

ALISHER NAVOIY

XALQARO JURNAL
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL



VOLUME 1, ISSUE 2, 2021

ISSN 2181-1490

Doi Journal 10.26739/2181-1490

ALISHER NAVOIY

XALQARO JURNAL
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ ЖУРНАЛ



Tadjqiqot.uz



TOSHKENT-2021



**ALISHER NAVOIYNING 580 YILLIK
YUBILEYIGA BAG'ISHLANADI****ПОСВЯЩАЕТСЯ 580 ЛЕТНОМУ
ЮБИЛЕЮ АЛИШЕРА НАВОИ****DEDICATED TO THE 580th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BIRTH OF ALISHER NAVOI**

Buyuk shoir va mutafakkir, atoqli davlat va jamoat arbobi Alisher Navoiyning bebaho ijodiy-ilmiy merosi nafaqat xalqimiz, balki jahon adabiyoti tarixida, milliy madaniyatimiz va adabiy-estetik tafakkurimiz rivojida alohida o'rin tutadi. Ulug' shoir o'zining she'riy va nasriy asarlarida yuksak umuminsoniy g'oyalarni, ona tilimizning beqiyos so'z boyligi va cheksiz ifoda imkoniyatlarini butun jozibasi va latofati bilan namoyon etib, yer yuzidagi millionlab kitobxonlar qalbidan munosib va mustahkam o'rin egalladi.

***O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti
Shavkat Miromonovich Mirziyoyev***

Бесценное творческое и научное наследие великого поэта и мыслителя, известного государственного и общественного деятеля Алишера Навои играет важную роль в истории не только отечественной, но и мировой литературы, развитии национальной культуры и литературно-эстетического мышления. В своих лирических и прозаических произведениях великий поэт, воспевая высокие общечеловеческие идеи, демонстрировал богатый лексический запас и выразительные средства родного языка, благодаря чему занял достойное место в сердцах миллионов читателей по всему миру.

***Президент Республики Узбекистан
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The invaluable creative and scientific heritage of the great poet and thinker, famous statesman and public figure Alisher Navoi has a special place not only in the history of our people, but also in the history of world literature, the development of our national culture and literary and aesthetic thinking. The great poet, in his poetic and prose works, with his whole charm and grace, has taken a worthy place in the hearts of millions of readers around the world, expressing the high universal ideas, the incomparable richness of words and the infinite possibilities of expression of our native language.

***President of the Republic of Uzbekistan
Shavkat Miromonovich Mirziyoyev***



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**AZIZ MUSHTARIY!**

O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti Shavkat Miromonovich Mirziyoyevning "Buyuk shoir va mutafakkir Alisher Navoiy tavalludining 580 yilligini keng nishonlash to'g'risida"gi PQ-4865-son Qarorida "Alisher Navoiy asarlarida teran ifoda topgan milliy va umuminsoniy g'oyalarning jahon tamaddunida tutgan o'rnini hamda o'sib kelayotgan yosh avlodning intellektual salohiyatini oshirish, ular qalbida yuksak axloqiy fazilatlarni tarbiyalashdagi beqiyos ahamiyatini nazarda tutib, shuningdek, ulug' shoir va mutafakkirning adabiy-ilmiy merosini mamlakatimizda va xalqaro miqyosda yanada chuqur tadqiq qilish va keng targ'ib etish..." lozimligi alohida ta'kidlangan.

Bu filologiya ilmi va navoiyshunoslik, xususan, adabiy ta'sir, qiyosiy adabiyotshunoslik, matnshunoslik va tarjima masalalari bilan shug'ullanayotgan tadqiqotchilar zimmasiga jahonning ilg'or texnologiyalari, nazariy g'oyalariga hamohang ilmiy tadqiqotlar yaratish vazifasini yuklaydi. Olimlarimizning ilmiy salohiyati, innovatsion g'oyalarini jahonda targ'ib qilish va qo'llab-quvvatlash maqsadida xalqaro nufuzga ega ushbu jurnal ta'sis etildi.

"Alisher Navoiy" deb nomlangan ushbu jurnalda navoiyshunoslik, Navoiy adabiy merosining umumjahon tamaddunida tutgan o'ri va adabiy ta'sir masalalari bilan shug'ullanayotgan tadqiqotchilarni o'z maqolalari bilan ishtirok etishga taklif qilamiz.

TAHRIRIYAT**УВАЖАЕМЫЙ ЧИТАТЕЛЬ!**

В Постановлении №ПП-4865 Президента Республики Узбекистан Шавката Миромоновича Мирзиёева "О широком праздновании 580-летия со дня рождения великого поэта и мыслителя Алишера Навои" особо отмечается "огромное значение произведений Алишера Навои, в которых нашли глубокое отражение национальные и общечеловеческие ценности, в развитии мировой культуры, их роль в повышении интеллектуального потенциала и духовно-нравственном воспитании молодого поколения, а также в целях обеспечения дальнейшего изучения и популяризации литературно-научного наследия великого поэта и мыслителя..."

Это ставит задачи перед филологами, навоиоведами, исследователями литературного влияния, сравнительного литературоведения, текстологии и вопросов перевода создания научных исследований, соответствующих передовым мировым технологиям и теоретическим идеям. В целях пропаганды и продвижения научного потенциала и инновационных идей наших ученых учреждён данный международный журнал.

Приглашаем публиковать свои статьи в нашем журнале "Алишер Навои" отечественных и зарубежных исследователей, занимающихся изучением жизни и творчества литературы Навои, его роли в мировой литературе, проблемами литературного влияния и сравнительной поэтикой.

РЕДАКЦИОННАЯ КОЛЛЕГИИ**DEAR READER!**

Resolution of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Miromonovich Mirziyoyev "On the celebration of the 580th anniversary of the great poet and thinker Alisher Navoi" No PP-4865 given the invaluable role of cultivating high moral qualities in their hearts, as well as the need to further study and widely promote the literary and scientific heritage of the great poet and thinker in our country and internationally "

This puts the task of researchers in the field of philology and Navoi studies, in particular, literary influence, comparative literature, textual studies and translation, in creating scientific research in harmony with the world's advanced technologies and theoretical ideas. This internationally renowned journal was established to promote and support the scientific potential and innovative ideas of our scientists around the world.

In this magazine, called "Alisher Navoi", we invite researchers who are interested in Navoi studies, the role of Navoi's literary heritage in world civilization and literary influence to participate with their articles.

EDITORIAL



MIR ALISHER NAVOIY FORS SHE'RIYATINING SHOIR-QO'MONDON USMONLI SULTONI SELIM I (1512–1520) SHE'RIYATIGA TA'SIRI

Benedek Péri

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For citation: Benedek Péri. HOW MĪR ʿALĪ-ŠĪR NAVĀYĪ'S PERSIAN POETRY INFLUENCED THE POET-WARRIOR OTTOMAN SULTAN SELIM I (1512–1520). Alisher Navoi. 2021, vol.1, issue 2, (32-38) pp.

DOI 10.26739/2181-1490-2021-2-3

ANNOTATSIYA

Mazkur maqolada Alisher Navoiy ijodida forsiy she'riyatning ahamiyati va ularning usmoniylar imperiyasida qay darajada qadrlanganligi xususida soʻz boradi. Xususan, Navoiy gʻazallardan taʼsirlangan Sulton Boyazid I (1481-1512) shoir baytlari uslubida asar yaratishga buyruq berganligi ham alohida taʼkidlanadi. Bu taxminlar aniq tarixiy haqiqatga asoslanganmi, yoʻqmi bu ochiq qolgan, lekin muallif ushbu taxminni usmoniylar she'riyatining Navoiy gʻazallariga yaqin ekanligi bilan asoslab beradi. Muallif usmoniylar hukmdori sulton Selim I ijodini oʻrgangan holda Navoiy ijodini tahlilga tortadi. Bunga sabab sifatida uning Navoiy zamondoshi ekanligi, she'riy mashqlarda koʻproq forsiy baytlari bilan mashhurligi va eng asosiysi XVI asrning birinchi yarmida usmoniylar adabiyotshunosi, sultonning yaqin zamondoshi Latifiy sulton Selimni Navoiy she'riyatidan ilhomlangan deya eʼtirof etishini alohida asos sifatida keltiradi va qoʻyilayotgan masalaga oydinlik kiritadi. Shuningdek, muallif fikrlarini baytlar yordamida izohlaydi. Sulton Selim I faoliyati haqida yozar ekan, ijodining katta hajmini gʻazallar tashkil etishi va ularning aksariyati javob gʻazallar ekanligi aytiladi. Shuningdek, muallif Selimning Paul Horn tomonidan tahrir etilgan forsiy gʻazallaridan ham foydalangan holda yana ilm-fanda kashf etilgan yangiliklarni eʼtirof etadi. Muallif tadqiqotlari davomida baytlarning aruz vaznidagi oʻlchovlari ham oʻxshash ekanligi, hajman esa Navoiydagi yetti baytlik misralarning Selim ijodida besh baytdan iboratligi ham alohida eʼtirof etiladi va bu ham oʻquvchiga yana bir yangilik beradi.

Kalit soʻzlar: forsiy she'riyat, devon, gʻazal, qitʼa, aruz, vazn, tahrir, qofiya, uslub.

КАК ПЕРСИДСКАЯ ПОЭЗИЯ МИР АЛИШЕРА НАВОИ ПОВЛИЯЛА НА ПОЭТА-ВОИНА ОСМАНСКОГО СУЛТАНА СЕЛИМА I (1512–1520)

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АННОТАЦИЯ

В статье обсуждается значение персидской поэзии в творчестве Алишера Навои и насколько они ценились в Османской империи. В частности, отмечается, что султан Баязид I (1481-1512) под влиянием газелей Навои заказал создание произведений в стиле поэтической поэзии. Неясно, основаны ли эти предположения на явном историческом факте, но автор основывает это предположение на близости османской поэзии к газелям Навои. Автор анализирует творчество Навои, исследуя творчество османского правителя султана Селима I. Причина в том, что он был современником Навои, более известен своими персидскими стихотворениями в поэзии, а главное – в первой половине. Османский литературный критик XVI века Латифи, близкий современник султана, признал, что Селима вдохновляла поэзия Навои. Это разъясняет рассматриваемый вопрос. Автор также интерпретирует идеи с по-



мощью бейтов (двустийший) Навои и Селима. Говоря о деятельности султана Селима I, говорят, что большая часть его произведений была составлена из стихов, и большинство из них были татаббу' (стихотворениями-ответами). Автор также отмечает новые открытия в науке, используя персидские газели Селима под редакцией Пола Хорна. Исследование автора подтверждает схожесть бейтов по желаемому метру, а также тот факт, что когда бейты у Навои составляют 7 двустийший, у Селима они имеют пять двустийший, тоже придает читателю еще одну новизну.

Ключевые слова: персидская поэзия, диван, газель, кит'а, просодия, метр, татаббу', рифма, стиль.

HOW MĪR ʿALĪ-ŠĪR NAVĀYĪ'S PERSIAN POETRY INFLUENCED THE POET-WARRIOR OTTOMAN SULTAN SELIM I (1512–1520)

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ANNOTATION

This article discusses the importance of Persian poetry in the work of Alisher Navoi and how much they were valued in the Ottoman Empire. In particular, it is noted that Sultan Boyazid I (1481-1512), under the influence of Navoi ghazals, ordered the creation of works in the style of poetic poetry. It is unclear whether these assumptions are based on explicit historical fact, but the author bases this assumption on the proximity of Ottoman poetry to Navoi's ghazals. The author analyzes the work of Navoi, studying the work of the Ottoman ruler Sultan Selim I. The reason for this is that he was a contemporary of Navoi, better known for his Persian poems in poetry, and, most importantly, in the first half of the XVIth century, the Ottoman literary critic Latîfî, a close contemporary of the Sultan, admitted that Selim was inspired by the poetry of Navoi. Clarifies the issue under consideration. The author also interprets ideas in terms of couplets. Speaking about the activities of Sultan Selim I, it is said that most of his work was composed of poems, and most of them were answer poems. The author also notes new discoveries in science using Selim's Persian ghazals, edited by Paul Horn. The author's research confirms the similarity of couplets in the desired weight, as well as the fact that the size of seven-couplet verses in Navoi is five couplets in Selim's work, which gives the reader another novelty.

Key words: Persian poetry, dīvān, ghazal, kit'a, prosody, meter, editing, tatabbu', rhyme, style.

Introduction: Though a comprehensive reception history of Mīr ʿAlī-šīr Navāyī's poetic oeuvre needs to be written yet, we know a lot about the popularity his works written in Turkī enjoyed throughout the centuries. Dictionaries compiled to help people read and appreciate his poetry show that his poetic pieces had a wide and enthusiastic readership even in lands where the language he used was not fully understood, namely in the Ottoman Empire and in Iran. His poetry was widely read in one of the easternmost corners of the Turkic world, in Mughal India as well. Navāyī's works constitute a great part of Turkī manuscripts preserved in Indian libraries and historical sources mention people who knew his works by heart [Péri, Benedek. 2005: 104].

Main part: Navāyī's Turkī poetry however, was appreciated not only by literary connoisseurs; it was also acknowledged by professional poets. His pieces, especially his ghazals were considered touchstones of poetic quality for a long time and many poets endeavoured to imitate them both in the eastern and the western part of the Turkic speaking world. Many Ottoman poets tried their hands at composing ghazals in Navāyī's language and style, among them such outstanding artists as Nedīm (d. 1730) and Şeyh Gālib (d. 1799) [Sertkaya, Osman Fikri, 1970: 133-138; Çetindağ, Yusuf: 2006].

It seems that the new Ottoman imperial literary paradigm created in the second half of the 15th century could not have evolved without Navāyī's ghazals. A well-known anecdote preserved in



many Ottoman sources relates that Navāyī sent thirty-three of his Turkī ghazals to Sultan Bāyezīd I (1481–1512) who liked the poems so much that he gave orders to Ahmet paša (d. 1496–97), one of the eminent poets of the period to compose poetry in Navāyī's style. According to Kınalızāde Hasan Çelebī a mid-16th century author of a poetic anthology, Ahmed paša's poems earlier lacked artistic fervour and elegance but through studying and imitating Navāyī's ghazals his style became refined and his way of expression polished [Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebī, 1989: 531]. It is not utterly clear yet whether the story is true but still, it indicates the extent how deeply Navāyī's poetic art influenced the development of Ottoman ghazal poetry [Kleinmichel, Sigrid, 1999: 77-211].

It is clear from what has been said so far that Navāyī's poetry composed in Turkī exerted a profound influence on the development of various Turkī classical literary traditions (Čağatay, Turkī-i ʿajamī, Ottoman). Compared to his collections of poems in Turkī, Navāyī's Persian *Dīvān* seems to have been forgotten. Knowing the enormous impetus his Turkic oeuvre gave to the development of classical literature in Turkī this situation leads to the following questions quite naturally: what can be said of Navāyī's Persian poetry in this respect. How was it received? Was it accepted into the Persian literary tradition? If it was, how deep and how fast it did become embedded. The easiest way to answer these questions is to find out whether Navāyī's Persian poetry was imitated in any way because this would show that his poetry was acknowledged as a part of the tradition. For the purposes of this paper I chose to take a deeper look at the Persian ghazals of the Ottoman sultan Selim I for several reasons.

First of all because he was Navāyī's near contemporary and he seems to have been a talented poet. Secondly, because he used almost exclusively Persian for poetic purposes, he composed quite a few imitation poems and he chose his models from among the works of poets whom the Ottomans considered "the classics". Last but not least my choice fell upon Selim's poetry because Latīfī, an Ottoman literary critic from the first half of the 16th century, a near contemporary of the sultan, claims that Selim was inspired by Navāyī poetry: [Latīfī ; Haz. Rıdvan Canım, 2000: 150]

Şuʿarā-yı vilāyet-i Rūmdan andan ġayrı kimesne Fārisī dīvān tedvīn etmedi ve şīʿr-i Türkī-yi terk edip ol tarza gitmedi. Ekser-i evkātda Dīvān-ı Nevāyī tettebbuʿ ederdi. Eşʿār-ı Nevāyīye an-larūn iltifātı ragbet ü şöhret verürdi.

"Except for him no other Ottoman poet did compile a Persian *dīvān* and no other poet left Turkī poetry for this style. He imitated Navāyī's *Dīvān* most of the time. Navāyī's poetry became acknowledged and famous because of the interest he took in it."

The context of Latīfī's comment makes it clear that the *dīvān* Selim imitated was Navāyī's collection of Persian poems which he seems to have liked so much that he tried to imitate it. In classical poetry imitation is a versatile method for creating poetry. It can be used to show off with one's skills and brag about poetic talent but it can also be applied in a more humble way, to express a poet's recognition of other poets' works. Navāyī's Persian imitation ghazals (*javābs*) following the poetic framework, that is the metre, rhyme, *radīf* combination of the selected model, were motivated by this feeling of appreciation and gratitude towards the poems he admired and used for inspiration, at least this is what one of his Persian *ķitʿas* implies:

Tatabbuʿ kardan-i Fānī dar ašʿār
Na az daʿvā u na az ħud-numāyī-st
Ču arbāb-i suĥan sāhib-dilān-and
Murād-aš az dar-i dil-hā gadāyī-st [Dīvān-i Fānī, 1035: 300]

"When Fānī imitates poems,
He does not wish to brag or to show off.
Since [real] poets are people with a [good] heart,
He came with the intent to pay homage and humbly beg."

Before trying to discover in what ways Navāyī influenced and shaped Selim's poetry, a few words should be said about the sultan's Persian pieces. Latīfī's claim that Selim composed poetry almost exclusively in Persian seems to be true as only a handful of his Ottoman poems have been discovered scattered in poetic anthologies. His choice of language might have been motivated by political considerations. It is not without reason to think that his poems were meant to be part of the Ottoman-Safavid propaganda war with the purpose of proving that Selim complied with the Timurid concept of an ideal ruler who was a successful military leader and at the same time a sed-entarized and highly cultured *adīb*, talented and skilled enough to compose good pieces of poetry [Péri, Benedek, 'From *Istāmbōl's* throne a mighty host to *Irān* guided I;/Sunken deep in blood of



shame I made the Golden Heads to lie': Yavuz Sultan Selim's Persian poetry in the light of the Ottoman-Safavid propaganda war. In: Proceedings CIEPO Budapest (Forthcoming)].

The greatest part of Selim's poetic output is represented by his ghazals many of which are imitations or emulations. The sultan seems to have selected his models very consciously, mainly from among authors of 13th–15th century Persian poetry and composed imitations modelled, among others, on ghazals by Sa'dī (d. 1291/1292), Amīr Ḥusrav (1253–1325), Hāfiz (1325–1392), Salmān Sāvajī (d. 1396), Kamāl-i Hujandī (d. 1400), Kātibī Turšizī (d. 1434–6), Jāmī (1414–1492) and last but not least Navāyī (1441–1501) [Péri, Benedek, 2015: 113–130].

Selim's Persian poems were collected into a *dīvān* that was edited and published by Paul Horn in 1904 [*Dīvān-i balāḡat-^cunvān-i Salīm Ḥān-i avval*, 1904]. Horn's edition which is based on seven manuscripts contains 300 odd poems. Research work done in the past years led to the discovery of hitherto unknown manuscripts containing a great number of unknown poems. For the purpose of the present paper, besides using Horn's edition I will heavily rely on material that would be published first in my new critical edition of Selim's *dīvān*.

Results and Discussions: Selim resorted to a wide range of poetic techniques to compose imitation poems and thus the influence of his models, Navāyī's poems among them, can be observed at various levels. The textual analysis of Selim's poems does not seem to confirm Latīfī's statement that Selim imitated Navāyī's poetry, at least not in the sense that the sultan composed poetic replies to Navāyī's ghazals. Only a few of Selim's imitation poems might be considered *javābs* inspired by Navāyī's original pieces of poetry labeled *muḥṭara^c* 'invented' in Navāyī's Persian *dīvān*.

Nevertheless, Selim seems to have followed in the footsteps of Navāyī as far as the choice of models is concerned and his *dīvān* include more than twenty ghazals that were modelled upon poems Navāyī also chose to imitate. These Selim ghazals often contain couplets inspired by Navāyī's *bayts*.

One of the rare instances when Selim composed a poetic reply to one of Navāyī's original poems is his poem starting with the *matla^c*

Z-ān na-nālam gar firāk-i ḥ'yīš zār-am mī-kušī

Vah ki bar ummīd-i vasl az intizār-am mī-kušī [Dīvān-i Sultān Salīm, 13392]

"I am not complaining because you kill me with your absence,

Alas, you kill me with the expectation and hope of meeting [you]."

This poem seems to be composed as a *javāb* to Navāyī's ghazal beginning

Ay šab-i ḡam čand dar hijrān-i yār-am mī-kušī

Zanda mī-dāram tu-rā bahr-i čī zār-am mī-kušī [Mīr 'Alī-Šīr Navāyī "Fānī", Dīvān: 1375]

"Ah, night of sorrow, how many times do you kill me in the absence of my beloved?

I keep you alive, why are you killing me so cruelly?"

Selim's poem, though it shares the metre (*ramal-i musamman-i mahzūf*), rhyme (*-ār*), *radīf* (*mī-kušī* 'you kill me') combination of Navāyī's ghazal, is very different from its model, perhaps because the relatively easy metre and the wide range of rhyming words provided Selim with a relatively greater freedom in writing his emulation poem. Compared to Navāyī's seven couplet long ghazal the sultan's ghazal consists of only five bayts. Moreover, the two poems share only two rhyming words, *intizār* 'waiting' and *ḡumār* 'wine headache'. It is also interesting to observe that while Navāyī's poem contains many references to wine drinking Selim seems to deliberately avoid this motif as he refrains using terms that refer to the consumption of wine even in the couplet that has *ḡumār* as the rhyming word.

A unique copy of Selim's *dīvān* kept in a library in Tehran was the only one to preserve a ghazal that appears to have also been inspired by one of Navāyī's original poems. The metre, rhyme, *radīf* combination used in this ghazal is very rare and from among poets of the classical tradition only Navāyī seems to have used it [Metre: *ramal-i musamman-i mahzūf*; rhyme: *-ū*; *radīf*: *ma-rā*].

Selim's poem in this case is not an imitation trying to create a close replica of the model's text but more of an emulation endeavouring to imitate the style of Navāyī's ghazal. However, intertextual allusions hidden in the text, the structure of the couplet, the shared key words and the rhyming word applied suggest a close connection between Selim's and Navāyī's second bayts.

Navāyī II.

Gāh **čašm** āyad girān dar kaffa-yi 'ašq-am zi ḡam

Kūh-i Farhād-aš agar YAK SŪ nahī **yak sū ma-rā** [Mīr 'Alī-Šīr Navāyī "Fānī": 1375]

„Eyes are in trouble if someone wishes to weigh the sorrows of my love
And Farhād's mountain is placed into one of the pans of the scale and I am placed into the other.”

Selim II.

Banda-yi ān **čašm**-i fattān-am ki bā sad šarm u nāz

YAK TARAF āgyār-rā mī-sāyad az **yak sū ma-rā** [Dīvān-i Sultān Salīm, 13392: 86]

„I am the slave of those magical eyes that with hundred ways of coquetry,
Cast glances at one side on my rivals and at me on the other.”

The first ghazal of the *dīvān* of Hāfiz became a very popular model for imitation during the Timurid period and both Navāyī and Selim composed poetic replies to it. Though these two imitation poems follow different lines, at one point they seem to converge and intertextual hints in Selim's third couplet indicates that it was inspired by Navāyī's fifth couplet.

Selim III.

Savāb-i hajj KUNAD HĀSIL **fakīh** ammā na-mī-dānad

Ki dar **bī-hāsili** dārand ‘uššāq-i tu **hāsili-hā**

“A jurist harvests the fruits of reward for completing a pilgrimage but he does not know
That these fruits are useless in the eyes of your lovers.”

Navāyī V.

Man u **bī-hāsili** ki-z ‘ilm u **zuhd**-am ān čī HĀSIL ŠUD

Yakāyak dar sar-i ma‘šūq u may šud jumla **hāsili-hā**

“Me and the uselessness of all that I have harvested by learning and austerity,
All the things I harvested were spent on my beloved and wine.”

The dichotomy of empty, meaningless orthodox religious practices and the mystic's successful spiritual quest facilitated by the entheogens of love or wine is an often recurring topos in classical ghazal poetry. This is the key motif in both couplets and it is expressed by both Navāyī and Selim in a very similar way, using the same or very similar tropes, words and phrases. The parallelisms between the two *bayts*, the pair of opposing notions of fruitful (*hāsili*) and fruitless (*bī-hāsili*), the compound verb in the first hemistich with the same none verbal element (*hāsili kunad; hāsili šud*) which serves to secure a poetic focus on the concept of ‘fruitfulness’, the antithesis of orthodox religion and the mystical path represented by a jurist (*faqīh*) versus lovers in Selim's ghazal and by the term asceticism (*zuhd*) and the figure of the beloved in Navāyī's poem respectively, the appearance of two verbal nouns (*‘uššāq/ma‘šūq*) formed from the same Arabic radicals and last but not least the use of the same rhyming word, seems to confirm the reader's suspicion that the basic idea for Selim's couplet came from Navāyī's *bayt*.

The poetical framework consisting of the metre *ramal-i musamman-i mahzūf*, the rhyme – *ār* and the *radīf nīst* appears to have been a popular one in the Persian poetic tradition and a huge paraphrase network of interconnected poems developed out of it that extended up to the 20th century. Poems belonging to the paraphrase network shared a common and ever growing *mundus significans*, signifying universe and it was up to poets to choose from this common set of poetic devices. Navāyī's ghazal using this poetical framework was meant as *javāb* to a poem by Hāfiz but the model poem appears to have been lost [Dīvān-i Fānī, 1035: 68-69]. Selim on the other hand used multiple sources for inspiration. His first couplet is a *tazmīn*, a poetic quotation taken from a ghazal by Humāyūn Isfaraynī (d. 1496 or 1503).

Humāyūn I.

Juz ġam-i dūrī halāk-i ‘āšiq-i bīmār nīst

Nīst bīmī az ajal gar hijr bā ū yār nīst [Dīvān-i Humāyūn, 13651: 9a; Majmū‘a-yi sih dīvān, 2658: 39b, 40]

„Only the sorrow of [his beloved's] absence can kill an ailing lover.
He should not fear death if separation is not accompanying him.”

Selim I.

Juz ġam-i dūrī halāk-i ‘āšiq-i bīmār nīst

Nīst bīmī az ajal gar hijr bā ū yār nīst [Dīvān-i Sultān Salīm, 13392: 78–79]



The key idea in the seventh couplet, the *maḳṭaʿ* of Selim's ghazal is the opposition of the lover's desires versus the ascetics (*zāhid*) longing for Paradise. From among the poems of the paraphrase network this motif, though in a more elaborate way, is present only in Navāyī's ghazal.

Selim VII.

Bas ki **zāhid**-rā ḥayāl-i Kavsar-ast u bāḡ-i ḥuld
 Čūn Salīm ammā juz hasrat-i dīdār nīst
 „An ascetic keeps dreaming of the Kavsar and Paradise,
 The only desire Selim has, is to see [his beloved].”

Navāyī

Zāhidā dar ravza gar may az kaf-i dast-i dildār nīst
 Ravza-i ḥuštār ma-rā az kulba-yi ḥummār nīst
 ʿĀšikān-rā hīč jannat nīst čūn gulzār-i vasl
 Kavsar u Tūbā misāl-i lʿal u ḳadd-i yār nīst [Dīvān-i Navāyī, „Fānī”, 1375: 122]
 „Ascetic! If wine is not given to us by our beloved in Paradise,
 We will not prefer the celestial gardens to a hut inhabited by drunkards.
 Eden can't be compared with the rose garden of being together [with beloveds]
 The river Kavsar and the Tuba tree isn't equal to the ruby lips and the body of our beloved.”

Both Navāyī and Selim composed a poetic reply to a ghazal by Amīr Šāhī (d. 1453) that uses the metre *muzārīʿ-i musamman-i aḥrab-i maḳfūf-i maḥzūf*, the rhyme –amī, and the *radīf digar* ‘another’ [Dīvān-i kāmīl-i Hāfiz, 1382: 51]. Though the two imitation poems have hardly anything in common the *matlaʿ* of the sultan's ghazal contain vague hints suggesting that couplet might have been inspired by Navāyī's lines.

Selim I.

Bā-ān ki **nīst** ĠAYR-i tu-am **mahramī digar**
 Har lahza bā-ḥayāl-i tu gūyam ḡamī digar [Dīvān-i Sultān Salīm, 13392: 84a]
 “Except for you I do not have a confidant,
 So I keep complaining of my sorrows to a vision of you.”

Navāyī III.

Gūyam ba-nazd-i pīr-i muḡān javr-i muḡbača
 Čūn **nīst**-am ba-dayr **JUZ** ū **mahramī digar**
 “I keep complaining about the young magus to the old man of the magi,
 Because except for him I do not have another confidant in the convent.”

Though the poetic context of the two couplets is different, they have a similar structure, both of them focuses on the poet who is complaining of his miserable state to the only person or thing he can confide in. Moreover, the two couplets share some key words and ideas (*gūyam* ‘I say’ used in the meaning, ‘I complain’, *nīst* ‘does not exist’ and the words *juz/ḡayr* in the meaning ‘except for’).

A ghazal by Hafiz using the metre *ramal-i musamman-i maḥbūn*, the rhyme –ān and a rare *radīf ki ma-purs* ‘so do not ask’ inspired both Navāyī and Selim to compose a poetic reply to it [Dīvān-i kāmīl-i Hāfiz, 1382: 192]. Key elements of the two *matlaʿ*s, especially the evident similarities between the first *misrāʿ* of Selim's ghazal and the second hemistich of Navāyī's suggest that the *bayt* was inspired by the first couplet of Navāyī's poem.

Selim I.

Bī-tu dāram alamī dar dil-i sūzān ki ma-purs
 V-ān-čūnān **sūhta-am** z-ātaš-i **hijrān ki ma-purs** [Dīvān-i Sultān Salīm, 13392: 55a]
 “Without you there is sorrow in my burning heart, do not [even] ask about it,
 The fire of your absence has burnt me so much that do not [even] ask about it.”

Navāyī I.

Ān čūnān sūhta-am az ḡam-i **hijrān ki ma-purs**
 K-ātaš-am zad ḡam-i hijrān-i tu dar jān ki ma-purs [Dīvān-i Navāyī, „Fānī”, 1375: 197–198]
 The sorrow of [your] absence burnt me so much, do not [even] ask about it,
 The sorrow of [your] absence stroke a fire in my soul, do not [even] ask about it.”

Conclusions: Selim's poetry contains a handful of more examples that might be interpreted as a piece of textual evidence of Navāyī's influence on Selim's ghazal poetry but the intertextual allusions in these lines extending to merely one or two “suspicious” words or phrases are very



vague. Only a much deeper comparative analysis of the loci in question, which would in some cases involve the close reading of imitation poems composed by other poets as well, could ascertain whether the similarly looking elements in Selim's and Navāyī's poems can be attributed to Navāyī's influence.

As far as the textual parallellisms between Navāyī's and Selim's Persian ghazals are concerned the research work hitherto done on the field has yielded seemingly meagre results which, as it has been suggested earlier, appear to confirm Latīfī's statement only partially. It might be possible however, that Latīfī, who was evidently well-versed in the workings of the classical poetic tradition, did not refer to single poems of Navāyī but meant his collection of Persian poems as a whole. In this case the sentence in question (*Ekser-i evkātda Dīvān-ı Nevāyī tetebbu' ederdi*. "He imitated Navāyī's Dīvān most of the time") can be interpreted as meaning that the sultan used Navāyī's *dīvān* as a reference work from whence he learnt how to compose imitation poems and how to select his models. This theory however plausible it may be can only be confirmed by a deeper comparative analysis of the poetic devices Selim and Navāyī applied in their Persian ghazals.

As a conclusion it can be said that the evident connection, the textual parallellisms between of Selim's and Navāyī's Persian *dīvān* clearly indicate that Navāyī's Persian poetry was already considered part of the classical Persian literary tradition in the early 16th century, not long after the poet's death. If it had not been the case Selim who targeted an educated Iranian audience that was well-versed in the classical poetical tradition and could differentiate between good and bad poetry would not have turned to Navāyī's Persian *dīvān* for inspiration. Nevertheless if we wish to discover how deeply Navāyī's Persian pieces became embedded in the tradition more comprehensive research should be conducted.

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