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Towards a New Critical Edition of Yavuz Sultān Selīm's Persian Dīvān: An Overview of the Manuscripts

*Yavuz Sultan Selim Farsça Divanı'nın Yeni Bir Edisyon
Kritiğine Doğru: Yazmalara Genel Bir Bakış*

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Abstract

Many Ottoman Sultans excelled in poetry but Selīm I was the only one who composed poetry almost exclusively in Persian. The first printed edition of the divan was published in Istanbul in 1889. This edition was based on a single manuscript. The first critical edition was prepared by a German Iranist, Paul Horn in 1904. He based his work on seven manuscripts four of which he found in European libraries. Only three came from libraries in Turkey. A couple of years ago a project was started to prepare a new edition of the divan. The work started with browsing library catalogues and collecting manuscripts that were unknown to Horn. The search included libraries in Europe and the Middle East. Many new manuscripts were found. The new critical edition that is planned to be printed this year is going to be based on Horn's edition and 24 manuscripts 21 of which were not seen by Horn. Nineteen of the manuscripts are from libraries in Turkey, four are from libraries in Tehran and one is from Israel. These manuscript contained many unpublished poems. The aim of the present article is to give a detailed description of the contents of all the manuscripts used for the new critical edition of Sultān Selīm's divan and gives the number of gazels, kasides, etc. contained in each volume.

Keywords: *Yavuz Sultān Selīm, Persian, divan, manuscript*

Öz

Birçok Osmanlı padişahı şiirde şaheser niteliğinde eserler üretmişlerdir. Ancak I. Selīm neredeyse yalnızca Farsça şiirler yazan tek padişaktır. Divanın ilk baskısı 1889 yılında İstanbul'da yayınlandı. Bu baskı tek bir el yazmasına dayanıyordu. İlk eleştirel basım 1904 yılında bir Alman İranist olan Paul Horn tarafından hazırlandı. Çalışmalarını yedi el yazmasına dayandıran Horn, bunlardan dört tanesini Avrupa kütüphanelerinden ve sadece üç tanesini Türkiye'deki kütüphanelerden temin edebildi. Birkaç yıl önce divanın yeni bir baskısını hazırlamak için bir proje başlatıldı. Çalışma, kütüphane kataloglarını taramak ve Horn tarafından bilinmeyen el yazmalarını toplamakla başladı. Araştırma, Avrupa ve Orta Doğu'daki kütüphaneleri kapsıyordu ve birçok yeni el yazması bulundu. Bu yıl baskısı planlanan yeni eleştirel basım, Horn baskısı ile 21 adedi Horn tarafından görülmemiş olan, toplam 24 adet el yazmasına dayanacaktır. El yazmalarının on dokuzu Türkiye'deki kütüphanelerden, dördü Tahran'daki kütüphanelerden, biri de İsrail'den temin edildi. Bu el yazmaları birçok yayınlanmamış şiirleri kapsamaktadır. Aşağıda yer alan makalenin amacı, Sultan Selīm'in divanının yeni eleştirel basımı için kullanılan tüm el yazmalarının ayrıntılı bir açıklamasını sunmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Yavuz Sultān Selīm, Farsça, divan, el yazma, eleştirel basım.*

Yavuz Sultan Selim (r. 1512–1520) was not only a successful military leader and a man of the sword (*ehl-i seyf*) but he was also an excellent, though undeservedly underrated poet, a man of the pen (*ehl-i kalem*). While the poetic accomplishments of other poet Sultans are well-known and amply dealt with in Turkish scholarly literature, Selīm's poems, perhaps because they were written in Persian instead of Ottoman Turkish, remained relatively unnoticed. He passed away in 1520 and his 500th death anniversary appeared to be an excellent opportunity to publish a new critical edition of his collection of Persian poems.

The adjective 'new' shows that my edition, which is hoped to come out by the end of this year is not the first effort to publish Selīm's poetry in print. The Sultan's ghazal's were first printed in Istanbul in 1306/1889 (Hüsni 1306/1889). Though the editor of the volume, Hüseyn Hüsni didn't mention in his short preface which manuscript or manuscripts he used, a comparative analysis of the text with a great number of manuscripts preserved today in Istanbul revealed that he based his edition on a manuscript kept in the Fatih collection of Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (Fatih 3830). As Hüseyn Hüsni made many mistakes while reading and interpreting the handwritten text of the manuscript, his edition is not reliable (Horn 1906: 97, footnote 2). I mention only one example here.

The first hemistich (*mişrā*) of the closinglast couplet (*makta*) of the gazel starting with the line (اگرچه خسته مجنون صحنه دشت وفا بودست) *Agarçi hasta Macnūn şahna-yi daşt-i vafā būd-ast* 'Though the [love]sick Mecnūn was the viceroy of the wasteland of loyalty' reads as *Selīm az vādī-yi ğam gar bi-taht-i şāhī uftād-ast* 'If Selīm has happened to get from the valley of sorrow to the throne of royalty'. In Hüsni's book we find كبر instead of the correct reading, *gar* 'if' (گر), because Hüsni interpreted an ink blot under the letter 'r' in the manuscript as a dot belonging to a letter 'b' (Fatih 3830: f. 12a, Hüsni 1306/1889: 39).

A couple of years later, in 1312–1313/1895–1896 Manastırlı Dāniş Aḥmed Efendi (d. 1898) used this edition to write a commentary on Selīm's Divan (Terzi 2016, Aydın 2016). His work titled *Destāvīz-i dāniş* ('A Small Gift of Knowledge' or 'A Small Gift from Dāniş') was dedicated to Abd al-Ḥamīd II (r. 1876–1909). It appears that Dāniş Efendi corrected the text because the mistake mentioned above is not present in his work (Terzi 2016: 158.).

Two years after Hüsni's edition a small volume containing Selīm's one hundred sixty six Persian couplets (*beyt*) together with their Ottoman translations and a few *beyts* in Turkish was published under the title *Bāriqa* (Şeyḫ Vaşfi 1308/1891).

The first critical edition of Selīm's Divan was prepared by Paul Horn (1863–1908) a German scholar of Iranian studies (Horn 1904). The book is an exquisitely executed volume printed in the style of a 16th century manuscript. It is written in *nasta'liq* and is decorated with an elegant design around the text block on each page. One copy, embellished with real gilding and bound in full leather binding was sent by the German emperor Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918)¹ to the ruling descendant of Selīm, Sultan Abd al-Ḥamīd II as a lavish gift (Horn 1906: 98).

Horn's edition is based on seven manuscripts; four were from European collections and only three from libraries in Turkey² (Horn 1904: 2–3, Horn 1906: 99). It contains 305

¹ Wilhelm II was the last German Emperor and King of Prussia. The German–Ottoman relations were good under his rule. He visited İstanbul and met Sultan Abdülhamid twice in İstanbul (1889, 1898).

Germany helped reorganizing the financial affairs of the Ottoman state and in exchange it was granted railway concessions. The Berlin–Baghdad railway line started being built during Wilhem II's reign.

² The manuscripts used by Horn are the following: 1. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 3422; 2. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Lala Ismail449; 3. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi,

poems (3 kasides, 1 tercibend, a tahmis and 300 gazels). The editorial principles Horn followed during the editing process together with a very short description of the manuscripts was published in an article on Selim as a poet two years after the edition was printed (Horn 1906).

Except for a few publications Horn's work and thus Selim's poetry remained unnoticed in scholarly circles. A Hungarian Iranist, Sándor Kégl (1862–1920) published a short article on Selim's poetic accomplishment in 1910 and based his research on Horn's edition (Kégl 1910).

Ali Nihat Tarlan also used Horn's edition as a basis for his Turkish translation of Selim's poems (Tarlan 1946). In the short introduction of his book Tarlan mentions this fact and adds that wherever he had doubts he compared the text with a manuscript preserved in the Millet Kütüphanesi (Tarlan 1946: 5).³

In spite of its political and literary importance, the Persian poetry of Sultan Selim didn't attract scholarly attention for decades until 2010 when Şadi Aydın devoted a chapter to the description of the manuscripts he came across, in his book titled *Türk Edebiyatında Farsça Divânlar ve Divânçeler* (Aydın 2010). Aydın lists sixteen manuscripts but the inclusion of Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi Halet Efendi İlavesi 154 and Zühdü Bey 2141 can be attributed to some misunderstanding as they contain the poems of another poet using the pen name Selim.

My research project aiming at preparing a new critical edition of Selim's divan started in 2012 with the financial support provided by the generous grant of The Andrew Mellon foundation and later by the predecessor institution of the Hungarian National Research, Development and Innovation Office. The whole project was inspired by 16th century literary critics' accounts on Selim's poetry. The anthologies of Sehi Bey (d. 1548), Latîfi (d. 1582) and Kınalızâde Hasan Çelebi (d. 1604) all contain excerpts from the Sultan's poems some of which were not included in Horn's edition (Sehi Beg 2017:20–22, Latîfi 2018: 107, Kınalızâde Hasan Çelebi 2017:). Since it seemed quite possible that there were manuscripts containing these couplets the whole project started with a hunt for manuscripts that were unknown to Horn. As a result of the search that included looking at library catalogues both online and printed ones and on the spot research work as well, twenty-two hitherto unknown manuscripts of Yavuz Sultan Selim's divan was discovered. These contained more than two hundred and thirty unknown poems, mainly gazels but a few hitherto unpublished kasides were also found. These manuscripts are going to be described here.⁴

1. Amasya Beyazıt İl Halk Kütüphanesi 586 (= Amasya)

The manuscript consists of 66 unnumbered folios with the divan starting on f. 1b and ending on f. 44b. There is an average of 13 lines on each page. The manuscript written in *nesta'lik* is undated. A short note on f. 46a dated 1086/1675 suggests that the volume was copied before this date. The name of the scribe and the place of copying are not known. The ownership stamp of the vakf of Seyyid 'Abd al-Latîf Imâm on the first flyleaf recto, however,

Fatih 3830; 4. Bibliothèque National, Paris, Schefer 1373; 5. British Library, London, Add. 7786; 6.

Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Diez A. oct. 80; 7. Uppsala University Library, Uppsala, O. Nov. 21 (Tg. 191)/3.

³ For a critique on Tarlan's translation see Kaya 2019.

⁴ Since all the manuscripts were seen only in digital copies some aspects of the physical description, such as their size, their type of binding and paper quality are either not discussed here or the data provided is taken from catalogues.

suggests that the volume might have been copied in Amasya. The mentioned on the stamp can be identical 'Abd al-Laṭîf Amâsî's (d. 1721) who served as an imam at the Bayezid mosque, was the member of an old family from Amasya and he was known as an *kütübhâne şāhibi* 'owner of a library' (Yerkazan 2017:107).

The volume begins as most copies of the divan with a *tevḥîd* that is the first poem in Horn's edition (*Ay tu-râ pardayi 'izzat 'alam-i yaktâyî* 'The veil of glory is the sign of your uniqueness'). Due to several fallen folios the last six couplets are missing together with an unknown number of gazels. The next folio (f. 2a) starts with the second *beyt* of the poem that is the tenth in Horn's work (*Bi-râh-i ğam guzar na-bvad bi-ḥud har bî-sar u pâ-râ* "Not all those who are miserable can find their way on the path of sorrow alone"). Besides the *tevḥîd*, the Amasya copy contains a *taḥmîs* inspired by a gazel by Amîr Şâhî (d. 1453, ff. 44a–44b), 162 gazels some of which can be found only in the collection like the poem starting with the line *Dar cihân bas ki bi-ġam şuḥbat-i man dar payvast* ("There are many sorrowful people in the world who have [already] joined my company"; f. 11a). A few of the poems are fragmentary, two *mişrâ*'s are missing for example from the gazel beginning with the line *Mastâna çaşm-i yâr dar âmad zi-ḥ'âb surḥ* ("The intoxicated eyes of the beloved became red from sleeping", f. 15a). The manuscript is not mentioned by Şadi Aydın.

2. Ankara Üniversitesi Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi Kütüphanesi 321/4 (= Ankara)

The divan is part of a collected volume containing the following items: 1. *Ġazeliyât-i Amîr Ḥusrau Dihlavî* (ff. 1b–109b); 2. Idrîs-i Bidlisî, *Rabî 'al-Abrâr* (ff. 114b–137a); 3. *Dîvân-i Amîr Humâyûn* (ff. 140b–171a); 4. *Dîvân-i Selîmî* (ff. 172b–191a). The four parts seem to have been written by different hands and none of them is dated. The name of the scribe and the place of copying are not known. Selîm's divan copied in clear *nesta lîk*, the rule borders are drawn in red ink. There is an average of 17 lines on each page. The script is *nesta lîk*. The text starts with the same *tevḥîd* as the Amasya copy and it also contain almost only gazels. The 94 gazels are not arranged in alphabetical order. The manuscript is not mentioned by Şadi Aydın.

3. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Atıf Efendi 2077 (= Atif2077)

The local digital catalogue at Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi doesn't give a detailed description of the manuscript. The manuscript consists of 27 numbered folios with an average of 21 lines on each page. The script is *nesta lîk*. According a decorated colophon on f. 27b the manuscript was copied by Seyyid İbrâhîm al-Müderriş in 1211/1796. The place of copying is not given. A dated ownership note on the recto side of the first flyleaf suggests that a few years after it had been copied the volume got into the possession of 'Osmân 'Atîf in 1216/1801. The same page contains the ownership note of a certain 'Abdullah Efendîzâde and the ownership stamp of the vaḳf of Muştafâ Atîf efendi dated perhaps 1213/1798. The manuscript starts with a decorated double page (*serlevha*). The first three poems are preceded by a decorated *'ünvân*. Rule borders are drawn in gold and blue.

The first poem in the volume is the *tevḥîd* (ff. 1b–2a) already mentioned. It is followed by a short *na't* (*Ay bar-afraştâ zât-at 'alam-i bâlâyî* "The sign of majesty extols your essence"; f. 2a), a *münâcât* (ff. 2a–2b) and a *na't* composed in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 2b–3b). The *Ġazeliyât* section (ff. 3b–27b) contains 139 gazels. The manuscript is not mentioned by Şadi Aydın.

4. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Atıf Efendi 2078 (= Atıf2078)

The local digital catalogue at Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi doesn't give a detailed description of the manuscript. The manuscript consists of 64 numbered folios with an average of 15 lines on each page. The manuscript is undated, the name of the scribe and the place of copying are not known. An ownership note of a certain İbrâhîm Hîlmî and the dated ownership stamp of the vakf of Muştafâ Atıf Efendi is on f. 1a. The title of the volume is given on the same page as *Dîvân-i Sultân Selîm*. The script is *nesta'lik*. There is a decorated 'ünvân on f. 1b and another one on f. 13b. Rule borders are drawn in gold and blue.

The text begins with a *münâcât* (*Hudâyâ tu-râ zîbad in pâdşâhî* 'Lord, you are embellished with this kingship', f. 1b) followed by the *na't* composed in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 3a). The *kaşâ'id* section (ff. 3a–12b) contains 6 poems. The *gazelîyât* section begins with the *tevhîd* (ff. 13b–14a) and the short *na't* (ff. 14a–14b). The section contains 208 gazels and a *tahmîs* (ff. 38a–38b). The manuscript is not mentioned by Şadi Aydın.

5. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi Esad Efendi 3422 (= Esad)

Though this manuscript was used by Horn, since it is part of a unique collection of texts and it seems to have been very consciously edited, it should be described in detail. According to Aydın the manuscript was copied in 926/1520, which is the year when the Sultan passed away but I was unable to locate any clues in the volume that would confirm this claim. The name of the scribe and the place of copying is not known. The text is written in *nesîhî*. The volume contains 263 numbered folios with an average of 17 lines in the main text area and 31 lines in the margin. The title *Macmû'a-yi davâvîn-i Fârsî* is written on the recto side of the front flyleaf and it makes clear that the volume contains several collections of poems in Persian. All the titles are given in a decorated list of contents on f. 1a. The first main text is Selîm's divan (ff. 1b–48b). The text is preceded by a decorated 'ünvân. The first poem is the *tevhîd* followed by the *münâcât* (*Hudâyâ tu-râ zîbad in pâdşâhî*). This copy of the divan contains 231 gazels and a *tahmîs* inspired by a gazel of Jâmî (d. 1492).

There is another text written in the margin, Amîr Şâhî's divan (ff. 2a–36a), which is interesting because Latîfî remarked in his *tezkiire* that according to contemporary Persian experts Selîm's gazels resembled Şâhî's poems (Latîfî 2018: 107). Şâhî's divan is followed by Yârî's divan (ff. 36b–46b). The next unit of divans bearing the same structure is preceded by a *kaside* (ff. 49b–51b) attributed to 'Atţâr (d. c. 1220) in the local digital catalogue. The *kaside* is composed in *remel-i müsemmen-i mahzûf* (- . - - | - . - - | - . - - | - . - -), the rhyme is *-ar* and the *redîf* is *ast 'is*. The next unit consists of the divan of Âzarî (d. 1462) as the main text (ff. 53b–88b) and Fattâhî's (d. 1448) poems (ff. 55a–88b) in the margin. The next *kaside* composed in the same metre and with the same rhyme and *redîf* as the previous one is Amîr Hûsrau's (d. 1325) *Daryâ-yi abrâr*. The next text unit contains the divan of Âşafî Haravî (d. 1517) as the main text (ff. 93b–130b) and the gazels of Humâyûn Isfaraynî (d. 1496; ff. 94b–124b) in the margin. The *kaside* following this section is Nevâyî's *Tuhfat al-aftâr* using the same metre, rhyme and *redîf* combination that has been mentioned before. The next unit of divans contains Ahlî Şîrâzî's (d. 1535) poems as the main text (ff. 135b–167b) and Âhî's (d. 1501) and Hâtîfî's (d. 1521) gazels in the margin (ff. 136b–155b; ff. 156a–176b). Between folios 168a–176b the main text space is filled with poems by various authors. The next text unit consists of the divan of Suhaylî in the main text (ff. 177b–197b) and the divan of Bannâ'î (d. 1512) in the margin. It is followed by another *kaside* using the above mentioned metre, rhyme and *redîf* combination. The structure of the manuscript changes from this point; the text of the divans in the main text box continues in the margin. The next part contains the

divans of Hilâlî (d. 1529; 201b–217b), Riyâzî (d. 1479; ff. 220b–233b), Maulânâ La'âlî (ff. 234–246) and Mânî (d. 1508; ff. 247b–263a).

6. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Fatih 3830 (= Fatih)

The volume consists of 30 numbered folios with an average of 13 lines on each page. The script used is *nesta'liq*. There is a decorated *'ünvân* on f. 1b. Rule borders are drawn in gold and blue.

Horn saw this manuscript but judged it unimportant and decided not to use it (Horn 1906: 99) which was a mistake because the Fatih manuscript, though not dated, it is one of the earliest manuscripts of Selîm's divan. It was copied during the reign of Kânûnî Sultan Süleymân (1520–1566) by 'Abd al-Vâhid Meşhedî (f. 30a), a disciple of the famous calligrapher, Sultân 'Alî Maşhadî (Akın Kıvanç 2011:459). Muştafâ 'Âlî in his book on calligraphers and painters writes that 'Abd al-Vâhid had come to Istanbul during the reign of Süleymân and "He achieved an illustrious post from the shah of shahs" (Akın Kıvanç 2011:226). An ownership stamp and note on f. 1a suggests that the volume was part of Sultan Maḥmūd's (1754–1757) library.

The first poem in the volume is the *tevḥîd* (ff. 1b–2a) followed by the shorter *na't* and the longer *na't* composed in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 2b–3b). The *gazeliyât* section contains 104 gazels.

7. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3630 (= HM)

The manuscript consists of 65 numbered folios with an average of 17 lines on each page. The script is *nesta'liq*. The volume was copied by Muḥammad Fikrî al-Ḥüseynî in 1293/1876 (f. 65a). The place of copying is not given.

The text starts with a *münâcât* (*Ḥudāyâ tu-râ...*; f. 1b), followed by the *na't* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 1b–3a). The *kaşâ'id* section (ff. 3a–11a) contains 6 kasides. The *gazeliyât* chapter begins with the *tevḥîd* and the short *na't*. It contains 247 gazels, some of which are not found in any other collections and two *taḥmîses*, one of them inspired by a gazel of Şâhî (ff. 37a–37b).

8. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü F 929 (= IÜ929)

The volume consists of 53 numbered folios with an average of 19 lines per page. The manuscript is not dated, the name of the scribe and the place of copying are not known. The script used in the volume is *neshî*. There is a decorated *'ünvân* on f. 1b. Rule borders are drawn in gold and blue. A short note on f. 1a states that the for Murâd Paşa, the beylerbeyi of Yemen. The Murâd Paşa mentioned in the note must be identical with Kuyucu Murâd Paşa (d. 1611) who served as a governor of Yemen between 1575 and 1580 (İşbilir 2002: 507) and if this assumption is correct the manuscript was copied in this period.

The text starts with the *münâcât* (f. 1b), followed by the *na't* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 1b–3a). The *kaşâ'id* section (ff. 3a–11a) contains 6 kasides. The *gazeliyât* chapter begins with the *tevḥîd* (f. 11a) and the short *na't* (f. 11b) and contains 218 gazels and a *taḥmîs* written on a poem by Şâhî (f. 30a).

9. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü F 1016 (= IÜ1016)

The manuscript contains 42 numbered folios with an average of 13 lines per page. The script used is *nesta'liq*. There is a decorated *'ünvân* on f. 1b. Rule borders are drawn in green, gold and blue.

The date and place of copying is not given. However, since the volume was copied by the same ‘Abd al-Vāhid Meşhedî as the Fatih copy, this manuscript must have been copied during the reign of Süleymân as well. The first poem in the divan is the *tevḥîd* (ff. 1b–3a). It is followed by the *na‘t* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 3a–5a). The *kaşâ‘id* chapter (ff. 5a–6b) contains only one kaside relying on the rhyme *-ar* and the redif *-aş*. The *gazeliyât* section (ff. 6b–41a) includes 131 gazels. The manuscript ends with a kaside using the rhyme *-âr* and the redif *-î* (ff. 41a–42b).

10. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü F 1067 (= IÜ1067)

The manuscript consists of 48 numbered folios with an average of 15 lines per page. The script is *nesta‘lîk*. There is a decorated *‘ünvân* on f. 1b. Rule borders are drawn in gold. The volume is undated, the name of the scribe and the date of copying are not known.

The first poem in the divan is a *münâcât* (*Hudâyâ tu-râ...*; f. 1b) that is followed by the *na‘t* composed in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 2a–3a). The *tevḥîd* (*Ay tu-râ parda-yi ‘izzat...*) is termed *na‘t* in a heading (ff. 3a–3b). The short *na‘t* is on f. 4a. The *gazeliyât* section (ff. 4a–48b) contains 214 gazels, and two *taḥmîses*, one inspired by a gazel of Şâhî (f. 24a) and one by a gazel of Câmî (ff. 34b–35a). A later hand copied a gazel of Selim in the margin on f. 32b. Except for this later added poem almost all the gazels in this copy contain only five couplets.

11. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü F 1330 (= IÜ1330)

The manuscript consists of 67 numbered folios with an average of 11 lines in the main text space and 12 lines on the margins. The script is *nesta‘lîk*. The volume is undated, the place of copying is not known.

It is an exquisite copy of the divan, which according to Ahmed Ateş was prepared for Selim himself (Ateş 1968: 466). Authors of the book *Ottoman Painting* describe the volume as “a masterpiece of the Ottoman royal studio” and they assume that the volume decorated in “Khurasan-originated decorative style” was prepared between 1515 and 1520 (Bağcı–Çağman–Renda–Tanındı 2010:62, 61). Selim’s vaḳf seal appears of f. 67a. It is surrounded by a golden frame indicating that it is part of the design which confirms that the copy was made for Selim. The colophon gives the name of the copyist as Şehsuvâr al-Selîmî (f. 67b). There are four full page paintings in the volume. The painting on f. 27b depicts the sultan during a hunting expedition; on f. 28a he is depicted listening to two young men reading out a book. On f. 59b and 60a he is shown killing a leopard with his sword and fighting a lion that had attacked his horse. Folios 1b–2a and 5b–6a contain decorated double pages (*serlevha*). Almost each page contains smaller paintings or decorated floral panels. The margins are either freckled with gold painting or are decorated with floral patterns and the images of animals. The script is highly elegant *nesta‘lîk*. Rule borders are drawn in blue, green and gold. A few pages are mixed up after f. 24b. F. 24b ends with a closing couplet of a poem and f. 25a also starts with a *maḳta‘*. The remaining couplets of the poem are copied on f. 25m.

The text starts with the *tevḥîd* (ff. 1b–2a), the short *na‘t* (f. 2b), the *münâcât* (f. 3a) and the longer *na‘t* (ff. 3b–5b). The *gazeliyât* section (ff. 5b–63 in the main text area; 5b–67a in the margin) contains 230 gazels. Poems appear both in the main text area and on the margin. The last unit (ff. 63a–67a) contains a *taḥmîs*, several *rubâ‘is* and *kit‘as*.

12. İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü F 1331 (= IÜ1331)

The volume contains 78 numbered folios with an average of 15 lines on a page. The text was copied by Seyyid 'Abdî in 1229/1814.⁵ The text of Selîm's divan is preceded by a prose introduction (ff. 1b–5a) giving a summary of Selîm's reign and military campaigns. There is a full page painting on f. 6b that depicts a young boy and the Sultan reading a book in a library. Painted 'ünvâns decorate folios 1b and 8b. Rule borders are drawn in gold. The script is *nesta'liq*. Not counting the prose introduction the volume seems to be an almost exact copy of the Millet Kütüphanesi manuscript (see below).

13. The National Library of Israel, Yahuda Ms. Ar. 1128 (= Jerusalem)

The manuscript contains 65 numbered folios and a blank page.⁶ The average number of lines on a page is 12. The copy was finished at the beginning of Rebî' el-Evvel 961/mid-February 1554 in Constantinople by a master calligrapher, Muẓaffar 'Alî. According to a contemporary source "besides painting, he had a most wonderful hand in calligraphic copying (*muṣannâ*), wrote *nesta'liq* well, excelled in gold sprinkling and gilding, and was outstanding in his time in coloring and lacquer work. Few have been so versatile as he. He also arranged an album" Minorsky 1959: 186).⁷ The text of the Yahuda manuscript is written in fine *nesta'liq* on gold sprinkled paper. There is a decorated 'ünvân on f. 1b. The script is finely calligraphed *nesta'liq*. Rule borders are drawn in gold. On f. 1a the seal of Selîm II (1566–1574) appears.

The text starts with a *münâcât* (*Ḥudâyâ tu-râ...*; ff. 1b–2a) and the *na't* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 2a–3b). The *kaşâ'id* section (ff. 3b–11a) contains three kasides. The *gazelîyât* chapter starts with the short *na't* (*Ay barâfrâsta...*) but contains only the first three couplets (f. 11a). It is followed by the last two couplets of a gazel on the verso side of the same folio (f. 11b). The collection contains ca. 180 gazels.

14. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Lala Ismail449 (= LI)

The manuscript consisting of 38 numbered folios is undated, the name of the scribe and the place of copying are not known. The script used is *nesta'liq*. There are two short notes in Ottoman Turkish on ff. 38b and 39a. Though they are not dated the style of writing suggests that they were written in the late 17th– early 18th century.⁸ The ownership stamp of Sultan 'Abdulḥamîd appears on f. 1a, which suggests that this was the "Hamidiye" copy Horn used for his edition. The headings preceding the *tevḥîd*, the *münâcât* which is called *tevḥîd* here and the longer *na't* wrongly termed a *tercî' bend* confirms this assumption.

The text starts with the *tevḥîd* (ff. 1b–2a), followed by the short *na't* (f. 2a), the *münâcât* (f. 2b) and the *na't* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 2b–4a). The *gazelîyât* chapter (ff. 4a–38a) contains 148 gazels.

15. Kitâbhâna, Müza va Markaz-i Asnâd-i Majlis-i Şu'ra-yi Islâmî, Ms. 13392 (= Majlis13392)

The volume contains 110 numbered folios with an average of 21 lines in the main text area and 17 lines in the margin. F. 46 is missing from the digital copy. The text starts on f. 1b, it continues written upside down in the margin, goes to the main text area of f. 2a and

⁵ According to Aydın the date is 1222 but the numeral '9' is clearly visible in the colophon (Aydın 2010: 81).

⁶ F. 28 is missing from the digital copy I have.

⁷ For more on Muẓaffar 'Alî see Akın–Kıvanç 2011: 442, 474.

⁸ I am deeply grateful to my colleague Nándor Erik Kovács for his expert opinion on the short notes.

then to the margin. The text is written in one column. The manuscript is undated. Though the name of the copyist and the place of copying are not given either, according to a short note written in Turkish on f. 1a the text was copied by MİR SİFAYİ BAĞDADI. The ownership note of Meḥmed 'İffeti Kefevî (f. 110b) an inhabitant of Istanbul suggests that the manuscript might have been copied in that city. The title given on f. 1a is *Dīvān-i Fārsī li Sultān al-Ġāzī al-Marḥūm al-Sultān Salīm Hān*. There is a note on the same page dated Cemāzī el-Evvel 1336/March 1918 stating that the text was compiled from different manuscripts. There are further ownership notes on f. 1a together with an ownership stamp which is illegible in the digital copy. The script used in the manuscript is *şikasta-nesta 'līk*. Rule borders (ff. 1b–10b) are drawn in gold.

The collection contains ca. 532 gazels and 11 kasides (ff. 56b–58a; 60b–61b; 63a–65a; 65b–67b; 68a–70a; 98a–101b; 106b–107b; 108a–110a) which makes it the most comprehensive among the manuscripts of the divan. The manuscript consists of two parts. The basis of the collection is a full divan of gazels (ff. 1b–49a) arranged in alphabetical order. The second section contains poems that were collected from various manuscripts the editor managed to find and thus they are not in alphabetical order.

16. Kitābhāna, Mūza va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Şu'ra-yi Islāmī, Ms. 21013/2 (Majlis21013)

The collected volume contains 204 numbered pages. There is an average of 15 lines on each page. The first text in the volume is the divan of Amīr Şāhī (pp. 2–72) whose poetry Selīm's gazels were compared to by contemporary Persian critics. Selīm's divan (pp. 75–200) is the second text in the volume. The date of copying, the name of the copyist and the place of copying are not known. The text is written on silhouetted paper decorated with the coloured images of various plants (tulips, carnations, leaves, cypresses, etc.). The script used is *nestā 'līk*. Rule borders are drawn in gold.

The beginning of Selīm's divan is missing; an unknown number of pages must have fallen out. The text starts abruptly (p. 75) with the fourteenth couplet of the kaside composed in the metre *hezec-i müsemmen-i sālīm* (. - - | . - - | . - - | . - -), using the rhyme *-ān* and the redīf *-ī*. The section ends abruptly; the last pages are missing. This section contains the full text of two kasides and the fragmentary text of two other poems. The next section, which is preceded by a decorated *'ūnvān*, starts on f. 84 with the *mūnācāt*. It is followed by the *tevḥīd* (pp. 84–85), the shorter (p. 85) and the longer *na't* (pp. 86–89). This section contains the full text of one kaside and the fragmentary text of another one. The *kaşā'id* section of the manuscript thus seems to be in a jumbled state. Folios seem to be mixed up and a few pages are missing.

The *gazelīyāt* chapter (pp. –200) is preceded by a decorated *'ūnvān*. It contains 208 gazels and a *taḥmīs* (pp. 149–150).

17. Kitābhāna va Mūza-yi Millī-yi Malik, Ms. 4620 (=Malek)

The volume contains 116 numbered pages with an average of 11 lines per page. The manuscript is undated, the name of the scribe and the place of copying are not known. On p. 1 there is a nicely decorated *'ūnvān*. Rule borders are drawn in gold.

The text starts with the *tevḥīd* (p. 1) that stops abruptly. An unknown number of pages are missing between p. 1 and p. 2. The *gazelīyāt* section (pp. 2–116) contains 186 gazels.

18. Millet Kütüphanesi, A.E. Farsça 324 (=AE)

The volume consists of 81 numbered folios. There is an average of 14 lines on every page. The manuscript was copied by 'Osmān el-Futūhī in 980/1572 (f. 80a). The place of copying is not known. The script used is *nesta'liq*. Rule borders are drawn in gold (ff. 1b–2a), in blue (ff. 2b–3a) and black (ff. 3b–8b) ink.

The manuscript starts with a modestly decorated double page. The first text in the volume is the *münacāt* (f. 1b) followed by the longer *na't* in *terkib bend* form (ff. 2a–3a). The *kaşā'id* section (ff. 3a–14a) contains six kasides. Folios 14b–17a contain the *tevḥīd* (ff. 14b–15b), a *muḥammas* (ff. 15b–16a) and two *taḥmises*, on inspired by Şāhī (ff. 15b–16b) and one by Cāmī (ff. 16b–17a).

The *ğazeliyāt* chapter starts on f. 17b and contains 221 gazels, a *rubā'ī* and a *ferd*. A few gazels were written in the margin later (ff. 18b, 33b, 36b, 39a, 55b, 58a, 58b, 63b, 75b). Gazels on ff. 18b and 33b were added by a reader who compared the contents of the volume up to f. 49a with Horn's edition and recorded his observations in the margin.

19. Sāzmān-i Asnād va Kitābhāna-yi Millī-yi İrān, Ms. 2495 (= Milli)

The volume contains 58 numbered pages with an average of 13 lines. The manuscript is undated, the name of the copyist and the place of copying are not known. The text written in clear *nesta'liq* starts with the *tevḥīd* (pp. 1–3), followed by the longer *na't* (pp. 3–5). The *ğazeliyāt* chapter (ff. 5–58) contains 104 gazels.

20. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye 3827 (=NO)

The volume contains 73 folios with an average of 12 lines on a page. The manuscript copied in Mekka is undated, the name of the copyist is not known. The ownership stamp and ownership note of 'Osmān III's (1754–1757) vakf is on f. 1a. The script used is *nesta'liq*. There is a decorated *ünvān* on f. 1b. Rule borders are drawn in gold and blue. One folio seems to be missing between ff. 37b–38a.

The text starts with the *tevḥīd* (ff. 1b–2a) followed by the shorter *na't* (ff. 2a–2b), the *münacāt* (ff. 2b–3a) and the longer *na't* in *terkib bend* form (ff. 3a–5a). The *ğazeliyāt* section (ff. 5a–73a) contains 233 gazels.

21. Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Reşid Efendi 762 (=RE)

The volume contains 57 numbered folios with an average of 15 lines on a page. The script is *nesta'liq*. The copying was finished by an unnamed scribe on 1 Rebī' el-Evvel 974/26 September 1566. According to Aydın (Aydın 2010: 78) the manuscript was copied in Kayseri. The colophon, however, says that the manuscript was copied in the year when Sultān Süleymān went on a campaign against Beç (Vienna) and Pīrī Paşa camped near Kayseri (f. 57b). Pīrī Paşa was the sancakbeyi of Adana in 1566 who was charged with the defence of Kayseri and its vicinity while the army was on campaign in Hungary (Aköz 2010: 41). Though the colophon mentioning Pīrī Paşa's duties in Kayseri in 1566 can suggest that the copyist was close to the paşa it doesn't necessarily means that the manuscript was copied in Kayseri.

The text of the divan starts with the *tevḥīd* (ff. 1b–2a). It is followed by the shorter *na't* (ff. 2a–2b), the *münacāt* (f. 2b) and the longer *na't* in *terkib bend* form (ff. 2b–4a). The heading preceding the poem erroneously states that it's a *tercī' bend*.

The *ğazeliyāt* section (ff. 4a–57b) contains 230 gazels.

22. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 507 (=Revan507)

The volume consists of 32 numbered folios with an average of 15 lines on a page. The date of copying, the name of the copyist and the place of copying are unknown. The script is *nesta'lik*. There is a decorated '*ünvân*' on f. 2b. Rule borders are drawn in gold.

The text of the divan starts with the *tevḥîd* (ff. 2b–3a). It is followed by the shorter *na't* (ff. 3a–3b), the *münâcât* (f. 3b) and the longer *na't* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 3b–4b). The *ğazeliyât* section contains 117 gazels.

23. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 737 (=Revan737)

The volume consists of 42 numbered and one unnumbered folios with an average of 13 lines per page. The undated manuscript was copied by 'Abd al-Vâḥid. 'Abd al-Vâḥid must be identical with 'Abd al-Vâḥid Meṣhedî who has already been mentioned. He was a well-known copyist during the reign of Kânûnî Sultân Süleymân and he copied the Fatih and one of the University Library's copies. Though the place of copying is not mentioned in the colophon the manuscript was copied perhaps in Istanbul. The script is *nesta'lik*. The ownership stamp of the vaḳf of Maḥmûd I (1730–1754) is on f. 1a. There is a nicely decorated '*ünvân*' on f. 1b. Rule borders are drawn in gold and blue.

The text of the divan starts with the *tevḥîd* (ff. 1b–2a) followed by the short *na't* (ff. 2a–2b) titled a *münâcât* in this manuscript, the *münâcât* (ff. 2b–3a) and the longer *na't* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 3a–4b). Folios 4b–6a contain a kaside relying on the rhyme *-ar* and the redif *-aş*. The *ğazeliyât* section (ff. 6b–40b) contains 139 gazels. The manuscript ends with a kaside using the rhyme *-âr* and the redif *-î* (ff. 40b–42b).

24. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Revan 738 (=Revan738)

The volume contains 32 numbered folios with an average of 12 lines per page. The manuscript was copied by 'Abd al-Vâḥid Meṣhedî. The date and place of copying are not mentioned in the colophon. The script is *nesta'lik*. The ownership stamp of the vaḳf of Maḥmûd I (1730–1754) is on f. 1a. There is a nicely decorated '*ünvân*' on f. 1b. Rule borders are drawn in gold and blue.

The text of the divan starts with the *tevḥîd* (ff. 1b–2a) followed by the short *na't* (ff. 2a–2b) and the longer *na't* in *terkîb bend* form (ff. 2b–4a). The *ğazeliyât* section (ff. 4a–31b) contains 100 gazels. The manuscript ends with a kaside using the rhyme *-âr* and the redif *-î* (ff. 31b–32a).

While preparing the new critical edition a comparative analysis of the manuscripts was made and it yielded the following results.

1. It seems that except for AE and IU1331 none of the manuscripts are closely related. This would suggest that several more manuscripts were originally prepared and these could fill the gaps between the manuscripts known today.⁹ This assumption appears to be confirmed by contemporary accounts of Selîm's poetry. It has been mentioned earlier that the poetic anthologies of Sehî bey, Laṭîfî and Kınalızâde Ḥasan Çelebi contain sample couplets from Selîm's divan and some of these are not included in Horn's edition. A few beyts mainly *maṭla*'s are not included in any of the manuscripts either. The structure of Majlis13392 also points indicates that several manuscripts are missing. As it has been suggested earlier the

⁹ I was unable to consult the manuscripts preserved in the Râşid Efendi Library in Kayseri (Ms. 1289/2) and the copy of the National Library of Egypt.

copy was compiled from several manuscripts by someone who was apparently an admirer of the Sultan's poetry. A copy very similar to IU1330 served as a basis of this unique collection which was later supplemented with poems the editor found in other manuscripts. This late copy contains much more poems than any other manuscript and a great number of the poems cannot be found anywhere else.

2. Four of the manuscripts were copied by the same person, 'Abd al-Vāḥid Meṣhedī, a well-known expert calligrapher of Süleymān's time who worked in the imperial capital. As these manuscripts were prepared after Selīm's demise one would expect that by the time 'Abd al-Vāḥid started copying the texts the divan had already had a standardized version and thus the manuscripts he copied are directly linked to each other. However, it doesn't seem to be the case. Revan738 contains the *tevḥīd*, the two *na 'ts*, 100 gazels and part of a kaside. Fatih contains the *tevḥīd*, the two *na 'ts*, 104 gazels but doesn't include any kasides. IU1016 contains the *tevḥīd*, the longer *na 't*, 131 gazels and two kasides, Revan737 contains the *tevḥīd*, the *münācāt*, both *na 'ts*, 139 gazels and the same kasides as IU1016. All this would suggest that the Selīm canon was continuously growing as scattered poems were collected and incorporated into the corpus.

3. The manuscripts can be divided into two major groups. Ankara with its content not arranged in alphabetical order and IU1067 that contains only five couplet long gazels are not part of these groups. Contentwise IU1067 is close to the second group of manuscripts. Atif2077, Esad, Fatih, IU1016, IU1330, LI, Malek, Milli, NO, RE, Revan507, Revan737 and Revan738 appears to represent the first group. The first part of Majlis13392 should also be added to this group. The manuscripts Horn used were mainly from the first group. The second group seems to consist of Amasya, AE, Atif2078, HM, IU929, IU1331, Jerusalem, the second half of Majlis13392 and Majlis21013. They contain quite a few poems, both gazels and kasides that cannot be found in Horn's edition. The difference between the two groups is apparent in the "re" sub-chapter of the *gazelīyāt* section as manuscripts belonging to the second group have more gazels ending in "re". In spite of their differences the contents of the two groups seems to overlap at some points and there a large number of poems that are present in all the manuscripts. The first group includes the earliest copies starting with IU1330 that was prepared for Selim himself, followed by the four manuscripts copied by 'Abd al-Vāḥid which were possibly finished during Süleymān's reign (Fatih, LI, Revan737, Revan738). These manuscripts reflect the first redaction of the divan. The type of *nesḥī* used in Esad and the structure of the whole manuscript suggest that this is also an early copy and perhaps it was edited either during Selīm's or in Süleymān's reign with the aim of defining the Sultan's place in the Persian literary tradition.

The Jerusalem copy finished in 1554 in Istanbul indicates that some thirty years after the author's demise a second redaction of the divan was prepared. It contained many poems that were not present in the first redaction which would suggest that during the reign of Süleymān a serious research project was going on to collect scattered poems of Selīm and incorporate them into a second edition of his divan.

All the results of the research project aimed at preparing a new critical edition of Yavuz Sultaān Selīm's Persian divan is planned to be published this year. The edition is going to contain the *tevḥīd*, the *münācāt*, the two *na 'ts*, 9 kasides and approximately 534 gazels. Compared to Horn's edition it's going to be much richer and would include over 230 poems that have never been printed before.¹⁰ The volume under preparation would also include an

¹⁰ Some of the poems not found in Horn's edition have already been published. For these see Péri 2015a, Péri 2015b, Péri 2020.

introductory part with chapters on the Ottoman literary scene in the late 15th – early 16th century, on the role Persian played during this period, on imitation (*naẓīre-gūyi*) as a creative process, on Yavuz Selīm as a poet and the political aspects of his Persian poetry. The text is going to be complemented with a critical apparatus that gives the basic data of each poem (metre, rhyme, redif) and shows all the textual variants.

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