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*Front cover:* : Shahrisabz, Ḥaẓrat-i Imām mosque, Photo: Miklós Sárközy

*Back cover:* The strait gate and the wide gate in Matthew 7, 13
as represented on the cover of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae religionis,*
published by Antonius Rebulius, Geneva, 1561.

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Benedek Péri – Miklós Sárközy

# Foreword: Uzbekistan and Hungary

The present issue is dedicated to the history and culture of Uzbekistan. It is, presumably, the very first attempt on behalf of Hungarian and Uzbek scholars to publish a full issue of a scholarly journal devoted to the rich and extremely valuable cultural and historical legacy of the peoples of Uzbekistan. Several distinguished Hungarian scholars have worked in the field of Central Asian studies since the 19th century; however, a collective volume with papers focusing exclusively on various aspects of Uzbekistan's culture has never been published before. The aim of the present issue of the *Orpheus Noster* journal (which is published by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church) is to discuss various aspects of the rich cultural, literary and historical heritage of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as to draw attention to hitherto neglected areas of the history of Hungarian-Uzbek connections.

In order to understand the importance of Uzbekistan, we should consider its geostrategic location: Uzbekistan is found in the very heart of Central Asia, between the great Amu Darya (Oxus) and Syr Darya (Iaxartes) rivers, where major urban centres developed surrounded by the mighty Kizilkum desert in the west and the Pamir-Tienshan mountain ranges in the east. Uzbekistan's identity has been deeply rooted in Central Asian traditions since late antiquity. This part of Central Asia was called Transoxania in classical sources, and later it became the area of Māwarā'an-nahr, literally 'the land beyond the River' (i. e. Amu Darya).

Most of this territory had direct ties to the so-called Silk Roads, which evolved in the 2nd century BC and flourished until approximately 1700 CE. Great Uzbek urban centres such as Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Khiva, Khokand, Termez, the mighty fortresses of the so-called *elliq qala* (fifty fortresses) region of the by now sadly defunct Aral Lake characteristically shaped the history of this transcontinental network of commercial and intellectual highways called Silk Roads between China, Rome, Iran, India and the great Eurasian steppe. These rather cosmopolitan cities had developed a refined urban culture since late antiquity, where a certain coexistence of different major religious movements such as Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Judaism, Manichaeism, Christianity and Islam can be detected. This distinctly urban character attracted several major ethnic groups, who all enriched the cultural and religious map of Central Asia: several waves of Turkic peoples (the West Turkic Khaganate, numerous groups of Karluks, Oguz Turks and Kipchaks), as well as Hunnic tribes, Soghdians, Arabs, Iranians, Mongols, Indians and Chinese groups have all appeared in Central Asian history in the past two thousand years, thus making the land of Uzbekistan the heartland of the Silk Roads.

Above left: Khiva: view of the Inner Castle (Ičān qal-ᶜa). All photos by Miklós Sárközy
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In the middle right: Khiva: Tile decoration from the Old Fortress
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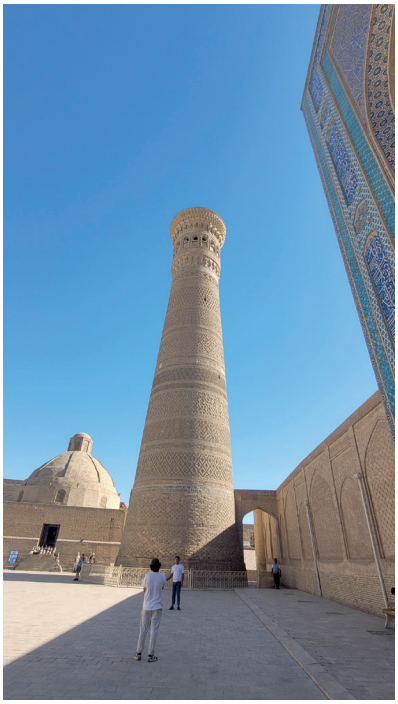


Above left: Bukhara: Great Mosque and the Kalān (Great) Minaret
Above right: Bukhara: Great Mosque and the Kalán (Great) Minaret
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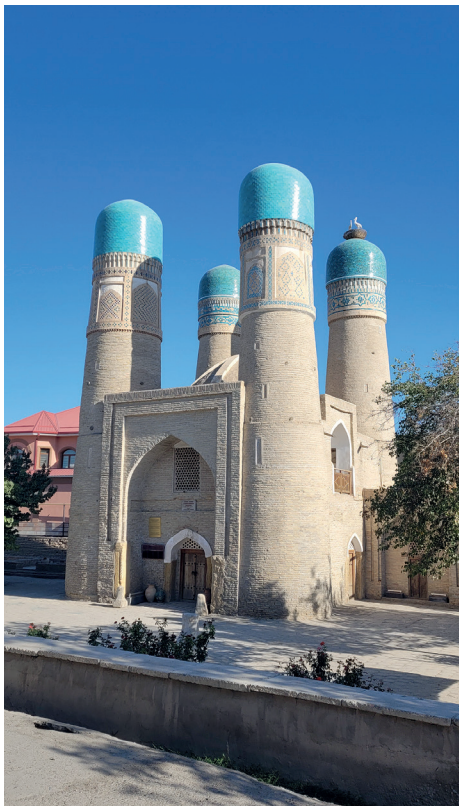
Below left: Bukhara: Memorial of Ármin Vámbéry in the Bukhara Ark (in the former fortress of amirs of Bukhara)



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Above right: Samarkand: Registan square
Below left: Bukhara: Oibinok mosque
Below right: Bukhara: Čahār mināŕ (Four minarets) madrasah

Above left: Samarkand: Registan square, Ulugh Beg's madrasah
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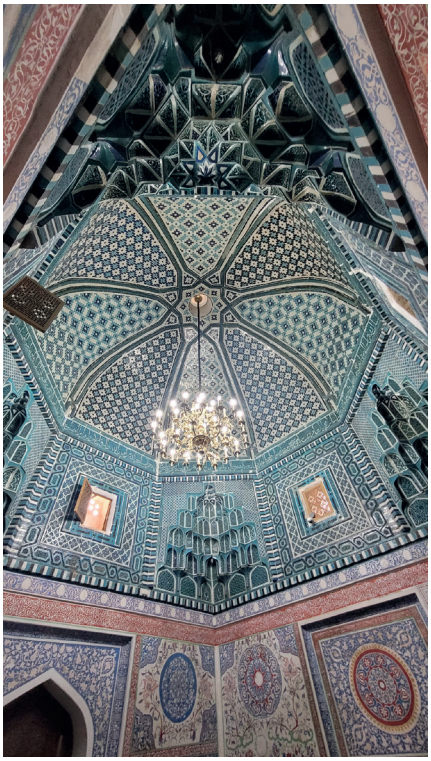
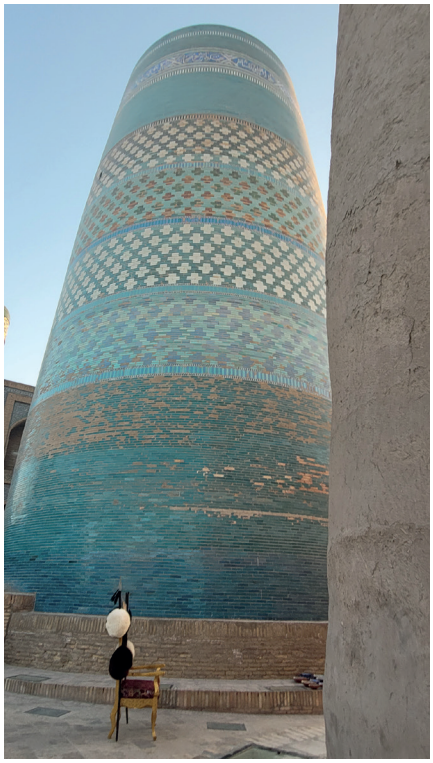
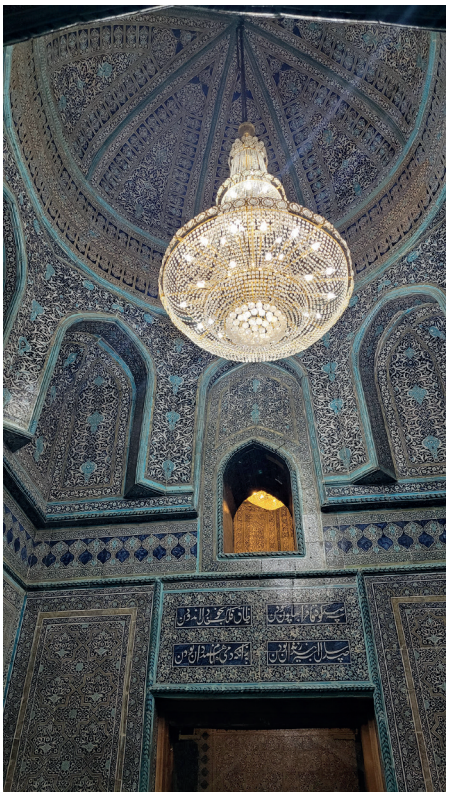
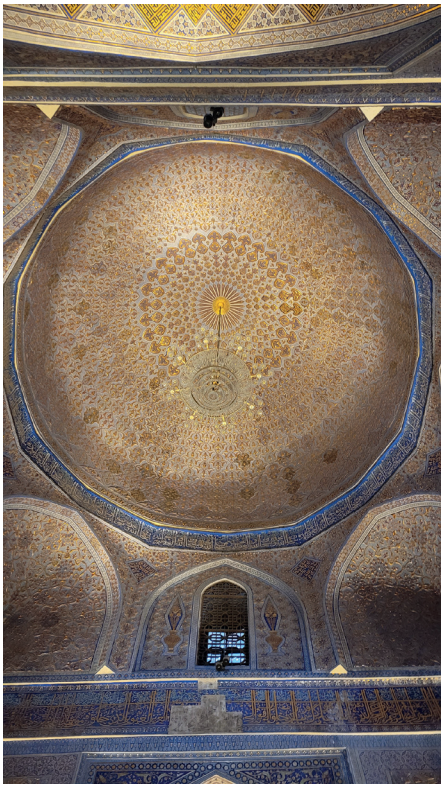




Above left: Samarkand: Šāh-i zinda (Living King) pilgrimage site
Above right: Khiva: Kalta minār (Truncated minaret) Ičān qal'a (Inner castle)
Below: Čahār Bakr (Four Bakr) necropolis near Bukhara





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Above: Bukhara: Ark (Citadel) memorial site of Ármin Vámbéry
Right: Samarkand: Šāh-i zinda (Living King), Qutham b. 'Abbās pilgrimage site

By the early Islamic period the area of modern-day Uzbekistan played a unique role in the history of Islam, when towering figures of Islamic scholarship and science such as the ḥadīth scholar Muḥammad al-Buḫārī (810–870), several great polymaths such as Muḥammad al-Ḫwārizmī (780–850), Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, 980–1037), Abū Raiḥān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī (973–1048), the Qur'an scholar Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Zamaḫšārī (1074–1143), and the father of Classical Persian poetry, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jacfar Rūdakī (858–941), Mīr ʿAlī Šīr Nawā'ī (1441–1501), the greatest medieval Uzbek poet, all hailed from the area of present-day Uzbekistan, and the works they created are still regarded as milestones in medieval Islamic culture.

Several major Islamic dynasties such as the Sāmānids, the Karaḫānids, and later the Ḫwārizmšāhs, the Čaġatāyids, the Timūrids and the Uzbek Šaibanids and Astarḫānids characterised the medieval and early modern history of present-day Uzbekistan. The legacy of Timūr (Tamerlane 1335–1405), the last great nomadic conqueror of Eurasia, is particularly strong in shaping the post-1400 history and culture of Central Asia.

The area of Uzbekistan is also very important in the light of Hungarian history. The concept of Turan, the mythical land of Turanians, different peoples of nomadic background, was very often identified with the land beyond the Amu Darya river in Turko-Iranian medieval sources. The idea of Turan and being Turanian became very popular in Hungary after 1800, when the term 'Turan' was introduced to Hungary. Besides, the region of Ḫwārizm (or Khorezm) in present-day western Uzbekistan was the homeland of the Káliz (Ḫwārizmian) people, many of whom settled in medieval Hungary in the 10–11th centuries CE. As far as the 20th century is concerned, it is worth mentioning that a significant number of Hungarian war prisoners were deported to Uzbekistan by Tsarist authorities during WWI whose history is still scarcely known; in Samarkand, however, there is a war memorial in honour of these Hungarians, many of whom chose Uzbekistan as their new homeland.

Undoubtedly, Uzbekistan studies in Hungary were founded by Arminius Vámbéry (Vámbéry Ármin, 1832–1913), the world-famous self-taught Hungarian turcologist, explorer and scholar, the founder of the first ever department of Turkic philology in the world in 1868. Vámbéry himself travelled to Central Asia in 1863 and visited the most important Uzbek cities of Khiva, Bukhara and Samarkand on the eve of the Russian Tsarist conquest. Vámbéry was possibly the last major European visitor of the most important urban centres prior to the Russian victory against the Khanate of Khiva and the Emirate of Bukhara after 1866. Due to the fact that all of Vámbéry's major works were also published in Hungarian (besides English and German), his memoirs and essays on Uzbek history, culture and folklore played an important role in disseminating elements of Uzbekistan's culture in Hungary before 1914. Vámbéry continued to be fascinated by various aspects of Uzbekistan's culture until the very end of his life, as it was testified by

several seminal works he published. His Uzbekistan studies cover different areas relating to Uzbek history (such as his voluminous History of Bukhara published in 1872–73), Uzbek philology (his early work called *Ćagataische Sprachstudien* from 1867, or the *Yūsuf and Ahmed,* which is possibly Vámbéry's last major contribution to the field of Uzbek literary traditions, issued in 1911), 19th century Uzbek life (several works penned for a wider audience, such as *Sketches of Central Asia* from 1868 or his world famous travelogue *Travels in Central Asia* from 1865). Vámbéry wrote extensively on every aspect of Uzbek life, therefore he played a pivotal role in introducing Uzbek history and identity to Europe and Hungary. A pioneer and early enthusiast of Central Asian Studies, Vámbéry wished to prove that Central Asian Turkic elements also played a very active role in the formation of early Hungarian tribes and early Hungarian language, an idea which was met with a rather mixed reception. To conclude, despite his inadequacies in linguistic methodology, Vámbéry definitely paved the way for modern Uzbekistan studies thanks to his vast scientific output relating to Uzbekistan. It is also worth mentioning that it was Vámbéry who brought Mulla Isḥāq, the very first Uzbek man and a subject of the Khanate of Khiva to Hungary. Mulla Isḥāq (in Hungarian he was often called 'Csagatáj Izsák') later became an assistant of Vámbéry in Hungary, learnt Hungarian and translated Hungarian poetry to Uzbek. Mulla Isḥāq was buried in the Hungarian village of Velence in 1894. Fascinating new details on the life of this little-known Uzbek personality of 19th-century Hungary have been discovered and published by Benedek Péri recently.

I very much hope that the present volume will be a first major step for a better understanding of the culture of Uzbekistan in Hungary, and here I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Károli Gáspár University of the Hungarian Reformed Church for its generous support of this volume dedicated to Uzbekistan and its rich cultural heritage.

Miklós Sárközy

# Preislamic Central Asia and Naršaḫī's *History of Bukhara*[1]

The mid-10th century history of Bukhara of Abū Bakr Muhammad Naršaḫī is one of the most important sources for the study of early Islamic Central Asia, but it is also essential for a better understanding of the period preceding the Islamic conquest of Central Asia.[2] The present study tries to shed light on the fascinating preislamic material preserved in the *History of Bukhara* relating to the preislamic heritage of Central Asia, especially the Bukhara valley. Unfortunately I cannot demonstrate all the major arguments in this rather short paper in their entirety, however, I believe that the present works is somehow able to shed light on the main issues relating to the rich preislamic material preserved in the *History of Bukhara*.

Being the earliest surviving urban history of Central Asia from the Islamic period Naršaḫī's *History of Bukhara* exists now its Classical Persian variant created in the 12th century, however, an earlier version had been penned in Arabic around 940, manuscripts of which did not survive. Its original author, Abū Bakr Muhammad Naršaḫī was a scribe of nativist background in the mid-10th century Samanid court in Bukhara and perhaps the *History of Bukhara* was commissioned by the Bukharan court of the Samanid dynasty.

As for the *History of Bukhara*, it faithfully follows the genre of Islamic historiography developed since the mid-8th century, where both universal works, such as the accounts of al-Tabari as well as local, nativist approaches and urban histories (for instance that of the by now mainly lost early Islamic chronicle of Central Asia written by Sallāmī) all influenced the work of Naršaḫī. The author of the *History of Bukhara* modelled his work according to earlier Arabic urban histories, faithfully depicting its 9-10th century Muslim intellectual circles, the geographical distribution of Bukhara and the Bukhara valley.

Besides Islamic legends, holymen and Samanid institutions, Naršaḫī's work contains a rich preislamic material as well, which apparently seemed to be still important in the first half of the 10th century, two centuries after the Islamic conquest of Bukhara. It is probable, that later Persian compilators of the Kara-

[1] The present paper was written with the generous support of the scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Arts (Magyar Művészeti Akadémia).

[2] For the life and work of Naršaḫī see Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Jacfar Naršaḫī: *Tārīḫ-i Buḫārā.* Ed. Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris Rażawī. Teherán, 1387/2009. FRYE, R. N., *The History of Bukhara, Translated from a Persian Abridgment of the Arabic Original by Naršaḫī* Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1954. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Naršaḫī: *Bukhara története: Fordította, az utószót és a jegyzeteket írta: Sárközy Miklós,* Budapest, Magyarország, Eötvös Loránd Kutatási Hálózat Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2021. 141–158.

khanid period in the 12th century may have transformed, edited, shortened the book of Naršaḫī and in some cases perhaps added also minor parts to the original account, though the extent of these amendments is not exactly known due to the lack of the original Arabic version.

## *Central Asia before the Islamic conquest*

Central Asia underwent significant changes due to the arrival of the caliphate's army and the gradual process of islamization. The History of Bukhara meticulously depicts these major political and religious changes that occurred between the 7th and 10th centuries in Central Asia. Therefore, the *History of Bukhara* can be considered a key-source for the study of major political and religious changes in the region.

As for the aspects of regional ethnicities, the region between the Oxus and Iaxartes was the homeland of Turkic and Iranian speaking ethnic groups before the advent of Islam. Soghdians, Ḫwārizmians, Bactrians were the major ethnic groups of Eastern Iranian background which predominantly ruled trade routes and urban centers of the area. Besides these Eastern Iranian people, one can see a growing presence of Turkic people in Central Asia, but also in areas belonging now to present-day Afghanistan, where elites of the Hephtalite principalities appear to bear Turkic names or titles as early as the 5–7th centuries. We should also mention the Western Turkic Khaganate which exerted a significant influence on the ethnic character of preislamic Central Asia already in late antiquity. The western fringes of Central Asia around 600 AD belonged to the Sasanian Empire (the provinces of early Islamic Ḫurāsān, Harāt, Marw, areas west of Balḫ) with a mixed population consisting of Parthian and Hephtalite ethnic elements. Balḫ and Tuḫāristān (Bactria) were ruled by late Hephtalite principalities, where a large number of newly discovered Bactrian documents were discovered a few decades ago providing interesting material for the history of Hephtalite and Sasanian administrative practices south of the Oxus river. On the other hand, the areas north of the Oxus river were mainly influenced by the Western Turk Khaganate as well as the Tang dynasty of China in the 6th and 7th centuries, though their political control was not entirely complete in Central Asia due to geographical and other reasons. In the main oasis cities of preislamic Central Asia, there were local dynasts of mainly eastern Iranian background as vassals of the Chinese or the Western Turk Khaganate in the 6th and 7th centuries, though our knowledge is rather scarce about their chronology. It appears, however, that in Kāth, which was the capital of Ḫwārizm, the local Āfriġid dynasty ruled since the 4th century until 998 according to al-Bīrūnī.[3]

[3] For the study of preislamic Ḫwārizm and the Āfriġids see Clifford Edmund BOSWORTH: "Āl-e Āfrīḡ", *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition.* "https://iranicaonline.org/articles/al-e-afrig%20 1984"https://iranicaonline.org/articles/al-e-afrig 1984

The importance of the *History of Bukhara* cannot be overestimated relating to the Soghdians. As it is well-known, Soghdian cities flourished in the central and eastern parts of Central Asia, but we hear about Soghdian settlements well beyond the historical Soghdia in present-day western China, Kazakhstan and the Crimean peninsula. Soghdians played a pivotal role in organizing the Silk roads and were excellent tradesmen building a commercial empire between China, the Steppe and the Eastern Roman Empire.[4]

## *Soghdian states in Central Asia and the History of Bukhara*

As for the political map of Soghdia prior to the Islamic conquest, our knowledge is as fragmented as these Soghdian principalities could have been in the 6th-7th centuries. Our Chinese sources speak of the rule of nine families in Soghdia, referring to nine major cities and provinces of Samarkand, Bukhara, Kiš, Baikand, Maymurġ, Ištīḫān, Kabūdānjakath,[5] Usrūšana,[6] Kūšānšahr.[7] However, it appears that this list extracted from Chinese sources does not cover the entire area of Soghdia. Important centres of Soghdia such as Waraḫša, Wardāna, Tirmidh, Čāč are totally missing from this list. Therefore, it is not well understood where the exact boundaries of Soghdia were located in late antiquity. For instance, Soghdia included territories south of Oxus in the Kushan era (1st–3rd centuries AD), such as Tuḫāristān, which traditionally were linked rather to Bactria. On the other hand there are doubts on the status of Bukhara as an integral part of historical Soghdia. On the Orkhon inscriptions of Kül tegin, or in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* of the late 10th century or in the Soghdian *Nāfnāmak,* Bukhara is traditionally considered as being outside of the boundaries of Soghdia, despite its Soghdian speaking population well into the 10th century. This distinction can be felt also in Naršaḫī when he describes Tarḫūn, the ruler of 'Suġd' as a king of a different province unrelated to Bukhara during the wars with the incoming Arabs in the 8th century (18–20th chapters).[8]

Due to the extreme scarcity of our preislamic sources, it is rather difficult to assess the political history of preislamic Soghdian dynasties. To make the political map more complicated, most of these local Soghdian families with their rather fragmentary inner borders were often vassals of several major powers such as the Chionites in the 4th century, the Hephtalites in the 5th–6th centuries and later

[4] For the study of Soghdian commercial activity the most erudite essay was written by de la Vaissière, see Étienne de la Vaissière: *Sogdian Traders. A History*. Leiden, Brill, 2005.

[5] Maymurġ, Ištīḫān, Kabūdānjakath were provinces north of Zarafšān mountains

[6] Roughly identical with the Farghana valley.

[7] Presumably the area between Samarkand and Bukhara.

[8] Matteo Compareti: *Samarkand the Center of the World, Proposal for the Identification of the Afrasyab Paintings*. Costa Mesa, Mazda Publishers, 2016. 13–18.

the Western Turk Khaganate and Tang China made attempts to exert their influence north of the Oxus river.

It is only Samarkand, the traditional heartland of Soghdia and Bukhara which provide us with a rather fragmentary list of local rulers based on Islamic (mainly Naršaḫī and al-Ṭabarī), Chinese sources as well as some numismatic data add some further names, but in general our written accounts suffer from much inadequacy. Our sources, including the *History of Bukhara* of Naršaḫī apply the title *ḫudāt* for the kings of Bukhara, while the rulers of Samarkand and Farghana *iḫšīd* (Soghdian: xšyδ, xšēδ). However, our informations on other Soghdian dynasties of Kiš, Tirmidh, Usrūšana Čāč, Wardāna, Waraḫša, Baikand in the preislamic period are extremely limited.[9]

## *The Beginnings of preislamic Bukhara*

The fact, that Bukhara originally was on the western periphery or even outside of old Soghdia, is supported by its relatively late date of foundation. Due to the lack of extensive excavations in the old city of Bukhara, we cannot be sure concerning the date of the very first settlements in Bukhara. Though newly discovered findings may hint to the existence of a Hellenistic Bukhara, the rise of Bukhara coincides with the emergence of the Soghdian commercial empire in the 4–5th centuries AD which may refer to the possible arrival of Soghdian colonists to the Bukhara oasis from east of present-day Bukhara. Late antiquity witnessed a heightened colonizing activity of Soghdian tradesmen when new places such as Tashkent (or as it was called in Soghdian Čāč) or Isfījāb (present-day Sayram in Kazakhstan) were founded outside of Soghdia by Soghdian colonists. It is also important to stress that besides the city of Bukhara there were several other places in the Bukhara oasis which were as significant as Bukhara (such as Waraḫša, Rāmītān, Baikand).[10]

As far as the foundation and administration of preislamic Bukhara are concerned, the *History of Bukhara* gives us a very detailed report on the water channels around Bukhara which could have served as the economic basis for the local Soghdian population. Though a large number of the citizens, especially the men, were possibly itinerant merchants trading with China mainly at the Silk roads, those remaining in Bukhara were predominantly agriculturalists whose main income came from those irrigated areas in the Bukhara oasis. The detailed description of the water channels by Naršaḫī can help us to somehow reconstruct the social and political institutions of late antique Bukhara. It appears,

[9] Naršaḫī 2021, op.cit,164. Compareti, op.cit, 13–18.

[10] For instance for the importance of Baikand, another major urban centre in the Bukhara oasis: Sören Stark: "The Earliest Attestation of Paykand", *Journal Asiatique* 309/1 (2021), 97–105. For the beginnings of Bukhara: Richard Nelson Frye: "Bukhara. i. In Pre-Islamic Time", *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition*. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/bukhara-i

that Bukhara was ruled by a local Soghdian king, called *ḫudāt*, parts of the local elite came from the local Soghdian aristocracy and from the so called *dihqān* group as it was mentioned several times by Naršaḫī. The *dihqāns* seemed to be rich landowners and/or merchants according the informations provided Naršaḫī. Apparently the *ḫudāts* acquired the power of Bukhara through the possession and (re)distribution of the water channels of the Zarafšān river and the crop fields around Bukhara among the members of their retinue (13th chapter). It appears that objects linked to the so called Silk roads and the revenues gained from transcontinental trade routes were less important in creating a firm basis for the power of the kings of Bukhara before Islam. [11]

Nevertheless, memories of the Silk roads and the once thriving Soghdian commercial empire are also echoed in the *History of Bukhara*. The story of the merchants of Baikand returning from China and their attempts to free their wives from Arab captivity, as well as the tale of mesmerizing treasures amassed by these merchants of Baikand in local sanctuaries well demonstrate the involvement of local Soghdian communities involved in long-distance commercial activity along the Silk roads. The *History of Bukhara* also makes references to the well-known Soghdian settlements Tarāz and Isfijāb. It was in Tarāz, that the Byzantine envoy, Zemarchus met Ištemi, the *yabghu* of the Western Turk Khaganate in 568 to create a Byzantine-Western Turkic political alliance against the Sasanians. As for Isfijāb, there is a brief reference in the *History of Bukhara* to a Christian church still active in late 9th century which was converted into a mosque by Ismāʿīl Sāmānī (892-907) according to Naršaḫī (23th chapter).[12]

The very much fragmentary political situation in the Bukhara oasis is well depicted by the *History of Bukhara*, where the *ḫudāts*, these rather petty local rulers of the Bukhara oasis waged regular wars against each other on a regular basis, and these skirmishes very much contributed to the success of the conquering Muslim armies of Qutaiba b. Muslim in occupying Bukhara. Western Turkic influence is also well attested in the early history of Bukhara by Naršaḫī, the legendary story on the foundation of Bukhara mentions a certain Šīr-i kišwar (name of which appears to be a Persian translation of the Western Turkic Īl-Arslān), as well as political figures of Turkic descent such as Abrūy és Qarā Jūrin Turk (3rd chapter). On the other hand, the city of Bukhara maintained its autonomy governed by local Soghdian elites in the 6th–7th centuries who allegedly could have made important financial and administrative services to the Western Turkic Khaganate.[13]

[11] Compareti, op.cit, 7–8. Naršaḫī 2021, op. cit., 162–171.

[12] de la Vaissière, op. cit, 327–328.

[13] Vasiliy Vladimirovich Barthold–Richard Nelson Frye: "Buk̲h̲ārā", *The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition (2nd Edition).*v. I. Leiden–New York, Brill, 1960, 1293–1296. Compareti, op.cit, 45–49.

*The preislamic elites and social institutions of Bukhara*

Our knowledge is extremely scarce about the earliest Buḫār Ḫudāts, As for the Bukharan kinglist provided by the *History of Bukhara*, Naršaḫī calls the first ruler of Bukhara Abrūy (or Abarzī in another transliteration), whereas numismatical data do not support this view, and it appears that the earliest Bukhar Ḫudāt was called Ašdād. It is more interesting that Naršaḫī uses the name Kana as a name of a ruler, here it is tempting to assume that the name Kana was part of an ancient Soghdian royal title (*βwγʾr γwβ kʾwʾ* vagy *kʾnʾ 'heroic king of Bukhara'*) and *kʾn'* could have meant 'hero' in Bukharan Soghdian. Another obscure figure mentioned by the *History of Bukhara* is that of Māḫ, whose identity remains unknown in other sources, but in *History of Bukhara* Māḫ is called the king of Bukhara and the founder of the so called 'idol-market' where idols (deities of an undisclosed non-Islamic religious cult) were sold once a year according to Naršaḫī well into the Islamic period.

Ironically, it is the military expeditions of the Islamic caliphate which helps us to identify some of the Buḫār Ḫudāts. It seems to be that the very first identifiable king of Bukhara was Bidūn (or Bindū) who was murdered in 681 in Bukhara and whose name occurs in several later Arabic and Classical Persian sources. Bidūn's widow, whose original name remains rather in shadow, being simply called as Ḫātūn (queen in Soghdian and in several Turkic languages) is also a popular figure in our early Islamic accounts relating to Bukhara. In this sense, the *History of Bukhara* is especially important by glorifying the rather heroic and valiant queen of Bukhara who bravely resisted the Arabs in the early 8th century. Ḫātūn's semi historical-semi legendary episodes, besides many intriguing details on clashes of Arabs with Soghdians and Turks, give Naršaḫī's work a fairly epic character, where traces of local popular legends and folk tales could have influenced the narrative (3rd and 18th chapters). Tuġšāda, the son of Ḫātūn is another notable and very complicated character of the *History of Bukhara*. His rather flamboyant personality, his balancing policy between local Soghdian elites and Arab amirs of Ḫurāsān greatly enrich our knowledge on the first half of the 8th century and the first decades of Islamic rule in Central Asia. Tuġšāda, himself fell victim of a plot masterminded by unhappy Soghdian aristocrats and the description of his funeral by Naršaḫī gives us a rare glimps to local Zoroastrian funeral practices of Central Asia of the mid-8th century.

As for the curiosities, institutions of Soghdian Bukhara described by Naršaḫī, mention should be made of a Bukharan military muster, where a group of young noblemen formed the ceremonial double line according to the *History of Bukhara* (3rd chapter). It is probable that this description can refer to the noble guardians of Soghdia called čākar (*'servant'* in Soghdian) and mentioned by Chinese and Arabic sources as well. This institution could be widespread in the courts of Soghdian principalities before the 8th century. The popularity and perhaps the

efficiency of the Soghdian čākar guardian units resulted in its survival even in later times, when for instance caliph al-Ma'mun reestablished it as *al-šākiriyya* during his rule. The institution of *al-šākiriyya* survived well into the 870's in the Abbasid court in Baghdad and Samarra as a special military unit recruited from Central Asia with a significant Soghdian ethnic contribution. It seems to be that the description of Naršaḫī on the guardianship of the Khatun of Bukhara is a hitherto largely unnoticed account of the čākar institution.[14]

A more difficult issue is the case of the so called *kaškatha* people in Naršaḫī (12th chapter). Bukhara, as a major trading centre already in late antiquity could have several neighbourhoods of different ethnic or religious groups. As for the *kaškatha* it was suggested by Frye that they can be of Kushan ethnic background, however there is no clue to prove their Kushan origin in Naršaḫī's account. It is also not well-known for what reason the *kaškathas* were highlighted in Naršaḫī's narrative.

## *Non-Islamic religious groups in the History of Bukhara*

Apparently the most fascinating part of Naršaḫī's preislamic accounts relates religious history. It is the different non-islamic cults so frequently mentioned by Naršaḫī which make the *History of Bukhara* a unique source of nativist religious cults well into the Islamic period. For instance we can mention the description of the idol market of the rather mythical king Māh of Bukhara, which once could be in the vicinity of the Maġuk-i Aṭṭārān mosque (still existing in modern-day Bukharan old town). The detailed story of this idol market (6th chapter, still operating in mid-10th century when Naršaḫī lived!) can hint a relatively slow and prolonged process of Islamization among the local people of *Bukhārā-i šarīf*, where despite the triumph of Sunni Islam during the Abbasids and the Samanids, different religious groups of the previous centuries could have survived well into the mid-10th century. In this regard the idol market of king Māh stands out as a rare evidence for the tenacious survival of a non-Islamic Soghdian society in the Samanid period. On the other hand it is not exactly clear which religious movement is featured in this episode of the *History of Bukhara*. Being a multicultural society with widespread presence in Eurasia, Soghdians had a good knowledge of numerous religious cults prevalent along the Silk roads as it was testified by various Buddhist, Manichaean, Zoroastrian and Christian texts penned in Soghdian.[15]

On the other hand, the funeral process Tuġšāda the Buḫār Ḫudāt (25th chapter) mentioned by Naršaḫī leaves no doubt on its clearly Zoroastrian character

[14] de la Vaissière, op. cit, 285.

[15] For the history of Soghdian manichaeism see: Kósa *Gábor: "A kaméleon-misszió A manicheus térítés technikái", Conversio. Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Karán 2011. szeptember 22–23-án tartott vallástudományi konferencia előadásai.* Szerk. Déri Balázs. Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Vallástudományi Központ, 2013, 304, 310, 311, 319, 323, 329.

for the readers of modern times (and perhaps for the readers of Samanid period as well). Tuġšāda was killed in 739 by two outraged Soghdian *dihqāns* in the court of the Arab amir Ḫurāsān in the city of Marw and the hasty and for Muslim eyes definitely horrifying process of separation of human flesh and body took place in Marw according to Naršaḫī. Though Tuġšāda showed growing signs of willingness for cooperation with his Arab overlords during his rule, the decision of his servants to strictly follow local Zoroastrian funeral practices after his assassination even in the presence of the amir of Ḫurāsān, shows that the Soghdian ruler of Bukhara remained a faithful adherent of Central Asian Zoroastrianism until the very end of his life. The removal of the flesh from the bones of the Tuġšāda and the transport of the bones to Bukhara clearly refers to an essentially Zoroastrian funeral rite widely practiced in 8th century Soghdia where Islam just started to spread a few decades before.[16]

Traces of Buddhism and Buddhist influences can be also found in Naršaḫī's chronicle. The *History of Bukhara* several times speaks about the construction of '*butḫāna*s', though the Classical Persian term '*butḫāna*' can be interpreted as a temple of idols literally and therefore it cannot be assigned exclusively to Buddhism. A possible influence of Chinese Buddhism can be felt in the episode of the dynastic marriage of Šīr-i kišwar, the legendary founder of Bukhara where mention is made about the arrival of a '*butḫāna*' from China to Bukhara as a part of the dowry of a Chinese princess. In this story the only major question is that of the chronology given that Tang influences were rather prevalent in Bukhara since the mid-7th century whereas the name of Šīr-i kišwar as a possible Classical Persian translation of a Turkic Il Arslan who lived in the late 6th century CE as a son of the high ranking Western Turkic prince Ištemi yabghu. Chinese dominance in Bukhara became strong only during Tang emperors or Taizong (626–649) and Gaozong (650–683) when the area of Bukhara seems to be a Chinese protectorate. [17] However, Naršaḫī's account about the arrival of a Chinese '*butḫāna*', despite the chronological inadequacies, can be a distant echo of Chinese Buddhist activities[18] in 7th century Bukhara (3rd chapter).

One of the most exciting and most detailed episodes of the whole chronicle of Naršaḫī is the account of al-Muqannaᶜ. A vehemently anti-Arab and anti-Islamic religious group, the followers of al-Muqannaᶜ represent the last major local uprising against the Islamic rule in the years of 760-770. In this regard, *The History of Bukhara* is an exceptionally valuable source offering fascinating details on al-Muqannaᶜ's revolt not found in other written sources. The ceremonies of al-Muqannaᶜ, the words attributed to al-Muqannaᶜ in Naršaḫī as well as the circumstances of his death all reflect the complexity of his religious views sug-

[16] Frye, 1954. op.cit, 141. 223. n.

[17] Compareti, op.cit, 40–45.

[18] de la Vaissière, op. cit, 77–79; Compareti, op. cit., 34.

gesting it as an interesting amalgam of gnostic and perhaps Buddhist elements (27–28th chapters).[19]

Preislamic Central Asian rural messianism is also well-represented in the *History of Bukhara*. The grave of Siyāwuš in Bukhara, signs of his cult in the Bukhara oasis as late as the 10th century, the yearly cock killing sacrificies by local Zoroastrian magi all clearly suggest its widespread popularity in early Islamic Central Asia. Naršaḫī's description on the cults of Siyāwuš, who could be originally a deity of dying and nascent vegetation hailing from Central Asia according to newer archaeological findings, shows the process of gradual absorption of a preislamic cult into the medieval Muslim culture of Bukhara, where the memories of Siyāwuš and the legendary Turanian king Afrāsiyāb coexists with the adherence of Hanafi Muslim sheikhs such as Abū Ḥafṣ (1067–1142) whose tomb was in the direct vicinity of that of attributed to Afrāsiyāb according to Naršaḫī (4th chapter), while the tomb of Siyāwuš was at the gate of the Ark (Citadel) of Bukhara according to local legends (8th chapter). The convivance of parallel pilgrimage sites of Afrāsiyāb, Siyāwuš and Abū Ḥafṣ hints once again the acceptance of certain preislamic traditions in medieval Islamic Bukhara.[20]

Besides elements of these greater religious movements, Naršaḫī also preserved traces of heroic legends of preislamic background, which can be connected to other Turkic or Persian legends of the late antiquity. The name of the so called Copper city (*madīnat al-ṣufr* in Arabic*, baqïr balïγ* in old Turkic or *šahr/šahristān-i rūyīn, diz-i rūyīn* in Persian) is several times mentioned in Naršaḫī (4th and 7th chapters) who interestingly locates it in the Bukhara oasis and in two cases he explicitly identifies the ancient city of Baikand near Bukhara as the Copper City. [21] According to Firdawsī, the Copper City was a magic fortress once ruled by Arjāsb, the mythical Turanian hero who was killed by Isfandiyār, an Iranian herp. In other Middle Persian texts (such as the Bundahišn) and medieval Islamic sources (such as the *Siyāsatnāma*) the *baqīr kūf* or *qal'a-i mis* are mentioned as places where famous figures, heroes such as Mazdak, Abū Muslim or the Shiite Mahdī reside and wait for their return at the end of times.

[19] Patricia Crone: *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran. Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, 128–129.

[20] For the multireligious Soghdian society see: Frantz Grenet: "Iranian Gods in Hindu Garb: The Zoroastrian Pantheon of the Bactrians and Sogdians, Second-Eighth Centuries", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 20 (2006), 87–99. Frantz Grenet: "Religious Diversity among Sogdian Merchants in Sixth-Century China: Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaesim and Hinduism", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27 (2007): 2, 463–478.

[21] For the concept of Copper City see: Czeglédy Károly: "Bahrām Čōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 8 (1958). 1, 21–43. Alireza Shapur Shahbazi: Bahrām VI Čōbīn", *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition*. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/bahram-06 466-467. Khodadad Rezakhani: *ReOrienting the Sasanians: East Iran in Late Antiquity*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2017. 178.

## *The decline of the Soghdian language*

The *History of Bukhara* covers the centuries of a linguistic transition as well when the once widely spoken Soghdian language strongly linked to preislamic cultural and religious customs and manners is gradually replaced by other languages coming from the South and from North representing the emerging Islamicate civilisation. It is probably the 10th century CE when the usage of the Soghdian is largely marginalized in and around Bukhara and in other cities of al- Suġd. As we know, Soghdian does not disappear entirely since at least one Soghdian dialect survives in present-day Tajikistan in the valley of Yaghnāb, however, it appears Soghdian became rather a domestic language in the major urban centers of Central Asia by the early 11th century, though some Soghdian settlements outside Central Asia (in the peripheries of the traditional Soghdian populated areas) still continued to write in Soghdian for a while.

Soghdian as a language and a culture failed to adapt itself to the new Islamic milieu which fact contributed its disappearance from the linguistic map of Islamicate Central Asia. The Flemish monk Rubruck and the Armenian chronicler Het'um still record the scattered groups of Soghdian merchants in the 13–14th centuries in present-day Western China and Mongolia.[22] As far as the decline of the Soghdian language of Bukhara is concerned, according to de la Vaissière it was the first third of the 10th century CE when the last Soghdian speaking generation was born in Bukhara. It is also possible thar in the villages around Bukhara Soghdian persisted for a longer period. Al-Muqaddasī records that Muḥammad b. Faḍl, a Hanafite imam in Bukhara used often the *lisan al-Suġd* in the second half of the 10th century CE.[23] However the extreme scarcity of Soghdian written in Arabic letters imply that Soghdian was not included to the nascent new culture of Central Asia, where Persian and several Turkic languages will rule the linguistic map throughout the middle ages. Soghdian was increasingly regarded as a relic of a more and more distant period of nonislamic cultural practices of Central Asia.

It is very possible that Naršaḫī belonged to the abovementioned last generation of Soghdian speakers of Bukhara, he several times refers to the '*Bukharan language*' spoken in Bukhara which apparently can be a local variant of 10th century Soghdian and it is also probable that some tales and legendary stories which we can read in the accounts of Naršaḫī could have come from local oral sources rather than from written ones. Naršaḫī also preserved two short Soghdian glosses relating to the inauguration of the Friday mosque by the conquering Arabs.

[22] Rubruck speaks in 1253–1254 about a group called 'Soldaini' in the court of the Golden Horde. Het'um, an Armenian monk in his report prepared for the French royal court mentions a Central Asian Christian group called 'Soldini (Soldin, Soldi)', who 'did not pray in Greek'. COMPARETI, op. cit, 59.

[23] DE LA VAISSIÈRE, op. cit, 289.

Here during the first salat, the local Soghdians who were new Muslims needed some training in performing Islamic rakaats during the salat. Thus some instructions were told in Soghdian for those less trained in Islamic rituals, and these two short sentences were preserved in original. Did it mean that the audience of Naršaḫī's work still spoke some Soghdian in the mid-10 century? I would be inclined to say rather yes, though we must keep in mind that the entire work of Naršaḫī was written in Arabic originally. A more surprising sign of a vernacular early Islam in Bukhara is also mentioned at the same scenario of Soghdian *ṣalāt* instruction. Naršaḫī says that while the instructions for the proper *ṣalāt* were said in Soghdian, the Qur'an recitation was sung in Persian in 709, the year when the victorious Arabic armies of Qutaiba b. Muslim successfully occupied the city of Bukhara (21st chapter). It can mean that most of Qutaiba's army seems to be bilingual Arabo-Persian as early as the first years of the 8th century suggesting that a very early variant of Classical Persian perhaps served as an important vernacular language among the first Islamic conquerors of Bukhara. It also refers to the rather fascinating nativism of Central Asian early Islam where local languages such as Soghdian, Persian and perhaps also Turkic were allowed to be used occasionally during Friday *ṣalāts* and where the exclusivity of Arabic was not yet established among the new converts of Ḫurāsān and Central Asia.[24]

*Abstract*

*The present essay addresses aspects of the preislamic material preserved in Naršaḫī's* History of Bukhara. *The* History of Bukhara *is the oldest extant chronicle of Central Asia penned by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad Naršaḫī in Arabic in the 10th century CE, later the whole text was translated into Persian (and possibly abbreviated) in the 12th century CE. It appears that Naršaḫī's work contains important details on preislamic Bukhara. The history of Bukhara writes extensively on the decades of the Islamic conquests of Bukhara and Central Asia, the Soghdian-Turkic resistance against the Arabs where detailed descriptions of Arabic military expeditions are sometimes intertwined with folkloric elements. Of particular importance are the accounts relating to preislamic social and military institutions of ancient Bukhara as recorded by Naršaḫī. Further important preislamic material was preserved in the accounts relating to the local religious communities of Bukhara of the 6–10th centuries CE, here we encounter traces of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and early traces of Islam in Bukhara we also learn about an idol bazar still flourishing in 10th century*

[24] For the aspects of the vernacular Qur'an in the early Islamic period see: Travis Zadeh: *The Vernacular Qur'an Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2012. 70–75. Fort the aspects of the birth of the New Persian and its very first texts: Christian Rempis: "Die ältesten Dichtungen in Neupersich", *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 101 (1951),126–127. Gilbert Lazard: *La langue des plus ancients monuments de la prose persane*. Paris, 1963.

*Bukhara. As for the heterodox manners and customs of al-Muqannaᶜ's religious movement, the History of Bukhara is the most valuable source of information having detailed descriptions of this otherwise little known cult of the late 8th century CE.*

Keywords
Naršaḫī, Bukhara, Soghdians, Zoroastrianism, Central Asia, Ḫurāsān, Turks, Caliphate, Samanids

*Rezümé*

Jelen dolgozat a Naršaḫī *Bukhara története* című művében fennmaradt preiszlám vonatkozású megjegyzéseket tárgyalja. A *Bukhara története* Közép-Ázsia legrégebbi fennmaradt krónikája, amelyet Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad Naršaḫī írt arabul az i. sz. 10. században, később a teljes szöveget lefordították perzsára a 12. században. Úgy tűnik, Naršaḫī munkája fontos részleteket őrzött a preiszlám Bukharáról. Egyes fejezeteiben bőséges beszámolót olvashatunk Bukhara és Közép-Ázsia muszlim hódításának éveiről, az arabellenes szogd-török katonai szövetség lépéseiről, itt olykor a katonai expedíciók részletes leírása folklorisztikus leírásokkal keveredik. Különös jelentőséggel bírnak azok a beszámolók, amelyek az ókori Bukhara preiszlám társadalmi és katonai intézményeire vonatkoznak. Újabb fontos preiszlám vonatkozású adatokat találunk a Kr.u. 6–10. századi bukharai helyi vallási közösségekkel kapcsolatos beszámolókban. A buddhizmusról, a zoroasztrianizmusról és a közép-ázsiai iszlám korai nyomairól több érdekes megjegyzést láthatunk, aminthogy olvashatunk a Bukharában még a 10. században is virágzó bálványbazárról is. Ami pedig al-Muqannaᶜ vallási mozgalmának heterodox szokásait illeti, Naršaḫī krónikája a legértékesebb információforrás, amely részletes leírásokat tartalmaz a 8. század végén kialakult, egyébként kevéssé ismert kultuszról.

Kulcsszavak
Naršaḫī, Bukhara, szogdok, zoroasztriánusok, Közép-Ázsia, Khurászán, türkök, kalifátus, Számánidák

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Kinga Dévényi

# Samarqand, a centre of mediaeval scholarship in the mirror of Arabic manuscripts

## *1. Introduction*

Samarqand, a town in contemporary Uzbekistan, a major stop on the Silk Road for several centuries, and one of the main towns of the central Islamic lands in the late mediaeval period, was home to several illustrious scholars of Islam. The outstanding importance of this locality for Islamic scholarship and culture is well reflected in the existence of a biographical dictionary dedicated to the learned men of Samarqand.[1] Hundreds of scholars associated with Samarqand rose to great fame in various – sometimes faraway – parts of the Islamic world. Their teachings resounded in the commentaries composed to elucidate their intentions.

The present article deals with a tiny portion of this rich heritage. The seemingly arbitrary selection was defined by the collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In the focus of our interest stands the city of Samarqand, which unites the authors of these manuscripts, since they were either born there or were living there or ended their lives in the city.

## *2. Arabic manuscripts in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

After its foundation in 1826 by Count József Teleki (1790–1855), the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences opened its doors for scholars in 1844, and for the use of all the citizens of the country in 1867, after having moved to its newly constructed neo-classical palace. In the course of the following decades, the collection grew thanks to several sources, among which donations have always played a prominent part. This holds true for the small collection of Arabic manuscripts, which contains 306 works in 179 manuscripts. The background of these manuscripts is quite varied. No great collector can be singled out, although a

[1] Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142): *al-Qand fī dhikr ʿulamāʾ Samarqand*, edited by Naẓar Muḥammad al-Fāryābī, Maktabat al-Kawthar, 1412/1991; also edited by Yūsuf al-Hādī. Teheran, al-Mīrāth al-Makhṭūṭ, 1378 [1999]. Unfortunately, the Arabic manuscripts – preserved in Istanbul and Paris – which served as the basis of the editions are defective, i.e. names starting with several letters of the alphabet are missing. This defectiveness and the limitation imposed by the date of the composition combined with the length of the volume make us realise even more the importance of this cultural centre.

significant number of the volumes can be traced back to the small community of Turkish Muslims who lived in Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century under the spiritual leadership of Imām ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 1946), while another part was acquired in Istanbul by a Hungarian theologian, Lipót Mosony(i) (born Dangelmayer) (1886–1940), who had been sent there by the Hungarian government in 1914 to search for archival documents relevant to the history of Hungary. In addition to these two main sources, individual collectors also made valuable donations. Concerning manuscripts from Central Asia, mention should be made first and foremost of the donations made by the noted scholar Arminius Vámbéry (d. 1913), one of the first Europeans who visited the Central Asian khanates during his travels in 1862–1863 as a Muslim pilgrim.[2] Vámbéry, however, was not particularly interested in Arabic manuscripts, and accordingly, very few Arabic manuscripts in the collection bear his ownership stamp. On the list of donors, the name of Bertalan Ónody (d. 1892), a Hungarian landowner and notary from the town of Nyírbátor, can also be found. He travelled to Central Asia in 1875 to study the crop plants there, and more specifically the various types of melons the seeds of which he brought home. Upon his return, he published several articles on his findings together with a description of his travels in the Khanate of Khiva.[3] In addition, he donated to the Library of the Academy several important Central Asian manuscripts, mainly in Persian and Turkish, but also one in Arabic.[4]

## *3. Samarqand, an early centre of Islamic civilisation in Central Asia*

After the age of the conquests in the 1st/7th and early 2nd/8th centuries, the Islamisation of Central Asia started in and around the great oasis centres along the Silk Road, Bukhārā, Samarqand and Kokand.[5] From among these towns Samarqa-

[2] He recorded the events of this journey in two separate volumes, one dealing with his Central Asian travels (*Közép-ázsiai utazás* [Central Asian journey], Pest, Emich Gusztáv, 1865), the other with his travels in Persia (*Vándorlásaim és élményeim Persiában* [My wanderings and experiences in Persia], Pest, Heckenast Gusztáv, 1867).

[3] See e.g. Bertalan Ónody: "Vázlatok középázsiai utamból [Sketches from My Trip to Central Asia]". *Földrajzi Közlemények* 1876, 121–139, 167–177.

[4] This is Arab O. 8 which will be described below. On the history of the collection, see Kinga Dévényi et al.: *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, Leiden, Brill; Budapest, LHAS, 2016, 3–11. On the mission of L. Mosony(i) see, Csorba György – Fodor Gábor: "Mosony Lipót – történeti kutatás és magyar kultúrpolitika Konstantinápolyban, 1914–1916 [Lipót Mosony – Historical Research and Hungarian Cultural Policy in Constantinople, 1914–1916]". *Századok* CLII, 2018, 317–350. On the history of the Ónody family in general and the life of Bertalan Ónody in particular, see Kövér György: "Az Ónody fivérek [The Ónody brothers]". In Oborni Teréz – Á. Varga László (eds): *Memoria Rerum: Tanulmányok Bán Péter tiszteletére* [Studies in Honour of Péter Bán], Eger, Heves Megyei Levéltár, 2008, 289–314, esp. 299–301.

[5] Philip Khuri Hitti: *The History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. London, MacMillan, 1984, 462. Clifford Edmund Bosworth: "The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate and the Age of the Sultanates". In Idris El Hareir – El

nd has for a long time been the most important both in its extent and population, overshadowing even Bukhārā, the capital of the Sāmānids (874–999).[6] Several factors contributed to the importance of this town, ranging from its geographical position at the junction of major trade routes to the fertility of its neighbourhood to its being inhabited since ancient times.[7]

Soon various centres of learning developed in the region. Among these, the so-called *dabīristān*s, which evolved from pre-Islamic centres of learning, served the immediate needs of the rulers, providing them with efficient scribes (first called *dabīr*, and later *munshi*ʾ or *kātib*) and administrators, sometimes elevated to the position of *wazīr*s, well versed in a wide range of secular sciences.[8]

With the advent of the ʿAbbāsid period, *madrasa*s started to be founded in Central Asia, and the regions of Khurāsān and Transoxania are in fact considered to be the birthplace of this type of education, where – according to the sources – 33 *madrasa*s had been established before the appearance of the first *madrasa* in Baghdad, the capital of the ʿAbbāsid Empire.[9] It is without doubt that Samarqand was one of the centres of learning even if the early *madrasa*s only survive in their names.[10] The devastation caused by the Mongol conquest only temporarily affected the *madrasa*s, which could not only regain their position in the hierarchy of teaching, but underwent an unprecedented development which reinforced their standing as centres of scientific education in addition to being "colleges of law". This development continued undisrupted well into the 14th and 15th centuries, when Samarqand became once again one of the main cultural centres under Timur (d. 807/1405) and his successors.[11]

Hadji Ravane M'Baye (eds): *The Different Aspects of Islamic Culture*, III, *The Spread of Islam Throughout the World*, Paris, UNESCO, 2011, 363.

6 On the Samanid rule, cf. Marshall Goodwin Simms Hodgson: *The Venture of Islam*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1974, II, 492–493.

7 For a more in-depth history of the town based on the descriptions of Arab historians and geographers, see Wilhelm Barthold [Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd]: *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion,* Transl. and rev. by Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb, 2nd ed., Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1928, 81 ff.

8 Abdullodzhon K. Mirbabaev – Peter Zieme – Wang Furen: "The Development of Education: *Maktab*, *Madrasa*, Science and Pedagogy". In Clifford Edmund Bosworth – Muhammed Saifiddinovich Asimov (eds): *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* IV, *The Age of Achievement:* a. d. *750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century,* Part Two: *The achievements*, Paris, UNESCO, 2000, 31–32.

9 *Ibid*., 37. On the development of *madrasa* education in general, see George Makdisi: *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1981.

10 A good example of this is the Quthāmiyya Madrasa, see Barthold: 1928, 94.

11 Mirbabaev – Zieme – Furen 2000, 40.

## *4. The authors and their works in the Arabic manuscripts of the Oriental Collection*

Seven authors will be presented in a chronological order below,[12] one of whom lived in the 10th century, two – with a great leap forward in time – in the 14th, three in the 15th and one in the 16th. As will be seen, none of the works are autographs but copies or later, annotated versions. These works, however, were composed by some of the most significant scholars in the area, as evidenced by the fact that they were copied and used centuries later.

### 4.1. Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983)

One of the early Ḥanafī jurists and Māturīdī theologians[13] who rose to great fame was Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī,[14] often called Imām al-Hudā ("the Imam of Guidance"). His *nisba* refers to Samarqand, the place of his birth. Despite his fame and influential works, not much is known about his life. Having studied Ḥadīth with his father, he became a student of Abū Jaʿfar al-Hindawānī (d. 362/973), a scholar of Balkh, often called "Abū Ḥanīfa, the later".[15] This seems to indicate that al-Samarqandī left his hometown at a relatively early age to join the circle of this master. Thus, he could study Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*fiqh*) based on an uninterrupted chain of masters going back to Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), the disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767).[16] In fact, he became affiliated with the *madrasa* in Balkh and became the author of several important compositions in the fields of Koranic exegesis, theology, jurisprudence and Sufism.[17] From among his works, only two can be

[12] The chronological order will sometimes be supplanted by a logical sequence of the works.

[13] On the life, teachings, and influence of the most famous scholar of Samarqand, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, see Ulrich Rudolph: *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*, Leiden, Brill, 2015, and in particular 362–364 on al-Layth al-Samarqandī's theological views.

[14] For a succinct presentation of his life and works, see Josef van Ess: "Abu'l-Layṯ Samarqandī," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater, London,1983, 332–333; a version updated in 2011 is available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abul-lay-nasr-b (accessed on 8 January 2021).

[15] Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā ibn Khalīl Ṭāshkubrīʾzādah: *Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ*, ed. by Aḥmad Nayla, al-Mawṣil, Maṭbaʿat al-Zahrāʾ al-Ḥadītha, 1961, 2nd ed., 74.

[16] Abū l-Ḥasanāṭ Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī al-Hindī: *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya fī tarājim al-ḥanafiyya*, ed. by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Naʿsānī, al-Qāhira, Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿāda, 1324 [1906], 220.

[17] For his biography and works, see also Carl Brockelmann: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, C. F. Amelang, 1901, I, 196 (henceforward *GAL*); Carl Brockelmann: *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Supplementbänden*, Leiden, Brill, 1943–49, I, 347 (henceforward *GAL S*); Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī: *al-Aʿlām: qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-l-nisāʾ min al-ʿarab wa-l-mustaʿribīn wa-l-mustashriqīn*, Bayrūt, Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 1980, 5th ed., VIII, 348; ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla: *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn: tarājim muṣannifī l-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, Bayrūt, Muʾassasat al-Risāla, 1993, IV, 24. See also Muhammad Haron: "Abū'l-Layth al-Samarqandī's Life and Works with Special Reference to His al-Muqaddimah". *Islamic Studies*, XXXIII, 1994, 319–340.

found within the Arabic manuscripts of the Library's collection, together with a brief extract from his commentary on the Koran.

His short treatise entitled *Masāʾil Abī l-Layth fī l-īmān* exists in two copies (Arab Qu. 4/1 and Arab Qu. 5/1) in the Collection. They both form the first part of completely identical collected volumes of four treatises mainly concerned with jurisprudence and theology. In addition to this work, the volumes contain two anonymous compositions: *al-Furūḍ al-wājiba*, a Shāfiʿī legal tract on the religious duties of Muslims; and the *Risāla fī l-shahādatayn*, a short treatise on the two parts of the *shahāda*, the Islamic creed. The volumes end by incomplete copies of the popular theological compendium of the famous North African scholar, theologian and Sūfī, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), entitled *ʿAqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā*, also known as *Umm al-barāhīn*.[18]

The interest of the volumes lies in the fact that they both contain interlinear glosses written in Jawi script in Malay. This is no wonder because this book had once been so popular in Indonesia that it was simply known by the name of its author as "Samarqandi".[19] The manuscripts were copied on *daluang*, the traditional Indonesian paper made of paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*).[20]

The other work by Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī that can be found among the Arabic manuscripts of the Oriental Collection is his treatise on the preconditions for the ritual prayer entitled *Muqaddima fī l-ṣalāt.* It forms the second part of a collected volume (Arab O. 7) which contains three treatises on the conditions of prayer. The other tracts are a dated copy finished in the month of Rajab 1033 (April/May 1624) of the *Munyat al-muṣallī wa-ghunyat al-mubtadiʾ* (fols. 1v–63v) by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī (d. 705/1305),[21] and an anonymous writing on the conditions of prayer (*Kitāb Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt*, fols. 89v–94r). The copy of Abū l-Layth's treatise was also finished in 1033/1624. The whole volume seems to have been copied in that year somewhere in the Ottoman Empire, and it also contains a short prayer in Ottoman Turkish on fol. 64r. This tract of Abū l-Layth was in high

[18] This work not only had a great influence on Islam in South-East Asia but was also translated into Malay and commented upon by several Malay scholars. See Che' Razi bin Haji Jusoh: *The Malay Exposition of Al-Sanusi's Umm al-barahin*, Kuala Lumpur, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, IIUM, 2017.

[19] See Abraham Wilhelm Theodorus Juynboll: "Een moslimsche catechismus in het arabisch met eene javaansche interlineaire vertaling in pegonschrift uitgegeven en in het nederlandsch vertaald". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, XXIX, No. 2, [Ser. IV, vol. 5], 1881, 215–227, 228–231; see also Abraham Wilhelm Theodorus Juynboll, "Samarkandi' Catechismus opnieuw besproken". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, XXIX, No. 33, [Ser. IV, vol. 5], 1881, 267–284. Because of its immense popularity over a period of time, the work exists in several manuscript copies; see *GAL* I, 196 and *GAL S* I, 347.

[20] On this type of paper, see Yeni Budi Rachman – Tamara Adriani Salim: "Daluang Manuscripts from Cirebon, Indonesia: History, Manufacture and Deterioration Phenomena". *Restaurator: International Journal for the Preservation of Library and Archival Material,* XXXIX, 2018, 71–84.

[21] See *GAL* I, 383; *GAL S* I, 659, al-Ziriklī: 1980, VII, 261, and Kaḥḥāla: 1993, III, 643.

demand among the Turks, as is well shown by its being translated several times into Turkish.[22]

In addition to the above two works, a short excerpt from the Koran commentary entitled *Baḥr al-ʿulūm*[23] of the same author can be found incorporated into MS Arab O. 51, which is an undated fragment from a ritual textbook for mystical purposes. The volume contains a compilation of various, often anonymous texts predominantly in Arabic and in some instances in Ottoman Turkish. Based on the contents of the surviving passages, this ritual textbook seems to have been copied in the late 18th century and used by the Mīrghaniyya Ṣūfī order. The manuscript was badly damaged by moisture, and what survives starts on p. 181 according to the original Oriental pagination and continues until p. 518, while pages 1–180 are completely lost.[24] From al-Layth al-Samarqandī's Koran commentary, it only contains – on pp. 195–201 of the manuscript – the commentary on the verses of Chapter 93, *Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā*.

### 4.2. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī (d. ca. 722/1322)

Another influential author who was born in Samarqand and whose work is found in the Oriental Collection is Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī. Little is known about his life except that he was a versatile scholar who composed several textbooks in the fields of theology, logic, mathematics and astronomy, which were to become highly influential for many centuries by being taught in the *madrasa*s throughout the Islamic world.[25]

His major work in the art of disputation, one of the fundamental texts of this genre, is the *Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥth*. After the names of the author, it is also known under further titles as *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya*, *al-Risāla al-samarqandiyya* and *al-Risāla al-ḥusayniyya*. This work and its commentaries and super-commentaries can be found in two manuscripts of the Oriental Collection: Arab O. 91 and Arab O. 73. The former also contains an undated copy of the original text. Since the author's date of death has also been widely disputed, it might be interesting to note that one of the owners of this manuscript suggested (fol. 40r) a much later date by stating that al-Samarqandī wrote this treatise at the demand of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 998/1492). In addition to the treatise of al-Samarqandī, which is the second item (ff. 40r–50v) in MS Arab O. 91, this collected volume contains a dated

22 van Ess: 1983, 333 (updated 2011).

23 For the edition of the entire work, consult ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ – ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd – Zakariyyā ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Nawtī (eds): *Tafsīr al-Samarqandī al-musammā Baḥr al-ʿulūm*, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1413/1993.

24 For a detailed description of the contents of the volume, see Dévényi et al.: 2016, 223–226.

25 On his life and works, see İhsan Fazlioğlu: "Samarqandī: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī". In Thomas Hockey et al. (eds): *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, New York, Springer, 2014, 1911–1912, and the references there.

copy, finished by Walī Salmān in Tebrīz on 20 Rabīʿ al-ākhar 861 (17 March 1457), of an anonymous gloss (ff. 1r–39v) on an unidentifiable commentary – possibly that of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390)[26] – on the beginning of a treatise on logic also known as *al-Risāla al-Shamsiyya* of al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī (d. 675/1286), as well as the commentary (ff. 51r–80v) by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kātī (d. 760/1359) on another fundamental text of logic, the *Īsāghūjī* of Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1265). This in turn goes back to Porphyry's Greek original written around 270, which is an introduction to a chapter of Aristotle's *Organon*.

In connection with this treatise, mention should be made of MS Arab O. 73 as well, which contains a commentary and two glosses on al-Samarqandī's *Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥth,* attesting to the influence of this treatise well beyond the author's time and the confines of Transoxania, since it was copied by a certain Aḥmad ibn Mīrzā al-ʿAyntābī at the Sanqūriyya Madrasa in ʿAyntāb (today's Gaziantep) in Rabīʿ al-awwal 1042 (September–October 1632). The manuscript is full of interlinear and marginal notes which attest to its use in the *madrasa* curriculum probably even well after the date of its copying.[27]

Shams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, however, was very active in other fields as well. His influential textbooks covered a wide range of materials from astronomy to geometrics. In this context, mention should be made of his treatise entitled *Ashkāl al-taʾsīs,* which contains 35 propositions from the *Elements* of Euclid (fl. 300 BCE). This tract is contained in MS Arab O. 70 with its usual commentary by Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-Qāḍīzāda (d. 815/1412), an outstanding mathematician and astronomer.[28] The latter scholar was born in the town of Bursa but studied under several learned scholars in Khurāsān and Transoxania, ending up in the court of Timur in Samarqand, after whose death he found a patron there in the person of Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449), himself an exceptional astronomer. This manuscript was copied by Muṣṭafā ibn al-Ḥājjī Amīn ibn al-Ḥājjī Aḥmad on 5 Rabīʿ al-awwal 1157 (17 April 1744) and was purchased for 110 paras[29] in 1194/1780 (fol. 2r) by Ibrāhīm Edirnevī. It contains, on fols. 1r and 2r, various short inscriptions and couplets in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian, which attest to the multilingual environment in which this manuscript was used.

[26] On this author, see 4.3 below.

[27] See DÉVÉNYI et al.: 2016, figure 79.

[28] On his life and works, see Faiz Jamil RAGEP: "Qādīzāde al-Rūmī: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Rūmī". In Thomas HOCKEY et al. (eds), *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, New York, Springer, 2014, 1780–1781, and the references there. See also *GAL* II, 212; *GAL S* I, 840; AL-ZIRIKLĪ: 1980, VIII, 282; KAḤḤĀLA: 1993, III, 937.

[29] A currency of the Ottoman Empire from the reign of Murad IV (r. 1623–1640) until 1832.

### 4.3. Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390)

Under Timur's rule, an unprecedented development took place in Samarqand and his native Shahr-i Sabz, some 80 kms to the south. Grandiose building projects ensured the urban development of the re-established towns after the devastation caused by the Mongol conquest, and Samarqand was the beneficiary of enormous resources during this period and the following decades, a period which is often called the "Timurid renaissance".[30] Under these circumstances, Samarqand soon became a centre for art and learning, its flourishing together with the court of the ruler and the building of *madrasa*s attracted a large number of scholars from different corners of the Islamic world. A prominent member of this community of scholars at the court of Timur was Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, the author of valuable commentaries on various topics encompassing all fields of contemporary knowledge, from logic to rhetoric, from theology to morphology. He was such an established author that he was considered by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) the pinnacle of contemporary scholarship in the Eastern if not the whole Islamic world.[31]

The court of Timur often witnessed the disputations (*munāẓara*) of scholars, and especially between al-Taftāzānī and al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413). On one of these occasions the younger and sharp-witted al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, himself a remarkable author of pedagogical texts, was favoured by the ruler and declared the winner against al-Taftāzānī concerning the interpretation of Sura 2 (verses 2–5).[32] This loss of prestige saddened al-Taftāzānī so much that – as noted by his biographers – he died soon afterwards.[33] The work of both scholars, however, sur-

[30] Galina Anatolevna Pugachenkova: "Urban Development and Architecture. Part One: Transoxania and Khurasan". In Clifford Edmund Bosworth – Muhammed Saifiddinovich Asimov (eds): *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* IV, *The Age of Achievement:* a. d. *750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century,* Part Two: *The achievements*, Paris, UNESCO, 2000, 531–536. See also Roya Marefat: "The Heavenly City of Samarkand". *The Wilson Quarterly*, XVI, 1992, 33–38; *and Maria Eva* Subtelny: "Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Later Timurids". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, XX, 1988, 479–505.

[31] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī: *al-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa al-thāmina*, ed. by Fritz Krenkow, Ḥaydarābād, Maṭbaʿat Majlis Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1348–1350 [1929–1931], IV, 350, No. 953. See also Ghiyāth al-Dīn ibn Humām al-Dīn Khwandamir: *Habibu's-siyar.* III*, The Reign of the Mongol and the Turk*, translated and edited by Wheeler McIntosh Thackston, [Cambridge, Mass.]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1994, 109–110.

[32] The debate together with its circumstances, the arguments of the two scholars and the surviving versions was analysed in detail by Muḥammad Saʿdī Aḥmad Ḥassānayn: *"al-Munāẓara bayna Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī wa-l-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī fī jtimāʿ al-istiʿārataynː al-tabʿiyya wa-l-tamthīliyya: ʿarḍ wa-naqd". Majallat Kulliyyat al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya bi-l-Qāhira* XXXVI, 1439/2018, 1475–1600. See also William Smyth: "Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary: The Academic legacy of Al-Sakkākī's *Miftāḥ al-ʿUlūm*". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, CXII, 1992, 589–597, esp. 594.

[33] *Ibid*. See also al-Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir al-Mūsawī al-Khwānsārī al-Iṣbahānī: *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-sādāt*, ed. by Asad Allāh Ismāʿīliyyān, Tehran, Maktabat Ismāʿīliyyān, 1391 [2012], IV, 34–38, No. 327.

vived the period of their debates by becoming major sources that continued to be studied and served as the starting point of further commentaries and glosses in the curriculum of distant *madrasa*s all over the Islamic world in the following centuries.[34]

The large oeuvre of al-Taftāzānī is represented among the manuscripts of the Oriental Collection by commentaries on various branches of mediaeval Muslim scholarship. In the field of theology, MS Arab O. 44, a late 16th-century copy[35] of his commentary on the *al-ʿAqā'id* of ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), requires special attention since it was bequeathed to the Library by Arminius Vámbéry, his ownership stamp appearing on fol. 1r. The copy itself, however, was not made in Central Asia, but in Ottoman lands, as shown by its Ottoman Turkish inscriptions on fol. 1r dated 13 Dhū l-qaʿda 996 (4 October 1588), and the Persian couplets by a Turkish hand on the Castle of Revan (Riva Kalesi).

In the field of Islamic law, the first tract of the collected volume MS Arab O. 39 contains an incomplete copy of the author's abridgement of an influential treatise on the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), i.e. the *Mukhtaṣar Muntahā l-su'l wa-l-amal fī ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-jadal* of Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249), together with some of its several commentaries and glosses. The second tract in the volume, copied in 1189/1775, is the commentary of an important Shāfiʿī authority from Shīrāz, ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ījī (d. 756/1355), in the margin of which glosses by two of his disciples can be found, those of al-Taftāzānī and Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Abharī (d. 800/1398).[36]

Al-Taftāzānī was also very active in the various subfields of language sciences. One of his short compositions on grammar is entitled *al-Tarkīb al-jamīl fī ʿilm al-naḥw*. In this treatise, al-Taftāzāni summarised in less than a hundred words the essence of Arabic grammar. The third tract in the collected volume MS Arab O. 122 contains this work as commented upon by Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad Dabbāghzāda (d. 1114/1702). The manuscript is a fair copy of an autograph commentary which the author started to compose on 19 Shawwāl 1095 (29 September 1684) and finished on 8 Dhū l-Qaʿda 1095 (17 October 1684). A later explanation by an anonymous commentator is also given on the margin.

Rhetoric was another field in which al-Taftāzāni was very active. The main work which attracted the attention of different authors through an extended period of time was the abridgement by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338) of the third part of *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, an influential compendium by Yūsuf ibn Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), in which the author covered questions of morphology, syntax and rhetoric. In the third part, entitled *ʿIlm*

[34] On the far-reaching influence of the work of these two scholars on the subsequent *madrasa* curriculum, see Francis Robinson: "Ottomans–Safavids–Mughals. Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems". *Journal of Islamic Studies* VIII, 1997, 151–184, esp. 155 ff.

[35] It was copied by different hands and finished at the end of Shaʿbān 989, i.e., end of September 1581 (fol. 109v).

[36] On the third tract in this volume, see 4.4 below.

*al-maʿānī wa-l-bayān*, al-Sakkākī systematized rhetoric on the basis of what had been laid down by ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078).

The Oriental Collection holds several copies of al-Qazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ* together with its various commentaries, super-commentaries and glosses. It is worth noting that the commentaries and super-commentaries were often used to express their authors' differences of opinion concerning the original work and the view of other commentators. The shortened version (*al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar*) of al-Taftāzānī's commentary on the *Talkhīṣ* is contained in MS Arab O. 100, which was copied by various hands and finished in the locality of al-Zīlī[37] in 1065/1655. It is also available in an extract (MS Arab O. 127) made by Nūr al-Dīn Ḥamza ibn Durghūd (fl. 962/1555), a less-known author and teacher from Aydın.[38]

### 4.4. ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413)

Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, the scholar who challenged al-Taftāzānī, had already been teaching in Shiraz for ten years when the town was besieged by Timur in 789/1387. On account of his fame, he was granted protection at the request of one of Timur's *wazīr*s – his house having been marked by an arrow of Timur –, which allegedly also allowed him to save the lives of several women who found refuge at his house. After the siege, at the request of the *wazīr* who was instrumental in protecting him, he joined the court of Timur in Samarqand, where he remained until the latter's death.[39] In fact, most of his major works seem to have been finished there.[40]

The collected volume MS Arab O. 39 which – as has been noted above – includes al-Taftāzānī's glosses in the margin of its second tract concerning the commentary of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī on the *Mukhtaṣar Muntahā l-suʾl wa-l-amal* of Ibn al-Ḥājib, also contains as its third tract the glosses of al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī on the same commentary. After the name of the author, this treatise is also known as *al-Sharīfiyya*. In addition to al-Jurjānī's text, several further glosses can be found in the margins arranged in a neat design.[41]

[37] The interpretation of this name is dubious. It might be a reference to the Ḥanafī scholar al-Zīlī (d. ca. 1009/1600) from Sivas (Anatolia).

[38] *GAL* I, 296; *GAL S* I, 519; al-Ziriklī:1980, II, 277; Kaḥḥāla: 1993, I, 655.

[39] Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzādah: *al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿuthmāniya*, Beirut, Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1395/1975, 29–30. See also Khwandamir: 1994, 111.

[40] For an excellent in-depth study on al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's life and works, based on the thorough analysis of historical sources, see Josef van Ess: "Jorjānī, Zayn-al-din Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAli". *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XV, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater, New York, 2009, 21–29 and its updated version at https://iranicaonline.org/articles/jorjani-zayn-al-din-abul-hasan-ali (last updated 2012).

[41] On the spectacular and often peculiar arrangement of commentaries in the margins, see Annie Vernay-Nouri: "Marges, gloses et décor dans une série de manuscrits arabo-islamiques". *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* IC–C, 2002, 117–131.

Logic also belonged to one of the main topics where al-Jurjānī excelled in his commentaries. Among his treatises in this field mention should be made of *al-Ḥāshiya al-ṣaghīra*, also called *al-Kūchak*, which is a gloss to the commentary of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Taḥtānī (d. 766/1365) on the first part (= *al-Taṣawwurāt*) of *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī l-qawāʿid al-manṭiqiyya* by al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī[42] (d. 1276). The author of the original treatise on the rules of Aristotelian logic that served as the starting point for all the commentaries and glosses was a disciple of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274),[43] and he enjoyed the patronage of the Ilkhānid vizier and minister of finance (*ṣāḥib dīwān*) Shams al-Dīn al-Juwaynī (d. 683/1284), a descendant of the great Islamic scholar Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085).[44]

The "short gloss" of al-Jurjānī was so well spread in the Ottoman *madrasa*s that together with its various superglosses it is available in multiple copies in the collection. From among these, the earliest copy is MS Arab O. 129. It was finished by Maḥmūd ibn Isfandiyār in Tokat, a locality in the Black Sea region of Anatolia, on a Saturday in Rabīʿ al-awwal 870 (October 1465), during the reign of Sulṭān Meḥmed II (r. 1451–1481). A late copy from 1238/1823 is the second tract of MS Arab O. 131, while a further incomplete, undated copy can be found as the second tract of MS Arab O. 128. In addition to these, mention must be made of two superglosses in MSS Arab O. 131[45] and Arab O. 71. The latter's author is Qara Dāwud ibn Kamāl al-Qūjawī (d. 948/1541), an influential teacher of logic, and the founder of a dynasty of a prominent family of scholars in the first half of the 10th/16th century.[46]

### 4.5. Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Bakr al-Laythī al-Samarqandī (d. after 888/1483)

It was to al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's gloss on the *Maṭālīʿ al-anẓār* of Maḥmūd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī (d. 749/1348) that al-Laythī al-Samarqandī wrote a supergloss (*ḥāshiya ʿalā ḥāshiya*) in the later Timurid period.[47] The *Maṭālīʿ al-anẓār* is in fact a commentary on the *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār min maṭāliʿ al-anẓār* of al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685/1286), a compact summation of Islamic theology.[48] The manuscript (Arab O.

42 *GAL* I, 466; *GAL S* I, 845; al-Ziriklī: 1980, IV, 315; Kaḥḥāla: 1993, IV, 13.

43 On Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's role in Ilkhānid cultural life, see Peter Jackson: *The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion,* New Haven – London, Yale University Press, 2017, 228 ff. *et passim.*

44 On Shams al-Dīn al-Juwaynī and courtly patronage in the Ilkhānid period, see Jackson: 2017, 274–275, 282–284, 289–291, 309–310, *et passim*.

45 See 4.7. below.

46 On his life and works, see Hatice Kelpetin Arpaguş: "Kara Dâvud İzmitî". *İslâm ansiklopedisi* XXIV, 2001 359–360.

47 *GAL* I, 418$_{vi.2}$; *GAL* II, 194; *GAL S* I 742$_{vi.2}$; *GAL S* II, 259; al-Ziriklī 1980, V, 173; Kaḥḥāla, 1993, II, 643.

48 Al-Bayḍāwī's text was edited and translated together with the commentary of al-Iṣfahānī by Edwin Elliott Calverley and James Wilson Pollock under the title *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2002.

151), containing al-Laythī al-Samarqandī's supergloss, incomplete at the beginning, was copied in 845/1441 by a certain Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī. In the margin of fol. 167v there is a paraphrase of a *ghazal* of Rukn al-Dīn Auḥadī (d. 738/1338).

It was not only al-Laythī al-Samarqandī who commented upon the works of other scholars, but his works also became the target of commentators. Here belongs his *Bayān al-uṣūl*,[49] the anonymous commentary of which forms the first part of a collected volume (Arab Qu. 6) containing six treatises concerned with jurisprudence and theology. This manuscript is of Indonesian origin, proving once again the far-reaching influence of the scholars of Samarqand. It contains marginal notes and interlinear glosses in Malay and was written in Jāwī script on *daluang*.

Another popular work of this scholar concerns rhetoric and is entitled *Farāʾid ʿawāʾid li-taḥqīq maʿānī l-istiʿārāt*.[50] The manuscript Arab O. 153 contains two undated copies of this treatise, which has become the subject of numerous commentaries. It is also known, among others, as *Farāʾid al-fawāʾid li-taḥqīq maʿānī l-istiʿāra*, or *Risālat al-istiʿāra*, or *al-Risāla al-samarqandiyya*. The title in this manuscript appears twice written by a later hand in red ink (fols. 1r, 11r) as *Kitāb al-Farīda.*

As is customary in Islamic manuscript culture, both parts have large margins, that of the first part is even wider, which shows that the texts were copied with the intention to accommodate commentaries and glosses in the margin. This, however, has not been realised in either of the two parts.

Abū l-Qāsim al-Laythī al-Samarqandī was also the author of several commentaries among which one is a commentary on the seminal treatise of ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī on a special branch of linguistic philosophy called *ʿilm al-waḍʿ*, a phrase reflecting a view on the nature of language.[51] The *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-waḍʿiyya al-ʿaḍudiyya* is preserved in an undated copy, which is the third treatise in a collected volume (Arab O. 109) containing seven tracts copied and put together in the 18th century on various subjects mainly related to different aspects of language sciences. This volume also contains as the second treatise a gloss on al-Samarqandī's commentary by an Ottoman author, Abū l-Baqāʾ ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī (d. ca. 1050/1640).[52]

[49] *GAL* I, 196.

[50] *GAL* II, 194; *GAL S* II, 259; Kaḥḥāla: 1993, II, 643.

[51] On the development of this branch of later Arabic linguistics, see Bernard George Weiss: "*ʿIlm al-waḍʿ*: An Introductory Account of a Later Muslim Philological Science". *Arabica*, XXXIV, 1987, 339–356. See also *GAL* II, 194; *GAL S* II, 259; Kaḥḥāla: 1993, II, 643.

[52] *GAL* II, 208; *GAL S* II, 288.

### 4.6. Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Qūshjī (d. 879/1474)

Another person who rose to great eminence among the scholars, and who was born according to several sources in Timurid Samarqand, was the polymath ʿAlī al-Qūshjī.[53] He was a prolific author in fields ranging from *kalām* and *fiqh* to astronomy, arithmetic, mechanics and even linguistics. Under the patronage of Ulugh beg, together with Qāḍizāda, he became one of the foremost astronomers of the 15th century.

The collected volume MS Arab O. 19 contains as its second tract an undated copy of al-Qūshjī's only mathematical writing in Persian. Many of al-Qūshjī's works were taught in Ottoman *madrasa*s, including this book on arithmetic, which the author also translated into Turkish at the demand of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (d. 1481).[54] This treatise is generally known under the title *Risāla-yi dar ʿilm-i ḥisāb*, while in this manuscript, the title runs as *Risāla-yi fārsī-yi ḥisāb*. It constitutes the second part of a collected volume apparently assembled at the end of the 17th century in Iṣfahān and containing three mathematical treatises in addition to the *Uthūlūjiyā*, a Pseudo-Aristotelian text in philosophical theology being in fact a select translation and edition of the *Enneads*, IV of Plotinus (204–269 by ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Nāʿima al-Ḥimṣī (3rd/9th c).[55]

### 4.7. ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿArabshāh al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 944/1537)

Among the manuscripts of the Oriental Collection that can be linked to the town of Samarqand, mention should be made of the work of an important scholar, eminent grammarian and rhetorician, ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 943/1536–7), who died in the city of Samarqand during a visit there from Bukhārā, where he enjoyed the patronage of ʿUbaydallāh Khān (r. 918–946/1512–1539). In addition to grammar and rhetoric, he was an established author in the field of logic and theology. He also composed a gloss on the Koran commentary of al-Bayḍāwī (d.

[53] Muṣṭafā ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ḥājjī Khalīfa: *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn*, Istanbul, Maṭābiʿ Wikālat al-Maʿārif al-Jalīla, 1941–1955, I, 348–351, 367–368, *et passim*; II, 966, 1021, 1173-1174, *et passim*; Ismāʿīl Bāšā al-Bābānī: *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn: asmāʾ al-muʾallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1955, I, 736; *GAL*, II, 305; *GAL S*, II, 329–330; Ahmet Süheyl Ünver: *Ali Kuşçî: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, İstanbul, Kenan Matbaasi, 1948; Abdülhak Adivar: "Alī al-Ḳūshdjī", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. ed., I, 1960, 393; Fazlur Rahman – David Pingree: "ʿAlī Qūšǰī". *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater, London, 1985, 876–877; Muammer Dizer: *Ali Kuşçu*, Ankara, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1988.

[54] Dizer: 1988, 17, 26.

[55] See Cristina D'Ancona: "Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle, Chapter I: Structure and Composition". *Oriens* XXXVI, 2001, 78–112. See also Peter Adamson: "The Theology of Aristotle". In Edward Nouri Zalta (ed.): *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Substantive revision May 13, 2021), https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/theology-aristotle/.

ca 1286). His commentaries and glosses were established texts for centuries in *madrasa*s all over the Islamic world.[56]

The MS O. 131 of the Oriental Collections is a collected volume containing two tracts. The one written by al-Isfarāyīnī is a supergloss on the above-mentioned gloss of al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) on a part of the commentary of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Taḥtānī on *al-Risāla al-shamsiyya fī l-qawāʿid al-manṭiqiyya* of al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī. The copy was made by Hidāyat ibn Muṣṭafā in 1238/1823 at the Asbīrzāda Madrasa[57] in Tokat, attesting to the great popularity of this text well after the death of its author.

## *5. The provenance of the manuscripts*

The provenance of the manuscripts is in line with the general character of the collection mentioned above. Owing to the lack of qualified staff in the 19th century and sometimes later as well, it has proven impossible to ascertain the provenance of all the Arabic manuscripts in the Collection, which situation is also reflected in the case of the aforementioned items. To this category belong MSS Arab O. 7, Arab O. 19, and even Arab O. 70. A few manuscripts were bought by the Library from private persons such as e.g. Arab O. 51, which was acquired in 1969.

As has already been noted, a large percentage of the Arabic acquisitions had once formed part of the manuscripts collected by Lipót Mosony(i). After his death, these were sold to the Library of the Academy by his sister, Rafaella Dangelmayer, in 1950. To this group belong MSS Arab O. 73, Arab O. 91, Arab O. 109, Arab O. 131, and Arab O. 151.

The manuscripts, however, often bear traces of previous ownership. Hence we know, e.g. in the case of Arab O. 91, that once it had been in the ownership of a certain ʿUmar al-Luṭfī (fol. 40r) and later of Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bārūdī (fols 1r, 40r).

As for MS Arab O. 122 and the very peculiar manuscript of Arab O. 153 – which contains the same work twice – they had once been in the ownership of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, the leader of the Hungarian Turkish Muslim community. In the former, there are also previous, undated ownership notes of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī Islāmbūlī (fol. 27r), and Muḥammad Sālim Shawqī al-Naqshbandī, who was taken captive by the emir of Bukhārā (fol. 27r). While in the latter, there is also an ownership stamp on fol. 8r of al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Amīn, from al-Jamāliyya, dated 1260/1844. Both manuscripts were donated to the Library in 1961. The history

[56] On his life, see Ḥājjī Khalīfa: 1941–1955, I, 477; al-Ziriklī: 1980, I, 66; Kaḥḥāla: 1993, I, 67; Khaled El-Rouayheb: "al-Isfarāyīnī, ʿIṣām al-Dīn". In Kate Fleet et al. (eds): *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/al-isfarayini-isam-al-din-COM_35720

[57] This institution cannot be identified from the available sources.

of the manuscript in the case of Arab O. 153 is also reflected by the various additional notes in both of its parts. On fol. 1r there are short, unrelated notes in Arabic, whereas on fol. 8r there are two lines of a blessing in Ottoman Turkish. In Part One, on fol. 8v there are various short passages, wise sayings in Arabic and two poems traditionally attributed to Imām Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī:[58] *ilāhun lā ilāha lanā siwāhu raʾūf bi-l-barriyya dhū imtinānī*, and *fa-inna llāha tawwābun raḥīmun waliyyu qabūli tawbati kulli ghāwī*. In Part Two, on fol. 11r, below the title, there are short notes on rhetoric in Arabic.

The Collection has been enjoying the patronage of Professor Gábor Korvin for the last fifteen years, who not only enriched the holdings with over two thousand books from his own library but also donated hundreds of others and a few manuscripts in 2010 and 2011, including MSS Arab Qu. 4, Arab Qu. 5 and Arab Qu. 6, which all have an Indonesian background as described above.

As has been mentioned, the Collection holds only one Arabic manuscript acquired in Central Asia by a Hungarian landowner, Bertalan Ónody (d. 1892). This is MS Arab O. 8, which contains a copy of the well-known commentary by the famous Ṣūfī scholar and poet, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Jāmī on *al-Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249). The commentary, generally known as *Sharḥ Molla Jāmī ʿalā l-Kāfiya*, was written by Jāmī for his son, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, and finished towards the end of his life on 11 Ramaḍān 897 (6 July 1492).[59] This work has, until recently, formed part of the *madrasa* curriculum. Its popularity is shown by the great number of copies in this Collection and all over the world. It is also known under the title *al-Fawāʾid al-wāfiya bi-ḥall mushkilāt al-Kāfiya*. The copy donated by Ónody on 31 May 1876 to the Academy – together with others that now form part of the Persian and Ottoman Turkish manuscripts – was made by Muḥammad Sharīf ibn Ṣawmar in the year 1025/1616 in Fayżābād (present-day NE Afghanistan), an important town of Badakhshan.

## *6. Conclusion*

Although the treatises presented above form but a tiny segment of the corpus of works that can be linked to the town of Samarqand, they attest to the vivid intellectual life of Transoxania in general and the city of Samarqand in particular. Samarqand was a centre from where knowledge spread throughout several centuries in the *madrasa* system enriching the knowledge of students in a wide

[58] On the poetry attributed to Imām Ḥusayn, see George J. Kanazi: "Notes on the Literary Output of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CLV, 2005, 341–364. He also lists the several attempts both in classical and modern times to collect the prose utterances and poetry attributed to Ḥusayn.

[59] *GAL* I 30413; *GAL* II, 207; *GAL S* I 53313; *GAL S* II, 285; al-Ziriklī: 1980, IV, 67; Kaḥḥāla: 1993, II, 77.

variety of subjects ranging from theology to mathematics. At the same time, the manuscripts bear witness to the development of the Collection.

## *Appendix: The contents of the manuscripts mentioned in the article.*[60]

Arab O. 7

1. *Munyat al-muṣallī wa-ghunyat al-mubtadiʾ* by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī (d. 705/1305)
2. *Muqaddima fī l-ṣalāt* by Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983)
3. *Kitāb Shurūṭ al-ṣalāt* [Anonymous]

Arab O. 8

*al-Fawāʾid al-ḍiyāʾiyya* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492)

Arab O. 19

1. *Uthūlūjiyā* by Pseudo-Aristotle
2. *Risāla-yi fārsī-yi ḥisāb* by Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Qūshjī (d. 879/1474)
3. [*Risāla fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb*] by Muḥammad Muʾmin ibn Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kāshānī
4. *Ḫulāṣat al-ḥisāb* by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1031/1622)

Arab O. 39

1. *Muḫtaṣar al-Muntahā fī l-uṣūl* by ʿUthmān ibn ʿUmar Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249)
2. *S harḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fī l-uṣūl* by ʿAḍud al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ījī (d. 756/1355)
3. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fī l-uṣūl* by ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413)
4. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fī l-uṣūl* by Muḥammad ibn Ḥumayd al-Kafawī (d. 1174/1760)
5. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā fī l-uṣūl* by Aḥmad ibn Mūsā al-Khayālī (d. 886/1481)

Arab O. 44

*Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-nasafiyya* by Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390)

[60] For a detailed description, see Dévényi et al.: 2016, *passim*.

Arab O. 51
Ritual textbook containing various, often anonymous texts predominantly in Arabic and sometimes in Ottoman Turkish.

Arab O. 70
*Sharḥ Ashkāl al-taʾsīs fī ʿilm al-handasa* by Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-Qāḍīzāda (d. 815/1412)

Arab O. 71
*Ḥāshiya ʿalā l-Kūchak* by Qara Dāwud ibn Kamāl al-Qūjawī (d. 948/1541)

Arab O. 73
1. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥth* by ʿImād al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad al-Kāshī (9th/15th c.)
2. *al-Masʿūḍī* by Masʿūd ibn Ḥusayn al-Shirwānī al-Rūmī (d. 905/1499)
3. *Ḥāshiyat al-Nakhjuwānī ʿalā Sharḥ Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥth* by Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Nakhjuwānī (d. ca. 950/1543)

Arab O. 91
1. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* [Anonymous]
2. *Risāla fī ādāb al-baḥth* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ashraf al-Ḥusaynī al-Samarqandī (d. 722/1322)
3. *Sharḥ Īsāghūjī* by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Kātī (d. 760/1359)

Arab O. 100
*al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar* by Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390)

Arab O. 109
1. *Imʿān al-anẓār fī sharḥ al-Maqṣūd* by Muḥammad ibn Pīr ʿAlī al-Birkawī (d. 981/1573)
2. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ al-Risāla al-waḍʿiyya al-ʿaḍudiyya* by Abū l-Baqāʾ ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī (d. ca. 1050/1640)
3. *Sharḥ al-Risāla al-waḍʿiyya al-ʿaḍudiyya* by Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Bakr al-Laythī al-Samarqandī (9th/15th c.)
4. *Sharḥ Risāla fī l-ādāb* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qāzābādī (d. 1163/1749)
5. [*Risāla fī l-ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz wa-l-kināya*] [Anonymous]
6. [*Risāla fī l-ḥaqīqa wa-l-majāz wa-l-kināya*] [Anonymous]
7. *Sharḥ al-ʿAwāmil al-jadīda* by Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad (12th/18th c.)

Arab O. 122
1. *al-Mufarriḥāt ʿalā tafrīḥ al-dhāt* by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Nāqid (12th/18th c.)
2. *Sharḥ Iẓhār al-asrār fī l-naḥw* by al-Muṣṭafā ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣawmawī
3. *al-Tartīb al-jamīl fī sharḥ al-Tarkīb al-jalīl* by Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad Dabbāghzāda (d. 1114/1702)

Arab O. 127
*al-Masālik fī l-maʿānī wa-l-bayān* by Nūr al-Dīn Ḥamza ibn Durghūd (fl. 962/1555)

Arab O. 128
1. *Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām* by Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Dawwānī (d. 918/1512)
2. *al-Kūchak* by ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413)

Arab O. 131
1. *Ḥāshiya ʿalā l-Kūchak* by ʿIṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿArabshāh al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 944/1537)
2. *al-Kūchak* by ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413)

Arab O. 151
*Ḥāshiyat al-Samarqandī ʿalā Ḥāshiyat al-Maṭāliʿ li-l-Jurjānī* by Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Bakr al-Laythī al-Samarqandī (9th/15th c.)

Arab O. 153
1. *Farāʾid ʿawāʾid li-taḥqīq maʿānī l-istiʿāra* by Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Bakr al-Laythī al-Samarqandī (9th/15th c.)
2. *Farāʾid ʿawāʾid li-taḥqīq maʿānī l-istiʿāra* by Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Bakr al-Laythī al-Samarqandī (9th/15th c.)

Arab Qu. 4
1. *Masāʾil Abī l-Layth fī l-īmān* by Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983)
2. *al-Furūḍ al-wājiba* [Anonymous]
3. *Risāla fī l-shahādatayni* [Anonymous]
4. *Aqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā* by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490)

Arab Qu. 5
1. *Masāʾil Abī l-Layth fī l-īmān* by Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Abū l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983)
2. *al-Furūḍ al-wājiba* [Anonymous]

3. *Risāla fī l-shahādatayni* [Anonymous]
4. *ʿAqīdat ahl al-tawḥīd al-ṣughrā* by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490)

Arab Qu. 6
1. *Bahjat al-ʿulūm fī l-sharḥ fī Bayān al-uṣūl* [Anonymous]
2. *Sharḥ al-Sittīn masʾala li-l-Zāhid* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamza al-Ramlī (d. 957/1550)
3. *al-Miftāḥ fī l-ʿaqāʾid* [Anonymous]
4. *Risāla fī l-shahādatayn* [Anonymous]
5. *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn* [Anonymous]
6. *Sharḥ Umm al-barāhīn* [Anonymous]

*Abstract*

*The article traces the oeuvre of seven scholars between the 10th and early 16th centuries associated with the town of Samarqand, one of the main towns of the central Islamic lands in the late mediaeval period. Hundreds of scholars linked to this town rose to great fame in often faraway parts of the Islamic world. Their teachings resounded in the commentaries composed to elucidate their intentions. The present article deals with a tiny portion of this rich heritage, the selection being defined by the Arabic manuscripts kept in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A special emphasis is placed on tracking the spread of knowledge in a wide variety of subjects ranging from theology to mathematics throughout several centuries in the* madrasa *system. At the same time, the manuscripts bear witness to the development of the Collection.*

Keywords:
Samarqand, Arabic manuscripts, transmission of texts, *madrasa* system, The Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

*Rezümé*

A cikk hét tudós életművét követi nyomon a 10. és a 16. század eleje között, akik Szamarkand városához kötődtek, amely a központi muszlim területek egyik legfőbb városa volt a késő középkori időszakban. E városhoz kapcsolódó tudósok százai tettek szert nagy hírnévre az iszlám világ gyakran távoli részein. Tanításuk a műveikhez írt kommentárokban élt tovább. Jelen tanulmány e gazdag örökség egy kis részével foglalkozik az MTA Könyvtár Keleti Gyűjteményében őrzött arab kéziratok alapján. A cikk különös hangsúlyt fektet az ismeretek terjedésének a *madrasza*-rendszer révén történő nyomon követésére több évszázadon

át a teológiától a matematikáig. Ugyanakkor a kéziratok jól illusztrálják a Keleti Gyűjtemény fejlődésének történetét is.

Kulcsszavak
Szamarkand, arab kéziratok, szövegek hagyományozódása, *madrasza*-rendszer, az MTA Könyvtár Keleti Gyűjteménye

Tamás Iványi

# Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā of Khiva
# Personal Experience and Poetic Images in the Teachings of *a Ṣūfī* Master

*"The ṣūfī is he who does not care if his blood be spilled and his property taken away from him."*
Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 896)

## *1. The name of the author*

The full name of our author is Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Abū Jannāb Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā al-Khwārizmī al-Khīwaqī. His other honorary names are: Ṣāniʿ al-Awliyā' ('the maker of God's friends'), al-Muḥaddith ('the ḥadīth scholar') and al-Shahīd ('the martyr'). He also was called Imām ('a leading religious scholar') and Qudwa ('example'). All these names signify either a stage of his life or a segment of his work.

He was born in Khīva, in the district of Khwārizm (Khorezm, nowadays Özbekistan), ca. 540/1145, at that time a flourishing region of Central Asia, where he lived most of his life and died in a heroic way – thus receiving the attributive 'the Martyr,' fighting against the Mongol invaders of Genghis Khan together with his disciples.

His ethnicity is not known, since at the time of his birth the original Khwarizmian population of Iranian stock had been heavily mixed with the incursion of different Turkish tribes, so it may be simply noted that he was a Khwarizmian. He was educated from his very youth in the Muslim sciences, before anything else the knowledge of the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, hence his other attributive the 'Muḥaddith,' so he surely considered himself first a Muslim and then a citizen of his homeland.

His most famous name is, however, al-Kubrā, which became the eponym of his later followers, the Kubrāwīs and the Kubrāwī *ṣūfī* path or order (*ṭarīqa kubrāwiyya*). According to the medieval sources, as a student his talent for theological disputation earned him the epithet al-Kubrā, an abbreviated form of the Qurʾān phrase, *al-ṭāmma al-kubrā* 'the greatest calamity' (Q 79:34), since he had always defeated his opponents in religious debates.

After having concluded the usual elementary religious education in his homeland, he spent several years in travelling following the course of the *ṭalab al-ʿilm* (the quest for knowledge), knowledge meaning the Prophetic traditions, *ḥadīth,* which had been his main interest in his early years. During his travels in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, however, he had met several Ṣūfī masters whose teachings

impressed him greatly, so after his return his attention turned to transferring his mystical knowledge to the growing number of his disciples. This activity is reflected in his literary output in which, beside his Qur'ān commentary, the mystical teachings dominate.

## *2. Najm al-Dīn* al-Kubrā*'s work under discussion*

2.1 My interest lies in this paper in analysing his *magnum opus*, *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-jalāl* ('The fragrance of the /divine/ Beauty[1] and the commencements of the /divine/ Glory'), to shed light on the main objective of the author in compiling his work and to disclose the methods he used for reaching his aim. I start with presenting two well-known opinions on the character of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā's work, and I will continue throughout my paper with trying to refute them.

The first to write about Najm al-Dīn in detail in the vast introduction to his edition of the work under discussion was the outstanding Swiss scholar of Islamic mysticism, Fritz Meier.[2] He evaluated it as a masterpiece of *ṣūfī* literature,[3] despite containing an unordered set of different subjects and themes. Therefore, he undertakes, according to his view, to order in a systematic way the material contained in the book. In my view, however, he succeeded in altering and destroying altogether the original well-laid plan of the work, annihilating the objective of the author, which was to give a well-conceived guidance for his disciples following the voyage on the mystical path. Thus, he states: "Kubrā gibt jedoch keine systematische Darstellung und auch kein zusammenhangendes Bild der Weltanschauung, aus der die Deutungen bezieht. So ergibt sich für uns die Aufgabe, das Material in eine Ordnung zu bringen."[4] All this after he noted earlier that Kubrā classified his work as a cross-section (of mysticism) through the experiences of mystics. ("Kubrā bezeichnet die Fawā'iḥ al-ǧamāl als einen Querschnitt durch die Erfahrungen des Mystikers", *ibid.*).[5]

[1] Although the word *jamāl* is generally considered to mean 'beauty,' in the mystical context it means in reality the divine goodness. Even in today's ordinary language *jamīl* means a good deed.

[2] *Die Fawā'iḥ al-ǧamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-ǧalāl des Naǧm ad-Dīn al-Kubrā. Eine Darstellung mystischer Erfahrungen aus der Zeit um 1200 n.* Chr. Herausgegeben und erläutert von Fritz Meier. Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden 1957. 299 + 126 p. (Arabic text).

[3] Meier: *op. cit.* 243.

[4] Meier: *op. cit.* 65.

[5] Meier's thesis of the nature of the *Fawā'iḥ* became widespread in the Western scholarly literature and has been accepted without argument, e.g., by Annamarie Schimmel: *Mystical Dimensions*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1975. 254 ff.

2.2 One of my starting points in my paper will be, then, to refute the apparent disorderliness of the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl*. It is well ordered but its systematization differs greatly from the systems of the earlier well-known *ṣūfī* compendia to which Meier compares it, namely, al-Kalābādhī's *Taʿarruf,* al-Qushayrī's *Risāla*, al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, al-Sarrāj's *al-Lumaʿ*, or other similar *ṣūfī* works.[6] This book was not meant to be another *risāla* (epistle) for the purpose of making the concepts and the earlier mystics known to those who are interested in the topic, but it was meant as a guideline or guidebook for the disciples of the author who were eager to take the *ṣūfī* path towards God as voyagers.

2.3 About one and a half decades later, the famous French philosopher and expert of Iranian mysticism, Henry Corbin, dedicated a large chapter to Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā and his work *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* in his book on the Iranian mystical light theories.[7] In the fourth chapter of his book, Visio Smaragdina, most importantly, Corbin analyses al-Kubrā's teaching about the lights of different colours, and he states with profound elaboration that al-Kubrā's book signifies an innovative and pioneering work in this field. I do not want to contest his main arguments on this topic of which he was far the best master. His thesis: "Far from merely constructing a theory, Najm Kobra describes real events which take place in the inner world, on the 'plane of visionary apperception' (*maqām al-mushāhada*), in an order of reality corresponding specifically to the organ of perception which is the imaginative faculty (Imaginatrix)" can be accepted without discussion.[8]

I only want to challenge another statement in the chapter dealing with Najm al-Dīn: "Since Najm Kobra's book is a spiritual journal rather than a didactic treatise, a *diarium spirituale* not unlike that of Rūzbihān Baqlī, the best we can do is to single out certain of its leading themes."[9]

(i) First, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's main work does not resemble Rūzbihān Baqlī's *Kashf al-asrār* (Unveiling of the Secrets), since the latter is an autobiography, as

[6] See Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalābādhī: *al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl-al-taṣawwuf,* ed. by Arthur J. Arberry, Cairo, al-Khānji, 1934; Abū l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī: *Risāla*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo, Dār al-Shaʿb, 1989; ʿAlī ʿUthmān al-Hujwīrī: *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, tr. by Reynold A. Nicholson, London, Luzac, 1911; Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj: *al-Lumaʿ*, ed. by ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha, 1960.

[7] Henry Corbin: *L'homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*. Paris, Edition Présence, 1971. Ch. IV: Visio smaragdina, pp. 71–108. The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism. Translated by Nancy Pearson. Omega Publications, New Lebanon, N.Y., 2nd. ed., 1994. Ch. IV: Visio Smaragdina, 61–97.

[8] *Ibid.* 76: "Najm Kobrâ ne construit nullement une théorie; il décrit les événements réels qui s'accomplissent dans le monde intérieur, au « plan de l'aperception visionnaire » (maqâm al-moshâhada), dans l'ordre de réalité correspondant en propre à l'organe de perception qui est la faculté imaginatrice", 76.

[9] "Le livre de Najm Kobrâ étant plutôt qu'un traité didactique. un journal spirituel, un diarium spirituale non sans analogie avec celui dè Rûzbehùn. le. mieux à faire est d'en dégager certains thèmes conducteurs~ les lignes en sont convergentes." *Ibid.* 75.

Carl Ernst, its translator calls it,[10] while the former is a guidebook for beginners on the path; a detailed comparison, however, is outside the scope of this paper.

(ii) Secondly, Corbin thought similarly to Meier in that he also treated Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's work as an inventory of ideas and themes thrown together without any conception of ordering.

(iii) Thirdly, last, but not least, I cannot accept Corbin's statement that the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* is not a didactic treatise. It is really a didactic work, and the primary aim of my paper is to prove this statement.

2.4 Consequently, reading and analysing the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* gave me the impression that it contains, contrary to the views of the two scholars mentioned above, a well-ordered train of thoughts which form a continuous and cohesive field of mystical notions, progressing on the mystical path from the beginning till the point when the voyager, i.e., the disciple, reaches the so called 'realisation' (*taḥqīq*). But Najm al-Dīn did not follow the way of ordering used by al-Qušayrī, which had become the standard work till this day, and which was taken as an ideal by the researchers of Islamic mysticism. The *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī, and the similar works of al-Kalābādhī, al-Hujwīrī and al-Sarrāj are thematic encyclopaedias, compiled from a thousand quotations of a hundred *ṣūfī* masters and put together in a taxonomic way.

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā wanted to write a guideline for his many students (*murīd*s) who surrounded him according to the biographical sources. His work bears the features of a pedagogical work, which is meant to lead them through both the difficulties and the beautiful experiences of travelling on the *ṣūfī* path. Thus, the book does not contain unrelated motives scattered in it and therefore every attempt to 'improve' it by rearranging its parts leads to the destruction of this original plan.

There is abundant evidence to support this view:

(i) The most famous eponym of al-Kubrā is *Ṣāniʿ al-awliyā'*, Maker of God's friends, i.e., *ṣūfī*s who went through the path, successfully ended their journey and thus also became masters on their own right. As far as I know, he was the only *ṣūfī shaykh* who was given this title.

(ii) In the *thanā'*, the first paragraph of the book praising God, the author says:[11] "Glory to God who taught us the speech of birds and showed us the signs of voyage." al-Kubrā calls his disciples 'travellers' (*sayyār*). Throughout the book the two most important words are the journey (*sayr*) and the voyager, traveller (*sayyār*), i.e., his *ṣūfī* disciple. The plural 'us' refers to the friends of God (*awliyā' Allāh*), the mystical masters.

[10] Ruzbihan Baqli: *The unveiling of Secrets. Diary of a Sufi Master.* Tr. by Carl W. Ernst, Chapel Hill, N.C., Parvardigar Press, 1997, x.

[11] Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā: *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-jalāl*, ed. by Yūsuf Zaydān, Cairo, Dār Suʿād Ṣabāḥ, 1993, 121.

(iii) The text of the book evidently fixes a teacher–pupil relation, not only an author–reader one, when he calls his reader (or listener to the lecture of the master) 'my dear one' (*ḥabībī*), which is a very intimate mode of addressing in Arabic and which I have not yet found in any other *ṣūfī* book. Another word which shows the same intimate relationship is the imperative 'know' (*iʿlam*). Although this command is very much used in Arabic books, I will try to demonstrate that in our text it is always used after the description of an unusual, not everyday phenomenon or experience which, according to my assumption, may have been told to the master by one of his disciples or in other cases by someone else during AL-KUBRĀ's long travelling around the Islamic world. Then he says 'know', and a spiritual or mystical explanation of the previous experience follows – what else could it be called if not a didactic method?

(iv) Last but not least, the whole text is a proof of the author's intention, starting at the beginning of the stations and states of the *ṣūfī* path and ending up with demonstrating the signs of the final steps towards the mystical realization, the divine love and divine knowledge.

(v) Finally, the comparatively small number of Qur'ān quotations, as contrasted to the book of his disciple, Najm al-Dīn Rāzī AL-DĀYA, *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, written in Persian,[12] shows that AL-KUBRĀ used a Qur'ān quotation only when he felt compelled to support the characterisation of a mystical state or station and not for the sake of the Qur'ān quotation. Najm al-Dīn AL-DĀYA, on the contrary, used many more quotations for the cause of defending the *ṣūfī*s against the accusation of heresy (*bidʿa*). This fact also proves that the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* was not intended for the purpose of a *ṣūfī* handbook, but it served rather as a textbook for his disciples. A detailed analysis of why the Qur'ān quotations were used in certain places of the book cannot be carried out in this article.

## *3. The pedagogical elements in the work of al-Kubrā*

The structure of the work according to the voyage (*sayr*) of the aspirant (*murīd*) or voyager (*sayyār*) testifies well how the author leads the aspirant through the *ṣūfī* path (*ṭarīqa*), following the stations and states and explaining the meaning of each of them, always keeping in mind what the teaching requires. Here I must mention that, though Najm al-Dīn AL-KUBRĀ kept a copy of the *Risāla* in his library till his death and he considered it his favourite book, he did not follow its structure and did not even use its terms and definitions or cite its stories. His main sources were, besides his personal experiences, those of his masters or the stories told him by them. Hence these stories cannot be found verbatim in any other books because they had been memorised by the author by listening. The context

[12] AL-KUBRĀ quotes only 54 Qur'ān *āya*s, without explanations, while his former disciple, AL-DĀYA, quotes 69 *āya*s with complete explanations, and quotes many more ones without explanation.

sometimes suggests that the mystical experience was gained by one of the disciples and the master explains its significance.[13]

*3.1 The direct manifestations of the master – disciple relation in the* Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl. The first signs of the educational nature of al-Kubrā's imposing work are two expressions which refer to the aim of this *ṣufī* textbook: *manṭiq al-ṭayr* ('speech of birds', cf. Qur'ān 27/16), i.e., the mystical language, so that we can hear and understand the divine messages which spread by the speech of the birds, and *ʿalāmāt al-sayr* ('signs of voyage'),[14] both of which express the same meaning: "God has taught us the path ascending to Him and I, God's modest servant and friend, want to transmit this divine knowledge to my disciples. By this divine teaching, which is followed strictly by my teaching, one can avoid the calamities of this world, that is, everything which is not Him." The first expression may refer at the same time to the title of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's famous poetic work, *The Speech of the Birds (Mantiq al-ṭayr)*.[15]

The author addresses his disciples intimately: *yā ḥabībī* ('O, my dear one!') and *iʿlam* ('know!'),[16] then the two expressions together: *iʿlam yā ḥabībī*.[17]

al-Kubrā sets off his disciples on the path in a personal way with a sincere advice: close your eyes and view what you see, and if you said: I do not see anything, it is your mistake, and if you like to find (God) behold him in front of you, even if your eyes are closed.[18]

Then he shows the disciples the ways of striving for the repulsion of everything that is other than God: the (worldly) existence, the (lower) soul and the devil (*wujūd, nafs, shayṭān*), calling their attention – by citing Junayd's teaching – to the utilization of the knowledge of the mystical events through the master. It is the first time the importance of the master–disciple relation is emphasized, which later occurs so emphatically throughout the work.[19]

His didactic way appears in the structure of presenting the mystical notions: first he tells a mystical experience, then a simile from everyday life which brings closer the meaning of the event to the disciples, and then he puts forward its mystical explanation. E.g.: "The first lights which come to the traveller are the lights of the Power (of God) during the revelation (*tajallī*) ... It makes him agitated

[13] Although it would have been interesting to point out in detail how the author devised the structure of his book, this task outgrows the frames of this article. It is my intention to execute this project in a separate article.

[14] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 121. The first two lines of the book are in rhymed prose, *sajʿ*, making use of the rhyming of the two main concepts, *ṭayr* and *sayr*.

[15] *Ibid.* 121: al-Kubrā may have known this work, the composition of which preceded his *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl*. It may have been finished in 1177.

[16] *Ibid.* 121–122.

[17] *Ibid.* 130.

[18] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 122.

[19] *Ibid.* 124.

and depressed ... Then the angels arrive from behind his back ..."[20] This is followed by a personal experience of the author in a vision,[21] which supports the previous vision of the disciple: "An angel raised him and during his remembrance in seclusion he heard the angels reciting the glorification of God (*tasbīḥ*), hastening in their words as if they had feared and demanded rescue." And after this vision he brings the event closer to a beginner, perhaps a young disciple, by a simile taken from everyday life: "They were like small children, whom their father intends to beat and say: I repented, I repented."

In the first appearances of the vision and explanation model, the vision probably belonged to a disciple:[22] "If you viewed ... then know that it means." For instance: "If you viewed seas which were clear and saw in them drowning suns then know that they are the seas of knowledge." Similar descriptions of experiences and their explanations can be found on the next page and in several other places. These and several other descriptions of visions and their explanations prove without doubt that the starting point of the teachings of Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā were based principally on personal mystical experiences, of his and probably of others, not on philosophical or theosophical speculations, and the mystical theories only followed these experiences.

On the same page[23] we read for the first time about the role of the different colours in the mystical visions: green means strength while yellow means weakness. Then, as if he does not feel these statements sufficient, he gives examples from the well-known world around us: "We may argue with the different stages of the plants: The plants when they are green it shows that they are strong, living and in rapid growth. But whenever their colour is yellow it shows the weakness of the plants." This example is followed by some mystical speculations on the meaning of the colours as if the master felt reassured that his words had reached their goal and the disciples understood the mystical meanings better. The two important Sufi expressions *talwīn* and *tamkīn* are also explained for the students (or later readers) by way of visual experience: the mixture of colours vs. the continuous green colour. These, after having become abstract mystical notions, mean the inconstancy of one's spiritual state and the opposite, the stability of the spiritual state.[24]

al-Kubrā continues the realistic characterization of important *ṣūfī* terms, *ghayba* and *yaqẓa,* in the following way:[25] "If the well of the existence reveals (manifests) itself to you in wakefulness (*yaqẓa*), you feel intimacy and admiration, but if

[20] *Ibid.* 136.

[21] *Ibid.* 136-7.

[22] Kubrā: *op. cit* 130–131.

[23] *Ibid.* 131.

[24] Cf. al-Qushayrī: *op. cit.*, 192–195, where *talwīn* (inconstancy) is the attribute of those having states while *tamkīn* (stability) is the attribute of those who attained true reality. Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, contrarily, characterizes the traveller by both these two experiences of colours in one and the same phase of the mystical voyage.

[25] *Ibid.* 133.

it reveals (manifests) itself in the world of divine realm (vision) (*ghayba*), you feel as if awe and distress have fallen on you."[26]

Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, as a good teacher, calls the attention of the beginners to the disturbing fact that the contradictory tastings (*adhwāq*) in one and the same emotional, ecstatic state may naturally occur and must not confuse them. The characterization of the absence from the self (*ghayba*)[27] is followed by two personal experiences of the author in vision which raised him to the realm of the unseen, the world of the angels.

In the path leading to God's proximity divine inspiration (*ilḥām*) may descend on the traveller, which is explained by a simile: "It is like a script written on a board which is then overspread by dust. Later, when the dust would be removed, the script appears clearly again."

This is followed by a strange personal experience in a vision of absence where a pro-ʿAlī *hadīth* is mentioned as the only sign of the author's supposed but otherwise unproved Shiite inclination.

Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā uses some well-known expressions differently from other *ṣūfī* sources like al-Qushayrī's *Risāla*. For example, *ḥuḍūr* means the state of sobriety as opposed to the *ghayba*, which denotes an extreme emotional state (fn.: *ḥuḍūr* in the *Risāla* means presence with God). At the same time *ʿālam al-shahāda,* 'the world of witnessing', denotes the perceptible world as opposed to the world of absence (*ʿālam al-ghayb),* which is not perceptible (fn.: *shahāda* is a term applied to the witnessing of God in the *Risāla*). It is to be noted, too, that he uses *ghayb* and *ghayba* without distinction. He warns his disciples that the perceptible world is identical with wakefulness (*yaqẓa*), so they must endeavour reaching the spiritual state of witnessing God through seclusion and remembering God.

The author draws the traveller's attention to the significance of one of the most important mystical attributes, sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*), since it is the only way for the refutation of the Satan. He accosts the reader again as *yā ḥabībī* ('oh, my dear') and gives order and prohibition concerning the behaviour of his disciple: "Be sincere ... and do not see (that you are) in the station of sincerity (consciously), since it is a flaw[28] in the sincerity ... and do not trust in the devil."[29]

[26] The two similar expressions can be characterised in the following way: *ghayb* is the unseen, the divine realm, while *ghayba* is when the heart is absent from knowing the circumstances of creatures, i.e., absent from oneself and others through remembering God's rewards and thinking of God's punishment. It means at the same time absence from the self (*nafs*).

[27] *ghāba l-sayyār ʿan wujūdihi* = the voyager became absent from his existence.

[28] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 142 reads: *fa-innahu shāʾibatun* "Since it is a flaw". Meier: *op. cit.* Arabic text 14 fn. 8 and 142, fn. 2: Both editors notice that it should have been *innahá*, but this is an erroneous correction, since Arabic grammar allows the possibility to use *-hu* as *ḍamīr al-shaʾn* (impersonal pronoun), so it does not refer to *shāʾiba*. Cf. Reckendorf: *Die syntaktische Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, Leiden, Brill, 1895, 802. This forms an important point for me since it shows how excellent and grammatically spotless the Arabic text of our author is.

[29] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 142: *al-shayṭān yaʾtī l-insān min kull ṭarīq illā min bāb al-ikhlāṣ fa-kun mukhliṣan fa-law kunta fī l-ikhlāṣ fa-lā tara fī maqām al-ikhlāṣ fa-innahu shāʾiba fī l-ikhlāṣ fa-yadkhulu ʿalayka wa-lā taʾman al-shayṭān.*

al-Kubrā cites a well-known anecdote about Jesus which serves as a parable for warning the disciples against neglecting the requirements of poverty (*faqr*) and the renunciation of worldly affairs (*zuhd*) to keep the Devil away from them.[30] According to this story, even Jesus, a prophet in Islam, had to beware of Iblīs (Satan):[31] "It is said about Jesus that while he was sleeping with a brick (*labina*) under his head, he suddenly awoke from his sleep finding that the 'cursed one' (*al-laʿīn*, Satan) stood at his head. Jesus asked him: 'What brought you to me?' The Satan answered: 'I have aspired after you!' 'I am the Spirit of God (*Rūḥ Allāh)*, how could you aspire after me?' 'You have taken my cloth and so I can aspire after you.' 'And what is this cloth?' 'It is this brick under your head.' Then Jesus took the brick and slung it away, so that the Satan had to depart from him."[32]

This point is further developed in inserting a personal experience of the author with the Satan in a dream from whose trick he could only be saved by consulting his master in absence. Thus, this story has a twofold aim: warning against the temptations and emphasizing the advisability to turn to the master for advice and guidance.[33]

Speaking of the so-called secret thoughts (*khátir / khawátir*),[34] the author calls the disciples' attention to the danger of these coming from evil thoughts or diabolic suggestions finding their way into their hearts. Thence it is the shaykh who should decide whether the *khāṭir* is coming from the *Ḥaqq* (God) or not.

al-Kubrā advises his disciplines to try the *khāṭir* (passing thought) coming to him by tasting (*dawq*) – using the word in both the ordinary meaning and the *ṣūfī* meaning at the same time – to know whether it is "sweet like the honeycomb or bitter like the colocynth. (Cf. the similes in 3.3 below.) If your tasting has become bad you would taste what is sweet as if it had a bitter taste." He advises: "Always

[30] Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (died in 998), after telling this anecdote, draws the moral of the story: *ḍarūrat al-tajarrud al-tāmm*, 'the necessity of the absolute detachedness (from this world)'. *Qūt al-qulūb*, Cairo, 1932, II. 192. See also II. 819, ed. by Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Radwānī, Cairo, Maktabat al-Turāth, 2001.

[31] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 143.

[32] This droll account of the encounter of Jesus with Iblīs is told in many medieval sources, but none of them agrees word for word with al-Kubrā op. cit.'s variant, a fact which reaffirms that he collected his material by memorizing the teachings of his masters, not by reading them in books. Besides al-Makkī's above mentioned place, see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (died in 894): Makā'id al-shayṭān, Cairo, no date, 23, cited also by Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā'ī al-Ghaznawī (died between 1131 and 1141): Hadíqat al-haqíqa wa sharīʿat al-ṭarīqa, Arabic tr. by Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, vol. I, Cairo, Dār al-Amīn, 1995, 219–220. See also Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (died in 1111): Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn, vol. III, Cairo, no date, 33. It is interesting to note that this story is also told in a legal work, the commentary of the Muwaṭṭa' by Mālik b. Anas written by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-ʿArabī al-Maʿāfirī al-Ishbīlī (died in 1148), under the heading "kasr al-nafs bi-tark al-shahwa" (breaking the soul by abandonment of the desire), al-Qabas - Šarḥ al-Muwaṭṭa', vol. XXIII, ed. By ʿAbsallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī, Cairo, Markaz al-Buḥūth al-ʿArabiyya wal-Islāmiyya, 2005, 648.

[33] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 143–144.

[34] *Ibid.* 144–145.

turn to the master for the evaluation of your tasting." Then the author, to clarify his thought, adds a line by the famous 10th century Arab poet, al-Mutanabbī, in which the poet says that the bitterness of the mouth is caused by its illness, a concept which fits in well in the *ṣūfī* concept of corruption (*fasād*).[35]

The voyager hears during his voyage secret conversations, the source of which he can decide for himself by way of his feeling, since the conversation of the devil causes difficult and tiresome feeling, while the one coming from God is the most delightful of all things. The above advice and many similar ones are not theoretical but essentially practical instructions worded in a simple ordinary language which is understandable even for a young beginner in the *ṣūfī* path.

The disciples receive a description of a highly realistic and explicative character about the tasting of the world of divine realm by way of vision, the beginning of which is an ordinary sleep and dream.[36] This makes the voyager feel as if he got rid of the problems of the existence. Then his ordinary senses become blocked and changed into other senses, those of the divine realm (*ghayb*). This alteration makes the voyager feel extraordinary phenomena as if he could fly or walk on water or enter a fire without burning himself. These so-called wonders of God's friends (*karāmāt al-awliyā'*) can be explained and comprehended in a simple way as the natural consequence of the states and stations of the *ṣūfī* path, i.e., the different *ṣūfī* practices.

One of the most important concepts of the Islamic mystical way is the *wārid* (pl. *wāridāt*), the occurrence of divine visitation, essentially the descent of spiritual meanings upon the heart, which is in essence the equivalent of the Prophetic inspiration for the *ṣūfī*s. Therefore, it is a crucial task of the master to bring it close to the disciples. This, according to Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, is best done by a simile.[37]

After the great efforts (*mujāhadāt*) which are so heavy like the immovable mountains, an agreeable easiness descends upon him (the disciple), the colour of which is green.[38]

al-Kubrā explains quite originally the effects of the two important states of the voyager, the constriction (*qabḍ*) and the extension (*basṭ*) of the heart:[39] "Sometimes the heart becomes extended and the effects of the extension (relaxation) appear on the face (of the voyager), sometimes the heart becomes constricted and the signs of the constriction (anxiety) appear on the face (of the voyager)."[40] The involvement of the face in the description of the two aforementioned mysti-

[35] Kubrā: *op. cit*. 146. Cf. ʿUqbarī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*, vol. III, p. 228. *al-qāfiya: al-jamālā*. See in detail in the quotations, 7.13.3.

[36] The connection between dream and vision, and the recognition of the dream as mystical reality is presented in detail on Kubrā: *op. cit*. 149–150.

[37] See the hunting simile, 150–151.

[38] *Ibid*. 153. See: 131, the simile of the colours.

[39] *Ibid*. 189.

[40] Kubrā: *op. cit*. 189: *tāratan yakūnu l-qalb munbasiṭan wa-taẓharu āthāruhu ʿalā l-wajh wa- tāratan yakūnu l-qalb munqabiḍan wa-taẓharu āthāruhu ʿalā l-wajh.*

cal terms serves teaching purposes, since the face reflects clearly the inner states of the heart and this makes the understanding easier for the young disciples. No *ṣūfī* author had ever used before the changes on the face as the visible signs of *qabḍ* and *basṭ*.

The *samāʿ* ('listening') stories of al-Junayd and al-Nūrī[41] were also chosen by the author because they excellently show the influence of the *ḥāl*, or the lack of it, on the outward appearance and behaviour of the *ṣūfī* and so they seemed very useful for didactic purposes.

*3.2. The description of the author's personal experiences in the* Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl. The descriptions of the many personal mystical experiences of the author serve well the teaching purpose of the work in two ways: with their contents and their personal characteristics through which the master gives examples for the disciples. This is a peculiar feature of this book that cannot be found in any other work of the vast Islamic mystical literature.

The educational character of the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* manifests itself perhaps in the most obvious way in al-Kubrā's personal experiences, which are unevenly scattered in the work but always found in places which otherwise could be difficult to comprehend because of their complexities, while a personal experience, due to its simplicity of description, brings the given mystical phenomenon closer to the disciples.

At the beginning of the mystical path the voyager perceives lights and feels the angels in his heart. This is illuminated for the beginner by a personal experience of al-Kubrā in the form of a vision: "An angel raised me ... carried me and kissed me, so that his light radiated into my eye. Then he said: In the name of God there is no god except Him the Merciful and Compassionate. Then he put me down."[42]

The previous vision continues with a perception of external sounds (hallucination): "I heard the angels, when remembering God in my seclusion, glorifying the Almighty."[43] Then two similes follow (see the similes in 3.3) with the aim of explaining the significance of the vision and sound perception for the disciples.

Personal experience in the form of a vision (not clear whether in a dream or awake) is used to explain the way external thoughts (*khawāṭir*) pour into the heart of the voyager: "Once I was absent (in the unseen world) and I perceived the Prophet who was accompanied by ʿAlī. Then I hurried to ʿAlī without delay and shook hands with him and was inspired as if I heard the Prophet's tradition: Whoever shakes hands with ʿAlī will enter the Paradise. Then I started asking ʿAlī whether this *ḥadīth* was right and he answered in the affirmative."[44]

41 *Ibid.* 191–192.

42 *Ibid.* 136: *ʾarrajanī malak...* The *basmala* is partly from Qur'ān 2/163, which is the most complete version in the Qur'ān.

43 *Ibid.* 137: *kuntu asmaʿu fī waqt al-saḥar wa-anā dhākir fī l-khalwa tasbīḥ al-malāʾika.*

44 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 138: *ghibtu fa-abṣartu l-nabī...* The *ḥadīth* quoted here is a Shīʿite tradition, not found in the six books of the Sunnite traditions.

On speaking about the immersion (*istighrāq*) of the existence in the remembrance (*dhikr*), al-Kubrā recalls one of his personal experiences: Once when in seclusion doing remembrance (*dhikr*), his head was filled with frightening sounds of musical instruments and therefore he was scared, thus his master advised him to stop remembering to avoid death.[45]

The author told his master his personal experience during the seclusion when he had become absent (from this world, *ghibtu*) and had been raised to the ascending Sun. His shaykh, ʿAmmār, was very glad and told al-Kubrā his experience the same night when he saw in dream that he was walking in the holy precinct of Mecca together with al-Kubrā while the Sun was in the middle of the heaven. al-Kubrā told his master that he was that Sun because he had been annihilated in one of the circles of light of the Sun.[46] Then the two experiences are followed by a detailed explanation. The primary aim of this passage is to show the relevance of the strict connection between the disciple and the shaykh, which can lead to parallel dreams in the same night.[47]

al-Kubrā says about one of his mystical experiences: "When I reached this station it was written in my plate: In the name of the Merciful and Compassionate God (*basmala*)."[48]

He describes his next personal experience as follows: "I became absent (from this world, *ghibtu*), and I felt as if I was accompanied by the Prophet Muḥammad and his companies (*aṣḥāb*). Then I asked the Prophet what the word *raḥmān* meant and he answered: 'He who sits down (*istawā*) on His Throne'" (cf. Qur'ān 7/54).[49] The meaning of the *raḥīm* can be found in the following Qur'ān verse 33/43: "He is compassionate with the believers."[50]

In another personal experience the author describes how close the (perfect) sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*) is to death:[51] "It was not by my choice that I traversed to the abode of sincerity, but I was carried there. At that time, I tasted death, then I felt tranquillity in glancing at this presence. I received the inspiration that it was the presence of the divine mercy (*raḥma*). ... Later my shaykh came to me and whispered into my heart: Devote yourself to God. From this I understood that it had been he who had sent me to the presence of the divine power (*ulūhiyya*) and the divine lordship (*rubūbiyya*). ... Then I returned to the existence and was relieved from my fatigue." This seems to be a parable exemplifying the significance of the shaykh's guidance for the voyager.

45 *Ibid.* 155–156: *kuntu fī l-khalwa dhākiran ... qāla l-shaykh: uhkruj min al-khalwa wa-daʿ al-dhikr ḥattā lā tajunna wa-tamūta.*

46 *Ibid.* 164: *kuntu fī l-khalwa wa-ghibtu thumma ʿurrijtu ilā l-samā'...*

47 The explanations are found in Kubrā: *op. cit.* 164–165.

48 *Ibid.* 205: *waṣaltu ilā hādhā l-maqām fa-awwal má kutiba fī lawḥī: bism illāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm.*

49 *Ibid.* 205: *maʿnā raḥmān ... alladhī ʿalā l-ʿarsh istawā.*

50 *wa-kāna bil-mu'minīna raḥīman*: 33/43.

51 *Ibid.* 208: *dār al-ikhlāṣ wa-hiya dār man dhahaba ... lā yaʿburuhu ḥattā yadhūqu l-mawt.*

Another personal experience serves the aim to show to the disciples their future significance in an easily comprehendible way: "I absented myself (from the existence) and saw the Sun quit the Sagitta and enter the North Star. Then the chief minister of the emir came to me, and it signified for me that the emir humbled himself in front of a mystic (*faqīr).*"[52]

The following story or experience reflects even the author's doubts whether all this, what he is going to tell, really happened to him or not. It is told in connection with the section of the book on the visitation of the spirits (*tazāwur al-arwāḥ*): "My shaykh, al-Badlīsī, travelled to a village then returned to us. When he was near our city his dignity (*waqār*) and his shadow (*ẓill*) and his determination (*himma*) fell on me like a mountain and I could not move from it. Then I was inspired (*ulhimtu*) that the shaykh had already returned and was near to us. Thus, I told my companions to accompany me for welcoming the shaykh. However, they did not believe me and asked me who had informed me about this. Nevertheless, they came with me to the road and there we met the shaykh. After this amazement filled them having seen this wonderful event."[53] This story is meant to show how a disciple can establish spiritual contact with his shaykh.

Other personal experiences serve as explanations of what the *ṣūfī* sees in his seclusion when he gazes at the heaven in his absence from the real world. al-Kubrā said: "I saw a religious scholar who asked me the meaning of the stars and the Sun. I asked him to tell me the answer, so he said: God watches his servant night and day. At night, his gaze is the stars, at day his gaze is the Sun."[54]

A personal experience about the Qur'ān says: "I saw in my absence the heavens with the stars, so I understood from the stars the Throne verse of the Qur'ān (2/255) without letters and words."[55]

Another personal experience connects with the Qur'ān: "I absented myself (from this world): (I saw) the stars appear as if they were the Book of the Qur'ān written in it with quadrangular vowel signs and dots, two verses of the *sūrat Ṭāhā* (20/39-40): 'And I bestowed on you love from Me, and (it was) so that you might be formed under My eye – when your sister went.'[56] So I understood (this verse) and I knew by inspiration that it was about a woman I had known once whose name had been Banafsah (Violet) but in the absence (dream) it was Istaftayna."[57] This

[52] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 235: *fahimtu annahu tawāḍaʿa l-amīr lil-faqīr.*

[53] *Ibid.* 237: *kuntu fī btidāʾ ittiṣālī bi-khidmat al-shaykh ʿAmmār al-Badlīsī mutaraddidan bi-hādhā l-shaʾn a-huwa ṣaḥīḥ am lā?*

[54] *Ibid.* 238: *qāla (al-ʿālim): a-tadrī mā maʿnā l-kawākib wal-shams? qultu: qul! fa-qāla: inna Allāh yanẓuru ilā ʿibādihi bil-layl wal-nahār fal-kawākib naẓaruhu bil-layl wal-shams naẓaruhu bil-nahār.*

[55] *Ibid.* 239: *ghibtu ... fa-fahimtu min kawākib (al-samāʾ) al-Qurʾān āyat al-kursī bilā ḥarf wa-kalima...*

[56] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 239-240: *ghibtu fa-badat samāʾ ka-annahā kitāb al-Qurʾān fī-hā maktūb bi-ashkāl murabbaʿa bil-naqṭ ... wa-hādhihi āya min sūrat Ṭāhā* 39–40. Translated by Alan Jones, *The Qurʾán,* Gibb memorial Trust 2007, Exeter.

[57] This name, which means 'they (women) asked for a (divine) ruling' refers to Qur'ān 4/127: *yastaftūnaka fī l-nisā'*, "They ask you for a ruling about women".

experience explains to the disciples that the voyager on the *ṣūfī* path may receive divine inspirations relating to his everyday life, which he can interpret freely because they help him in his voyage.

The next personal experience is about the role the learning of the Prophetic traditions and the continuous recitation of the Holy Book at night play in the mystical manner of life: "When I was in Alexandria and learnt the *ḥadīth* from the Shaykh al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī al-Iṣfahānī one night I saw the Prophet in my absence (dream) so that we two were sitting together ... and I had been inspired that I should recite every night one section (*wird*) of the Qur'ān. So, I did it in front of the Prophet. When I finished it he found it excellent and said: It is the right way, to learn the *ḥadīth* by day and recite the Qur'ān by night."[58]

Another personal experience: "Then (after the previous encounter with the Prophet) I received an inspiration to ask him what was my kunya: Abū Janāb or Abū Jannāb? He answered that the second one because it means a choice between this world and the afterlife."[59]

Personal experience of the name of the devil during a chance encounter with him: "I saw him, when in absence, recognizing him, although he claimed that he was a stranger and his name was Yūnāq, but I found out that he was ʿAzāzīl.[60] He jumped on me, and our garments became mixed. Then I asked him how to escape from him. He answered that the only way of escape was to separate my clothes from his and it was made possible only by fasting.[61] This is the meaning of the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: The faith is naked, and its garment is the fear of God."[62] The moral of this experience is: At the final phase of the mystical voyage the devil means the greatest danger and it can be overcome only by ceaseless fasting.

Personal experience of the Greatest Name of God, the ultimate aim of every mystic to know: "I dreamt that I was in the Shūnīziyya mosque in Baghdad in seclusion (*khalwa*) and I saw a paper (*kāghid*) with one word written on it which I copied: it was the Greatest Name of God, '*Iftaḥbiḥanīn*'.[63] I brought the paper to the servant of the place and when he read it he lost consciousness. When he regained his consciousness ... he told me that he saw a dream in which angels appeared

58 Kubrā: *op. cit*. 241: *fa-lammā sakattu ʿan il-qirā'a istajwadahā wa-qāla: hākadhā tasmaʿu al-ḥadīth bil-nahār wa-taqra'u al-Qur'ān bil-layl.*

59 *Ibid*. 241: The meaning of Abū Jannāb is 'he who avoids the worldly things', while Abū Janāb is a worldly title of respect: 'honourable'.

60 The name of the devil before his expulsion from Paradise.

61 *Ibid*. 242: *wa-ammā ism al-shayṭān fa-ghibtu fa-ra'aytuhu maʿrifatahu...*

62 It is generally considered a weak tradition. The text of the *ḥadīth* in Arabic: *al-īmān ʿuryān wa-libāsuhu l-taqwā*. The source is Wahb b. Munabbih, first quoted by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (died 894): *Makārim al-akhlāq*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭā', Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1989, 84. It is found in al-Ghazālī: op. cit., vol. I, 6. Also quoted by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (died 1350) in his *Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda wa-manshūr wilāyat al-ʿilm wal-irāda,* ed. by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan b. Qā'id, Mecca, Dār 'ālam al-Fawā'id, 2010, vol. I, 399.

63 Meaning 'Open with desire!'

who told: The Greatest Name of God is given as the result of great effort (*mujāhada*) and it is the reward of the friend of God (*walī Allāh*)."[64]

*3.3. Similes and metaphors in the book.* The large collection of similes, metaphors and parables are meant to bring the esoteric teachings of the book closer to the young disciples' understanding.

For the explanation of the expression 'gradual decrease of the nutrition' as an obligation for the disciple, the following metaphor is used:[65] Nutrition (of the voyager) feeds not only the body, but also the (lower) soul and strengthens the power of the devil (dwelling in men). "Since the supply of the (earthly) existence, the (lower) soul and the devil are (coming) from the nutrition, then if the nutrition decreases their (negative) power also decreases."[66]

The right way of the behaviour of the disciple is characterised by the following simile:[67] "Abandonment of the decision and its annihilation in the decision of a reliable informer master, since (the voyager) is like a boy or small child or a useless squanderer – all of these should have a guardian or protector or judge who assumes the responsibility of their affairs."

Speaking about the existence he uses the following simile: "If it becomes righteous it whitens *like the white rain-cloud*."[68]

A simile concerning the state of the soul can be found on the same page: "In the lower soul (a spring) is flowing *like the flowing of the water* from the depth of the well."[69]

Calling attention to the nature of the devil, al-Kubrā says:[70] "It is an unclean fire ... and it takes form in front of you *as if it were* a black *zanjite*."[71] Here the simile mingles with a metaphor.

On 'the fires of remembrance' as compared to 'the fires of the devil' he says:[72] "The fires of remembrance are clean, moving rapidly and ascending upward while the fires of the devil are muddy and dark, and consequently, moving slowly. ... The voyager, if he feels great heaviness as if his parts of body were loaded with stones ... he observes the fire of the devil. But if the voyager feels easiness

64 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 247–248: *ra'aytu kāghidan fīhi maktūb „Iftaḥbiḥanīn". ... hā ism Allāh al-Aʿẓam.*

65 *Ibid.* 123: *taqlīl al-ghadhā' bil-tadrīj.*

66 *madad al-wujūd wal-nafs wal-shayṭān min al-ghadhā' – fa-in qalla l-ghadhā' qalla sulṭānuhā.*

67 *Ibid.* 123: *tark al-ikhtiyār wa-ifnā'uhu fī khtiyār shaykh muballigh ma'mūn. fa-innahu mithl al-ṭifl aw al-ṣabī ... aw as-safīḥ al-mubadhdhir ... kullu ha'ulā'ika lā budda lahum min al-waṣī aw walī aw qāḍin ... yatawallā amrahum.*

68 *Ibid.* 125: *al-wujūd ... idhā ṣaluḥa ibyaḍḍa mithla l-muzn.* (The last word originates from Q 58/69.)

69 *Ibid. bihā nabʿān ka-nabʿān il-mā' min aṣl il-yanbūʿ.*

70 *Ibid.* 126: *wal-shayṭān nār ghayr ṣāfiya ... wa-qad yatashakkalu quddāmaka ka-'annahu zanjī.*

71 This simile occurs once more in Kubrā: *op. cit.* 171: *lawn aswad zanjī ṭawīl dhū hay'a ʿaẓīma yasʿā ka-'annahu yaṭlubu l-dukhūla fīka. Zanjite* is the usual attribute of black people working in the Islamic empire.

72 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 127: *inna nīrān al-dhikr ṣāfiya sarīʿat al-ḥaraka wal-ṣuʿūd ilā l-fawq wa-nār al-shayṭān fī kadar wa-dukhān wa-ẓulma wa-kadhālika baṭī'atu l-ḥaraka.*

and dignity ... he sees a clean fire like we would see in the fire of dry wood. This is the fire of remembrance."[73]

Remembrance is likened to fire, thus "it leaves (alone) nothing and spares nothing, it enters a house and if there is wood in the house it burns it and it (remembrance) becomes fire, and if there is darkness in the house it becomes light and illuminates the house."[74]

Speaking about the symbols of existence al-Kubrā cites several images to characterise the deception and illusion of the existence connected with it. The well-known deception which snares and bewilders the traveller staying in a moving vehicle is that he feels that he stands still while the environment is moving or that he does not move but only the ground moves under his feet. This apparition is used by the author to point out the differences between the surface and the depth of the existence, the appearance, and the truth. E.g.: "You see the desert which you are traversing as if it moved under you, although it is only you who move." Or: "Whoever travels in a boat thinks that the coasts are passing by him."[75] These similes are supported by a Qur'ān quotation: "And you will see the mountains that you supposed to be firm passing by like clouds."[76] The same phenomenon of sensual disappointment may occur according to al-Kubrā when you see as if you were in a well and the well descended (upon you) from above, although it is you who ascended.[77]

al-Kubrā tells the disciple that when he is in the state of ascension (*ʿurūj*) in his heart he may see rain falling and he must know that "this rain falls from the presences of the (Divine) Mercy."[78]

Speaking about the visions of ascension al-Kubrā states that the voyager will see different colours, the colours of his different states, to which his traversing through the air aims. We gather our information (on our states) from the states of the vegetation: when it is green it means power, life and growing, but when it is

[73] *Ibid.* 127: *fa-inna s-sayyār idhā kāna fī thiqal ʿaẓīm ka'anna aʿḍa'uhu turaḍḍu raḍḍan bil-ḥijāra ...wa-huwa yushāhid ... nār al-shayṭān - wa-in kāna l-sayyār fī khiffa ... yarā nāran ṣāfiyatan mithla mā yushāhidu aḥadunā al-nār fī l-ḥaṭab al-yābis fa-hiya nīrān al-dhikr.*

[74] *Ibid.* 127: *al-dhikr nār "lā tubqī wa-lā tadharu"* (quotation from Q 74/28) *... dakhala baytan ... fa-idhā kāna fī l-bayt ḥaṭab aḥraqahu fa-kāna nāran fa-idhā kāna fī l-bayt ẓulma kāna nūran wa-nawwara l-bayt.*

[75] The same simile of the boat and coast can be found at Ibn ʿArabī (died 1140): *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. Yaḥyā ʿUthmān, Cairo, GEBO, 1985, vol. III, 314. Its source may have been from the *Fawā'iḥ*, written earlier than the *Futūḥāt,* or it may have been taken by both authors from a common but unknown source.

[76] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 129: *tushāhidu ... mafāwiza taqṭaʿuhā fa-tasīru l-mafāwizu taḥtaka wa-innamā anta tasīru walākinna man tasīru bihi l-safīna yaḥsubu anna l-sawāḥila tamurru ʿalayhi* (Cf. Q 27/88).

[77] *Ibid.* 129: *wa-tushāhidu ayḍan ka-annaka fī bi'r wal-bi'r tanzilu min fawq wa-innamā taṣʿudu ilā fawq.*

[78] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 130: *wa-idhā shāhadta maṭaran nāzilan fa-ʿlam annahu matar nāzil min maḥāḍir al-raḥma.* Cf. Ibn ʿArabī: *op. cit.* vol. VII. 359: *al-maṭar min al-raḥma.*

yellow it demonstrates the weakness of the vegetation.[79] The colour simile is then continued as a metaphor of the green colour as the life of the heart.[80]

AL-KUBRĀ likens the changes of the different mystical states and visions (*mushāhadāt*) to the change of the face when turning red, reflecting different inner states like shame or fear or joy or grief or anxiety.[81]

During his remembrance he felt "as if God descended to the lower heaven" and the angels whom he heard glorify God "made it quick as if they were afraid and sought for aid."[82]

When the author speaks about the unclean state of the soul (*al-nafs al-khabītha*) he makes the fear of the voyager like the fear of the small child who stole an egg and ran away.[83]

AL-KUBRĀ explains how to taste (mystical experience, *dhawq*) the thought coming from outside (*khāṭir*): "The disciple is obliged to differentiate between useful and harmful thoughts just like when he tastes physically the honeycomb (*shahd)* and the colocynth (*ḥanẓal*) and experiences their respective sweetness and bitterness. [84]

In connection with the mystical contemplation or vision (*mushāhada*) AL-KUBRĀ uses a simile comparing the comprehension of the meanings of the divine visitation or *quasi*-inspiration (*ḍabṭ maʿānī l-wāridāt*) to hunting. He is not satisfied with the bare mentioning of this simile, but he goes on to give a detailed analysis of the simile, ensuring the proper understanding of the similarity by the disciples: "There are two faculties of comprehension in our head serving the intellect in catching the divine vision, the image and imagination (*al-ṣūra wal-khayāl*), similarly to the net and snare of the hunter."[85] Then the author interweaves the images of the mystical life and ordinary life into metaphors: the intellect resembles the dog of the hunter, insofar as it throws the snare (*ḥabāla*) of the faculties of the image and imagination if the (divine) meanings appear (*waradat*) together with their essences or the dog of the perception (*naẓar*) runs to them and hunts them.

AL-KUBRĀ describes the voices he heard during the remembrance (*dhikr*) when he was in seclusion (*khalwa*) using a series of similes: first the sounds of musical

[79] KUBRĀ: *op. cit.* p. 131: *nastadillu bi-aḥwāl al-nabt – akhḍar: quwwa, ḥayāt, numw – aṣfar: dalla ʿalā ḍuʿf al-nabt.*

[80] *Ibid.* 153: *lawn al-khuḍra ... lawn ḥayāt al-qalb.*

[81] *Ibid.* 131: *wa-kadhālika al-wujūh: idhā ḥmarrat dalla dhālika ʿalā ʿāriḍ ʿaraḍa lahā min khajal aw wajal aw surūr aw taraḥ aw humūm.*

[82] *Ibid.* 137: *ka-anna l-Ḥaqq nazala ilā l-samā' al-dunyā ... wal-malā'ika asraʿat fī qawlihim ka-anna khāfū wa-ṭalabū l-najd.*

[83] *Ibid.* 141.

[84] *Ibid.* 145: *fa-in waṣalta ilā l-dhawq dhuqta l-khāṭir fa-ʿaraftahu wa-mayyaztahu ʿan ghayrihi ḥasba l-farq bayna l-shahd wal-ḥanẓal ... fa-innaka taqūlu fī l-farq dhāka ḥulw wa-hādhā murr.*

[85] KUBRĀ: *op. cit.* 150–151: The simile of the hunter: *wa-sabab al-ṣūra wal-khayāl, quwwatāni khādimatāni lil-ʿaql fi l-ra's, li-ḍabṭ al-ashyā' lahu mithla l-ḥabāla wal-shabaka lil-ṣayyād wal-naẓar mithla kalb al-ṣayyād.* The hunting metaphor continues on the following pages.

instruments (drums and trumpets), then submerging in the remembrance he heard hissing sounds like the rippling of water and the roar of the wind.[86]

According to another simile, remembrance (*dhikr*) causes effects in the head and the members of the one who remembers (*dhākir*) as if he were bound by shackles and chains.[87]

al-Kubrā characterises the face near the end of the voyage as if it were as clean as a polished mirror, since the voyage makes the voyager.[88] Another of his similes about the face of the *sayyār*, the mystical voyager is as follows: "If the face circle becomes clean it is overflowed by lights like the well (is overflowed) by water."[89] The face becomes of light, says al-Kubrā, and then from beyond the curtain of the face a sun can be seen (i.e., the sun of the spirit), which comes and goes similarly to the seesaw.[90]

Speaking about the voyager's vision, al-Kubrā uses several metaphors which help the disciples understand their experiences: "A heaven with stars looms for him and it is a qur'ān (for the *ṣūfī*). And he understands it and reads it by way of the guidance of the dots (of the Arabic letters which are similar to the stars on the heaven for him who looks up to it)."[91] And then the author uses the stars as metaphors for remembrance (he calls it the Canopus[92] of *dhikr*) and concentration (*himma*, Saturnus) saying that "this (Canopus) is the Canopus of *dhikr* ascending from the prosperity of the faith ... and the Saturnus of the concentration may appear in its hiding from a distance. This is the end of the universe (*kawn*). It (the Saturnus of the concentration) may seem growing if it approaches you and descends from the height and it becomes similar to the Jupiter."[93]

Different means of transport are used by the author in his description to express the different grades of the states in which the voyager has a vision: "If he sees he is riding a donkey it is the sign of his possessing the desire. If he sees he is riding a mule it is the sign of his possessing the lower soul (*nafs*), if he sees he is riding a horse it is the sign of the voyage of the heart, if he sees he is riding a

86 *Ibid.* 155–156: *aṣwāt al-dabādib wal-kaws wal-būq ... thumma kharīr al-mā' wa-dawī l-rīḥ.*

87 *Ibid.* 160: *ṭayarān al-dhikr fīka ... shudda l-dhikr ra'saka wa-aʿḍā'aka jamīʿan fa-takūnu kal-mashdūd bil-salāsil wal-quyūd.*

88 *Ibid.* 163: *wajhuka min al-nūr ṣāfiya mithla l-sajanjal al-maṣqūl (polished burnished-mirror, reference to Imru'u l-Qays, al-Muʿallaqa al-lāmiyya v. 31: tarā'ibuhā maslūqa kal-sajanjalī).* See Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Zawzanī: *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaqāt al-sabʿ*, ed. Lajnat al-taḥqīq, Cairo, Dār al-ʿĀlamiyya, 1993, 24.

89 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 170: *idhā ṣafat dā'irat al-wajh fāḍat bil-anwār kal-yanbūʿ bil-miyāh.*

90 *Ibid.* 170: *wajh min nūr ... wa-turā min warā'a sitrihi (sitr wajhika) shams* (metaphor: *shams al-rūḥ) tajī'u wa-tadhhabu mithla l-urjūḥa tajī'u wa-tadhhabu.*

91 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 174: *wa-qad yalūmu lahu samā' dhāt kawākib wa-huwa qur'ān. wa-yafhamuhu wa-yaqra'uhu min dalālat al-naqṭ.*

92 In Arabic *Suhayl*.

93 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 174–175: *dhālika Suhayl al-dhikr ṭalaʿa min yumn al-īmān ... wa-qad yabdū Zuḥal al-himma fī khafā'ihi min baʿīd.* The word *suhayl* as a common noun means 'brilliant, graceful, beautiful and weighty' and as a proper name, besides Canopus, it is also the name of a legendary figure.

camel it is the sign of his travelling by the love (*shawq*), if he is flying it is the sign of the life of concentration (*himma*)."[94]

al-Kubrā uses a quite unique metaphor for the *sharīʿa* (Islamic law) and *ṭarīqa* (path to God): "The disciple sees that he is travelling in a boat in the sea where the boat is the *sharīʿa* and the sea is the *ṭarīqa.*"[95] Although the sea is a usual metaphor for the mystical knowledge, neither the boat nor the sea is used in this way in the previous literature.

The central notion of all mystical theories is the passionate love (*ʿishq*). The *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* describes it in a highly sensual way: "The passionate love means the burning of the intestines (or all the inside parts, *al-ḥashā*) and the liver (*kibd,* also meaning 'heart')."[96] Then it is followed by the love story of al-Junayd and that of the author. The passage ends up with different parables for the heavenly love.

On characterising the mystical state (*ḥāl*) al-Kubrā uses a metaphoric picture: "The mystical state is (food) provision, drink, and boat, his (the voyager's) voyage is spiritual (*maʿnawī*) to his absolute/universal goal (*maṭlūb kullī*)."[97] The mystical station (*maqām*) is characterised by using the ordinary meaning of the word, which, however, in a mystical context becomes metaphoric: "The station is for the stopping and relaxation from the fatigue of the voyage."[98] Then the two main terms of the *ṣūfī* mystic state and station are compared in the simile of the bird: "The state is in the position of the two wings of the bird while the station is in the position of its nest."[99]

The voyagers are at three stages of mystical perfection. At these stages they are likened to the three ages of human beings: the small child (*al-ṭifl*), the mature man (*al-kahl*) and the wise old man (*shaykh*) who ends his journey (*al-muntahī*). Their voyage is explained metaphorically by the wings of birds of different sizes: the eagle (*nasr*) and the smaller birds (*bughāth*).[100] Then the metaphor passes to the mystical sphere: "The two wings of the small child (*ṭifl*) are fear and hope, the two wings of the adult man (*kahl*) are constriction (*qabḍ*, shrinking of the heart) and extension (*basṭ*, widening of the heart), while the two wings of the master (*shaykh*) are intimacy (*uns*) and reverence (*hayba*), and hence those of love and knowledge."[101]

al-Kubrā gives a sensual description of the effects of the main stations on the human body by two similes: The constriction (*qabḍ*) and extension (*basṭ*) mean

94 *Ibid.* 175–176: *qad yarā l-sayyār annahu rākib ḥimāran fa-dhālika ʿalāmat annahu malaka l-shahwa.*
95 *Ibid.* 176: *raʾā (al-murīd) annahu rākib fī l-safīna fī l-baḥr wal-safīna al-sharīʿa wal-baḥr al-ṭarīqa.*
96 *Ibid.* 181–182: *al-ʿishq taḥrīq al-ḥashā* /intestines/ *wal-kibd.*
97 *Ibid.* 185: *al-ḥāl zād wa-sharāb wa-markab, safaruhu (al-sayyār) maʿnawī ilā maṭlūbihi l-kullī.*
98 *Ibid.* 186: *al-maqām lil-nuzūl wal-istirāḥa ʿan taʿb il-safar.*
99 *Ibid.* 186: *al-ḥāl bi-manzilat al-janāḥayni wal-maqām bi-manzilat al-wakr.*
100 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 187: *laysa janāḥ al-muntahī mithla janāḥ al-kahl wa-lā janāḥ al-kahl mithla l-ṭifl. iʿtabir hādhā bil-nisr wa-bughāth al-ṭayr.*
101 *Ibid.*

tasting in the heart and the body, while *khawf* and *rajā'* mean tasting only in the heart, the scene of the mystical voyage.[102]

The description of the effects of constriction (*qabḍ*) and extension (*basṭ*) on the traveller are made with the help of two similes: "They are constricted in their bodies as if they were shackled by chains ... those expanding (spreading) in their hearts are like the spreading of the seeds of cotton when the wind is blowing."[103]

The author uses the following simile for explaining the relation between knowledge and love: "The knowledge (*maʿrifa*) adheres to the love (*maḥabba*) like the shadow to a thing, accompanies it in its increasing and decreasing states."[104]

The three classes of people are characterised by the following simile: "The perception (*ʿirfān*) of the ordinary man, and that of the elite and that of the elite of the elite (reflect) similarity to the spring, the sea and water wheel."[105] The ordinary man means a faithful Muslim, the elite the voyager on the mystical path, while the elite of the elite the *shaykh* who reached the grade of realisation by God.

al-Kubrā expounds the deeper senses of two divine attributes, the *raḥmān* (gracious, referring to *jalāl*, majesty) and the *raḥīm* (merciful, referring to *jamāl*, grace) in a graphic way referring to the Arabic script – the majesty of the *alif* of *raḥmān*, meaning 'greatness and grandeur, and power', and the simplicity of the *yā'* of *raḥīm,* meaning 'sympathy and grace, and blessing,' correspond to the two divine attributes.[106]

The metaphoric description of the sadness (*ḥuzn*) of the traveller is as follows: "The sadness is a garment or shell ... or the sadness is a bite (of food) and the lover is its eater, or the sadness is the drink and the lover is the drinker." The similes of the growing love: "Like the plant when it rises and breaks through the stone and the earth and begins to grow ... as the chick is growing in the egg, and it comes to life and breaks up the shell."[107]

The cry of the voyager (*sayyār*) in his elevated station (of remembering God) resembles, according to the author, the sounds of the birds, coming out from the compassion in their breasts.[108]

al-Kubrā characterises the lower soul (*nafs*) by a well-known metaphor, saying: "it is a never dying snake." But after that he further develops this metaphor: "It is like the viper: if it is slaughtered and its head is struck by a fine strike, then it

[102] *Ibid.* 189: *al-qabḍ wal-basṭ dhawq fī l-qalb wal-ajsād wal-khawf wal-rajā' dhawq fī l-qulūb dūna l-ajsād.*

[103] *Ibid.* 190: *hum munqabiḍūn bi-abdānihim ka-annahum quyyidū bil-salāsil ... wal-munbasiṭūn bil-qulūb inbisāṭ al-fūfʿinda maḥabb al-rīḥ.*

[104] *Ibid.* 194: *al-maʿrifa mulāzima lahā (al-maḥabba) kal-ẓill lil-shay' yushārikuhu fī l-ziyāda wal-naqṣān.*

[105] *Ibid.* 195: *ʿirfān al-ʿāmma wa-ʿirfān al-khāṣṣa wa-ʿirfān khāṣṣat al-khāṣṣa ... mithāl al-yanbūʿ wal-baḥr wal-sawāqī.*

[106] *Ibid.* 201: *maʿnā al-alif wal-yā' ...*

[107] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 231: *al-ḥuzn libās wa-qishr ... aw al-ḥuzn al-luqma wal-ʿāshiq al-ākil aw al-ḥuzn al-sharāb wal-ʿāshiq aw al-ʿishq al-shārib ... namat al-ḥabba wa-naqabat al-ḥajar wal-arḍ wa-nabatat ... wa-kabura l-farakh fī l-bayḍa wa-ḥayiya wa-kasara l-qishr.*

[108] *Ibid.* 231: *fa-ʿalā ādhā jamīʿ aṣwāt al-ṭuyūr takhruju min ḥanna fī ṣudūrihā.*

is skinned and its meat is cooked and eaten, then its skin dried up for years – but when it is put under the heat of the sun it starts moving again. It is the same with the lower soul."[109]

Another original metaphor is found in relating to the (infinite) trust in God (*tawakkul*): "The trust in God is the fruit of the certitude (*yaqīn*)."[110] Then this metaphor is further developed: "Those which enter the trust in God are the contentment (*riḍā*), the patience (*ṣabr*), and the gratitude (*shukr*). All are leaves and branches on the tree of certitude (*yaqīn*)."[111]

Finally, I should like to quote one of AL-KUBRĀ's simple parabolic stories, which serves to point out that "the (final) escape of the hearts is the Real One (*al-Ḥaqq*)."[112] According to this story, a thief who stole the turban of a man was compelled to return to the scene of his stealing because the victim had taken his amulet. This was, as stated by the author, the divine foreordainment of the punishment (*qadar al-jazā'*).

*3.4. Quotations of ṣūfī sources in the* Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl. The *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* is not a collection of quotations from hundreds of earlier *ṣūfī*s, like the earlier mentioned introductory works.[113] The author did not aim at making known the teachings, sayings, and mystical tales of other eminent *ṣūfī*s, he only wanted to present his mystical path to his disciples and to lead them on it to the utmost goal of attaining the true realisation of the Divine Truth. His teachings, as I pointed out earlier, relied mainly on his personal experiences and those of others (in my supposition, his disciples and followers) and on what he had learnt from his masters during his wandering years in Baghdad and Alexandria. He uses quotations in a limited number and only when they support his thoughts as concise illustrations. The sources of the external references mentioned in the book are noticed, listing only those which could have been read by the author and leaving out all later sources. It will be evident, however, from the following presentation that al-Kubrā seemingly did not use written sources but instead he relied on his memory of what he had been taught by his masters in Iraq and Egypt.

There are altogether 29 quotations[114] in the work under study, among them 6 verses, plus one reference to a mystical work (the authors are not always named in the text) and two tales, one about Jesus, the other about an unnamed man. In

[109] *Ibid.* 243: *al-nafs ḥayya lā tamūtu fa-inna mithālahā mithāl al-afʿā.*

[110] *Ibid.* 252-253: *al-tawakkul thamrat al-yaqīn wal-thamra bi-qadr quwwat al-shajara.*

[111] *Ibid.* 254: *wa-yadkhulu fī l-tawakkul: ar-riḍā wal-ṣabr wal-shukr ... kulluhā awrāq wa-ghusūn ʿalā shajarat al-yaqīn.*

[112] *ishāratan ilā an yakūna mafarrata l-qulūb al-Ḥaqq.*

[113] Like AL-SULAMĪ (*Muqaddima*), AL-KALĀBĀDHĪ (*Taʿarruf*), AL-QUSHAYRĪ (*Risāla*) or AL-HUJWĪRĪ (*Kashf al-maḥjūb*).

[114] The number of the letters of Arabic alphabet. In the following I cited the quotations in the order of the dates of death of their authors. The three lines by Arab poets I put at the end of this list.

his personal experiences he mentions some of his teachers in the fields of Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf*) and Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*), and some unnamed men, too, but generally not in the form of quotations.

The first reference is unquestionably to the Qur'ān:[115] "Solomon was David's heir. He said: O mankind, we have been taught the speech of birds," but the title of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's (died in 1221) *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*, too, may have been in the author's mind. The Qur'ān verse means the possibility to understand heavenly sounds, while the reference to ʿAṭṭār's work may be a clear reference to the mystical travel, this being the topic of this poetic work written in rhyming couplets.

Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (died ca. 877) is quoted twice. First his famous saying in ecstasy is mentioned without his name: *subḥānī subḥānī mā aʿẓama shaʾnī*.[116] For Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā it is not al-Bisṭāmī's name what is important in this place, but only his exclamation, since "when the traveller – he says – feels relaxation after hardship (*faraj baʿda l-shidda*), reverence (*hayba*) changes to intimacy (*uns*), constriction becomes extension (*qabḍ – basṭ*). Since he immerses completely in these new feelings he is compelled to cry out: '*subḥānī subḥānī mā aʿẓama shaʾnī*,' 'Glory be to me! How great is my dignity!'" Then Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā adds: "If, however, the Sufi traveller restrained himself (*maḥfūẓ*), he said: '*subḥānuhu, subḥānuhu, mā aʿẓama shaʾnuhu*,' speaking of God."

The second al-Bisṭāmī quotation is as follows:[117] "He was asked about the Greatest Name of God, and he said: Point out to me the smallest name, then I will point out to you the Greatest Name. The man said: All the Names are great." This anecdote cannot be found in the medieval Sufi sources. The significance of the story lies in the fact that Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, speaking about the famous theme of searching for the greatest name of God and some *ṣūfī*'s boasting about having received it from God, emphasizes here that the sign of *walāya* (friendship of God)

[115] Kubrā: *op. cit.* 121, Qur'ān 27/16. I will not try to explain the further *āyāt* quoted by al-Kubrā for lack of space.

[116] *Ibid.* 206. It is in Arberry's translation of ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* ("Memorial of the Saints"), London, Routledge & K. Paul, 1966, 141, Persian ed. by Nicholson, vol. I. 140, ll. 14–15: *subḥānī* (only once) *mā aʿẓama shaʾnī*, l. 12: by way of al-Saḥlajī's communication. In the text of al-Saḥlajī (ed. by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaṭaḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Wikālat al-Maṭbūʿāt, Kuwait, 1987, 143 l. 11) there are three mentions of *subḥānī,* twice it ends up with *sulṭānī,* 'my power,' not *shaʾnī,* 'my dignity.' In another place it is only *subḥānī* twice without *mā aʿẓama*, 89, and once it corresponds to the quotation in *al-Fawāʾiḥ*: *subḥānī subḥānī mā aʿẓama shaʾnī*, 186. In ʿAṭṭār, English tr. by Arberry: 141: "On one occasion," al-Sahlajī continues, "as he was in seclusion he uttered the words, 'Glory be to me! How great is my dignity!'" Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, however, could not have known the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, since it was finished only after his death or around it, either in 1221 or 1221. In any case, his quotation does not cover exactly what ʿAṭṭār writes, but it is interesting that it corresponds to what later became famous, with two mentions of *subḥānī*. al-Sarrāj: *op. cit*., 472, contains only the beginning "*subḥānī subḥānī*." Hujwīrī does not know this ecstatic cry, nor does Rūzbihān Baqlī's *Sharḥ-i Shaṭaḥāt*. The other early authors of the *ṣūfī* handbooks do not include this infamous saying, neither al-Sulamī (*Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*), nor al-Kalābādhī (*al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*), nor al-Qushayrī (*Risāla*).

[117] Kubrā: *op. cit*. 247.

is that although the *walī* (God's friend) will be given the greatest name of God, every name is equally great. It means, in my opinion, a kind of encouragement for the beginners.

Sahl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tustarī (died in 896) is represented in the *Fawā'iḥ* with one saying mentioned twice:[118] He told his disciples not to say *ākh* if a misfortune falls upon them because this is the name of the Satan, but to say *āh* instead because it is the name of God, or *wah* or *wuh* since they are the inverse forms of *huwa* (He, i.e., God). This saying is told in connection of the name of God but it serves as a good example at the same time of the master–disciple relation, too.

Only one story is told about al-Nūrī (d. 907), a contemporary of al-Junayd.[119] His behaviour during a listening and dancing (samā') ritual was very similar to that of al-Junayd's, since he seemingly remained insensitive during the dance, but after it ended, his face dripped with bloody perspiration. The two 'twin' stories, those of al-Junayd and of al-Nūrī, are included in the *Fawā'iḥ* to show how differently the *ṣūfī*s are affected by the same mystical event, listening to music (*samā'*).

Speaking about the miracles (*karāmāt*, 'divine favours') of the *ṣūfī*s, the author mentions a famous story of Samnūn b. Ḥamza al-Khawāṣṣ called al-Muḥibb ('the Lover') (died between 909 and 912),[120] according to which whenever he spoke about love in the Shanūziyya mosque in Baghdad, it moved to the right and then to the left (from the strength of Samnūn's love).[121] "Whenever he was asked to speak about love he answered: I do not know anybody worthy of speaking to about love. Then a bird fell on the earth in front of him and he said: 'Perhaps only this (bird).' So, he started speaking to it about love, while the bird was striking the earth with its beak, till the blood flowed from it. After that it expired."[122]

Most quotations, altogether seven, refer to Abū l-Qāsim al-Junayd of Baghdad (died in 912). In describing how to achieve *mujāhada* (individual striving) by way of practical devices, he mentions Junayd's way as the third way which consists of eight conditions:[123] "The continuous performance of the ablution, fasting, remaining in silence and in seclusion, performance of remembrance, refusing one's inner thoughts, not raising objections to God concerning what comes from Him to him, good or bad, and not asking questions on its aim."[124]

118 *Ibid.* 223 and 227.

119 *Ibid.* 192.

120 *Ibid.* 177-178.

121 *kāna idhā takallama fī l-maḥabba ja'alat al-Shanūziyya tajī'u wa-tadhhabu yamīnan wa-shimālan*. This introductory part of Samnūn's love-inspired miracle occurs only in the *Fawā'ḥ*. al-Kubrā may have heard this and the whole story during his studies in Baghdad from his shaykh in the Shanūziyya mosque, which also had a *khānqāt* attached to it.

122 A slightly different version can be found in al-Qushayrī: *op. cit*, 525, and al-Ghazālī: *op. cit*., vol. IV, 349.

123 Kubrā: *op. cit*. 124.

124 This saying cannot be found in the known sources. The closest to it is what al-Qushayrī cites in his *Risāla* (English tr. by Alexander D. Knysh, Reading: Garnet, 2007, 43, Arabic ed. *op. cit.* 79): "I heard al-Junayd say: We learned Sufism not through words

Both the next two al-Junayd quotations refer to the difference between the outer behaviour and the inner state of the *ṣūfī*: "al-Junayd, when asked about the passionate love (*'ishq*), answered: I do not know what it is." But then he told a story about the passionate love between a blind man and a young boy, the moral being that even an earthly love can kill a lover.[125] Junayd said:[126] "If the kings knew what (ecstatic states) we are in, they should wage war against us with swords."

The fourth mention of al-Junayd is made on account of his so-called sobriety (*sahw*).[127] When he was asked by one of the participants in a *ṣūfī samā'* meeting about the cause of not taking part in their dance, he answered with a Quran verse (XXVII. *an-Namal* 88): "And you will see the mountains that you supposed to be firm passing by like clouds."

al-Junayd is also quoted saying in connection with the (divine) spirit (*rūḥ*): "We cannot say that it is eternal, nor that it is created."[128]

In speaking about seclusion (*khalwa*), al-Junayd emphasized speaking to his disciples that they should concentrate on the intimacy with God during the seclusion, not bothering with the seclusion itself.[129]

In the context of the cry (*ṣīḥa*) of the 'enraptured ones' (*fuqarā'*), al-Junayd, when asked about this, said: "It is God's Greatest Name (*al-ism al-a'ẓam*) and no one should dispute or dislike it."[130]

al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (died in 922) is quoted three times, twice with verses, once with a *ṣūfī* saying, but never mentioning his famous nickname (*laqab*) al-Ḥallāj.

Two lines of the divine love are mentioned, the first hemistich being: *'ajibtu minka wa-minnī*, "I admired You and me," the theme of which is that the beloved one annihilates the lover.[131]

al-Ḥallāj (without mentioning his name) is quoted on the divine love: *anā man ahwā wa-man ahwā anā:* "I am the one who is the most desirable, the most desirable one I am," which is like a dialogue between the lover and the beloved.[132] The

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but through hunger, the renunciation of this world, and through depriving ourselves from the things which we are accustomed to and in which we take delight."

125 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 180–181.

126 *Ibid.* 191. This saying is not found in any of the *ṣūfī* textbooks. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (died in 1038): *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1988, vol. VII, 370, mentions a similar saying attributed to an earlier mystic, Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham.

127 *Ibid.* 191–192. Tr. by Alan Jones. al-Ghazālī: *op. cit.*, also mentions this story: vol. II., 299–300, with an explanation. Cf. al-Sarrāj: *op. cit.*, 8–13.

128 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 202.

129 *Ibid.* 213.

130 *Ibid.* 230.

131 *Ibid.* 182. In Massignon: *Dīwān al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1931, 321, there is only the second line, but later Arabic editions contain the whole poem: al-Ḥallāj: *al-A'māl al-kāmila*, ed. Qāsim Muḥammad 'Abbās, Riyāḍ al-Rayyis, Beirut, 2002, 325; al-Ḥallāj: *Dīwān, Kitāb al-ṭawāsīn,* Manshūrāt al-Jamal, ed. Abū Ṭarīf al-Shaybī et al., Köln, Al-Kamel Verlag, 1997, 63.

132 Kubrā: *op. cit.* 197.

second hemistich says more on this special relationship, but it did not seem appropriate here for the author: "We are two spirits who settled down in one body."

There is a quotation from AL-ḤALLĀJ under his name (*ism*) al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr on the theme of how to reach friendship (*walāya*) with God by cutting the ties (to this world), adopting the attributes (*ittiṣāf*) of the True Reality (al-Ḥaqq), then annihilation even from the realities in the True Reality (i.e., God).[133] It is interesting to note that this teaching is a usual prescription for the travellers on the mystical path and Najm al-Dīn AL-KUBRĀ himself says: "We say as AL-ḤALLĀJ said," that is, it is not the saying that bears importance but the person who said it. The author wanted to mention the name of AL-ḤALLĀJ in connection with the friendship (*walāya*) with God. This saying of AL-ḤALLĀJ cannot be found in any of the known sources or editions.

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī AL-KHARAQĀNĪ (died in 1033) is quoted once, in telling his personal experience in a form of a vision of his circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Divine Throne (*al-ʿarsh*) much quicker than the angels could do it. When the angels asked him how he could do the circumambulation with such a speed, he explained that he was a human being (*ādamī*) in whom there were light and fire, and the fire of desire (*shawq*) had resulted in this speed.[134]

Abū Najīb AL-SUHRAWARDĪ (died in 1168) is mentioned twice, first in connection with the extreme effect of being in seclusion during the remembrance of God (*dhikr*): "Abū Najīb AL-SUHRAWARDĪ mentioned that a *ṣūfī* immersed in his remembrance in such a measure that the remembrance could be heard from his heart (*ṣadr*)."[135] Secondly, a call is quoted for the disciples to cut all ties which bind them to worldly affairs: "Abū Najīb AL-SUHRAWARDĪ said: My heart is like the empty well (which has been emptied) for His (God's) sake."[136]

In the final part of his work AL-KUBRĀ speaks about receiving the upper grade of the friendship with God (*walāya*)[137] and he always uses the first person in plural, probably referring to his master AL-BADLĪSĪ (died in 1194), from whom he gained most of his knowledge about mysticism. This fact also proves what significance he attributed to the role of the master.

AL-KUBRĀ cites a saying of an unnamed *shaykh*: "The knower (*ʿārif*) is standing motionless while the confused one (*mutaḥayyir*) moves on." His source is probably one of his shaykhs, RŪZBIHĀN AL-FĀRISĪ, but we know nothing about such a person. [138]

[133] *Ibid.* 250.

[134] KUBRĀ: *op. cit.* 140. This vision cannot be found in any known sources.

[135] *Ibid.* 213–214: *ṣāḥib khalwa qad dhukira annahu intahā istighrāquhu fī l-dhikr ilā ḥadd yusmaʿu l-dhikr min ṣadrihi.* Not found in Abū Najīb AL-SUHRAWARDĪ's only ṣūfī work, *Ādāb al-murīdīn.*

[136] *Ibid.* 229: *inna qalbī mithla l-jubb al-fārigh li-ajlihi.* See the previous footnote.

[137] *Ibid.* 248–250.

[138] *Ibid.* 179. A variant of this saying is mentioned according to Yūsuf ZAYDĀN (edition of the *Fawā'iḥ*, 179, fn. 1 in AL-KUBRĀ's *Risāla* (still in in MS), Library of Shahīd ʿAlī Pasha, Istanbul, no. 1395, folio 69), where he names his source as his master in Alexandria, RŪZBIHĀN AL-FĀRISĪ, who may have been identical with Rūzbihān AL-BAQLĪ, but this identification is not generally accepted.

Then al-Kubrā adds his own opinion: "But the absolute knower is God, everybody else is only learning the knowledge (from God through the shaykh, *muta'ārif*)."

An unknown mystic, al-Ḥaḍramī139 is mentioned, who denied that he believed in incarnation (*ḥulūlī*),[140] and stated that there is no inconvenience (*kulfa*) in the devotion to God by the upper class (*khawāṣṣ*, meaning the leading mystics) of His servants.

*3.5 The quotations from Arab poets.* al-Kubrā quotes three verses by famous Arab poets and one from an unknown one. The Arabic puns[141] and lines of Arabic poems and the complete lack of any Persian material help decide the question whether the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* was written originally in Persian, as it is stated in Ḥājjī Khalīfa's *Kashf al-ẓunūn*,[142] or its language has always been Arabic. It also shows that his readers (or listeners) must also have had a good command of Arabic.

He quotes a line, generally attributed to al-Akhṭal (died in ca 710), without mentioning the poet's name, in support of his teaching about the signs of friendship with God (*walāya*): "Verily the speech is in the heart and the tongue only was made as an evidence of the heart."[143]

Another poetical line quoted by the work, also without mentioning the poet's name, comes from al-Buḥturī (died in 897), when the author speaks about the *ṣūfī* being 'the son of his moment' (*ibn waqtihi*):[144] "I am in love in any case, whether Layla deals (with me) badly or does good to me".[145] al-Kubrā gives the following explanation of the verse: "I saw a lover, who whenever his beloved slapped him on his face, began to boast of her to the people, laughing and saying almost gladly: She does not fail to do what we are entitled to. That means that the *ṣūfī* accepts the good and the bad from his beloved, God, with patience and gratitude. The *ṣūfī* is a rider and his occupation with God (*himma*) is his horse."

The author of the third line of Arabic poetry in the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* is by perhaps the most famous and popular Arab poet, al-Mutanabbī (died in 965), also not named by the author:

139 No *ṣūfī* can be found with this name. Fritz Meier: *op. cit.* 65, fn. 1, suggests that we should read al-Ḥuṣrī or al-Ḥaḍarī instead, but this saying cannot be found under either name.

140 Believing that the human and divine nature can be united in his own person.

141 I do not intend to analyse the register of Arabic in al-Kubrā's work. I bring, however, one example to show the way he uses the language: *qalb* (heart), *yaqbalu* (turns upward), *qalīb* (deep well) and *taqallaba* (be altered) in one passage to form a complicated *jināṣ* (pun) from the root *q-l-b*. See *op. cit.* 132.

142 Ḥājjī Khalīfa: *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wal-funūn*. Istanbul, 1948, 1992.

143 *inna l-kalāma la-fī l-fuʾādi wa-innamā * juʿila l-lisānu ʿalā l-fuʾādi dalīlā.* Not found in his *dīwān*.

144 By a variant expression "*ibn al-waqt*." In Annamarie Schimmel's interpretation: "the Sufi who does not think of past or future," *op. cit.* 502.

145 *uḥibbu ʿalā ayyimā ḥālatin * isāʾata Laylā wa-iḥsānahā.* In the *dīwāns* of al-Buḥturī there is *kulli mā* instead of *ayyimā*. See al-Buḥturī: *Dīwān*, vol. I, 254, Qusṭanṭīniyya (Istanbul), 1300 AH (1882 CE). Also ed. by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣīrafī, vol. IV, 2175. no. 818, Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo, 1964.

"Whoever had a sick bitter mouth * he found in it (even) the sweet cool water bitter."[146]

The moral added by AL-KUBRĀ to this verse is that "the secret conversation (*munājāt*) with the Satan is hard and troublesome, while the secret conversation with the Merciful (God) is the most delightful thing."[147]

At the end of his work AL-KUBRĀ cites two lines from an unnamed poet, without reference to his source.[148] These lines fit well into the conclusion of his work:[149]

"I have revisited all those places which I had known * and let my glance run among those distinguished abodes,

But I only saw how a confused man placed his palm * on his chin or how the repentant gnashed his teeth."

## *4. Conclusion*

I could not have found a better conclusion for this article than AL-KUBRĀ's own concluding words at the end of the *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-jalāl*:

"Every sign, allusion, and mark that I mentioned are the results of the conduct, either blameworthy or praiseworthy, of the servant toward his Lord, and they are also the ordinances how the servant should accompany Him. All these show for those aspiring to reach God the example how to get acquainted with the mystical experience (*dhawq*) of the mystics (*dhā'iqīn*), the ardour of the passionate lovers, the light of the knowers (of God), the fire of the lovers, the haste of the yearning ones, the ecstasy of the ecstatic lovers, the fruits of those who endeavour to the unveiling (*mukāshifūn*), the unveiling (*kashf*) of those who endeavour, the secrets of those who make confidential talk with God (*munājūn*), and the method of those who save themselves (*nājūn*). I called my book *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-jalāl* ('The fragrance of the Beauty and the commencements of the Glory'), reminding of those who severed their worldly contacts for God and making understand the sincere ones."[150]

This passage gives expression to everything the work stands for and perfectly formulates the author's intentions: Leading and guiding the disciples on the *ṣūfī* path towards God, teaching them the essentials of the mystical experiences and explaining to them the peculiar phenomena which they may encounter during this voyage.

146 *wa-man yaku dhā famin murrin marīḍin * yajid murran bihi l-mā'a z-zulālā.* See ʿUQBARĪ, *Šarḥ Dīwān Abī l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*, vol. III, 228. Ed. by Muṣṭafā AL-SAQQĀ et al., al-Ḥalabī, Cairo, 1926.

147 KUBRĀ: *op. cit.* 146–147.

148 These lines can be found in the first page of the theological work of Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm AL-SHAHRASTĀNĪ (died in 1153): *Kitāb Nihāyatu l-iqdām ʿalā ʿilm al-kalām*, ed. by Alfred GUILLAUME, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1934, Arabic text, 3.

149 laqad ṭuftu fī tilka l-maʿāhidi kullihā * wa-ṣayyartu ṭarfī bayna tilka l-maʿālimī
fa-lam ara illā wāḍiʿan kaffa ḥā'irin * ʿalā dhaqnin aw qāriʿan sinn al-nādimī

150 KUBRĀ: *op. cit.* 261-262.

Benedek Péri

# Mīr ʿAlī-šīr Navāyī's poetic replies to ghazals composed by Šayḫum Niẓām ad-Dīn Aḥmad 'Suhaylī'

Mīr ʿAlī-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 (*taḫalluṣ*, *maḫlaṣ*) Fānī ('transitory') clearly demonstrates, he was an outstanding poet in Persian as well. Though the reception history of Navayī'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 *dīvān*s 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 Niẓām 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' collection of Persian poems was compiled by the poet himself who made it quite clear in his treatise titled *Muḥākamat al-luġatayn* ('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 Ḫᵛāja Ḥāfiẓ, which is acknowledged as elegant and displaying talent, by all writers of

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

2 *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Kitābḫāna, 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 Ḥājipūr (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] Šayḫ Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn Saʿdī – let his secrets be blessed – who has an original style of [writing] ghazals. And some of them [were inspired] by poems of Mīr Ḫusrav, 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 Maḫdūm, 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 *qiṭʿa* 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.

*Taṭabbuʿ kardan-i Fānī dar aš'ār*
*Na az daʿvā u na az ḫud-numāyī-st*
*Ču arbāb-i suḫan 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 (*muḥtaraʿ*) 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 ʿAlī Şīr Nevāyī: *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 Šūrā-yi Islāmī 1035, 300.

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

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

Suhaylī was the pen name of Amīr Niẓām 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 Saʿīd (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 Vāʿiẓ 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 Šayḫ Āẕarī Ṭūsī/Isfaraynī (d. 1462) and his teacher played an important role in selecting an appropriate *taḫalluṣ* 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 (*taẕkira*), 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 (*muḫayyal*) and elegant (*nāzuk*). Navāyī, in his foreword preceding his second *dīvān* titled *Badāyiʿ 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: *Taẕkirat aš-šuʿarā*. Ed. Muḥammad Ramażānī. Tehran, Ḥāvar, 1366 [1987], 378.

[12] Tahir Üzgör: *Türkçe Dîvân Dîbâçeleri*. 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 ʿAlī Haravī (d. ca. 1550), perhaps in the 1520s–1530s.[13] Laṭīfī, the author of a mid-16th century Ottoman *taẕkira* 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 (*muġlaḳ*) and full of imagination (*muḫayyal*). Two of Suhaylī's imitation poems are included in *Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb* ('The gift to a friend'), a collection of paraphrase networks compiled by Faḫrī Haravī (d. after 1566), who translated Navāyī's bibliographical anthology titled *Majālis an-nafāʾis* ('Congregations of the refined ones') into Persian.[14]

An entry on him appears in three 18th century biographical anthologies, Vāliḥ Dāġistān's (d. 1756) *Riyāż aš-šuʿarā* ('Gardens of poets'),[15] Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Āẕar's (d. after 1785) *Ātaškadah* ('Firetemple')[16] and ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Ḫalīl'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 Ḫāndān, 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 Faḫrī Haravī: *Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb*. Kitābkhāna, Mūza va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Šūrā-yi Islāmī 7027, 7, 58–59.

15 Vāliḥ Dāġistānī: *Riyāż aš-šuʿarā*. II. Ed. Muḥsin Nājī Nasrābādī. Tehran, Asāṭīr, 1384 [2005–2006], 973.

16 Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Āẕar Begdili: *Ātaškada-yi Āẕar*. Tehran, Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿIlmī, 1335 [1956–1957],15.

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

18 *Mecmūʿa-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 Ḫān Kirmānī. It contains a ghazal by Suhaylī. The other manuscript contains a qasida (*Mecmūʿa-i eṣʿār*. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Nadir Eserler Bölümü FY1151, ff. 14b–15b).

19 Only four copies of the full dīvān is mentiond 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 ʿAlī 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 *dīvān*s of poets most of whom, such as Yavuz Sulṭān Selīm (d. 1520), Šayḫ Āẕarī, 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 *dīvān*s of poets contemporary to Suhaylī, such as Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (d. 1535), Ahlī, Āṣafī, Riyāżī (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 (*majmūʿa*s) two of which have already been mentioned. A third *majmūʿa* 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, Hindûstânî and Pustû 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 *Mecmuʿa-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 *javāb*s 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 Humāyūnfarruḫ'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 aḫrab-i makfūf-i maḥẕūf* (- - . | . - - . | . - - . | . - -), the rhyme *-am* and the radīf *ū-rā* and the second one uses the metre *mujtass-i musamman-i maḫbūn* (. - . - | . . - - | . - . - | . . - 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 ʿazīz* ('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 *taṭabbuʿ-i yār-i ʿazīz* (['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 (*Taṭabbuʿ-i yār-i ʿazīz 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 maḫbūn* (. - . - | . . - - | . - . - | . . - or - -), the rhyme *-īn* and the *radīf mā-rā* and a poem composed using the metre *hazaj-i musamman-i aḫrab-i makfūf-i maḥẕūf* (- - . | . - - . | . - - . | . - -), the rhyme *-ar* and the radīf *hā*. The two editions of Navāyī's *dīvān* thus contain altogether five *javāb*s that are allegedly modelled on ghazals by Suhaylī.

*Tatabbuʿ-i yār-i ʿazīz* ('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 ʿAlī-šīr NAVĀYĪ: *Dīvān-i Fānī*. Ed. Rukn ad-Dīn Humāyūnfarruḫ. Tehran, Asāṭīr, 1375 [1996], 83, 262–263.

[29] Alisher NAVOIY: *Devoni Foniy*. Vol. 1. Ed. Hamid Sulaymon–Khojimurod Tojiev–S. Rafiddinov. (Alisher NAVOIY: Mukammal Asarlar To'plami. XVIII.) Tashkent, Fan, 2002, 18, 21, 47, 52.

[30] NAVOIY: *Devoni Foniy*, 1:21.

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

[32] *Dīvān- Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, f. 32a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Lala Ismail, f. 11b; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Nuruosmaniye, ff. 39a–b.

[33] *Dīvān-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 (*Taṭabbuʿ-i Maḫdūmī*), P1 claims that the model poem was composed by Ḥāfiẓ (*Taṭabbuʿ-i Ḫᵛāja*). and the Tehran manuscript attributes the model poem to Suhaylī (*Tatabbuʿ-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 *ayżan lahu* (also from him) and as such, it is the sixth poem in the line of *javāb*s 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 Ḫusrav 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 (*maṭlaʿ*) 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 Humāyūnfarruḫ's edition and it is also missing from LI and N. However, it is there in the Tashkent edition preceded by the heading *taṭabbuʿ-i yār-i ʿazīz*,[39] and the same heading is found in P1.[40] GM has *taṭabbuʿ-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, *ayżan lahu* suggesting that the model for this ghazal was also composed by Amīr Ḫusrav.[43] Nevertheless, the four volume Lahore edition of Ḫusrav'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] ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Jāmī: *Dīvān-i Jāmī. Jild-i avval. Fātiḥat aš-šabāb.* Ed. ʿAlāḫān Āfṣaḥzād. 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: *Taẕkirat aš-šuʿarā*, 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 *taṭabbuʿ-i yār-i ʿazīz* 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 *taṭabbuʿ-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 musamman-i sālim* (. - - - | . - - - | . - - - | . - - - ), the rhyme-*ār* and the *radīf afkan* should be added because in GM, LI and NO it is preceded by the heading *taṭabbuʿ-i Suhaylī*.[50] The model poem is attributed to Ḥāfiẓ in Humāyūnfarruḫ's edition and T.[51] In P1 it has the heading *taṭabbuʿ-i yār-i ʿazīz*,[52] and the heading in P2 and the Tashkent edition claims that the poem is an original composition (*muḥtaraʿ*).[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 *javāb*s 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 ʿAbd 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 Ḫusrav: *Kulliyāt-i ġazaliyāt-i Ḥusrav*. I. Ed. Iqbāl Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn. Lahore, Pīkījīz Limiṭid, 1972.

45 Navāyī: *Dīvān-i Fānī*, 81; Navoiy: *Devoni Foniy*, 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- Fānī*, Galata Mevlevihanesi, f. 117b; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Lala Ismail, f. 109a; *Dīvān- Fānī*, Nuruosmaniye, ff. 139a.

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

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

53 Alisher Navoiy: *Devoni Foniy*. 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 Ǧavāb. Replies by Nawāʾī to Ḥāfiẓ and Ǧāmī*. Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1993, 27, 49.

Ḥāfiẓ.[55] A. Hilal Kalkandelen published the Turkish translation of all the ghazals included in Humāyūnfarruḫ'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 Ḥāfiẓ 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 muṣamman-i sālim*, the rhyme *-as* and the *radīf mā-rā*.

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

Navāyī's poem consists of eight couplets in Humāyūnfarruḫ'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 Saʿdī's didactic (*hakīmāna*) ghazals. Navāyī's poem,[61] on the other hand, is composed in (*rindāna*) mood. Evoking the style of the ghazals of Ḥāfiẓ, describing an unortho-

55 Péri, Benedek: The influence of Mīr ʿAlī-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 ʿAlī-Šīr Navāyī and the first ghazal of Hāfiz. 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 Şîr Nevâî ve Farsça Gazelleri*. Ankara: Araştırma Yayınları, 2018.

57 Franklin Lewis: To Round and Rondeau the Canon. In: *Jāmī in Regional Contexts. The Reception of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī'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: خانهٔ

60 Sarajevo: چون

61 Navāyī: *Dīvān-i Fānī*, 5; Navoiy: *Devoni Foniy*, 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.

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

The model poem and its *javāb* share several common features.[63] Both consist of seven couplets, both of them are composed in amorous (*ʿāšiqāna*) 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' (*ḫūn*) and 'liver' (*jigar*) appearing in both second couplets are similarly attached to one another.

As it has been mentioned earlier, both Navāyī *javāb*s 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. *Javāb*s are usually meant to show a poet's talent

[62] Sarajevo: بشتاب

[63] For Navāyī's poem see Navāyī: *Dīvān-i Fānī*, 13; Navoiy: *Devoni Foniy*, 48.

and skill and thus they tend to compete with their model. The intertextual allusions in competitive *javāb*s 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 *qitʿa* quoted earlier as they are clearly not competitive *javāb*s. 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 *javāb*s 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 Ḫusrav, Jāmī and Ḥāfiẓ, can be interpreted as a sign of respect.

## *Appendix*

Navāyī's poetic replies to Suhaylī's ghazals

بکشف حال دوران نیست جام جم هوس ما را — همان جامی که ساقی عکس رو افکند بس ما را
ز شیخ هیچ کس چون جانب دیر مغان رفتم — کنون در خانقه دیگر نه بینی هیچ کس ما را
نشسته فارغ البالیم در دور تغار می — به راندن دور نتوان کرد زانجا چون مگس ما را
به فریاد خمار افتاده پیر دیر بدحالم — تو خواهی بود یا خود مغبچه فریادرس ما را
غریو کوس شاه از خواب مستی در نمی آرد — چه بیداری دهد ای کاروان بانگ جرس ما را
بجز نام بتانم بر زبان ناید گه مستی — خوش آن رندی که او از دور ساغر خواند اسما را
گدایی التماس ما بود یک جرعه می در سر — نخواهد بود لعل تاج شاهی ملتمس ما را
ازان رندان شمر ما را که در رندی و شبگردی — چو مستان از عسس بگریزد ار بیند عسس ما را
چو فانی غرق می گشتیم لیکن عاقبت یابند — حریفان بر کنار افکنده زین دریا چو خس ما را

ای ز آتش می در گل روی تو اثرها — در سینه ازان آتشم افتاده شررها
سنگ لب رودی ز قتیل تو رود خون — باشد ز تموج به کنار آمده سرها
در خلعت گلگون قد رعنای تو سرو است — کو نشو و نما یافته با خون جگرها
هر نخل تمنی که به عشق تو نشاندیم — از سنگ ملامت همه آورده ثمرها
از عشق یکی مغبچه در دیر مغان دوست — آورده پی جرعه می روی به درها
بی راهبری دشت فنا طی نتوان کرد — کافزونست درو ازحدو اندازه خطرها
فانی بود و جام می و عشق و خرابات — کز دهر مراد این شد و بیهوده دگرها

*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 ʿAlī-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 tatabuʿ-i yār-i ʿazīz 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 népszerűségre tett szert. Mīr ʿAlī-šīr Navāyī (megh. 1501) perzsa gazeljei közül számosat általa nagy tiszteletben tartott költők verse ihletett. Javābjai közül kettő 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

Aftandil Erkinov

# Hajj above all: Ḥakīm-khān between Mecca and St. Petersburg[1]

At the beginning of the 19th century, each of the three Central Asian khanates, guided by their geopolitical interests, sought to expand relations with world powers. In particular, the Kokand Khanate (1709–1876) during the reign of 'Umar-khān (1810–1822) tried to establish relations with the Ottoman Empire (1299–1923, since 1517 – the Caliphate).[2] At the same time, the Russian Empire (1721–1917) began to look with even greater interest at the polities along its southern borders, as a result of which, by the second half of the nineteenth century, Central Asia became the object of its expansion.

The interest of the Russian Empire in Central Asian lands is evidenced by a few historical sources authored by representatives of the local population. One of such sources, supplying us with very valuable information on the history of the Kokand Khanate, is the work of Ḥakīm-khān (1217/1802–1803–?)[3] from the Ming dynasty (1709–1876) *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh* ('Extract from history'), written in Persian (completed in Rabbi al-awwal 1259 / April–May 1843).[4] Along with the narration about the events that took place in the Kokand Khanate, Ḥakīm-khān described his chance meeting with the Russian Emperor Alexander I (1801–1825), which took place in 1240 / 1824–25,[5] when Ḥakīm-khān was on his way to Mecca for the sacred pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) through the territory of Russia. It is on this meeting and some of the details accompanying it that we will focus our attention further.

It should be noted that in comparison with the historiography of the Hajj from the Caucasus and the Volga-Ural region in the 19th – early 20th centuries[6]

1 I thank Prof. Shadmon Vahidov and Filipp Khusnutdinov for his help in developing the text of the translation.

2 Hisao Komatsu, 'Khoqand and Istanbul: an Ottoman document relating to the earliest contacts between the khan and sultan', *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques*, Vol. LX, No. 4 (2006), 963–986.

3 Ḥakīm-khān – Hāji Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, son of Sayyid Ma'ṣūm-khān. He was born around 1217 / 1802–1803 (Nikolay Miklukho-Maklay, *Opisanie tadjikskikh i persidskikh rukopisej Instituta vostokovedenija. Vyp. 3. Istoricheskie sochinenija*, otv. red. O.F.Akimushkin, Moskva: Nauka, GRVL, 1975, No. 457 (in Russian) or in 1221 / 1806-1807 (Dilorom Yusupova – Rano Djalilova (sostaviteli), *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisej Akademii nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan. Istorija*, Tashkent: Fan, 1998, 195 (in Russian).

4 Yusupova – Djalilova, 196.

5 B. Babadjanov claims that it was in the fall of 1824 (Bakhtiyar Babadjanov, *Kokandskoe khanstvo: vlast, politika, religija*, Tokio–Tashkent, 2010, 617 (in Russian).

6 Elena Campbell, 'The "Pilgrim Question": Regulating the Hajj in Late Imperial Russia', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. LVI, Nos. 56, 3–4 (2014), 239–268; Eileen Kane, *Russian Hajj. Empire and the Piligrimage to Mecca*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015; Alfina Sibgatullina, *Kontakty tju-*

historiography of the Hajj from Central Asia of the period under review looks somewhat less developed. Thus, on the Central Asian Hajj, we can mention several studies written on the basis of archival material which, however, consider the issue mainly from the standpoint of the perception of 'external' actors who created these archival documents (for example, officials of the Russian Empire).[7] Such studies, in our opinion, lack the perspective of local, Central Asian, sources, the authors of which were the pilgrims themselves.[8] Taking into account this circumstance, we considered it important to pay attention to the work *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh*, in particular to those passages where Ḥakīm-khān tells about the importance of his expressed intention to make the pilgrimage.

As for the degree of study of *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh*, then by to date, this work is well known in the scientific community. Its facsimile edition and partial translation have been carried out.[9] The Russian part of the pilgrimage route of Ḥakīm-khān was briefly outlined by Shadmon Vakhidov,[10] and Bakhtiyar Babadjanov focused his research on the perception of a Muslim (i.e., Ḥakīm-khān) in a different

*rok-musulman Rosijskoj i Osmanskoj imperii na rubuzhe XIX–XX vv.*, Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija RAN, 2010 (in Russian); Julia Guseva, 'Hadj musulman Volgo-Uralskogo regiona v pervoj treti XX veka: k postanovke problemy', *Izvestija Ufimskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN* , No. 2 (2013), 123–129 (in Russian).

7 For example: Vladimir Litvinov, *Religioznoe palomnichestvo: regionalnyj aspekt (na primere Turkestana epokhi srednevekovja i novogo vremeni)*, Yelets: Izdatelstvo YGU im. I.A.Bunina, 2006 (in Russian); Vladimir Litvinov, *Musulmanskoe palomnichestvo v tsarskoj Rossii: istoriko-antropologicheskij aspect (na primere Turkestana 1865–1917 gg.).* Avtoreferat na soiskanie uchenoj stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. Yelets, 2007 (in Russian); Guldona Tanieva, 'Buxoro amirligining Usmoniylar imperiyasi bilan elchilik munosabatlarida haj ziyorati', *O'zbekistonda elchilik xizmati tarixidan: talqin va tahlil. Respublika ilmiy-amaliy konferentsiya materiallari to'plami.* Toshkent: Adabiyot uchqunlari, 2016, 155–162 (in Uzbek).

8 Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, Thierry Zarcone (eds.), *Central Asian Pilgrims. Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012. See articles by Shavasil Ziyadov and Sharifa Tosheva: 223–233, 234–249. These works are based on manuscripts of Hajj works from Central Asia, stored at the al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences.

9 Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, *Muntakhab al-tavārikh. Selected history*, edited by Kawahara Yayoyi & Haneda Koichi, Vol. II, Tokyo, 2005; 'Muntakhab al-tavarikh: On the Relations between Qoqand and Kashgar', *Islamic Central Asia. An Anthology of Historical Sources*, edited by Levi Scott & Sela Ron, Bloomington: Indiana University Press (2009), 274–280; See extracts from *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh* in: *Materialy po istorii Srednej i Tsentralnoj Azii X–XIX vv.*, Tashkent: Fan, 1988, 276–310 (in Russian); Muhammad Hakimkhon, *Muntakhab ut-tavorikh*, nashr. A.Mukhtorov. Jildhoi 1 va 2. Dushanbe, 1983–1985 (in Tajik); Muhammadhakimxon, *Muntakhab ut-tavorikh*, Shodmon Vohidov tarjimasi, Toshkent: Yangi asr avlodi, 2010 (in Uzbek); Hakimkhon. Khotiralar. Nashrga tayyorlovchi Kholid Rasul, Mahbuba Qodirova, Toshkent: Fan, 1966 (in Uzbek); *Khotirahoi Muhammad Hakimkhon dar borai safari Rusiya*, bargardonanda az hurufi arabiasosi tojiki ba kirilli, ba chop hozirkunandai matn, muallifi muqaddima, tavzehot, lughatnoma, fehrist va zamima Jamoliddin Abdukarimov, Khujand, 2013 (in Tajik).

10 Shodmon Vohidov, *Quqon khonligida tarikhnavislik (Genezisi, funktsiyalari, namoyandalari, asarlari)*, Toshkent: Akademnashr, 2010, 170–190 (in Uzbek).

(Christian) environment and culture.[11] In addition, the history of Ḥakīm-khān's stay in Russia has been the subject of partial consideration by other historians as well.[12]

In 1822, after the death of the ruler of the Kokand Khanate, 'Umar-khān (1810–1822), his 16-year-old son Muhammad 'Ali-khān inherited the throne (1822–1842). Due to the young age of the new khan, a large role in making certain political decisions and governing the state belonged to a group of his relatives and associates.

After coming to power, Muhammad 'Ali-khān and his associates apparently tried to neutralize the importance of other pretenders to the khan's throne and their allies, trying to remove their opponents from the political horizon. Ḥakīm-khān, whose mother was Umar Khan's sister, grew up with Muhammad 'Ali-khān from childhood. However, since about 1823, the attitude towards Ḥakīm-khān and his family began to change dramatically – first, Ḥakīm-khān's father was exiled, and then Ḥakīm-khān himself left the khanate under the pretext of making a sacred pilgrimage to Mecca.

It is known that performing the Hajj is one of the main prescriptions for every Muslim. The political circles of the past instrumentalized this 'pillar of Islam' and from time to time deliberately sent on pilgrimage both 8 possible pretenders to the throne and their influential supporters. They did the same with Ḥakīm-khān.[13] Physical remoteness and long travel made it impossible for such 'political pilgrims' to strengthen their positions at home. In addition, none of them were insured against attacks or murders. In this respect, Ḥakīm-khān was lucky – Muhammad 'Ali-khān did not control him on the way and therefore had no idea about the state of his affairs and meetings with various people.

Ḥakīm-khān's pilgrimage route ran through the Russian Empire. A visit to Russia by a representative of the court of the Kokand khans could not be overlooked by the Russian authorities – even Emperor Alexander I showed his interest

11 Babadjanov, 22, 617–624.

12 Timur Bejsembiev, *Kokandskaja istoriografija: issledovanije po istochnikovedeniju XVIII–XIX vv.*, Almaty, 2009, 507–509 (in Russian); Jamoliddin Abdukarimov, 'Khotirahoi muallifi «Muntakhab ut-tavorikh» Muhammad Hakimkhon doir ba kishvari Rusiya', *Dar payrohoi ilmi muosir*, Khujand (2012), 10–12 (in Tajik); Djamoliddin Abdukarimov, *Politicheskoe polozhenie Ura-Tjubinskogo vladenija i Khudjanda v nachale XVIII – do 40-kh g. XIX vv. (Po materialam «Muntakhab at-tavarikh» Muhammada Hakimkhana).* Dissertatsija na soiskanie uchenoj stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk, Khudjand, 2020, 31–34 (in Russian); Tanieva G.M. Journey From Central Asia to Mecca in the 19th Century: Roads and Conditions (Based on Muntahab ut Tawarikh). *The American Journal Social Science and Education Innovations.* November 30. 2020. Voll. 02. Issue 11-59. PP. 350-355; Tanieva G. *XVI-XIX asr birinchi yarmida O`rta Osiyo xalqlari haj ziyorati tarixi.* Toshkent, 2021 (in Uzbek).

13 Later, Muḥammad 'Ali-khān did the same with his father-in-law, the ruler of Marghilan, Yusūf Mingbāshi (Buston Tursunov, 'Kokandskoe khanstvo v gody pravlenija Muhammada Ali-khana (1822–1842 gg.)', *Vestnik Tadjikskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta prava, biznesa i politiki. Serija Gumanitarnykh nauk,* No. 4 (2018), 22–30, 26 (in Russian). It happened that the 'pilgrims' sent by Muḥammad 'Ali-khān, who were in disgrace with him, died on the way (Babadjanov, 163–164, 174).

in this 'event'. The governor of Western Siberia informed Alexander I of the arrival of Ḥakīm-khān on the territory of the Russian Empire. In response to this message, the Emperor decided to invite Ḥakīm-khān to St. Petersburg. The content of the letter with a proposal to visit the capital of the empire for the distinguished Eastern guest was announced by the governor himself. Here is how Ḥakīm-khān describes it:

اگر حکیم خان آرزوی دیدن ما را و این ولایت هارا کنند، در کمال عزت و حرمت به این جانب فرستان. اگر شما قبول فرمایید، پادشاه در بارهء شما بسیار مهربانیها دارد... دیگر جواب گوبرناتور گفتم، من از ملک و از خیش و تبار آورده شده، به چندین محنت و مشقت به ان دیار رسیده ام. نیت دارم که تا زیارت بیت الله نکنم، آرزوی هیچ کار ندارم.

> 'If Ḥakīm-khān wishes to contemplate Us and visit Our possessions, convey him to Us with due deference and respect. If you accept Our invitation, the Emperor is ready to extend His generous hospitality to you! ...' In response to the governor, I said that I had left my property and family, and had reached this region with many difficulties and hardships. My intention is, first of all, to visit the House of the Allah (*Bayt Allah*),[14] and I do not want anything else.[15]

In accordance with the Decree of Alexander I of March 23, 1803, Muslim pilgrims from other countries were allowed to travel through the territory of the Russian Empire and were required to issue an appropriate passport. Ḥakīm-khān was no exception in this regard, and the issue of obtaining a passport remained relevant for him. It should be noted that the governor did not issue him a passport (possibly because of a rejected invitation) and sent him to Omsk, where the local bureaucratic maelstrom awaited him. Finally, assistance to Ḥakīm-khān in resolving the passport issue was provided by the governor's wife.

Then Ḥakīm-khān went to Irbit for commercial purposes, because by that time he was experiencing financial difficulties. There, a merchant he knew expressed his willingness to lend him five hundred gold coins (*tilla*). After Irbit, the next stop for a few days was Orenburg. Ḥakīm-khān was invited by the local governor.[16] The pilgrim responded to this invitation as follows:

[14] Ka'aba in Mecca.

[15] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 343. This and the following fragments have a semantic, not literal translation. This is due to the fact that *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh* is written in the traditional style of Muslim historiography, using florid phrases.

[16] Ḥakīm-khān in his work calls him simply 'governor' (*guburnatur*). The identity of the governor was identified by the author of a number of articles about *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh* Enver Khurshut (Enver Khurshut, ' "Muntakhab at-tavorikh" kak istochnik po istorii Srednej Azii i sopredelnykh stran XVIII–XIX vekov', *Obshestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, No. 7 (1984), 41–45 (in Russian); Enver Khurshut, ' "Muntakhab at-tavorikh" i jego istochniki', *Obshestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, No. 11–12 (1987), 39–44 (in Russian), in his opinion, this governor was General P. M. Kapitsevich (1772–1840) (Babadjanov, 618).

من مردم هستم، از وطن آواره و سیلی ایام خورده و زخم چوگان فلک بارها دیده و از ستارهء منحوس و طالع واژگون ، به عقوبت ها مکرر مبتلا شده، از بخت نا مساعد مذلت ها کشیده واز چندین مرگ نقد خلاص شده، اختیار سیاحت کرده، به این دیار رسیده ام. مرا حکام چه دخل.

> 'I am just a person who is deprived of his homeland, has gone through many hardships and trials, my star is ominous, and fate is hard, I have looked death in the eyes so many times. I took a journey and reached this edge. What are the mighty of this world doing to me?'[17]

As it turned out, the governor had insisted on meeting earlier. However, when two previous invitations went unanswered, Essen ordered to deprive Ḥakīm-khān of his passport when going through passport control. Naturally, this order was carried out and the passport was handed over to the governor. The next day, exhausted by all these vicissitudes of fate, Ḥakīm-khān went to Essen, who greeted him with respect and reverence and again raised the issue of the imperial invitation in the conversation:

روزی که خذمت شما از ولایت خود بر آمدید. ما از احوال شما واقف هستیم و مدعای ما این که خدمت شما در پترب بور رفته، پادشاه مارا بینید و آرزوی پادشاه ما همین است. از بس که رسم و قوایدهء ما این که کسی را به زور به پیش پادشاه فرستانیم، این نیست. هر آیینه دأب و قانون ما مثل شما مردوم باشد، ما تا بالوقت خذمت شمارا به پیش پادشاه هزار بارمیفرستادیم.

> We are aware of the events that happened to you that you have experienced since the day you left your homeland. Our claim is that you go to St. Petersburg and meet with our Emperor, because this is the wish of our Emperor. However, our rules do not allow us to send anyone to our Sovereign by force. Our laws, ethics, and traditions are similar to yours. Otherwise, to this day we could send you to our Emperor a thousand times.[18]

[17] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 354–355.
[18] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 357.

To this Ḥakīm-khān replied:

از جهت خوبی ولایت است، چند وقت میشود که در این جا سکونت اختیار کردیم. هر آیینه ولایت شما مثل ماوراء النهر میشد. یک روز استادن با محال بود گفتم. این بیت را خواندم و به زبان اوروسی ترجمه کردم:

بایست آن جا که آزاری نباشد
کسی را با کسی کاری نباشد

از این بیت بسیار خرسند شد. بعد از ساعتی خط خودرا طلب نموده، گرفتم و باز از برای پیش پادشاه رفتن تکلیف کرد وبسیار التجا نمود. فقیر باز جواب گوبرناتور اول را گفتم. دید که به اختیار نمیشود. لااعلاج فرو گذاشت. اما گفت، اگر دلگیر شوند، گاه گاه به چارباغ ما تشریف فرمایند.

> Due to the acceptability of the laws of your province (*wilāyat*), I have been in these places in peace for a long time. If your land was like Maverannahr,[19] then it would be difficult to live here even one day. Then I recited the following couplet (*bayt*) and translated it into Russian:
>
> Stay where there is no suffering
> So that no one feels sadness there before you.
>
> This couplet made the Governor extremely happy. After a while, I asked him for my passport. He again invited me to visit the Emperor, he begged me a lot. I, despicable, repeated my answer, which I had once voiced to the first governor.[20] He saw that I was adamant and left me alone. However, he added: 'If you get bored, come to our garden from time to time.'[21]

It can be assumed that before Ḥakīm-khān avoided meeting with the governor precisely for the very reason that he did not touch upon the issue of a trip to St. Petersburg. By coincidence, the time of Ḥakīm-khān's stay in Orenburg coincided with the visit of Alexander I to this city. According to Ḥakīm-khān, in Orenburg on the occasion of the arrival of the sovereign, large preparatory measures were carried out, for which twelve thousand gold coins were spent.

At midnight, Ḥakīm-khān was awakened and, by order of the Emperor, was brought directly to him. The Russian autocrat made a very favorable impression on Ḥakīm-khān:

[19] Maverannahr – Mā warāʾ an-Nahr ('beyond the river') is the Arabic name for Transoxiana.
[20] This refers to the refusal of Hakim Khan to the governor of Western Siberia. See above.
[21] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 357–358.

چون از در خانه در آمدیم، نظر پادشاه به فقیر افتاد. بلا توقف از جای بر خواست. چند قدم پیش آمده، از دست فقیر گرفت و در پیش خود جای داد. رسم و قاعدهء انها است که به هر کس میخیزند، خصوص بزرگ زاده باشد، به زبانی اوروسی بسیار شفقت نموده، سخن گفت. فقیر نیز به زبان اوروسی جواب های شافی دادم. از بس که در آن وقت به زبان اوروسی وقوف پیدا کرده بودم، پادشاه از زبان دانی فقیر بسیار خرسندیها نمود.

> As soon as I entered, the Emperor's gaze rested on me, despicable; he got up from his seat and took a few steps towards me. He came up, took my hand, and invited me to take a seat in front of him. According to their rules, if anyone pays a visit, they are greeted in a standing position, especially those of high birth. He began to speak Russian, showing his good disposition. I also answered in Russian. By this time, I had mastered Russian well. Seeing this, the Emperor greatly admired my linguistic knowledge.[22]

According to Ḥakīm-khān, four ministers sat near Alexander I. The other subjects (their robes were decorated with precious stones), nine in number, stood with their backs straight. Ḥakīm-khān, in accordance with the eastern etiquette of conducting a conversation, when talking with the Emperor, quoted verses, and translated them into Russian:

به فقیر چنان صحبتش گرم شده بود که در آن شب به کس دیگر قطعا تکلم نکرده است و از هر جانب سخن در میان افتاد. بسیار از احوالات ماوراء النهر می پورسید. قریب به سحر شده بود که فقیررا رحصت اجازات داد.

> 'The conversation between us was so interesting that he didn't receive anyone else that night. He talked to me about everything. He asked a lot about the situation in Maverannahr (Mā warāʾ al-Nahr). And at dawn, I was allowed to leave.'[23]

[22] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 370–371.
[23] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 372.

The next day, a splendid ceremony took place – an imperial procession through the city, where Ḥakīm-khān was among the confidants of Alexander. In the evening they followed together to the festivities, after which they had a conversation:

محمد حکیم خان می باید که همراه ما به پای تخت پتر بور روید. فقیر در جواب گفتم، صاحب اختیارید. گفت، چرا پیش نرفتید. فقیر گفتم، وقتی در قید محمد علی خان ماده بودم، عهد کرده بودم که اگر از این حبس سلامت برآیم تا به بیت الله شریف نروم، آرزوی هیچ جای را اختیار نکنم. بنابرآن جای را اختیارنمیکنم. او گفت، راه قبلهء شما مردم دور وپر آفت است.

> 'Muhammad Ḥakīm-khān, you must go with Us to St. Petersburg'. 'I am at your service,' I, despicable said. He (the Emperor) said: 'Why didn't you agree earlier?' I replied that being in the custody of Muhammad 'Ali-khān, I promised myself not to visit any other places except the sacred House of the Most High (*Bayt Allah*), and I have nothing more to dream about. Therefore, I must keep my promise. Then he remarked that 'the path to your qibla is far and full of dangers.'[24]

To this Ḥakīm-khān selflessly replied:

در این نیت به مثابهء صادقم که اگر هر مویی بر سر تیغی گردد، از این راه روی نتابم و اگر هر مجه در دیدهء من سنانی شود، نظر به مهمی دیگر نه افکنم چنانچه

مصراع
هر که میل گنج دارد رنج می باید کشید

چون این سخن از فقیر شنید، گفت، اختیار شما است. اما باز گشت به پیش ما بیایید. بسیار شققت و مرحمت میکنم. فقیر بسیار خوب بالای چشم گفتم.

> I am true to my oath, even if every hair on my head is cut off, I will not refuse this path, even if every eyelash pierces my eyes like a sword, I will not put a single thing above that.
>
> Line (*miṣra*):
>
> After all, the one who lusts for treasures must experience suffering!
>
> Hearing these words from me, the despicable one, he said: 'As you wish.

[24] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 375.

However, be sure to visit us on your way back, we will meet you with honor and make sure that you have a good time.'[25]

Ḥakīm-khān accepted this proposal of the Emperor with satisfaction. Alexander presented him with a snuff-box, a diamond ring, and three hundred gold coins. In addition, Ḥakīm-khān received an imperial letter with the following content:

در تمام ممالک اوروسیه در هر جا محمد حکیم خان رود، محترم دارند.

'In all Russian possessions, where Muhammad Ḥakīm-khān will find himself, show him due respect.'[26]

The Emperor departed the next day. Ḥakīm-khān continued his path, which stretched out for many years. During this time, the pilgrim passed such cities and territories as Kokand, Tashkent, Turkestan, Shamay (formerly Semipalatinsk), Omsk, Irbit, Tsaritsyn, Orenburg, Astrakhan, Mazandaran, Transcaucasia, Sinop, Kaysaria (now Kaysar in Turkey), Latakia, Damascus, Gaza, Cairo, Suway (Suez), Yanbu, Jeddah, Mecca and Medina, Qusair, Arabian Desert, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Baghdad, Hamadan, Rasht, Nishapur, Mashhad, Meimene, Andhoy, Bukhara, Samarkand, Ura-Tepa, Shakhrisabz and Kitab, which became his final destination.

It should be noted that, despite the favor shown by the Russian military-political elite, including Alexander I himself, Ḥakīm-khān decided to make his return journey along an alternative route – through the territory of Persia and Afghanistan.

As for such a clear interest of the Russian authorities in the person of Ḥakīm-khān, it can be assumed that through him they intended to gain 'access' to the Kokand Khanate. Some experts adhere to a similar interpretation, who believe that Alexander's interest in Ḥakīm-khān is explained by completely pragmatic goals, in particular, the special value of such an emigrant as an informant, close to past to the court of the Kokand khans.[27]

The explicit refusal to visit St. Petersburg is hardly possible to regard as a patriotically motivated step. Probably, Ḥakīm-khān really strove to fulfill his Muslim duty. Since he had already expressed his intention (*niyya(t)*) to make the pilgrimage, he could not deviate from this vow. Therefore, he promised to visit St. Petersburg at the end of the pilgrimage. Alexander did not object, but on the contrary, generously gifted the guest and supplied him with a special letter with the imperial mandate to show Ḥakīm-khān due respect throughout Russia. The question of why Ḥakīm-khān on the way back gave preference to the Persian route over the Russian one remains open.

[25] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 375–376.
[26] Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, 376.
[27] Babadjanov, 617–618; Vohidov, 173–180.

*Abstract*

*In 1823, one of the pretenders to the throne of the Kokand Khanate, Ḥakīm-khān, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He reflected the events of this five years' journey in his memoirs Muntakhab al-tavārīkh ('Extracts from History'). The Hajj was carried out on the orders of Muhammad 'Ali-khān, who had recently taken the throne and sought to neutralize other pretenders to the Kokand throne. Having received a letter from Alexander I with an invitation to visit the Imperial Palace in St. Petersburg, Ḥakīm-khān rejected this offer. When he met the Tsar by chance, Alexander I reminded him of the invitation and the refusal received. The representative of the ruling Kokand dynasty justified his actions by his own promise to, first of all, make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and only then to visit other places. The Emperor generously endowed the pilgrim and supplied him with a special letter allowing him to freely move around the territory of the Russian Empire. However, Ḥakīm-khān decided not to make the return journey through Russia, but Persia.*

Keywords
Kokand Khanate, Ḥakīm-khān, pilgrimage, Hajj, Alexander I, Tsar, Russia

*Aftandil Erkinov*

1823-ban a kokandi kánság trónjának egyik jelöltje, Ḥakīm-khān zarándoklatot tett Mekkába. Ennek az ötéves útnak az eseményeit írta meg Muntakhab al-tavārīkh („Kivonatok a történelemből") című emlékiratában. A haddzsot Muhammad 'Ali-khān kokandi kán parancsára hajtotta végre, aki nem sokkal korábban foglalta el a trónt, és megpróbálta a kokandi trónra pályázó riválisait semlegesíteni. Eközben Ḥakīm-khān levelet kapott I. Sándortól a szentpétervári császári palota meglátogatására, ám Ḥakīm-khān elutasította a szentpétervári meghívást. Mikor később véletlenül találkozott a cárral, I. Sándor emlékeztette Ḥakīm-khānt az elutasított meghívásra. A cár nagylelkűen megajándékozta a zarándokot, és lehetővé téve számára, hogy szabadon mozogjon az Orosz Birodalom területén. Ḥakīm khān azonban úgy döntött, hogy mégsem Oroszországon, hanem Perzsián utazik vissza.

Kulcsszavak:
Kokandi kánság, Ḥakīm-khān, zarándoklat, haddzs, I. Sándor cár, Oroszország

Azim Malikov

# Arminius Vambery and the urban culture of Samarkand

European essays on the journeys to distant regions had a great influence on the formation of ideas about the rest of the world. In early works, discursive structures of romanticization and idealization of other countries were usually presented. As knowledge and the historical development of European countries in the literature describing journeys accumulated, there arouse binarism: the confrontation of the modern West with the historical stagnation of the "other".[1] Edward Said's book *Orientalism*[2] caused a wave of research that examined the ways in which writers of various journeys represented other cultures.

Travelers, diplomats, orientalists from Europe and Russia, who visited the oases of Central Asia from the beginning of the 19th century until the Russian invasion, had their own ideas about local peoples and cities. After the invasion of the region by the Russian Empire, new discourses arose in the perception of its residents and cities. In this regard, ideas about one of the ancient cities of Central Asia, Samarkand, its urban structure, and its culture on the eve of the invasion of the Russian Empire are of a great interest.

In the last years of the existence of Samarkand as a part of the Bukhara emirate, it was visited by the Hungarian orientalist A. Vambery (1832–1913), who left us valuable records of his observations. The purpose of this article is to study what Samarkand and his society were in the 1860s, when A. Vambery visited it. This paper focuses on the analysis of data related to the symbolically significant places, monuments, and events in Samarkand in the first half of the 1860s.[3] Of great interest is the data on the Bukharan Emir Muzaffar (1860–1885), who attached special importance to Samarkand as a holy city and the former capital of Timur. Apart from the Islamic shrines and Timur's former citadel, the study of urban identity, reflected in citywide and region-wide sports competitions, deserves special attention. Particular attention is paid to the analysis of Vambery's views on Samarkand, its culture and society. Russian orientalist Venyukov (1832–1901) admitted that among the researchers who described Samarkand in detail until 1873, N. Khanykov, A. Vambery and A. Khoroshkhin stand out.[4]

1 Paul Smethurst: 'Introduction.' In: Kuehn, Julia, and Paul Smethurst, eds. *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility,* Routledge, 2008, 1.

2 Edward Said: *Orientalism,* New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

3 This article has been prepared with financial support from the European Regional Development Fund – Project "Sinophone Borderlands: Interaction at the Edges" (science project no. CZ .02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16_019/0000791)

4 Mikhail Venyukov: 'Materialy dlya voyennago obozreniya russkikh granits v Azii. Devyatyy uchastok: Nagorno-Turanskiy.' In: *Voyennyy sbornik,* Tom, LXXXIX. 1, 1873: 50.

A. Vambery's travels in Central Asia were published in English (1864, 1865) and German (1873). The German edition differs from the English edition in that the book was supplemented and corrected by the author himself. Vambery's book was later translated into many languages, including Russian. In addition, A. Vambery outlined his views on the society and culture of Central Asia in a number of his other publications.

The views of Russian and Soviet scientists on the scientific heritage of A. Vambery concerning the culture of the peoples of Central Asia were contradictory. The Russian diplomat A. Tatarinov read Vambery's papers, and characterized him as an expert on the "Asian dialects".[5] After the invasion of the biggest part of Central Asia by the Russian Empire, and after critical assessments of the policy of the Russian Empire by A. Vambery, since the 1870s, estimates of the publications of A. Vambery have become more negative among Russian military orientalists.[6] Obviously, the discourse formed among the military orientalists of the Russian Empire in the 1870s retains its influence among some Russian orientalists even in the Soviet period. V. Romodin supposed that in Vambery's book on the journey to Central Asia, there is a strong influence of the discourse that belittles the Eastern peoples and ascribes to Muslim peoples "guile," "inhumanity," "savagery" and other negative features.[7] More detailed and diverse reviews of A. Vambery's journey have been reflected in a number of publications based on modern methodologies.[8]

To understand the characteristics of A. Vambery's perception of Muslim peoples and their representation in his publications, the identity of the orientalist himself is an important factor. Mandler claims that the identity of Vambery influenced his political and academic works, significantly complicating the simplified picture of Orientalism that Said depicts.[9] Sarkozy, analyzing the complex levels of identity of A. Vambery, notes that the education in the madrasah influenced Vambery's cultural attachment to the Ottoman form of Islam.[10] I support this observation and my analysis of A. Vambery's publications on Sa-

5 Aleksandr Tatarinov: Semimesyachnyy plen v Bukharii. *Ripol Klassik,* 1867, 1.

6 Mikhail Venyukov: *Rossiya i Vostok. Sobraniye geograficheskikh i politicheskikh statey.* Sankt-Peterburg, 1877, 53.

7 Vadim Romodin: 'Predisloviye'. In: *Vamberi A. Puteshestviye po Sredney Azii. Perevod s nemetskogo Z.D. Golubevoy pod redaktsiyey V.A. Romodina.* Moskva: Vostochnaya literatura, 2003, 13.

8 Richard Dalby – Lory Alder: *The Dervish of Windsor Castle. The Life of Arminius Vambery.* London, 1979; Ruth Bartholomä: *Von Zentralasien nach Windsor Castle. Leben und Werk des Orientalisten Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913).* Würzburg, 2006;. Ruth Bartholomä: "The Perception of Arminius Vámbéry and His Journey in Central Asia. In the Past and Present". Archivum Ottomanicum, No.31, 2014, 41–48.

9 David Mandler: *Arminius Vambéry, the Eastern (br)other in Victorian politics and culture: Hungarian (Jewish) Orientalism and the invention of identities.* New York University, 2005; David Mandler: 'Introduction to Arminius Vambéry.' In: *Shofar,* Spring 2007, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1–31.

10 Miklós Sárközy: 'At the Crossroads of Identity: Arminius Vámbéry – Oriental Traveller and Scholar.' In: *Journal of Intercultural Inquiry*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Autumn 2015: 69–88.

markand demonstrates his understanding of the local context. It should be emphasized that even before his trip to Central Asia, in Istanbul, A. Vambery had the opportunity to get acquainted with natives from Central Asia.[11] The acquired knowledge made it easier for A. Vambery to understand the characteristics of the Muslim society in Central Asia, and also helped him to establish contacts with influential people of the Emirate of Bukhara and even get an audience with Emir Muzaffar. In my opinion, in the descriptions of Samarkand by A. Vambery there are no signs of humiliation or detraction of the local Muslim culture. When assessing A. Vambery's criticisms of nomadic residents of Central Asia, the influence of local discourses of representatives of the settled population on nomads should be taken into account.

To understand A. Vambery's ideas about Samarkand, I would like to highlight those European researchers who were his predecessors and visited Samarkand. Among them were Russian orientalists N. V. Khanykov (1822–1878) and A. Bogoslovsky. Although N. Khanykov and A. Bogoslovsky were part of the same Russian mission, their data on the description of Samarkand in certain aspects coincide, and in others differ from each other.[12] Valuable information on the history of Samarkand is contained in the unpublished materials of N. Khanykov's mission in 1841 and of the archaeologists who studied historical monuments of Samarkand.

Thanks to the records of A. Vambery, valuable descriptions of the urban culture of Samarkand on the eve of the Russian invasion have been preserved. The information of A. Vambery on Samarkand can be supplemented by the materials of the diplomat A. Tatarinov (1817–1886), the artist V. Vereshchagin (1842–1904) and the linguist V. Radlov (1837–1918), who visited Samarkand in 1866–1868. Thanks to the paintings of V. Vereshchagin, it is possible to imagine what some historical monuments of Samarkand looked like (the mausoleum of Qutbi Chahar dahum or Nur ad-din Basir, the Emir's Palace, the city fortress) which were destroyed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The data of A. Vambery about Samarkand complements the information of Russian diplomats, orientalists, military, as well as Soviet ethnographers and archaeologists. One of the sources of my research were the unpublished archival records of the Soviet ethnographer Olga Sukhareva (1903–1983), stored in the funds of the scientific archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology named after N. N. Miklukho-Maklai RAN. Sukhareva, studying the ethnography of the population of Samarkand in the pre-Soviet era, conducted numerous interviews with residents of the city. She published some of the collected materials, but many archival records remained unpublished. I was able to study these records thanks to the permission of the administration of the N. N. Mikluk-

[11] Ármin Vámbéry: *Travels in Central Asia: Being the Account of a Journey from Teheran Across the Turkoman Desert on the Eastern Shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarcand Performed In the Year 1863*. London: J. Murray, 1864, 246–247.

[12] Azim Malikov: 'Samarkand v nachlale 19 veka,' In: *Moziydan sado*, no.4, 2010: 31–33.

ho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Archaeological studies of the fortress and historical monuments of the city revealed some aspects of their history. Valuable information about the historical toponymy of Samarkand is contained in *vaqf* documents.

In modern studies, when studying the city and urban identity, the essentialist approach is often used, which greatly simplifies the concept content of the city. I am of the opinion that the urban life has a diverse and multiple nature.[13] Samarkand had its own uniqueness, which was manifested in a combination of various markers of cultural identity. Samarkand was known as the sacred city where the Prophet's descendants, the famous Islamic theologians, Sufi shayhs, etc. lived, worked and were buried. The importance of the city began to grow when it became the capital of Timur's Empire (1370–1405), and in subsequent periods the image of the city as the capital of Timur had a significant impact on the population and political elites. The semi-nomadic Turkic and Uzbek tribes surrounding the city had a certain influence on the daily life of Samarkandians and their culture.

The members of the Russian diplomatic mission sent to Bukhara under the leadership of Butenev in 1841 were unanimous in estimating the population in the city of Samarkand. According to N. V. Khanykov, Samarkand had between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants.[14] According to Lehman, Uzbeks, Persians, Tajiks, Nogai, Indians and Jews lived in the city.[15] According to A. Vambery, the number of residents of Samarkand accounted for no more than 15–20 thousand, of which two thirds were Uzbeks, and a third of the city population was represented by Tajiks.[16] Apparently, Vambery's idea of the ethnic composition of the population of Samarkand was due to the fact that he lived near the fortress and often met the representatives of the Uzbek military class. Moreover, there was a quarter of immigrants from Merv in the fortress who spoke only the Uzbek language. It should be noted that the N. Khanykov's expedition member G. Bogoslovsky also believed that Uzbeks made up 60% of the Samarkand population.[17]

The features of Samarkand, unlike the other cities of the Bukharan Emirate, were that there was a relatively large Shiite community – Turkic-speaking Iranians –, and the largest diaspora of Bukharan Jews. Historical facts show that Samarkand was a large center of the Bukharan Emirate, where not only the Tajik, but also the Uzbek population lived. A separate group of the urban population consisted of immigrants from Tashkent, who arrived due to tax benefits provided by Bukharan emirs. They spoke Uzbek among themselves, but the features of

[13] Ash Amin – Nigel Thrift: *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Polity Press, 2002, 8.

[14] Nikolay Khanykov: *Opisaniye Bukharskogo khanstva,* Sankt-Peterburg,1843, 100–105.

[15] *Alexander Lehmann's Reise nach Buchara und Samarkand in den jahren 1841 und 1842*, St. Petersburg, 1852, 148, 162.

[16] Vámbéry, 1864, 213.

[17] *Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyy istoricheskiy arkhiv*, fond №44, opis 2, delo №704, 369ab.

their culture remained unexplored.[18] Groups of tribal Uzbeks who settled at the end of the 18th century in the empty areas of Samarkand, the quarters of Muborak and Kosh-havuz, switched to craft.[19] According to one of the local discourses of the second half of the 19th century, the urban population of Samarkand was divided into a number of territorial groups. Each group had its own mosques, mullahs, *aksakals*, and they held events together.[20]

Groups of Jews traditionally lived in Samarkand. Vambery noted that in the Bukharan Khanate there were about 10 thousand Jews who lived in Bukhara, Samarkand and Karshi. He emphasized that Jews lived under oppression.[21] Vambery does not give details of the life of the Jews of Samarkand, apparently for security purposes he did not meet with their representatives.

There are even some old maps, the most informative of which is the one by a Russian officer, Yakovlev (1841), who was a member of a small Russian diplomatic expedition to Bukhara in 1841. From Yakovlev's map we can see that the city was surrounded by a wall, in front of which a wide and deep moat ran around the city. The Ark, or citadel, was located in the western part of the city adjacent to the city wall. Here was a modest palace where the governor of Samarkand resided in. Near the palace were large stables, a state workshop, a granary, and barracks. Inside the residential quarters there are many religious buildings, mosques, and mazars (shrines). Through six gates in the middle of each wall six high roads left the city. The gates faced the cardinal points of the compass. Beginning at each gate a bazaar led into the centre of the city. There were six gates in Samarkand: 1) Darvazai Bukhara; 2) Darvazai Paykobak; 3) Darvazai Khazrati Shahi Zinda; 4) Darvazai Kalandar-Khane; 5) Darvazai Suzangaran, 6) Darvazai Khoja-Ahrar. The circumference of the city was equal to 13 *versts* (20 km), which exceeded the space occupied by Bukhara, but this was due to the large number of gardens located in the city.[22]

At the beginning of the 19th century, a four-part structure was formed in Samarkand, there were four *qit'a* (districts): Qalandarkhana, Khayrabad, Suzangaran, and Khoja Ahrar, ruled by *khakim* (local governors).[23] A similar structure was characteristic to the Ferghana city of Chust city in Ferghana Valley and Tashkent. The *dakha* of Samarkand, in turn, were divided into quarters called *guzar*s. There were specialized bazaars in the city: of *alacha*, flour products, cereals, bread, etc.[24] The

[18] Olga Sukhareva: Suzani: sredneaziatskaya dekorativnaya vyshivka. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2006, 19.

[19] Olga Sukhareva: 'Ocherki po istorii Sredneaziatskikh gorodov.' In: *Istoriya i kultura narodov Sredney Azii. Drevnost i sredniye veka,* Moskva: Nauka, 1976, 134.

[20] Aleksandr Grebenkin: 'Tadzhiki. Etnograficheskiy ocherk.' In: *Turkestanskiye vedomosti,* №17, 24 maya 1871 goda.

[21] Vámbéry, 1864, 372.

[22] Khanykov, 100–105.

[23] Monashe Abramov: *Guzary Samarkanda*. Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1989, 5.

[24] Asad Fayziyev: *Istoriya Samarkanda pervoy poloviny XIX veka*. Samarkand, 1992, 42–47.

center of the political and economic life of Samarkand was the Registan Square. To discuss especially important events and organize some city events, the *ulama*, students of the madrasah and active citizens usually gathered in the cathedral mosque-madrasah Tillya-kari.[25]

In the center of the city was the main part of the market, specialized in the sale of hats, so the people called it "*Char-su-i telpak furushon*." From Char-su, the main streets of the city stretched around the circumference, where shops, barbers, and *chaykhana*s were located. Only the streets connecting the bazaar with the city gate were relatively straight.

Among the predecessors of A. Vambery who gave relatively detailed descriptions of Samarkand and his historical monuments were orientalists G. Bogoslovsky and N. V. Khanykov, who lived in Samarkand for several days in 1841; they noted that the citadel of Samarkand occupied a vast territory, and it was larger than the citadel of Bukhara and Karshi, its circumference being 3.2 km. In the citadel were located the *mazar* of Qutbi Char-Dahum, the emir's palace and the famous Kuk-tash ("blue stone") on which the khans ascended. In addition, the citadel contained the house of the governor of Samarkand, several mosques, and houses of private people.[26]

Modern studies show that in the citadel there were two gates: the eastern (Samarkandian) at the mausoleum of the holy Sufi Nur ad-din Basir (Qutbi Char-Dahum), and the southern (Bukharan). The first gate went towards the Registan, connecting with the shopping center of the city through a suspension bridge, and the second gate went towards the modern boulevard. The fortress was surrounded by a wall of pakhsa and gummy bricks with a height of 8 meters. The walls of the citadel were double, surrounded by a moat filled with water from the Novadon Canal. The defensive walls were strengthened by round three-story defensive towers whose wall thickness reached almost 4 meters.[27] Inside, the citadel was divided into two parts: the northern, where the administration was located, the military part, and the southern with residential buildings.[28]

Vambery, who arrived in Samarkand in 1863, stayed in it for 8 days in August. In Samarkand, he initially stayed in a caravan-saray near one of the bazaars, but then was invited to a private house near Timur's grave. The owner of the house was an employee of the emir, who supervised the Samarkand Palace.[29] Obviously,

[25] 'Rasskazy o vzyatii Samarkanda. (So slov uchastnikov dela). [Zapis' i primechaniya L. X. Simonovoy (Khokhryakovoy)].' In: *Turkestanskiy literaturnyy sbornik v pol'zu prokazhennykh*. Sankt-Peterburg, 1900, 131.

[26] Khanykov, 101–102.

[27] Elvira Buryakova – Tamara Lebedeva: 'Oboronitelnaya sistema tsitadeli Timura.' In: *Istoriya materialnoy kultury Uzbekistana,* Vypusk 22, Tashkent,1988, 161–174.

[28] Tamara Lebedeva: 'Pozdnesrednevekovyy ark Samarkanda.' In: *Istoriya materialnoy kultury Uzbekistana*. Vypusk 32, Samarkand, 2001, 209.

[29] Vámbéry, 1864, 203, 215.

it was due to this circumstance that A. Vambery gained access to the fortress and to the emir's palace.

In the initial representations of A. Vambery, based on Persian poetry, Samarkand was considered "the focus of the whole globe" (*Samarkand saikali rui zamin est*). A. Vambery does not hide his disappointment in the state of the city in 1863. However, he emphasizes that the ancient capital of Central Asia, due to its location and the vegetation surrounding it, is "the most beautiful city in Turkestan".[30]

During his stay, A. Vambery had every opportunity to inspect the sights of Samarkand. However, in his records he gives information only on certain historical monuments of the city. Apparently, Vambery decided not to repeat Khanykov's information, but to present his unique data, which Khanykov did not have. Analyzing the records of A. Vambery, it can be argued that, unlike N. Khanykov, he knew the Persian poetry perfectly, and his ideas about Islamic culture were much deeper. For the first time, Vambery also provides information about the famous Quran of Osman, stored in the mausoleum of Timur.[31] His attention was attracted by the citadel of Samarkand, founded by Timur in 1370. Archaeological studies have shown that over the course of five centuries the citadel has undergone numerous reconstructions. A. Vambery noted that the arch (citadel) of Samarkand was divided into two parts: internal and external; in the latter were private apartments, and in the first stayed the emir. He also described the emir's palace in the fortress, in which, among the rooms, the *aynakhana* (room with mirrors) stood out, lined with fragments of mirrors. Another room was called *Talari-Timur* (Timur reception hall) and represented a long narrow courtyard surrounded by a covered gallery; on the front side of it was the famous *Kuktash* (the throne stone), on which the coronation of Bukhara rulers traditionally took place. High above the stone were two *firman*s, one for Ottoman Sultan Mahmud, the other for Sultan Abdul Majid, which were sent from Istanbul to Bukharan Emir Nasrullah (1827–1860) and whose text contained *ruhsat-i namaz*, i.e., the official permission to pray.[32]

The last coronation took place in the spring of 1861, when the new emir Muzaffar (1860–1885) was crowned. Russian orientalists gave a description of the coronation ritual. Upon his arrival in Samarkand, Muzaffar first bowed at the Shah-i Zinda memorial complex, and then arrived at the citadel. Entering the throne hall, he sat on three white felt rugs, four corners of which were held by the representatives of the Uzbek tribes. They raised the emir over their heads twice and then raised him to *Kuktash.*[33] The artist V. Vereshchagin, who spent several months in Samarkand in 1868, gives the following description of the emir's palace: "The throne hall was a courtyard surrounded by a high gallery, in the depth

[30] Vámbéry, 1864, 203, 214.
[31] Vámbéry, 1864, 209.
[32] Vámbéry, 1864, 205–206.
[33] 'Rodoslovnaya mangytskoy dinastii'. In: *Turkestanskiye vedomosti*, 4,1871, 55.

of which was the *Kuktash*. The palace consisted of tall and spacious rooms. Nearby was a room for a harem."[34]

The linguist Radlov, who visited Samarkand in 1868, noted that the territory of the fortress was filled with narrow streets and lanes. In the center of this tangle of confused streets was the castle of the emir, in which the emir usually spent several months a year and where each new emir was crowned. The castle consisted of many courtyards, outbuildings, buildings and galleries adjacent to each other. All houses were made of clay, and only some of them were plastered.[35]

The Russian diplomat A. A. Tatarinov spent three months in captivity in the citadel of Samarkand. His memoirs date back to March–May 1866. Tatarinov mentions the prison in the citadel, the palace of the Samarkand bek, as well as the harem of the bek's wives.[36] The palace of the Samarkand Bek was a building with stone steps. In front of it was a pool with tall trees planted around. In the hot period of the year, a tent of the son of the Governor of Samarkand was placed near the pool.[37] Archaeological excavations carried out in the 1980s demonstrated that behind the wall of the throne hall of the palace was the bathhouse of the emir. Barracks were built along the eastern wall of the citadel, to the north of them was the courtyard of the *sarbazs* (infantry of the emir).[38] Tatarinov conveys the most common ideas about Samarkand. He emphasizes that this is the holy city of Muslims and the former capital of Tamerlan, where the lords of Bukharia sit on the *Kuktash*.[39]

In a short period of Emir Muzaffar's rule in Samarkand, on his initiative, several buildings were built in the city. A quarter mosque, a minaret, various office premises, a *hauz*-pool and a *khanaka* near the Ruhabad mausoleum were built. New doors depicting fish were installed in the mausoleum.[40] Emir Muzaffar built the Madrasa-i-Ali, in which there were 48 cells for mullahs. In the courtyard of this madrasah was a large pond surrounded by tall trees.[41] In 1862, Emir Muzaffar allocated funds for the construction of a bath (*hambomi oli*) in Samarkand.[42] Under Emir Muzaffar, there was a ceremonial for the departure and arrival of the emir on a campaign from the citadel of Samarkand, which was accompanied by

[34] Vasiliy Vereshchagin: *Na voyne v Azii i Yevrope*. Moskva: tipo-litografiya tovarishchestva I. N. Kushnerev, 1898, 1–2.

[35] Vasiliy Radlov: *Iz Sibiri.* Moskva: Nauka, 1989, 541–554.

[36] Tatarinov, 87–88.

[37] Tatarinov, 63, 93.

[38] Buryakova – Lebedeva, 161–174.

[39] Tatarinov, 20, 91.

[40] Utkir Alimov: Otchet po arkheologicheskomu issledovaniyu na komplekse Rukhabad v g. Samarkande v 1987 godu. In: *Nauchnyy arkhiv Instituta arkheologii AN RUz*, fond 4, opis 1, delo № 164, 5, 28.

[41] Radlov, 541–554.

[42] Golib Kurbanov: *Materialy po sredneaziatskoy sfragistike. Bukhara XIX - nachalo XXvv.* Tashkent: izdatel'sko-poligraficheskiy tvorcheskiy dom imeni Gafura Gulyama. 2006, 135.

a cannon shot and music.[43] A. Vambery gives some details that he observed in August 1863, when the Emir declared the day of entry into Samarkand a holiday, and on this occasion several large pots were put on Registan, in which they prepared pilav and distributed it to everyone.[44]

A. Vambery as a dervish from the Ottoman Empire (Rum) managed to receive a letter of guarantee about security in the Persian language from a person close to the Emir, Rakhmetbiy. Vambery emphasizes that Rakhmetbiy was very friendly. The Bukharians admired the sultan and the ulema of the Ottoman Empire, and this discourse was important in the positive perception of the educated dervish by A. Vambery. Rakhmetbiy trusted A. Vambery, so they managed to agree on a future meeting of A. Vambery with the emir in Samarkand.[45] This letter, the text of which A. Vambery cites in his later publications, indicates the main mission of Vambery, which consists in performing a pilgrimage to the graves of saints (*ziareti buzurgani*) in the cities of Bukhara and the paradisal Samarkand.[46]

The ceremony of acceptance of Vambery by the Emir was much simpler than later descriptions of the receptions. However, the emir trusted A. Vambery, so he was not strict with him. Vambery himself naively believed that he deserved the trust of the emir thanks to the flexibility of his language.[47] A. Vambery was lucky enough to get an appointment with the Emir Muzaffar because of the special day of receptions, which he calls an *arz,* that is, a day for public audiences. During a conversation with Vambery, Emir Muzaffar was surprised that he had come such a long way to make a pilgrimage to Naqshband Bahauddin and other saints of Turkestan.[48] Thus, the official version of Vambery's journey to the Emirate of Bukhara undoubtedly influenced his journey, accompanied by a visit to the holy places. A. Vambery also gives brief information about the shrines of Samarkand. However, his records do not contain detailed ethnographic descriptions of local pilgrimage practices and the lives of saints.

In Samarkand, there were several hundred pilgrimage sites, and visitors usually followed a certain sequence when visiting them, depending on the importance of places or individuals. Among the shrines of Samarkand, A. Vambery mentions in the first place the Hazreti Shah-i Zinda, in which Qusam bin Abbas was buried, who was highly respected as the head of those Arabs who brought Islam to Samarkand. Vambery provided information that Khanykov did not have; in addition, he managed to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shahi Zinda, where he observed all the rituals traditional for Samarkandians. At the same time, he repeated the mistake of Khanykov, who claimed that this memorial complex was

43 Tatarinov, 79–104.

44 Vámbéry, 1864, 217.

45 Vámbéry, 1864, 194, 208.

46 Vámbéry, Ármin. *The Story of My Struggles: The Memoirs of Arminius Vambéry.* Volume 1. New York, 1904, 208.

47 Vámbéry, 1864, 219.

48 Vámbéry, 1864, 217–218.

Timur's summer palace.[49] According to the Bukharan judge Sadri Ziyo, in the 19th century, the main shrines of Samarkand were the complex of Shahi Zinda and the Gur-i Mir mausoleum.[50]

Vambery was one of the first European travelers to compare Timur-era monuments (the Friday mosque, Gur-i Mir mausoleum) with Iranian monuments. Based on the wall inscriptions of the Turbati Timur mausoleum (mausoleum of Timur), Vambery draws a conclusion that the architect was a man from Isfahan. On the basis of a comparative analysis of the monuments of Herat, Mashhad and Isfahan, he believed that the Persians were also masters of the other monuments of Samarkand. Thus, Vambery attributed the monuments of Samarkand to Persian art.[51] These approaches of A. Vambery anticipated the views of the orientalist V. Bartold and art historians of the late 19th - early 20th century.

The following question arises: what content included the urban identity of Samarkandians and on what basis did it form in the 19th century? Historical buildings, legends about the pre-Islamic past of the city, legends about Islamic saints, the legacy of the era of Timur and the Timurids were important elements in the perception and imagination of Samarkand. In the social life of the city of the 19th century, they were supplemented by various holidays that were held within the city. However, were there any contrasts between the identifications "urban" and "rural," "settled" and "nomadic"? To understand this issue, I decided to turn to the analysis of the *kupkari* sports competition, which in the 19th century was part of the urban culture of Samarkand. Vambery mentioned this game (*Kokburi* – green wolf) of the nomads of Central Asia,[52] but in fact he visited Samarkand in August 1863 when the game was not held, so he could not describe the details of its organization in Samarkand.

It should be noted that in the 19th century, the residents of Samarkand were intricately connected with rural areas. They combined craft with agriculture, in the spring they moved to their rural estates and remained there until deep autumn. As a result, many city blocks were empty in the summer.[53] According to G. Bogoslovsky, on the southern side Samarkand was surrounded by large gardens, where the residents of the city spent most of the summer.[54]

The study of archival materials by O. Sukhareva shows that Samarkand had its own uniqueness, which manifested in a combination of various markers of cul-

[49] Vámbéry, 1864, 202–204.

[50] *The personal history of a Bukharan intellectual. The diary of Muhammad-Sharif-i Sadr-i Ziya*. Translated from the original manuscript by Rustam Shukurov with an introductory study and commentaries by M. Shakuri (Shukurov). Edited by Edward A. Allworth. Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2004, 251.

[51] Vámbéry, 1864, 209, 213.

[52] Vámbéry, 1864, 323.

[53] Olga Sukhareva: 'Traditsiya sochetaniya gorodskikh i selskikh zanyatiy v Sredney Azii kontsa XIX – nachala XX v.' In: *Tovarno-denezhnyye otnosheniya na Blizhnem i Srednem Vostoke v epokhu srednevekovya,* Moskva: Nauka, 1979, 204.

[54] Malikov, 2010, 31–33.

tural identity. In addition to the traditional rivalry of quarter residents, one of these elements was the game characteristic of the pastoralist population, *kupkari* (*ulaq*). The traditions of tribal confrontation among the Turkic-speaking population of the Zerafshan valley find analogies among other Turkic tribes of the Eurasian space, in which there was a famous rivalry between the clans, which was expressed during the struggle, games. The participants of the *kupkari* game spoke on behalf of a clan, tribe, or village and represented their clans with the support of relatives who gathered from other areas. The game contained both ritual meaning and game content.[55] Representatives of the ruling dynasty of the Bukhara Emirate, the Mangyts, actively participated in *kupkari*, and the participation of the reigning people gave this game a prestigious status in the eyes of the rest of the population. According to N. Khanykov, the emir himself (Nasrullah – A.M.) during autumn trips to Samarkand took part in this game.[56] In Samarkand, *kupkari* (*kok-bori*) was usually held in March and October, on the occasion of weddings and circumcision of minors.[57] The organizers of the *kupkari* were rich local people, in honor of the *tui pisar* or the rite of circumcision. The rich local man announced that he was giving *kupkari aspaki* (equestrian *kupkari*) and *kupkari piyoda* (pedestrian *kupkari*). *Kupkari aspaki* was held on Afrasiyab site, and *kupkari piyoda* was organized near Chorsu on the eve of *tuy*. The Chorsu trading dome was located on the central square of the city, Registan. Crowds of people from different parts of the city gathered at *kupkari* from the very morning: Kalandarkhona, Namozgokh, etc.[58]

In the game of *kupkari* held in Samarkand symbolism was included, read from the point of view of the traditional worldview of both pastoralist Turkic-speaking groups, as well as Tajiks and settled Uzbeks. In this case, *kupkari* acted as a sign of self-identification or self-awareness at the tribal and administrative-territorial level. Thus, from the late Middle Ages, the traditional game of the Turkic-speaking pastoralists of the Middle Zarafshan Valley entered the urban culture of Samarkand, where it was synthesized with "traditionally urban customs" of rivalry between quarters and parts of the city.[59] This cultural transformation defined the distinctive features of Samarkand and a special urban identity.

The Nowruz holiday was traditionally celebrated by the inhabitants of Central Asia, including Samarkand. Vambery notes that Nowruz is celebrated in a vast area from Istanbul to the eastern outskirts of the Muslim world. It was especially solemnly celebrated in Qajar Iran, and in the oases of Central Asia it

55 Azim Malikov: 'Kupkari kak element gorodskoy identichnosti i kul'tury Samarkanda v XIX – nachale XX v.' In: *Istoriya i arkheologiya Tsentral'noy Azii: traditsii, innovatsii i perspektivy*. Tashkent, 2021, 448–452.

56 Khanykov, 69.

57 Georgiy Arendarenko: 'Iz Samarkanda.' In: *Turkestanskie vedomosti,* №19, 1877.

58 Nauchnyy arkhiv Instituta etnologii i antropologii imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklaya RAN, fond 62. l.106, 334.

59 Malikov: 2021, 448-452.

was more popular in Khorezm than in Bukhara.[60] Features of the celebration of Nowruz in Samarkand were described at the end of the 19th century. The sacred places where Nowruz was celebrated in Samarkand in the 19th century were concentrated on the Registan Square, the Shakh-i Zinda complex and hills of the ancient city of Afrasiyab. In the Namazgah mosque, located on the southeastern outskirts of Samarkand, a collective prayer was performed, and in the garden adjacent to it, subsequent festivities – *sayil* – were held.[61] Vambery's notes did not reflect any discussions about local Islamic practices and the attitude of Islamic scholars towards the celebration of the non-Islamic holiday of Nowruz.

Thus, in the 1860s, Samarkand was known as the former capital of Timur's Empire and as a holy city, where dozens of Islamic shrines were located. This image of the city was used to their own advantage by the Bukharan emirs, who annually spent some time in the former citadel of Timur and held coronation ceremonies on the throne stone of Timur. Emirs visited the shrines of the city and participated in the sports game of *kupkari*, which marked the unique urban identity of Samarkandians. Despite some mistakes made in the description of the city, A. Vambery's approaches to the perception of Samarkand and its monuments had a strong influence on subsequent orientalists, primarily Russian researchers, who, after the invasion of Samarkand, had all the opportunities to study the city.

*Abstract*

*The article analyzes data collected by the Hungarian scholar A. Vambery on one of the major cities of the Bukhara Emirate, Samarkand. The description of Samarkand by A. Vambery had a great influence on subsequent perceptions of the city by European orientalists. In addition, sources from various archives and ethnographic notes are analyzed, providing additional information about the urban culture of Samarkand on the eve of the Russian conquest of the city. I argue that the urban culture of Samarkand had features similar to the other cities of Central Asia, but it was also possible to identify unique original features of the culture of Samarkand. The image of Samarkand as the capital of Timur's empire and an Islamic holy city had a strong influence on political elites until the Russian invasion. Since the late Middle Ages, a feature of the city had been the close interaction with the surrounding semi-nomadic Uzbek population, which was manifested in the spread of the sport game kupkari in the city.*

Keywords
culture, Bukharan Emirate, orientalism, urban history, symbols, historical monuments, urban identity.

60 German Vamberi: *Ocherki jizni i nravov Vostoka*. Sankt Peterburg, 1876, 167–170.

61 Azim Malikov: 'Celebration of Nowruz in Bukhara and Samarkand in Ritual Practice and Social Discourses (the Second Half of the 19th to Early 20th Centuries).' In*: Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*. 48, no. 2. (2020): 126–128.

Márton Forgács

# Austro-Hungarian Prisoners of War during World War I in the Territory of Present-day Uzbekistan – the Estate of Ferenc Palkovics (1892–1919)

During World War I, approximately 2.1 million Austro-Hungarian soldiers were taken prisoner by the Russian army. 1.4–1.5 million, primarily Slavs, Romanians and Italians, who were considered more reliable, were taken to camps in European Russia, most of the Austrians and Hungarians were brought to regions further away from the front line: to Siberia (about 300 000–500 000), and Central Asia (40 000–50 000).[1] The sources related to POWs in the latter area are – based on current knowledge – even rarer than would result from the lower number. Books published during the decades after the war, like the Hungarian *Hadifogoly magyarok története*[2] ("History of Hungarian POWs") or the Austrian *In Feindeshand*[3] ("In Enemy Hands") deal with the Central Asian region relatively in detail, but in modern specialist literature (Georg Wurzer,[4] Alon Rachamimov,[5] Reinhard Nachtigal), it is only marginally mentioned.

The territories of present-day Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan were conquered by the Russian Empire gradually from the first half of the 18th century. At first the nomadic Kazakhs came under Russian rule up to the middle of the 19th century. The Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva became protectorates in 1868 and 1873, in 1876 the Khanate of Kokand was annexed. The nomadic Turkmens were defeated in 1881 at Göktepe and

1 Reinhard Nachtigal: *Rußland und seine* österreichisch-ungarischen *Kriegsgefangenen (1914–1918)*, Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner, Remshalden, 2003, 80–83. The number of the POWs is based only on estimates, varying from 1.6 million to 2.5 million. Nachtigal suggests accepting the data of Swedish nurse Elsa Brändström (1888–1948), who mentions 2 050 000 rank-and-file and 54 146 officers: Elsa Brändström: *Unter Kriegsgefangenen in Russland und Sibirien 1914–1920.* Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, Berlin, 1922, 8. The total number of POWs in Turkestan at the beginning of the war is estimated at 200 000, but gradually decreased to 50 000 in 1917. Interestingly, a large number of Slavs were also brought into the Tashkent camp, but received much better treatment then other nationals, which led to several conflicts. Brändström: 49.

2 Benedek Baja – Imre Lukinich – Jenő Pilch – Lajos Zilahy: *Hadifogoly magyarok története II.* Athenaeum, Budapest, 1930.

3 Hans Weiland (ed.): *In Feindeshand. Die Gefangenschaft im Weltkriege in Einzeldarstellungen.* Bundesvereinigung der Ehemaligen Österreichischen Kriegsgefangenen, Wien, 1931.

4 Georg Wurzer: *Die Kriegsgefangenen der Mittelmächte in Rußland im Ersten Weltkrieg.* Dissertation, Eberhard Karls Universität, Tübingen, 2000.

5 Alon Rachamimov: *POWs and the Great War. Captivity on the Eastern Front.* Berg, Oxford–New York, 2002.

finally in 1884 Merv was occupied. The conquered territory was reorganized into the Governorate-General of the Steppes (central and eastern parts of present-day Kazakhstan, including Omsk) and Turkestan, divided into the oblasts Transcaspia (capital: Ashgabat), Sir-Darya (Tashkent), Samarkand (Samarkand), Fergana (Skobelev[6]) and Semirechye (Verny[7]). The Governor-General also exercised power over the two vassal states of Bukhara and Khiva. The ruling military officers barely had any connection with the indigenous population, and used the land primarily for the excessive cultivation of cotton instead of grain. Also, a large number of Russian settlers arrived to the region, including Cossacks – several historians draw parallels to western colonisation. On the other hand, railway lines were built, the constant wars in the region ended, and local intellectuals came into contact with modern European culture. This played a major role in the birth of the reformist *Jadid*-movement, in which several leaders of the later struggles for independence had their roots.[8]

POW camps were established all over Russian Central Asia, both in the Kazakh steppes and in the ancient cities or their surroundings of the more urbanized southern area. Similarly to other parts of the Russian Empire, the circumstances of the prisoners varied from camp to camp, and much depended on the commandant's attitude. In general, the hygienic conditions were unfavourable; the Russian Empire was overwhelmed with the care of such a large number of POWs, so the mortality rate in Russian camps was the highest during World War I, estimated between 9–10%, 14–15%,[9] or 20%.[10] Also, there was a significant difference between the situation of the officers and the rank-and-file. Russian officers often behaved comradely towards captured officers. They received payment, and were in many cases allowed to leave the camps and discover the exotic surroundings. To avoid boredom, they created libraries, theatre groups, orchestras and organized sport events. Much harder was the fate of the rank-and-file, who were forced to toil in mines, construction works or in the fields under extreme weather conditions. Their accommodations were rudimentary, typhus, cholera and,

6 Present-day Fergana. Until 1924, the city bore the name of Russian General Dmitriyevich Skobelev (1843–1882).

7 Present-day Almaty.

8 Hélène Carrère d'Encausse: "Organizing and Colonizing the Conquered Territories." In: *Central Asia. 120 Years of Russian Rule.* Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1989, 160–161, Baymirza Hayit: *Turkestan im XX. Jahrhundert.* Leske, Darmstadt, 1956 (=Forschungen zur neuen Geschichte der Völker Osteuropas und Asiens. Band I.), 22–27, Svat Soucek: *A History of Inner Asia.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 195–208, Rudolf A. Mark: *Krieg an fernen Fronten. Die Deutschen in Zentralasien und am Hindukusch 1914–1924.* Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2013, 14–16.

9 Georg Wurzer: "Die Erfahrung der Extreme. Kriegsgefangene in Rußland 1914–1918." In: Jochen Oltmer (ed.): *Kriegsgefangene im Europa des Ersten Weltkrieges.* Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2006, 108.

10 Mark: 68.

especially in Central Asia, malaria epidemics swept the camps, causing several tens of thousands of deaths.[11]

In addition, the military administration of Turkestan, as well as the activity of the German expeditions[12] made it difficult for the Red Cross to help the POWs in the region. Hungarian nurse Katalin Mihalótzy[13] and Danish Captain Frits Cramer (1869-1952) visited POW camps in Central Asia between 4 December 1915 and 26 January 1916. Based on their reports, the numbers of Hungarian POWs in the largest camps in the territory of present-day Uzbekistan were as follows:[14]

| Camp | Officers | Doctors | Rank-and-file |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tashkent | 627 | 37 | 7019 |
| Samarkand I. | — | — | 1289 |
| Samarkand II. | 183 | 3 | 3300 |
| Bukhara | 46 | 1 | 720[15] |
| Kokand I. | 2 | 5 | 1500 |
| Kokand II. | 55 | — | — |
| Andijan | 4 | 1 | 546 |
| Skobelev | 10 | 15 | 1155 |
| Kattakurgan | 52 | 92 | 210 |

Camps were also established in Zolotaya Orda, Namangan, Jizzakh and Khiva. Katalin Mihalótzy herself fell ill with typhus after visiting the infamous Troitsky camp at Tashkent. Although she recovered, Cramer had to continue the travel alone.[16] Turkestan was visited in the autumn of 1916 by German nurse Countess Mathilde von Horn (1875–1943), and later by Erika von Passow who disappeared in the summer of 1918 during the Russian Civil War.[17]

As the rank-and-file were forced to work hard and their financial resources were limited, most diaries, picture postcards and POW postcards were made by officers, who had the chance and time to write down their experiences, impres-

11 Wurzer: 105–116, Mark: 70–92.

12 The German Empire attempted to trigger revolts in India, Persia and Afghanistan against Russia and Great Britain, and the POWs in Central Asia should have played an important role in the plans. But the expeditions, led by Lieutenant Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer (1885–1948), Second Lieutenant Werner Otto von Hentig (1886–1984), Indian Prince Mahendra Pratap (1886–1979) and Wilhelm Wassmuss (1880–1931) were insufficiently prepared and were unable to achieve their goals. Mark: 97–126.

13 Her name also occurs as *Mihalótzyné*, in German *Käthe von Mihalótzy.*

14 Baja – Lukinich – Pilch – Zilahy: 128–131.

15 The report mentions that about 2400 POWs were working outside the camp on the construction of the Bukhara–Termez railroad line. Baja – Lukinich – Pilch – Zilahy: 130.

16 Käthe v. Mihalótzy: „Einer Reise durch Kriegsgefangenenlager in Rußland und Turkestan." In: Weiland: 255–258.

17 Nachtigal: 141.

sions and thoughts. A notable example is the estate of Ferenc Palkovics, which is preserved in the Collection of Manuscripts in the Hungarian Military History Museum.[18] It consists of 75 picture postcards, 43 POW postcards, 9 field postcards, 3 letters, 2 telegrams and 1 POW money receipt.

Ferenc Palkovics was born as the son of Ferenc Palkovics the Elder and Anna Klein on 18 March 1892 in Besztercebánya.[19] His younger brother, Elemér, was born on 17 February 1893.[20] When World War I broke out, Ferenc served as second lieutenant in the 2nd Field Company of the Imperial and Royal 39th (Debrecen) Infantry Regiment. He wrote his first field postcard on 4 November 1914 on the way to the front, still in a good mood, like many other soldiers at the beginning of the war.[21] But after only a short time, on 28 December 1914, he was taken prisoner with a severe injury caused by the Russians at Tylawa,[22] after the Austro-Hungarian troops were encircled following a failed attack.[23] On 10 January 1915, he sent a picture postcard[24] from Vorozhba,[25] and informed his mother, that he would be brought to Tashkent. On 23 March, a telegram arrived at Besztercebánya: "I am healthy please answer. Palkovics Ferenc Prisoner of War Namangan Turkestan."[26] The next station of his captivity was Jizzakh, from where he wrote his next postcard on 30 June.[27] After more than a half year, in early January 1916, we find him in Samarkand, and in the autumn in Skobelev, where, according to our knowledge, he spent at least two more years. A preserved letter, written on 13 October 1917, gives an insight into this camp: by that time, the POWs had already established a library with around 1000 books and a music chapel. He mentions 550 officers in the camp, calls the accommodation circumstances "quite good", and complains only that there are very few trees.[28]

The 133 documents of the estate can be examined from several aspects. Nine were written in 1914, 12 in 1915, 72 in 1916, 38 in 1917, 1 in 1918, and 1 in 1919.

[18] The estate was partially published in Hungarian: Márton Forgács: "Közép-Ázsia egzotikus világa egy első világháborús Magyar hadifogoly képeslapjain." In: Szilvia Závodi (ed.): *A Hadtörténeti Múzeum Értesítője 15,* Budapest, Hadtörténeti Múzeum, 2015. 257–296; Forgács: "Válogatás Palkovics Ferenc közép-ázsiai vonatkozású első világháborús hadifogoly-képeslapjaiból." In: Gergely Pál Sallay – Szilvia Závodi (ed.): *A Hadtörténeti Múzeum Értesítője 19,* Budapest, Hadtörténeti Múzeum, 2019. 283–306.

[19] Now Banská Bystrica, Slovakia. https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KZYR-TX6 (accessed on 4 December 2020.)

[20] https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KZYR-RKR (accessed on 4 December 2020.)

[21] Catalogue number of the postcard: HTM KE 71.365.1/KE

[22] Now in Southeast Poland, near the border to Slovakia.

[23] Győző Lépes – Artur Mátéfy: *A cs. és kir. Báró Hötzendorfi Konrád Ferenc tábornagy debreceni 39. gyalogezred világháborús története.* Debrecen, 1939, 98. Ferenc Palkovics informed his family about his capture in a letter written the following day (HTM KE 72.313.1/KE).

[24] HTM KE 71.284.1/Em

[25] Now in Northeast Ukraine.

[26] HTM KE 71.916.1/KE

[27] HTM KE 71.368.1/Em

[28] HTM KE 71.918.1/KE

Seventy-three of the picture postcards show Central Asian themes, 59 of them have inscriptions including city names: Samarkand (30 cards), Tashkent and surroundings (11), Kokand (5), Andijan (4), Old Bukhara (3), Turkistan[29] (3), Skobelev (1), Namangan (1), Old Margilan (1). We have to assume that many of the postcards have been lost, otherwise it would be hard to explain, why Ferenc sent only one card showing Skobelev, where he was in captivity for several years.

The picture postcards were all printed with the photolithographic technique, 9 are coloured, the remaining black and white. The inscriptions are in Russian, occasionally with translations in German or French. The publishers are: A. Kirsner (А. Кирснер), Znanie (Знание), Eckel & Kallach, Moscow (Эккель и Калах), B. A. Schneider, Odessa (Б. А. Щнайдер), S. A. Gordon (С. А. Гордон), I. A. Bek-Nazarov, Tashkent (И. А. Бекъ-Назаров), A. N. Mishina (А. Н. Мишина).

The most common theme of the postcards is the famous Registan square in Samarkand, which is still one of the city's most popular sights. Several postcards show the Ulugh Beg, Sher-Dor and Tilya-Kori Madrasahs, the Chorsu Bazaar, alleys in the old town with the stores of artisans, or watermelon sellers in the square. The fame of the local melon is recorded in an article in the newspaper *Az Ujság* in 1925: a group of former POWs arrived by train in Hungary, and one of them told his father at the station that he brought two pounds of melon seeds from Turkestan – the only gain of ten years of hardship, hidden through thousands of kilometres from customs and inspections.[30] The remains of Timur Lenk's monumental Bibi-Khanym Mosque, build between 1399–1404 and severely damaged in an earthquake in 1897, also appear several times, as well as his tomb Gur-e Amir and the impressive necropolis Shah-i-Zinda, which includes mausoleums constructed from the 11th to the 19th century.

It is unknown how much time Palkovics spent in Samarkand. The fact he was there at all is reflected by a POW postcard he sent on 12 January 1916 from Jizzakh.[31] Between the lines written in black pen, he hid additional information with invisible ink, which still can partially be read: "Currently ... I am in Samarkand, perhaps I will ... if I will have enough money. The natives here are 'Sarts,'[32] Mohammedans, a folk of animal breeders and merchants..." The POWs developed

[29] Founded originally under the name Yasi, the city is famous for the Mausoleum of the Sufi Khoja Ahmad Yasawi (1093-1166) with the "holy cauldron" inside, which is pictured in the postcards. Today, Turkistan is located in the territory of Kazakhstan. http://www.natcom.unesco.kz/turkestan/e10_mausoleum.htm (accessed on 4 December 2020.)

[30] Sándor Lestyán: "Oroszországból hazaérkezett hadifoglyok között, akik tíz év óta először látják hozzátartozóikat." *Az Ujság*, XXII, 90, 1925. 22 April, 3.

[31] HTM KE 71.373.1/Em

[32] The meaning of the term *Sart* went through several changes during the centuries, and cannot be equated with one single ethnic or linguistic group. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was used primarily for settled, Turkic-speaking inhabitants, but sometimes also included the Persian Tajiks. Soucek: 32–33, Richard H. Rowland: "Central Asia II. Demography." In: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, V/2, 161–164, available online at: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/central-asia-ii (accessed on 6 December 2020).

several methods to outwit the censorship. Negative information about their circumstances was often hidden into the names of fictional persons: "My friend Emerich Melegítsed has written to me."[33] ("Melegítsed" is the imperative for "warm up" in Hungarian – a message to the family, that he needed warm clothing.)

The next group of picture postcards are from Tashkent. In these, only one famous building of the city is featured, the Kukeldash Madrasah, or as the inscription says: "main mosque in the old town".[34] Ferenc visited the town at least once in the spring or summer of 1916 together with 14 POW officers, and noted: "Very interesting city."[35] He received there a so-called "Pasteur-treatment", which successfully healed a suppuration on his hand.[36] The city hospital in Tashkent, considering the circumstances, was well equipped and had during pandemics a mortality rate of 20% – instead of 55% in the Troitsky "death camp" near the town, which was described by survivors as one of the most terrible camps in Russia.[37] The other picture postcards show scenes of everyday life: craftsmen making spades and sieves, women leaning on carpets, or a boy playing with a dog. The inscriptions sometimes use the term "Туземный" *(Tusemniy)*, meaning "native" in Russian. Generally, the use of the names of the various ethnic groups by the Russians was nowhere near consistent. To avoid confusion with the Cossacks,[38] the Kazakhs were often termed "Kyrgyz", and the Kyrgyz were marked with more than a dozen terms, like "кара киргизы" (Kara Kyrgyz), "Алат киргизы" (Alat Kyrgyz), "киргиз-калмыки" (Kyrgyz-Kalmyk), "буруты" (Burut).[39] But it also occurred that the term "Kyrgyz" marked the real Kyrgyz: a picture postcard[40] shows a group of men and women, sitting in front of a yurt in the mountains near Kokand, which is far away from Kazakh territories. The inscription calls them Kyrgyz ("Иривѣтъ изъ Коканда. Типы и жилище Киргизъ"), and it seems plausible that in this case the term was used correctly.

[33] HTM KE 71.373.1/Em

[34] HTM KE 71.315.1/Em. German inscription: "Hauptmoschee in der Altstadt", Russian: „Главная мечеть съ полета въ старомъ городѣ". The madrasah bears the name of the vizier of Abdullah Khan II (reign: 1583–1598).

[35] "Sehr interessante Stadt." HTM KE 71.325.1/Em

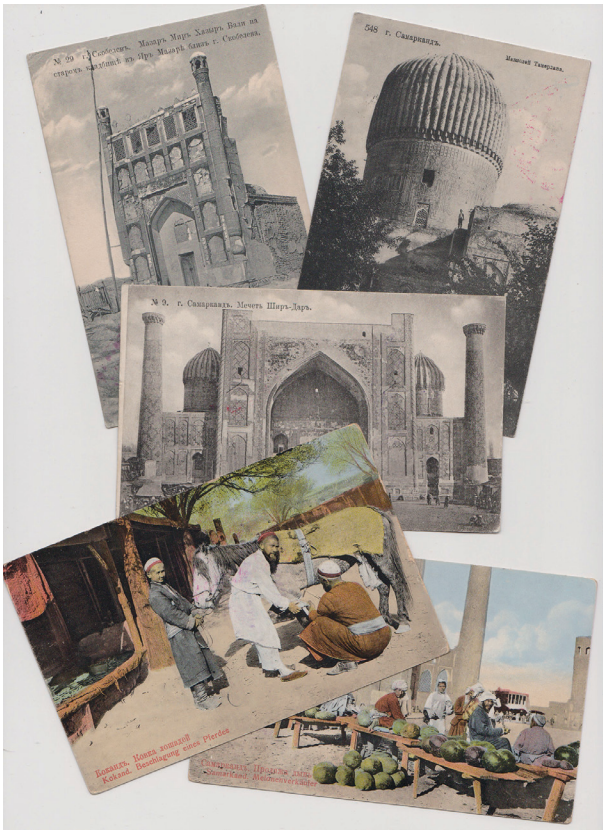
[36] HTM KE 71.326.1/Em. The term "Pasteur-treatment" covers an injection against rabies developed by Louis Pasteur (1822–1895).

[37] Franz Formanek: "Die Gesundheitsverhältnisse der Gefangenen in Turkestan." In: Weiland: 144.

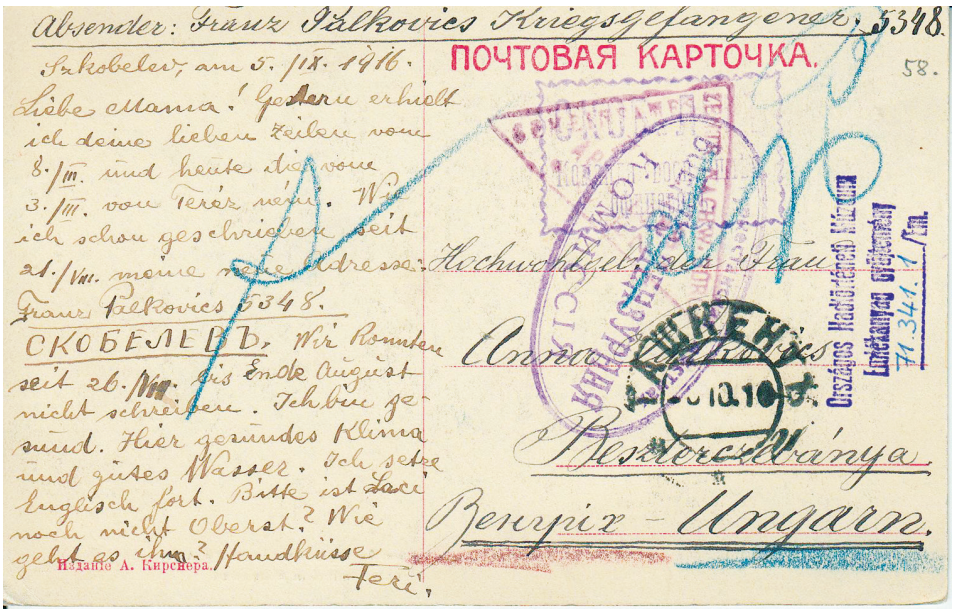
[38] The similarity of the two names is no coincidence: they have the same Turkic root, meaning "free man".

[39] Doolotbek Saparaliev: Этничекое название Кыргызов *в* исторических источниках России *(XVII-XIX ВВ.)* 2003. https://www.academia.edu/204640/ЭТНИЧЕСКОЕ_НАЗВАНИЕ_КЫРГЫЗОВ_В_ИСТОРИЧЕСКИХ_ИСТОЧНИКАХ_РОССИИ_XVII-XIX_ВВ. (accessed on 31 May 2019).

[40] HTM KE 71.329.1/Em



Some of the picture postcards from the estate: Samarkand, Kokand and Skobelev




The back of one of the postcards sent by Ferenc Palkovics

Another interesting postcard[41] shows native gold miners at the Chirchiq River near Tashkent, who are watched by a man sitting on a stone, wearing European-style clothing. Although it seems at first, that he is wearing a "pith helmet", which was used by western explorers and colonialists in the Tropics and was rather uncommon in Russia,[42] it is more likely a simple sun hat; we can assume that he is an employee of a foreign gold mining company. Further motifs in the postcards are amongst other: a *hauz*, which is a stone pool providing water supply in Old-Bukhara, horseshoeing and clay oven production in Kokand, a flour bazaar in Namangan, the traditional big-wheeled carts of the region *(araba)*, camels in the steppes near Samarkand, caravans on the bank of the Chirchiq River.

Ferenc Palkovics wrote in several postcards Hungarian or German translations of the inscriptions or even short explanations, which indicates that he was interested in his exotic surroundings. For example, in the postcard with the inscription "Ученики Сарты", showing traditionally dressed native men sitting in a room, he wrote: "Samarkand. Savant Sarts. (Scholars)."[43] (In this case, he was not right – the Russian term "Ученик" means "pupil".) The relationship between Hungarian POWs and the mostly Turkish natives (the exception were the Persian Tajiks) might be an interesting aspect for future research. The movement of Turanism, which was born in the 19th century, also had supporters in Hungary, and experienced an upswing due to the work of famous traveller and scholar Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913). The idea of a close relationship of Hungarians with ethnic groups of Central Asia was discussed mainly among scholars, but was not unknown to the wider population either, and possibly influenced the behaviour of POWs in Central Asia. It is worth noting, that in January 1917 Palkovics asks his family to inquire after "English colonial conditions" – although it is not entirely clear what he meant by this.[44]

"Except English no activity,"[45] Palkovics complains in Skobelev in September 1916. The cards he sent from this camp well illustrate, how several POW officers spent their time. He was playing soccer, learning French and English, and asked his family to send him books: "'Cyrano de Bergerac' and 'L'Aiglon' by Rostand some stage plays by Franz Molnár[46] and 4 Shakespeare."[47] He described the weather conditions as very capricious: for example, on 16 January 1916 it was 32 °C and three days later it was snowing again; in May he noted temperatures over 45-50°C „and sometimes it is suddenly cool."[48] Another serious problem in the

41 HTM KE 71.312.1/Em

42 For more details see Peter Suciu: *The Russian Colonial Pattern Sun Helmet.* http://www.military-sunhelmets.com/2014/the-russian-colonial-pattern-sun-helmet (accessed on 5 January 2021).

43 In Hungarian: "Számarkand. Tanult szartok. (Tudós.)" HTM KE 71.336.1/Em

44 In German: "Eta könnte sich beim Mann von Martha über Englische Kolonialverhältnisse erkundigen." HTM KE 71.382.1/Em

45 "Ausser Englisch keine Beschäftigung."

46 Hungarian writer Ferenc Molnár (1878–1952)

47 HTM KE 71.377.1/Em

48 HTM KE 71.295.1/Em, HTM KE 71.316.1/Em.


Ferenc Palkovics (on the right) with his roommates

region was the lack of water; after arriving in Skobelev, he noted as a pleasant surprise: "Here healthy climate and good water."[49]

In mid-May 1917, he fell ill with Malaria and spent two months in hospital, but got well again. However, he asked Elemér not to tell their mother about his illness.[50] In September, he sent home some photographs that show him sitting at a table and reading a book, together with two of his roommates drinking tea, or playing at the courtyard with a dog. The last preserved POW postcard of the estate is dated 3 November 1917.

Until recently, we have had no information about the fate of Ferenc Palkovics. The only trace was a letter he wrote on 13 February 1919, from a place that could not be identified until now,[51] and the addressee, "Demeter" was also unknown.[52] Palkovics wrote that it had taken him a long time to send signs of life from this hidden settlement and that he planned to come over to Kokand in 3 or 4 weeks; he had a lot of work, and was sometimes working until midnight. Based on this last document, it seemed possible that Ferenc Palkovics either stayed voluntarily in Turkestan or that he disappeared in the turmoil of the Russian Civil War (1917-1922). After the Bolsheviks came to power in October 1917, the POWs regained their freedom, but this also often meant that they did not receive provisions any

49 „Hier gesundes Klima und gutes Wasser." HTM KE 71.341.1/Em

50 HTM KE 71.396.1/Em

51 The handwritten name reads "Kobezo", "Kolezo" or "Kolczo". A possible solution could be the village Bokonbayevo (in present-day Kyrgyzstan), which was formerly called "Koltsovka"; but it is quite far from Kokand.

52 HTM KE 71.919.1/KE

more. Several former POWs were fighting in the Red Army as well as on the side of the independence movements of the natives – some of them out of internationalist conviction, others saw no other way to survive or were forced. On the other hand, some started a new life in Turkestan and founded families. In 1924, the "Hungarian Worker's Circle" was formed in Tashkent, and in the letter of an unknown sender, there is the following to read: "... In Kokand, there still are Hungarians. Do not think that they have forgotten Hungarian. Moreover, we taught the Uzbeks there Hungarian. Recently, an Uzbek butcher was here, who already speaks perfect Hungarian. Moreover, one can say he speaks better than we do. But in fact in all parts of Turkestan, we can find Hungarians everywhere."[53]

Not long ago, a relative of Ferenc Palkovics contacted me after he had discovered my earlier studies while doing genealogy research. He kindly shared with me amongst other things the information that his grandmother had told him, that Ferenc Palkovics died from typhus in Turkestan. A handwritten list of deceased persons of the family, made by Elemér Palkovics, mentions in connection with Ferenc the date 19 March 1919 – however, it is not clear if that is the day of his death or only the date the last postcard was received. Some personal documents had also remained in the family's possession and one of the postcards contains the previously unknown names of the two roommates shown in the photograph, Captain Petermann[54] and Second Lieutenant Landa.[55]

The estate of Ferenc Palkovics provides an insight into the life of POW officers in Turkestan. Further research and collection of the available sources will allow us to get a more complex picture of the situation of the POWs in this area. But perhaps it can already be stated, that the diverse and rich culture of Turkestan made captivity a little more bearable at least for those who had the opportunity to get in touch with it. Volunteer Lajos Kádár noted some of his experiences as follows: "The group, scattered over several kilometres, just walked on, eating bulkies,[56] white bread, pretzels, Kyrgyz flatbread, pies, bodag,[57] batter, dried fruits, bacon, sausages, roasted meat and even God knows what else, then drinking chay,[58] kvass, lemonade, krachedli,[59] milk, water etc. in huge amounts, and in addition figs, lemons, oranges, raisins, carob bread, sugar and various desserts of unknown names and tastes, of course everybody according to his taste and pouch. Meanwhile we crossed some rivers, bridges, canals and villages, met carts with big wheels, sat on camels, peeked under the feredjes of the Mohammedan women coming along, gaping at the several cars with rubber tyres, omnibuses with crosswise seats, the

53 Baja – Lukinich – Pilch – Zilahy: 479.

54 Karl Petermann, captain in the Imperial and Royal 24th Infantry Regiment.

55 Possibly Bruno Landa, second lieutenant in the Imperial and Royal 4th Sapper Battalion, or Gottlieb Landa, second lieutenant in reserve in the Imperial and Royal 10th Infantry Regiment.

56 Bread roll.

57 Unleavened flatbread, in Hungary also known as "gypsy bread".

58 Tea.

59 Carbonated soft drink flavoured with fruits.

beautiful caparisoned horses of the Persians, the round Kyrgyz caps with various embroidering, the beautiful patents without heels and soles, the fezzes, turbans, belts, the men with silk slacks, so everything varied and outlandish we have seen. And we have seen a lot, more than one can note in one day."[60]

*Abstract*

*Specialist literature about prisoners of war during World War I in Russia only marginally deals with the Central Asian region. This paper undertakes to give an insight into the life of Austro-Hungarian POWs in the camps of present-day Uzbekistan, primarily based on the estate of Hungarian Second Lieutenant Ferenc Palkovics (1892–1919), which is preserved in the Collection of Manuscripts in the Hungarian MoD Military History Institute and Museum. Palkovics was taken prisoner by the Russians in December 1914, and spent five years in the camps of Namangan, Jizzakh, Samarkand and Skobelev. The letters and picture postcards he sent to his family are interesting in several aspects, because they not only depict the region in this period but also contain information about the everyday life of POW officers and portray a personal fate that ended tragically.*

Keywords
Uzbekistan, Turkestan, Russia, Skobelev, Fergana, Tashkent, Samarkand, World War I, military history, POWs, postcards, Ferenc Palkovics

*Rezümé*

Az első világháborús orosz hadifogságot ismertető szakirodalom csak érintőlegesen foglalkozik a közép-ázsiai térséggel. Jelen írás arra tesz kísérletet, hogy betekintést nyújtson a mai Özbegisztán területén létesített táborokban élő osztrák–magyar hadifoglyok életébe, elsősorban Palkovics Ferenc hadnagy (1892–1919) hagyatéka alapján, melyet a HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum Kéziratos Emlékanyag-gyűjteményében őriznek. Palkovics Ferenc 1914 decemberében esett orosz fogságba, és öt évet töltött Namangán, Dzsizak, Szamarkand és Szkobelev táboraiban. Családjának küldött képeslapjai és levelei több szempontból is figyelemre méltóak, ugyanis nem csak a térséget ábrázolják ezen időszakban, hanem értékes adatokat is tartalmaznak a hadifogoly tisztek mindennapi életével kapcsolatban, valamint bemutatnak egy tragikus véget érő személyes sorsot.

Kulcsszavak
Üzbegisztán, Özbegisztán, Turkesztán, Oroszország, Szkobelev, Fergána, Taskent, Szamarkand, első világháború, hadtörténet, hadifoglyok, képeslapok, Palkovics Ferenc

[60] Baja – Lukinich – Pilch – Zilahy: 239.

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