

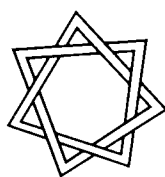
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## PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

I. Ye. Petrosyan

### A LATE COPY OF THE *GĦARĪB-NĀMA* BY ‘ĀSHIQ-PĀSHĀ

Among the Turkic manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, there is a nineteenth-century copy of the poem *Gharīb-nāma* by ‘Āshiq-pāshā [1]. The history of the manuscript is of some interest; it was presented by the copyist to an extraordinary political figure, the Kazakh *khān* Jahāngīr. The circumstances surrounding the gift itself, the nature of the text, as well as the intricate way by which the copy in question entered the collection may throw additional light both on one of the most curious episodes in Kazakh history and the circulation of literary texts, written in Old Anatolian Turkic, among the Turkic peoples of Russia and Central Asia.

The manuscript (17.0×25.0 cm) is written in *naskh*; folios' edges are gilded. The binding is paste-board covered in shiny bright-brown leather with a gold embossment along the edges and in the centre. The back of the binding also has a gold embossment. The inner part of the covers is pasted over with light-green paper. Both the thick creamish paper and binding are of Russian manufacturing. The folios show a barely visible oval imprinted watermark from the Yaroslavl paper factory of Prince Nikolai Gagarin. The ink is black and red. The text in verses is framed in red and is written in two columns (11.0×20.0 cm). The manuscript contains 266 folios; 21 lines per page. The copy is in good condition; it creates an impression of richly produced volume thanks to the binding's embossment and abundance of gilt on folios' edges. The text practically lacks any decoration. There is also no *unwān*. The title is at the top of the page.

Beginning (fol. 4b):

أكون ابن ضعيف فقير المفتقر الى رحمت الله تعالى عَلَيَّ بن  
المخلص بن الشيخ الياس المعروف جَدَّةً بِيَابَا و هو المعروف  
بشيخ پاشا العاشق رحمت الله رحمت و اسعَّتْ بر خود لازم  
و واجب كرد كه ...

End (fol. 266b):

لَوْ كَانَ يُهْدِي إِلَى الْإِنْسَانِ قِيَمَتَهُ  
فَأَنْتَ قِيَمَتُكَ الدُّنْيَا وَ مَا فِيهَا

The name of the copyist is indicated in the colophon written in prose, in the Arabic language, at the end of the manuscript (fol. 266b). The text runs as follows:

“The end of the book *Gharīb-nāma*, belonging to [the pen of] ‘Āshiq-pāshā, may the Most High grant him peace... This copy was transcribed by the most insignificant and miserable of slaves, who seeks the mercy of [our] Lord the Creator, Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Qarghālī, as a gift for Jahāngīr-khān b. Būkāy-khān, in the year of the Hijra 1255, on the fourth day of Muḥarram (March 20, 1839 — *I. P.*), basing this [text] on an old manuscript copied in Hijra 854 (1450/51 — *I. P.*)” [2].

There follow two *bayts* of the copyist's own composition, after which we find one more phrase in Arabic:

“This gift for the *khān*, son of a *khān*, is like the hoopoe's gift to Sulaymān — peace be upon him. It [may be] likened to what the hoopoe sang of to Sulaymān” [3].

To understand the last phrase in its connection with the figure of Jahāngīr-khān, it would be appropriate to give a brief account of this personality's life which falls on a curious period in the history of Russo-Kazakh relations. Jahāngīr was the son of the head of the famed Kazakh Būkāy Horde, whose role in the history of the Kazakh people and the history of Russo-Kazakh relations was exceptional. Būkāy, to whom the Horde owed its name, belonged to the Kazakhs' tribal nobility, the *sultāns*, claiming to have originated from Chingīz-khān. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Būkāy crossed into the lands of Russia together with a group of Kazakh clans from the Younger *zhūz* and formed a new Horde on the territory between the lowlands of the Ural and Volga rivers. In 1803, the Horde consisted of 7,500 tents; by 1845 this number is considered to have grown to 52,000. The migration of the nomadic Kazakhs under Būkāy to Russia was stimulated by several factors related to the internal history of the Kazakhs at the turn of the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries. One of the reasons Būkāy eagerly accepted the Russian administration's proposal to resettle within Russia's borders was pressure on the tribes of the Younger *zhūz* from the Kazakhs beyond the Urals [4]. In a letter from Būkāy to the Astrakhan military governor we read of Būkāy's determination to “be a people subject to him in the service of the

All-Russian Ruler and Emperor". In the same letter, Būkāy also asks permission for his people to roam between the Ural and Volga [5]. On March 11, 1801, a corresponding decree was issued by the Russian Tsar Paul I (r. 1796—1801). In 1812, Būkāy's Horde was proclaimed a khānate, with Būkāy as its *khān*. The newly created khānate was a dual subject of the Astrakhan military governor and the Orenburg border commission, a special organ to manage the Kazakhs of the Younger *zhūz*.

In 1815 Būkāy died, and his widow informed the Orenburg governor that her deceased husband wished to see his son Jahāngīr to be his heir. But since Jahāngīr was still a minor, the authority of the *khān* was entrusted to the brother of the deceased, Shigāy, which eventually led to a struggle for power within the Horde. Jahāngīr intervened decisively, leaving his studies in Astrakhan and relating to the Orenburg governor his readiness to assume for himself power in the khānate. Two circumstances aided Jahāngīr's eventual success: the Horde's nobility — the *sultāns*, *beys*, and elders — supported him; the Russian authorities were also favourably inclined toward Jahāngīr because of his an overtly pro-Russian orientation. On June 24, 1824 Jahāngīr was officially proclaimed *khān* [6].

Unlike his father Būkāy, who was a nomad to the core, Jahāngīr had received a Russian education and was a man of European culture. He dreamt of the spreading of European education among his people. Under his rule several settlements appeared among the Kazakh nomadic encampments; in time, they became the Horde's commercial and cultural centres. In Khan-Qala, the capital settlement of the Horde, Jahāngīr built his own wooden house in imitation of a Russian landlord's dwelling. This home served as the *khān's* palace; its interior was a strange mixture of European and Eastern features. There were cabinets with numerous books, and an extremely valuable collection of Eastern arms hung on the walls.

Jahāngīr considered himself an independent ruler, which was formally confirmed by the fact that the Būkāy khānate was under the jurisdiction of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also believed that he would be able to retain *khān's* power for his son; on December 6, 1840, he received, through the Ministry of State Property, the assurance of Tsar Nicholas I (r. 1825—1855) that his heirs would receive the Tsar's patronage and that after his death his son, Šāhib-Girāy, would be proclaimed *khān* [7]. Largely, Jahāngīr made use of his power without consulting with the Russian administration. However, in 1838 a formally insignificant but extremely important event took place: the Būkāy Horde was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of State Property, which formally changed the status of the khānate. From that time on, the Russian government ceased to consider Jahāngīr an independent ruler. At the end of his life, he had the rank of Major-General.

Jahāngīr took part in the coronation of Nicholas I, enjoyed audiences with the Tsar at the court and remained in contact with the Orenburg governor. But the aims of Jahāngīr and those of the Russian government were completely different. If Jahāngīr strove to be a full-fledged Kazakh ruler, the Russian government merely used Jahāngīr's disposition toward Russians and Russian culture to subjugate a significant part of the Kazakh nomads. The Russian government's plans were fully revealed after Jahāngīr-*khān's* death.

Though a man of European culture, Jahāngīr, to whom the manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* was presented in 1839, nonetheless stood at the head of a nomadic people faithful to his traditional way of life and beliefs. Constant migrations, life in winter and summer encampments, as well as a need for space and freedom, rendered the Kazakhs of the Būkāy Horde less than ideal subjects for their Europeanized *khān*. One of the most serious difficulties, both the Russian government and Jahāngīr had to face, was deeply rooted paganism of the nomads. The Kazakhs were Muslims in name only, and Jahāngīr-*khān* saw it as his task to propagate Islam among his people. He invited *mullās* to the khānate, and their number reached 130 under his rule. These were primarily Orenburg Tatars. Living in nomadic encampments and setting up "steppe mosques" in the field, they compelled the nomads to perform Muslim religious rituals. The *khān* himself was an ardent supporter of the same policy: Jahāngīr forced litigants who arrived at Khan-Qala to visit a mosque especially constructed here. The head *mullā* of the Horde — the *akhūn* — served in the mosque. There are accounts that the *khān's* guard drove the Kazakhs into the mosque with whips during the markets held in Khan-Qala [8]. A *qādī* also appeared in the khānate, and the Orenburg Tatar Jabar Khamatov served in this position for 20 years [9].

In 1841, Jahāngīr opened a school for Kazakh children in Khan-Qala. The main disciplines were the Tatar, Arabic and Russian languages, along with elementary arithmetic and grammar. Geography and history, although on a moderate scale, were also taught. The most able pupils were encouraged to continue their education in *madrāsas* of Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, and Astrakhan or were sent to the Nepluyevsky Cadets Corps in Orenburg [10]. Pupils for the school in Khan-Qala were drawn primarily from the children of the Kazakh tribal nobility.

It is among the teachers of this school that I was able to find the name of the copyist and gift-giver of our manuscript. Šadr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Qarghālī, whose name was given in its Russified form (Sadreddin Aminov), was listed as the school's first teacher of Eastern languages and the faith [11]. As his *nisba* indicates, he was a native or resident of Qarghala. Šadr al-Dīn al-Qarghālī was undoubtedly a Tatar linked by descent with the history of the Orenburg Tatars, whose role in the spread of Islam among the nomads must be recognized as outstanding. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Orenburg became the centre whence the Russian government strove to strengthen Islam among the Kazakh nomads, which was a radical break with its earlier policy. Extraordinary repressive measures were taken by Russian authorities against Islam in the 1740s. For example, by mid-1744, 418 of 536 mosques in the Qazan area were destroyed. These actions of the Russian government even led in 1755 to an uprising of the Bashkirs, after which the policy shifted. In 1755, permission was granted for 200 families to found the settlement of Qarghala (or, as the Russians called it, Seitovsky *posad*) to the north of Orenburg. Qarghala, home to Tatars exempt at first from all fiscal obligations, for many years, up until the Revolution of 1917, remained a centre of Muslim science and learning. A mosque, considered the best in the Qazan area, was built there [12].

The role of the Tatars in the Būkāy Horde was prominent indeed. In addition to the numerous *mullās*, who helped the Kazakh nomads to be "more Muslim", there was



*Fig. 1*



Fig. 2

a Tatar chancery in Khan-Qala, where a manager, his assistant, and two scribes were occupied with official record keeping. A head *mullā* (*akhūn*), *qādī*, and two *azanshī-mullās* — all were Tatar. Some 200 Tatars also lived in Khan-Qala itself. Jahāngīr's own wife Fatima Guseynova, the daughter of an Orenburg *mufī*, was Tatar too [13].

So, in 1839, not long before the school began to work in Khan-Qala, Şadr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Qarghālī, or Sadreddīn Aminov, presented the manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* to Jahāngīr-khān. As we learn from the gift-giver's own note (see above), it was a copy from the 1450 manuscript which was only 100 years odd distant from the date of the work's composition. We do not know whether the manuscript was in the personal library of Sadreddīn Aminov or it was held in some collection in the copyist's native Qarghala. In any case, the fact that the author used such an old manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* indicates that Russian Tatars possessed extremely valuable old manuscripts. It may have been Jahāngīr's receipt of the gift that led to Şadr al-Dīn's invitation to work in the school then being conceived by the *khān*'s headquarters. There, while instructing Kazakh children in the Tatar language and Islam, Şadr al-Dīn continued to carry out the age-old mission the educated Tatars of Orenburg and Qarghala had set for themselves — to promote Islam among Turkic nomads. In this sense, Şadr al-Dīn's choice of work to present to Jahāngīr seems hardly accidental.

The poem *Gharīb-nāma* ("Book of the Stranger") was written by an Anatolian Şūfī 'Alī, known as 'Āshiq-pāshā (1271—1332). In the author's Persian-language introduction, found in the majority of extant manuscripts of the work, including our manuscript, 'Āshiq-pāshā refers to himself as follows: 'Alī b. al-Mukhlīš b. Shaykh Ilyās [14]. Shaykh Ilyās, or Bābā Ilyās, the poet's grandfather, was a famed Şūfī and significant political figure in his day. The author of the sixteenth-century Turkish biographical dictionary *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya* ("Crimson Tulip"), Ṭashquprizāda (Tashköprüzade), writes of Bābā Ilyās that he lived in Amasya, worked many wonders, and had numerous pupils. Bābā Ilyās is believed to have come to Asia Minor from Khorasan, seeking refuge from the Mongol invasion [15]. Soon he became the spiritual head of Anatolian Turkmens and, according to some accounts, the instigator of their uprising. 'Āshiq-pāshā's father, Shaykh Mukhlīš, was also one of the well-known Şūfīs and a political figure. At the request of his disciples, he was for six months the *de facto* ruler of the Saljuq Sultanate in Rum after the death of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn II (634—657 / 1236—37—1259), and transferred power to Qārāmān, who, according to one of the accounts, was the son (or grandson) of one of Bābā Ilyās's pupils [16].

'Āshiq-pāshā is considered to have been born in Qirshehir [17], although one extant tradition claims that 'Āshiq-pāshā only moved to Qirshehir to be closer to another Şūfī of great repute, Ḥājī Bektāsh [18]. About the poet's life very little is known. In the Persian *bayt*, concluding the *fihrist* for the *Gharīb-nāma*, we find the dates of 'Āshiq-pāshā's birth and death in *ḥasāb-i abjad*:

"He came to the world in *kh'*, he went away in *dhlj*,  
The thirteenth day of Şafār, the eve of Tuesday,  
so-and-so!" [19].

This Persian *bayt* is present in our manuscript too [20]. The numerical values of the letters *kh'* give 670, those of *dhlj* equal 733. Thus, the *bayt*, which was most likely com-

posed by one of the poem's copyists soon after 'Āshiq-pāshā's death, reports that the poet was born in 1271/72 and died on Monday night 3 November 1332. At the end of the poem, there are also *bayts* in Turkic providing the date of the work's completion:

"This book is completed now,  
All of its 100 *dastāns* are finished".

"In [the year] 730 from the Hijra,  
The words of reflection reached their end" [21].

A. H. 730 gives 1329/30, that is, the poet completed his work not long before his death in 1332.

Born into a famous family of Şūfī *shaykhs*, 'Āshiq-pāshā was undoubtedly a revered figure in Qirshehir. Few facts of his life are known thanks to the *Manāqib-nāma* written by his son, Elwān Chelebī, who recounts that 'Āshiq-pāshā was a disciple of Shaykh Suleymān Turkmān (or Türkmeni), and later Shaykh 'Uthmān (Osman), a *khalīfa* of 'Āshiq's grandfather, Bābā Ilyās. Bābā Ilyās himself was considered the head of the Anatolian *ṭarīqat* Abū-l-Wāfā Khwārazmī. We also learn that for a time 'Āshiq-pāshā was the *wazīr* of the Anatolian governor of the İlkhāns, Tīmūrtāsh Pāshā. But some unclear circumstances compelled 'Āshiq to leave for Egypt. While returning home, upon reaching Qirshehir, he is told to have fallen ill and died there on 3 November 1332 [22].

From his youth, as his son Elwān Chelebī reports, 'Āshiq-pāshā was surrounded by the Wāfāiyya Şūfīs and received a Şūfī education. But probably he was also linked with the Mawlawī order. It was the time when various *darwish* branches flourished in Qirshehir, and there were numerous followers of the *futuwwa*. In time, 'Āshiq-pāshā became the most influential *shaykh* in Qirshehir and acquired many disciples. His Şūfī poem *Gharīb-nāma* demonstrates his indubitable Sunnism. Nonetheless, as researchers observe, the poem also reveals some traces of unorthodoxy [23].

'Āshiq-pāshā's main works are the allegorical poem *Faqr-nāma* ("Book of the [Bird] Faqr") and his most famous *mathnawī*, the *Gharīb-nāma*. Both works are of a didactic nature. The *Faqr-nāma* tells of the bird Faqr (lit. "poverty"), created by God himself, who orders it to fly to all places. During these flights, Faqr ascends to the throne of Allah, visits the gardens of paradise, reaches the sun, and flies around the earth. It encounters Adam, the Old Testament prophets, and also Jesus Christ, but does not chose to stay with any of them. Only Muḥammad, who wins the bird over with his modesty and humility, perfection and nobility of spirit, draws Faqr. In this poem, 'Āshiq-pāshā posits the unconditional superiority of Muḥammad over other prophets, a position disputed by some Şūfīs [24]. Moreover, the aim of the poem seems to show the true meaning of poverty as understood by Şūfīs. The accusations rained down on 'Āshiq-pāshā because of his material wealth and princely lifestyle, which outwardly stood in conflict with one of the Şūfī principle ideas of asceticism. Being an extremely wealthy *shaykh* with influence comparable to that of the sultan, 'Āshiq-pāshā had to defend himself from the accusations. The following words are ascribed to him:

"He is the dervish who renounceth the world, he is the beggar whom the world renounceth; for with them of the Truth true poverty is not the outward, it is the inward; and

that which they call dervishhood dwelleth not in homespun and serge and tattered cloak, it dwelleth in the heart; the dervish who loveth the world, whatsoever be his poverty and indigence, is yet a worlding; while that rich man, whatsoever be his riches and worldly power, who yet in his heart loveth not those things, nor inclineth thereunto, neither seeketh after them, howsoever rich a lord he be, is yet in the eyes of them of the Way among the folk of renunciation and of those who are dead unto the world: brief, dervishhood is the plucking from the heart the love of ‘the all beside’, and the freeing of the soul from the fetters of the world; elsewise, through cowl and frock and rosary and staff becometh no man a Sūfī pure of heart; and if one hold not this path, never shall he find the way to come nigh unto The Truth” [25].

In the Sūfī conception, a *darwīsh* (or *faqīr*) could be wealthy in the generally accepted sense, while being in fact spiritually impoverished, for it was felt that God sometimes encumbers his holy men with external wealth in order to hide their true essence [26]. Despite his wealth, ‘Āshiq-pāshā was revered as a man of indubitable sanctity; it manifested itself also after his death. As the sixteenth-century Ottoman *tadhkirajī* Laṭīfī writes, the poet's tomb “gave off a delicate and pleasant odour” [27]. ‘Āshiq-pāshā's son, Elwān Chelebī, in his *Manāqib-nāma*, seeks to prove the extreme sanctity of his father [28].

But ‘Āshiq-pāshā's most popular work is undoubtedly his *mathnawī*, the *Gharīb-nāma*. Strangely, Laṭīfī does not give this title for ‘Āshiq-pāshā's work, mentioning, however, his *Dīwān* on various esoteric matters, Sūfī concepts, rules for relations between *murshid* and *murīd*, and reasons for becoming a Sūfī. Laṭīfī reports that this *Dīwān* consists of 10 parts, each of which is in turn divided into 10 sections; he terms it a work “worthy of use by ascetics and the pious” [29]. It is entirely obvious that what Laṭīfī calls the *Dīwān* is the poem the author himself entitled the *Gharīb-nāma*. We find this title in the final part of the poem, where ‘Āshiq-pāshā explains the reasons which caused him to write the work:

“This ‘Book of the Stranger’ appeared in [the Turkic] language  
So that those who speak this language [might] grasp the  
meaning [of the Sūfī teaching]” [30].

‘Āshiq-pāshā uses several *bayts* to explain why he wrote a Sūfī work in Turkic. He says that he would like the Turks could familiarize themselves with Sūfī teaching in their own language in order to have the same opportunity as the Persians to gain profound knowledge of Sūfism. Obviously, to avoid accusations of neglecting the Persian language — the classical language of Sufism — ‘Āshiq-pāshā also tries to show the equal worth of all languages in conveying Sūfī ideas:

“All languages possess words endowed with meaning,  
The visage of meaning is open to all who see” [31].

‘Āshiq-pāshā's reflections on the Turkic language, capable, in his view, of conveying Sūfī ideas, show how much the *shaykhs* of Asia Minor in the late thirteenth — fourteenth century wanted their Turkic-speaking flock, generally ignorant of Persian, to have a sense of the Sūfī teaching.

The *Gharīb-nāma* is an extended poem with a strictly organized text that expounds the basic concepts and provisions of Sūfism. It is a veritable philosophical and religious

encyclopaedia of Sūfism and of its special, esoteric understanding of the world. The poem abounds in Qur’ānic citations, *ḥadīths*, ethical edification. Numerous digressions on various realms of knowledge — cosmogony, history, anatomy, etc., as well as theosophical and ethical reflections of the author — are illustrated by parables, allegories, tales of a folkloric and literary nature.

Of exceptional interest is the poem's compositional structure. It consists of 10 chapters (*bābs*), each of which in turn includes 10 *dastāns*. The adopted structure is explained by the author as follows:

“[God] established calculation [for] any thing of value,  
Both the [old] *shaykh* and the youth make use of it.

The value of all things is known through the calculation,  
Using it, [people] buy and sell.

[God] based calculation on [the number] ten,  
Ten is the basis, [even if] there should be one hundred  
thousand.

Listen then, how this [number] ten  
Will explain to you the meaning of [the number] one  
hundred.

If one times one gives one, you can take it ten times and  
have ten.  
If you take ten ten times, you have one hundred.

If you multiply one hundred by one hundred, it becomes  
ten thousand,  
Because one hundred multiplied by ten is ten hundreds,  
[which is] a full thousand.

Ten thousand results if you take a thousand ten times,  
[And] it gives one hundred thousand if you multiply ten  
thousand by ten.

No one can calculate how much ten times one hundred  
thousand will be,  
Leave this, do not multiply, return to ten.

This calculation is based on one, and the factor is ten.  
If you rose to the heavens, [you would learn that] their  
height is equal to ten measures [32].

Whether on earth or in heaven, with the help of decimal  
calculation  
All has become known to the smallest details.

For this reason, [making] ten the basis for this book  
We have created ten chapters with ten sections [each].

This is not merely ten *dastāns* in each chapter,  
Here each thing fits each place (*maqām*)” [33].

The poem, structured along this numerical principle, has no single plot line. Each of the ten chapters is independent. Each of the ten *dastāns* that comprise them describes phenomena or objects that correspond in number to the number of the chapter (*bāb*). For example, the first chapter treats the singularity of God, the universe; the second, concepts and phenomena based on two (heaven and earth, good and evil, body and soul, day and night); the third, the three dimensions of time (past, present, and future); the fourth, the four elements (earth, wind, water, and fire), etc.

526 611

|                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| طافقي يتدو كچه هم عاشق پشا   | معني صبح كنه و ارما دي پشا   |
| زيره نيش و يلندن اولمشد زيان | پس بو عالم خلق اوقور لر عيان |
| بيته و رسون اي كم يار پسه    | سورا چنده ارتغ اكسك و اريسه  |
| اللصك الكسوكلويه ايلوك چقا   | حقا قانه عاشقك الكسوك چقا    |
| رحمتيه قاموسين اول خوش دوستر | قامو خلقك الكسوك اندن بتر    |
| اولدور ز ايمد ايرق يقدر زو   | فضل رحمت اول انكده چقدر زو   |
| سنين آخريه حكيم وهم علميم    | اي خدا و نذا سنك فضللك دليم  |
| سن اسركه كند نيسو لار وكي    | رحمتكم يرها قللا زو كي       |



هر كه در كز سبه بوسوري اي جليل  
 رحمتك اولسون اكا هر دم دليل

تمت الكتاب غريب نامه المنسب بعاشق ياشار حمد اله تعالى رحمه واسعه  
 كتب هذه النسخة اضعف العبد واحقرهم المحتاج الي رحمة ربه الباري صدر الدين  
 ابن محمد امين القرعالي تحفة بهما تكبير خان ابن بوكاي خان في تاريخ هجرية  
 رسول الله سنة ثمان مائة وخمسين ومائتين والفي في رابع محرم ونقل هذه  
 من النسخة العتيقة التي كتبت في تاريخ الهجرة سنة اربع وخمسين وثمانمائة

عريب نامه

1255.  
854.

|   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| هر نفس بك رحمتي حقتك انكا   | كم نيزاي فاتحه بز كه اكا       |
| يارب نكه دار تو ايمان ان كسي  | كه خط من بخواند بز من دعا كند  |
| و تحفة هذه كان ابن الخان يشبه له مدية محمد بن سليمان عم كما انشدت الهمدود |                                |
| جاءت سليمان يوم العرش محمد هدية   | اضحيت الي من جراد كان في فيها  |
| وانشئت بلسان الحال قائلته   | ان الهمدا يا علي مقدر مفضل بها |
| لو كان يهدي الي الانسان قيمتهم  | فانت قيمتك الدنيا وما فيها     |

Fig. 3



The poem is thus a Ṣūfī philosophical work in which we do not find, despite its strict internal organization, a systematic presentation of Ṣūfī ideas or concepts. At the same time, one can see in it a compositionally original retelling of Ibn ‘Arabī’s concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. ‘Ashiq-pāshā tells of the Absolute (God) realized in the phenomena and essences of the universe, of the “reflection” of the Absolute — the world, which makes no sense unless it is correlated with its source. He describes the most important phenomena and essences of the created universe that arose as a result of emanation. All of these phenomena and essences correlate with each other, and the world presents itself as the necessary mode of being of the Absolute (God). It seems that ‘Ashiq-pāshā’s contribution to the teaching of Ibn ‘Arabī is creating an original numerical model of the world as it appears to the Ṣūfī in its basic features. ‘Ashiq-pāshā’s remarks on the number 10, which he breaks down into a base of one and a multiplier of 10, and the internal numerical organization of the poem’s contents seem to imply that ‘Ashiq-pāshā offers a certain innovation, providing the grandiose Ṣūfī picture of the universe that can be explained with the aid of numbers. In this connection, the teaching on numbers ascribed to Pythagoras, which was popular in the East, comes to mind [34]. According to this teaching, the harmony of the world (the cosmos) is a result of eternally existing correspondences between numbers. Of course, ‘Ashiq-pāshā hardly pretended to have discovered these correspondences, but the very attempt to base his work on numbers in a Ṣūfī description of the world and its phenomena can be regarded as an interesting innovation, although we know that Ṣūfism used, for example, numerology in its theory of degrees of sanctity and a hierarchy of the saints [35]. Yet we should not exclude the alternative possibility: that such a system for organizing material in the poem served purely mnemonic goals, easing the reader’s understanding and memorization of the text and aiding the poem’s popularity. A significant number of surviving copies of the *Gharīb-nāma* seems to prove that.

As a whole, the poem is undoubtedly intended for an educated, well-prepared Muslim reader capable of grasping numerous hints and allusions, a person well familiar with Islamic dogmatics and literature, eager to acquaint himself with Ṣūfī ideas. Was Jahāngīr such a person? I have no answer to this question. In any case, Ṣadr al-Dīn explains metaphorically the meaning of his present. We cite here his words once again:

“This gift to the *khān*, the son of the *khān*, is like the hoopoe’s offering to Sulaymān — peace be upon him! It [may be] likened to that of which the hoopoe sang of to Sulaymān”.

The reference is to the Sulaymān (King Solomon of the Bible) mentioned in the Qur’ān (27:20). Thanks to the Qur’ān, Sulaymān became the hero of numerous Muslim tales. The Qur’ānic Sulaymān is a righteous sorcerer who believes in Allah and receives arcane knowledge from Him. The hoopoe bird is mentioned along with Sulaymān in the *sūra* “The Ants”. It tells how Sulaymān once gathered an army of *jinn*s, people, and birds and set out on a campaign. When they reached the valley where the ants dwelt, one female ant urged the ants to hide in their dwelling, fearing that Sulaymān’s forces might trample them. Sulaymān, who understood the language of the birds and beasts, heard this, laughed, and thanked God for bestowing on him miraculous

abilities. Later, while reviewing his troops, Sulaymān discovered that the hoopoe had gone missing. Angry, he resolved to punish the bird upon its return, but the hoopoe returned to report to Sulaymān that he had been in the land of Saba’ and seen there a queen who worshipped the sun. Sulaymān immediately entered into correspondence with the queen and demanded that she become his subject. Her attempts to avoid this by sending presents to him had failed: Sulaymān threatened the queen with war. The story tells that the queen appeared to Sulaymān herself, saw her own throne, miraculously delivered to Sulaymān, and announced that the Truth had appeared to her and that she would renounce her previous, false faith [36].

The hoopoe was a popular symbol in Ṣūfī poetry. We read, for example, in Ḥāfiẓ’s *Dīwān*:

“I did not reach the edge of the stopping-place (*manzil*) of the bird ‘Anqa alone,  
I managed this [final] move together with the bird [of king],  
Sulaymān”.

This *bayt* presumes a striving to follow a path (*ṭarīqat*) in order to reach the Absolute (the stopping-place of the bird ‘Anqa), while the bird of Sulaymān (the hoopoe) metaphorically represents the mentor on this path, the Ṣūfī *shaykh* [37]. The bird appears in the famed *Mathnawī* of Jalāladdīn Rūmī as Sulaymān’s guide in the desert [38]. The *Mathnawī* also contains a tale about the hoopoe’s ambassadorial mission between Sulaymān and the queen of the land of Saba’. Moreover, the hoopoe is one of the key figures in the well-known Ṣūfī poem by ‘Aṭṭār (ca. 1141—1230), *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*. He becomes a guide to birds that have decided to set out in search of “their *shāh*”, the phoenix Sīmurgh, who represents the Truth the Ṣūfī seeks to learn. In the poem, the hoopoe says that he already knows the *shāh* (i.e. has attained the Truth), condemns the nightingale for its love of roses (i.e. for its attachment to the material world), the parrot for its attachment to life itself with no striving to fathom hidden meaning, and so on [39]. In ‘Aṭṭār’s poem, thirty birds of those that set out to seek the “*shāh*” reach Sīmurgh (the name literally means “thirty birds”) and thus gain knowledge of themselves.

Thus, the meaning of Ṣadr al-Dīn’s message is transparent: in likening his gift, a manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma*, to the hoopoe, he implies that the text is a guide for the *khān* Jahāngīr on his path to knowledge of the Truth, the Absolute. Ṣadr al-Dīn chose to present to Jahāngīr not merely a religious work, but a Ṣūfī poem. It is the more remarkable when one remembers that that were always Ṣūfī *shaykhs* who succeeded best in spreading Islam among Turkic nomads.

The closing *bayts* (in Arabic) of the manuscript, containing a self-deprecating formula of the gift-giver, also exploits the image of a hoopoe:

“A hoopoe appeared to Sulaymān on Judgment Day  
[And] presented him with a locust that he held in his beak,

And pronounced the following:  
‘The gift in truth matches the giver,

If the gift matched your virtue,  
It would be the world and all that is in it” [40].

Thus, the poem by ‘Ashiq-pāshā, manuscript of which Ṣadr al-Dīn presented to Jahāngīr-*khān*, was to acquaint the

Kazakh ruler with the treasures of Sūfī world outlook. Besides, the very choice of the work is significant. We can assume that the Sūfism as presented by 'Ashiq-pāshā was popular among Tatars of Russia, in particular in Qarghala, and at least one very old manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* was kept there, the fact testifying to the living tradition of literature in Old Anatolian Turkic in the nineteenth-century Tatar audience. It is to this tradition that we owe a valuable copy of the poem, the protograph of which dates to 1450/51.

The manuscript is designated by a number in Arabic numerals — ٦٢ (this may be its number in Jahāngīr-khān's library), but it lacks *khān's* personal seal. The paper looks new and fresh, as if no one ever read the text. Certainly, the reading of the poem needed not mere interest on the part of the reader but a good grounding in Muslim theosophy, medieval Muslim science and literature. It is hardly probable that Jahāngīr educated in Russian secular schools possessed necessary knowledge.

The manuscript's fate after the death of Jahāngīr is obscure. He died on August 11, 1845, in the 22nd year of his rule. A board of guardians was established to administer the deceased *khān's* property, and the Horde was put under entire Russian control. Jahāngīr's widow Fāṭima and her brother summoned the 15-year-old Šāhib-Girāy to Khan-Qala from St. Petersburg, where he had been studying in the Page Corps. In July 1847, after receiving the title of prince, he set off for Petersburg again, but suddenly died on the way in the Kazakh steppe [41].

Jahāngīr's property passed from one guardian to another. At the same time, a struggle was underway for this property between the widow's relatives, the relatives of | Jahāngīr himself, and officials of the Orenburg Border Commission. Meanwhile, it was clear that the Būkāy khānate had been abolished. During the conflict, a large part of the disputed property vanished. Many of Jahāngīr's personal papers disappeared, and the famous collection of weaponry was dispersed. According to one of the versions, Jahāngīr's eldest daughter Zulaykhā, who had married Colonel Tevkelev in Orenburg, took some items from her father's collection with her from Khan-Qala [42]. About the fate of the books from Jahāngīr's library, which contained many precious manuscripts, including that of the *Gharīb-nāma*, we know practically nothing.

In the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies the manuscript under discussion here is indicated as acquired from the collection of V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov in 1865. So, 20 years after Jahāngīr's death, the manuscript had made its way to a person quite distant from the *khān*, demonstrating one of the more interesting aspects of how manuscripts move about, changing owners. In the case at hand, there are more questions about the history of the manuscript than one might wish. How could the manuscript have found its way into the hands of the well-known Russian Orientalist Velyaminov-Zernov? To answer this question, one must turn to the biography of this in many respects unusual figure. He was

born in 1830 into a aristocratic family which, like the Godunovs and Saburovs, traced its lineage from Chet, a descendent of the Golden Horde. Velyaminov-Zernov, who lost his father early, completed the famed Aleksandrov Lyceum, which counted A. S. Pushkin among its first graduates and prepared pupils for state service. In the Lyceum's 1850/51 yearbook, we find Velyaminov-Zernov's first independent study: "On the ascension of Darius Gistasp to the throne according to Herodotus and Firdowsi", which reflects the author's interest in the East and its history. In this work, Velyaminov-Zernov used his knowledge of Persian, which he mastered during his study at the Lyceum under the direction of St. Petersburg professors. He studied it together with Hebrew and Arabic. After finishing the Lyceum, Velyaminov-Zernov started as an official in the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, in 1851, he was sent to Orenburg to serve under the Orenburg governor-general V. A. Perovsky. There he encountered for the first time the world of Central Asia [43].

Upon arriving in Orenburg in 1851, Velyaminov-Zernov began to study the Turkic languages, and acquainted himself with the life of the steppe-dwellers during his official journeys through border regions; he also spent much time in local archives. We know that during his service in Orenburg, Velyaminov-Zernov began to acquire manuscripts. His most valuable acquisition was the *Sharaf-nāma* by Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh Bukhārī, a work that until then had been known only by its title. His work on it began almost immediately.

In 1856, Velyaminov-Zernov left Orenburg and resumed service in the Asiatic Department. Whether there was among his manuscripts he brought back to St. Petersburg our manuscript or not, we cannot say with certainty. His interest in Oriental studies, though not formally supported by solid special education, grew steadily. In St. Petersburg he had written and published several works in the capital's scholarly journals. We know that he maintained for several years correspondence with the well-known Turkologist V. V. Grigoryev (1816—1881), who served in Orenburg beginning in late 1851 as an official for special tasks to governor-general Perovsky. In 1852, Grigoryev visited the Būkāy Horde to investigate abuses by the *sultāns* of the Horde — relatives of the deceased Jahāngīr; he was there from June 25 to September 20, 1852. It may be that it is at that time that Grigoryev acquired the copy of the *Gharīb-nāma* from Jahāngīr's relatives and subsequently presented it to Velyaminov-Zernov. Grigoryev could make this gift either in Orenburg or upon his returning to St. Petersburg in 1863 when he headed, with a doctorate in Eastern literature, the newly formed chair in Eastern history on the Faculty of Eastern languages at St. Petersburg University [44]. Whatever the case, in 1865 the manuscript of the *Gharīb-nāma* was given as a gift to the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) by Velyaminov-Zernov, which marks the beginning of the dispersion of Jahāngīr-khān's library.

#### Notes

1. L. V. Dmitrieva, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia. Vypusk 3: poësiia i kommentarii k poëticheskim sochineniiam, poëtika* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies. Fasc.3: poetry and commentaries on poetical works, poetics) (Moscow, 1980), p. 33, No. 85.

2. 'Ashiq-pāshā, *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 266b.

3. *Ibid.*
4. A detailed history of Būkāy Horde is contained in S. Z. Zimanov, *Rossia i Bukeevskoe khanstvo* (Russia and the Būkāy Khānate) (Alma-Ata, 1982). I am grateful to Prof. T. I. Sultanov for his referring me to this book.
5. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (A Full Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire) (St. Petersburg, 1830), xxiv, pp. 571—2 (cited from Zimanov, *op. cit.*).
6. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 92—4.
7. *Orenburgskii oblastnoi arkhiv* (The Orenburg regional archive), fond 6, inv. 10, f. 5365, fols. 14—5 (cited from Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 94).
8. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 109—10.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 124.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 143.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 144.
12. V. V. Bartol'd, "Istoriia izucheniiia Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii" ("The history of Oriental studies in Europe and Russia"), in his *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1977), ix, pp. 409—10.
13. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 47, 124, 138.
14. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 4b.
15. See I. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), i, p. 176, where reference to the publication of one of the manuscripts of Tashkōprüzade's work is given.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 177—8; see also G. Kut, "Aşık Paşa", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1991), iv, p. 2.
17. I. V. Borolina, "Turetskaia literatura" ("Turkish literature"), in *Literatura Vostoka v srednie veka* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 339.
18. Gibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 178—9.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
20. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 6a.
21. *Ibid.*, fol. 266a.
22. Kut, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—2.
23. A. Y. Ocak, "Aşık Paşa", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1991), iv, p. 3—4.
24. Borolina, *op. cit.*, p. 340; cf. an account of a preacher in the Bursa mosque, see I. Ye. Petrosyan, "The *Mawlid-i Nabī* by Süleymān Çelebī and its two versions", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/3 (1998), p. 17.
25. Cited from Gibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 180—1. Cf. *Latīfī tezkiresi*, hazırlayan Doç. Dr. Mustafa İsen (Ankara, 1990), p. 48.
26. R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London, 1914), p. 37.
27. *Latīfī tezkiresi*, p. 48.
28. Ocak, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
29. *Latīfī tezkiresi*, p. 49.
30. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 265b.
31. *Ibid.*, fol. 266a.
32. In the text — ۳۳ (long measure equal to man's height).
33. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 265a—265b.
34. L. Ia. Zhmud', *Nauka, filosofīia i religiia v rannem pifagoreizme* (Science, Philosophy and Religion in Early Pythagoreism) (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 311ff.; also *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des houroufīs*, publiés, traduites et annotés par M. Clément Huart, suivis d'Une étude sur la religion des houroufīs par le Docteur Rizā Tefvīq (Leyden—London, 1909), pp. 284ff.
35. In al-Hujwīrī's *Kashf al-mahjūb* ("The Unveiling of the Hidden"). English translation by R. A. Nicholson (Leyden, 1911), pp. 213—4.
36. Cf. *The Koran Interpreted*, by A. J. Arberry (London—New York, 1955), ii, pp. 77—80; see also M. B. Piotrovskii, *Koranicheskie skazaniia* (Qur'ānic Tales) (Moscow, 1991), pp. 143—4.
37. A. E. Bertel's, *Khudozhestvennyi obraz v iskusstve Irana. IX—XV vv. (Slovo, izobrazhenie)* (Artistic Image in the Art of Iran: 9th—14th Centuries. Word and Image) (Moscow, 1997), p. 192.
38. Dzhālaladdīn Rūmī, *Poēma o skrytom smysle. Izbrannye pritchi* (Jalāladdīn Rūmī. *Poem on Hidden Meaning. Selected Parables*), trans. from Persian by Naum Grebnev, afterword, commentary and glossary by O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1986), pp. 14—5.
39. For details, see Bertel's, *op. cit.*, pp. 284ff.
40. *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155, fol. 266b.
41. Zimanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 94—6, 102.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 156.
43. N. I. Veselovskii, *Vladimir Vladimirovich Vel'iaminov-Zernov. Nekrolog* (Vladimir Vladimirovich Velyaminov-Zernov. *Obituary*) (St. Petersburg, 1904), pp. 1—2.
44. See Zimaev, *op. cit.*, pp. 161—2; also *Biobibliograficheskiĭ slovar' otechestvennykh tiurkologov. Dooktiabr'skiĭ period* (A Biobibliographical Dictionary of Russian Turcologists. Pre-October Period), ed. and with an introduction by A. N. Kononov (Moscow, 1974), pp. 150.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** 'Āshiq-pāshā, *Gharīb-nāma*, manuscript C 155 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russia, 19th century, upper cover, 17.0×25.0 cm.

**Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, the beginning, fol. 4b, 17.0×25.0 cm.

**Fig. 3.** The same manuscript, the end with a colophon, fol. 266b, 17.0×25.0 cm.