisen, ebenso bei Šahīd, s. Elwell-Sutton 1976, 637; der zitierte Vers hat 4/3; dagegen sind b. Mufarriy’s Reimereien schwer durchschaubar. Eine Art Cäsur ergibt sich oft genug auch automatisch durch den *radīf*, wie wir anfangs aus dem Beispiel aus ‘Umar Xayyām ersahen, ebenso bei Varrāq (873)⁵²

*nigārīnā ba-naqd-i jān-t nadham
girānī dar bahā arzān-t nadham*

‘Beloved, life’s too cheap a price for you;
I will not sell so rich a price for nothing’.

Lazard⁵³ erwähnt, daß von Rūdakīs 40 *rubā’īyāt* 13 eine Cäsur nach dem ersten Taktteil *in allen vier Versen* aufweisen. Die Kluft zwischen persischer und türkischer Prosodie ist also nicht unüberbrückbar.

B5. Contra: Für die persische Poesie ist, im Gegensatz zur arabischen und der MKs, Liaison und Synalöphe charakteristisch, also *piyāda az > piyāda(a)z* oder *man az > manaz*.

Pro: In der Tat ist Synalöphe bei MK selten, was sich aus der Struktur seiner Gedichte ergibt. Sie kommt jedoch vor, z.B. in Vers Stebleva 60.2 (*basīt-i musad-das sālīm*)

*kičig bolup / yayīnī / yergü āmās
ādgärmāḏip / qoḏsaanī / elni qunar*

⁴⁹ Stebleva Nr. 2.1 = Dankoff 53.4, Tekin 4.2.

⁵⁰ Vgl. Anlage 3: Rempis 233f., Lazard 1974, 437.

⁵¹ Lazard 1970, Rempis 220f., s. auch Anlage 3.

⁵² S. Anlage 3.

⁵³ 1970, 243.

‘Den Feind soll man, auch wenn er gering ist, nicht verachten,
wenn man nicht aufpaßt und ihn läßt, raubt er das Reich’.

Ähnlich in 11.1, 16.2, 57.2.

B6. Contra: Als Charakteristikum des R war eine Sinnfolge $xyyz \rightarrow x$ angegeben worden. Derlei ist in der Poesie MKs nicht zu finden.

Pro: Wie schon Bausani⁵⁴ ausgeführt hat, gibt es beim R vier Typen von Sinnfolgen, nämlich außer der angegebenen noch xxxx, d.h. reine Aufzählung in einem Nacheinander ohne tiefere Beziehung, so etwas beim Spottvers des Ṭabarī; eine kreisförmige Sinnführung $w \rightarrow x \rightarrow y \rightarrow z (\rightarrow w)$, die hier weiter keine Rolle spielt und schließlich xxyy, d.h. daß je zwei Zeilen in enger Beziehung zueinander stehen, etwa wie bei Šahīd⁵⁵:

‘Weisheit und Reichtum sind wie Narzisse und Rose,
die nicht an einem Orte zusammen erblühen.
Wer die Weisheit besitzt, hat keinen Reichtum,
und wer den Reichtum besitzt, des ist die Weisheit gering’.

Diese Sinnfolge ist bekanntlich auch die beim türkischen *mani* übliche⁵⁶.

Untersuchen wir nun die Vierzeiler (und verwertbaren Zweizeiler) der älteren neupersischen Poesie (auch solche, die z.B. im *hazaĵ*-Maß gedichtet sind) nach der Sinnfolge, so finden wir allein xxx (b. Mufarriy, Ṭabarī, Xurdādbih, b. Vašif, Muš‘abī, Šāni‘) und xxyy (Suḡdī, Ḥanzala, Abū Salīk, Mašriqī, Abū ‘I-Ḥusayn, Farālāvī, Abū Šakūr, Daqīqī). Die Form $xyyz \rightarrow x$ ist also noch gar nicht belegt. Es scheint, daß erst ‘Umar Xayyām sich dieser besonders geistreichen Sinnfolge ausgiebig bediente, und das führt uns in eine recht späte Zeit (1021–1122) und ist offenbar das Endprodukt einer langen innerpersischen Entwicklung.

B7. Contra: Im persischen R finden wir die Reimfolge aaba. Diese ist bei MK kaum üblich und typisch persisch.

Pro. Die häufigsten Reimfolgen bei MK sind in der Tat aaab und aaaa. Seltener erscheinen xaxa, abab, aaba erscheint vielleicht (so nach Stebleva: Dankoff und Tekin teilen die Verse aber anders ein) bei Gedicht, 4 1/2, 48.1. Wichtig ist hier der semantische Zusammenhang von Reimfolge und geschildertem Gegenstand. Wir finden aaab vor allem bei lebhaft geschilderten Ereignissen, z.B. Kriegen. Weisheitssprüche und Liebesaussagen dagegen stehen selten in der Folge aaab, vielmehr meist xaxa oder aaaa. Wichtig ist, daß in dem Weisheitswerk Qutaḡyū Bilig bei 196 Vierzeilern die Folge aaba gilt, nur in 9 aaaa, im ‘Atabatu ‘I-Ḥaqa‘iq nur aaba. Ferner gilt, wie wir sahen, für die chinesisch geschriebene, türkisch beeinflusste Poesie meist xaxa, aber auch aaba. Nun ist beachtenswert:

(1) Ein Übergang $xaxa > aaxa = aaba$ ist leicht möglich und auch an mehreren Orten geschehen (China, Turkestan, Iran). Er betrifft im Karachanidischen Gedichte gnomischer und erotischer Natur.

(2) Die Gedichte MK 44, 45, 48 sind Weisheitssprüche. Aber auch die persischen *rubā‘iyāt* sind i.a. moralische oder erotische Aussagen. Damit steht die Reimfolge xaxa wie auch aaba dem persischen Gebrauch nahe⁵⁷.

(3) Aber eine Musterung des älteren R zeigt, daß dort aaba so selten war wie bei MK, daß normalerweise die (auch im Türkischen häufige) Folge aaaa galt.

⁵⁴ 531f.

⁵⁵ Vgl. Bausani 532.

⁵⁶ Vgl. *Philologiae Turcae Fundamenta*, II, Aquis Mattiacis 1964, passim.

⁵⁷ Stebleva Nr. 25 (= Tekin 32) wird von Brockelmann (s. Bibliographie bei Tekin) als Zehnsilber aufgefaßt, ist laut Stebleva und Tekin, die den Sinneinschnitt nicht beachten, als $- \cup - - / - \cup - - / - -$ interpretiert worden. Besser wäre, um Worttrennungen zu vermeiden, $- \cup - / - \cup - / - \cup -$. Fügen wir

Wir finden aaaa bei b. Mufarriy, Ṭabarī, Abū Šakūr, Šāni‘; aabb bei b. Xurdādbih, Šahīd; aaba bei Ḥaṇzala, Varrāq, Daqīqī; xaxa bei Ḥaṇzala, Abū Salīk, Mašriqī. (unklar ist Farālāvī, wohl Zweizeiler.)

Das bedeutet, daß sich der Gebrauch noch keineswegs gefestigt hatte und ähnlich frei war wie bei MK. Wie Elwell-Sutton⁵⁸ zeigt, überwiegt aaaa in der Literatur des 11. Jh. bei weitem, nämlich bei sieben Dichtern (Farruxī 37:1, Azraqī 88:20, Rūnī 43:5, Salmān 399:8, Mu‘izzī 149:28, Qaṭrān 130:21, ‘Unṣurī 59:8, also) zusammen 905:91 oder 90,9 zu 9,1%. Ich darf ergänzen, daß sich bei 121 R des ‘Umar Xayyām in der kritischen Edition Christensens bereits ein Verhältnis von 36:85 = 29,8 zu 70,2% fand, also ein starkes Übergewicht von aaba; noch ausgeprägter ist dieses bei Ḥāfiẓ (14. Jh.), nämlich 2:77 = 2,5 zu 97,5%. Anders gesagt, das Übergewicht von aaba hat sich erst allmählich innerpersisch ergeben und kann als Spätprodukt der Abwendung vom türkischen Ursprung angesehen werden. Hier eine Zusammenfassung des Abschnittes B, vgl. Anlage 2.

Eine Analyse der Gesamtentwicklung zeigt also einen allmählichen strukturellen Übergang von der türkischen (karachanidischen) zur klassischen persischen Form. Damit ist die These, daß das R auf türkischen Einfluß zurückgehe, zwar nicht strikt bewiesen (dazu wäre es nötig, türkische Gedichte z.B. des 6. Jh. zu kennen), wohl aber als eine volle Möglichkeit aufgezeigt.

Ich halte die These, daß das R in einem türkisch-persischen Kontaktgebiet, gefördert wohl auch durch arabischen Einfluß, entstanden ist, für haltbar. So mag sich ergeben haben, was Bausani „un identico mondo culturale musulmano“ genannt hat, ‘eine identische islamische Kulturwelt’. Drei Literaturen mögen sich vereinigt und das Wunderwerk des R geschaffen haben. Zivilisation beruht auf Kommunikation. Aber auch wenn das R türkischen Ursprungs sein sollte, bliebe dieses „bezaubernde Metrum“ dennoch „ein wundervolles Erzeugnis des persischen Genius“⁵⁹.

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B = Bausani in Antonino Pagliaro, Alessandro Bausani: Storia della letteratura persa. Milano 1960.

aber eng zusammengehörige Wörter (z.B. *anin yuzinā*) in einen Taktteil zusammen, so ergibt sich als korrekt (in Übereinstimmung mit Brockelmann) – ˘ – – – ˘ – – ˘ – ˘ – . Das ist natürlich im üblichen ‘*arūd*’ ungewöhnlich. Betrachten wir noch die Art *radif* im Gedichte, so ergibt sich eine Reimfolge aaba:

qoyyaşup yatsa / anin yuzinā
alsiqar õgin / anin sõzinā
min kişi yul’i / bolup õzinā
bergälär õzin / anin kõzinā.

Wie nahe stehen wir hier dem ungewöhnlichen Versmaß *rubā’i*, das ja ebenfalls einen fünfteiligen Takteil (den ersten) aufweist. Ein weiteres aaba mit *radif* findet sich in Nr. 12 und 20.1.

⁵⁸ 1975, 639–641.

⁵⁹ Eilers 212. Eine besonders bemerkenswerte Darlegung, sprechend für rein persische Herkunft des *rubā’i*, ist Bo Utas’ Beitrag „Arabic and Iranian elements in New Persian prosody“, worin, auch eben das *rubā’i* berücksichtigend und einreihend, von „basic metrical elements“ der neupersischen Prosodie ausgegangen wird. Diese strukturelle (synchronische) These steht in keinem kontradiktorischen Widerspruch zu meiner historischen (diachronischen) Ausführung.

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Anlage 1: Entwicklung des R (*rubā‘ī*)

1 Rubā‘ī	--- -- -- --	
2 Rubā‘ī	∪-- --	
3 LR	∪-- -- ∪-- --	1. --∪ 2. --∪ 3. +∪
4 LR	∪-- -- --∪-- --	1. --∪ 2. +∪ 3. --∪
5 KR	∪-- -- --∪--	= Basis zu 3/4 (LR)
6 KR	∪-- -- ∪-- --	= Basis zu 3/4 (LR)
7 Ṭabarī 726	---∪-- --∪--	= 5, aber mit Überlänge; aaaa xxxx
8 Ḥanzāla 864	---∪-- ∪--∪-- ∪--∪--	im Anfang = 6 aaba xxyy
9 Mašriqī 896	---∪-- ∪--∪-- --	3. --∪∪ xaxa xxyy
10 Abū ‘l-Ḥusayn 923	---∪-- --∪-- --∪--	3. --∪, etwa wie 4 aa – (Zweizeiler)
11 Šahīd 936	---∪-- --∪-- --∪--	= 1, aber eventuell Zweizeiler aabb xxyy
12 Abū Šakūr 944/5	---∪-- ∪--∪-- --∪--	= 2, erstes untadliges rubā‘ī, aber aaaa xxyy

Anlage 2: Entwicklung der Charakteristika des *rubā‘ī*

Türkisch	Persisch, früh	Persisch, später
Vierzeiler häufig	Vierzeiler i.a. nur im rubā‘ī	=, daneben (spät) fahlavīyāt ~ türk. tuyuy
Metrum --∪--/∪-- bzw. --∪--/∪--/--∪-- und --∪--/∪--/--∪--	--∪--∪-- und Übergänge zu rechts	--- -- -- --
Reimfolge in Gnomen aaaa, xaxa, selten aaba	im rubā‘ī wie links, im 11. Jh. eher aaaa	aaba überwiegt bei weitem
Sinnfolge frei, meist xxxx oder xxyy	wie links	xxyz → x wird häufig
Silbenzählung, aber weniger frei als in der arabischen Metrik	Morenzählung, aber häufige Verstöße, erinnern an Silbenzählung	Morenzählung
nur lange und kurze Silben, „überlange“ = lange	lange, kurze und überlange Silben, letztere aber oft = lange (also zwei oder drei Moren)	überlange Silben stetig = Länge + Kürze (drei Moren)
strenge Cäsur	Cäsur anfangs nicht selten, aber weniger streng als im Türkischen	Cäsur nur sehr beschränkt (bei radīf)
Liaison, Synalöphe schwach	üblich	üblich

Anlage 3: Ältere neupersische Lyrik, vornehmlich *rubā'ī*

Diese Anlage ist wie folgt geordnet: in der ersten Zeile: Namen und (soweit zu ermitteln) Herkunft der Dichter, ferner das (oft nur ungefähre) Datum ihrer Werke. (M. = Muḥammad, b. = *ibn* 'Sohn'). In der zweiten Zeile: das gewählte Versmaß, angegeben nach den Nummern bei E 1976. In der dritten Zeile: Reimfolge und Sinnfolge (i.a. nur bei Vierzeilern). In der vierten Zeile: Sekundärquellen; dabei Abkürzungen wie in der Bibliographie. Hinweis: Ein *muḍāri'* wie Henning 1962 könnte auch gedeutet werden als -- ∪ --/∪ --/ -- ∪ --/∪ --; dann Beginn wie beim LR; ähnlich bei Ḥanzāla. Als Metrum (nicht Sinnfolge) bedeutet z.B. xxx = reine Silbenzählung, ohne Rücksicht auf die Quantität, also außerhalb des '*arūḍ*'; Silbenzählung liegt auch bei einer Markierung wie 6/6/5/6 vor.

1. Epoche: Frühzeit, ohne Einfluß des arabischen '*arūḍ*'

1. N.N. Vor 642?

xxx / xxx (oder eher 6/6)

(Hauptreim -ōš) aa aa aa bb

R 233f.; L 1974, 437; E 1976, 176; Meier 10

2. N.N. Vor 642?

xxx / xxx (so meist: 13 Belege, daneben 3/5 = 5 Belege, 5/3 = 2 Belege)

aa bb cc aa dd ee ff ee gg ee

R 235–238

3. Abū Ḥafṣ-i Suydī. 650–720 (kaum 912, 918)

xxxxx / xxx / xxxxx (eher als 4/4/4, vgl. MK 44, 45)

aa (Zweizeiler), Reimerei; Sinnfolge etwa xxyy

R 220f.; E 637; E 1976, 177, 225; Thiesen 171f.; L 1970; L 1975, 637

4. Yazīd b. Mufarriy (Araber). 672–680 (oder 679–684)

xxxx / xxxx (kaum -- ∪ -- / -- ∪ --). Bei Meier: 6/7/8

aaaa, Reimerei; xxxx

R 222f.; L 1970, 240; E 1976, 176, 223; Meier 9

5. N.N. 7. Jh.?

9–15 Silben, kaum Cäsus, kein *maṭla'*

aaaa ... (Reim -ān, aber 12a -ām)

Tavadia 1955; Meier 9, 12 (eine Art *qaṣīda*)

6. N.N. 7. Jh.?

10–14 Silben (Halbverse 4–7), (musikalische) Cäsus, *maṭla'*

Halbverse zz xa xa ... (Reim -ān)

Henning 1949–1951; Meier 9, 12 (eine Art *qaṣīda*)

7. Leute von Balx, bei Ṭabarī. 726 (oder 737/8)

Vierzeiler -- ∪ --/∪ -- = KR, ähnlich *12.2.07(2) bzw. 02.3.07

aaaa (mit *radīf*); xxyy

B 529; L 1970, 240; E 1976, 176; Meier 10

8. Abū 'l-Yanbayī 'Abbās b. Ṭarxān, bei b. Xurdāšbih. 815/6 (oder 842–847)

Vierzeiler 6/6/5/6

aabb, Reimerei; xxxx (oder xyxx)

B 529f.; L 1975, 605; L 1970, 240; E 1976, 173, 178; Meier 11

2. Epoche: Vorstufen des *rubā'ī*; bereits Einfluß des arabischen '*arūḍ*'

9. Abū 'l-Hayṯam-i Gurgānī. Beginn 9. Jh.

Ghasele *mujtaṯṯ* 4.1.15

aa xa xa ...

L I 24, 78–84, L II 52–68; L 1975, 618; E 1976, 224

10. Ḥanzāla-yi Bād̄yēsī (bei Herat). 864 (oder 835?)

1. Vierzeiler *muḍāri'* 4.7.14; 2. Vierzeiler *xafīf* 4.5.11

1. aaba xxyy; 2. xaxa xxyy

L I 17f., L II 12; L 1975, 616; B 530; R 221; E 1976, 104, 107, 175, 177

11. M. b. Vašif-i Sēstānī (Sigzī). 867–909

1. Kasside *ramal* 3.1.15; 2. Fragment? *sarī‘* 3.4.11; 3. Kasside ebenso

1. aa xa xa ...; 2. xa xa xa ...; 3. aa xa xa

R 123–225; L 1975, 615f.; L I 18, 54–56, L II 13–15; E 637; E 1976, 97, 100, 177; Meier 10

12. Maḥmūd Varrāq. 873

Vierzeiler *hazaġ* 2.1.11

aaba; xxxx; vgl. *fahlavīyāt*

R 221; L I 19, 59, L II 18; B 530; L 635; E 1976, 92, 177, 225, 252

13. Bassām-i Kūrd (oder Kaward). 865 (874?)

Kasside *sarī* 3.4.11 oder (Meier 11) „*raġaz* mit Unregelmäßigkeiten“

aa xa xa ...

R 225–227; L I 18, L II 57; E 637; E 1976, 177; Meier 11

14. B. b. Muxallad-i Sēstānī (Sigzī). 865 (874?)

Kasside *sarī‘* 3.4.11

aa xa xa

R 227f.; L I 19, 58, L II 17; L 1975, 637; B 1976, 177; Meier 11

15. Abū Salīk-i Gurgānī. 879–891

1. isolierte Zeile *hazaġ* 5.1.10; 2. zweimal Vierzeiler *ramal* 2.4.11

1. ab; 2. xaxa; xxyy

L I 19, 61, L II 21f.; B 1976, 94, 109, 174, 237

16. Firōz Mašriqī. Starb 896

1. Vierzeiler *hazaġ* (fast *rubā‘ī*) 5.1.11; 2. Vierzeiler *ramal* 2.4.15; 3. Vierzeiler *hazaġ* 2.1.11 u.a.m.

1.–3. xaxa; xxyy

L I 19, 60, L II 19f.; L 1975, 616f.; E 658; E 1976, 90, 110, 174

17. Abū Ṭayyib M. b. Ḥātim Muṣ‘abī. >914

rubā‘ī, aber Zweizeiler; u.a.m., auch *mutaqārib* 1.1.06(2)

aa; xxxx

L I 23, 74f., L II 48f.; E 1976, 90, 174

18. Abū ‘I-Ḥusayn (oder Ḥasan) M. b. M. Murādī-yi Buxārā‘ī. 914–943

Einzelverse ohne Reim

L I 23, 76, L II 50

19. Abū ‘I-Ḥusayn Xārījī. 923

--- -- / - - - / - - - , also fast *rubā‘ī* (~ 3.3.11), aber Zweizeiler

aa

L I 24, 77, L II 51

20. Abū ‘I-Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn Šahīd-i Balxī. Starb 936

rubā‘ī perfekt, aber eventuell zwei Zweizeiler (s. 5.1.13) u.a.m.

aabb; xxyy

L I 20f., 62–69, L II 23–39; L 1975, 618; E 637; E 1976, 42, 70f., 90, 98f., 102, 106, 110, 174, 245, 254; Meier 13f. Laut B 532 auch L II 31 *rubā‘ī*, aber bloßer Vierzeiler (Metrum schwierig); xaxa; xxyy

21. N.N. 10. Jh.

zweimal Zweizeiler *mutaqārib* 1.1.11

aa aa aa ... (Reim auf *-ān*; Reim auf *-īr*); Reime unedel

Lazard 1974; Meier 9

22. N.N. 10. Jh.

1. Zweizeiler *ramal* 2.4.15; 2. Kasside? *muḍārī‘* 4.7.14

1. aa bb cc ...; 2. aa xa xa ... oder xa xa xa ... (*maṭla‘* unklar, Reim auf *-ār*), Verstöße gegen die *‘arūḍ*-Quantität

Henning 1962; Meier 9

23. Abū ‘Abd-allāh M. b. Mūsā Farālāwī. Zeit etwa wie Nr. 20
rubā’ī perfekt, aber eher zwei Zweizeiler, u.a.m.
abcc (?); xxyy (?)
L I 21f., 70, L II 40–46 (speziell 45); E 641; E 1976, 42, 92, 105, 243

24. Abū ‘I-‘Abbās Faḍl b. ‘Abbās-i Rabiṅjanī (bei Samarqand). 943
Kassiden, Ghaselen, *qiṭa’āt*
u.a. *muḍāri’* 4.7.07(2), auch ein Einzelvers im *rubā’ī*-Metrum
L I 26f., 85–93, L II 64–77; L 1975, 619; E 1976, 95, 96, 105, 107, 115; Meier 15

3. Epoche: Das *rubā’ī* ist vollständig belegt

25. Abū Šakūr-i Balxī. 944/5
rubā’ī perfekt; u.a.m.
aaaa, xxyy
L I 27–30, 94–126, L II 78–127; L 1975, 263; E 642; E 1976, 99, 103, 244, 254; Meier 15

26. Abū Šu‘ayb Šālih b. Herātī. Wie Nr. 25
Kassiden, Ghaselen, *qiṭa’āt*
L I 30f., 127f.; Meier 15

27. Abū ‘Abd-allāh M. b. Ḥasan Ma’rūfī-yi Balxī. 954–961
Kassiden, Ghaselen, *qiṭa’āt*
L I 31, 128–133, L II 132–138

28. Abū ‘Alī Bal’amī. 961–976
Zwei Zweizeiler
L I 32, 195, L II 140

29. Abū Mansūr M. (b. M.) b. Aḥmad Daqīqī, aus Ṭös, Balx, Samarqand, Buxārā? 941 bis
etwa 978
rubā’ī perfekt; u.a.m.
aaba; xxyy
L I 32–36, 136–162, 184–187, L II 141–177; E 1976, 42, 102, 107, 173, 244; Meier 15

30. Šāni’-i (Šāyiy-i?) Balxī. 966
rubā’ī perfekt
aaaa; xxxx
L I 31, 133, L II 139; L 1975, 626; R 232; E 643

31. Mas’ūdī-yi Marvazī. Vor 966
Zweizeiler
L I 32, 73, L II 47; L 1975, 626; E 1976, 245

32. (Ḥakīm) Maysarī. 980/1
Zweizeiler
L I 36–40, 163–180, L II 178–194; E 1976, 244

4. Epoche: Vorklassik, Reimfolge im *rubā’ī* meist noch aaaa (11. Jh.), Übergang zur 5. Epoche: Klassik mit Überwiegen von aaba.

Notes on ‘aruz in Turkish collections

BARBARA H. FLEMMING

Preliminary remarks

The boundaries between alliterative, syllabic and rhythmic Turkish verse and ‘aruz metrics have been blurred from the earliest times, and patterns of ‘aruz feet were superimposed on rhythmic Turkish poetry at an early age.¹ Even the archaic poetical quotations contained in Mahmud al-Kashgari’s *Diwan Lugat at-Turk* have been shown to be not syllabic folklore but varieties of ‘aruz with various degrees of irregularity.² The Khwarazmian poets Kuṭb³ and Khwarazmi used old and new forms to suit the metre. Syllabic metres exerted an influence on the quantitative metre,⁴ while inversion, graphic representation of closed and open syllables, and “graphic rhyme” were used to accommodate ‘aruz.⁵ The redif was useful in solving difficulties in connection with the choice of rhyme.⁶ Syllabic verse forms appealed to the mystic poets who mediated between the court and folk literatures. Turkish sources dealing with ‘aruz and syllabic metres and the poetry composed by wandering mystics belong to tekke or minstrel (aşık or saz şairi) literature which is surveyed in a special issue of *Türk Dili*.⁷

Turkish poetry continued to build upon the foundation laid by Arabic and Persian theory and practice (Persian could be used for teaching prosody) and by the work of the Karakhanid poets.⁸ Its two traditions, rhythmic and quantitative, com-

¹ T. Gandjei, “Überblick über den vor- und frühislamischen türkischen Versbau”, *Der Islam* 33 (1957), 142–146; I. V. Stebleva, *Razvitie Tjurkskich Poëtičeskich form v XI Veke*, Moscow 1971, 285–298.

² Stebleva, *Razvitie*, 290–298; A. Bodrogligeti, “A Collection of Turkish poems from the 14th century”, *AOH* 16 (1963), 266.

³ A. Zajączkowski, “Studia nad stylistiką i poetiką tureckiej wersji Ḥusrāv u Širin Qutba” I, II *RO XXV* (1961), 31–92, and *XXVII* (1963); Bodrogligeti, “A Collection”, 266.

⁴ T. Gandjei, “Zur Metrik des Yusuf u Zulayha von Šayyad Hamza”, *UAb* 27 (1955), 204–208; A. Bombaci, “The Turkic Literatures. Introductory Notes on the History and Style”, *PhIF* II (1964), xxvi.

⁵ S. Rymkiewicz, “Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Reims in der türkischen Kunstdichtung”, *RO XXVII* (1963), 45–101.

⁶ Rymkiewicz, “Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Reims”; Stebleva, *Razvitie*, 294. For a description of full rhyme (the rhyming of Turkish with Arabic and Persian words was a ‘mistake’), half rhyme (yarım kafiye), rich rhyme (long words), cinaslı kafiye “rhyme with word-play”, zengin kafiye “rich rhyme” see Kathleen R.R. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimî. Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufî*, The Hague–Paris 1972, 57–59. For the practical use of redif (all syllables subsequent to the rhyme vowel) see İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca’fer Çelebi, with a Critical Edition of His Divân*, Istanbul 1983, CI.

⁷ A. Güzel, “Tekke Şiiri” *TD* 445–450 (June 1989), 251–454, especially 274–283. For folk poets using ‘aruz see C. Dilçin, “Divan Şiirinde Gazel”, *TD* 415–417 (July–Sept. 1986), 117–119.

⁸ Cf. Finn Thiesen, *A Manual of Classical Persian Prosody with Chapters on Urdu, Karakhanidic and Ottoman Prosody*, Wiesbaden 1982, 210–216; Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., “Die Prosodie der ‘persifizierten’ Sprachen: Türkisch und Urdu”, in W. Heinrichs (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. Band 5. Orientalisches Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1990, 420–421.

bined to produce that flowering of prosodic skill which characterized fifteenth- and sixteenth century Turkish poetry in Central Asia, the Mamluk territories, and Anatolia. For a long time Turkish poetry remained flexible in the application of the classical theories of Persian prosody,⁹ but poets complained of the struggle with their “narrow” language for which there was no dictionary to look up origins of words, a language which was “hard”, “dry” or “cold”,¹⁰ especially when few Arabic and Persian words were used to enhance the smoothness of the prosodical forms. There is evidence to show that this was a “modesty formula” and a rhetorical exercise: the same poets would praise the Turkish language.¹¹ Some metres could be distinguished intuitively; Latifi’s teacher Fani pointed out that in the hazac and the ramal the feet seemed to fall naturally,¹² a fact which is also due to the closeness of these metres to the rhythm of the syllabic form 4+4+3.¹³ Despite their age-old acquaintance with the ‘aruz, Turkish writers for a long time continued to apologize for the “inelegance and barbarity” of their compositions. Such seemingly modest disclaimers were often mere literary conventions. When Şeyyād Hamza, an early Anatolian religious poet, alleges that *ne ‘aruz bilür ol ne nahv u tasrîf / ne kâfiye redîf ne tecnîs-i tam* “he neither knows prosody nor syntax and declension, neither rhyme, repeated rhyme words nor compound harmonies”, this may have been sincerely intended. But even accomplished poets would have us believe that their verses were composed in artless and unschooled language.¹⁴ The fear of criticism by learned men was always present; Hoca Mes’ud is dismayed by the difficulty of “squeezing” his language into the metre.¹⁵ Within the prosodic rules that so pervaded poetic writing, mistakes were conceded beforehand to fault-finders even in the most high-flown introductions to divans.¹⁶ No wonder that the need for instruction in the system of ‘aruz metrics was felt. Persian handbooks on poetics such as the *Mu‘cam* by Şams-i Kays and the *Hadayik as- sihr* by Raşid ad-Din Vatvat were available, as was the *Talhis al-balaga* by Kazwini,¹⁷ the list of manuscripts in Elmalı gives an impression of the range of reference works available even in a provincial Anatolian library.¹⁸ I have listed Turkish ‘aruz manuals in appendix II of this article.

Distribution of epic metres

İsmail Ünver’s useful survey of Anatolian Turkish mesnevis¹⁹ lists the following short epic metres:

⁹ Walter G. Andrews, Jr., *An Introduction To Ottoman Poetry*, Minneapolis & Chicago 1976; Erünsal, *Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca’fer Çelebi*, xcix–cv.

¹⁰ Sedit Yüksel, *Mehmed. Işk-Nâme*, Ankara 1965, 5; For Hoca Mes’ud’s specific complaints regarding metrics see İ. Ünver, “Mesnevi”, in *Türk Şiiri Özel Sayısı II (Divan Şiiri)*, TD 415–417 (July–September 1986), 560–561; C. Dilçin, *Mes’ud bin Ahmed. Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar*, Ankara 1991, 133–135. For Şeyoğlu’s reproaches against the Turkish language see H. Ayan, *Şeyhoğlu Mustafa. Hurşîd-Nâme (Hurşîd u Ferahsâd)*, Erzurum 1979, 11–13.

¹¹ B. Flemming, *Fahris Husrev u Şirin. Eine türkische Dichtung von 1367*, Wiesbaden 1974, 134–136; a recent survey is İ. Ünver, “Mesnevi”, TD 458 and 558–563.

¹² W. G. Andrews, Jr., “The Tezkere-i Şu’ara of Latifi as a source for the Critical Evaluation of Ottoman Poetry”, PhD dissertation at the University of Michigan, 1970, 82.

¹³ Dilçin, *Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar*, 135–6.

¹⁴ M.F. Köprülü, “La métrique ‘aruz”, *PhTF* II, 254, quotes the example of Fuzuli.

¹⁵ Hoca Mes’ud’s body almost “melted with shame”; for his fear of the anger of people with taste at the sight of incorrectness in composition see Dilçin, *Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar*, 134–135, and Ünver, “Mesnevi”, 562–3.

¹⁶ Tahir Üzgör, *Türkçe Dîvân Dîbâceleri*, Ankara 1990, 124–126 (Revani, d. 1523).

¹⁷ Andrews, *Introduction To Ottoman Poetry*, 13.

¹⁸ *TÜYATOK* II 07, 475–480 no. 1601–1612.

¹⁹ Ünver, “Mesnevi”, 430–563; the following has been compared with the coding of the metres in Erünsal, *The Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca’fer Çelebi*.

1. ˘ – – – / ˘ – – – / ˘ – – mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘ūlun [hazac 3]
2. – – / ˘ – ˘ – / ˘ – – maf‘ūlu mafā‘ilun fa‘ūlun [hazac]
3. ˘ ˘ – – / ˘ – – / ˘ ˘ – – fā‘ilātun fā‘ilātun fā‘ilun [ramal 1]
4. ˘ ˘ – – / ˘ ˘ – – / ˘ ˘ – – fa‘ilātun fa‘ilātun fa‘ilun [ramal 2]
(– ˘ – – / ˘ ˘ – – / – – fā‘ilātun fa‘ilātun fa‘lun)
5. ˘ ˘ – – / ˘ – ˘ – / ˘ ˘ – – fa‘ilātun mafā‘ilun fa‘ilun [hafif]
(– ˘ – – / ˘ – ˘ – / – – fā‘ilātun mafā‘ilun fa‘lun)
6. – ˘ ˘ – / – ˘ ˘ – / ˘ – ˘ – mufta‘ilun mufta‘ilun fā‘ilun [recez]
7. ˘ – – / ˘ – – / ˘ – – / ˘ – fa‘ūlun fa‘ūlun fa‘ūlun fa‘ūl [mutakarib]

Ünver’s documentation of published and unpublished Turkish mesnevis, divided into four groups—1. didactic, a) religious, b) mystic, c) moral, d) encyclopaedic, 2. heroic, a) legendary, b) historic, 3. artistic narratives of love and adventure, 4. mesnevis describing people or events—makes few explicit connections between them and the metres in which they are written, and does not mention the association of certain metres with genres as in Persian poetry.²⁰ Attention should be paid to mesnevis where a change in metre occurs, such as the *Risaletü n-Nushiyye* by Yunus Emre which begins in ramal, changes to prose and continues in hazac (mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘ūlun).²¹ Epic poems in syllabic metre were unusual in Divan literature; one of the few known examples is the topical *destan* by the sixteenth-century poet Me‘ali, based on a line of eight syllables, with the rhyme type called *koşma*. Its theme is the appeal to sultans to redress wrongs, and the cry for help is contained in the refrain “Sultan, fly to our help” *yetiş Gazi Hünkar yetiş*.²²

The *Shahnama* metre *mutakarib*, *fa‘ūlun fa‘ūlun fa‘ūlun fa‘ūl*, appears in the two didactic poems of Karakhanid literature, the long *Kutadgu Bilig* (which contains over two hundred quatrains) and the shorter *‘Atebetü l-haka’ik*. This metre does not lend itself easily to Turkish poetry. In fourteenth-century Anatolia, Hoca Mes‘ud chose the hard way by using the *mutakarib* successfully not only for his 5703 beyt romance *Süheyl u Nev-bahar* but also for his translation of Sa‘di’s *Bustan* entitled *Ferheng-name-i Sa‘di Tercemesi*.

The great popularity of the ramal metre, in the form *fā‘ilātun fā‘ilātun fā‘ilun*, in Anatolian verse narratives has been attributed to its closeness to the rhythm of the syllabic form 4+4+3, and to the effect which the writings of Calal ad-Din Rumi and his son Sultan Veled had.²³ Şeyyad Hamza’s *Yusuf u Zulayha* and Tursun Fakih’s *Yemen’de Mukaffa’ kal’ası destanı*, Gülşehri’s *Mantıku t-tayr tercemesi*, ‘Aşık Paşa’s *Ġarib-name*, Yusuf Meddah’s *Varka ve Gülşah*,²⁴ Süleyman Çelebi’s *Vesiletü n-necat (Mevlid)*,²⁵ Enveri’s *Düsturname*²⁶ are all in ramal. It is noteworthy that Ahmedi wrote his long *Iskendername*²⁷ in this metre and not in the “more lively” hazac.

The hazac in the form *mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘ūlun*, which also could be

²⁰ J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, Leiden 1983, 191. E.J.W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, I, 1900, 107 f., tables epic and lyric metres together. Often the metres are connected to the names of poets rather than to specific works.

²¹ Mustafa Tatçı, *Yunus Emre Divanı. Risaletü’ n-Nushiyye. Tenkitli Metin*, Ankara 1991.

²² Published by E. Ambros, *Candid penstrokes. The lyrics of Me’ali, an Ottoman poet of the 16th century*, Berlin 1982, 149–155; see also A. Turgut Kut, “XVI. Divan Şairlerinden Me’ali’nin Hece Vezinli Bir Destanı”, *Folklor ve Etnografya Araştırmaları* 1984, 311–321.

²³ S. Yüksel, *Mehmed. Işk-Nâme*, Ankara 1965, 41. V. Rowe Holbrook, “Diverse Tastes in the Spiritual Life: Textual Play in the Diffusion of Rumi’s Order”, in L. Lewisohn, *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, London/New York 1992, 99–120.

²⁴ G. M. Smith, *Yusuf-i Meddah. Varqa ve Gülşah*, Leiden 1976.

²⁵ Published by N. Pekolcay, *Süleyman Çelebi. Mevlid*, Istanbul 1980.

²⁶ I. Melikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d’Umur Pacha*, Paris 1954.

²⁷ İ. Ünver, *Ahmedi. Iskender-name*, Ankara 1983.

scanned to the syllabic rhythm 4+4+3, was preferred for narratives such as the first Anatolian *Husrev u Şirin* by Fahri,²⁸ Şeyhögü Mustafa's *Hurşid-name*, Mehmed's *Işk-name*, Ahmedi's *Cemşid ü Hurşid*,²⁹ Tutmacı's *Gül ü Husrev* and the well-known *Husrev u Şirin* by the fifteenth-century poet Şeyhi.³⁰ The other hazac metre -- - / - / - / - / - - (maf'ülü mafā'ilun fa'ülun), rhythmically congenial to Turkish, was used by Fuzuli for his *Leyla ve Mecnun* in the footsteps of Nizami.³¹

The hafif, *fa'ilätun mafā'ilun fa'ilun (fa'lun)*, the metre of Sultan Veled's *Ibtidanama*, was used by Elvan Chelebi for his mesnevi on the old mystics entitled *Menâkibu l-Kudsiyye fi Menâsibi l-Ünsiyye*³² and by Şeyhi in his satirical *Harname*.³³

The tavlil is very rare in Turkish poetry and appears late.³⁴

Lyrics in the romances, that is gazels interspersed in mesnevis, have been studied by R. Dankoff.³⁵

The metres most commonly used in Anatolian gazels and kasides have been tabulated several times. Walter G. Andrews, Jr. took stock of the more common rhythmical patterns,³⁶ and his picture of the frequency of metres in five published Ottoman divans is,³⁷

33.3% ramal	fā'ilätun fā'ilätun fā'ilätun fā'ilä (tun) fā'ilun
19.4% müzâri'	maf'ülü fā'ilätu mafā'ilu fā'ilün
16.6% ramal	fa'ilätun fa'ilätun fā'ilätun fā'ilätun
16.5% hazac	mafā'ilun mafā'ilun mafā'ilun mafā'ilun
5.4% hazac	maf'ülü mafā'ilu mafā'ilu mafā'il (fa'ülun)
4.3% muctass	mafā'ilun fa'ilätun mafā'ilun fa'ilun
3.3% hafif	fa'ilätun mafā'ilun fa'ilun (fa'lun)
1.3% racaz	mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun
0.8% hazac	maf'ülü mafā'ilun mafā'il (fa'ülun)
0.6% müzâri'	maf'ülü fā'ilätun maf'ülü fā'ilätün
0.5% mutakârib	fa'ülun fa'ülun fa'ülun fa'ül(un)
0.3% racaz	mufta'ilun mafā'ilun mufta'ilun mafā'ilun
0.3% hazac	maf'ülü mafā'ilun maf'ülü mafā'ilun

According to Erünsal, ramal 1 and 2, müzâri' 1, and hazac account for most of the poetry in the divans which have been scrutinized. Full analyses of metrics and their exigencies in specific divans have been published by İsmail E. Erünsal in his edition of the divan by Taci-zade Ca'fer Çelebi and by Edith Ambros in her edi-

²⁸ Flemming, *Fahris Husrev u Şirin*.

²⁹ Mehmet Akalın, *Ahmedî. Cemşid ü Hurşid*, Ankara 1975.

³⁰ F. K. Timurtaş, *Şeyhî'nin Husrev ü Şirin'i*, İstanbul 1963.

³¹ A. Bombaci in S. Huri (trsl.), *Leyla and Mejnun*, London 1970, 85.

³² The mesnevi dated 760/1358-9 has been published by İsmail E. Erünsal and A. Yaşar Ocak, *Elvan Çelebi. Menâkibu l-Kudsiyye fi Menâsibi l-Ünsiyye*, İstanbul, 1984.

³³ F.K. Timurtaş in *TDED III* 1949, 370-387, and *TDED XI* 1961, 99-108.

³⁴ I. Pala, *Ansiklopedik Dîvân Şiiri Sözlüğü I*, Ankara 1989, 123.

³⁵ R. Dankoff, "The Lyric in the Romance: The Use of Ghazals in Persian and Turkish Masnavis", *JNES* 43 (1984), 9-25; see also Dilçin, *Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar*, 136, Yüksel, *Işkname*, 3, 8, 41. Contents and structure of Hamidi's autobiographical mesnevi have been analyzed by M. Glünz, "Vom Paradies bis nach Bursa: Die Lebensbeschreibung des persisch-türkischen Dichters Hämidi (9./15. Jh.)", *Asiatische Studien* XLI (1982), 147-161.

³⁶ Andrews, *Introduction to Ottoman Poetry*, 30-32.

³⁷ Andrews, *Introduction to Ottoman Poetry*, 27-29; "these numbers represent the results of a highly unscientific survey of the poems (a total of 2,395) in five published Ottoman divans" (Necati, Ahmed Paşa, Zati, Figani, and Baki).

tion of Me'ali's poetry. Their analyses show differences in the distribution of metres, Ca'fer Çelebi's metres being ramal 1 and 2, muzâri' 1 and 2, hazac 1, 2, 3 and 5, muctass 1, hafif, and racaz,³⁸ and Me'ali's metres being (in his gazels, müfreds, and kit'as) long variants of ramal, muzâri' 1 and 2, 5 variants of hazac, hafif, mutakarib, muctass, munsarih, and sari'.³⁹

Rhyme

Next to studies of the use of rhyme in Anatolian, Khwarazmian, and Chagatay mesnevis⁴⁰ and to redif in the mesnevi rhyme,⁴¹ lyric rhyme in divans has been discussed by Andrews.⁴² Kadi Burhan ed-Din's rhyme letters have been compiled by Muharrem Ergin in his publication of the *Divan*. The fifteen gazels interspersed in the *Süheyl ü Nevbahar* have pronouncedly Turkish rhymes, such as *viridi/girdi, dirdi, turdi, dürdi, yurdi, buyurdi, burdi*. The *redifli gazel* called for a nazire⁴³ and at the same time made it difficult to achieve a satisfactory "answer" to the long redifs which, for example, some contemporaries of Ca'fer Çelebi favoured.⁴⁴ Gazels in mesnevis⁴⁵ are also in the nazire form.⁴⁶ Andrews discussed the function of a redif where the finite verb is in the aorist mood (*elden gider* "[it] goes out of hand"), which means that every couplet will have a normal sentence order with the verb in the final position. In his perceptive analysis of a poem with this redif by Taşlıcalı Yahya, Andrews showed the emotional and social implications of the contrast between emphatic imperatives (*mey sun! aç gözüñ! kes dilüñ!*) and statements of fact (*elden gider*).⁴⁷

Collections

The remainder of this paper will be devoted, without any claim to completeness, to anthologies (*mecmû'a*) of poetry. The field is, of course, immensely wide. Whereas the "œuvres complètes" of the great divan poets have already been published, mainly by Turkish scholars,⁴⁸ lately Turkish research has also been directed to the prefatory texts, collections and anthologies which await detailed study. The turkologists' interest in singling out authors who are early representatives of Anatolian Turkish literature has affected the study of these collections. Dealing with the material in collections is a severe test to editors and cataloguers. Names of poets have been listed, but research is now also needed on the purpose and arrangement of the 'miscellanies', most of which are still in manuscript form.⁴⁹ Whereas in the last decades a great deal of information has appeared in

³⁸ Erünsal, *Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi*, C.

³⁹ Ambros, *Candid penstrokes. The lyrics of Me'ali*, 72–74.

⁴⁰ Yüksel, *Işk-Nâme*, 43, Hüseyin Ayan, *Şeyhoğlu Mustafa. Hurşîd-Nâme*, Erzurum 1979, 102–107, and Dilçin, *Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar*, 141–149, discuss the use of rhyme in epic poems.

⁴¹ Such as *kar itdüğün bildi hem/şikar itdüğün bildi hem* in Dilçin, *Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar*, 150.

⁴² Andrews, *Introduction to Ottoman Poetry*, 48–71.

⁴³ Dilçin, "Divan Şiirinde Gazel", 90–92, 108–115, and Dilçin, *Süheyl ü Nev-Bahar*, 149.

⁴⁴ Erünsal, *Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi*, CI.

⁴⁵ Dankoff, "The Lyric in the Romance", 9–25.

⁴⁶ Dilçin, "Divan Şiirinde Gazel", 95–98.

⁴⁷ W.G. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song. Ottoman Lyric Poetry*, Seattle and London, 1985, 124–140.

⁴⁸ A useful survey of this achievement, which had the incidental effect of canonizing the Turkish tradition to which these poets belonged, is Dilçin, "Divan Şiirinde Gazel", 246–247.

⁴⁹ Ambros, *Candid Penstrokes. The lyrics of Me'ali*, XX, with bibliography.

new manuscript catalogues,⁵⁰ it must be said that there remain hundreds of unpublished collections which still need sifting.⁵¹ Of the surviving old dated nazire collections, none seem to be earlier than the fourteenth century. The most important can be dated to the fifteenth century, though many belong to the sixteenth century. The method of publishing a nazire collection is now associated with the name of Mustafa Canpolat, whose edition of the *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir* by 'Ömer b. Mezîd suffices to show how useful complete editions of these collections would be.

Through the centuries Turkish anthologists have made efforts to elicit from literature that which was of living value to them. The historian of literature sees the development of Turkish poetic traditions as part of medieval literature, reaching back to modest origins and achieving mounting confidence through continuous exercise in classical imitation, resulting in effective progress and continuous change. Andrews reopened the discussion by expressing a sense of the timelessness of Turkish divan poetry which, for him, embodied the tradition itself as a text.⁵² What distinguished one poet's gazels from another's? For an answer we may look for the anthologists' feeling for their living literature and for the values and changes it embodied in anthologies of poetry. It was to meet more than one need that these anthologies were planned and produced; one was the concern for prosody, another was the need for texts to be used at religious gatherings.

Anthologies with prosodic concerns

Let us consider some anthologies with prosodic concerns. There is the small collection of Turkish poetry of Mamluk/Khwarazmian provenance which Sayf-i Sarayi put together as an appendix to his prose work *Gülîstan bi t-Türki*, extant in the MS. Leiden, University Library, Cod. or. 1553.⁵³ The compiler laid down his concerns in a mesnevi (185v) in which he distinguished two basic features in a literary composition: the correlation between meaning and form (surat). By the latter the whole make-up of a poem is understood, i.e. the satisfaction of prosodic requirements (vazn) and the choice and application of suitably selected expressions (lafz). Sayf distinguishes poets in whose works surat and ma'ni are in adequate relation to each other; the intensive cultivation of vazn at the expense of other features of the poem is emphasized. Metrics, prosody and rhetorical qualities come first.⁵⁴ Sayf is "very consistent in meeting the requirements of quantitative prosody in the Turkish language".⁵⁵ Bodrogligeti showed that Sayf tended to respond to mystical poems by expressing a preference for earthly love.⁵⁶ Sayf's collection comprises poems by nine poets (Mevla Kazi Muhsin, Mevlana Ishak, Mevlana 'Imâd Mevlevî, Ahmed Hoca as-Sarayi (a poet born in the territory of

⁵⁰ See the review articles by Eleazar Birnbaum, "Turkish Manuscripts: Cataloguing Since 1960 and Manuscripts Still Uncatalogued", *JAOS* 103 (1982), 413–420 on the *VOHD*, the *TÜYATOK* and Günay Kut, *Tercüman Gazetesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu I.*, Istanbul 1989; see Günay Kut, "Some aspects of the cataloguing of Turkish manuscripts", *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3 (1988), 60–68.

⁵¹ E. Birnbaum, "Turkish Manuscripts: Cataloguing Since 1960 and Manuscripts Still Uncatalogued. Part 2: Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania", in *JAOS* 103 (1983), 515–532, part 3 idem, 691–707, part 4 in vol. 104 (1984), 303–314, part 5 (Turkey and Cyprus) in the same volume, 465–503, lists several collections.

⁵² Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song*, 11.

⁵³ It has been published and analyzed by A. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkish Translation of Sa'di's Gulistân*, Budapest 1969, 179–188; see the same author's "Glosses on Sayf-i Sarâyî's *Gülîstân bi-t-türki*", *AOH* XIV (1962), 207–218; and his article "A Collection", 271–272.

⁵⁴ Bodrogligeti, "A Collection", 253.

⁵⁵ Bodrogligeti, "A Collection", 261.

⁵⁶ Bodrogligeti, "A Collection", 259–261.

the Golden Horde), Hvarezmi (a kaside on sunrise, an eulogy on nature), ‘Abdulmecid, Tođlı Hoca, Hasanoglı, and Sayf-i Sarayi’s nazires on the poems of those eight as well as eleven poems by Sayf himself. The ruba‘i was written in answer to a poem by Mahmud Gulistani.⁵⁷

The extensive anthology on Turkish poetry entitled *Mecmū‘atü n-nezā’ir* compiled by ‘Ömer b. Mezīd dated 840/1437 and dedicated to Sultan Murad II is of Anatolian provenance.⁵⁸ The work is preserved in the MS. London, School of Oriental and African Studies, no. 27,689, and has been published in 1982 by Mustafa Canpolat.⁵⁹ It is of special importance for our subject because of its metrical paradigms. It numbers 397 actual poems by eighty-four poets. ‘Ömer’s favourite poet is Ahmedi, to whom even earlier writers are made to write nazires. In his preface ‘Ömer explains the notions underlying the selection of poems. He writes for enthusiasts and men of taste, and he includes poems which he likes best as well as those of sympathetic rulers, and also his own (in fact, the core of the collection consists of seventy poems by himself). He says that “in the realm of word-painting” and the “field of sweetness” skilful constructions and figures of speech (sanayi‘ ve bedayi‘) run the risk of being lost. He makes it clear that he transcribed poetry which was recited: “I collected and listened” he writes (cem‘ etdüm ve sem‘ etdüm), his concern being to save this poetry from dispersion and obscurity.

‘Ömer’s anthology contains only poems in which the rhyme schemes and the metres of classical prosody are applied. He divides them into five chapters headed “hazac (mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun)”, “hazac (mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘ālun)”, “ramal (fā‘ilātun fā‘ilātun fā‘ilātun fā‘ilun)”, “ramal (fā‘ilātun fā‘ilātun fā‘ilun)”, “mutakārib (fa‘ūlun fa‘ūlun fa‘ūlun fa‘ūl)”, with the mnemonic formula of the metre in a little verse.

‘Ömer points out that the full title of his work, *Mecmū‘atü n-nezā’ir nüzhet-geh-i defātir şayal-zen-i havātır*, is written in sac‘ and can be scanned to two metres, for example, mustaf‘ilun fa‘ūlun mustaf‘ilun fa‘ūlun or maf‘ūlu fā‘ilātun maf‘ūlu fā‘ilātun (ten tāni ten tenā ten ten ten tani ten tena ten).

Equally interesting is an anthology of nazires in the shape of a divan put together for the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Kanisawh al-Gawri, who grew up under the influence of Sultan Kaytbay. It is extant in the manuscript Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 3744. This royal “pocket library”⁶⁰ which includes a miniature representing the ruler, was produced at a time when Turkish poetry flourished not only in Anatolia, but also in Egypt, where it developed a style which, compared with that of ‘classical’ writing, was something new and strange. The new manner was *derişane*; music played a role in it, and it is not fortuitous that Gawri’s manuscript contains a treatise on the defence of music of which Kaytbay had also been fond. There is no preface to this incomplete collection, which numbers 109 poems by some twenty-two poets and has no metrical paradigms, although the interest in prosody is apparent. The collection is followed by poems by ‘Adni, Ahmed Pasha and Ahmedi⁶¹ and at the end the art of prosody is treated in didactic poems.

⁵⁷ Bodrogligeti, “Glosses on Sayf-i Sarāyi’s Gülistān bi-t-türki”, *AOH* XIV (1962), 207–218; *AOH* XIV (1962), 281.

⁵⁸ C.S. Mundy, “Notes on Three Turkish Manuscripts”, *BSOAS* CII (1948), 533–541, described the manuscript.

⁵⁹ Mustafa Canpolat (ed.), ‘Ömer bin Mezīd. *Mecmū‘atü n-Nezā’ir*, Ankara, 1982. N. Pekolcay, *İslāmî Türk Edebiyatı*, Istanbul 1967, published photographs of the introduction (pl. 45); A.S. Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* I, 1973, 167; M. Canpolat, “Hassan’ın Şiirleri”, *Ömer Asım Aksoy Armağanı*, Ankara 1978, 27–44; G. Kut, “Mukhtārāt in Turkish”, *EI* VII, 531.

⁶⁰ I borrow the expression from J.T.P. de Bruijn, “Mukhtarat in Persian literature”, *EI* VII, 529.

⁶¹ M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften Teil 2*, Wiesbaden 1968, 210 no. 306; ibidem 212 no. 308, and 213 no. 309.

The poet Naẓmī Mehmed Çelebi from Edirne (d. 1543–4), a clerk of the law-courts turned sipahi, wrote four volumes of poetry in a variety of metres in addition to compiling poetry written up to 1523–4 in his *Mecmū‘atü n-nezā‘ir* which survives in three manuscripts in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Ahmed III 2644; Nuruosmaniye 4222, and Millet Library, Ali Emiri manzum 683 = I, and 684 = II), and Vienna H.O. 142.⁶² The biographers Sehi Beg and Latifi knew this work as a collection of nazires composed by the poets of Rum under the title *Cāmi‘u n-nezā‘ir*. Latifi observed that it consisted of nazires composed by earlier poets of Rum up to 930/1523–24, arranged in alphabetical order and by metre, and that he invented new metres (including pointed and unpointed musammat) in composing a parallel gazel to each of the verses ending in *elif* in the *Risale-i ‘aruz* by Vahid-i Tabrizi.⁶³ Naẓmī’s anthology consists of 3,356 entire gazels by 243 poets,⁶⁴ among them 73 by Ca‘fer Çelebi and 72 by Me‘ali.⁶⁵

A precious manuscript preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Bağdat Köşkü 406 contains the collection by Pervāne b. ‘Abdullāh, a page in the household of Sultan Süleymān (min gilmān-i beyt ul-hāssa fi sarāy al-‘āmira as-sultāniya), entitled *Cāmi‘u n-nezā‘ir*. This anthology is divided according to metres (bahr) and has short notices on the poets. The preface (fol. 1) is lost, but the colophon gives the purpose: ‘he collected and classified these fine distichs and lovely gazels by poets from Ottoman towns (bilād) and fusahā from the Süleymanic lands’. Pervāne selected eighty gazels by Ca‘fer Çelebi. The date is given in fractions.⁶⁶ Royal gazels were later added in the margins.⁶⁷

The *Zübdetü l-eṣ‘ār* completed in 1614 by the professor, judge and poet Kafzade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa‘izi; died 1621–2) is primarily an anthology of poetry, and only secondarily a dictionary of about five hundred poets. It consists not of full gazels but only of ‘best’ couplets; the arrangement is according to poets in alphabetical order (it has been ranged among the tezkires). Fa‘izi quotes a larger number of lines from Haleti (a contemporary and a prominent member of the ‘ulema) than from Baki, using the excuse that “...it is impossible for any one to drink a fountain quite dry, however thirsty he may be”.⁶⁸ This work may be seen as the most successful anthology of the type which chose prosody as its priority. It is preserved in at least ten manuscripts (see appendix IV).

Hişālī of Budin (died 1651) compiled the undated *Meṭālī‘ü n-nezā‘ir* in two volumes; it consists of matla’s (including the compiler’s) grouped according to metres and rhymes. The autograph copy is preserved in Istanbul, MS. Nuruosmaniye 4252–4253.⁶⁹

The *Zübdetü l-eṣ‘ār* inspired a sequel, the *Zeyl-i Zübdetü l-eṣ‘ār* by Seyrekzade Mehmed ‘Asim (d. 1675), which consists of citations from poets who lived between 1622 and 1675,⁷⁰ and a sequel to the sequel,

⁶² Under the title *Naza‘irü l-eṣ‘ār*, cf. Ambros, *Candid Penstrokes. The lyrics of Me‘ali*, XX–XXI.

⁶³ Günay Kut, *Heşt bihişt, the tezkire by Sehi Beg. An analysis of the first biographical work on Ottoman poets with a critical edition based on MS. Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya, O. 3544*, Cambridge, Mass., 1978, 305; Latifi ed. Ahmed Cevdet, Istanbul 1314/1896–7; [O. Rescher], *Türkische Dichterbiographien II: Latifi’s Tezkere*, Tübingen 1950, 275–276.

⁶⁴ M. Ergin, “Melihî” in *TDED II* (1947), 60; Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi I*, 168, and G. Kut, “Mukhtarat”.

⁶⁵ Ambros, *Candid Penstrokes. The lyrics of Me‘ali*, 64.

⁶⁶ I saw the date (963/beg. 16 Nov. 1555) but did not have time to copy the text and apply the principles developed by H. Ritter, “Philologika XII. Datierung durch Brüche”, *Oriens I* (1958), 237–247. The date 968/beg. 22 Sept. 1560 is given by G. Kut, “Mukhtarat” 531, and Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi I*, 168.

⁶⁷ M. Ergin, “Cāmi‘ü l-Meāni’deki Türkçe Şiirler”, *TDED III* (1949), no. 3–4, 539–569, esp. 540.

⁶⁸ Gibb, *HOP III*, 140–141, 203–4, 223, 233.

⁶⁹ G. Kut, “Mukhtarat”, 531.

⁷⁰ *GOW 156*; Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi I*, 168, 303.

compiled by Belig Seyyid Isma'il from Bursa (d. 1729), entitled *Nuhbetü l-Âşâr li zeyl-i Zübdetü l-eş'âr* and dedicated in 1726 to Damad Ibrahim Paşa. The material is again arranged alphabetically according to the poets. The autograph is preserved in the Library of the University of Istanbul, TY 1182.⁷¹

Mecmu'as with probably prosodic contents are

the *Câmi'ü n-nezâ'ir* by an anonymous author; preserved in the manuscript Istanbul Üniversitesi Ktph. T.Y. 2955; it is incomplete and begins with gazels rhyming in "b"; according to Fevziye Abdullah it was completed between 970 and 972,⁷²

another *Câmi'ü n-nezâ'ir* compiled by an anonymous writer is preserved in the MS. Istanbul Üniversitesi Ktph. T.Y. 1547,⁷³

the Mecmu'a Revan 1972 and Millet Ali Emiri Efendi Manzum 674 quoted by E. Ambros and İ. Erünsal,⁷⁴

and the collection of royal gazels by Mehmed II, Bayezid II, Selim I and Süleyman brought together in the *Mecmû'a-i eş'âr* in T.K.S. Y. 131.⁷⁵

The titles of these works have taken us to the seventeenth and eighteenth century. By that time it was felt that the poets of the early Ottoman ages had been sufficiently anthologized. Poetry could grow stale through repetition. New anthologies appeared which were collections of the best work of contemporaries.

Religious anthologies

Not all anthologies were regarded as repositories of paradigms but many were collections of works on religious teaching and singing. 'Aruz was not all-important here; there was room for collections of poetry in the syllabic metre (national metre, millî vezin). An old collection of this kind is that compiled in turkophone Egypt by 'Alî b. Ahmed b. Emîr 'Alî. In it he collected Turkish mystical poems by 'Âşik Paşa,⁷⁶ Kaygusuz Abdâl, and Yunus Emre under the title *Mecmû'a-i latîfe*, extant in the MS. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi no. Koğuşlar 950.⁷⁷ It was dedicated to the Mamluk Sultan Kaytbay, who loved Sufi poetry and song, and who was also the recipient of the Turkish treatise on prosody mentioned above.

The Anatolian Haccî Kemâl from Eğridir compiled in 1512 his *Câmi'ü n-nezâ'ir*, which is preserved in the MS. İstanbul, Bayezit Devlet Library, Umumî 5782.⁷⁸ The compiler, to judge from his introduction, was concerned with various forms of religious, especially mystical poetry. In his preface Haccî Kemâl states that he brought together poems by 266 poets, including his own, as expressions

⁷¹ Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* I, 317–320.

⁷² Ergin, "Melihi" in *TDED* II 1948, 61; Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 169.

⁷³ Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* I, 169.

⁷⁴ Ambros, *Candid Penstrokes. The lyrics of Me'ali*, XX.

⁷⁵ F.E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* I, İstanbul 1961, 266 no. 2701.

⁷⁶ A. Zajaczkowski, *Poezje Stroficzne 'Âşik-Paşa*, Warsaw, 1967.

⁷⁷ Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* II, 88f., no. 2253; Müjgân Cumbur in *X. Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler 1963* (Ankara 1964), 23ff. especially p. 28; M. Akalın, "Kaygusuz Abdâl'in Gevher-nâmesi", *Edeb. Fak. Araştırma Dergisi, Ahmet Caferoğlu Özel Sayısı*, sayı 10, Ankara, 1979, 189–197.

⁷⁸ Fuat Köprülü, "Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit. I. Şejjad Hamza", *Körösi Csoma Archivum* I/3 (June 1922), 184–188; Turkish version in *Türk Yurdu* 1340; "Anadolu metinleri, XIII. asır, I. Şeyyad Hamza", *Türkiyat Mecmuası* VII–VIII (1940–1941), 95–101; M. Mansuroğlu, "Anadolu Türkçesi (XIII. Asır). Şeyyad Hamza'ya Ait Üç Manzume", *TDED* I (1946), 180–195; M. Ergin, "Câmi-ül-Meânî'deki Türkçe Şiirler", *TDED* III (1949), no. 3–4, 539–569; Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* I, 168.

of those poets who grew up inspired by God.⁷⁹ The three monorhyme poems mentioned above by Şeyyād Hamza in Haccī Kemāl's collection have religious themes; they follow the kaside form of monorhyme in

-ām (I)

-ün, rhyming with Turkish Un (II)

-ānı (III)

The *Çarhnâme*, a poem "which expounds the religious and mystical thoughts of a diwan poet" is included, as are ten gazels by Ca'fer Çelebi.⁸⁰

The anonymous compiler of the anthology entitled *Câmi'ü l-Me'ânî*, preserved in the Nuruosmaniye Library no. 4904, completed in Istanbul in 940/1533–34,⁸¹ explicitly speaks of his religious purpose. M. Ergin, who examined the manuscript, described the compiler as a fervent mystic, a man of good taste equipped with a good knowledge of Persian and Turkish and their dialects, a calligrapher (the writing is beautiful ta'lik), and a "friendly and modest person". Whereas nazire collections often contain only a limited number of poems, the *Câmi'ü l-Me'ânî* brings together practically the entire works of a small number of poets which specifically treat religious subjects. The contents are in Persian and Turkish, mostly in poetry, with prose excerpts, by, among others, Kaygusuz Abdāl, Kemal-i Ümmi, Nesimi, and Yunus Emre.⁸² All these have been brought together for the sake of religion.

A *Mecmu'a-i kelam-i urefa-i billah* in the T.K.S., Y. 1821, announces mysticism as its priority; it includes ilahis by Yunus Emre.⁸³

The tezkires as anthologies

The biographers of poets consistently give samples of verse at the conclusion of each notice. In their assessment of their own achievement and the work of colleagues the tezkire writers made anthologies of established poets, of poets as yet unestablished, or posthumous collections of minor poets. They combed mecmu'as for couplets, and when such a couplet was part of a gazel or kaside, it often represented the maṭla' which could be the best couplet of the poem. Sometimes entire gazels or a significant portion of a kaside or of a mesnevi might be recorded.⁸⁴ Mişra's inserted within the narrative might serve to justify a point made by the biographer or to associate an event with a line of poetry once uttered by a famous poet.⁸⁵

The tezkire genre was close to informal compilations of which the Ottomans, avid collectors, were fond.⁸⁶ Scrapbooks and 'memorabilia albums' (cönk)⁸⁷ were kept, and a poet from the East was called a 'walking scrapbook', ayaklu cönk.⁸⁸

⁷⁹ MS. Bayezit Umumi Ktph., no. 5782, 1b.

⁸⁰ Erünsal, *Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi*, lxxxvii; G. Kut, "Mukhtarat", 531.

⁸¹ M. Ergin, "Câmi-ül-Meâni'deki Türkçe Şiirler", *TDED* III (1949), no. 3–4, 539–569; Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 170. Description: *İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, 1947, I, 6–7 on Yunus Emre. The MS Nuruosmaniye 4904 has often been quoted: Ergin, op. cit., 539–540.

⁸² Ergin, "Câmi'ü l-Meâni'deki Türkçe Şiirler", *TDED* III (1949), 541–544.

⁸³ Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* I, 268 no. 2705.

⁸⁴ For a survey see Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, I, 251–352. For tezkires as collections see C. Dilçin, "Divan Şiirinde Gazel", 127–131.

⁸⁵ J. Stewart-Robinson, "The Ottoman Biographies of Poets", *JNES* 72, with other examples, such as the kit'a, ruba'i, muhammes, ta'rih, mu'amma, lugaz, na't, and sharki; see also Harun Tolasa, "Şair tezkirelerinde örnek verme işlemi", *EÜSBFD* 1 (1980), 199–230.

⁸⁶ Andrews, "Tezkere-i Şu'ara of Latifi", 19.

⁸⁷ C.H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 1986, 251.

⁸⁸ H. Sohrweide, "Dichter und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich (1453–1600)", *Der Islam* 46 (1970), 273.

All of these collections exhibit a concern for tradition, and the material acquires significance when we differentiate between the purposes of the compilers which may be prescriptive and prosodic or directed towards religious performance. It is important to consider the suggestion which their appearance gives of the relation between compiler and user, allowing for a number of possibilities. The format is a pointer to a concern for practical issues.⁸⁹ The great cataloguing enterprises that gave us the lists of poets in anthologies of poetry⁹⁰ should now be followed by indexes of first lines⁹¹ (for which Andreas Tietze pleaded years ago). Erünsal has pointed out that Fuzuli quietly paid tribute to a line by Ca'fer Çelebi.⁹² Correspondences in rhyme,⁹³ too, for which an example is given in Appendix I, may serve as demonstrable evidence of connection and may help us to orient our understanding of Turkish poetry.

Appendices

I Rhymes in three anthologies (Sayf's appendix to his *Gülistan* [s], 'Ömer b. Mezdî's *Mecmu'atü n-nezâ'ir* [ö] en Sultan Gawrî's *Divan* [g]) and in the *Divan* by Taci-zade Ca'fer Çelebi [c]

-â	108	c	r1	kas	-âbdan			
-â	117	c	m1	kas	maḥzûz	278	c	h1
-â	11b	g	kas		-âblar	218	c	r1
-â	4b	g	kas		-acuġı	437	c	m1
-abdur	158–160	ö	h		-âd	135–137	ö	h
-â beni	456	c	m1		-âd eyle	391	c	r2
-â beni	181–186	ö	remel		-âd eylemişsin			
-â beni	462	c	r1		eyleme	234–236	ö	remel
-â bir					-âd it ki ġitdük			
kepenek	297	c	r2		üşde			
-â bize	26a	g			şehrüñden	373	c	h1
-â bu gice	410	c	r2		-âd olmasun	199	ö	remel
-â didiler	224	c	r2		-âda gel	329	c	r1
-â gele	377	c	m1		-âdan gelür	241–2	ö	remel
-â ḡakkı	20b	g	münacat		-âdan gelürüz	27a	g	
-â kılan					-âdân	121	c	h1 kas
Allâhdur	22a	g			-adıla	84b	g	
-â kılan kim	150–152	ö	h		-âdur	67–73	ö	h
-â köñül		sayf			-âdur söylenür	238–9	ö	remel
-â mî gelür	219	c	r2		-âf	157–158	ö	h
-â yine	60	c	r1	kas	-âf	281	c	r1
-â-yı 'îd	93	c	r1	kas	-aġ	280	c	r1
-âb	125	c	r1	kas	-âġ ateş	129	c	h1 kas
-âb	205	c	r1		-aġı	115–125	ö	h
-âb	482	c	r1		-aġ içinde	131–133	ö	h
-a benüm çok					-aġ içinde	385	c	h3
sevdüğüm	341	c	r1		-aġa dahı	427	c	haf1
-âb gibi	423	c	r2		-aġında dur			
-âb iki	452	c	rec1		dahı	60a–60b	g	
-âb olcâk	286	c	r2		-aġum benüm	46a–47a	g	
-âb olubdur	58b–59a	g			-âh	399	c	müc1
-âb olur	222	c	m1		-âh	381	c	m1
-âb üstine	38	c	r1	kas	-âh	213	c	m1
-âb-ı nâz	264	c	m1		-âh baña	197	c	müc1
-âbda	383	c	r1		-âh beni	415	c	r2

⁸⁹ For a description see Gibb, *HOP* III, 203,

⁹⁰ *TÜYATOK* III 07, Istanbul 1983, 192–196, gives full lists of anthologies in the Elmalı Library.

⁹¹ Mustafa Tatçı provided lists of first lines of poems by Yunus Emre in three collections extant in the manuscripts Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 2575 and Ms. or. oct. 2869, and Vienna, Mxt. 190.

⁹² Erünsal, *Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca'fer Çelebi*, XCI–XCII.

⁹³ Provided by Hüseyin Ayan in his doctoral dissertation on Nesimi, referred to in his "Seyyid Nesimi Hakkındaki Çalışmamız", *Ed. Fak. Araştırma Dergisi* (Erzurum 1971), 71.

-āh bilür	228	c	r2		-ān ider Halil	61b	g	
-āh egri	451	c	h1		-ān idersin	481	c	h3
-āh eyler	253	c	r2		-ān idi	422	c	m1
-āhdur	239	c	r1		-ān idici	432	c	r2
-āhı	478	c	h2		-ān ile baḡs	209	c	r1
-āhı	431	c	h2		-ān imiř			
-āhı sensedüm	232	ö	remel		bildük	299	c	mücl
-āḡlar	245	c	r1		-ān itdi firāk	283	c	r1
-āhumdur					-ān körünür		sayf	
benüm	335	c	r1		-ān Muḡam-			
-ak	54b-56a	g			med	12b	g	kas
-a közleriñ		sayf			-ān oġurladı	68a	g	
-ak	289	c	m1		-ān ola	198	c	m1
-āk	295	c	h3		-ān öldürür	257	c	recl
-āk idelüm	343	c	r2		-ān olmadı	444	c	r1
-akı	52b-53a	g			-ān olmasun	200	ö	remel
-ākı	425	c	h3		-ān olmayan	362	c	r1
-ākinden	365	c	r2		-ān olsa řem‘	279	c	r1
-akınġa		sayf			-ān olsa gerek	293	c	r2
-āl	321	c	r1		-ān oynamak	187-193	ö	remel
-āl	87a	g		kas	-ān řekil	322	c	r2
-āl	42	c	r1	kas	-ān sizlere	57a-58a	g	
-āl	2b	g		kas	-ān tevbe kıl	23b	g	kas
-āl olmak					-ān-ı ‘iřk	287	c	r1
neden	361	c	r1		-ān-ı kerem	476	c	r2
-āl-i Muřtafā	15b	g	kas		-ān-ı misk	97	c	m1
-āle	44a-46a	g			-āna begcü-			
-āli	81a	g			gezüm	332	c	haf1
-āli Pürünüñ	307	c	r1		-āna getürme	411	c	h2
-ālik	14a	g		kas	-āna řiřḡat			
-ālum benüm	337	c	r1		yarařur	236	c	rec1 ⁹⁴
-ām	83	c	r1	kas	-āna Muřtafā	434	c	m1
-ām aña	201	c	m1		-āna yarařur	I,168		Zati
-ām üstine	401	c	r1		-ānam	340	c	h3
-āme	484	c	haf1		-āndan bilürem			
-āme	393	c	m2		sen de			
-āmeler	248	c	r1		bilürsin	88-89	ö	h
-āmet ancak	65b-66b	g	(Cem)		-āndur	244	c	r2
-āmlara	404	c	r2		-āne	412	c	h1
-āmum var idi	438	c	r1		-āne	31b-34b	g	
-āmuz var					-ānedür	242	c	r1
bizüm	345	c	r1		-āneye	409	c	r1
-ān	483	c	r1		-āneyi	207-211	ö	remel
-ān	27	c	m1	kas	-ānı çeřmü-			
-ān	139	c	mücl	kas	müñ	160-171	ö	remel
-ān aġladı	436	c	r1		-ānı çıkdı	74a	g	
-ān aña	199	c	r1		-ānı dürüst	208	c	r1
-ān baña	196	c	r1		-ānı	21-38	ö	h
-ān beni	447	c	r1		-ānı	463	c	r2
-ān beni	454	c	r1		-ānı	418	c	h1
-ān büse	396	c	h1		-ānı dur		sayf	
-ān dahı	419	c	m1		-ānı eylemez	265	c	m2
-ān degül	328	c	r1		-ānı kamer	256	c	r1
-ān dur	48a-49a	g			-ānı kimdür			
-ān eglencesi	414	c	r1		dimezem	336	c	r1
-ān elden gider	29b-31a	g			-ānı yine	394	c	r2
-ān eyledi	446	c	r1		-ānı		sayf	
-ān eylemek					-ānı Ahmed	155-156	ö	h
olmaz	67b	g			-ānidüm	70a	g	
-ān gerek	300	c	r1		-ānidür	133	c	r1
-ān gözlerüñle					-ānı gördüm	129-131	ö	h
kařlaruñ	242-3	ö	remel		-ānın öp	203	c	r1
-ān her gice	407	c	r1		-ānın yařdanur	230	c	r1
-ān menzili-					-ānını	439	c	r1
dür	137-139	ö	h		-ānlar içinde	378	c	h2
-ānı çeřmü-					-ānlıkdan	372	c	r2
müñ	160-170	ö	r		-anmaz mı	440	c	h1
-anı yok mı	133-135	ö	h		-ān murādı	154-155	ö	h

⁹⁴ For this rhyme see below, sultāna řiřḡat yarařur.

-ānsuzdur ol	319	c	r1		-ārı yüzinde	387	c	h2
-ānum benüm	350	c	r1		-ārımı	449	c	r1
-ānum boy- nuña	395	c	r1		-arımı bilmez	82a	g	
-ānum sense- düm	233-4	ö	remel		-ārlığı	421	c	r1
-ānum tañrıyçün	50a-51a	g			-ār öldürür	248-9	ö	mutakarib
-ānum var imiş	273	c	r1		-ārum hoş midür	244	ö	remel
-ānumdur benüm	348	c	r1		-ārum nicesin hoşca			
-ānumuza	398	c	r2		-ārum misin	359	c	r2
-ānuñ	69a	g			-ārum tanrıyçün	49a-50a	g	
-ānuñ	78-81	ö	h		-ārum yok	285	c	mücl
-ānuñ senüñ	480	c	r1		-ārunām senüñ	302	c	m1
-ānuñ senüñ	292	c	r1		-āruñla	408	c	r2
-ar erür		sayf			-āruñ elin	364	c	r2
-ar hey	464	c	r1		-āruñ ola	200	c	r2
-ār	169	c	mücl	kas	-āruñ senüñ	294	c	r1
-ār	249	c	r1		-aş	485	c	h3
-ār	72	c	r1	kas	-aş eylemez	25b	g	
-ār	250	c	m1		-ās	270	c	r1
-ār andan	369	c	h1		-āş	275	c	mücl
-āra bakmaz	152-153	ö	h		-āsı	142-145	ö	h
-ār ayruluğı	435	c	r2		-āsı çeşmümüñ	170-171	ö	r
-ār dahı	450	c	r2		-āsı çeşmümüñ	308	c	r1
-ār elden çıkar	226-228	ö	remel		-āsı nedür	27b	g	
-ār elden gider	29a-b	g	r1 ⁹⁵		-āsı var	232	c	r1
-ār eyledi	458	c	r1		-āsın	18	c	h3
-ār eyler	233	c	h1		-aşlar	171-181	ö	remel
-ār ider	254	c	r1		-aşlaruz biz	268	c	h2
-ār idi	453	c	r1		-aşmasun	368	c	m1
-ār ile	392	c	r1		-aşum benüm	356	c	r1
-ār imişsin böyle bil- mezdüm					-at	277	c	r1
-ār isteyen	357	c	r1		-āt	206	c	h3
-ār itsem gerek	110	c	r1		-ātı	7a	g	kas
-ār kadeh	211	c	mücl		-atından	83b	g	
-ār la'l	317	c	m1		-ay gönül	326	c	r2
-ār olduğı-çün	47	c	haf1	kas	-ay sakal	323	c	r2
-ār öldürür	248	ö	mütekārib		-āya	38-48	ö	h
-ār olmasun	194-199	ö	remel		-āya kemer	225	c	r2
-ār olmasun kimse	413	c	h1		-āya kıomazlar	231	c	h2
-ār olubdur dōstlar	255	c	r1		-āya uğradum	338	c	r1
-ār sebz	267	c	m1		-āye zülfün	298	c	h3
-ār şud	36b	g			-āyı kimseye	402	c	r1
-ārum hoş midür	244-5	ö	r		-āyile	74b	g	
-ār yok	290	c	r1		-ayım		sayf	
-ār-ı Muştafā	10b	g			-āyüñdür senüñ	314	c	r1
-āra beñzet- düm	346	c	mücl		-āz	276	c	r1
-ārda	388	c	r1		-āz gül	186	c	r1
-ardan sakınub	204	c	r2		-āz olsun begüm	349	c	r1
-ardan	220-223	ö	remel		-āz olur	252	c	r1
-ar dirler	48-53	ö	h		-āza	405	c	h1
-ārdur	473	c	r1		-āza	125-125	ö	h
-āreler	226	c	r1		-eb olmaz	269	c	h2
-āre ne	246-7	ö	r		-ebi	430	c	r2
-ārı	461	c	h1		-ede	379	c	m1
-ārı benefşe	101	c	h2	kas	-edi	441	c	m1
-ārından	86-88	ö	h		-ef	78a	g	
-ārı olam	352	c	r2		-ehi	428	c	r2
					el benüm ü etek senüñ	72b	g	
					-elden	154	ö	h
					-elüm	331	c	r2
					-em	98-108	ö	h
					-em	82b	g	

⁹⁵ For this rhyme see also Hatayi no. 69, Zati 288; Taşlıcalı Yahya. Cf. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song. Ottoman Lyric Poetry*, 123-4; A. N. Tarlan, *Zatî Divanı*, I Istanbul 1967.

em degül	216–220	ö	remel		-iþ	212	c	mücl
-emdür	243	c	mücl		-ıkdur	229	c	h1
-emdür	109–115	ö	h		-il	330	c	h1
-emin	363	c	r1		-il	316	c	r2
-emüñ	291	c	r2		-ilsün	358	c	h2
-en	66	c	r1	kas	-im	8b	g	kas
-en	370	c	r1		-im	165	c	r1
-en behey					-im	40a–41b	g	kas
kâfir	220	c	haf		-im üstine	384	c	r1
-en durur	240	c	r1		-in	367	c	r1
-en ölice	315	c	r2		-in eyler	247	c	r2
-en tutar	238	c	m1		-ında tutar		sayf	
-enc	210	c	r2		-inesine	380	c	r2
-end ile	400	c	m1		-ini	459	c	h1
-enden	360	c	h2		-inüñ	304	c	h3
-enden cüdâ	202	c	r1		-ir	259	c	m2
-endi	429	c	h2		-ir dahı	424	c	r1
-eng	306	c	r1		-ir	75a	g	
-engiçün	51a–52a	g			-ir	260	c	h1
-eni	460	c	r1		-ir	469	c	mücl
-eni	417	c	r2		-ir eyledüñ	239–241	ö	remel
-enüñ	313	c	r2		-ir eylemez	223–226	ö	remel
-er	90–98	ö	h		-ir eylemiş	271	c	r1
-er	241	c	r1		-ir olasın sen	366	c	h1
-er	223	c	h3		-ir olasın sen	42a	g	
-er		sayf			-irüñ senüñ	311	c	r1
-er	22	c	r1	kas	-iş	274	c	r2
-er bu gice	389	c	r2		-iş itmedüñ	309	c	r1
-er depredür	228–232	ö	remel		-itmesün	371	c	r1
-er devridür	235	c	r1		-itmez	266	c	m2
-er döne döne	36b–38a	g			-i yüz	147–148	ö	h
-er düzer	236–238	ö	remel		-iyyeti	201	ö	remel
-er ey dost	207	c	h2		-mâ	34b–36a	g	
-er kâkül-i					-olıcak dostum	354	c	r1
müşkîn-i					sultâna sıhhat			
döst	78	c	r1	kas	yaraşur		85b	g
-er kana kana	38b–39b	g			-ü	376	c	h1
-er lâle	151	c	mücl	kas	-ubdur	126–129	ö	h
-er lezîz	216	c	m1		-üb olur	258	c	r1
-er nergis	158	c	r2	kas	-üb olacakdur	63a	g	
-er yana yana	39b–40a	g			-üb olasın sen	41b, 73a	g	
-er yanar	68b	g			-üd	215	c	m1
-er yazar	246	c	r1		-üd ola	195	c	r1
-ercük olur	71a–71b	g			-üdur çäre ne	246–7	ö	remel
-erdedür	211–216	ö	remel		-ül	139–142	ö	h
-erden	81–86	ö	h		-ül	318	c	h1
-erden ayrıl-					-ül	320	c	r1
dum	333	c	mücl		-ül eylerem	334	c	r1
-erdi	426	c	h3		-ül gibi	445	c	r1
-erdi anuñ	312	c	r1		-ül hemişe	140–150	ö	h
-eri		sayf			-ül şâh şâh	214	c	r1
-eri	442	c	r2		-ü	53–63	ö	h
-erlik	310	c	h1		-ular	262	c	h1
-erüñ	303	c	r2		-ular ile	386	c	r2
-eş	272	c	h2		-ülün	301	c	r1
-eş oldı	420	c	r2		-ümnden	153	ö	h
-esi var	217	c	h2		-üm olaydum			
-estedür	227	c	r1		kâşkî	457	c	r1
-et ola	114	c	r2	kas	-ün eylemez	263	c	r1
-et virüb durur	234	c	m1		-ün ider	221	c	r
-et yegdür	261	c	r2		-ün	374	c	r1
-et yok.	284	c	h1		-ün eyleme	390	c	r1
-ete	80a	g			-ün gibi	448	c	r1
-eti	201–207	ö	remel		-ün olacakdur	62a, 64b	g	
-eti dervişlerüñ	20	c	r2	kas	-ünumdan			
-etüm	339	c	r1		benüm	351	c	r1
-ey	455	c	h2		-ür (distich)		sayf	
-ib	245	ö	r		-ürî (öri)	73–77	ö	h
-ibi	145–147	ö			-ür olacakdur	63b	g	
-ib	42b–43b, 79a	g			-ürdi	416	c	h2
-ide	382	c	r1		-usı yok	282	c	r1

--ūsna	403	c	r1	-ūze	397	c	r2
-ūsindan	375	c	r2	yavuz gözden			
-ūza gele	406	c	r2	yavuz dilden	63–66	ö	h

II ‘Aruz manuals

The series⁹⁶ is opened by Kadi ‘Abdullāh from Divriği, a judge in Cairo, who in 849/1445–6 composed his short mesnevi *Bahr-i dūrer* which is extant in two manuscripts, Dublin T. 473⁹⁷ and Berlin MS. or. oct. 3744, 153b–181a.⁹⁸ The work has been published by Tourkhan Gandjei⁹⁹ and awaits detailed study. It consists of 210 verses composed in the hazac metre, and treats of the technical terms of Arabo-Persian prosody, the metrical feet; ‘faults’; the sixteen traditional metres, mentioning that Khalil b. Ahmad excluded the mutadārik,¹⁰⁰ and explains the six circles containing sixteen metres, concentrating on those variants of the metres which were actually used in, or were congenial to Turkish poetry.¹⁰¹

MS. Berlin or. oct. 3744, 144b–147a, is a short treatise by Ahmedi entitled *Risale fi l-‘aruz*.¹⁰²

Fols. 147a–153a in the MS. Berlin or. oct. 3744 contain another *Risale-i ‘aruz*.¹⁰³

Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa’i’s Chagatay Turkish *Mizan al-awzan*, preserved in seven manuscripts, of which Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 808 (dated 901–902/1500), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 317 (dated 933/1526–7) are the oldest, makes use of the circles and discusses some specifically Eastern Turkish verse forms. The work, which was completed after 898/beg. 23 Oct. 1492 and dedicated to Sultan Husayn Mirza, has recently been published by Kemal Eraslan.¹⁰⁴

Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur’s treatise on ‘aruz is preserved partially in a manuscript in Rampur as well as the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 1308 which was published by I. V. Stebleva.¹⁰⁵ The treatise which appears not to bear any title (*Muhtasar*) was composed by Babur not earlier than 1523 and not later than 1525.¹⁰⁶ Babur, just as Nawa’i, “illuminates the rules of the ‘aruz with examples from Turkic poetry” as well as specific Turkic poetic

⁹⁶ More works are mentioned by K. Eraslan in the preface to his *Alī-Şīr Nevāyī. Mîzānu’l-Evzān* (see note 104), XIII.

⁹⁷ Manuscript presented by the minister Yashbek min Mahdi (died in 1480) to the library of his Sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayf addin Kaytbay (ruled 1469–1496). V. Minorosky, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin, 1958, 110–111.

⁹⁸ Manuscript produced for the library of Sultan Kanisawh al-Gawri. M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften Teil 2*, Wiesbaden 1968, 207 no. 304.

⁹⁹ T. Gandjei, “The Bahr-i dūrer: an early Turkish treatise on prosody”, *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Naples, 1982, 237–249.

¹⁰⁰ Verse 181. On Khalil b. Ahmad’s refraining from mentioning the mutadārik see W.F.G.J. Stoetzer, *Theory and Practice in Arabic Metrics*, Leiden 1989, 81–83.

¹⁰¹ Gandjei, “Treatise on prosody”, 237.

¹⁰² Götz, *Türkische Handschriften Teil 2*, 192 no. 283.

¹⁰³ Götz, *Türkische Handschriften Teil 2*, 194 no. 286.

¹⁰⁴ K. Eraslan, *Alī-Şīr Nevāyī. Mîzānu’l-Evzān (Vezinlerin Terazisi)*, Ankara 1993. For earlier literature see J. Eckmann in *PhTF* II, 350 and M.E. Subtelny, “Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa’i”, *EI* VII, 1993, 91 no. VI. For the earlier edition by I. Sultanov, *Alişer Navaiy. Mezanul-evzan*, Tashkent 1949, see Eraslan; for the MS. St. Petersburg partially published by Samojlovič in 1926 see M. Fuad Köprülü, “La métrique ‘aruz dans la poésie turque”, *PhTF* II, 266.

¹⁰⁵ E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*, II, Paris 1933, 229. I. V. Stebleva (ed.), *Zachir ad-din Muchammad Babur. Traktat ob ‘Aruze. Faksimile rukopisi. Izdanie teksta, vstupil’ naja stat’ ja i ukazateli*, Moscow 1972.

¹⁰⁶ Stebleva, *Razvitie*, 40–43, with older literature (M.F. Köprülü, “Türk klasik edebiyatında hususi nazım şekilleri: Tuyug”, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* II; reprinted in the same author’s *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934).

forms adjusted to some of the ‘aruz metres (for instance, tuyugh, qoshuq, türki). Babur adds considerably to the information provided by Mir ‘Ali Shir Nawa’i.

Dervish Mehmed Chelebi with the pen-name Lem‘i, Lāmi‘i’s son, wrote a treatise on prosody entitled *Risale-i Bahrü l-evzân fi l-‘aruz*¹⁰⁷ which is extant in the MS. Konya, Yusuf Ağa Library no. 139.

Metres and rhyme fill the first makale of the handbook on metrics and rhetoric which Mustafa b. Şa‘ban, known as Sururi (d. 969/1561–2), composed in 956/1549 under the title *Bahrü l-ma‘arif*; it is preserved in many manuscripts.¹⁰⁸

Nutki’s short *Risale-i ‘aruz* is preserved in the Berlin MS. or. oct. 3636, 59a–68b.¹⁰⁹

‘Ali b. Hüseyin el-Amasi (end seventeenth century) wrote a *Risale-i ‘aruz* which is part of a collection of metrical works extant in the Berlin MS. or. oct. 3238, 46a–90b.¹¹⁰

An *‘Ilm-i ‘aruz*, probably a translation, is preserved in the Berlin MS. or. quart 1741, 212a–213b.¹¹¹

One Derviş ‘Ali Amidi’s *Ahval-i bahir* is preserved in the Elmalı Library.¹¹²

Ravzatü l-evzan, Leiden, Cod. 451,2,¹¹³ is a short Turkish mesnevi in hazac verses on the ‘aruz feet, written to be memorized.

III Titles of ‘aruz manuals and collections cited

Bahr-i dürer, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T. 473; Berlin MS. or. oct. 3744, 153b–181a.

Bahrü l-evzân by Lem‘i, Dervish Mehmed Chelebi, Konya, Yusuf Ağa Library no. 139 (listed under the title *Risale-i Bahrü l-evzân fi l-‘aruz*).

Bahrü l-ma‘arif by Mustafa Sururi, completed in 1549, dedicated to Prince Mustafa. There are many MSS., I cite only Berlin MS. or. oct. 2298, Vienna N.F. 35, Leiden Cod. 451 (1) and Cod. 2082.¹¹⁴

Cāmi‘ü l-me‘ānī, Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4904; completed in Istanbul in 940/1533–34.

Cāmi‘ü n-nezā‘ir, Edirneli Nazmī, Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4915.¹¹⁵

Cāmi‘u n-nezā‘ir, Pervāne b. ‘Abdullāh, Istanbul, T.K.S., Bağdat Köşkü 406.

Cāmi‘ü n-nezā‘ir, Eğridirli Haccī Kemāl, Bayezit Devlet Library, Umumî 5782; work dated 918/1512.

Cāmi‘u n-nezā‘ir, anonymous, Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 2955; completed between 970 and 972, purpose unspecified.

Dīwān-i Mevlānā es-Sultān el-Melik el-Esref Kanısavh Gawrī, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS. or. oct. 3744, part 1.¹¹⁶

Gūlistān bi t-Türkī, Leiden, Library of the University, Cod. or. 1553.

Mecma‘u n-nazā‘ir, see *Mecmū‘atü n-nezā‘ir* (Edirneli Nazmī).

Mecmū‘a-i latīfe, ‘Alī b. Ahmed b. Emīr ‘Alī, Koğuşlar 950.

¹⁰⁷ Günay Kut Alpay, “Lami‘i Chelebi and his Works”, *JNES* 35 (1976), 74.

¹⁰⁸ For a description of its contents see Götz, *Türkische Handschriften Teil 2*, 193 no. 284–285.

¹⁰⁹ H. Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften (3)*, Wiesbaden 1974, 188 no. 224.

¹¹⁰ H. Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften (5)*, Wiesbaden 1981, 188 no. 203.

¹¹¹ H. Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften (5)*, 190 no. 205.

¹¹² *TÜYATOK* II 07, 475 no. 1601.

¹¹³ R.P.A. Dozy, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, I Leiden 1851, 120 no. CCXXXIV.

¹¹⁴ Götz, *Türkische Handschriften Teil 2*, 193 no. 284; Flügel I 208 no. 229; CCO I, 119 no. CCXXXIII and V, 320 no. MMDCCCXI.

¹¹⁵ Erünsal, *Life and Works of Tâcî-zâde Ca‘fer Çelebi*, Bibliography, cxvii–cxix.

¹¹⁶ Götz, *Türkische Handschriften 2*, 207 no. 304.

- Mecmū' a-i nezā' ir*, Berlin MS. or. oct. 3652, part 1; Götz.
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Edirneli Nazmî, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Library Ahmed III 2644 (described by Karatay, TY 396 no. 3070).
- [*Mecmu' atü n-naza' ir*] by Edirneli Nazmî, entitled *Nezā' irü l-eş'âr* in the MS. Vienna, H.O. 142 (Flügel no. 693).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Istanbul, Millet Library, Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler no. 674 (Ambros, Erünsal).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Edirneli Nazmî, Istanbul, Millet Ktp., Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler no. 683 (vol. I).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Edirneli Nazmî, Istanbul, Millet Library, Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler no. 684 (vol. II).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Revan no. 1972 (Ambros, Erünsal).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi no. 3418 (Erünsal).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa no. 1031 (Erünsal).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Edirneli Nazmî, Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4222.
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, 'Ömer b. Mezîd, London, School of Oriental and African Studies, no. 27,689; work dated 840/1437, MS. undated.
- Mecmū' a-yı şu' arā-yı kadîm* Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 752 (Erünsal; purpose unspecified).
- Mecmū' atü n-nezā' ir*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 1547 (Erünsal; purpose unspecified).
- Metālî' ü n-nezā' ir*, Hişālî of Budin (died 1062/1651), Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4252–4253; in two volumes, undated, autograph copy.¹¹⁷
- Mizan al-awzan*, Mir 'Ali Shir Nawa'i, preserved in seven manuscripts, headed by Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 808 (dated 901–902/1500), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 317.
- H.O. 142, *Naẓa' irü l-eş'âr* = Edirneli Nazmî's *Mecmu' atü n-nezā' ir* (Flügel no. 693).
- Nuhbetü l-âşâr li zeyl-i Zübdetü l-eş'ar*, Belig, autograph dated Bursa, 1139, Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 1182.
- Ravzatü l-evzan*, Leiden, Cod. 451 (2) Warn., CCO I, no. CCXXXIV. Begin of a Turkish poetical work on metrics.
- Risale fi l-'aruż*, Ahmedi, Berlin MS. or. oct. 3744 = Götz 192 no. 283.
- Risale-i 'aruż*, Berlin MS. or. oct 3744, part 3.¹¹⁸
- Risale fi l-'aruż* by 'Abdullah = *Bahr-i dürer*, Berlin MS. or. oct 3744, part 4.¹¹⁹
- Risale-i Bahrü l-evzân fi l-'arüz*, see *Bahrü l-evzân*.
- Zübdetü l-Eş'ar* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi), preserved in the manuscripts Vienna H.O.141 (entitled *Zubdetü l-erbabü l-me'arif*); Istanbul, T.K.S. Revan 837,¹²⁰ Üniversite, T.Y. no. 1646, Süleymaniye, Es'ad Efendi no. 2726; Şehit Ali Paşa no. 1877, Hamidiye no. 1065; Nuruosmaniye, no. 3722, 3723; Millet, Emiri Manzum 1325.
- Without title, Collection of poetry from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, Berlin MS. or. oct. 3058.¹²¹
- Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur's treatise on *'aruż*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 1308.

¹¹⁷ G. Kut, "Mukhtarât", 531.

¹¹⁸ Götz, *Türkische Handschriften* 2, 194 no. 286.

¹¹⁹ Short description by Götz, *Türkische Handschriften* 2, 192 no. 282.

¹²⁰ Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* I, 406 no. 1225. 'OM II, 386.

¹²¹ Götz, *Türkische Handschriften* 2, 206 no. 303 with names of poets.

IV Manuscripts for comparison, by location

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS. or. oct. 3744, 144b–147a: *Diwan-i Mevlana es-Sultan el-Melik el-Eşref Kanisawh Gawri*; Ahmedi's *Risale fi l-'aruz* = Götz 192 no. 283; *Risale-i 'aruz* = Götz 194 no. 286.

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T 473, *Bahr-i durer*.

Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Library, Ahmed III 2644: Edirneli Nażmi, *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir*. Bağdat Köşkü 406: Pervâne b. 'Abdullāh, *Cāmi'u n-nezā'ir*.

Koğuşlar 950: 'Alī b. Ahmed b. Emīr 'Alī, *Mecmū'a-i latīfe*.

Revan 837: *Zübdetü l-Eş'ār* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).¹²²

Revan 808: Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawa'ī's Chagatay Turkish *Mizān al-avzān*.

Revan no. 1972: *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir*.

Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi no. 2726: *Zübdetü l-Eş'ār* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).

Süleymaniye Library, Es'ad Efendi no. 3418: *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir*, a mecmū'a containing Turkish kasides (Kasa'id-i Türkiye) by famous poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Erünsal, Lxxxviii f., bibl.).

Süleymaniye Library, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa no. 1031: *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir*.

Süleymaniye Library, Şehit Ali Paşa no. 1877: *Zübdetü l-Eş'ār* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).

Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye no. 1065: *Zübdetü l-Eş'ār* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).

Süleymaniye Library, Collection Nuri Arlasez no. 263: *Mecmū'atü l-eş'ār*, Catalogue 1991, p. 19.

Nuruosmaniye no. 3722–3723: *Zübdetü l-Eş'ār* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).

Nuruosmaniye no. 4222: Edirneli Nażmi, *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir*.

Nuruosmaniye no. 4252–4253: Hişālī of Budin (died 1062/1651) *Metālī'ü n-nezā'ir* in two volumes.

Nuruosmaniye 4904: *Cāmi'ü l-Me'ānī*, completed in Istanbul in 940/1533–34.

Nuruosmaniye 4915: Edirneli Nażmi, *Cāmi'ü l-nezā'ir*.

Millet Library, Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler no. 674: *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir*. Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler 683: Edirneli Nażmi, *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir* (vol. I).

Millet Library, Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler no. 684: Edirneli Nażmi, *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir* (vol. II).

Millet Library, Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler no. 685: *Şiir mecmuası*. Contains poems by poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the *Şehr-engiz* by Mesihî from Priştina and the mesnevi '*İşret-name* or *Saki-name* by perhaps a different Mesihî in Eastern Turkish (Mine Mengi).¹²³

Millet Library, Ali Emiri Manzum Eserler no. 1325: *Zübdetü l-Eş'ār* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).¹²⁴

Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 752: *Mecmū'a-yı şu'arā-yı kadīm*. Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 1182: Belig, *Nuhbetü l-Asar li zeyl-i Zübdetü l-eş'ār*, autograph dated 1139, Bursa.

Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 1547: *Mecmū'atü n-nezā'ir*.

Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 1646: *Zübdetü l-Eş'ār* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).

¹²² Karatay, *Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* I, 406 no. 1225.

¹²³ M. Mengi, "The Fifteenth Century Ottoman Poet Mesihî and His Works", *Erdem* 2 no. 5 (Ankara 1986), 357–372.

¹²⁴ List of poets' names in Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* 1, 295–298.

Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, T.Y. 2955: *Cāmi'ü n-nezā'ir* by an anonymous, completed between 970 and 972.

Bayezit Devlet Library, Umumî 5782: Eğridirli Haccî Kemāl, *Cāmi'ü n-nezā'ir*, work dated 918/1512.

Konya, Yusuf Ağa Library no. 139: Lem'î, Mehmed Chelebi, *Risale-i Bahrü l-evzân fî l-'aruż*.

Leiden, Library of the University, Cod. or. 1553: *Gülistan bi t-Türki*.

Leiden Cod. 451 (1) and Cod. 2082 (1641): *Bahrü l-ma'arif* by Sururi.

Leiden, Cod. 451 (2): *Ravzatü l-evzan*.

London, British Library, Rieu 190a: *Zübdetü l-Eş'âr* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).

School of Oriental and African Studies, no. 27,689: 'Ömer b. Mezîd, *Mecmû'atü n-nezā'ir*, work dated 840/1437, MS. undated.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Turc 317: *Mizan al-awzan* by Mir 'Ali Shir Nawa'i.

Suppl. Turc 1308: Babur's treatise on 'aruż.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H.O. 141: *Zübdet erbabü l-me'arif* by Kaf-zade Feyzullah Efendi (Fa'izi).

H.O. 142: *Naza'irü l-eş'âr* = Edirneli Nazmi's *Mecmu'atü n-nezā'ir* (Flügel no. 693).

N.F. 35: *Bahrü l-ma'arif* by Sururi.

Le mètre épique baloutchi et les origines du motaqâreb*

GILBERT LAZARD

1. L'une des voies qui s'offrent pour traiter le problème de la versification irano-préislamique et de ses rapports avec la métrique persane classique est l'analyse de la technique de versification dans la poésie populaire des langues irano-aryennes modernes. On peut penser en effet que cette poésie, étrangère en principe à l'influence arabe, est l'héritière de celle des temps préislamiques. A cet égard la poésie baloutchie paraît particulièrement prometteuse. En effet le vocalisme du baloutchi, comme on sait, est identique à celui qu'on restitue pour le moyen-perse et le parthe, et la structure des syllabes et l'aspect général des mots sont semblables : les emprunts arabes, qui pourraient changer l'équilibre phonétique de la langue, sont peu nombreux, tout au moins en poésie.

Nous voulons dans le présent article étudier la versification d'un morceau de la poésie épique traditionnelle qui est abondamment représentée dans la collection de Longworth Dames (1907). Elfenbein (1985) a montré que les textes publiés par Dames sont plus ou moins corrompus et il en a republié deux morceaux dans une version « restaurée » : « the purpose of this paper is to try to rehabilitate a small part of this collection » (p. 159). Il ne dit pas comment il a procédé pour corriger le texte, mais on peut sans doute faire confiance à ce savant, bon spécialiste du baloutchi. Nous prendrons pour objet de notre analyse le premier des deux poèmes publiés par Elfenbein : *welā ahδien jwān-aθant* ... (p. 166 sq.). Il comprend 82 vers¹. Nous nous attacherons exclusivement au mètre, sans considérer la rime, qui est souvent présente, mais irrégulièrement.

2. Dans ses « Notes on metre » (p. 164), Elfenbein énonce un certain nombre de règles, sans dire s'il les tient de récitants baloutches qu'il aurait consultés, s'il a lui-même constaté leurs effets en entendant réciter des poèmes ou s'il les a abstraites de l'analyse de textes écrits. En ce qui nous concerne, nous sommes naturellement réduit à cette dernière méthode. Elle nous a conduit, sur certains points, à des conclusions qui divergent des règles indiquées par Elfenbein. Il appartiendra à l'expérience directe de les corriger éventuellement.

Selon Elfenbein, c'est le compte des syllabes qui importe par-dessus tout (« it is syllable-count which matters above everything »). Le vers typique compte huit syllabes; mais on trouve aussi sporadiquement des vers de sept ou neuf syllabes, « used sparingly, and mainly for dramatic effect ». Ce vers comporte quatre ac-

* Cet article est le huitième dans la série de nos « Etudes sur la versification dans les langues irano-aryennes » (EVLIA 8).

¹ Numérotés, dans la publication d'Elfenbein, de 1 à 83, mais un numéro est omis entre 45 et 50. Par commodité, nous citons les vers selon la numérotation d'Elfenbein.

cents, qui ne peuvent tomber que sur des longues; la dernière syllabe est toujours comptée longue et porte un accent. Le schème de base est le suivant :

— — — — —

Mais il admet de nombreuses variantes : au maximum deux syllabes longues peuvent être remplacées par des brèves, à condition qu'elles ne soient pas consécutives.

Tel est l'essentiel du tableau. En fait les variantes admises, dont l'auteur donne trois comme les plus communes, sont si nombreuses que l'on se demande quelle signification garde l'agencement des longues et des brèves, mise à part la question de l'accent, qui ne peut porter que sur une longue. Il est clair que le rythme est donné principalement par les accents, ou, disons mieux, les ictus, car ils ne coïncident pas nécessairement, tant s'en faut, avec les accents de mot. Nous avons affaire à une versification essentiellement accentuelle, ce que confirme le fait que le nombre des syllabes peut varier dans certaines limites. Il importe donc de voir comment se distribuent les ictus.

Dans ce qui suit, nous désignerons les syllabes par un numéro en commençant par la fin du vers : S1 désignera la dernière syllabe, S2 la pénultième, S3 l'antépénultième, etc.

3. Classés selon le nombre des syllabes, les 82 vers se répartissent comme suit :

7 syllabes : 3

8 syllabes : 59

9 syllabes : 17

10 syllabes : $\frac{3}{82}$

Les octosyllabes sont donc nettement dominants, mais les autres vers ne sont pas négligeables, puisqu'ils représentent plus du quart du total. Nous verrons qu'ils se placent sans trop de difficulté dans les mêmes schèmes rythmiques.

La dernière syllabe étant toujours comptée longue et porteuse d'un ictus, nous constatons que la pénultième est toujours brève, contrairement au schème « fondamental » posé par Elfenbein. La seule exception, parmi les 82 vers, est le vers 32, où nous sommes obligés de supposer que, par licence poétique, la syllabe *en* est comptée brève. D'autre part l'antépénultième est presque toujours longue. Font exception quatre vers seulement, n^{os} 12, 56, 64, 83, sur lesquels nous reviendrons. Si pour le moment nous les négligeons, nous pouvons poser pour la fin de vers la séquence — ∪ —². Et, comme il est vraisemblable qu'une syllabe systématiquement longue porte un ictus, nous voyons se dessiner ainsi la fin de vers :

... — ∪ —

La fin de vers étant toujours une partie sensible, qui doit être aisément perçue par l'oreille des auditeurs, il n'est pas étonnant que nous puissions aussi en saisir la forme assez facilement.

Ainsi sont situés deux des ictus. Le reste du vers doit en comporter deux autres, comme l'a bien vu Elfenbein. Reste à voir comment ils se placent. Pour ce faire, nous examinerons successivement les vers de huit, sept, neuf et dix syllabes, et dans chaque rubrique les différents agencements de longues et de brèves.

² Il n'en va pas de même dans le deuxième des poèmes republiés par Elfenbein, dont le mètre est donc probablement différent. Il est à remarquer d'ailleurs que le contenu en est plus lyrique qu'épique.

3.1. Octosyllabes.

Type a : -----◡-. C'est celui des vers 1, 8, 9, 26, 30, 38, 39, 41, 43, 55, 58, 73, 80. Tout ictus étant exclu sur S4, qui précède immédiatement l'ictus de l'antépénultième, les ictus peuvent être sur S5 et S7, ou S5 et S8, ou S6 et S8 :

— ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
◡ — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Type b : -----◡◡-. Vers 76. La seule différence avec le type a est que S4 est brève. Comme cette syllabe ne peut porter d'ictus, les schèmes possibles sont les mêmes que pour le type a. Dans ce qui suit nous ne distinguerons pas les vers où S4 est longue et ceux où elle est brève.

Type c : ----◡◡-◡-. Vers 6, 47, 53, 54. Le seul schème possible a les ictus sur S6 et S8 :

◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡

Type d : --◡-◡-◡-. Vers 2, 3, 4, 7, 13, 16, 23, 42, 46, 48, 50, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 67, 70, 72, 75, 78, 81, 82, auxquels il faut ajouter le 32, si l'on admet l'hypothèse faite ci-dessus. Les ictus peuvent être sur S5 et S7, ou S5 et S8 :

— ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Type e : -◡---◡-◡-. Vers 11, 51, 66, 77. Ictus possibles sur S5 et S8, ou S6 et S8 :

◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Type f : ◡-◡-◡-◡-◡-. Vers 18, 33. Les ictus ne peuvent être que sur S5 et S7 :

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Type g : -◡◡-◡-◡-. Vers 17, 21, 22, 31. Les seuls ictus possibles sont sur S5 et S8 :

◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Restent quelques vers à problème. Dans 25 (---◡◡---◡-) la difficulté est résolue facilement si l'on prononce *aruen* en deux syllabes (*aruen*), ce qui fait du vers un heptasyllabe sans problème (type a, ci-dessous). 12 et 83 ont une antépénultième brève (respectivement ---◡---◡◡- et ◡-◡---◡◡-). Selon Elfenbein, les suites de deux brèves sont exclues (cf., pourtant, le type g ci-dessus, qui ne fait pas difficulté), et dans ce cas l'une des deux est allongée. On admettra donc que dans 12 et 83 l'antépénultième est allongée, ce qui ramène 12 au type d et 83 au type f. Dans 64, qui a quatre brèves d'affilée et en outre une syllabe initiale brève (◡---◡◡◡◡-), non seulement l'antépénultième doit être allongée, mais aussi une autre des brèves, de préférence l'initiale (*Pullār?*), ce qui conduit à un schème acceptable :

◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Enfin dans 63 (---◡◡---◡-) l'allongement d'une des deux brèves conforme le vers soit au type c soit au type d.

3.2. Heptasyllabes.

Type a : -----◡-. Vers 19. Ictus sur S5 et S7 :

◡-◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

Type b : -◡-----◡-. Vers 35. Même solution:

◡◡◡-◡-◡◡◡

Le vers 36 (◡◡-----◡-), avec deux brèves initiales, fait difficulté : l'allongement de l'initiale le ramène au type b.

3.3. Ennéasyllabes.

Type a : ◡-----◡-◡-. Vers 10. Ce type admet les schèmes suivants :

◡-◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

◡◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

◡◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

Type b : -----◡-◡-. Vers 14, 15, 69. Les ictus peuvent se placer comme dans le type précédent; en outre un ictus peut tomber sur S9, ce qui donne le schème suivant :

◡-◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

Type c : -◡-----◡-◡-. Vers 34, 44, 68. Ictus possibles sur S5 et S7, ou S6 et S9 :

-◡◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

◡◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

Type d : --◡---◡-◡-. Vers 27, 28. Ictus possibles sur S5 et S8, ou S6 et S8, ou S6 et S9 :

--◡◡-◡-◡◡◡

--◡◡-◡-◡◡◡

◡-◡◡-◡-◡◡◡

Type e : ---◡-◡-◡-. Vers 15. Ictus possibles sur S5 et S7, ou S5 et S8 :

---◡◡-◡◡◡

◡-◡-◡◡-◡◡◡

Type f : ◡-◡---◡-◡-. Vers 37. Ictus possibles sur S5 et S8, ou S6 et S8 :

◡◡-◡-◡-◡◡◡

◡◡-◡◡-◡-◡◡◡

Type g : ◡---◡-◡-◡-. Vers 62. Ictus possibles sur S5 et S7, ou S5 et S8 :

◡-◡-◡◡-◡◡◡

◡◡-◡-◡◡-◡◡◡

Type h : -◡---◡-◡-. Vers 40. Ictus sur S6 et S9 :

◡◡-◡-◡◡-◡◡◡

Restent quatre vers à problème. 19 et 20 ont une pénultième longue (... *danzayā-h-ant*, ... *šanzayā-h-ant*)! Comme cette irrégularité ruine la fin de vers et que, d'autre part, l'antépénultième est brève, il est à peu près sûr

que les deux syllabes finales se contractent (*-āhant > ānt*) : les deux vers deviennent alors des octosyllabes réguliers, respectivement de type a et de type d. 56 (---υ---υ-) a une antépénultième brève : il faut admettre soit qu'elle s'allonge, ce qui conforme le vers au type d, soit, plus vraisemblablement, que la voyelle est élidée (*kinzθaγant*), ce qui arrive, selon Elfenbein (« short syllables can be elided as required ») : l'élision fait du vers un octosyllabe de type d. De même, dans 71 (υ---υυ---υ-), soit l'une des deux brèves est allongées soit, plus probablement, la seconde voyelle brève est élidée, ce qui fait du vers un octosyllabe rythmé ainsi :

υ - - - - υ -

3.4. Décasyllabes.

Les trois décasyllabes sont les vers 45, 74 et 79.

45 (---υ-υ---υ-) ne se laisse pas scander tel quel; mais si l'on admet une contraction dans *na-en*, le vers devient un ennéasyllabe de type d.

74 (υ---υυ---υ-) peut être rythmé ainsi :

υ - - υ υ - - - υ -

Mais il peut être préférable d'admettre une contraction dans *čarāenta* (selon Elfenbein, « the causative infix *-āen-* can be either -- or - »), ce qui donne un ennéasyllabe avec le schème suivant :

υ - υ υ - - - υ -

Mais il est encore possible que la brève de *jawāb* soit élidée, ce qui réduit le vers à un octosyllabe de type f.

Enfin 79 (υ-----υ---υ-) admet les schèmes suivants :

υ - - - - υ - - υ -

υ - - - - υ - - υ -

Mais, s'il y a contraction des deux dernières syllabes de *dāḏa-ī*, on retrouve un ennéasyllabe de type a.

Comme on voit, l'existence de décasyllabes est douteuse.

4. Nous pouvons maintenant récapituler en faisant abstraction de la qualité longue ou brève des syllabes, à l'exception de la pénultième, toujours brève et compte tenu du fait que les syllabes portant un ictus sont toujours longues. Nous représenterons les syllabes indifféremment longues ou brèves par x et celles qui portent un ictus par *ǰ*.

Les différents types d'octosyllabes se ramènent à trois schèmes, à savoir :

1. x *ǰ* x *ǰ* x *ǰ* x υ *ǰ*

2. *ǰ* x x *ǰ* x *ǰ* x υ *ǰ*

3. *ǰ* x *ǰ* x x *ǰ* x υ *ǰ*

Le schème 1 est compatible avec les types a, b, d, e, g, le schème 2 avec les types a, b, d, f, le schème 3 avec les types a, b, c, e. Il est à noter que la majorité des vers de huit syllabes appartiennent aux types a et d, c'est-à-dire peuvent se scander selon les schèmes 1 et 2, lesquels ne diffèrent que par leur début.

Les heptasyllabes n'admettent qu'un schème :

4. *ǰ* x *ǰ* x *ǰ* x υ *ǰ*

Ce schème 4 dérive du schème 1 par amputation de la première syllabe.

Les ennéasyllabes admettent quatre schèmes :

5. x x \acute{x} x \acute{x} x \acute{x} \cup \acute{x}
6. x \acute{x} x x \acute{x} x \acute{x} \cup \acute{x}
7. x \acute{x} x \acute{x} x x \acute{x} \cup \acute{x}
8. \acute{x} x x \acute{x} x x \acute{x} \cup \acute{x}

Les schèmes 5, 6 et 7 dérivent respectivement des schèmes 1, 2 et 3 par addition d'une syllabe à l'initiale. Le schème 8 est propre aux ennéasyllabes.

On peut rassembler ces huit schèmes en une seule formule générale:

(x) (x) \acute{x} (x) x \acute{x} (x) x \acute{x} \cup \acute{x}

Formule qui doit être accompagnée de la condition suivante : la longueur du vers est normalement de huit syllabes, mais elle peut occasionnellement être réduite à sept ou portée à neuf. Ceci signifie que les syllabes qui dans la formule sont indiquées entre parenthèses peuvent manquer et qu'elles ne peuvent pas être présentes toutes ensemble.

5. Tel est donc le vers épique baloutchi. Le vers épique en moyen-perse et en parthe était-il du même type? On se plaît à l'imaginer, car cette hypothèse n'est pas improbable. Nous n'avons guère pour le moment le moyen de la vérifier, mais, si on l'admet, une autre hypothèse très intéressante se présente.

Dans sa contribution au présent volume, Utas développe la thèse, que je crois juste, selon laquelle la métrique de la poésie classique persane est à la fois inspirée des principes de la versification arabe et influencée par les rythmes de la poésie iranienne préislamique. Il y a soixante ans, Benveniste (1932:293) avait déjà exprimé cette idée dans une formule frappante : « L'originalité des Persans en matière de technique poétique a consisté à assujettir le mètre syllabique iranien à la prosodie quantitative arabe³. »

Si donc le vers épique préislamique était bien du même type que celui qui est en usage dans la poésie traditionnelle en baloutchi, il est légitime de confronter celui-ci avec le mètre de l'épopée persane, le motaqâreb. Or on ne peut manquer d'être frappé par la ressemblance entre la « formule générale » à laquelle nous avons abouti et le motaqâreb. Mettons-les en regard :

(x) (x) \acute{x} (x) x \acute{x} (x) x \acute{x} \cup \acute{x}
 \cup - - \cup - - \cup - - \cup -

Les deux formes se composent de quatre pieds, dont chacun se termine par une syllabe « forte », longue et, dans le mètre accentuel, portant un ictus. La fin de vers est identique : une brève entre deux syllabes « fortes ». Cette identité est très significative, car la fin du vers en est la partie la plus sensible.

Sans doute la longueur des deux vers n'est pas la même, puisque le motaqâreb compte onze syllabes et que le vers baloutchi n'en a jamais autant. Mais la différence principale réside dans le pied initial. Or le début de vers n'est pas très important pour le rythme : une ou même deux syllabes ajoutées avant la première syllabe « forte » (anacrouse) ne dénaturent pas le mètre. Quant aux deux pieds suivants, ils comportent dans le vers accentuel une syllabe facultative, qui correspond dans le motaqâreb à une brève, laquelle peut elle-même, c'est souvent le cas, n'être qu'une brève « métrique », c'est-à-dire la troisième more d'une ultra-

³ Grunebaum (1955:18) suggère que certains mètres usités par les poètes arabes ont une origine du même genre : « ... drei der Metren, durch die sich die Poesie des Zweistromlandes auszeichnet, das *ramal*, das *mutaqârib* und vielleicht das *hafif*, dürften als Anpassungen persischen (pahlawi) Metren an arabische Sprachbedingungen auszufassen sein. » On sait que ces trois mètres sont parmi les plus fréquents dans la poésie persane classique.

longue, en somme une syllabe « fantôme ». Compte tenu de ce qui sépare une métrique accentuelle d'une métrique quantitative, la parenté des deux rythmes paraît établie.

Cette conclusion reçoit une confirmation inattendue d'une étude des accents dans le motaqâreb, faite jadis par Rypka (1936:200–201). L'auteur s'appuie sur trois échantillons de mille vers (cinq cents distiques) prélevés respectivement dans le *Šâhnâme* de Ferdowsi (Š), dans le *Yusof-o Zoleyxâ* attribué jadis au même poète (YZ), et dans le *Garšâsbnâme* d'Asadi (G). Outre quelques autres analyses, il y explore la place des accents de mot dans le vers. Les résultats sont figurés dans un graphique, que nous reproduisons ci-dessous (Fig. 1) : on y trouve en abscisse les onze syllabes du motaqâreb et en ordonnée le nombre des vers dans lesquels l'accent de mot tombe sur chacune de ces syllabes. On est immédiatement frappé par le fait que les trois lignes relatives aux trois poèmes non seulement ont la même forme, avec des sommets et des minima aux mêmes points, mais en outre sont très proches les unes des autres, au point de former un faisceau très étroit. Ceci signifie que la distribution des accents de mots dans le vers dépend beaucoup moins du style du poète que de la nature même du mètre motaqâreb.

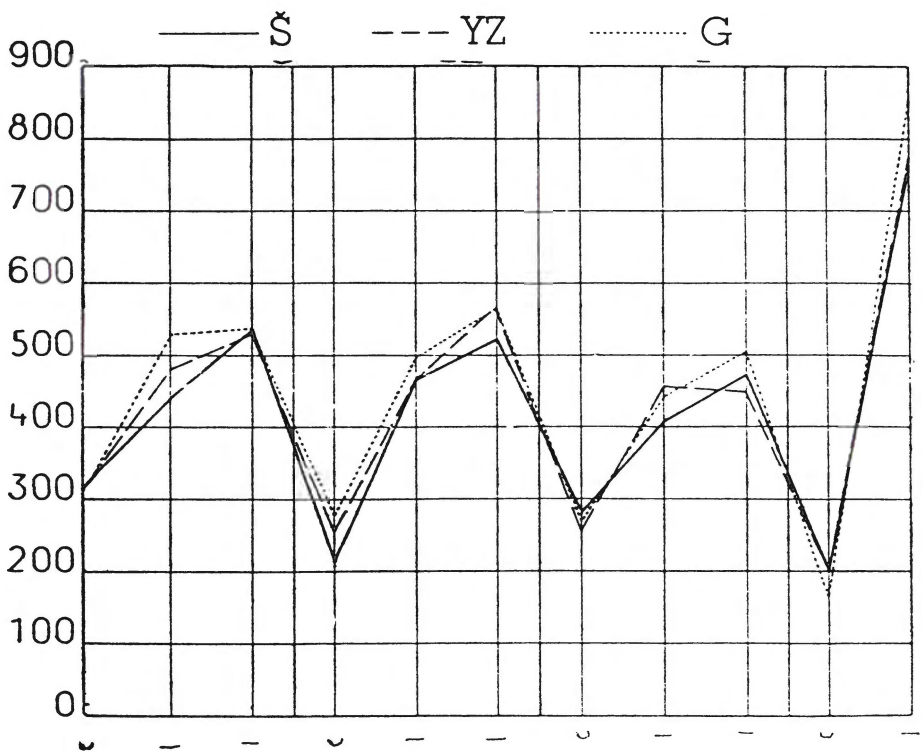


Figure 1.

D'autre part on constate que, très régulièrement, les minima se trouvent dans la première, la quatrième, la septième, et la dixième syllabes (les brèves), et les maxima sur la troisième, la sixième, la neuvième et la dernière, c'est-à-dire sur la dernière longue de chaque pied. Rypka en conclut, entre autres remarques, que « l'accent est un des facteurs créateurs du rythme ». Nous ajouterons, et c'est ce qui ici nous intéresse le plus, que les syllabes sur lesquelles l'accent de mot tombe le plus souvent sont exactement celles qui correspondent aux syllabes qui portent l'ictus dans notre « formule générale ». Autrement dit, les points qui dans le motaqâreb sont les plus favorables à la présence d'un accent de mot sont précisément ceux où le vers accentuel comporte un ictus. La concordance est remarquable.

Si cette analyse est juste et si le vers épique baloutchi est bien la survivance du mètre épique usuel en moyen-iranien occidental, cette parenté avec le motaqâreb de l'épopée persane suggère fortement que celui-ci résulte, pour reprendre la formule de Benveniste, de l'adaptation de ce rythme à la métrique quantitative inspirée du modèle arabe.

Ainsi se révèlent peu à peu les liens cachés qui relie la technique des poètes persans classiques à celle de leurs ancêtres d'avant l'islam. Après le robâi (Lazard 1970), voici qu'on entrevoit les origines du motaqâreb épique. Restent les vers lyriques : dans ce domaine la matière préislamique est plus riche, mais, les rythmes étant beaucoup plus variés, la tâche est plus difficile.

Annexe : le texte

- welā ahdīen jwān-aθant,
 bāz barkaten mard mān-aθant,
 mard gehtiren arkān-aθant,
 gon sāhiwān yaktrān-aθant!
- 5 sāmayeriθa durren janen,
 bāzen māl-bagī bānuk-en;
 nām-ī Maherī Gohar-aθ,
 mān narmīyā ā luḡḡay-aθ.
 peždār-ī kullī tangaw-aθ.
- 10 nišāenjāh-ī awrešamen.
 Gwāharām wat pa minnat-en,
 roš-o-šafā rāh balaw-en,
 nyāmā wakīlā Čākur-en;
 Čākur gīrārīā āxtay-aθ.
- 15 oḡā gwar Maherī Goharā
 nermoš hanoḡā prošta-ī;
 pursiθa Mīren Čākurā,
 waθ aš Maherī Goharā:
 'dāči če kār-en danzayā-h-ant,
- 20 šīr dan kuṛīyān šanzayā-h-ant?'
 gwašta Maherī Goharā,
 waθ bi Amīren Čākurā:
 'payrī ki Lāšār-potrawān,
 Rāmen Hāne ghoṛawān,
- 25 toḡā-aruen kuštay-ant,
 meši mān nīrā pakkay-ant,
 tut kambaren borāentay-ant,
 jat melawen greyāentay-ant!'
 Gohar ašamedā laḡḡiθa,
- 30 bāhoṡ gwar Mīren Čākurā.
 zahr kuθa Mīren Čākurā,
 Rindān hamo loṡāenta,
 pa say šafā gobī jaθa;
 Bīwaray teyā jaggā jaθa:
- 35 'max na jenu alama
 pa jatānī hušturā!'
 čule baṡākānī mān-aθant,
 jāro o Rehān sakksaren,
 Suhrāwe bor kūnj-gardanen:

- 40 'Bīwaray, bill! pagāse ma-bī!'
 dāhe gwar Lāšārā burta:
 'mard bī, ki mardān gipaty-eθ,
 Rindān gon syālī j̄erawān!'
 Gwāharām teyā j̄aggā jaθa:
- 45 'Rind puḷḷjage na-en māin bunā,
 teyā kawoči tūpakān,
 ballān, o Širāzī luḷān;
 band kan Nilīya-kawr dafā!'
- 50 roša ki čie asiθa,
 Rind bi hānān žil biθay-ant
 mān-āxtay-ūn sānḍen juḷyān,
 ballān o Širāzī luḷān,
 kohen gendae isparān.
- 55 j̄ange bādšāhī manciθa:
 Rind melawen pad kiniθay-ant,
 dan haft sadā nigeriθ-ant
 gon Mīr Hān zar-mušten luḷā.
 Čākur piḷā bāhmāntayā,
- 60 tey kaštay o oštāθay-aθ,
 keḷī pa gwarpān dāθay-aθ
 čarāenta Pul Nodbandayā,
 Čākur kuθa-i Pul sarā,
 Pulār čābuka jaθa-i.
- 65 Pul gon Huḍāe qurzatā
 gwasta aš ān suhren zirā,
 aš gaḷḷ garīnboxen gaḷān
 Gwāharām teyā gāḷgāḷ kuθant:
 'Nodbanday, Rind-e, Lāšār na-he!
- 70 Čākur kayā ṭālā kuθen.
 sarā čo kaḷābī burriθen,
 čonān ki mūlī troḷ-kuθen,
 Sewī gon yak muštā kuθen.'
 Čarāenta jawāb Nodbandayā:
- 75 'man Rind niyān, Lāšār za-yān,
 aš Rindiyā za biθay-ān,
 šir Muzīe za mixtay-ān:
 lolī Muzīā dāθay-ān,
 manān lolī dāθa-i nem-šafā
- 80 mān wāwān šāyēn gwānzayā:
 'roši pakār ta Čākurā,
 mān j̄ang nawaššen sāhaθā;
 manān hamān roš awar-aθ.'

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Quantitative or accentual? Metrical problems of the contemporary Bedouin *qaṣīda*

HEIKKI PALVA

In two recent monographs, two sharply contradictory analyses of the metrical system of the contemporary Bedouin *qaṣīda* have been presented. Saad Abdullah Sowayan (*Nabaṭi Poetry. The Oral Poetry of Arabia*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985) gives an inventory of fifty-one quantitative metrical patterns of which all except one, in spite of some divergences, can be traced back to classical metres.

While Sowayan builds his metrical analysis on syllabic quantity, Clinton Bailey (*Bedouin Poetry from Sinai and the Negev*. Oxford 1991) comes to the conclusion that the metrical system of the poems analyzed by him is accentual. Pointing out that Sowayan's analysis of Najdi poetry is based upon written text and not upon oral scansion, he claims that the metrical system of all orally composed contemporary Bedouin poetry actually is accentual. He even extends his theory to comprise orally composed Bedouin poetry from the past: "it seems unlikely to the present writer that an illiterate person can compose poetry according to quantitative metre, since this requires a knowledge of too many rules that can only be comprehended by seeing the written word on the page."¹ Consequently, he restores to life Jaroslaus Tkatsch's theory about the Greek origins of the quantitative metrics in Classical Arabic poetry.²

In this paper I shall examine the problem on the basis of my own material recorded in Jordan, metrically analyzed from recordings in which the poems are both recited and chanted. These data will then be related to the contradictory interpretations given by Sowayan and Bailey.

Examples

The following example consists of the first four hemistichs of a *qaṣīda* recorded in central Jordan (1965). The line in italics is a sub-phonemic rendering of the recited poem. It is followed by an analysis implied by quantitative metrical structure.

¹ Bailey, p. 397f.

² J. Tkatsch, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles*. Bd. 1. Wien 1928; pp. 99ff.; cf. also Westphal, *Allgemein Metrik*. Berlin 1893; pp. 475ff.; a contrary opinion is represented by Gotthold Weil, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*. Wiesbaden 1958.

- 1992 VII 21a *gāl 'ibin ġēṭ 'inn ḥārabat 'ēnoh an-nōm*
 gā.lib.nə.ġē.ṭin.ḥā.ra.bat.'ē.no.han.nōm
 — — / v — — — / v — — / v — —
- 21b *'abdallah aš-šābir 'ala ḥukum wālīh*
 'ab.dal.la.ḥa.š.šā.bir.'a.lā.ḥuk.mə.wā.līh
 — — / v — — — / v — — / v — —
- 22a *čabdi wuġṭ'a mā tabi kill maṭ'ūm*
 čab.dī.wu.ġṭ.'ā.mā.ta.bī.kil.lə.maṭ.'ūm
 — — / v — — — / v — — / v — —
- 22b *w-iš-šurb u-laww hū min ḥalīb il-mitāli*
 wi.š.šur.bu.law.hū.min.ḥa.lī.bil.mi.tā.lī
 — — / v — — — / v — — / v — —

The pattern is easy to recognize as a catalectic (and acephalic) variety of the **ṭawīl**. In order to reveal a regular pattern, the following adjustments have been necessary:

1. The word boundaries have been disregarded, and the initial glottal stops have been deleted *ġēṭ 'inn* → *ġēṭinn*, *gāl 'ibin* → *gālibin*.
2. Anaptyctic vowels have been deleted, and the resulting overlong syllables have been split into a sequence of a long and short syllable:³ *gālibin* (— v —) → *gālibn* → *gālibnə* (— — v), *ḥukum* (v —) → *ḥukmə* (— v).
3. All vowels in final position have been analyzed phonemically, that is, as long: *'ala* → *'alā*, *čabdi* → *čabdī*, *wuġṭ'a* → *wuġṭā* (or “historically”: -ah).
4. All overlong syllables, except the last syllables of hemistichs, have been divided into two syllables: *kill* → *killə*.

Although put in a different way, for all practical purposes this procedure agrees with the rules formulated by Albert Socin in his *Diwan aus Centralarabien*⁴ and Sawayan in his *Nabaṭi Poetry*.⁵ However, it may be asked whether this kind of analysis can be regarded as pertinent to the metrical structure. To be sure, the adjustments made are relatively systematic, but still they might appear as purely theoretical reconstructions made in order to impose classical metrics upon poetry displaying another, Neo-Arabic type of linguistic structure. The scansion of Bedouin *qaṣīda* spontaneously suggests another analysis; the first impression may actually resemble Palgrave's description:

“the Arabic scansion goes by accent, not by quantity; the metre is variable, even in the same piece, and the rhyme, instead of being continuous, is alternate. In a word, this class of poetry presents in form a strong resemblance to the ordinary English ballad, and, like it, is the popular style of the country.”⁶

³ “All consonant clusters must be resolved except those at the very beginning or the very end of the hemistich. To resolve these clusters, a metathesized or elided vowel is restored back to its original position to form an independent short syllable with the preceding consonant.” This formulation by Sawayan (1985, p. 153) leads to the same prosodic analysis, but is diachronically inaccurate. Among his examples, *misilmīn* → *mislimīn* is no restoration of metathesis, and *dam' 'ēnī* → *dam'i 'ēnī* does not imply the restoration of an elided vowel to its original position. To the general rules given above, there are some minor exceptions; thus, sequences of short syllables must be avoided, Sawayan, p. 153f.

⁴ Albert Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*. I–III. Hrsg. v. H. Stumme. Leipzig 1900–01.

⁵ Sawayan 1985, p. 153f.

⁶ William Gifford Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (1862–63). I–II. London 1865; II, p. 158.

However, the quantitative reconstructions are not completely theoretical. Thus, the adding of short final vowels in certain positions, a procedure which might seem most doubtful, is based upon a feature actually observed in oral performance. When poems are recited or chanted, such optional, prosodically conditioned final vowels occasionally occur. This feature was already observed by G.A. Wallin (in the 1840s), who mentions that

“die [...] in der Transcription hauptsächlich des Versmaasses wegen eingeschalteten kurzen Vocale beim Hersagen oder Singen von den Beduinen nach Belieben ausgesprochen oder weggelassen werden” (ZDMG 6, 1852, p. 193).⁷

In my material, as well, several instances of this feature are found. For example:

- 1992 IX 29a *ṭarad ġirwānə b-awwal xēlə rab'ə*
 ṭa.rad.ġir.wā/ nə.baw.wal.xē/ lə.rab.ʻoh
 v — — — / v — — — / v — — —
- 31a *ṣaḥatlo bizratin min čaffə xayyir*
 ṣa.ḥat.loh.biz/ rə.tin.min.čaf/ fə.xay.yir
 v — — — / v — — — / v — — —
 (catalectic *hazağ*)
- 1978 D 12 recited version:
nār galbi nār ġalla mətṭaliha b-howğ čāz
 chanted version:
nārə galbī nārə ġalla mətṭaliha b-howğə čāz
 nā.rə.gal.bī/ nā.rə.ğal.lā/ mit.tə.lī.hab/ how.ğə.čāz
 — v — — — / — v — — — / — v — — — / — v — — —
 (catalectic *ramal*)

In these examples quantitative patterns can easily be discerned without any theoretical reconstructions. As far as the linguistic status of the additional final vowels is concerned, they cannot be regarded as residues of the Old Arabic *īrāb* vowels, although they occur in the same positions. Rather, they only pertain to the syllable structure and are inserted in order to split overlong syllables in two.⁸ In my opinion, this implies a metrical system based on syllable quantity.

In a similar way, overlong syllables in non-final positions are split into two syllables. There is, though, a fundamental difference between these two cases. The additional short vowels in final position are not based upon linguistic reality on the synchronic level, but their use is exclusively metrical and reflects quantitative prosody. Splitting overlong syllables in non-final positions, on the other hand, is a feature actually found in a specific dialect type. Here we come to a fundamental linguistic point completely overlooked thus far: the different types of syllable structure in different Bedouin dialects, an issue that leads to a further question about the spread of a literary tradition over a linguistically heterogeneous area and the implications of this development.

⁷ G.A. Wallin, Probe aus einer Anthologie neuarabischer Gesänge, in der Wüste gesammelt. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 6 (1852), pp. 190–218, 369–378; p. 193.

⁸ The deletion of anaptyxis does not imply theoretical knowledge, as the insertion of anaptyxis is a synchronic feature which in this case normally appears only when the two consonants in final position are followed by a consonant or a pause (-CC C → -CvC C-). Correspondingly, the synchronic developments CVCVCV- → CCVVCV- and -aXC- → -XaC- (“the *gahawah* syndrome”), characteristic of Bedouin dialects, rarely occur in poetry.

Differences in syllable structure

Jean Cantineau divides the Bedouin dialects of Northern Arabia and its periphery into three groups: the ‘Anazi (Group A), the Šammari (Group B), and the pre-‘Anazi Syro-Mesopotamian (Group C) dialects. To these he adds Group Bc, consisting of Šammari dialects influenced by dialects of Group C. One of the distinctive features between these groups bears upon the syllable structure, which in Group A and Group B is “trochaic”, whereas in Group C it is “atrochaic”. In the “trochaic” dialects overlong syllables (here defined as CVCC and CVC; CCV, CCVC are not included) as a rule do not occur in non-final position. Some instances provided by Cantineau may illustrate the difference: *nāgati*, *nāgātēn*, *ćalbati* (trochaic) vs. *nāgti*, *nāgtēn*, *ćalabti* (atrochaic); additional “trochaic” forms: *xšūmana*, *rūsana*, *fwāhana*, *’ummana*, *’ummahātana*, *xwānakām*, *’extana*, *yəḏərbūnakām*. There are two exceptions to the rule: (1) in the nominal patterns *qātil-* and *qarātil-*, the short /i/ is elided in open unstressed syllables, and the resulting overlong syllable is retained (*šārbi*, *hawāḡbi*, *barātmaḡ*, not **šārabi* etc.); and (2) overlong non-final syllables are allowed if the long vowel is followed by two identical consonants (*xwānna*, *fwāhhom*, *təḏərbīnni*; side by side with these forms, *xwānana* etc. also occur).⁹

For the metrics of the Bedouin *qaṣīda*, the above-mentioned division of Bedouin dialects is most significant. It is scarcely mere chance that the dialects spoken in the traditional core area of the North Arabian Bedouin poetry belong to the “trochaic” type. The syllable structure of these dialects is certainly not identical with that used above in the quantitative analysis, but it is closely akin to it and, consequently, relatively easy to adjust to the needs of quantitative metrics. Although these dialects allow overlong syllables in final position, the relative number of such syllables is reduced by the optional use of *tanwīn* in a number of syntactic positions, illustrated with examples of its usage in poetry: *ḥēdin walad ḥēdin* ‘a load camel, a load camel’s progeny’ (Palva 1992 IV 42b), *wallāh u-tumma allāh u-dīnin b-aṭar dīn* ‘by God, and again by God, I swear once and over’ (X 18a), *rās ruḡmin miḡīlha* ‘whose resting place is on the top of a cairn’ (according to the “trochaic” structure *miḡīlaha*) (I 12b).

The last-mentioned examples were recorded in Jordan, in an area where only the dialect of the Bani Šaxar is akin to the “trochaic” dialects, whereas the syllable structure of all the remaining dialects is “atrochaic”. Thus, the syllable structure and the use of *tanwīn* are conventional elements of traditional poetry and alien to the vernacular dialect. The same is true of the language of Bedouin poetry in Sinai and the Negev, with the slight but significant difference that there, too, *tanwīn* is used as a conventional poetic element, whereas the syllable structure most often does not display “trochaic” features.

Comparisons

Let us temporarily put aside the question about the theoretical metrical analysis and compare the phonetic shapes in which poems actually are recited and chanted in different areas.

Sowayan calls Najd “the indigenous home of Nabaṭi poetry” and continues:

⁹ Cantineau, *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d’Orient I (Annales de l’Institut d’Études Orientales, Alger, 2, 1936, pp. 1–118), II (AIEO 3, 1937, pp. 119–237); I, pp. 114–116, II, pp. 156–164.* Cantineau interprets the short vowels in these cases as residues of Old Arabic inflectional vowels which have lost their morphological functions.

“All renowned Nabaṭi poets come from Najd, and the diction of this poetry conforms to the colloquial speech of that region. People outside Najd who are familiar with Nabaṭi poetry are people who originally came from that region, where this poetry is most popular and whence it diffused to the periphery.”¹⁰

Against this background it is interesting to examine how close the actual recital comes to the quantitative metrical analysis. In this respect, poems collected by Sowayan from Šammari informants belong to the most relevant texts. Some lines display a regular metre, as in

w-ḥarīmiḥum yašdan širīx al-maḥāḥīl

‘But their women screeched (in wailing) like water wheels.’¹¹

arba‘ liyālin ma ligōh al-marāsīl

‘Four nights had elapsed before he was found by the search party.’¹²

These are unambiguous catalectic *ṭawīl* hemistichs ([v] x — / v — — — / v — — / v — —), the most frequent metre in contemporary Bedouin *qaṣīda*. But such regular lines are very few. Most lines must be metrically “reconstructed” in the way described above in order to follow regular quantitative metrical patterns, e.g.:

šallih Mfīzin šallt aḍ-ḍīb la-š-šāt

w-rimāh l-alli mistiḡillih b-dēnih

‘Mfīz snatched him as a wolf snatches a lamb.

He threw him down for those who thirsted for his blood in revenge.’¹³

To fit this pair of hemistichs to the regular catalectic *ṭawīl*, it must be analyzed metrically as follows:

šal.lih / Mə.fti.zin. šal / lə.taḍ.ḍī / bə.laš.šāt

w.ri.mā / hə.lal.lī.mis / ti.ḡil.lih / bə.dē.nih

It is worth noticing that these slight adjustments of the surface representation almost always reveal a regular quantitative metre.

On the other hand, a poem from Sinai, recorded and published by Bailey, here taken as a random example, opens with a regular hemistich:

ya rākbīn min fōg ḥīlin ba‘d ḥīl

‘O Rider of a mount, barren year after year’¹⁴

Analyzed according to the above principles, it is the catalectic variety of the *ṭawīl*:

yā.rā / kə.bin.min.fō / gə.ḥī.lin / ba.‘ad .ḥīl

(The only exception to the rules given above is *ba.‘ad* instead of *ba.‘dā*.)

As mentioned above, *tanwīn* does not occur in the dialects spoken in Sinai, but is used here as a purely poetic device. Although the first lines of the poem are rather regular, the whole poem cannot be analyzed in the same manner. An example:

ḡūl lā tikḍib ‘ala ṣabāḥ yā kiḍbak al-bēn

‘Say: don’t lie to Ṣabāḥ: it’s bad luck, you will find.’

[ḡū.lə.]lā.tik.ḍib.‘a.lā.ṣa.bā.ḥə.yā.kiḍ.ba.kal.bēn

which yields an irregular pattern: [— v] — — — / v — v — / v — — — / v — —

Another example from the same poem:

¹⁰ Sowayan 1985, p. 1.

¹¹ Sowayan 1992, 639a, p. 184.

¹² Sowayan 1992, 645a, p. 186.

¹³ Sowayan 1992, 658, p. 186.

¹⁴ Bailey 2.9.1a, p. 103.

hin xamis xamsāt mā hin iktār

‘Merely five times five is no sum to regret.’¹⁵

hin.xam.sə.xam.sā.tə.mā.hin.kə.ṭār

which is irregular, too: — — v — — v — — v —

Bailey admits that “occasionally one finds a line that fits a quantitative syllabic metre”. However, he adds, “the poem to which it belongs as a whole does not.” From this he draws the conclusion that the quantitative metrical analysis is not the appropriate one. He therefore prefers an analysis based on “stressed syllables in keeping with the natural stress of conversation.”¹⁶

The following is an example of Bailey’s analysis:

jawnī zYŪF ū-ḤARramū YĀKlu-š-ŠĀ

ū-GĀL int ŠĀ‘ir bass itKAWḍib ‘al an-NĀS

ū-ṢIRT ataNADdar ū-kull ḤARF ataḥalLĀ

ū-GULT il naḥīf al-JISM gūm SAWwī lī KĀS

All hemistichs have four natural stresses, but the unstressed elements between them are irregular, and even the position of the stressed syllables may vary rather freely. Yet, Bailey adds,

“neither the poet nor his audience are annoyed by this lack of regularity or consistency so long as the number of stressed syllables is the same in all the lines and as long as the last accents in each hemistich remain constant throughout.”¹⁷

This analysis is very convenient, because it allows sequences of arbitrary length between the natural stresses.

In my material, the scansion does not systematically follow natural stresses, not even in poems which cannot be analyzed according to the traditional metrical patterns, e.g.:

1992 IX 10 TALfi ‘A-raBī‘ id-ḌĒF

ḌĀhir YĀ rīf il-ḡī‘ĀN

1992 VIII 8 YĀ šaRĪF inTE Š-šaRĪF w-in-TE sayYID

SAYyiDIN min SAYyiDIN mitSALsaLI

In this case, alternative stress patterns do not work either.

Conclusion

The relatively regular metrical patterns of the contemporary Bedouin *qaṣīda* in Central and Northern Arabia can be attributed to two main factors: the great vigour of the tradition on the one hand, and the comparatively insignificant linguistic difference between the poetic language and the vernacular dialect on the other. The linguistic trait most relevant to the metrics is the syllable structure. In this respect, the Bedouin dialects of the “trochaic” type have much in common with the traditional quantitative metre, as in both of them overlong syllables are as a rule not allowed except at the very end and the very beginning of the hemistich.

In the scansion the stress plays a prominent role in the North and Central Arabian dialect area as well, and overlong syllables occur in all word-final positions. This involves a major change in the prosodic shape of the poem. In the area of

¹⁵ Bailey 2.9.9b, p. 104.

¹⁶ Bailey, p. 397f.

¹⁷ Bailey, p. 398.

“trochaic” dialects, this does not affect the quantitative metre as profoundly as outside this area. Thus, in the Syrian and Mesopotamian Bedouin dialect areas (Cantineau’s Group C), overlong syllables often occur in all positions. As a result, the relative frequency of short syllables becomes far too low for the needs of quantitative metrics, where the rhythm is mainly based on the variation of long and short syllables. This development naturally strengthens the metrical role of the stress. Although the quantitative basis of the metrical structure can still be easily traced, the surface representation often is accentual. This development naturally also brings about metrical distortions when poems of Najdi origin are recited.

In Sinai and the Negev, the stress seems to play a predominant role in the scansion, and might, from the strictly synchronic point of view, be defined as the basis of the metrical structure in the local Bedouin poetry.

The contemporary North Arabian Bedouin poetry can justifiably be regarded as an organic continuation of the Old Arabic tradition of oral poetry. It is difficult to imagine that their prosodic relationship could be accidental. The quantitative patterns in the contemporary poetry that resemble the metres of Classical Arabic poetry must therefore be looked upon as its historical kernel. The changes in the phonetic structure of the vernacular have gradually undermined the basis of the traditional quantitative system, which is still discernible, although weakened. The metrical system as well as different stylistic conventions represent a long literary tradition, relatively—but not completely—independent from the vernacular speech. In the core area of the North Arabian Bedouin poetry, the linguistic distance between the two language forms is not very long.

While Najd is the core area of the North Arabian tradition of Bedouin poetry, the Syro-Mesopotamian dialect area represents its periphery. This does not, of course, necessarily imply that the poetry in this area is inferior to Najdi poetry, but here the structural distance between the vernacular dialect and the poetic language is longer, a fact that in the course of time has led to a decline of the quantitative metrical framework.

A comparison of the phonetic surface representation of Bedouin poetry in different areas suggests that the quantitative metrical structure in Sinai and the Negev already has reached the point of collapse. The tradition still preserves many basic elements, and, consequently, quantitative analysis can be applied to separate lines or a few consecutive lines, but as a rule not to a whole poem. Such a situation can be characterized as a stage of transition from quantitative to accentual metrics.

The treatment of final syllables in the classical Arabic metres: the linguistic background

JAN RETSÖ

One of the most remarkable formal characteristics of classical Arabic poetry is the transformations of the final syllable of a word when occurring at the end of the verse, i. e. in rhyme-position. Apart from the regulation of vowel quality by the rules of rhyme, the ultimate syllable is also regulated by a set of other rules often drastically changing its shape from the form found in a normal prose context.

In the language used for classical Arabic poetry, the Arabiyya, a word may in a normal prose context end in (1) a long vowel (-CVV), (2) a short vowel (-CV), or (3) a consonant (-C).¹ Special cases of (3) are the *tanwīn*-suffixes *-un/-in/-an* attached to nouns in certain syntactic positions. Also the *tā' marbūta*-suffix *-at-*, usually serving as a marker of feminine gender and followed by the case vowels or, alternatively, the *tanwīn*-suffixes, behaves in an erratic way when occurring in verse-final position.

Rhyme in Arabic poetry consists basically of one consonant, the *rawiyy*. The rhyme-consonant may be followed by a syllable. This kind of rhyme is called *muṭlaqa*. The consonant may also occur as the last phonetic element in the verse without a following syllable. Such a rhyme is called *muqayyada*. Words occurring in rhyme-position may undergo different kinds of changes according to which type of rhyme the poet has chosen. The earliest formulation of the rules for the treatment of words in rhyme-position are found in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb* from the end of the eighth century A.D.² Here, three different systems are described. The first one is lengthening (*madda*) of the final short vowels when the *muṭlaqa*-rhyme is used.³ This rule includes the replacement of the *tanwīn*-suffix (short vowel + *n*) with a long vowel. All rhyme-words in a poem with a *muṭlaqa*-rhyme will thus end in -CVV regardless of what they look like in prose or context. A consequence is that if the poet wants to employ words ending in -C, with this type of rhyme (which occurs very rarely), an anomalous *i*-vowel has to be attached to them.⁴

¹ A phonetically long vowel *ā* in the Arabiyya is the realisation of a double phoneme /aa/.

² *Le livre de Sibawaihi*. Traité de grammaire arabe ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1889 t. II:507 (pp. 326–330). Modern descriptions are found in H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen*, Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Vitenskaps Akademi i Oslo II, Hist.-fil. Klasse 1940 nr. 4 pp. 10–18; H. Fleisch, *Traité de la philologie arabe* I, Beyrouth 1961, pp. 192–193.

³ Op. cit. 325–326.

⁴ Sibawayhi, op. cit. 329. See e. g. *The Diwan of al-'Aš'ā* ed. R. Geyer, London 1928, poem no. 40 (pp. 179–182) for a poem where the *muṭlaqa*-rhyme is used and where in spite of this the poet employs verbs ending in *-at* as rhyme-words throughout.

The second rule implies the addition of a final *-n* to words ending in *-CV* instead of lengthening the short vowel. This is, however, a very infrequent rhyme. Both devices thus mainly affects *-CV*-words and both are applicable only when the poet has chosen to use the *muṭlaqa*-rhyme. As a rule, the *tā' marbūṭa* is not employed as rhyme-consonant. Lengthening of the short vowels or the *tanwīn*-suffixes following the *tā' marbūṭa* is thus very rare and is probably due to false analogy.⁵

The third way is the elision of short final vowels. This has to be done when the poet has chosen the *muqayyada*-rhyme. The elision, *'iskān*, can also affect the *tanwīn*-suffixes in the nominative (*-un*) and the genitive (*-in*) but not in the accusative (*-an*), nor the case vowels or *tanwīn*-suffixes following the *tā' marbūṭa*.

In the actual poetic texts, a fourth way of treating final syllables occurs, viz. adding the so-called *hā' as-sakt*, “the *h* of silence”, to the final short vowels. This is also the usual way of treating the *tā' marbūṭa*: *-at* + short vowel/*tanwīn* becomes *-ah*. The use of the *hā' as-sakt* is, however, apart from its use with the *tā' marbūṭa*, restricted to short vowels that are not part of the declination or conjugation system of the language, the so-called *'irāb*, cf. the following survey:

<i>context</i>	<i>lengthening</i>	<i>'iskān</i>	<i>hā' as-sakt</i>
ḍaraba	ḍarabaa	ḍarab	ḍarabah
aḍḍarbu	aḍḍarbuu	aḍḍarb	–
aḍḍarba	aḍḍarbaa	aḍḍarb	–
ḍarbun	ḍarbuu	ḍarb	–
ḍarban	ḍarbaa	–	–
aḍḍarbatu	(aḍḍarbatuu)	–	aḍḍarbah
ḍarbatun	(ḍarbatuu)	–	ḍarbah
ḍarbatan	ḍarbataa	–	ḍarbah
ḍarabat	(ḍarabatii)	–	–

The output of the operation of these rather complicated rules is that the last syllable in a verse is always long. The rules just described can be seen as different devices for achieving this goal. In all the classical metres the final syllable must have the structure */CVV/*, */CVVC/* or */CVC/*. The syllable */CV/* cannot occur.

The long quantity of the syllable in pausal position is a feature which is found not only in the ancient poetry but also in the recitation of the Quran. Since poetry has a predilection for *muṭlaqa*-rhymes, lengthening of short vowels is predominant there, whereas in the Quran elision is the most common device.⁶

Already in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*, we also find a lengthy treatise on the shape of the word when occurring in pause, *waqf*, in spoken language or read texts not regulated by the rules of poetry or rhymed prose.⁷ Sibawayhi mentions five different phenomena: *'iskān* (elision of final short vowels), *hā' as-sakt* (“protecting” final short vowels with an *h*), *rawm* (reduction of the final vowel to a whisper), *'iṣmām* (forming the final vowel with one's lips without further articulation, i.e. a visible, not audible vowel) and, finally, *taḍ'īf* (elision of the final vowel and lengthening of the final consonant).⁸

⁵ Birkeland, op. cit. 96 sqq.

⁶ The Quranic rhyme shows many irregularities, see Birkeland, op. cit. 18–21; Fleisch, op. cit. 194–195; F. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Reimprosa im Koran*, Bonn 1969, 3 sqq. In the diwan of Abid b. al-Abras, 957 of the 1099 verses are *muṭlaqa*-rhymed. In the diwan of Imru' al-Qays, 604 of 715 are *muṭlaqa*.

⁷ Sibawayhi, op. cit. 490–504 (pp. 302–323). Sibawayhi uses the term *kalām* although most of the examples he adduces are from poetry. Cf. Birkeland, op. cit. passim; Fleisch, op. cit. 172–190.

⁸ Sibawayhi, op. cit. 494 (pp. 307 ll. 9–22. Cf. Birkeland, op. cit. 21–30; Fleisch, op. cit. 173–175.

The traditional explanation given by the Arab grammarians for the obligatory long quantity of the last syllable (both in verse and prose) is that it is a result of *'istirāḥa*, 'rest'. By cancelling the *ḥarakāt*, i.e. the (short) vowels, resting of the voice is effected at the end of an utterance.⁹

It is immediately realized that this explanation only holds for elision, not for lengthening. On the whole, it is striking that when the Arab grammarians discuss *waqf* they are mostly concerned with the recitation of the Quran and reading of prose texts and more rarely deal with the ancient poetry.¹⁰

Among western scholars, Brockelmann tried to explain the pausal phenomena by assuming a stress on the penultimate syllable in Old Arabic which effected the lengthening as well as the elision.¹¹ This was an analogy with supposed phonetic processes in ancient Hebrew and Aramaic. The main problem with this explanation is that the existence of such an expiratory stress is highly hypothetical, to say the least. Birkeland saw lengthening as belonging to the features of poetic recitation, with no attempt at further analysis.¹² Fleisch suggested that the pausal phenomena "marquent le fin de discours". Since Arabic shows a special kind of juncture between words in treating sentences as though they were one word, the need for a final marker arises.¹³ Fleisch's explanation goes together with that of Brockelmann in seeing the pausal lengthening as part of discourse elements not necessarily limited to metrically regulated poetry or solemn rhyme-prose.

We may take as a starting point the assumption that the pausal rules in Arabic in general reflect phenomena in a normal, spoken language. Which are then the evidence for the existence of such phenomena?

It is well known that the Tiberian vowel-tradition in Biblical Hebrew has a fully developed system with distinct pausal forms. But even more relevant to the problem discussed here must be the now ample documentation of pausal phenomena in modern spoken forms of Arabic. We thus have wide possibilities of studying how pausal systems work in living vernaculars closely related to Old Arabic.

The pausal forms found in modern Arabic dialects can be systematized as follows:

(1) Lengthening of short vowels

This affects syllables CVC# and CV# and is documented mostly in the Syro-Palestinian area. Vowel lengthening is often accompanied by qualitative changes, viz. raising or lowering.¹⁴

⁹ Fleisch, op. cit. 196.

¹⁰ The classical handbook of the rhyme-rules in Arabic poetry is at-Tibrīzī, *al-Kāfi fī 'ilm al-'arūd wa-l-qawāfi* from the end of the 11th century A.D. (ed. H.Ḥ. 'Abdallāh, Cairo 1966 and 'U. Yaḥyā/F. Qabāwa, Damascus 1975, 2nd ed.).

¹¹ C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I (Berlin 1908) p. 83.

¹² Birkeland, op. cit. 14. As a support for this argument may be adduced the note in Sibawayhi that lengthening occurred in connection with a specially solemn kind of recitation, the *tarannum*.

¹³ Fleisch, op. cit. 196–197. It is perhaps no coincidence that this explanation is presented by a scholar whose mother tongue has a juncture system similar to the Arabiyya and, consequently, also has a *waqf*-marker: accent in French is basically a pausal phenomenon.

¹⁴ M. W. Cowell, *A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic*, Washington D. C. 1964, p. 17; H. Grotzfeld, *Syrisch-arabische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1965, p. 17; idem, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Damascenisch-Arabischen*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 39 (Damascus); idem, "Das Syrisch-palästinensische Arabisch", *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte* ed. W. Fischer/O. Jastrow, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 179–180; H. Fleisch, *Études d'arabe dialectal*, Beyrouth 1974, pp. 204–207 (Šḥim, Lebanon), 222–224 (Kfar Ṣghāb, Lebanon), 265–267 (Zgharta, Lebanon), 313–315 (South Lebanon); M. Jiha, *Der arabische Dialekt von Bišmizzīn*, Beirut 1964, p. 120 (Lebanon); P. Behnstedt/M. Woidich, *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte* Bd 2: *Dialektatlas von Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1985, p. 39 (Upper Egypt); O. Jastrow, *Die mesopotamischen qaltu-Dialekte* Bd. 1: *Phonologie und Morphologie*, Wiesbaden 1978, p. 70 sqq.; P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte Teil 1: Atlas*, Wiesbaden 1985, p. 56 (South-western Yemen).

Lowering: miḷḥ > mēḷḥ

Raising: byiftaḥ > byiftēḥ

(2) Lowering of long high vowels¹⁵

This affects CVVC syllables:

kitīr > kitēr

ṭūl > ṭōl

(3) Diphthongisation¹⁶

Affects CV and CVVC:

'inti > 'intiy

ktīr > kteyr

birūḥ > birawḥ

(4) Closing with *h*¹⁷

Affecting CV:

huwwa > huwwah

mō > mōh

(5) Glottalisation¹⁸

Affecting both CV and CVVC:

katabna > katabna'

'ana > 'ane'

gāl > ga'l

mōz > mo'z¹⁹

(6) Nasalisation²⁰

Affecting CV:

'anti > 'antī

(7) Detonalisation²¹

Affecting both final consonants and vowels:

ṭayyib > ṭayyiḅ

wēn > wēḅ

dilwa'ti > dilwa'ti

kida > kiḅ

¹⁵ Fleisch, op. cit. p. 314 (South Lebanon); Behnstedt/Woidich, op. cit. 40 (Eastern Nile Delta).

¹⁶ Fleisch, *Études* p. 63 sqq. (Zaḥle, Lebanon), ibid. 204 (Šḥīm Lebanon); P. Behnstedt/M. Woidich, op. cit. p. 38 (Asiyut, Upper Egypt); P. Behnstedt/M. Woidich, "Die ägyptischen Oasen", *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 8 (1985), p. 49 (Dakhla-oasis); O. Jastrow, "Die Dialekte der arabischen Halbinsel", Fischer/Jastrow, op. cit. p. 110–111 (Yarim, Yemen).

¹⁷ P. Behnstedt, *Die Dialekte der Gegend von Ṣa'dah (Nord-Jemen)*, Wiesbaden 1987 p. 20; O. Jastrow, op. cit. 111 (Jiblah, Yemen); S. Reichmut, *Der arabische Dialekt der Šukriyya im Ostsudan*, Hildesheim 1983 p. 57.

¹⁸ P. Behnstedt/M. Woidich, *Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte ...* pp. 41–44 (The Nile Delta); Jastrow, "Die Dialekte der arabischen Halbinsel", p. 111; P. Behnstedt, *Die Dialekte ... von Ṣa'dah*, p. 18 (Central, Northern Yemen); idem, *Atlas* pp. 55, 58; H. Blanc, "The Arabic Dialects of the Negev Bedouins", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* IV:7, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 11–12.

¹⁹ One might also note the widespread glottalisation of the negation *lā* > *la'*.

²⁰ P. Behnstedt, op. cit. p. 19–20; idem, *Atlas* p. 57.

²¹ M. Woidich, "Das Ägyptisch-arabische", (Fischer/Jastrow, *Handbuch*), p. 208 (Cairo); Jastrow, "Halbinsel" (Fischer/Jastrow, *Handbuch*), p.110 (Yemen); Jastrow, *Qaṭu* p. 98; Reichmut, op. cit. p. 25 (Eastern Sudan); Blanc, op. cit. 11–12.

(8) Anaptyxis²²

Affecting VCC:

baḥr > baḥar

ktəbt > ktəbt

Of these devices (3)–(5) can be seen as realisations of one basic rule: establishment of a long syllable in prepausal position. Words ending with a vowel usually add an element, either one more vowel, thus CV > CVV, or a consonantic element, CV > CVC. The latter may be a half-vowel, *w* or *y*, thus creating a diphthong, or a laryngal consonant, viz. *h* or *ʿ*. Since vowel quantity is, as a rule, neutralised in word final position in spoken Arabic, the establishment of an unambiguously long syllable also influences the originally long syllables. The devices occurring in CVVC-syllables can be seen as a means for preserving the difference between the two types of syllables also in pause.

A variant of the lengthening of short vowels occurs in some Lebanese dialects. Here the vowel under pausal accent is lengthened (sometimes with change of quality), which does not necessarily take place in the last syllable. Thus, *ḥāṭab* > *ḥāṭab#* (Bludan) ‘wood’, *sīni* > *sēni#* ‘year’, *fālahat* > *fālahat#* ‘she ploughed’, cf. Damascus *ḥāṭab* > *ḥāṭāb#* (= (1) above). This is the type of pausal lengthening reflected in the vocalisation of Tiberian Hebrew, where the syllable under accent is treated differently in pause and in context:

<i>context</i>		<i>pause</i>
*šāmar	>	šāmár
*qāṭalū	>	qāṭálū
*ʾattā	>	ʾáttā
*ḥādelū	>	ḥādélū
*ʾarṣ	>	ʾárṣ
*yākultī	>	yākóltī

It is evident that all pausal phenomena treated so far can be seen as the output of rules operating on and preserving given morphological elements. They add or subtract *features* in given morphological matter but they do not delete or add whole morphemic units. This leads us to the conclusion that from a synchronic viewpoint we should distinguish between process rules operating on a given morphological matter and substitution rules which deal with the choice of morphemic units.

Of the eight pausal devices enumerated above, the following are mentioned already by the medieval Arab grammarians: lengthening, closing *h*, nasalisation, anaptyxis and detonalisation of vowels.²⁴ It is important that elision occurs neither in any modern form of Arabic nor in Tiberian Hebrew. If we now take a closer look at the Arabic verse, we find that the lengthening of a contextually short syllable (i.e. CV) at the end of a verse actually intrudes into the metre. If a syllable which, according to the metre, always must be short (i. e. one of the syllables in the *watid*), happens to stand in final (i.e. pausal) position, it has to be

²² Grotzfeld, *Grammatik* pp. 15–16, 17.

²³ Grotzfeld, “Das Syrisch-palästinische Arabisch” (Fischer/Jastrow, *Handbuch*), p. 179.

²⁴ The closing of short final vowels by *-n* is probably a reflex of nasalisation, cf. P. Behnstedt, *Šāḍāh*, p. 30, who considers pausal nasalisation in Yemenite Arabic as a survival of *tanwīn*. The connection with *tanwīn* may be correct, but the diachrony is probably far more complicated than supposed by Behnstedt. Anaptyxis has a counterpart in the so-called *naql* and *ʾitbāʿ* phenomena that appear when *qatl/qill/qult*-words are affected by *ʾiskān* (Sibawayhi 495, pp. 309–311; Birkeland, op. cit. pp. 52–60; Fleisch, *Traité* I, pp. 175–178). Detonalisation is probably reflected in *rawm*.

lengthened. The lengthening rule thus overrules the rules for the metre. The following example in the *basīf*-metre is from the diwan of al-Xansā:

'innii 'ariqtu fabittu llayla saahiratan
ka'annamaa kuḥilat 'aynii bi'uwwaarii

X X ∪ – X ∪ – X X ∪ – X ∪ –
X X ∪ – X ∪ – X X ∪ – X –

“I was sleepless and I passed the night
keeping vigil as if my eyes had been
anoined with pus”

In this catalectic metre we see that the short syllable of the *watid maḡmū'*, which should invariably be short, occurs as the last syllable of the rhyme-verse. It thus has to be lengthened. This shows that the lengthening of final short vowels is not part of the metrical system, but has another origin. This is corroborated by the fact that this lengthening occurs also in the Quranic prose, which is not metrically regulated. This is then a decisive argument in favour of the assumption that pausal lengthening reflects phonetic conditions in a natural language similar to those observable in modern spoken Arabic, and that it is not an artificial poetic device like quantitative metre.²⁵

The rule for lengthening short final vowels in pausal position should therefore be distinguished from all the other rules affecting the last syllable of the verse in Classical Arabic. The morphology of a word in pausal position, i.e. -V or -∅, is optional, regulated by substitution rules. The rules for pausal quantity are then applied on the output of the morphological rules. In the Arabiyya, there is thus in *waqf*-position a choice between *raḡulu* and *raḡul*; the occurrence of *raḡulun* is blocked by a rule. The absence of *tanwīn* is thus *not* the result of a phonological process as is often claimed. The -*n* is not dropped, nor is it apocopated, i.e. its absence is not the result of a deletion rule. In a generative grammar for the Arabiyya, there would be a rule blocking the generation of the *n*-forms in pause (both in prose and poetry). The same holds for -*atun*/-*atu* versus -*a(h)*. In pause in the Arabiyya, we first have morphemic or allomorphic variation, not phonological processes. The latter start to operate when the morphological rules have done their work.

Birkeland in his study of the pausal forms in the Arabiyya (1942) was aware that not all phenomena in pausal position can be explained in purely phonological terms. He tried to see the different morphological alternatives as survivals from earlier stages of the languages. Thus, the forms with preserved final short vowels represent an earlier stage than those without such vowels. *Raḡulu* is thus older than *raḡul*. According to Birkeland, the earliest stage of the language would have been a system with no special pausal forms at all.

Behind this commonly accepted view on the history of Arabic lies the tacit assumption that there is/was a unitary base as input for the development of Arabic phonology. This base in its turn is practically identical with proto-Semitic. It is universally assumed that in the first stage of Arabic there was the contrast -*u*/-*un* etc. in the nominal flexion. All other documented variants are seen as the result of phonological development from this supposed first stage. The pause effected the apocope of -*n*. According to Birkeland, this was due to the introduction of the

²⁵ Thus, pausal lengthening cannot have its origin in the *tarannum* recitation of poetry as claimed by Birkeland (cf. note 12).

definite article, which made the *-n* as indefinite article unnecessary. The *-u/-i* suffixes were dropped in pausal position, giving as a result a system $-\emptyset/\emptyset/-a$ (*-ā?*). Then the pausal forms were introduced in context and also the *-a* disappeared. All this resulted in the nominal morphology of modern spoken Arabic.

This is not the place to give a full criticism of the opinions commonly held on the history of Arabic morphology and phonology. Only a few critical remarks will be given here. Birkeland's explanation of the disappearance of *-n* is shown to be erroneous when we realize that the *tanwīn* is not an indefinite or (definite) article at all. The oldest evidence we have for nominal flexion in Arabic, viz. the Arabic elements in Nabatean corroborated by Greek transcriptions, seems to indicate very clearly the existence of case endings *-u/-i* and even *-a*, but there is no trace whatsoever of *tanwīn* anywhere in the pre-Arabiyya documents. If we did not have the vocalisation system invented by the grammarians in the 7th century AD, the natural view would have been that *tanwīn* in Arabic is a rather recent development, which appeared only in context and was never extended to pause. As a matter of fact, the distribution of *tanwīn* in modern spoken forms supports this view. The graphic vocalisation system of Arabic (the *ḥarakāt*) is a learned construction intended for poetry and then introduced into the Quranic text. Thus it does not directly reflect phonetic or morphological conditions in prose texts.

As far as the case endings proper are concerned, it can be doubted whether Birkeland's reconstruction is waterproof or even plausible. Old Ethiopic, Geez, has a case system like the one supposed by Birkeland: nom./gen $-\emptyset/\text{acc. } -a$ with no context/pausal distinctions. This system thus looks like the stage described by Birkeland with pausal forms introduced into context. But this cannot be the case. Geez does in fact have nominatives in *-u* in certain pronominal elements.²⁶ The distribution of case endings in Geez speaks very clearly against its being the result of a development like the one suggested for Arabic. But if the Geez system, which is almost identical with a supposed stage in Arabic, cannot be due to a certain process, this process becomes very unlikely also for Arabic.

If we look at Akkadian, the oldest well-documented Semitic language, there is in the case system a contrast between *-u/-i/-a*-forms on the one hand and \emptyset -forms on the other. This reminds one of the Quranic context/pausal morphology. But the distribution is not, as in the Arabiyya, regulated by context versus pause, i.e. discourse roles, but by the rules of state, i.e. syntactic position. The absolute state has the full flexion, the construct state has basically the \emptyset -ending.

We can thus see a contrast between the Arabiyya, which organises the final short vowels and eventually the \emptyset -ending according to their position in the discourse, and Geez and Akkadian, which distribute the same elements according to syntactic position. From a comparative point of view, it is fully possible or even very likely that the \emptyset -forms are as old as the forms with short vowels not only in Arabic, but in Semitic in general. The *tanwīn*-less or "apocopated" forms occurring in verse- final position in the Arabiyya poetry as well as in the Quranic recitation may well represent older forms than those occurring in context. The fact that the Arabic orthography (i. e. the vocalisation) is based on the context forms should not lead us astray. As a matter of fact, pausal forms seem to tend to be linguistically conservative; in Tiberian Hebrew they are definitely so. Both Tiberian Hebrew and the Arabiyya thus exhibit a similar structure in pause: the preservation of older morphological stages, with the addition of secondary lengthening of short vowels.

We may now summarize the main points of this paper:

²⁶ To this belongs also the strange occurrence of *-a* in the construct state. This is a special diachronic problem which will not be discussed here.

(a) The lengthening of short final vowels in Arabic verse is *not* part of the metrical system. Instead it reflects a pausal system in a normal, spoken language.

(b) The “apocope” of final short vowels as well as other elements (*tanwīn*, feminine suffix) in rhyme position is independent from the vowel lengthening. It is instead part of a morphological variation which also reflects conditions in a spoken language.

(c) It is not very likely that this variation can be ordered according to a chronological order representing a morphophonemic development basically consisting of reducing element in final position. The background is likely to be more complex and much less according to the assumed views on the history of Arabic and Semitic.

(d) There is no doubt that the treatment of the last syllable in Arabic verse preserves valuable information on the history of the language. The *waqf*-rules deserve renewed attention from linguists without preconceived ideas about the history of languages.

Arabic metrics between quantity and stress

WILLEM STOETZER

Traditionally, lines of Classical Arabic poetry are scanned on the basis of long and short syllables. This seems to be the proper thing to do if one considers that quantitative distinctions between long and short syllables constitute a pertinent feature of Classical Arabic. The relevance of the distinction is borne out by the fact that most poetic licences are variations that differ quantitatively from the corresponding prose forms, as when, for example, we find *'ishâqin* instead of *'ishâqa* as the genitive form of Isaac in Arabic. By contrast, there seem to be no poetic licences in Arabic based on stress-related phenomena.

Most positions within the metre are of a fixed quantity, but this is not true for all of them. In fact, it may occur that one line contains as many as six variable positions and in consequence it often happens that the total quantity per line within one composition is not constant. This leads to the paradoxical situation that, within what appears to be a quantitative system, most metres are only semi-quantitative: although they seem to be built on quantity, the total quantity per line is not constant.

A second problem, and one related to this paradox, is that two of the well-known metres of classical Arabic poetry, *wâfir* and *kâmil*, differ from the rest in precisely this respect. The total quantity per line in these metres is constant. So is there a real divide between purely quantitative and semi-quantitative metres? This is not a very attractive suggestion, as it seems difficult to find anything in traditional literature on the subject that makes such a distinction plausible, for instance from a literary point of view. But if one rejects the notion of two different systems, one still has to furnish some other satisfactory explanation for the different metrical behaviour of these metres.

It might seem at first glance that Gotthold Weil's theory solves all these paradoxes and problems by postulating a metrical stress (ictus) neutralizing any quantitative differences.¹ In this theory the line is divided up into elements of two different types, quantity-sensitive elements marked by stress contrasted by unstressed elements where quantity does not matter. The presence of elements of irrelevant quantity is legitimized by Weil by the introduction of the metrical role of stress. If one accepts, however, that it is at all possible to have syllables that do not count quantitatively within the framework of a quantitative metre, then there is no need for introducing stress. As it happens, these semi-quantitative metres have a fixed number of syllables per line, and this would seem to be just as good a regulating principle as stress: the syllables that are quantitatively fixed are counted according to their quantities, the others are counted as simple syllables. To illustrate this point, the scansion of one of the ordinary *tawîl*-variants according to three different principles may be compared: first the usual scansion in terms

¹ Gotthold Weil, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*, Wiesbaden 1958.

of short and long syllables (a), then the Weilian interpretation of this scansion (b), and, thirdly (c), a scansion based on partly quantitative and partly syllable-counting principles (\pm = stressed long syllable):

a v - v | v - - - | v - - | v - v - || v - v | v - - - | v - v | v - - -
 b v \pm x | v \pm x x | v \pm x | v \pm x x || v \pm x | v \pm x x | v \pm x | v \pm x x
 c v - x | v - x x | v - x | v - x x || v - x | v - x x | v - x | v - x x

Regardless of the assumption of a stress role in line *b*, *b* and *c* have the same total quantity viz.: 8 S + 8 L + 12 syllables of an undefined quantity = 24 + 12 undefined syllables.

On the other hand, Weil does not recognize the enigma of an apparent divide between the purely quantitative and the semi-quantitative metres. This is because he accepts all the metrical variants of the *kâmil* and *wâfir*-metres mentioned in Arabic commentaries. Some of these would indeed spoil the purely quantitative character of these metres and relegate them to the general category of semi-quantitative metres. However, these non-quantitative variants do not seem to regularly occur in practice.² So the least one can say is that the introduction of metrical stress is superfluous in the case of the purely quantitative metres *wâfir* and *kâmil* and not necessary in the case of the semi-quantitative metres. Therefore it would seem fair to say that Weil's solution in spite of its ingenuity lacks elegance, assuming as it does the presence of an element in the system which is superfluous for at least part of that system.

In order to present an alternative solution, two passages from the poetry of 'Abû ʔ-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbî will be discussed, one in the *ṭawîl*-metre, the other one in the *wâfir*-metre. The first piece shows the first five lines of a panegyric in honour of Shujâ' b. Muḥammad al-Manbijî (ed. Dieterici p. 66), with its traditional scansion:

- 1 'azîzu 'asan man dâ'uhû l-ḥadaqu n-nujlu | 'ayâ' un bihî mâta l-muḥibbûna min qablu
- 2 fa-man shâ'a fa-l-yanzur 'ilayya fa-manzarî | nadhîrun 'ilâ man ḡanna 'anna l-hawâ saḡlu
- 3 wa-mâ hiya 'illâ laḡzatun ba'da laḡzatin | 'idhâ nazalat fî qalbihî raḡala l-'aqlu
- 4 jarâ ḡubbuhâ majrâ damî fî mafâšilî | fa-'aḡbaḡa lî 'an kulli shughlin bihâ shughlu
- 5 sabatnî bi-dallin dhâtu ḡusnin yazînuhâ | takahḡulu 'aynayhâ wa-laysa lahâ kuḡlu

(Difficult to cure is he whose disease is due to large, wide eyes: he suffers from a malady of which so many lovers have already died / Let him who wishes look at me: my looks will warn whoever thought that love was easy! / Scarcely had a glance reached the bottom of his heart when his mind left him / My love for her spread like blood in all my joints and I am so busy with her now that I neglect all other business / I was captured with coquetry by a belle who without applying any kohl is adorned by deep-black eyelids)

1 v - v | v - - - | v - v | v - - - || v - - | v - - - | v - - | v - - -
 2 v - - | v - - - | v - v | v - v - || v - - | v - - - | v - - | v - - -
 3 v - v | v - - - | v - - | v - v - || v - v | v - - - | v - v | v - - -
 4 v - - | v - - - | v - - | v - v - || v - v | v - - - | v - - | v - - -
 5 v - - | v - - - | v - - | v - v - || v - v | v - - - | v - v | v - - -

² W.F.G.J. Stoetzer, *Theory and Practice in Arabic Metrics*, Leiden 1989, 150–152.

The total quantity of the lines varies between 44 and 46.³

The scansion of the same lines according to Weil's theory is as follows:

- 1 v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x || v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x
- 2 v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x || v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x
- 3 v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x || v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x
- 4 v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x || v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x
- 5 v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x || v ± x | v ± x x | v ± x | v ± x x

The total quantity is now identical for all lines (quantity per line: 24 + 12 undefined syllables). Note, however, that Weil postulates twelve variable positions, whereas in the fragment concerned there are only five, one of which, the long 13th syllable of the first hemistich, represents a special case of rhyme, known as *taşrî*, which, according to the poetical tradition, cannot be repeated further on in the poem.

The other item shows the first five lines of a poem in the *wâfir*-metre directed by al-Mutanabbî towards Muḥammad b. 'Ishâq, (ed. Dieterici, p. 127), in which he denies having spoken any words of mockery at his expense:

- 1 'a-tunkiru yâ bna 'ishâqin 'ikhâ'î | wa-taḥsibu mâ'a ghayrî min 'inâ'î
- 2 'a-'antiqū fika hujran ba'da 'ilmî | bi-'annaka khayru man taḥta s-samâ'i
- 3 wa-'akrahu min dhubâbi s-sayfi ṭa'man | wa-'amḏâ fî l-'umûri min-a l-qaḏâ'i
- 4 wa-mâ 'armat 'alâ l-'ishrîna sinnî | fa-kayfa maliltu min ṭûli l-baqâ'i
- 5 wa-mâ staghraqtu waşfaka fî madfîḥî | fa-'anquşa minhu shay'an bi-l-hijâ'i

(Do you disavow my brotherhood Ibn Ishaq? Do you think someone else's water came from my vessel? / How could I utter obscenities about you knowing that you are the very best under the sun? / That you are of a more hideous taste [to your enemy] than the blade of the sword, more definitive in all matters than a ruling of the court? / I have hardly passed my twentieth year: how could I then have become weary of longevity? / I have not even got to the bottom of describing you in my panegyrics, would I then lessen them by composing a satire?)

- 1 v - v v - | v - - - | v - - || v - v v - | v - - - | v - -
- 2 v - v v - | v - - - | v - - || v - v v - | v - - - | v - -
- 3 v - v v - | v - - - | v - - || v - - - | v - v v - | v - -
- 4 v - - - | v - - - | v - - || v - v v - | v - - - | v - -
- 5 v - - - | v - v v - | v - - || v - v v - | v - - - | v - -

The scansion reveals that the total quantity of all lines amounts to 38.⁴

It will now be attempted to fill the gap between the purely quantitative and semi-quantitative metres by assuming that all the metres used by al-Mutanabbî belong to one coherent metrical system, characterized by a quantity-based syllable-pattern with a limited amount of metrical variation of a quantitative nature. If this is a correct assumption then it will be admissible to relate the change occurring to a particular sequence of syllables in one type of metre to the change occurring to that same sequence in the other type.

³ Counting on the basis of S "short syllable" = 1, L "long syllable" = 2. Line 1: 10 S + 18 L = 46; line 2: 10 S + 18 L = 46; line 3: 12 S + 16 L = 44; line 4: 10 S + 18 L = 46; line 5: 11 S + 17 L = 45.

⁴ line 1: 10 S + 14 L = 38; line 2: 10 S + 14 L = 38; line 3: 10 S + 14 L = 38; line 4: 8 S + 15 L = 38; line 5: 10 S + 14 L = 38.

In the *wâfir*-metre it is the sequence of a short + long syllable [v-] called *watid* which represents the element of fixed quantity, change being peculiar to the so-called *fâsila* [vv-]. Now, as it happens the *fâsila*-sequence occurs in the *ṭawîl*-metre as a variation of the sequence long + short + long [-v-]. If the assumption that *ṭawîl* and *wâfir* belong to one system is correct, then it follows that the elements that can occupy the slot of the very same sequence in the respective metres, must be quantitatively equivalent. Therefore the following two equations, (1) and (2), would seem to hold:

$$[- v -] \text{ equals } [v v -] \quad (1)$$

(Variation in the *ṭawîl*-metre: from a comparison between lines 2 and 3 of the *ṭawîl*-poem)

$$[- -] \text{ equals } [v v -] \quad (2)$$

(Variation in the *wâfir*-metre: from a comparison between lines 2 and 4 of the *wâfir*-poem)

From this it follows that [- v -] equals [- -], or in other words that the single short syllable has zero-quantity [v = 0]. If the quantity of a long syllable is taken to be 1, there now obtain the following equations:

$$v = 0 \text{ (single short syllables only); } - = 1; v - = 1 \text{ (when not preceded by a short syllable); } v v - = 2$$

Application of these values to the poems of al-Mutanabbî shows a quantity of 19 in all lines (except line 1 where it is 20 on account of *taṣrîf*) in the Mutanabbî 66 fragment, and a fixed quantity of 16 in all lines of the Mutanabbî 127 fragment.⁵ Both poems are now purely quantitative on the basis of the same quantitative criterion. There is thus no need to postulate a metrical stress as a factor in Classical Arabic metrics.

Is this a revolutionary point of view? It is inasmuch as a complete U-turn is made here from Weil back to al-Khalîl b. 'Aḥmad. It is saying goodbye to stress and strenuous efforts to explain semi-quantitative metres, and getting to the three

⁵ Scansion of al-Mutanabbî 66:

```

1 v-|vv-|-|-|v-|vv-|-|-||v-|v-|-|-|v-|-|v-|-|-|
  1 2 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
2 v-|-|v-|-|-|-|v-|vv-|v-||v-|-|v-|-|-|v-|-|v-|-|-|
  1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
3 v-|vv-|-|-|v-|-|v-|v-||v-|vv-|-|-|v-|vv-|-|-|
  1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 2 1 1
4 v-|-|v-|-|-|-|v-|-|v-|v-||v-|vv-|-|-|v-|-|v-|-|-|
  1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
5 v-|-|v-|-|-|-|v-|-|v-|v-||v-|vv-|-|-|v-|vv-|-|-|
  1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 2 1 1

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Scansion of al-Mutanabbî 127:

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1 v-|vv-|v-|-|-|v-|-||v-|vv-|v-|-|-|v-|-|
  1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1
2 v-|vv-|v-|-|-|v-|-||v-|vv-|v-|-|-|v-|-|
  1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1
3 v-|vv-|v-|-|-|v-|-||v-|-|-|v-|vv-|v-|-|
  1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1
4 v-|-|-|v-|-|-|-|v-|-||v-|vv-|v-|-|-|v-|-|
  1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1
5 v-|-|-|v-|vv-|v-|-||v-|vv-|v-|-|-|v-|-|
  1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1

```

elements of scansion [-], [v -] and [v v -], which together allow us to quantitatively scan the overwhelming bulk of classical Arabic poetry. They happen to be the very same elements of scansion introduced by al-Khalîl and known by the names of *sabab*, *watid* and *fâṣila*.⁶ The absence of the single short syllable from the list of al-Khalîl's elements of scansion is not a defect as Weil thought, but the very essence of the Arabic metrical system. It is a phenomenon completely in line with the linguistic structure of the language as expressly noted by Kuryłowicz.⁷ The principle has moreover been present all along in the history of Arabic metrics, inasmuch as the story of al-Khalîl's stroll through the coppersmiths' bazaar at Basra seems to imply the enunciation of this very same principle. It is said that al-Khalîl heard sounds like «*daq daq*» from one shop and «*daqaq daqqaq*» from another one, after which he exclaimed: "In conformity with this principle I shall construct the science of prosody".⁸ The principle alluded to would seem to be the above-mentioned equivalence L = SL. Rather than a contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables, al-Khalîl seems to have noticed the time equivalence between a single stroke and the combination of two strokes in quick succession. (In such a combination the first stroke is much like a grace-note in music introduced for embellishment.) The analogy between two quick hammerstrokes and the *watid* on the one hand, and between one single stroke and the *sabab* on the other, prepared the way for the development of a set of metrical elements in which there was no room for an independent short syllable. In viewing the short syllable only in relation to a following element al-Khalîl laid the foundation stone of a metrical analysis that can do without stress, limiting itself to quantity.

II

But this is only half the story. Poetry is different from music, but they can become very close when verse is sung to a tune. Sometimes it happens that a strong melodic rhythm overrules the original stress pattern of the spoken text. Consider the well-known Spanish song *Malagueña* in which there is a different stress pattern depending on whether the lyrics are being spoken or sung. The following cases may be noted:

<i>Text</i>	<i>Spoken pattern</i>	<i>Sung pattern</i>
Qué bonitos ojos tienes	o o ó o ó o ó o	ó o ó o ó o ó o
Debajo de esas dos cejas	o ó o o o o ó o	ó o ó o ó o ó o
Besar tus labios quisiera	o ó o ó o o ó o	a) o o o ó o o ó o b) ó o o ó o o ó o
Que eres linda y hechicera	o o ó o o o ó o	a) ó o ó o ó o ó o b) o o o ó o o ó o
Como el candor de una rosa	o o o ó o o ó o	ó o ó o ó o ó o

⁶ W. Stoetzer, *op. cit.* 42

⁷ Jerzy Kuryłowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics*, Wrocław 1972, p. 165, "There are in Ar. no words of the structure *consonant + short vowel*, prepositions like *bi*, *li*, particles like 'a, la, etc., being treated like prefixes. A short stressed syllable forms an indissoluble unit with the following one. Words like *laka* "to thee" or *banâ* "he built" have a *minimal* syllabic weight equal to that of *man* "who" (short + consonant) or *mâ* "what" (long vowel). The syllables of *laka* or 'anâ form blocks replaceable by a single long syllable as in *man* or *mâ*. On the other hand, they are mutually replaceable by each other. Finally, the equivalence of v - and - permits the metrical omission of a short syllable."

⁸ Weil, *op. cit.* p. 129. See also Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqât ash-Shu'arâ'*, ed. 'Abdassattâr 'Aḥmad Farrâj, 1976, p. 95-6.

In this example the word *debajo* [o ó o] becomes, when sung, *debajo* [ó o ó]. Something similar happens in the case of the word *candor* [o ó] of the last line which becomes *candor* [óo] when sung in the line *como el candor de una rosa*. It even happens that the same lyrics are sung to a different prosodic pattern when the melody changes (cases *a* and *b*).

This state of affairs does seem to have some relevance for Arabic metrics. Authors such as Ibn Bassâm (d. 1147) and Ibn Sanâ' al-Mulk (d. 1211) explicitly state that the Andalusians used two different systems in their strophic poetry, one the traditional prosody, the other one a system outside this tradition. According to Ibn Sanâ', compositions of this second type are not made for ordinary recitation but for singing. As far as their metre is concerned he gives the following definition: "Singing is its *'arûd*, clapping its *ḍarb*, pegs are its *watids* and strings its *sababs*. With this *'arûd* metrical verse is distinguished from ametrical verse and verse without variants from verse with them."⁹ Singing and clapping are the criteria for distinguishing between different sorts of compositions in this parallel prosodic system. Instead of the pegs and cords of the Bedouin tent (the *watid* and the *sabab* in traditional etymology) we have here the pegs and cords of the musical instrument.

The following first stanza of a modern Egyptian song shows how this can work out in practice:

- 1) il-bint-i ya-nâs kibrit walla w-libsit fustân
- 2) wi-ba'a l-ha ḍafâyr bi-sharâyiṭ ashkâl w-alwân
- 3) wi-b-ti'raf tiz'al wi-tkashshar ma'a mâma kamân
- 4) wi-ya-wêli law akhrug wa-l-akunsh-i wakhda sti'zân

(The girl, folks, is grown-up now and wears dresses / she has long tresses with all sorts of ribbons / she knows how to get angry and how to look daggers at her mother / and woe to me if I go out without asking her permission)

- 1) o ó oo ó o ó o ó o ó o ó
- 2) oo ó oo ó o ó oo ó o ó o ó
- 3) o ó o ó o ó o ó oo ó oo ó
- 4) oo ó oo ó o ó oo ó o ó o ó .

The above stress pattern coincides with the performance by the singer Şabâḥ on a Sono Cairo record ASB 1. Stressed positions alternate with unstressed positions. The unstressed position can be filled with either one or two syllables. The line of verse starts with an unstressed and ends with a stressed position. The prosodic stress is different from ordinary prose stress, it can fall on short syllables and even on the anaptytic vowel:

<i>prose form:</i>	becomes	<i>sung form:</i>
kíbrit [ó o]		kibrít [o ó]
líbsit [ó o]		libsít [o ó]
bi-sharâyiṭ [o o ó o]		bí-sharâyiṭ [ó o o ó]
wi-tkáshshar [o ó o]		wí-tkashshár [ó o ó]
wa-l-akúnsh-i wákhda sti'zân		wá-l-a-kunsh-í wakhdá sti'zân
[o o ó o ó o o ó]		[ó o o ó o ó o ó]

⁹ Ibn Sanâ' al-Mulk, *Dâr at-Tirâz*, ed. Jawdat Rikabi, (1947) 1977² p. 47: mâ lahâ 'arûd 'illâ t-talḥîn wa-lâ ḍarb 'illâ ḍ-ḍarb wa-lâ 'awtâd 'illâ l-malâwî wa-lâ 'asbâb 'illâ l-'awtâr fa-bi-hâdhâ l-'arûd yu'raf al-mawzûn min-a l-maksûr wa- s-sâlim min-a l-mazhûf.

This parallel system of Arabic metrics does not seem to be of consequence with regard to classical *‘arûd*, but knowledge of it does seem important for the study of Andalusian strophic poetry as well as modern colloquial poetry. The musical/accental view can, in fact, explain cases where other methods fail. Consider the following transcription of a *zajal* by the Andalusian mystic ‘Abûlḥasan ‘Alî b. ‘Abdallâh ash-Shushtarî (1212–1269):¹⁰

- 1 kam lî najrî wa-kâna jaryî li-‘indî!
amrun thâbit wa-sirru sirriya waḥdi
fa-man jâ yarûm
tabîn lu rusûm
wa-yathḥassal ‘alâ rashḥan qalîl min midâdi,
wa-bih tuktab tarâjîm al-‘ibâd(i).

- 2 kull wâqif lis, wa-llâhi, yabruz bi-hîla,
li-htibâsu jahlan bi-awwil fatila,
wa-law yabqâ sârî,
wa-yaqta‘ barârî,
yaqul: “mâ warâ duwârî duwâr fî ‘tiqâdî.”
wa-dhâk al-maqâm maqâm kulli bâdî.

- 3 kull ‘ârif ya‘raf bi-an las hu wâṣil,
wa-lâ yaqna‘ bash mâ wajaḍ ‘indu ḥâṣil,
wa-yakhṭur lu yaḥkî
bi-wahmu l-mulkî:
ka-majnûn laylâ ‘alâ kulli wâdî,
yanûḥu wa-yabkî ‘alam al-bi‘âdi.

- 4 law tarânî natih ‘alayya wa-nazhû!
ḥîn akhadhnî balimtinân muttu minnu,
wa-lâṭafnî ‘ayni,
wanâ bih nighanni:
ushâhid minhu fî sirrî t-tajallî murâdî,
wa-tna“am bi-qurbî minhu fî l-fu’âdi.

It has been studied by F. Corriente, who, after abandoning García Gómez’ accental/syllabic theory has developed a new theory of his own which he calls *‘arûd dinámico*. The poet, in this view, composes an accental composition, but the stress-pattern he uses is *‘arûd*-based. With his theory Corriente is able to explain the metricality of a great number of Shushtarî’s *zajals*. In the above case, however, it would seem inadequate, whereas a musical-accental analysis can explain the facts. This *zajal* has, according to Corriente, an accental structure based on three different quantitative patterns (the stress is always on an originally long syllable):

- A mafâ‘ilatun mafâ‘ilatun fa‘ûlun [fa‘ûlun] (*wâfir*)
- B fâ‘ilâtun mustaf’ilun fâ‘ilâtun (*khaffif*)
- C fa‘ûlun fa‘ûlun (*mutaqârib*).

His interpretation has the following inconveniences:

¹⁰ Federico Corriente, *Poesía estrófica (céjeles y/o muwaššahât) atribuida al místico granadino aš-Šuštari (siglo XIII d. C.)*, Madrid, 1988. N° 24, pp. 59–60. ‘Alî Sâmî al-Nashshâr, *Dîwân ‘Abî l-Ḥasan ash-Shushtarî*, Alexandria 1960.

- 1) the fact that for one composition three different metre-types are postulated;
- 2) it would be the only case of *wâfir* used in al-Shushtarî; nor is this metre found in e.g. Ibn Quzmân;
- 3) it is a curious form of *wâfir* with its extra *fa'ûlun*-foot (not found in Khalîlian metrics);
- 4) There is a notable irregularity in the second line of the '*asmât*' (sixth line of each stanza): it contains 3 feet in the first stanza, is said to be "métricamente falso" in the second stanza, it contains 3 feet again in the third, but 4 feet in the fourth stanza;
- 5) Corriente has to supply an extra word *min* in the fifth line of the second stanza, so that it becomes *yaqûl*: "*mâ warâ duwârî min duwâr fî 'tiqâdî*." This word *min* is not in the manuscripts;
- 6) In the fifth line of the fourth stanza Corriente has to read *ushâhidu*, although in 'Alî Sâmi al-Nashshâr's edition this word ends in a *dâl* with *sukûn*.

All these inconveniences disappear when the musical/accentual interpretation is applied. The resulting scansion is then as follows:

1 1 | ó oo | ó o | ó o | ó oo | ó o
 2 o | ó o | ó o | ó o | ó oo | ó o
 3 | | | o | ó oo | ó o
 4 | | | o | ó oo | ó o
 5 o | ó o | ó oo | ó oo | ó oo | ó o
 6 | o | ó o | ó oo | ó oo | ó o

2 1 o | ó o | ó o | ó oo | ó oo | ó o
 2 | ó o | ó o | ó oo | ó oo | ó o
 3 | | | o | ó oo | ó o
 4 | | | o | ó oo | ó o
 5 o | ó oo | ó o | ó oo | ó oo | ó o
 6 | o | ó oo | ó o | ó oo | ó o

3 1 | ó o | ó o | ó o | ó oo | ó o
 2 | ó oo | ó o | ó o | ó oo | ó o
 3 | | | o | ó oo | ó o
 4 | | | o | ó o | ó o
 5* | o | ó o | ó oo | ó oo | ó o
 6 | o | ó oo | ó oo | ó oo | ó o

4 1 | ó o | ó oo | ó o | ó oo | ó o
 2 | ó o | ó oo | ó o | ó oo | ó o
 3 | | | o | ó oo | ó o
 4 | | | o | ó oo | ó o
 5 o | ó o | ó oo | ó o | ó oo | ó o
 6 | o | ó oo | ó oo | ó oo | ó o

It represents a regular pattern, characterized by a number of stresses falling on single syllables alternating with positions without stress. These non-stressed positions can be filled either by a single syllable or by two syllables. The first stressed syllable of the line may be preceded by an unstressed one. The number of stresses per line is the same in each stanza (5 in lines 1, 2 and 5; 2 in lines 3 and 4; and 4 in line 6). There is only one irregularity: the fifth line of the third stanza lacks one stress. But in this case Corriente himself is also in trouble and he

supposes that there is a lacuna in the text. If one accepts his emendation, then this one metrical irregularity vanishes.

Ash-Shushtarî number 24 is important. It is a composition which cannot metrically be explained by traditional *'arûḍ*, nor by accentual/syllabic scanning, nor by *'arûḍ dinámico*. The very simple way in which it can be scanned musically agrees with the scansion of modern musical compositions and with the description of metrical conditions in the parallel system as found in Ibn Sanâ' al-Mulk.

III

The above considerations seem to lead to the following conclusions:

- a) Two prosodic systems are operative in Arabic, one is the Khalîlian *'arûḍ*, the other one a musical-accentual system used in certain forms of strophic poetry and possibly in songs and light verse in colloquial Arabic.
- b) The Khalîlian system is homogeneous insofar as all compositions in the metres of this system are quantitative, and quantitative only, on the basis of one set of scanning elements each of which has the same value throughout all compositions.

Arabic metrics finds itself between quantity and stress. However not in the manner that Weil envisaged. Stress is the main factor in the parallel system. As far as the Khalîlian *'arûḍ* is concerned, it is purely quantitative.

A typical Ḥāfeẓ *qazal*

FINN THIESEN

In this article I would like to give a preliminary presentation of the results of my research in rhythm and rhyme in Ḥāfeẓ. My aim is to arrive at an exact description of what may be considered typical for Ḥāfeẓ in his treatment of rhythm and rhyme. Even though a poet may at any time write something quite atypical of himself, I still believe that an exact knowledge of what is typical of a certain poet's treatment of rhythm and rhyme can be helpful in choosing correct readings.

I have now (November 1992) analysed more than three quarters of *divān e Ḥāfeẓ*¹ and I do not think that the analysis of the remaining part will substantially change the results obtained thus far. I shall therefore venture to set forth what may exactly be considered typically Ḥāfeẓ, albeit my examination of his *divān* is still incomplete. A simple way of doing this is to quote one very typical and representative *qazal* in full and point out those features which make it so. For this purpose I choose *qazal* No. 486 in Qazvīnī/Qānī (No. 477 in Nātel-Xānlari).

میخواند دوش در مقامات معنو	بلبل ز شاخ سرو بگلان پهلوی
تا از درخت نکتة توحید بشنو	یعنی بیا که آتش موسی نمود گل
تا خواجہ می خورد بغزلهای پهلوی	مرغان با بخت قافیہ سبجد و بذله گو
ز نهار دل بند بر اسباب دیسو	جمشید خبر حکایت عالم از جهان نبرد
مارا بکشت یار با نفاس عیسوی	این قصه عجب شنو از بخت و ارگون
کاین عیش نیت در خوار و زنگ خسرو	خوش وقت بوریا و گدائی و خواب امن
مخمریت بسا که خوش مت میرود	چشمتم بغزوه خانه مردم خراب کرد
کای نور چشم من بجز ارگشته ندرود	و بهتان سا نخورده چرخ خوش گنفت پهلوی

ساتی مکر و ضیفه حافظ زیاده دا
کاشفته گشت طرّه دست مارمولو

¹ The Ḥāfeẓ editions referred to are: *Divān e X^o āje Šams od dīn Moḥammad Ḥāfeẓ e Šīrāzī*, (ed.) Moḥammad Qazvīnī & Qāsem Qānī, Tehrān a. h. 1367⁵; *Divān e Ḥāfeẓ, X^o āje Šams od dīn Moḥammad*, (ed.) Parvīz Nātel-Xānlari, Tehrān a. h. 1362²; *Šarḥ e Ḥāfeẓ*, Eskandarīe/Būlāq a. h. 1250 (this edition is commonly referred to as *Šarḥ e Sūdī bar Ḥāfeẓ*).

- 1a bolbol ze šāx e sarv° be golbāng e pahlavī
 1b mīx^wāⁿd° dūš° dars e maqāmāt e ma'navī
 2a ya'nī biā ke ātaš e mūsā nemūd° gol
 2b tā az deraxt° nokte ye touhīd° bešnavī
 3a morqān e bāq° qāfišanjand o bazlēgūy
 3b tā x^wāje mei x^worad be qazalhā ye pahlavī
 4a jamšīd° joz hekāyat e jān az jahāⁿ nabord
 4b zenhār° del maband° bar asbāb e donyavī
 5a iⁿ qeššē yē 'ajab šenow az baxt e vāž°gūn
 5b mā rā bokošt° yār° be anfās e 'īsavī
 6a x^woš vaqt e būriā wo gadā'ī yo x^wāb e amn
 6b k iⁿ 'aiš° nīst° darx^wor e ourang e xosravī
 7a čašmat be qamze xāne ye mardom xarāb° kard
 7b maxmūriat mabād° ke x^woš mast° mīravī
 8a dehqān e sāl°x^worde ce x^woš goft° bā pesar
 8b k ei nūr e čašm e man bejoz az kešte nadravī
 9a sāqī magar vazīfe ye ḥāfez ziāde dād
 9b k āsofte gašt torre ye dastār e moulavī

It may be noted that Nātel-Xānlarī places *beit* 6 between *beit* 3 and *beit* 4 of the Qazvīnī/Qānī edition. Otherwise the differences between the two editions are slight. (Nātel-Xānlarī has *dar* for *bar* in 4b, *ye* for *wo* in 6a, *rūzī ye* for *darx^wor e* in 6b and *'esve* for *qamze* in 7a.) Sūdī has the same verse order as Qazvīnī/Qānī, but adds the following *beit* after 8:

darvīšam ō gadā wo barābar namikonam
 pašmī^m kolāh e x^wīš be šad tāj e xosravī

The following features can be pointed out as typical for Ḥāfez' treatment of the rhythm:

Firstly the choice of metre in itself. This *qazal* is in *baḥr e mozāre'* -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ --. In this metre, as in all metres commonly used by Ḥāfez, there is an approximately equal number of short and long syllables. 'Slow metres' i.e. metres made up of *arkān* like ∪ ---, -- ∪ --- or --- ∪ -- are much less common in his verse. This idiosyncrasy may well have something to do with Ḥāfez' reluctance to lengthen short vowels. In Classical Persian prosody all word final short vowels can be metrically lengthened and most Persian poets seem to have few or no inhibitions in this respect. Ḥāfez, however, is reluctant to lengthen *e* (*kasre ye ezāfe*), even more reluctant to lengthen *o*, and hardly ever lengthens *-e* and *-e*. In this *qazal* there are 22 occurrences of *e* as opposed to only the lengthened *ē* (in 5a) while the other short vowels do not occur lengthened at all. There are 3 instances of *-e*, 13 of *-e* and 3 of *o*. (There is one lengthened *ō* in the *beit* added by Sūdī. The prepositions *ze* and *be* have, of course, not been included here, because they are never lengthened metrically.)

Ḥāfez also dislikes 'hamze'. In Classical Persian prosody a word initial vowel following a word final consonant may be read with or without 'hamze'. In other words the poet has the choice between e. g. *jām az* and *jām° 'az* -- /- ∪ -- or between *bejoz az* and *bejoz 'az* ∪ ∪ - /- ---. In this *qazal* there are no instances of 'hamze'. There are 4 cases where the traditional prosodist would say that 'hamze' has been elided (4a, 4b, 5a and 8b). (Some would say that 'hamze' occurs in *ātaš* in 2a and *īn* in 5a and elsewhere too, but from a prosodical point of view such a statement is meaningless: in these cases it makes no difference to the scansion whether or not we say that we read a 'hamze'.)

That these features are in fact typical of Ḥāfeẓ' treatment of rhythm will be proved by the statistical material which will be presented in my projected monograph on rhythm and rhyme in *divān e Ḥāfeẓ*.

The rhymes in this *qazal* are uniformly faultless. Poor rhymes do not occur in Ḥāfeẓ. The rhyming element is *-avī*, but 1b and 2b both have *-navī*, and 6b, 7b and 8b all have *-ravī*. This kind of rhyme where a larger rhyming element is found in some of the rhymes may be termed *extended rhyme*. Ḥāfeẓ is fond of extended rhymes and normally places them in clusters as in this *qazal*. (Therefore the verse order in Qazvīnī/Qanī is preferable to that in Nātel-Xānlārī from the point of view of rhyme, but there are of course other factors to be taken into consideration which we shall not discuss here.)

With the exception of the rhyme in the first *meṣrā'*, no rhyme should be repeated in a Classical Persian *qazal*, i.e. no word should be employed as rhyme more than once. In this *qazal* Ḥāfeẓ does not transgress this rule, but it may be noted that the *beit* which Sūdī inserts between 8 and 9 repeats the rhyme of 6b. Spurious verses often betray themselves by the repetition of the rhyme.

The first rhyme, however, may not only be repeated, but it is considered desirable to do so and it is especially elegant to repeat it either in the second or the last *beit*, these repetitions being termed *radd ol qāfi'e* and *radd ol maṭla'* respectively. In this *qazal* we have neither *radd ol qāfi'e* nor *radd ol maṭla'*, but the repetition of 1a occurs immediately after the *radd ol qāfi'e*-position i.e. in 3b. One might say that the extended rhyme in 1b and 2b has pushed the *radd ol qāfi'e* forward to 3b, but I am fully aware that I may be seeing too much in the position of the repeated rhyme in 3b. However, Ḥāfeẓ is certainly fond both of *radd ol qāfi'e* and of *radd ol maṭla'* and if he does not repeat the rhyme word in full, he often marks a special rhyme relationship by means of an extended rhyme. In this *qazal* we find that the extended rhyme *-lavī* creates a special rhyme relationship between the first and the last rhyme. This is certainly no coincidence, but a typical 'Ḥāfeẓian' way of opening and closing a *qazal*.

The neutralisation of syntactic rules in poetry (as exemplified by Ottoman metrical poetry)

ANDREAS TIETZE

On the night of September 6, 1566, the great Süleyman died after a reign of almost half a century. We can assume that soon after the news of his death had reached the capital (his death had taken place during the siege of far-away Szigetvár) the *poeta laureatus* Bāqī sat down to compose his famous *marthiya*, formulating the general consternation over this event. Of this *tarkīb-band*, consisting of 8 *bands* in *muḍāri'* meter, each *band* is formed of 7 couplets with one rhyme scheme and one couplet with another rhyme scheme; both these rhyme schemes change in each *band*. I want to quote to you two *baits* from this *marthiya*.

Ol sheh-süvār-i mülk-i sa'ādet ki rakhshīna
Jevlān deminde 'arṣa-i 'ālem gelürdi teng

Bash egdi āb-i tūghīna küffār-i Engürüs
Shemshīri gevherini pesend eyledi Fireng

Let us now ask whether—and in what way—these verses deviate from ordinary speech, from the rules of ordinary Turkish grammar. In effect we first have to subject them to a structural analysis. The poem is addressed to the defunct sultan who is evoked in the first couplet as “that champion of the realm of happiness” expressed by a Persian *izāfet* construction that does not concern us here. Then that qualification is specified by a relative clause starting with *ki*—Persian in origin but widely used in Ottoman Turkish (even today): “to whose mount the world becomes narrow at the time of careering around”. If we disregard the Persian elements (*izāfet* and the clause construction with *ki*, which are both legitimated by usage and accepted) the only structure that could not occur in ordinary language is the positioning of the predicative adjective *teng* after—instead of before—the verb: *Rakhshīna jevlān deminde 'arṣa-i 'ālem teng gelürdi* would be a perfectly acceptable regular sentence.

In the second *bait* each of the *miṣrā's* is in itself a full sentence. The sentence begins with the word *bash* ‘head’ in the unmarked objective case. The unmarked objective case, according to Turkish grammar, has to be immediately followed by the verb (this rule has a single exception, which does, not however, concern us here), and indeed, the word *bash* is followed by the verb *egdi* “he bowed” (in this case “they bowed”—Turkish grammar does not require congruence in number in such cases), thus the sequence *bash egdi* is in conformity with the rules of Turkish grammar. The Persian *izāfet* “to the lustre of his sword” may evoke—because of

the ambiguity of the word *āb* as ‘water’ and ‘lustre’—the familiar image of a horse lowering his head to drink water. The subject matter of the sentence, “the Infidels of Hungary”, stands at its very end. A prose version of this sentence would be *Küffār-î Engürūs āb-î tūghina bash egdi*.

Very similar is the structure of the second *mişrā’*: The subject stands again at the very end. The predicate *pesend eyledi* ‘he appreciated’ consists of the predicative adjective *pesend*, quite regularly followed by the verb (in this case an auxiliary verb). The only feature that would seem unusual to the modern speaker of Turkish is the fact that in the phrase *shemshīri gevherini* the first component, although being determined and individualized by the possessive “his sword” does not show the genitive case ending (*shemshīrinüŋ gevherini*), however that has to do with the development of the language between the 16th and the 18th centuries in the course of which stricter rules were applied in the construction of noun phrases. In the 16th century, when Bāqī composed the poem, there was nothing wrong in forming the phrase without possessive case ending. A prose version of this line would therefore have run: *Fireng shemshīri gevherini pesend eyledi*.

May I now ask for the second *bait* the same question I had asked for the first *bait*: Did Bāqī’s poetic version deviate from the ordinary language of his time and if so, how? Does putting the predicate at the beginning or putting the subject at the end of the sentence constitute a break with the rules of the natural language of 16th century Ottoman Turkish? We have seen that the prose versions of the text of the two *mişrā’* differ considerably in word order from their poetic form. But what is prose? This is really the crucial question.

In one of Molière’s comedies, the nouveau-riche who had never heard the word *prose*, expresses his surprise that upon learning its meaning he himself had been speaking “prose” all his life along, without knowing what he was doing. He thus identifies prose with the natural language itself. Let us not fall into the same error.

Prose is something which is to some extent artificial, although perhaps not quite as artificial as poetic language. It is something that we—and perhaps all speakers of languages that have a writing system and a literate tradition—are forced to learn, usually when we acquire the skill of writing. Its relation to our native language or to the language we use in every-day life is like an excerpt compared to the entire area, a selection that covers a significant part of something much larger, but never more than a part. Also when we are taught a new language, a foreign language, in an organized scholastic way, we are first of all taught the regularities of “prose”. Sooner or later we find that we were not given the whole truth, but by that time we have already internalized important components of the “prose” concept.

What I am coming to is this: in evaluating the language of poetry we must always be aware of whether we are comparing it with natural language or with regulated prose. We must therefore not think in terms of a dichotomy (poetry vs. prose) but of a trichotomy: natural language–prose–poetry. We will see that the more complicated the rules of literary poetry become the farther removed from natural language will it be, but oral poetry (“orature”) will never transgress the limits of natural language.

This is already shown by the oldest documented European poetry, the Homeric epics:

Mênin áeide theá Pêlêiadeô Akhilêos
Oulomênên, hê myri Akhaiôiis álge éthêke
Pollàs d’iphthímous psykhàs Háirdi proíapsen
Hêrôôn, autoùs de helôria teúkhe kýnessin
Oiônoîsí te daíta, Diòs d eteleiéto boulê

I would think that Greek prose would not have allowed the removal of the attributive participle *ouloménên*, belonging to *mênin*, to the very end of the phrase, or of the placing of the genitive *hêrôôn*, belonging to *psychás*, after the predicate *proíapsen*, but I assume that such seemingly irregular features were common in the spoken language and did not harm the intelligibility of the verses. In the ear of the native speaker they did not destroy the syntactic structure of this type of poetry.

Let us now return to Ottoman poetry. In the two couplets I had quoted to you from Bāqī’s *tarkīb-band* we had noticed that the first one contained a syntactical feature that would not be possible in Ottoman Turkish, but the second couplet had no such transgression. Our example shows that there can be cases where the poetic form does not deviate from the natural form, while on the other hand there are cases where the two forms are so far apart that the listener or reader will be confused or even completely unable to understand what the poet wishes to say. Then he will remark “Al ma’ná fī baṭni sh-shā’ir” but he will still accept the fact as one of the realities of the realm of poetry.

Let us now look at a few other examples (in chronological order):

The derwish poetry of the 13th century (and later) uses the spoken language of the common people. Its verses never deviate from the syntactic usages of spoken Turkish. Let us take, for example, the first and last verses of one of Yūnus Emre’s poems:

Bir sâqīden ichdük sharāb
 ‘Arshdan yüje meyhānesi
 Ol sâqīnüng mestleriyüz
 Jânlar anung peymānesi

Yūnus bu jezbe sözlerin
 Jāhillere söylemegil
 Bilmez-misin jāhillerüng
 Nije gecher zamānesi

“We drank wine from a cup-bearer(’s cup),
 His wine-house is loftier than the zenith.
 We are the drunk of that cup-bearer,
 His cups are the souls.

Yūnus, do not speak these ecstatic words
 To the ignorant!
 Don’t you know how
 The ignorant pass their time?”

By shifting the post-predicate elements into pre-predicate position (*ichdük sharāb* > *sharāb ichdük*, *‘arshdan yüje meyhānesi* > *meyhānesi ‘arshdan yüje*, etc.) we obtain the regular order of sentences in prose, which does not however mean that the sentence with post-predicate elements are “irregular”: they are correct in spoken Turkish as E.E. Erguvanli—who calls the phenomenon “back-grounding”—has shown in her fine study *The Function of Word Order in Turkish Grammar* (Berkeley, etc., 1984).

While popular religious poetry continues this kind of style in which the syntax of spoken Turkish dominates, court poetry—under the influence of the Persian model—begins to treat the Turkish syntax more freely in order to comply more strictly with the exigencies of poetic form.

Already in the 13th century Dehhānī, one of the first high-style poets of whom some poems have been preserved, has in his *ghazals* verses like these:

Degül mümkün ki göngülden ögütle çıqaram anı
Agharmaz hiç Dehhānī yuyuban şūrat-ī Hindū

“Impossible for me to banish him (i.e., the beloved from (my) heart by advice,
O Dehhānī, by washing does the Indian’s face never get white.”

The correct place of the predicative adjective *mümkün* is before *degül* “is not” but the meter *hazaj* requires a short first syllable. Such inversion cannot occur in natural speech.

Another example from a *ghazal* in *muḍārī*‘ meter by the same author:

Qaddung nihāli gibi bulinur-mi nihāl kim
Sheftāluy-i lebüng gibi vire şemer lezīz

“Does there exist a young tree like the sapling of your stature
That would produce sweet fruit like the peach (i.e., kiss) of your lip?”

In Turkish the attributive adjective must precede its referent, therefore *lezīz* “tasty” has to stand before *şemer* “fruit” but both meter and rhyme necessitate the inversion.

Let us now have a look at the poetry of 14th-century Anatolia, the *ghazals* of Qāzī Burhānuddīn, the mystic and ruler of Kayseri. Most of his poems show few deviations from the normal word order, but there are exceptions:

Devā derdüme qılma ki derdüng devādur
Odunga bu yüregüm yanar ise revādur

“Do not cure my suffering with medicine for my suffering over you is medicine,
It is proper that this my heart burn in the fire for you.”

Turkish grammar requires that the indefinite object immediately precedes the verb. Therefore the first line has to start with *derdüme devā qılma* “to my heart/ medicine/ do not apply”, however the meter (which lacks one long syllable at the end of the line) has to start with a short syllable (*mefā’ilün fa’ülün / mefā’ilün fa’ülün*).

Now the last line of a *ghazal* by the same poet:

Göngül ivinde gözi ‘imāret qomadı hiç
Ma’mūr qachan ola şol iv ki Tatar düsher?

“His eye has not left any building standing in the house of the heart;
How (lit.: when) can a house be still standing when Tatars have fallen upon it?”

In the second line the predicative qualifier *ma’mūr* “in safe condition” has been separated from the verb *ola* “may be” by the interrogative pronoun *qachan* “when”, an impossible situation in Turkish syntax. This was caused by the constraint of the *muḍārī*‘ meter.

For examples of the 15th century I will use some of the poems which Ömer ibn Mezīd quoted in his *Mejmu’atu n-nazā’ir* of 1437. First here is a verse from a *ghazal* by Muqīmī (meter *hazaj*):

Qokhusin müşk-i reyhānung teshebbüh khaṭṭunga itmek
Muḥāl endişe vu fāsīd khayāl u fikr-i sevdādur

“To liken the aroma of the musk scent of sweet basil to your sprouting moustache
Is an absurd thought, a perverse idea, a feverish fancy.”

In this verse the indirect object *khattunga* “to your sprouting moustache” has been inserted between the two words constituting the predicate *teshebbüh itmek* “to liken”.

Furthermore, the attributive genitive *müshk-i reyhānung*, which according to Turkish syntax has to precede its referent marked by the possessive suffix, has been switched to the position after it because the natural, normal form of the noun compound *müshk-i reyhānung qokhusi* (with accusative ending *qokhusin*) would not have fitted the meter.

This type of inversion now becomes acceptable and extremely common. See, e.g., this verse from a *ghazal* by ʿIshqī in meter *ramal*:

Gül yüzüingsüz rüşhen olmaz khānedāni cheshmümüng
Serv-i qaddungsuz yarashmaz gülsitāni cheshmümüng

“The house of my eye cannot be lit up without your rosy face,
The rose-garden of my eye cannot please without your cypresslike stature.”

The normal order would be *cheshmümüng khānedāni* and *cheshmümüng gülsitāni*, respectively.

Or a verse in one of ʿÖmer’s own *ghazals* (variant):

Ne gham yirsin berü gel ʿaysh idelüm
Dilinde bülbülüng chün bu naghamdur

“Why do you worry? Come, let us live it up
As long as these melodies are on the nightingale’s tongue!”

Here the compound phrase *bülbülüng dilinde* “on the nightingale’s tongue” is inverted.

The frequency of this type of inversion invites the question of whether it may not be acceptable, though not in normative grammar but perhaps in living colloquial speech. In the spoken language of today it is indeed acceptable, at least in post-predicate phrases. One can easily hear sentences like this one:

Ne söyledi babası chojughun? “What did the child’s father say?” Literally: “What did he say, his father, the child’s?”

However, in non-post-predicate position (as in our example *dilinde bülbülüng*) this type of inversion appears to me less acceptable:

*Babası chojughun ne söyledi?

Let us now look at the 16th-century, the classical period of Ottoman poetry. I will select verses from the works of the four most representative poets of that century.

At first a verse from one of Fuzūlī’s *ghazals* (meter *hazaj*):

Duta-gör göz yolın ey eshk kim temkīnüm eksik-dür
Bu şüret-khānenüng gördükje naqshin hayretüm artar

“O tear, obstruct the glance’s course as my composure is waning,
The more I see of the images in this picture-house (i.e., the world) the more my confusion increases.”

In the second line the genitival noun compound *bu şüret-khānenüng naqshin* “the images of this picture-house (accusative)” is broken up by the intrusion of the verb *gördükje* “the more I see”.

One of Bāqī’s *ghazals* begins with this *maṭlaʿ* (first distich):

Yollar üstinde düshüb yatmazdı her giz āftāb
Jām-i mihrüngden senüing ger olmasa mest u kharāb

“Never would the sun drop down and lie on the roads
If it did not become dead drunk from the cup of love for you.”

In the words *jām-i mihrüngden senüing* in the second line the possessive intensifier (personal pronoun in the genitive case), which normally preceds its referent, is put after the referent because of the exigencies of the meter, in this case *ramal*.

A verse from another one of Bāqī’s *ghazals* may serve as an example of the separation of the two members of a genitival *izāfet* by the intrusion of another element (meter *ramal*):

Türüngüing ey qashī ya manqıra gechmez sa’yī
Sīnemüing dāghīni ol ḥancher-i bürrān deldi

“The force of your arrow, O the one with the bow-shaped eyebrow, cannot pierce
a penny,
(But) it has struck the deep wound in my breast, that sharp dagger.”

The first and the last words in the first line are the two members of the *izāfet*, and the intruding elements are *ey qashī ya*, the words addressing the beloved, the indirect object *manqıra*, and the verb *gechmez*.

Now here is a verse by Yahyā Beg (meter *hazaj*), the *maqta’* (last line) of one of his *ghazals*:

Nola Yahyāyi shād itse gham u endüh-i jānānung
Gedāy-i ‘ishq olanung bī-ḥuzūr olmaq ḥuzūri-dur

“No wonder if the grief and anguish caused by the beloved renders Yahyā happy,
To lack the peace of mind is what provides peace of mind to the beggar of love.”

In the first line we again have an inverted genitival construction, while in the second line the genitival compound is intersected by *bī-ḥuzūr olmaq*, the subject matter of the sentence.

Finally, a verse from a *qaşıda* by Nev’ī (meter *muḍāri’*):

Dar itdi künj-i khānemi aghyār bashuma
Bir ‘ankebüt evinde qarār eylesem yiri

“The rivals have made me feel cramped into the corner of my house,
I should better take up residence in a spider’s web.”

The first line begins with the predicate. The direct object, subject, and indirect object (in this order) are all put in post-predicate position in such a way that the normal order of the idiomatic expression *bashuma dar itdi* “made me feel squeezed (literally: caused it to become narrow for my head)” is disrupted.

These examples which I have picked at random without systematic search will suffice. My rough estimate of their frequency is that even in high-style poetry they constitute only a relatively small percentage of the total number of verses. Whenever the poets were able to establish a harmony between the rules of grammar and the exigencies of poetic form, they avoided aberrations, but wherever they could not do that, they made use of the licencies open to them.

And what matters even more, their audiences or readers went along with what at first must have appeared like extravagancies; they tolerated them and perhaps

even found some special taste in them, a challenge and possibly some flavour like that which we relish in archaisms, earthy regional expressions or the exotic. The break in their accustomed syntax had become to them an additional element to signal poetry.

Arabic and Iranian elements in New Persian prosody

BO UTAS

The immense rôle of Arabic in the shaping of Islamic culture is well-known. With regard to the development of poetry in the many languages that came under Islamic influence, the remarkable capacity of the Arabic language in assimilating and reshaping in a new and unified form elements of many different origins is worthy of special notice. In short, the decisive contribution of the Arabs to Islamic literatures includes:

(1) a language of a very specific structure, (2) an alphabet with a structure closely related to that of this language, and (3) a poetic tradition with precise rhythmic forms, strict final rhymes and a set of defined topics.

In the mixed cultural environment that prevailed, especially after the establishment of the Abbasid caliphate, Arabic poetry certainly developed under influences from many quarters, not least from Iran, but it seems to have kept its formal structure more or less intact. Without doubt the possible Iranian contributions to Arabic poetry provide an interesting subject for discussion, but here rather influences in the opposite direction will be studied. In a chronologically oriented approach to a definition of Arabic contributions to New Persian versification it would seem most appropriate first to establish the characteristics of pre-Islamic Iranian poetry and then to compare these characteristics with those of the earliest New Persian poetic practice. This is not easily done, however, since our knowledge of pre-Islamic Iranian poetry is insufficient. In Sasanian times, there certainly existed both epic and lyric poetry, but only scanty traces of such poems have been preserved, such as the fragments of Middle Persian verse found in the Rangstreitgedicht/*munâzarah*-poem *Draxt i asûrîk*, "The Assyrian (i.e. Babylonian) tree",¹ and the historical epic *Ayyâtkâr i Zarêrân*, "Memoir of the Zarêr family".² There are also a number of Manichaean poems, both in Middle Persian and Parthian, e.g. the so called *Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian* published by Mary Boyce.³

There is, however, no real consensus as to the metrical systems in use in Middle Iranian. If we go back to Old Iranian, we find the Avestan *gâthâs* and *yashts* that are undoubtedly metric, possibly with isosyllabic metres (mainly 5/7+7/9 syllables to the line for the *gâthâs* and 8 for the *yashts*), although it has been

¹ E. Benveniste, "Le texte du *Draxt asûrîk* et la versification pehlevie", *Journal Asiatique* 216(1930), pp. 193–225.

² E. Benveniste, "Le *Mémorial de Zarêr*, poème pehlevi mazdéen", *Journal Asiatique* 220(1932), pp. 245–293; B. Utas, "On the composition of the *Ayyâtkâr i Zarêrân*", *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg II* (= *Acta Iranica, Hommages et opera minora VII*), Leiden 1975, pp. 399–418.

³ (= London Oriental Series, 3), London 1954.

argued repeatedly that the syllabic metrical system in the Avesta was disintegrating and on the brink of being replaced by accentual patterns.⁴ However, there is less reason here to consider the thorny question of Avestan metres, because in the change from Old to Middle Iranian the languages were more or less reshaped, both phonologically and morphologically. Between Middle and New Iranian, on the other hand, changes were rather small, and the phonological characteristics and natural prosody of early New Persian could not have differed very much from those of late Middle Persian. Thus also a metrical affinity between Sasanian and early New Persian poetry is quite conceivable.

If it is difficult to follow the transition from Middle to New Persian versification, let us instead take the earliest New Persian poetry and investigate in what respects it differs from Arabic models! This might give us an idea as to the possible pre-Islamic Iranian contributions to this poetry. I shall begin with a concrete example, namely two poems found in what W.B. Henning has called “Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rûdaki” in his contribution to the Festschrift to S.H. Taqizadeh.⁵ These fragments have been overlooked, I think, by most of those who have commented upon this transitional period in Persian poetics. They are interesting in many respects. Probably originating towards the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century A.D., respectively, they are the oldest preserved pieces of poetic writing in New Persian language, although they are written in Manichean script. There is, as far as I know, no manuscript in New Persian written with Arabic alphabet preserved from such an early date. (The earliest dated substantial Persian manuscript seems to be the pharmacopoea of Abû Manšûr Muvaffaq copied by ‘Alî b. Aḥmad Asadî in 447/1055 [Codex Vindobonensis AF 340].) This means that the rather numerous verses that are ascribed to Persian poets of the 9th and 10th centuries are known only from later manuscripts, generally not older than the 13th century, and they have obviously been normalized and “polished” by generations of scribes and compilers before reaching us. This, of course, is valid to an even greater extent for the examples of pre-Islamic poetry that appear here and there in early Islamic sources.

One of the fragments published by Henning contains 33 more or less well preserved verses (*abyât*) of a masnavi on the well-known theme *Bilauhar u Bûdisaf*.⁶ Although the Middle Persian spellings of the Manichean writing conceal many of the New Persian words, an analysis shows that this poem is written in quite precise 11-syllable *ramal* (-v--/v--/v-). Here are three slightly reconstructed verses (2–4):

ar kunî čunîn kih guftî mar m[a-râ]
jây’ gîrad xvad suxan dil-t andar-â
bîx u rîša(h)-i dâniš andar dil bi-kâr
pas birûyad nard u šâx ú barg u bâr
har suxan yâ pursiš ú j[umla(h)-i javâb]
har čî-t âyad z-û gumân andar [šavâb]
 (“If you do as you said [to me], the word itself will take place in your heart. Plant the root and stock of knowledge in your heart, then its trunk and branch and leaves and fruit will grow! Every word and question and all replies, every thing from which doubts on the right thing comes to you...”)

⁴ Cf. I. Gershevitch, *Handbuch der Orientalistik. I.IV.2.1: Iranistik, Literatur, 1*, Leiden–Köln 1968, pp. 17, 21.

⁵ *A locust’s leg. Studies in the honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, pp. 89–104, pll. IV–V.

⁶ Also described in M. Boyce, *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichean script in the German Turfan collection*, Berlin 1960, p. 41 (fragment M 581).

When transcribed into Arabic writing the poem falls perfectly into metre, with some minor concessions common in early New Persian poetry and one exception: l. 12 pd 'yn: *bad-în*, 'to this', read as two long syllables (--). Both short *i* and short *u* are written plene consistently. *Idâfah* is written 'yg, the conj. *u* 'wd, and the *hâ maxfi* with g, all without changing their New Persian prosodic character. The 3rd p. sg. verbal ending is written -yd (i.e. for orig. -êd) without giving a syllable with prosodically long vowel. Metrical ellision is generally not noted in writing, thus l. 15 'wd 'yn gwj' for *v-în-kujâ* (but l. 19 w'n for *v-ân*).

Thus the metrical structure of the poem is completely hidden by its written form. Does this mean that it was composed by ear and then put into the kind of archaizing writing of New Persian that Manicheans in Sinkiang started using some time in the 8th or 9th centuries? Or does it rather mean, as Henning suggests in his first presentation of this fragment at the Congress of Orientalists in Munich in 1957,⁷ that the original poem was written in Arabic script (in Samarkand or Bukhara?) and then taken over by Manicheans and transcribed into their writing. Henning even suggested that the poem might be a work by Rûdakî,⁸ but in *A locust's leg* (pp. 93) he withdrew this suggestion on account of the frequent use of rhymes in ornamental -â. According to Henning this fragment must belong to the first half of the 10th century.

The second fragment is more mutilated than the first but contains at least parts of 13 verses (in 34 lines) of a *qašîdah*⁹ written in the 14-syllable variant of *muđâri'* which is traditionally scanned *maf'ûlu fâ'ilâtu mafâ'îlu fâ'ilun* (--v/-v-v/v--v/-v-).¹⁰ The rhyme is in -âr, and it is distributed according to the normal Arabic *qašîdah* pattern. Here is one of the few complete lines (l. 8 in Henning's reconstruction):

čûn yûsuf-am ba-qahr' furûd avganan(d) ba-čâh
čâh-î kih bar-nay-âyam az-û juz gah-î šumâr
 ("They throw me like Joseph into the pit, the pit from
 which I shall not come up until the time of reckoning.")

As far as it is possible to reconstruct this poem, the metre seems to be reasonably correct according to classical rules, but the spelling is not quite as consistent as in the previous fragment. There are more forms here that have been influenced by New Persian spelling and more Arabic loan-words. Still Henning judges this fragment to be older than the previous one, possibly belonging to the end of the 9th century. It seems that by then the Manichean Sogdians along the Eastern Silk Road had started to adopt the New Persian language that had already captured the old Sogdian capital Samarkand. Thus these two poems, found in the sands of Turfan, may be either local compositions or transcriptions from originals in Arabic writing imported from Sogdiana proper, but whatever they are, their existence proves that the metrical rules governing classical Persian poetry were already well established, and conceivable in a phonetic shape independent of the Arabic script.

The metres attested in these two fragments are very typical of the Persian applications of the forms prescribed by the Arabic '*arûd*. As noted already by the

⁷ *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses* (München 28. Aug. bis 5. Sept. 1957), Wiesbaden 1959, p. 307.

⁸ This view is repeated in W. B. Henning, "*Qadîmtarîn nusxah-yi ši'r-i fârsî*", *Majallah-yi Dâniškâdah-yi adabiyât*, Tehran, 5(1337/1958):4, p. 9.

⁹ Cf. Boyce, *Catalogue*, p. 53 (fragment M 786).

¹⁰ Thus in traditional analysis; in the analysis based on "rhythmic elements" suggested by me below, this would rather be --/v-v-/vv--/v-v-.

medieval prosodists and recently established by, among others, Parvîz Nâtil Khânlarî¹¹ and L.P. Elwell-Sutton,¹² the metric patterns commonly used in classical Arabic poetry are, on the whole, different from those most often used in early New Persian versification, although in principle they belong to the same Khalilian system. Thus the *kâmil*, *wâfir*, *basîr* and *ṭawîl* metres, that are non-existent in early New Persian poetry, account for 121 out of 155 poems in Nöldeke's *Delectus veterum carminum arabicorum*¹³ and 107 out of 130 poems in the 8th century anthology *al-Mufaḍḍalîyât*.¹⁴

On the other hand, comprehensive statistics made by Elwell-Sutton in his *The Persian metres* (pp. 145–167), shows a very specific, and different, profile of early New Persian poetry. He lists no less than 1287 poems ascribed to the period 800–1000, found in Naffisî's work on Rûdakî¹⁵ and anthologies by Gilbert Lazard¹⁶ and Muḥammad Mu'în.¹⁷ Although there is some uncertainty about the number of poems involved and their provenance as well as some doubt about Elwell-Sutton's metrical analysis of some of them (as remarked in reviews by Finn Thiesen¹⁸ and Abu'l-Ḥasan Najafî¹⁹), there is no reason to doubt the bulk of his figures. A limitation is, however, the exclusion of *maṭnavîyât* and *rubâ'îyât*, the former probably because their length make them unsuitable for quantitative comparison with shorter poems and the latter obviously because their metre is always the same.

In Elwell-Sutton's material we find the following distribution of metrical patterns over the analysed 1287 poems:²⁰

1. 95 cases of 11- or 12-syllable *mutaqârib*
v--/v--/v--/v(-) (7%)
2. 109 cases of 11-, 12- or 16-syllable *hazaj*
v---/v---/v--(-)(/v---) (8%)
3. 79 cases of 11-, 13- or 15-syllable *ramal*
-v--/-v--/-v-(-/)(v-) (6%)
4. 88 cases of 11-, 13- or 15-syllable *ramal maxbûn*
v̄v--/vv--/vv-(-/)(v-) (7%)
5. 97 cases of 10-, 11-, 13- or 14-syllable *hazaj axrab makfûf*
--vv/--vv/--(v)(v/-)(-) (8%)
6. 33 cases of 11-syllable *sarî'* (*maṭvî*)
-/vv--/vv--/vv²¹ (3%)
7. 217 cases of 13-, 15- or 16-syllable *mujtattî* (*maxbûn*)
v-v-/vv--/v-v/v(v-)(-) (17%)

¹¹ Cf. his *Vazn-i šî'r-i fârsî*, Tehran 1345, p. 75 et pass.

¹² For instance in his "The foundations of Persian prosody", *Iran* 13(1975), pp. 75–97 (esp. p. 80), and *The Persian metres*, Cambridge Univ. Press 1976, pass.

¹³ I.e. the standard anthology of early Arabic poetry; cf. Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian metres*, pp. 67–68.

¹⁴ Cf. W.F.G. J. Stoetzer, *Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*, Leiden 1989, pp. 147–159.

¹⁵ S. Naffisî, *Ahvâl u aš'âr-i Abû 'Abdu'llâh Ja'far ibn-i Muḥammad-i Rûdakî-yi Samarqandî* I–III, Tehran 1309–19 (1930–41); repr. as *Muḥîr-i zindagî va ahvâl va aš'âr-i Rûdakî*, Tehran 1336 (1957) etc.

¹⁶ *Les premiers poètes persans (IX^e–X^e siècles)*, Paris–Téhéran 1964.

¹⁷ *Bar-guzîdah-yi šî'r-i fârsî*, Tehran 1952.

¹⁸ *Acta Orientalia* 39(1978), pp. 242–257.

¹⁹ Included in his article "*Dar bârah-yi ṭabaqah-bandî-yi vaznhây-i šî'r-i fârsî (baḥt-i raviš)*", *Âšnâ'î bâ dâniš* 7(1359), pp. 591–626.

²⁰ Note that the metres are *not* presented here according to the traditional analysis of their feet (*arkân*) but divided into what will be presented below as their natural rhythmic elements!

²¹ The basis of patterns nos. 4, 5 and 6 is an alternation between two short and two long syllables; it is not quite evident that 4 and 6 should be regarded as "rising" metres and 5 as a "falling" one, but the quite restricted apocopation possibilities in the beginning of a hemistich and the close association of pattern no. 5 with no. 12 in the *rubâ'î* metre points to the solution presented here.

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------|
| 8. | 57 cases of 12-, 13- or 15-syllable <i>munsariḥ</i> (<i>maṭvî</i>)
-vv--/v-v/vv-(-)/v-) | (4%) |
| 9. | 204 cases of 11- or 12-syllable <i>xafff</i> (<i>maxbûn</i>)
v̄v--/v-v/vv-(-) | (16%) |
| 10. | 24 cases of 10- or 11-syllable <i>qarîb</i> (<i>axrab/makfûf</i>)
(v)--/vv--/v-v-(-) | (2%) |
| 11. | 219 cases of 11- or 14-syllable <i>muḍâri</i> ' (<i>axrab makfûf</i>)
--/v-v/vv--/v(-v-) | (17%) |
| 12. | 44 cases of 10- or 11-syllable <i>hazaj axrab maqbûd</i>
--vv/-v-v/--(-) | (3%) |

This table accounts for altogether 1266 poems or 98% of the whole corpus. With some minor permutations also the remaining 21 poems could be fit into the same 12 main patterns.

Of these 12 Persian patterns nos. 1 (*mutaqârib*), 2 (*hazaj*), 3 (*ramal*) and 9 (*xafff*) are also found in early Arabic poetry, albeit with variations (*ziḥâfât*) allowed in Arabic, but not in Persian 'arûḍ. Nos. 6 (*sarî'*) and 8 (*munsariḥ*) are used in Persian poetry in variants that are uncommon in Arabic. The metres nos. 4 (regarded as a variant of *ramal*), 5 and 12 (the *rubâ'î* type variants of *hazaj*) are alien to Arabic metrics but may be forced into the system by contrived terminology. The metres nos. 7 (*mujtatt*), 10 (*qarîb*) and 11 (*muḍâri*'), finally, are on the whole Persian and not Arabic metres.

The arrangement of the Persian patterns according to the Khalilian system of 'arûḍ necessitates a special use of the changes known as *ziḥâfât*. In Arabic poetics the *ziḥâfât* generally refer to pattern changes allowed within the same poem, while in Persian metrical theory most of them are applied in order to generate distinct patterns (*auzân*) that have to be maintained throughout a given poem (i.e. like the Arabic 'ilal). Consequently, there is much more variation possible within a given Arabic poem than within a Persian. Instead Arabic poetry has much fewer standard patterns than Persian. The distinct Arabic metres (*auzân*) are generally stated to be about 65 (63 according to al-Khalîl, 67 according to later reckoning), while the number of Persian distinct metres is considerably higher. The Iranian metrician Abu'l-Ḥasan Najafî maintains that they are about 300.²²

Elwell-Sutton also remarks that while in Persian verse the quantitative length of the line (i.e. the number of morae) is more or less constant (varying only with the possibility of losing one mora in the first syllable) and its number of syllables varies considerably (at times 10–15 per hemistich), the case is the opposite in Arabic verse.²³ There the number of syllables is supposed to be fairly constant while the number of morae varies considerably (e.g. 18–24 in a *basîṭ* hemistich of 14 syllables). This is taken by Elwell-Sutton as a clear indication of the different origins of the two metrical systems, but the Arabic basis for his calculation is uncertain, and this result would be rather inconclusive, anyway, given the structural differences between the two languages. Besides, the variations in number of syllables in Persian verses of the same metre seem prosodically rather insignificant.

The variants permitted within one Persian metrical pattern mainly depend on the possibility of alternation between long and short first syllable of the hemistich in a few metres (*ramal maxbûn* and *xafff*) and the substitution of one long syllable for two short in most positions (also over the boundary between two traditional

²² "Dar bârah-yi ṭabaqah-bandî", pp. 616 et pass.; cf. also T. Vaḥîdiyân-Kâmyâr, *Barrasf-yi manšâ'-i vazn-i šî'r-i fârsî*, Mashhad 1370, p. 9.

²³ *The Persian metres*, pp. 65–66 et pass.

feet). To this comes, especially in pre-classical poetry, the possible ellision of the first syllable of a line.²⁴ The additional variation in the *rubâ'î* is a special case, to which I shall come back. A further source of variation according to Elwell-Sutton is the special treatment of the so called “overlong” (*kašîdah* or *nîm-fathah*), but I see no reason not to regard this as three normal morae, and thus two syllables, in the prosodic system.²⁵ Likewise it is important to regard the last syllable of any hemistich (or half-hemistich in doubled metres, occasionally also before caesura in ordinary metres) as anceps, meaning that in this position it has the same metrical value, be it short, long or overlong.²⁶ Hence, a remarkable constancy of both the number of syllables and the number of morae is characteristic of New Persian literary versification.

Having established this, we can see that there is a radical difference between the Arabic and the Persian realization of quantitative ‘*arûd*. The whole Khalilian analysis based on *autâd* and *asbâb*, with the former unchangeable and the latter changeable, is irrelevant in Persian metrics. Instead, we have here a quite limited number of rhythmic elements that may be combined in a great number of ways. These elements, based on a regular alternation between long and short syllables, are combined to form hemistichs of varying length in which the initial and final element may be apocopated according to a few simple rules. On the basis of this observation, leaving the whole traditional nomenclature aside, we can describe the basic rhythmic elements as follows:

1. “epic”: A. v-- (pattern no. 1)

B. v--- (pattern no. 2)

C. -v-- (pattern no. 3)

(C could be analysed as B with anacrusis -, but in that case an additional apocopation rule has to be included)

2. “lyric”: A. rising: a. vv-- (nos. 4 and 6)

b. v-v- (a + b nos. 7–11)

B. falling: a. --vv (no. 5)

b. -v-v (a + b no. 12)²⁷

It will be noticed that, although *maṭnavîyât* are excluded from Elwell-Sutton’s statistical material, the patterns here referred to as based on “epic” rhythmic elements (nos. 1, 2 & 3) occur quite frequently (21%). Obviously, the terms “epic” and “lyric” can only be used in this context as a loose characteristic and *faute de mieux*. A precise delimitation of epic and lyric metrical patterns seems impossible from the time when we start to have more substantial specimens of Persian verse (the middle of the 10th century A.D.). One can only speculate on the possibility of a more sharp distinction at an earlier stage of development.

Likewise *rubâ'iyât* are not included in Elwell-Sutton’s statistics and, consequently, the special *rubâ'î* metre is missing in the above list of 12 patterns. It is, however, a form that combines the patterns no. 5 and 12 by allowing an alternation between the elements 2.B.a (--vv) and 2.B.b (-v-v) (both “falling”) in the second element/“foot”. Thus we may add the following main pattern to the twelve listed above:

²⁴ Pattern no. 10 above; cf. F. Thiesen, *A manual of Classical Persian prosody*, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 100–101, for this variation, as well as -v-v → --vv (rare outside of the *rubâ'î*); v. also Abu'l-Ḥasan Najafî, *‘Ixtiyârât-i šâ‘irî*, *Jung-i Isfahân* 10(1352), pp. 152–160.

²⁵ The classical pronunciation of these “overlong” syllables is not clear; cf. F. Thiesen, *Manual*, pp. 16–17.

²⁶ Cf. Thiesen, *Manual*, p. 18.

²⁷ Cf. the five “Persian patterns” suggested by Elwell-Sutton, *Iran* 13(1975), p. 80 (the *ramal* pattern, my no. 3, occurs there only in the *sarî* variant, my no. 6).

This division of the *rubâ‘î* metre into three 4-syllable elements + a final long syllable might seem less appropriate with regard to the tendency of the *rubâ‘î* to have a caesura after the fifth syllable (as demonstrated by Lazard in his paper “*Âhu-ye kuhi ... le chamois d’Abu Hafis de Sogdiane et les origines du robâi*”).²⁹ Regard for a necessity of placing the caesura in a boundary between elements/“feet” would give the alternative metric pattern -/vv-//vv-/vv- (with the variant -/vv-/v-v-/vv-). However, such a necessity hardly exists. Besides, the 4-syllable elements used in my analysis are not to be regarded as synonymous with metrical “feet”, whatever that might mean in this context. Especially in the patterns here defined as “lyric”, these elements acquire their specific rhythmic character only in combination. Thus it appears that perhaps the most typical of all the Persian rhythms arises from a combination of 2.A.a and 2.A.b that comes to life only when they are heard together:

tatatamtam tatamtatam (vv--v-v-) or
tatamtatam tatatamtam (v-v-vv--)

Seen in this perspective, the *rubâ‘î* provides the reverse of this pattern with its variant:

tamtamtata tamtatamta tamtamata tam (--vv-v-v--vv-)

What is the reason for this difference between Arabic and New Persian versification? Are the prosodic dissimilarities between the Arabic and Persian languages sufficient explanation in themselves, or does this presuppose a substratum of pre-Islamic Iranian poetry? There are prominent propagators for both views. L.P. Elwell-Sutton, for example, made this statement at the International Congress of Orientalists in Munich in 1957: “The use of the traditional Arabic terminology for the description of the Persian metres has misled many scholars into assuming an intimate relation between the two systems, and even into assuming that Persian verse is derived from Arabic. In fact there is no support for such a belief ... It would be more logical to regard the Arabic metres as imperfectly understood echoes of Persian. But there is no evidence for or against this *attractive* [my emphasis] speculation ...”³⁰ On the other hand, Wilhelm Eilers writes: “Das Rubâ‘î wäre nicht denkbar vor der arabischen Eroberung, im sassanidischen Iran, das ja noch gar keine quantifizierende Metrik kannte. Wie in Rom und später bei den Arabern unter griechischem, so entstand in Iran unter arabischem Einfluss die neue silbenmessende Dichtung. Aber innerhalb dieser sind es zweifellos die Perser selbst gewesen, die das Rubâ‘î in seiner ganzen Eigenart entwickelt haben. Erst viel später wird es von Arabern gleichfalls nachgeahmt. Es ist *iranischer* Geist in arabischer Form, al-‘Ağam wa’l-‘Arab beispielhaft zu jener Einheit verschmolzen, die seitdem sich auch sonst aus ihrer fruchtbaren Verbindung nicht mehr lösen lässt. *Arabische* Formenwelt hat die *Anregung* zu neuer Form gegeben, die nunmehr in national-iranischem Geist fortgepflegt wird. Vom Weiterleben einer alten, *vorislamischen* Form kann *keine* Rede sein.”³¹

²⁸ Thus also Abu’l-Ḥasan Najafī, “*Ixtiyârât*”, p. 185, and Vahîdiyân-Kâmyâr, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

²⁹ *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London 1970, pp. 238–244.

³⁰ *Akten des Vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses* (München 28. Aug. bis 5. Sept. 1957), Wiesbaden 1959, p. 307.

³¹ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 62(1969), p. 218.

Without doubt languages have innate prosodic qualities that find expression in poetry composed in those languages. But it is also obvious that one language may take over a poetic form from another, like many later European languages took over the Greek hexameter. The hexameter in the new language would not be structurally identical with its Greek model. It would have to be accommodated within the prosodic possibilities of the new language, although this does not mean that it would have to follow a previous poetic tradition. It might well constitute a truly new form. So what about the New Persian poetical forms? They seem to be characterized by very regular quantitative patterns with a fixed number of morae (and syllables) to the line, and apart from that by a regular and obligatory system of end rhymes. (The latter will not be discussed here, but I suppose that this type of rhyme was shaped under decisive Arabic influence.)

On the other hand, we do not know if non-quantitative rhythmic patterns, too, were of significance in this versification, because we cannot say anything definite about the stress patterns in early New Persian. This is important, because the prevailing opinion on Middle West Iranian metrics is that they were based on a fixed number of (dynamic) stresses to the line, although we do not know for certain how Middle Persian words were stressed either. As far as I understand, the case is similar for Arabic, since the recent book by Willem Stoetzer (*Theory and practice in Arabic metrics*) disproves the theory of Gotthold Weil that al-Khalil's "metric circles" actually are a way of describing patterns of stress in Arabic poetry.

Generally speaking, emphasis on, or metrical prominence of, a syllable may be expressed by expiratory (dynamic) stress, tone (pitch) or length (quantity) or any combination of those.³² This gives a complicated set of building-bricks for rhythmic patterns, and it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to make a comparative analysis of classical Arabic and early New Persian in these respects. For a non-arabist it is a little difficult to see the structure of the Arabic language freed from that of its alphabet, but the general impression of the dominance of consonants in Arabic stands in contrast to the more vocal character of Persian. (To my ears this difference also comes out in modern recitations of Arabic and Persian poetry.)

The flexibility in Persian verse, enhancing conformity to its very strict metrical patterns, is attained precisely by variation in the vowels, i.e. the possibility of reading many vowels either long or short (the conjunction *u*, *iḏâfah*, the *hâ maxfi* ending, conjunctions and pronouns like *kih*, *čih*, *ču*, *tu*, lexical variants like *râh/rah*, *andûh/anduh* etc.). To this must be added the possibility of letting words begin with either *hamzah* or vowel and the possible elisions that are a consequence of this. All this must be regarded as linguistic realities, not mere prosodic constructions.³³

In modern recital of Persian poetry there is an interplay between expiratory stress, quantity and pitch, so that quantity carries the required metrical structure, while a combination of pitch and dynamic stress marks the naturally, or grammatically, accented syllables. Thus, for instance, a well-known verse by Ḥâfiz may be recited in the following way:

agar 'ân tûrk-i šîrâzî / bi-dâst ârad dîl-î mâ-râ
zi-xâq-î hindûv-aš baxšam / samarqand-u buxârâ-râ

Here, each hemistich falls into two equal parts separated by a caesura (/), and each half hemistich seems to have two main grammatical stresses that may or may not

³² For a description of accent in general terms, v. O. Szemerényi, *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, 4., durchges. Aufl., Darmstadt 1990.

³³ Cf. Abu'l-Ḥasan Najafî, "*Ixtiyârât*", pp. 160 ff.

fall on a metrically accented, i.e. long, syllable.³⁴ In modern recitation these stresses are characterized by both pitch and dynamic accent (*buxâr-ê-râ*), perhaps to an even greater degree when the syllable is short, as in the syntagm *dîl-î mâ-râ* (where the vowel in *dîl* is high and stressed but short, while the *idâfah* is low and unstressed but long). Unfortunately, we can not be certain about how such stress patterns were realized in the 9th and 10th centuries, but it is not impossible that traditional poetry, as a conservative residuum, has kept something of the intonation from a time when Persian still had a phonematically relevant opposition between short and long vowel.

Most of the poets who in the 9th century started composing *literary* poems in New Persian were probably also active as poets in Arabic. Given the prestige of Arabic poetry, they were rather certain to try to translate its forms into their mother tongue, although following Arabic poetic practice rather than metric theory. The question is, then, how applicable the Arabic models were to their living language and how strong their own indigenous poetic tradition was. Here it is important to note that Iranian poetic traditions seem to have been predominantly oral from Old Iranian up to early Islamic times and generally also linked to music, i.e. poetry was normally sung.³⁵

The less applicable the Arabic forms were, the stronger the resonance of the indigenous traditions must have been. In practice a fusion of elements, including forms, must have taken place, which means that neither Elwell-Sutton nor Eilers can be right. It is rather difficult to believe that the Persian poets composed literary works with regard neither to Arabic practice nor theory and that only much later Persian theorists incorporated their poetry with the Khalilian system (*Râdûyânî* in the 11th and *Vaṭvâṭ* in the 12th century, and *al-Mu'jam* in 1217). On the other hand, the structural difference between the application of quantitative 'arûḍ in Arabic and Persian poetry no doubt goes beyond the mere linguistic differences and shows that pre-Islamic poetical traditions must have had influence on New Persian versification.

In this context it is necessary to try to grasp the poetical situation in Iran in the first centuries after the Arabic invasion. Around 700 in Western Iran and 741 in Eastern Iran, Arabic replaced Middle Persian in the financial administration under the caliphate. The dominance of Arabic as the literary language of Iran should have started at about the same time. Simultaneously, oral poetry in various Iranian vernaculars was certainly current. Since such poetry is both conservative and long-lived, we might find some evidence of its character in later remnants. Here the testimony of the so called *fahlavîyât* is important. Quotations of such poems occur rather early, e.g. in *al-Mu'jam* of Shams-i Qais in the 13th century. They are composed in more or less persianized north-west dialect and live on in the still very popular *du-baitîs* that are passed on in the name of the nebulous figure Bâbâ Ṭâhir ('Uryân/Hamadânî/Lurî). The metre of these two-*bait* poems is generally 11-syllable *hazaj sâlim maqṣûr/maḥḍûf* (v---/v---/v--) but already Shams-i Qais remarked that the first foot often occurs in the variant called *muṣâkil*, i.e. *fâ'ilâtun* (-v--) instead of *mafâ'ilun* (v---). Another recorded variant is a first foot of four long syllables.³⁶

The same form (11-syllable *hazaj sâlim*) is found in the purely Persian *du-baitîs*, an oral genre which is well attested during the last centuries all over the Persian speaking area, from Luristan and Fars in the south-west to Afghanistan

³⁴ However, various reciters may use various stress patterns; here the reading of the first half of the second hemistich is especially open to variation.

³⁵ Cf. the influential paper by Mary Boyce, "The Parthian *gôsân* and Iranian minstrel tradition", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1957, pp. 10–45.

³⁶ Cf. F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati* (= VOK 15), Wiesbaden 1963, p. 8; Eilers, *op.cit.*, p. 229.

and Tajikistan in the north-east. In his already quoted article on “Vierzeilerdichtung”, Eilers argues that this form is typical of Fars and has spread to the north and east only in recent years. However, very comprehensive collections of such poems, especially from Afghanistan, show that this cannot be the case.³⁷ The obvious conclusion is that the 11-syllable *hazaj sâlim* rhythm must have been common, and thus natural, in Iranian oral and popular poetry at an early date, probably already in the first centuries of Islam. In principle this is also a solidly Arabic metre (the basis of the third prosodic circle of al-Khalîl), but this *sâlim musaddas* form seems to differ from the one common in Arabic.

There is also, however, another type of popular oral poetry in Iran, which might have a deep historical past. That is a type of poem which has no regular quantitative pattern. It has often been considered isosyllabic, but a close look shows that the number of syllables generally varies between certain limits. Thus D.L.R. Lorimer describes “The popular verse of the Bakhtiâri of S.W. Persia” as having “a line of 12 syllables in rhymed couplets, with normally perhaps 4 stresses to the line” but has to add: “In practice the number of syllables varies from as little as 9 to as much as 14 or even more.”³⁸ Other types have fewer syllables and only two or three stresses to the line.

This description has a rather striking resemblance to what most scholars nowadays consider to be characteristic of Middle Persian and Parthian poetry, namely a fixed number of stresses (ictuses) to the line, generally two or three, rather freely distributed over two to four times as many syllables. Since this was first established by W.B. Henning in 1933³⁹ and further underlined in his polemic article “The disintegration of Avestic studies” in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* of 1942,⁴⁰ this has been the common opinion among Iranists. This analysis was demonstrated by Henning on the text of *Draxt î asûrîk* and a couple of Parthian hymns,⁴¹ and his example was followed by others. Judging from the Parthian hymn-cycles published by Mary Boyce,⁴² however, this description cannot be exhaustive, because these two hymn-cycles are characterized by lines of different general length (averages of 12.8 and 11.3 syllables, respectively), in spite of the fact that they are supposed to have the same pattern of dynamic stress, i.e. the same number of ictuses. In his interesting paper on “Specimens of Middle Persian verse”, Shaul Shaked suggests as an explanation of this that “it is possible, for example, that each poetic composition was attached to a definite melodic accompaniment or to a specific tune, which influenced the rhythmic pattern without setting it within too rigid a scheme.”⁴³ If one considers the study of “Liturgical chant and hymnody among Manicheans of Central Asia” published by Christopher Brunner,⁴⁴ such melodic developments could mean rhythmic extensions that change a line of written verse beyond recognition.

Lately, Gilbert Lazard has made a new approach to this problem.⁴⁵ On the material of the Boycean hymn-cycles he establishes certain rules for the varying number of unstressed syllables. By distinguishing between three types of syllable,

³⁷ Cf. e.g. *Namunai fol' klori xalqhoi Afğoniston. Ruboiyot va surudho*, Dushanbe 1965; *Suxane az dahane. Namunaho az fol' klori Afğoniston*, Dushanbe 1972.

³⁸ *BSOAS* 16, 1954, pp. 542–555.

³⁹ “Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen”, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1933, p. 317.

⁴⁰ Publ. 1944, pp. 40–56, esp. pp. 52–53.

⁴¹ *BSOAS* 13 (1949–50), pp. 641–648.

⁴² Cf. above n. 3.

⁴³ *Henning Memorial Volume*, 1970, p. 397.

⁴⁴ *ZDMG* 130(1980), pp. 342–368.

⁴⁵ “La métrique de la poésie parthe”, *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce II* (= *Acta Iranica, Hommages et opera minora*, XI), Leiden 1985, pp. 377–399.

short, long but “light” (“légère”, i.e. grammatically unstressed, “atone”) and long, he is able to show that certain rules govern the distribution of long syllables on one hand and short and long/“light” taken together on the other. Furthermore, each foot is supposed by him to have its metrical ictus on the last syllable, but this syllable cannot always carry the grammatical accent. Lazard proposes the following solution to this problem: “Il est concevable que l’accent et l’ictus ne soient pas réalisés par les mêmes propriétés phonétiques, autrement dit que la syllabe qui porte un accent de mot et celle qui recoit l’ictus métrique soient mises en relief par des procédés différents. On peut imaginer par exemple que l’accent consiste principalement en une élévation du ton et l’ictus en une longueur” (pp. 380–381). This is a suggestion that is reminiscent of my earlier observation on the interplay between pitch accent and quantity in modern recitation of Persian poetry (the type *buxârq-râ*).

We are thus left with the proposition that patterns of dynamic, tonal and quantitative stress were relevant in Middle Iranian poetry, and it seems likely that at least some of those patterns were transferred into New Persian, where the Arabic script and the ‘*arûd*’ analysis do not always take full account of all their prosodical aspects. In a similar context W. Sidney Allen refers to “the distinction between structure and composition” and remarks: “When one speaks of structural requirements or norms, it is not necessarily implied that all or any of these are codified and stated in metrical treatises or traditional teaching”.⁴⁶

Unfortunately the written form of the many fragments of proposed pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry that occur in Arabic and later Persian sources is such that it is difficult to draw any certain metrical conclusions from them. I shall only mention one example. Shaffî-Kadkanî has recently brought to light a small piece of poetry ascribed to the famous Bârbad, poet and musician at the court of Khusrau Parvêz (591–628), from an Arabic work by Ibn Khurdâdbih (d. 230/844). It is a so called *surûd-i xusruvânî* and it runs:

qaişar mâh mânad u xâqân xurşêd
ân i man xudây abr mânad kâmgârân
*ka xvâhad mâh pôşad ka xvâhad xurşêd*⁴⁷

i.e. 10 or 11 syllables to the line with a rather obvious caesura after 5 or 6; it has no completely regular quantitative pattern but a possible dynamic stress pattern (2 x 2 stresses to the line). With rather small changes, however, one could fit it into a nearly passable New Persian metric form:

qaişar mah mânad ú ba-xâqân xurşîd
ân-í ma(n) xudây abr mânad kâ(m)gârân
kih xvâhad mah pûşad u xvâhad xurşîd

using the versatile *rubâ‘î* metre. But what does that prove?⁴⁸

Were the new Persian poets most eager to follow Arabic prestige models, or rather to “literarize” popular oral poetry, or perhaps to renew Sasanian poetical forms? There were, without doubt, differences from genre to genre. The epic poetry, of which we certainly have Middle Persian remnants in the *Ayyâtkâr i*

⁴⁶ *Accent and rhythm*, Cambridge 1973, pp. 107–108.

⁴⁷ Shaffî-Kadkanî, “*Kuhantarîn namûnah-yi šî‘r-i fârsî: yakî az xusruvânîhây-i Bârbad*”, *Âraš*, Mashhad, 1342/1963, pp. 18–28; quoted acc. to G. Lazard, “The rise of the New Persian language”, *Cambridge History of Iran*, 4, Cambridge 1975, p. 605.

⁴⁸ Vahîdiyân-Kâmyâr, *op.cit.*, pp. 152–154, who makes a somewhat similar metrical analysis of these verses, maintains that this proves their quantitative character, which is not a necessary conclusion.

Zarêrân, probably favoured more simple and monotonous rhythms, and it came to use above all the three simple metres *mutaqârib*, *hazaj* and *ramal* in their 11-syllable *sâlim* form. Maybe, one of these had the precedence over the others in the beginning, but already in what is known about 10th century versification (especially Rûdakî) all three were used in masnavi compositions, possibly with the more complex *xaffî maxbûn* already joining them. It is interesting to notice that the first of the fragments in Manichean writing with which I started my exposition verifies this use of *ramal* in the didactic epic *Bilauhar u Bûdîsaf* (like Rûdakîs *Kalîlah u Dimnah* and *Sindbâd-nâmah*). The later differentiation of *mutaqârib* for historic, *hazaj* for romantic, and *ramal* and *xaffî* for religious-didactic topics was not yet carried through (and was, of course, never complete). I shall not try here to define the extent of Iranian heritage and Arabic influence in these epic metres and, even less, to judge the possibility of an Iranian origin of certain Arabic metres, as has been suggested by G.E. von Grunebaum,⁴⁹ but as for one of them, the *mutaqârib*, I can now refer to the contribution of Gilbert Lazard to this volume.

It is also difficult to be specific about other supposed Sasanian genres, like the *surûd-i xusruvânî* (royal songs of praise), of which I gave an example above, the *çakâmah*, which might have included love songs and romantic epics, and the *tarânah* (< MPers. **tarânag*, “fresh/handsome youngster”), possibly a song of wine and merriment. Common to all these genres is that we are uncertain about their metric characteristics. Here the evidence of early New Persian verse may be of importance. Apart from the metres I have designed as epic, although they are also found in lyric poetry, the most typical of the early New Persian metres are the *mujtattî*, the *xaffî maxbûn* and the *muðâri* (the metre of the second fragment in Manichean writing discussed earlier), as you can see from the statistics based on Elwell-Sutton’s investigation (together 50% of the corpus!). To those the special *rubâ’î* metre should be added.

These four metres are virtually unknown (with some exception for *xaffî*) in early Arabic poetry and must originate in innate Iranian rhythmic patterns. I think we can be rather certain that the main rhythmic figures that make up these metres, i.e. the “rising” v-v-/vv-- and vv--/v-v- and, possibly, their inversion in the *rubâ’î* --vv/-v-v (or --vv)/--vv/-, in some shape belong to those pre-Islamic Iranian poetic traditions. It is premature to say exactly in what way they were realized in the complex interplay between quantitative, tonal and dynamic patterns of stress, but they seem to be characteristic of a more lively type of verse than the “epic” rhythmic patterns and probably belonged to the field of oral poetry which was sung by minstrels both in the courts and among common people.

In conclusion, then, it may be stated that it is not a question of *either* Arabic *or* Iranian elements in New Persian prosody but certainly of Arabic *and* Iranian. It is obvious that, during the many centuries of close contact, almost amalgamation, of these two poetic cultures, both form and content underwent changes due to mutual influence, *and* that the origin of many of the New Persian metres must be sought in earlier Iranian rhythmic patterns that were formally adapted to a quantitative structure. In this process, rhythmic structures that were probably based on dynamic stress, and possibly pitch, were reformed in a quantitative system that seems to have been unknown in Sasanian Iran.⁵⁰ When this happened, the old patterns could very well, to some extent, have coexisted with the quantitative

⁴⁹ *Kritik und Dichtkunst. Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1955, p. 18.

⁵⁰ Vahîdiyân-Kâmyâr, *op.cit.*, comes to conclusions similar to those presented here, but he bases his argumentation on the assumption that pre-Islamic Iranian metres basically had a quantitative structure, which I think is untenable.

metres although not constitutive for their metrical structure. It may even be argued that the special coexistence, or interplay, between quantitative, dynamic and tonal stress patterns⁵¹ that came into being in the first century of New Persian poetry has shaped Persian as a poetic language up to our days. It is a well-established fact that much of the so called “free verse” which is now being composed by Persian poets clings to the traditional rhythmic patterns. Those rhythms somehow constitute “true poetic language” in “the ear of every speaker of Persian” (*har gûš-i fârsî-zabân-î*).⁵²

⁵¹ “Poetic tension” in the words of W. S. Allen, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

⁵² Abu'l-Ḥasan Najafî, *Ṭabaqah-bandî*, p. 625.

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