

BENEDEK PÉRI

Mīr 'Alī-šīr Navāyī's poetic replies to ghazals composed by Šayḥum Nizām ad-Dīn Aḥmad 'Suhaylī'

Mīr 'Alī-šīr Navāyī (d. 1501) is most often mentioned for his literary accomplishments in Turkic. However, as his collection (*dīvān*) of ghazals composed under the nom-de-plume (*taḥalluṣ*, *maḥlaṣ*) Fānī ('transitory') clearly demonstrates, he was an outstanding poet in Persian as well. Though the reception history of Navāyī's Persian *dīvān* has not been written yet, contemporary sources suggest that his poems written in Persian were appreciated by the literary critics of his age.

Like the *dīvāns* of many other classical poets, Navāyī's collection also contains poetic replies inspired by his contemporaries. The present article aims at analysing Navāyī's Persian ghazals composed as poetic replies to poems written by his friend Nizām ad-Dīn Aḥmad who used the pen name Suhaylī. For the purposes of the present paper, beside the latest Tashkent and the Tehran editions of Navāyī's Persian *dīvān*,¹ seven of its manuscripts, four from Istanbul, two from Paris and one from Tehran,² and three manuscripts of Suhaylī's hitherto unpublished collection of Persian poems will be used.³

Navāyī's collection of Persian poems was compiled by the poet himself who made it quite clear in his treatise titled *Muḥākamat al-luḡatayn* ('The comparison of the two languages') that he consciously chose to compose many imitation poems and he selected his models very carefully:

"And there is the collection of Persian ghazals [composed] in the style of Ḥ'vāja Ḥāfīz, which is acknowledged as elegant and displaying talent, by all writers of

¹ Alisher NAVOIY: *Devoni Foni*. In: *Alisher Navoiy Mukammal asarlar to'plami. Yigirma to'mlik*. Vols. 18–20. Toshkent, Fan, 2002; 'Alī-šīr NAVĀYĪ (FĀNĪ): *Dīvān*. Ed. Rukn ad-Dīn Humāyūnfarruḥ. Tehran: Kitābhāna-yi Ibn Sīnā 1342 [1963]. Humāyūnfarruḥ based his edition on a single manuscript which was unavailable to me.

² *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Kitābhāna, Mūza va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Šūrāyī Islāmī (Tehran), 1035 (T); *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), Supplément persan 1345 (P1); *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), Persan 285, ff. 123b–360b (P2); *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), Galata Mevlevihanesi 117 (GM); *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hekimoğlu 632 (H) (The headings are missing from this manuscript.); *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Lala Ismail 469 (LI); *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye 3850 (N). Only one of the manuscripts is dated. Nuruosmaniye was copied by a scribe named Maḥmūd in Ḥājīpūr (today in Bihar, India) in 999 [1590–1591].

³ *Dīvān-i Mavlānā Suhaylī*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), Esad efendi 3422, ff. 177b–198a; *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. The Ghazi Husrev Beg Library (Sarajevo), 4108. *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. Bodleian Library (Oxford), Elliot 102.

texts and composers of poetry. I edited it, and it contains more than six thousand couplets most of which were composed imitating the poetry of that exalted person. Some of them [imitate the poetry of] Şayḫ Muşliḫ ad-Dīn Sa'dī – let his secrets be blessed – who has an original style of [writing] ghazals. And some of them [were inspired] by poems of Mīr Ḥusrav, who fans up the flames in the fire-temple of love and makes tears shed in the bleak home of pain, and some of them by the poems of the exalted person of Maḥdūm, who is the radiant sun of the peak of perfection.”⁴

The reason why poets compose poetic replies can vary and extend from practicing their poetic skills to competing with the author of an earlier text.⁵ A *qit'a* available in Navāyī's Persian *dīvān* suggests that Navāyī's main purpose with his poetic replies was to pay homage to poets whom he respected.

Taṭabbu' kardan-i Fānī dar aš'ār

Nā az dā'vā u nā az ḥud-numāyī-st

Çu arbāb-i suḥan sāhib-dil-and

*Murād-aš az dar-i dil-hā gadāyī-st*⁶

“When Fānī imitates poems,

He does not wish to brag or to show off.

Since poets are people with a good heart,

He came with the intent to pay homage and humbly beg.”

The editions and manuscripts of Navāyī's Persian *dīvān* used for this paper contain headings preceding each poem that inform the reader whether a poem is a *javāb* or an original composition (*muḥtara'*) and, if it belongs to the first category, whose ghazal served as a model. As the Tehran manuscript is thought to have been copied in the poet's lifetime, this structure can reflect Navāyī's own cunning editorial strategy.⁷ By naming the models he made known the poetic context compared to which he wished his poems to be judged, and thus he facilitated the interpretation of his ghazals even for readers who were not so well-versed in the classical poetic tradition and for whom identifying the model would have been a difficult task. This way he could make his poetry more enjoyable for ordinary people and perhaps he also managed to widen his readership.

The chapter headings show that beside the poets he mentioned in the *Muḥākamat*, Navāyī also composed poetic replies to ghazals composed by other poets as well.⁸ The list of authors include a contemporary and a friend of Navāyī, Suhaylī.

⁴ 'Alī ŞİR NEVĀYİ: *Muḥākemetü'l-Luġateyn. İki dilin Muhakemesi*. Ed. F. Sema Barutçu Özönder. Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu, 1996, 185–186.

⁵ Cemal KURNAZ: *Osmanlı Şair Okulu*. Ankara, Birleşik Yayınevi, 2007, 33–58.

⁶ *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Kitābkhāna, Mūza va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Şūrā-yi Islāmī 1035, 300.

⁷ The entry of the digital catalogue is available online at https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/bibliographic/biblioFullView.aspx?_afPfm=1c5yelxu14 (Last accessed 29. 11. 2021).

⁸ For a complete list see Ahmet KARTAL: Ali Şir Nevayī'nin Farsça Şiirleri. *Bilig* VIII, 2003/26, 155–156.

Suhaylī was the pen name of Amīr Nizām ad-Dīn Aḥmad (1444–1502) whose detailed biography is given in Maria Eva Subtelny's Ph. D. dissertation of the literary life at the court of Ḥusayn Bayqara (d. 1506), a Timurid prince ruling Herat for more than thirty-five years (1469–1506).⁹ Suhaylī hailed from a family of high social status whose members had been in high-ranking officials in the service of Timurids since Timūr. He started his career at the court of the Timurid ruler, Abū Sa'īd (d. 1469) and continued to fill in important positions during the rule of his friend, Ḥusayn Bayqara. He was also a close friend of Navāyī who resigned from his office of the 'keeper of the seal' in his favour. Despite his high rank he is said to have been living a modest life. He was a generous patron of literature as Ḥusayn Vā'iz Kāšifī's *Anvār-i Suhaylī* (Lights of the Canopus), an important version of the Kalila and Dimna genre dedicated to him clearly shows.¹⁰ He studied the art of poetry with Šayḥ Āzarī Ṭūsī/Isfaraynī (d. 1462) and his teacher played an important role in selecting an appropriate *taḥalluṣ* for him. The story that they randomly opened a book, where they noticed the word *Suhayl* ('Canopus'), the Persian name of the brightest star in the constellation of Carina, was related to Davlatšāh Samarqandī (d. 1507), the author of an important biographical anthology (*tazkira*), by the poet himself. Suhaylī authored a Persian and a Turkic collection of poems and his poetry was acknowledged by contemporaries.¹¹

Davlatšāh terms Suhaylī's poems pure (*ṣāf*), full of imagination (*muḥayyal*) and elegant (*nāzūk*). Navāyī, in his foreword preceding his second *dīvān* titled *Badāyī' al-bidāya* compiled by the poet himself in 1476, mentions him together with the classics of Turkic poetry, Luṭfī and Saḳḳāḳī and describes him with the following words:

Suhaylī, may Allah continuously assist him, is the foremost representative of youngsters clad in the garb of Persian and dressed in the shirt of Turkic, who sent their traveller of talent to a remote land in order to collect the most unique poetic ideas. He is unique because he tied hundreds of knots on the line of drops of poetic ideas falling from the clouds of bliss in the spring of Persian poetry with the fingertips of mischievous maidens and whenever he hastened his wind-swift horse on the field of Turkic verse he took hundreds of rings from the plaits of long-dead beauties of poetic elegance with the tip of the lance of dexterity's knight.¹²

⁹ Maria Eva SUBTELNY: *The Poetic Circle at the Court of the Timurid Sultan Ḥusain Baiqara*. Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1979, 118.

¹⁰ For Suhaylī as a patron see Christine VAN RUYMBEKE: *Kāshefī's Anvār-e Sohaylī. Rewriting Kalila and Dimna in Timurid Herat*. Leiden, Brill, 2016, 6–8.

¹¹ DAVLATŠĀH Samarqandī: *Tazkirat aš-šuarā*. Ed. Muḥammad Ramazānī. Tehran, Ḥāvar, 1366 [1987], 378.

¹² Tahir ÜZGÖR: *Türkçe Dīvān Dībâçeleri*. Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990, 64–65.

Suhaylī's Turkic and Persian poetry was appreciated by subsequent generations of literary critics and readers as well and his poems were incorporated into the canon of classical poetry as several later sources indicate. One of his ghazals without its opening couplet appears on a calligraphic panel prepared by a well-known calligrapher of his age, Mīr 'Alī Haravī (d. ca. 1550), perhaps in the 1520s–1530s.¹³ Laṭīfī, the author of a mid-16th century Ottoman *tazkira* claims that Suhaylī and Navāyī sent their poems to eminent Ottoman poets who composed poetic replies to them. He described these poems with the words difficult to understand (*muğlak*) and full of imagination (*muḥayyal*). Two of Suhaylī's imitation poems are included in *Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb* ('The gift to a friend'), a collection of paraphrase networks compiled by Faḥrī Haravī (d. after 1566), who translated Navāyī's bibliographical anthology titled *Majālis an-naḥā'is* ('Congregations of the refined ones') into Persian.¹⁴

An entry on him appears in three 18th century biographical anthologies, Vāliḥ Dāgīstān's (d. 1756) *Riyāz aš-šū'arā* ('Gardens of poets'),¹⁵ Luṭf 'Alī Beg Āzar's (d. after 1785) *Ātaškadah* ('Firetemple')¹⁶ and 'Alī Ibrāhīm Ḥalī's (d. 1793) *Suḥūf-i Ibrāhīm* ('Scrolls of Abraham'),¹⁷ which shows that his poetry was still remembered in late Mughal India and two poetic anthologies suggest that his poems were read in the Western part of the Persianate world until the late 19th century.¹⁸

Neither Suhaylī's Persian nor his Turkic poems have been published. While nothing is known about the fate of his Turkic *dīvān*, several copies of his Persian collection of poems were preserved.¹⁹ An independent copy is kept in the collection the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The volume was copied by Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḥāndān, a famous master calligrapher active in Herat in the late 15th–early 16th century, which suggests that this manuscript might have been copied dur-

¹³ Stuart Cary WELCH–Annemarie SCHIMMEL–Marie Lukens SWIETOCHOWSKI–Wheeler M. THACKSTON: *The Emperors' Album: Images of Mughal India*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987, 214. An image of the panel is available online at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/451294> (Last accessed on 21. 12. 2021).

¹⁴ FAḤRĪ HARAVĪ: *Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb*. Kitābkhāna, Mūza va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 7027, 7, 58–59.

¹⁵ VĀLIḤ DĀGĪSTĀNĪ: *Riyāz aš-šū'arā*. II. Ed. Muḥsin Nājī Nasrābādī. Tehran, Asāṭīr, 1384 [2005–2006], 973.

¹⁶ Luṭf 'Alī Beg ĀZAR Begdili: *Ātaškada-yi Āzar*. Tehran, Muḥammad 'Alī 'Ilmī, 1335 [1956–1957], 15.

¹⁷ ḤALĪ: *Suḥūf-i Ibrāhīm*. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. or. fol 711, f. 177a.

¹⁸ *Mecmū'a-i Devāvīn*. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü FY277, 314b. This manuscript was commissioned by a person called Ḥabīb Isfahānī and the volume was copied in 1892 in Istanbul by Mīrzā Āḳā Ḥān Kirmānī. It contains a ghazal by Suhaylī. The other manuscript contains a qasida (*Mecmū'a-i eš'ār*. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü FY1151, ff. 14b–15b).

¹⁹ Only four copies of the full *dīvān* is mentioned in the main text. However, a fifth one is reported to be kept in the library of the Academy's Oriental Institute in Dushanbe in Tajikistan. For a reference see Alisher NAVOIY: *Majolis un-nafois*. Ed. Suyima G'anieva. (Alisher Navoiy Mukammal asarlar to'plami, XV.) Tashkent, Fan, 1997, 234.

ing Suhaylī’s lifetime.²⁰ The literary value attributed to Suhaylī’s poetry by his contemporaries is well attested by a nicely executed copy prepared by Sulṭān ‘Alī Mašhadī, another celebrated calligrapher of this period. Unfortunately, the volume, which, according to a note dated 16 Jumādā as-sānī 1105 [29 April 1694], once consisted of forty-two folios, was dispersed and only a few leaves of it are known today.²¹

The copy of the Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka (Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina) is undated, the name of the copyist and the place of copying are not known.²² A short notice on 6a indicates that the manuscript once belonged to the library of Karagöz Muḥammed Bey in Mostar. A copy of Suhaylī’s *dīvān* is preserved in an undated collected volume copied sometime in the early 16th century in Ottoman Istanbul.²³ The collection also contains *dīvāns* of poets most of whom, such as Yavuz Sulṭān Selīm (d. 1520), Šayḥ Āzarī, Hātifī (d. 1521), Ahlī (d. 1535), etc. were his contemporaries.²⁴ The copy in the Khudabaksh Library (Patna, India), which is termed an abstract in the printed catalogue, is also part of a collective volume.²⁵ This volume also contains the *dīvāns* of poets contemporary to Suhaylī, such as Muḥammad Šālīḥ (d. 1535), Ahlī, Āṣafī, Riyāzī (d. before 1490), Sayfī, Bannā’ī (d. 1512), Hilālī (d. 1529), etc. The context of the two collective volumes suggests that in the eyes of the Ottoman and the unknown editor Suhaylī belonged to the important poets active at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Scattered poems by Suhaylī were preserved in various poetry collections (*majmū’as*) two of which have already been mentioned. A third *majmū’a* containing quatrains and versified riddles by Suhaylī is described in the catalogue of Persian manuscripts preserved in the holdings of the Bodleian Library. The manuscript was copied in 1583.²⁶

²⁰ *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. Ms. Elliot 102. Edward SACHAU–Hermann ETHÉ: *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī and Pustū Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. I. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1889, 638–639.

²¹ A folio of the manuscript is preserved in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution. For a description see Glenn D. LOWRY–Milo Cleveland BEACH: *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*. Washington and Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, 252. The description and an image of the folio is available online at <https://asia.si.edu/object/S1986.357/>. (Last accessed on 21. 12. 2021). A page from an unspecified copy of Suhaylī’s *dīvān* appeared on the poster of the exhibition *Clouds and Gold Dust: Decorated Papers from the Ettinghausen Collection held in the Metropolitan Museum (New York) in 2018–2019*. An image is available online at <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2018/clouds-and-gold-dust> (Last accessed on 21. 12. 2021).

²² *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka, 4108. For a description see *Katalog arbskih, turskih, perzijskih i bosanskih rukopisa*. IV. Ed. Fehim Nametak. London–Sarajevo, Al Furqān–Rijaset Islamske zajednice u BiH, 1998, 408.

²³ *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. In *Mecmū’a-i Devāvīn*. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 3422, ff. 177b–197b.

²⁴ For a detailed description of the collection see Benedek PÉRI: *The Persian Dīvān of Yavuz Sulṭān Selīm. A Critical Edition*. Budapest, ELKH, 2021, 52–53.

²⁵ MAULAVI ABDUL MUQTADIR: *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*. Patna, Government of Bihar and Orissa, 1932, 146–147.

²⁶ SACHAU–ETHÉ: *Catalogue*, 639.

According to Navāyī, Suhaylī also composed a narrative poem on the Leylā and Majnūn theme in Persian, which seems to have survived in a unique copy kept in the Bodleian Library today.²⁷

Coming back to Navāyī's *javābs* inspired by Suhaylī's ghazals, it is difficult to ascertain how many of them were selected as a model by Navāyī because the headings does not seem to agree in the manuscripts and editions used for the present paper.

Rukn ad-Dīn Humāyūnfarruḥ's edition based on a single manuscript contains two ghazals which, according to the headings were modelled on poems by Suhaylī. The first of these poems relies on the metre *hazaj-i musamman-i aḥrab-i makfūf-i maḥzūf* (- - . | . - - . | . - - . | . - -), the rhyme *-am* and the *radīf ū-rā* and the second one uses the metre *mujtass-i musamman-i maḥbūn* (. - . - | . - - - | . - . - | . - . - or - -), the rhyme *-ān* and the *radīf dīdan*.²⁸ A footnote in the Tashkent edition, which is part of the twenty-volume edition of Navāyī's works, informs the reader that Navāyī called Suhaylī *yār-i 'azīz* ('dear friend') and composed three poetic replies modelled on ghazals by Suhaylī. It is somewhat confusing that there are four ghazals included in the volume that are preceded by the heading *taṭabbu'-i yār-i 'azīz* ('In imitation of a dear friend') and only one of them explicitly says that it was inspired by Suhaylī's ghazal.²⁹ One of the four poems, the ghazal using the *radīf -ū-rā* has already been mentioned. The one in the Tashkent edition that mentions Suhaylī's name in the heading (*Taṭabbu'-i yār-i 'azīz Suhaylī*, 'In imitation of the dear friend, Suhaylī')³⁰ relies on the metre *hazaj-i musamman-i sālim* (. - - - | . - - - | . - - - | . - - -), the rhyme *-as* and the *radīf mā-rā*. The remaining two are a ghazal using the metre *mujtass-i musamman-i maḥbūn* (. - . - | . - - - | . - . - | . - . - or - -), the rhyme *-īn* and the *radīf mā-rā* and a poem composed using the metre *hazaj-i musamman-i aḥrab-i makfūf-i maḥzūf* (- - . | . - - . | . - - . | . - -), the rhyme *-ar* and the *radīf hā*. The two editions of Navāyī's *divān* thus contain altogether five *javābs* that are allegedly modelled on ghazals by Suhaylī.

Taṭabbu'-i yār-i 'azīz ('In imitation of a dear friend') is the heading that precedes the poem relying on the *radīf -ū-rā* in one of the Paris manuscripts (P1); the heading is missing from the other one (P2).³¹ The Tehran manuscript and three of the Istanbul manuscripts (GM, LI, N)³² very explicitly name Suhaylī as the author of the model poem.³³

²⁷ SACHAU-ETHÉ: Catalogue, 639.

²⁸ Amīr Niẓām ad-Dīn 'Alī-šīr NAVĀYĪ: *Divān-i Fānī*. Ed. Rukn ad-Dīn Humāyūnfarruḥ. Tehran, Asāṭīr, 1375 [1996], 83, 262-263.

²⁹ Alisher NAVOIY: *Devoni Foniḡ*. Vol. 1. Ed. Hamid Sulaymon-Khojimumurod Tojiev-S. Rafiddinov. (Alisher NAVOIY: Mukammal Asarlar To'plami. XVIII.) Tashkent, Fan, 2002, 18, 21, 47, 52.

³⁰ NAVOIY: *Devoni Foniḡ*, 1:21.

³¹ *Divān-i Fānī*, Suppl. pers. 1345, f. 10a; *Divān-i Fānī*, Persan 285, ff. 173b-174a;

³² *Divān- Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, f. 32a; *Divān- Fānī*, Lala Ismail, f. 11b; *Divān- Fānī*, Nuruosmaniye, ff. 39a-b.

³³ *Divān-i Fānī*, Majlis 1035, 21.

The ghazal with the *radīf dīdan* is preceded by various headings in the manuscript tradition. P2, GM, LI, N states that it was modelled on a ghazal by Jāmī (*Ṭaṭabbu'-i Maḥdūmī*), P1 claims that the model poem was composed by Ḥāfiẓ (*Ṭaṭabbu'-i Ḥ'āja*), and the Tehran manuscript attributes the model poem to Suhaylī (*Tatabbu'-i Suhaylī*).³⁴ It is true that Jāmī has a poem using the same poetic framework but there are no intertextual allusions between the model text and its alleged imitation.³⁵ Ḥāfiẓ does not seem to have such a poem and neither the Sarajevo nor the Istanbul manuscript of Suhaylī's *dīvān* contain such a poem.

The ghazal relying on the rhyme *-as* and the *radīf mā-rā* is clearly shown as a *javāb* inspired by Suhaylī's ghazal in P1, GM, LI, N and does not have a heading in P2 and H.³⁶ The case of the Tehran manuscript is a bit confusing because the ghazal is preceded by the heading *ayẓan lahu* (also from him) and as such, it is the sixth poem in the line of *javābs* bearing the same heading.³⁷ These poems are preceded by a ghazal that, according to the heading was inspired by a poem attributed to Amīr Ḥusrav Dihlavī (d. 1325), which would suggest that all these poetic replies were inspired by Husrav's works. However, this is not the case because a poem using the same framework is found in all three copies of Suhaylī's *dīvān*,³⁸ and the opening couplet (*maṭla'*) of the poem is also included in Davlatšāh's entry on Suhaylī, which all suggest that Navāyī's *javāb* was truly meant as a poetic reply to Suhaylī's ghazal.

The poem with the rhyme *-īn* and the *radīf mā-rā* is not available in Humāyūn-farruḥ's edition and it is also missing from LI and N. However, it is there in the Tashkent edition preceded by the heading *ṭaṭabbu'-i yār-i 'azīz*,³⁹ and the same heading is found in P1.⁴⁰ GM has *ṭaṭabbu'-i Mīr Suhaylī*.⁴¹ The poem does not have a heading in P2 and H.⁴² In the Tehran manuscript it comes after the poem described above and it is also introduced by the same heading, *ayẓan lahu* suggesting that the model for this ghazal was also composed by Amīr Ḥusrav.⁴³ Nevertheless, the four volume Lahore edition of Ḥusrav's ghazals does not include such

³⁴ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Persan 285, f. 298a; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Suppl. pers. 1345, ff. 112b–113a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, f. 117a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Lala Ismail, f. 109a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Nuruosmaniye, f. 139a; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Majlis 1035, 230.

³⁵ 'Abd ar-Raḥmān JĀMĪ: *Dīvān-i Jāmī. Jild-i avval. Fātiḥat aš-šabāb*. Ed. 'Alāḥjān Āfšāḥzād. Tehran, Mīras-i Maktūb, 1378 [1999], 694.

³⁶ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Suppl. pers. 1345, ff. 2b–3a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, ff. 25b–26a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Lala Ismail, ff. 3b–4a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Nuruosmaniye, ff. 3a–b; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Persan 285, f. 168b–169a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Hekimoğlu, ff. 31a–b.

³⁷ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Majlis 1035, 6–7.

³⁸ *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. Ms. Elliot 102, ff. 4b–5a; *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka, 4108, f. 5a; *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*, Esad Efendi 3422, f. 178b; DAVLATŠĀH: *Tazkirat aš-šu'arā*, 380.

³⁹ Navoiy, *Devoni Foniy*, 18.

⁴⁰ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Suppl. pers. 1345, ff. 11a–11b.

⁴¹ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, f. 30a.

⁴² *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Persan 285, 164a; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Hekimoğlu, f. 35a.

⁴³ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Majlis 1035, 7.

a poem,⁴⁴ and none of the copies of Suhaylī's *dīvān* contains a poem using this poetic framework.

The ghazal relying on the rhyme *-ar* and the *radīf -hā* is introduced by the heading *taṭabbu'-i yār-i 'azīz* in both printed editions.⁴⁵ It has the same heading in P1, GM, LI and T, and it stands without a heading in P2.⁴⁶ N has *taṭabbu'-i Suhaylī*.⁴⁷ The model poem is available in the Oxford copy of Suhaylī's *dīvān*.⁴⁸ The last four couplets are included in the Sarajevo manuscript as well but are missing from the Istanbul copy.⁴⁹

To the list of Navāyī's *javābs* that might have been inspired by a ghazal by Suhaylī, the poem using the metre *hazaj-i muṣamman-i sālim* (. - - - | . - - - | . - - - | . - - -), the rhyme *-ār* and the *radīf afkan* should be added because in GM, LI and NO it is preceded by the heading *taṭabbu'-i Suhaylī*.⁵⁰ The model poem is attributed to Ḥāfiẓ in Humāyūnfarruḥ's edition and T.⁵¹ In P1 it has the heading *taṭabbu'-i yār-i 'azīz*,⁵² and the heading in P2 and the Tashkent edition claims that the poem is an original composition (*muḥtara*).⁵³ However, Ḥāfiẓ does not seem to have composed a ghazal with the above mentioned poetic framework and the poem is not available in any known copy of Suhaylī's *dīvān*.

Navāyī's Persian *dīvān* has not yet received the scholarly attention it would deserve as only a handful of writings have hitherto appeared dealing with the topic. Riccardo Zipoli seems to have been one of the first scholars to "discover" Navāyī's poetic replies. He analysed two of Navāyī's *javābs* inspired by two poems in one of his articles published in 1993, one written by the great master of Persian ghazals, Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1390) and the other by 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492), a close friend of Navāyī.⁵⁴ The author of the present article published two studies devoted to various aspects of Navāyī's Persian imitation poems. One gives a detailed account on how Navāyī's Persian *dīvān* inspired the Ottoman Sultan Yavuz Selīm I. (1512–1520). and the other one discusses Navāyī's reply to the first ghazal of

⁴⁴ AMĪR ḤUSRAV: *Kulliyāt-i ġazaliyāt-i Ḥusrav*. I. Ed. Iqbāl Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn. Lahore, Pīkījīz Limitid, 1972.

⁴⁵ Navāyī: *Dīvān-i Fānī*, 81; Navoiy: *Devoni Foni*y, 47.

⁴⁶ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Suppl. pers. 1345, 9a; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, f. 31a; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Lala Ismail, ff. 10a–b; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Majlis 1035, 18; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Persan 285, ff. 172a–172b.

⁴⁷ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Nuruosmaniye, ff. 37b–38a.

⁴⁸ *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. Elliot 102, ff. 12a–b.

⁴⁹ *Dīvān-i Suhaylī*. Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka, 4108, f. 7a.

⁵⁰ *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, f. 117b; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Lala Ismail, f. 109a; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Nuruosmaniye, ff. 139a.

⁵¹ NAVĀYĪ: *Dīvān-i Fānī*, 162–163; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Majlis, 230–231

⁵² *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Suppl. pers. 1345, 113a.

⁵³ Alisher NAVOIY: *Devoni Foni*y. Vol. 2. Ed. Hamid Sulaymon–Khojimurod Tojiev–S. Rafiddinov. (Alisher NAVOIY: *Mukammal Asarlar To'plami*. XIX.) Tashkent, Fan, 2002, 187; *Dīvān-i Fānī*, Persan 285, f. 298b.

⁵⁴ Riccardo ZIPOLI: *The Technique of the Ğavāb. Replies by Nawā'ī to Ḥāfiẓ and Ğāmī*. Venezia, Cafoscari-na, 1993, 27, 49.

Ḥāfiz.⁵⁵ A. Hilal Kalkandelen published the Turkish translation of all the ghazals included in Humāyūnfarruḥ's edition in 2018.⁵⁶ The same year Franklin Lewis dedicated much space to Navāyī's imitation poems in one of his articles,⁵⁷ and Marc Toutant also examined Navāyī's *javāb* inspired by the first ghazal of Ḥāfiz in a well-written analysis that appeared in print in 2020.⁵⁸

As it has been mentioned earlier, only two of Suhaylī's model poems that are thought to have inspired Navāyī appear in all three manuscripts of Suhaylī's *dīvān* used for this paper. One of them is the following ghazal composed using the metre *hazaj-i musamman-i sālim*, the rhyme *-as* and the *radīf mā-rā*.

که دیوار محنت خانه اندوه بس ما را	نباشد منظر ⁵⁹ زرگاری شاهی هوس ما را
کنون کو چشم بگشاد ⁶⁰ آنکه نشمردی بخص ما را	ضعیفانرا صبا سوی دیار دوست می راند
حدی گویان و پا کوبان برد بانگ جرس ما را	ز راه افتاده ایم اما جو جنبد ناقه سلمی
چنین میبیند ای فریادرس فریادرس ما را	بماه و مهر پر شد ناله عشاق دور از تو
بسوی دیگران بر آی فسون خوان حرز و اسما را	ز چون من بیخودی گم نام حفظ این و آن ناید
نبودی ساز یاری کاشکی با هیچ کس ما را	جو تار دوستی چنگ اجل خواهد گسست آخر
بحال خویش بگذار ای سهیلی یک نفس ما را	نباشد ره وجود غیرا در خلوت جانان

Navāyī's poem consists of eight couplets in Humāyūnfarruḥ's version, and it has an additional couplet in the Tashkent edition, which reflects the manuscript tradition much better. Except for the eight rhyming words used by both poets there are no textual parallels between the two texts.

Suhaylī's ghazal is written in a mood dwelling on the ephemeral nature of human life and human relations and thus it reminds the reader of the style of Sa'dī's didactic (*hakīmāna*) ghazals. Navāyī's poem,⁶¹ on the other hand, is composed in (*rindāna*) mood. Evoking the style of the ghazals of Ḥāfiz, describing an unortho-

⁵⁵ PÉRI, Benedek: The influence of Mīr 'Alī-šīr Navāyī's Persian poetry on the ghazals of the Ottoman sultan Selim I (1512–1520). In: *Alisher Navoiy ve XXI. asr*. Toshkent, Tamaddun, 2017, 74–80; PÉRI, Benedek: Mīr 'Alī-šīr Navāyī and the first ghazal of Ḥāfiz. In: *Alisher Navoiy ve XXI. asr mavzuidagi Respublika ilmiy-nazariy anjumani materiallari*. Ed. Shuhrat Sirojiddinov. Toshkent, Turon-Iqbol, 2018, 176–183.

⁵⁶ A. Hilal KALKANDELEN: *Ali šīr Nevâî ve Farsça Gazelleri*. Ankara: Araştırma Yayınları, 2018.

⁵⁷ Franklin LEWIS: To Round and Rondeau the Canon. In: *Jāmi in Regional Contexts. The Reception of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmi's Works in the Islamic World, ca. 9th/15th–14th/20th Century*. Ed. Thibaut d'Hubert-Alexandre Papas. Leiden, Brill, 2018, 463–567.

⁵⁸ Marc TOUTANT: Imitational Poetry a Pious Hermeneutics? Jami and Fani's Rewritings of Hafez's Opening Ghazal. In: *The Timurid Century. The Idea of Iran Vol. 9*. Ed. Charles Melville. London, I. B. Tauris, 2020, 97–120.

⁵⁹ Esad, Sarajevo: خانه

⁶⁰ Sarajevo: چون

⁶¹ NAVĀYĪ: *Dīvān-i Fānī*, 5; NAVOIY: *Devoni Foni*, 21.

dox way of the spiritual quest to experience the presence of God, its key motifs are wine and wine-drinking. The only elements that can be perhaps interpreted as intertextual allusions to Suhaylī's ghazal are the two rhyming words, *havas* 'desire' and *bas* 'enough' in the first couplet. Navāyī's *javāb* to Suhaylī's ghazal is clearly an emulation poem using only the basic poetic framework, that is the metre, rhyme and *radīf* combination of Suhaylī's poem, which was evidently not applied by earlier poets and as such it is clearly a peculiar characteristic of Suhaylī's ghazal.⁶²

As it has been referred to earlier the other ghazal of Suhaylī that quite certainly inspired Navāyī, is available in its entirety only in the Oxford manuscript.

وز هر شرری در دل شوریده اثرها	ای آتش سودای تو در سینه شررها
در یاب کزین حادثه خون گشت جگرها	در سینه خراش ستم هجر تو تا کی
پوشیده برخسار تو داریم نظرها	خود را بجمال دگران ساخته مشعوف
از گردن ما دور شود منت سرها	بخرام مه من که بیمن قدم تو
هشدار ⁶² که در راه خطر هاست خطرها	ای کرده عزیمت سوی بیت الحزن عشق
تا باز شود بر رخ اقبال تو درها	از روزن اغیار مجو روشنی او دل
وین طرفه که گوید ز تو هر لحظه خبرها	در کوی تو از بیخبران است سهیلی

The model poem and its *javāb* share several common features.⁶³ Both consist of seven couplets, both of them are composed in amorous (*āšiqāna*) mood, they use the same metre, rhyme, *radīf* combination and out of the eight rhyming words six are the same. Though Navāyī's poetic reply to this ghazal is also an emulation poem, unlike the previous one it contains several intertextual allusions to its model. Beside including the same pair of rhyming words in the first couplet, *šarar* 'sparkle' and *asar* 'mark', it also contains the nouns *ātaš* 'fire' and *sīna* 'bosom', which being important keywords, are also present in Suhaylī's poem. Moreover, the rhyming word *šarar* is connected to *sīna* in both poems and the key notions of 'blood' (*hūn*) and 'liver' (*jigar*) appearing in both second couplets are similarly attached to one another.

As it has been mentioned earlier, both Navāyī *javābs* are emulation poems, which means that they do not wish to reproduce either their models or any of their constituting elements. Suhaylī's ghazals serve only as starting points for Navāyī to compose original poems. These ghazals are poetic replies only in a technical sense: they use the same metre, rhyme and *radīf* combination as their model. The scarcity or the lack of intertextual allusions highlights the intimate nature of these poetic replies. *Javābs* are usually meant to show a poet's talent

⁶² Sarajevo: بشتاب

⁶³ For Navāyī's poem see NAVĀYĪ: *Dīvān-i Fānī*, 13; NAVOYI: *Devoni Foni*, 48.

and skill and thus they tend to compete with their model. The intertextual allusions in competitive *javābs* serve several purposes. They constantly evoke the model and thus they guarantee that the discourse between the poetic reply and its model is continuous. They also keep reminding the audience of the model and thus facilitate the interpretation and the evaluation of the *javāb*.

Navāyī's poetic replies are in accordance with his *qit'a* quoted earlier as they are clearly not competitive *javābs*. They were composed perhaps as tokens of friendship showing Navāyī's affection towards Suhaylī and his poetry. Since both the author of the replies and the addressee of these *javābs* were clearly aware of the purpose of the poems, there was no need to include more intertextual allusions in Navāyī's emulation poems. The sheer fact that Suhaylī's poems were good enough to inspire an acknowledged poet, who selected his models mainly from among the poems of the classics of ghazal poetry, Amīr Ḥusrav, Jāmī and Ḥāfiz, can be interpreted as a sign of respect.

Appendix

Navāyī's poetic replies to Suhaylī's ghazals

همان جامی که ساقی عکس رو افکند بس ما را	بکشف حال دوران نیست جام جم هوس ما را
کنون در خانقه دیگر نه بینی هیچ کس ما را	ز شیخ هیچ کس چون جانب دیر مغان رفتم
به راندن دور نتوان کرد زانجا چون مگس ما را	نشسته فارغ البالیم در دور تغار می
تو خواهی بود یا خود مغبچه فریادرس ما را	به فریاد خمار افتاده پیر دیر بدحالم
چه بیداری دهد ای کاروان بانگ جرس ما را	غریو کوس شاه از خواب مستی در نمی آرد
خوش آن رندی که او از دور ساغر خواند اسما را	بجز نام بتانم بر زبان ناید گه مستی
نخواهد بود لعل تاج شاهی ملتمس ما را	گدایی التماس ما بود یک جرعه می در سر
چو مستان از عسس بگریزد ار ببند عسس ما را	ازان رندان شمر ما را که در رندی و شبگردی
حریفان بر کنار افکنده زین دریا چو خس ما را	چو فانی غرق می گشتیم لیکن عاقبت یابند
در سینه ازان آتشم افتاده شررها	ای ز آتش می در گل روی تو اثرها
باشد ز تموج به کنار آمده سرها	سنگ لب رودی ز قتیل تو رود خون
کو نشو و نما یافته با خون جگرها	در خلعت گلگون قد رعناى تو سرو است
از سنگ ملامت همه آورده ثمرها	هر نخل تمنی که به عشق تو نشاندم
آورده پی جرعه می روی به درها	از عشق یکی مغبچه در دیر مغان دوست
کافزونست درو از حدو اندازه خطرها	بی راهبری دشت فنا طی نتوان کرد
کز دهر مراد این شد و بیهوده دگرها	فانی بود و جام می و عشق و خرابات

Abstract

Though imitation had always been an acknowledged process of poetic creation, and as such it had played an important role in the Persian classical poetic tradition, the popularity of composing poetic replies (javābs) to well-known or otherwise interesting ghazals significantly grew in the 15th century. Many of Mīr ‘Alī-šīr Navāyī’s (d. 1501) Persian ghazals are poetic replies inspired by poets whom he respected. Two of these are javābs written to the ghazals of his contemporary Niẓām ad-Dīn Aḥmad ‘Suhaylī’. Based on unpublished manuscripts of Navāyī’s and Suhaylī’s collections of poems, the present article examines these two imitation ghazals and their models.

It can be said that though all the poetic replies of Navāyī preceded by the heading tatabbu’-i yār-i ‘azīz are javābs were earlier suggested to have been inspired by ghazals composed by Suhaylī, only two of the model poems were found in the unpublished manuscripts of Suhaylī’s dīvān. The comparative analysis of the model poems and the poetic replies suggests that Navāyī’s javābs were composed to express the author’s respect to his friend whom he considered a talented poet.

Keywords

Timurid poetry, ghazal, javāb, Navāyī, Suhaylī

Rezümé

Az imitáció, mint a költői alkotás elismert módszere mindig is jelen volt és fontos szerepet játszott a klasszikus perzsa költészeti hagyományban, ám a gazelek ihlette költői válaszok (javāb) írása a 15. században a korábbiaknál is nagyobb népszerűsége tette szert. Mīr ‘Alī-šīr Navāyī (megh. 1501) perzsa gazeljei közül számosat általa nagy tiszteletben tartott költők verse ihletett. Javābjai közül két kortársa, Niẓām ad-Dīn Aḥmad ‘Suhaylī’ gazeljeire szerzett költői válasz. A tanulmány eddig kiadatlan kéziratok alapján vizsgálja meg a gazel parafrázisokat és a modellül szolgáló költeményeket.

Kulcsszavak:

Timurida költészet, gazel, javāb, Navāyī, Suhaylī