

ISSN 1226-4490

*International
Journal of
Central
Asian Studies*

Volume 12 2008

**Editor in Chief
Choi Han-Woo**

**The International Association of Central Asian Studies
Korea University of International Studies**

Persian-Chaghatay Bilingualism in the Intellectual Circles of Central Asia during the 15th-18th Centuries (the case of poetical anthologies, *bayāz*)¹

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Introduction

For centuries, Iranian and Turkic languages have coexisted in Central Asia thanks to the cohabitation of their speakers, peoples of Iranian and Turkic origin.² During the Muslim period, the intellectuals as well as larger educated segments of the societies in Mavarannahr, the Greater Khorasan and neighbouring regions, easily read and composed literature in the predominant literary languages: Arabic (as everywhere in the Muslim world) and Persian. Later, eastern Turkic or Chaghatay gradually gained importance and added itself to the two previous

¹ This article is a revised version of my report made in Viena (Austria) on June 15th 2005, at the Institut für Iranistik (Austrian Academy of Sciences). I express my sincere gratitude to the director Prof. Bert Fragner for his invitation to present my researches at the Institute. I also thank Dr. Giorgio Rota, research fellow at the Institute, for his efforts and help with the translation of my talk and the subsequent article.

² My research on this topic, which started two years ago thanks to a research grant of the French Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris), is still in progress. Therefore, the conclusions offered today cannot be but preliminary. The research has been carried out as a part of a French-Uzbek research project on "history of the book in Arabic script and written heritage of Central Asia", headed by Dr. M. Szuppe (<http://www.ivry.cnrs.fr/iran/Recherches/programmes/Manuscrits.htm>). I would to thank M. Francis Richard and Dr. Maria Szuppe, members of the CNRS research unit "Monde Iranien" (Paris), for their interest in my work and valuable consultations, which helped this research to progress.

languages. Literary multilingualism as a cultural phenomenon, however, is characteristic but non exclusive of Central Asia.

As far as the present paper is concerned, I will overlook the question of the use of the Arabic language, since it is common to the whole Muslim world and “external” to Central Asia. Here I am rather concerned with the relationship between Persian and Chaghatay Turkic, two languages corresponding to specific groups of population, composed of speakers who are native of Central Asia. Persian-Turkic linguistic relations have been investigated so far in the works of A.K.Borovkov, Kh.Guliamov and P.Kuznietsov, as well as in those of R.Frye, B.Fragner, M.E.Subtelny, I.Baldauf and others.³ Most of these works deal mainly with the 20th century. From a theoretical point of view, Prof. Bert Fragner’s work on the diffusion of the Persian language and its influence on Chaghatay and other literary languages of the region is of great importance.⁴

Here, I would like to deal rather with the role of Persian in the perception of the world through the Persian-language poetry, that is, with the sociological aspect of the issue.

1. Sources, and beginning of the *bayâz* literature

The clear lack of data from periods earlier than the 20th century, and above all the lack of oral sources on the actual use of the two languages

³ Borovkov, A.K., “Tadjiksko-uzbekskoe dvujazychie i vopros o vzaimovlijanii tadjikskogo i uzbekskogo jazykov”, in *Uchenye zapiski instituta vostokovedenija*. Tom IV, Moskva, 1952, pp.165-200; Guljamov, Kh. *Uzbeksko-tadjikskije jazykovye svjazi*. Tashkent, 1983; Kouznietsov, P. *La lutte des civilizations et des langues dans l’Asie Centrale*. Paris, 1912, pp.211-229; Frye, R.N., *Bukhara: The Medieval Achievement*. Bibliotheca Iranica. Reprint Series No.3, Mazda Publishers, 1997, pp. 111-137; Fragner, B., The Nationalization of the Uzbeks and Tajiks. In: Kappeler, A., Allworth, E., (eds), *Muslim Communities Reemerge. Historical Perspectives on Nationality, Politics, and Opposition in the Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. Durham-London. 1994, pp.13-32; Subtelny, M., The Symbiosis of Turk and Tajik. In: *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*. B.Manz (ed.). Boulder, 1994, pp.45-61; Baldauf I., Some thoughts on the making of the Uzbek nation. In: *Cahiers du monde russe*, 32/1, 1991, 79-96.

⁴ Fragner, B.G., *Die “Persophonie”. Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*. Berlin, 1999 (=Anor 5).

among the population, drove me towards the manuscripts which have been penned and copied in Central Asia. Among these written works, the poetical anthologies known as *bayāz* (= *bayāḏ*) revealed themselves as a very promising source, and this for two reasons. *Bayāz* is “literally ‘white’, usually designating a small paper notepad, with covers often made of leather, opening lengthwise and fit to be carried around in inside pockets. Terms such as *moraqqa‘*, *safīna*, *jong*, *jarīda*, *kaskūl*, *dastūr*, *gol-dasta*, *ganjīna*, *tezkār*, *majmu‘a*, and *ta‘līqāt* have occasionally been used in a similar meaning. The interest of *bayān* lies in the fact that several such books kept in various libraries contain notes by people of distinction.”⁵

Firstly, the *bayāz* volumes are very numerous in Central Asia. I looked at several hundreds of them, which yielded rich comparative evidence. However, quite to the opposite of the above-quoted definition, in Central Asia the *bayāz* is by no means always a small sized manuscript as it can quite often be a large and thick book containing hundreds of pages.

Secondly, the very nature of the *bayāz* is precious to us. It is a collection of poems of high artistic quality, which represent all the acknowledged poetic forms and styles and are arranged according to their subject, or rhyme, or other criteria. Almost every *bayāz* is unique, since it is the result of the taste of its compiler, of the fashions of the time etc. In many cases, both Persian and Chaghatay poems are collected and bound together in the same volume. A quantitative analysis of the poems included in a *bayāz* allows us to study the history of literary bilingualism in the region, to assess the evolution of literary taste as far as the language is concerned and – simply – to know in which language people used to read poetry.

⁵ Encyclopaedia Iranica. Vol. III (3), p.886; see also: Kleinmichel, S., *Halpa in Choresm (H^warazm) und ātin āyi im Ferghanatal: Zur Geschichte des Lesens in Uzbekistan im 20. Jahrhundert*. Teil 2. Berlin. 2000, (Anor 4), pp.324-338; Krämer, A., *Geistliche Autorität und islamische Gesellschaft im Wandel. Studien über Frauenälteste (otin und xalfa) im unabhängigen Uzbekistan*. Berlin, 2002, pp.140, 151; Erkinov, A., “Les copies des anthologies poétiques persan-chaghatây de la Bibliothèque nationale de France: contribution à l'étude des *bayāz* de l'Asie Centrale (XVe-XIXe s.)”, *Studia Iranica*, 33/2 (2004), pp.221-242.

Poetical *bayāzes* appeared in Central Asia from the beginning of the 16th century. It was a period when, after the collapse of Timurid power, local literatures began to develop in a more vigorous way, while in the same time the number of classic poets decreased. The *bayāzes*, which contain classic and contemporary poetry, are created somehow to make up for the lack of the great classics. As we will see, at the beginning this type of anthology seems to have included only poems in Persian. Starting with the middle of the 18th century, the first verses in Chaghatay were entered into the collections. This situation changed radically during the 19th century, with a great increase of Chaghatay poems within the *bayāz*. Therefore, here I will limit myself to an outline of the evolution of literary bilingualism in Central Asia between the 15th and the 18th century. In my research on bilingualism in Central Asia, the *bayāz* es appear as an unknown source, a new one insofar as it was never really investigated. Their analysis provides unexpected data. Conventional wisdom has it that the Chaghatay literature, and in particular the poems composed by ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī (1441-1501),⁶ occupied an important place between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 20th century. However, the information acquired thanks to the Central Asian *bayāz* es obliges us to modify this stance. My data show that classic Persian poetry and Persian-language poets appeared more frequently than Chaghatay poetry, including the work of Navā’ī himself. This state of things persists until the 19th century. Therefore, it is important to know whether Persian was actually declining in Central Asia after the fall of the Timurids and the accession to power of the new Uzbek dynasties at the beginning of the 16th century. If it was not, what was the real situation, and why?

2. The main corpus (12 *bayāz*): chronology and number of the poems

Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan named after Biruni (Tashkent) (=IORUz) and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France of Paris hold thirteen manuscripts of

⁶ EI², VII¹, pp.91-95.

bilingual *bayāz* copied in Central Asia between the 15th and the 18th century. Among them, 7 belong to the “Biruni” Institute and 5 to the Bibliotheque Nationale France.

Here is the table presenting this corpus:

Table 1 : Chronology of the composition of the *bayāz*, and quantity of poems

| № | Manuscript | Date of copy (H/AD) | Poems | P. | Ch. | Number of poets |
|---|--|--|-------|------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | BNF-SP- №1473 (B1,III,1975) | 1475 | 1186 | 1186 | 0 | 25 |
| 2 | BNF-SP- №1425 (B1,III,1983) | 1480 | 300 | 300 | 0 | 15 |
| 3 | BNF-SP- №781 (B1,III,1971) | Rabi‘ al- avval 892/ March- Feb. 1487 | 1643 | 1643 | 0 | 17 ‘Alī Shīr Navā‘ī - 1(1/0) |
| 4 | BNF-Ancien Fonds, №349 (B1,III,1974) | 902/1496- 97 | 1076 | 1076 | 0 | 7 |
| 5 | IORUz-1, №348 (SVR,II,1709) | 964/1556- 57 | 149 | 149 | 0 | 44 |
| 6 | IORUz-1, №209/3,6,12 (SVR,II,1710) | 970/1562- 63 - 978/1570- 71 | 234 | 234 | 0 | 41 |
| 7 | BNF-SP- №802 (B1,III,1986) | 16th c. | 41 | 41 | 0 | 14 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|--|--|------|------|----|--|
| 8 | BNF-SP- №786 (B1,III,1982) | 16th c. | 46 | 46 | 0 | 11 |
| 9 | IORUz -1, №2812 (SVR,II,142 3-1424) | 1063/1652 -53 – 1072/1661 -62 | 1087 | 1086 | 1 | 142 Fuñūlī -11 (10/1) |
| 10 | IORUz -1, №349/2 | 1155/1742 -43 | 181 | 179 | 2 | 25 |
| 11 | BNF-SP- №1735 (B1,III,2005) | 1194/1780 | 91 | 71 | 20 | 15 Navāʿī-21 (6/15), Fuñūlī -5 (4/1) |
| 12 | IORUz -1, №7038 (SVR,XI,7303) | 1200/1785 -86 | 232 | 183 | 47 | 41 Navāʿī - 0/31, Fuñūlī -0/2 |

The columns number 4, 5 and 6 show the number of the poems quoted within the *bayāz*, with the indication of the number of verses in Persian (P) and in Chaghatay (Ch). The last column gives the number of the poets included in the *bayāz*. In the case of rows number 9, 11 and 12, in the last column I added further information concerning two classical poets who also wrote in Chaghatay, that is, Fuḍūlī (1494-1556)⁷ (row 9) and Navāʿī (rows 11 and 12): the figures indicate the number of their poems included in the individual *bayāz* and, in parentheses, the linguistic relationship among these poems (that is, how many in Persian and how many in Chaghatay, respectively). The table shows that Chaghatay verses appeared in the *bayāz* es for the first time only towards the middle of the 17th century, and even then with only one *bayt*. They became more

⁷ EI², II, pp.958-959; *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. II. Wiesbaden, 1964, pp.644-645; Hofman H.F., *Turkish Literature a bio-bibliographical survey*. Section III, part I, vol 3. Utrecht, 1969, pp.63-70.

numerous after the beginning of the 18th century: in 1785, we already have 31 Chaghatay poems by Navā’ī. Before that date, only one *bayt* of Navā’ī, or ascribed to him, appeared in a *bayāz* copied in 1487 (*bayāz* number 3 of table 1), and anyway it was *in Persian*. For the time being, I could not find this *bayt* in the available printed editions (Tehran and Tashkent) of the Persian *dīvan* of Navā’ī (Fani), but it still might be found in the manuscripts ...

In the *bayāzes* of the 15th-18th centuries I have examined, the first poem in Chaghatay is an opening *bayt* (*matla’*) of a ghazal by Fuḍūlī (1494-1556). It appears in a *bayāz* which was copied between 1063-1072 H/1652-1662, today in Tashkent (*bayāz* number 9 of table 1) This *matla’* is the only verse in *turki* among the 1087 poems of this *bayāz*: the remaining are all in Persian.

Diagram 1: Comparing the number of Persian verses (Series 1) and Chaghatay verses (Series 2) in the 12 *bayāz*

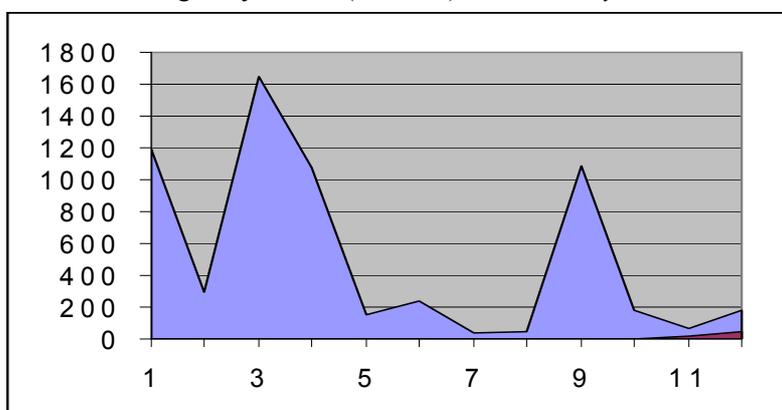
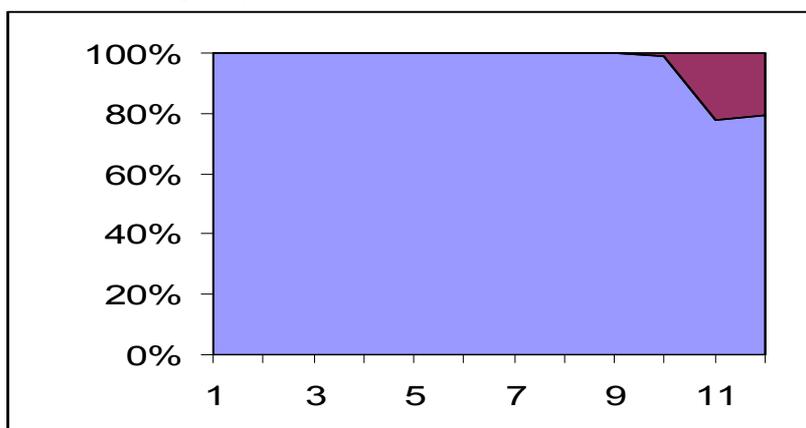


Diagram 2: Comparing the % of Persian verses (Series 1) and Chaghatay verses (Series 2) in the 12 *bayāz*



The **first diagram**, which was drawn on the basis of the data provided by **table 1**, shows the place occupied by Chaghatay poems in the 15th-18th centuries. The horizontal line indicates the number of *bayāz* I have taken into account; the figures on the vertical line indicate the amount of poems in every single *bayāz*. The part in blue (1) represents the Persian verses, and the part in red (2) those in Chaghatay. It is clear that the quantity of Persian verses in these 12 *bayāz* es is much greater than that of the verses in Chaghatay. A comparison shows that the latter represent only 1% of the grand total of the verses (**diagram 2**).

3. The presence of the classic poets in the *bayāzes*

Is it possible to understand why, in the context of such a region as Central Asia which was populated by Turco-Iranian societies, the poems in Chaghatay appear in Central Asian *bayāz* es only starting with the middle of the 17th century and even then sporadically, since their amount increases really only with the end of the 18th century? The nature itself of the *bayāz* – which contains poems considered as “models” in their respective genres – led us to study the relationship between these poets

who were seen as classic authors during the late period (15th-18th century) and the *bayāz* as a genre. As a consequence, I focused on poets whose works were included in the *bayāzes* and who lived, generally speaking, before 1500.⁸

The following table summarizes the most relevant data for this study:

Table 2 : Presence of the verses by classical poets living before 1500 in the 12 *bayāz*

| № | Poets | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | Total |
|---|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|-------|
| 1 | Abū ‘Abdallāh Rūdakī (860–941) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2 | Abū’l-Qāsim Firdawsī (940–1020/30) | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | 2 |
| 3 | Nāṣir Khusraw (1004–1088) | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | 2 |
| 4 | ‘Umar Khayyām (1048–1122) | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 5 | Avḥad al-Dīn Anvarī (1105–1187) | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | 2 |
| 6 | Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (1148-51–1221) | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

⁸ With the exception of Fuṣūlī (Fuzūlī), who died in 1556 but who cannot be left aside on account of the great popularity achieved by his Chaghatay poems.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | Sa‘dī Shīrāzī (1184- 1298) | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | + | 5 |
| 8 | Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207- 1273) | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | 2 |
| 9 | Fakhr al- Dīn ‘Irāqī (1207- 1289) | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | 2 |
| 10 | Khusraw Dihlavī (1253- 1325) | + | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | 7 |
| 11 | Salmān Sāvajī (1291- 1377) | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| 12 | Kamāl Khujandī (1318- 21-1401) | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| 13 | Hāfiz Shīrāzī (1325- 1389) | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | 8 |
| 14 | Kātibī Nishāpūrī (d. 1435) | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| 15 | ‘Ismat Bukhārī (d.1437) | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | 5 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | ‘Abd al-Raḥman Djāmī (1414–1492) | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | 9 |
| 17 | ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī (1441–1501) | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | 3 |
| 18 | Fuḍūlī (1494–1556) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | 3 |

This table gives the names and dates of 18 classic poets and specifies whether they are present in the single *bayāzes* (numbered from 1 to 12) or not. The column “total” shows the total amount of *bayāzes* in which we can find the poems of each one of the authors listed here.

In all the *bayāzes*, the poems of Navā’ī and Fuḍūlī are usually quoted one after the other. Generally speaking, the habit of including Chaghatay verses in these anthologies began with the works of these two great poets. Their poems are also quoted more frequently than those of other Chaghatay poets. This is the reason why, when we speak about the presence of the Chaghatay language in the *bayāz*, we rely mainly on materials found in their poems.

Table 2 was the starting point to show the place of each author as a result of the amount of his verses quoted in the 12 *bayāzes* of the 15th-18th centuries: Chaghatay poets are listed in bold characters.

Table 3: Classical Poets listed according to the number of verses quoted in the 12 *bayāz*

| N ^o | Poets | Number of <i>bayāz</i> with their verses |
|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 1 | ‘Abd al-Raḥman Djāmī | 9 |
| 2 | Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī | 8 |
| 3 | Khusraw Dihlavī | 7 |

| | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|
| 4 | Sa‘dī Shīrāzī | 5 |
| 5 | Kātibī Nishāpūrī | 5 |
| 6 | ‘Iṣmat Bukhārī | 5 |
| 7 | Salmān Sāvajī | 4 |
| 8 | ‘Alī Shīr Navā‘ī | 3 |
| 9 | Avḥad al-Dīn Anvarī | 2 |
| 10 | Kamāl Khujandī | 3 |
| 11 | Fuḍūlī | 3 |
| 12 | Abū‘l-Qāsim Firdawsī | 2 |
| 13 | Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī | 2 |
| 14 | Nāṣir Khusraw | 2 |
| 15 | Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī | 2 |
| 16 | Abū ‘Abdallāh Rūdakī | 1 |
| 17 | ‘Umar Khayyām | 1 |
| 18 | Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār | 1 |

We can remark that Navā‘ī takes the 8th place in order of numerical importance of his poems within the *bayāz* es. Thus, he precedes some of the classic authors of Persian poetry such as Rūdakī (16th place), Firdawsī (12th), Rūmī (13th) or Nāṣir Khusraw (14th). Clearly, Navā‘ī was already seen as the main representative of Chaghatay literature by his contemporaries. However, Fuḍūlī himself takes the 11th place, and therefore he also precedes these great classic poets. Yet one should not forget that they are the only two Chaghatay poets quoted among these 18 classic authors.

In order to enlarge my basis of data, I attempted a comparison with the *bayāzes* preserved in other libraries, namely with those of the Oriental Institute of Tajikistan at Dushanbe. This collection of *bayāzes*, although late, seems to be very interesting: however, it certainly needs to be investigated further in the future.

According to our information, the manuscript collection at Dushanbe holds 135 *bayāzes* copied in vast majority (95%) during the 19th

century.⁹ Among them, 90 are bilingual (Persian-Chaghatay), while the remaining 45 are entirely in Persian. The oldest was copied in 1731, and it is in Persian. The earliest bilingual *bayāz* (OI Dushanbe ms no. 1512) dates back to 1773. This confirms my observations about my original corpus of manuscripts: Chaghatay poems began really to appear in Central Asian *bayāzes* at a later period, namely during the second half of the 18th century.

What could be the reasons of this state of things? In the *bayāz*, Persian literature as well as literatures in other languages are evaluated on a same level, according to the artistic quality of the poems. Therefore, the *bayāz* appears to be a specific genre, and unique in its usefulness to assess literary tastes. The *bayāzes* which try – as I previously said – to offer an anthology of works which are considered as “models”, also give a place of choice to the classics of Persian literature, which are seen as the apogee of poetical creation.

We can study the nature of the interest of Central Asian literary circles for the classics, and in particular their special admiration for giants of Persian literature such as Khusraw Dihlavī, Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī or ‘Abd al-Raḥman Djāmī, through the literary production in Persian left by Navā’ī himself. On a total of 552 ghazals of his *Dīvan-i Fani*, 393 – that is, 70% – are imitations (*nazira*)¹⁰ of poems written by classic Persian authors.¹¹ The majority of these *naziras* was composed in response to the ghazals of Khosrow Dihlavi, Hafiz and Djāmī.¹² In many of his own works, Navā’ī underscored the influence exerted by these three poets,

⁹ *Katalog vostochnykh rukopisej akademii nauk Tadjikskoj SSR*. Vol V, Dushanbe, 1974, №1508-1645.

¹⁰ Nazira – (parallel) : a poem written to resemble another poem in form (metre, rhyme, and radif – word, words or phrases following the rhyme) and spirit.

¹¹ BNF, Ancien fonds, 285, ff.160 b – 333 b (933 /1527) (Richard, F., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*. I. Ancien Fonds. Paris, 1989, p.285).

¹² Alisher Navoiy, *Mukammal asarlar to’plami*. 18,19-tomlar, Tāshkent, 2002; on *ḡawāb* see: Zipoli, R., *The technique of the ḡawāb. Replies by Nawā’ī to Hafiz and Ḡāmī*. Venezia, 1993.

together with Sa'dī Shīrāzī, on his Persian as well as Chaghatay poetic creations.¹³

The inclusion in the *bayāzes* not only of local and contemporary poets but also of classic authors of Persian poetry has been considered as traditional and natural for the period. However, which was the place of Turkic-language poets in the literary circles of the 15th century and of later periods? According to Navā'ī's statement in his *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*,¹⁴ only some *bayts* of Luṭfī (1366-1462)¹⁵ among his predecessors could bear a comparison with classic Persian poetry. This remark explains well the limited presence of verses in Chaghatay in the *bayāzes*.¹⁶

4. Classical poets in the *radā'if al-ash'ār*¹⁷ collections

The *radā'if al-ash'ār* appear as useful terms of comparison in order to explain the overwhelming presence of classic Persian poets in the Central Asian *bayāzes*, and also to compare two different kinds of poetical anthologies. The *radā'if al-ash'ār* include *ghazals* and their "replies" or "imitations" (*tatabbū'* and *naḥira*), arranged in alphabetical order according to the last letter of their *radīf*.¹⁸

¹³ Alisher Navoiy. *Mukammal asarlar to'plami*. 16-tom. Tāshkent, 2000, p.32; Hayitmetov, A., *Navāiy lirikasi*. Tāshkent, 1961, p.23; Mirzaev A. Fāniy va Hāfiz. In: *Navāiy va adabiy ta'sir masalalari*. Tāshkent, 1968, pp.53-62; Isāqov Y. Navāiy va Xusrav Dehlaviy. In: *Navāiy va adabiy ta'sir masalalari*. Tāshkent, 1968, pp.88-106.

¹⁴ *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. II. Wiesbaden, 1964, 351.

¹⁵ EI², V(2), 841-843; *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. II. Wiesbaden, 1964, 308-313; Lutfiy. *Sensan sevarim: lirika*. S.Erkinov, E.Fāzilov, E.Ahmadxojaev (eds.). Tāshkent, 1987.

¹⁶ 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī. *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*. Manuscript BNF, Supplément turc, 317, f.281 b (Blochet, E., *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs*. Vol. I. Supplément. Paris, 1932, p.317); Mir 'Alī Shīr. *Muḥākamat al-Lughatayn*, ed. R. Devereux, Leiden, 1966, pp.33-34; Quatremère, E., *Chrestomathe en turk oriental contenant plusieurs ouvrages de l'Emir Ali-Schir, des extraits des Memories du Sultan Baber, du traité du Miradj, du Tezkirat-el-Avliā et du Bakhtiar-Nameh. 1^{er} fascicule. Extraits d'Ali-Schir*. Paris, 1841, p.35.

¹⁷ "Radā'if al-ash'ārs" – collections of verses compiled on the basis of their sameness as for the *radīf* (*radīf* – repeating words or word-combinations at the end of a rhymed line (Deny J. "Radīf". EI², VIII, pp.381-384).

¹⁸ Afsahzod A. *Lirika Abd ar-Rakhmana Djami: problemy poetiki texta*. Moskva, 1988, pp.130-131.

The data yielded by one of the earliest collections of this type, the *Tuḥfat al-ḥabib*, composed in 929/1522-23 by Fakhrī Haravī (1490-1563), where the poems are all in Persian, have been summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Poems and their imitations in the *radā'if al-ash'ār – Tuḥfat al-ḥabib* (929/1522-23) by Fakhrī Haravī (1490-1563)

| № | Poets whose verses were used for composing <i>naḥīras</i> | Number of poems used as basis for the <i>naḥīras</i> | Number of ghazals- <i>naḥīras</i> |
|----|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Khusraw Dihlavī</i> (1253–1325) | 48 | 308 |
| 2 | <i>Sa'dī Shīrāzī</i> (1184–1298) | 31 | 231 |
| 3 | <i>'Abd al-Raḥman Djāmī</i> (1414–1492) | 27 | 135 |
| 4 | <i>Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī</i> (1325–1389) | 23 | 125 |
| 5 | Ḥasan Dihlavī (1254–1327) | 13 | 66 |
| 6 | <i>Kamāl Khudjandī</i> (1318–1401) | 13 | 61 |
| 7 | Nizārī (1247–1320) | 10 | 57 |
| 8 | <i>Salmān Sāvadjī</i> (1300–1376) | 7 | 40 |
| 9 | Shaykhī (d. 1458 r.) | 7 | 43 |
| 10 | Khādjū Kirmānī (1281–1352) | 6 | 35 |
| 11 | <i>Kātibī Nishāpūrī</i> (d. 1435 r.) | 5 | 19 |
| 12 | <i>Zahīr Fāryābī</i> (1156–1201) | 4 | 43 |
| 13 | Humām (d. 1314) | 4 | 40 |
| 14 | Āsafī (1449–1517) | 4 | 23 |
| 15 | 'Imād (1310–1372) | 4 | 18 |
| 16 | Ryādī (d. 1479) | 3 | 11 |
| 17 | Ni'matallah Valī (1329–1431) | 2 | 19 |
| 18 | Āzarī (1382–1462) | 2 | 15 |
| 19 | <i>'Iṣmat Bukhārī</i> (d. 1437) | 2 | 13 |
| 20 | <i>'Alī Shīr Navā'ī</i> (1441–1501) | 2 | 12 |

The classical poets whose verses have provided the starting point for the composition of *naḥīras* have been quoted here according to the

number of “replies” devoted to their poems. Column 3 indicates the number of original poems of a given author which have been used as basis for the *naḡiras*, and column 4 indicates the total amount of *naḡiras* written by others on the basis of the poems of that author. The names of the poets who were listed in **tables 2** and **3** and who appear also in the anthology of Fakhri Haravi are written in italics.

Even if we can remark differences as regards the place occupied by some of these classic poets as compared with the *bayāzes* of the 15th-18th centuries, on the whole the general picture seems to remain the same. Yet one should stress a detail which appears to be important in the general context of our research: in the 13 *bayāzes* scrutinized, all the poets marked with italics with the exception of Kamāl Khudjandī preceded Navā’ī (see **table 3**). According to **table 4**, there are 12 *naḡiras* written as replies to 2 ghazals by Navā’ī. In the work of Fakhri Haravi, 15 other poets (who did not enter our table) are listed after Navā’ī: indeed, the anthology mentions a total amount of 35 poets. Among these 15 poets, 5 lived before Navā’ī. Then, Navā’ī as well held his own place among the classics of Persian literature in his capacity as a Persian-language poet.

At the beginning of an anonymous bilingual *radā’if al-ash’ār* anthology held at Tashkent and dated 1301/1883-84 (copied by Mirzā Ghāziyānī), the index, *fihrist* (fols.1b-0a), lists the names of the 135 poets included in the volume. The following **table 5** gives the names of the first 17 poets (in the same order as we find them in the *fihrist*) and the number of their poems included in this *radā’if al-ash’ār*.

Table 5 : Place of the poets and numbers of their verses in the Anonymous *radā’if al-ash’ār* from Tashkent (IORUZ-1, №2335, -1b - 0 a) copied in 1301/1883-1884

| № | Order in the <i>fihrist</i> | Total of verses |
|---|---|-----------------|
| 1 | <i>Bīdil</i> (1644-1721) | 62 |
| 2 | <i>‘Abd al-Raḡman Djāmī</i> (1414-1492) | 22 |
| 3 | <i>Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī</i> (1325–1389) | 22 |
| 4 | <i>‘Iṣmat Bukhārī</i> (-1437) | 4 |
| 5 | <i>Sa’dī Shīrāzī</i> (1184–1298) | 2 |

| | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 6 | <i>Ḥaḍrat imām Mu'īn</i> | 1 |
| 7 | <i>Imlā</i> (1688-1749) | 3 |
| 8 | <i>Mushfiqī</i> (1538-1588) | 7 |
| 9 | <i>Mashrab</i> (1640-1711) | 1 |
| 10 | <i>'Alī Shīr Navā'ī</i> (1441-1501) | 13 |
| 11 | Amīr 'Umar-khān (1810-1822) | 114 |
| 12 | Khusraw Dihlavī (1253–1325) | 2 |
| 13 | Niṭāmī Gandjavī (1141-1209) | 1 |
| 14 | Sayyidā (d. 1707-1711) | 14 |
| 15 | Bābā Ṣā'ib (1601-1677) | 14 |
| 16 | Gul-Muḥammad Afghān (18 th -19 th) | 17 |
| 17 | Ṣarīr (d. 1186) | 1 |

The anthology indeed opens with the poems of 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil, who was very renowned at the beginning of the 18th century and is the first author listed in the *fihrist*. Afterwards, however, the order in which the poems are arranged within the volume does not match the order in which the poets are listed in the *fihrist*. Clearly, the index was made not as a real table of contents nor to give the number of the verses quoted, but according to the prestige enjoyed by each individual poet in his quality as a “classic”. The new element, even at this period, is the presence of such a late Persian classic of 18th century Central Asia as Bīdil, who becomes a classic of primary importance. Bīdil (but also Djāmī, Ḥāfiẓ or Sa'dī) precedes for instance Amīr 'Umar-khān (the ruler of Kokand between 1810 and 1822), who occupies the 11th place in the list (**table 5**) even if his verses are the most numerous in this anthology (114).

As in the case of my analysis of the 13 *bayāz* es and in **table 2**, I extrapolated the names of the poets who lived before 1500 from this *rada'if al-ash'ar* and compared the different data.

Table 6

| Order of quotation of the poets according to the table 3 (based on the 13 <i>bayāz</i>) | Order of quotation of the poets in the <i>fihrist</i> of the of the <i>radā'if al-ash'ār</i> (IORUZ-1, № 2335) |
|---|--|
| ‘Abd al-Raḥman Djāmī Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī Khusraw Dihlavī Sa‘dī Shīrāzī ‘Iṣmat Bukhārī Kātibī Nishāpūrī ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī | ‘Abd al-Raḥman Djāmī Ḥāfīz Shīrāzī ‘Iṣmat Bukhārī Sa‘dī Shīrāzī Ḥaḍrat imām Mu’īn ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī Khusraw Dihlavī |

In both cases, the names of the classical poets are not only the same (with two exceptions) but they are also listed virtually in the same order, with only a slight difference: Khusraw Dihlavī, who was the 3rd in **table 3** becomes the 7th, and Navā’ī who was the 7th becomes the 6th. Thus, the order in which the authors were listed in the *fihrist* of the *radā'if al-ash'ār* I have examined was established according to the importance of the individual poets as classics: the authority of the Persian classics was still felt in the literary field as late as the 19th century.¹⁹

5. The *bayāzes* and the *Dīvans* of Navā’ī

In order to pursue my investigation further, the following step was to examine the manuscripts of the poetical works of the main classic of Chaghatay literature, ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī, which were copied between the 15th and the 19th centuries.

Navā’ī compiled a corpus of his own works in Chaghatay which has been known under the title of *Khazā’in al-Ma’ānī* and is composed of

¹⁹ Erkinov, A., “Manuscripts of the works by classical Persian authors (Ḥāfīz, Jāmī, Bīdīl): Quantitative Analysis of 17th-19th c. Central Asian Copies”, in *Iran: Question et connaissances. Actes du IV^e Congrès Européen des études iraniennes organisé par la Societas Iranologica Europaea. Paris, 6-10 Septembre 1999. vol.II : Périodes médiévale et moderne* [Cahiers de Studia Iranica. 26], M. Szuppe (ed.), Paris, 2002, pp. 213-228.

four *dīvans*. As early as the end of the 15th century, still in Navā’ī’s lifetime, the *Khazā’in al-Ma’ānī* was copied not only in its entirety, but also in the shape of “selective” *dīvans* which included poems extracted from the original four *dīvans*. The content of these “selective” *dīvans* was not fixed, but it could vary according to the fashion of the time or the poetical taste of the compilers and the readers. Thus, these “selective” *dīvans* are, for our purposes, comparable to a sort of *bayāz*, one including the verses of only one poet.

Table 7, below, shows the amount of copies of the complete and selective *dīvans* of Navā’ī extant (to the best of my knowledge) in the libraries of Tashkent and S. Petersburg.

Table 7: Number of “complete” *dīvāns* and “selective” *dīvāns* of ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī copied in 15th – 19th c.(Tashkent and St.Petersburg manuscript collections)

| Century | Total | % |
|--------------|------------|-------------|
| XV | 12 | 18 % |
| XVI | 17 | |
| XVII | 9 | |
| XVIII | 8 | |
| XIX | 208 | 82 % |
| Total | 254 | 100 % |

As we can see from this table, over a period of five centuries the *dīvans* of Navā’ī were copied into 254 manuscripts, among which 55 (22%) are complete copies of the *Khazā’in al-Ma’ānī* and 199 (78%) are selective *dīvans*, the *Tīrma dīvans*.²⁰

The selective *dīvans* of Navā’ī were copied about three times more often than the complete text. Therefore, they were more widespread and more popular among the readers. At the current stage, unfortunately, we are not in the condition to know the exact total amount of these *dīvans*, nor are we able to establish precisely in which year each of them was

²⁰ Suleimanov, Kh., *Tekstologicheskie issledovanie liriki Alishera Navoi*. I-III. Dissertation. Tashkent-Moskva, 1955-1961, pp.54-58; Hakimov, M., *Navoiy asarlari qo’lyozmalari tavsifi*. Tāshkent, 1983, pp.9-113.

produced. Other libraries, where both kinds of Navāʿī's *dīvan* are preserved, also show a great difference between the amount of the copies of the full original and that of the selective *dīvans*.

An analysis of the circulation of the manuscripts shows that the diffusion of Navāʿī's poems – both as selective *dīvans* and as *Khazāʿīn al-Maʿānī* – was much larger than their diffusion through the *bayāz*. Above all, it is the selective *dīvans* which represent the main and most effective way to spread Navāʿī's poetry.

Selective *dīvans* were also compiled for the works of other poets, such as Djāmī, the great Persian classic contemporary of Navāʿī. However, as compared with those of Navāʿī, the poems of Djāmī were much more widespread during their author's lifetime (Djāmī died in 1492). And unlike those of Navāʿī, the poems of Djāmī are very numerous in the Central Asian *bayāz* es of the 15th-18th century.²¹

We stated that the classical period of the Persian literature ended in Central Asia at the close of the 15th century. The gradual appearance of the *bayāz* and of the selective *dīvans* was not fortuitous, but it was a process connected to wider trends leading to a change of literary taste in Central Asia. In order to meet this new taste, starting with the middle of the 16th century anthologies were also compiled using fragments taken out from different epic poems.²² On the whole, selective *dīvans* are very closely related to the tradition of the poetic *bayāz*. The process of compiling and circulating selective *dīvans* in the 15th-18th centuries can be compared to the analogous process underwent by the *bayāz*.

In order to tackle another aspect of the circulation of poetical works in two literary languages of Central Asia between the 15th and the 18th century and to explain the relative absence of verses in Chaghatay, we will deal with the issue of the number of copies of the *dīvans* of Navāʿī

²¹ *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisej Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii nauk UzSSR*, A.A. Semënov (ed.), Vol. II, Tashkent, 1954; №1199; *Rukopisi proizvedenij A. Djami v sobranii Instituta vostokovedenija AN UzSSR*. A.Urunbaev, L.M. Epifanova (eds.), Tashkent, 1965, pp.46,17-23; *Katalog fonda instituta rukopisej*. A.Qayumov (ed.). Vol. II, Tashkent, 1988, pp.226-239.

²² Dodkhudoeva, L., Zijaviddinova, A., Neizvestnyj spisok poemy Djami "Tukhfat al-akhrar" s miniatjurami. In : *Jāmi va robitahoji adabi*. Vol I. Dushanbe, 1989, p.154.

existing before the end of the 18th century. If we take the data shown in Table 7 (based on 254 manuscripts), we see that the *dīvans* of Navā'ī were copied 46 times (18%) during the 15th-18th centuries and 208 times (82%) during the 19th century alone. Therefore, just as in the case of the *bayāzes* of the 15th-18th centuries we have analyzed previously, the poems of Navā'ī were copied in the form of *dīvans* much less often during this period than in the 19th century.

As far as the *dīvans* of Djāmī in the same period are concerned, the library of the Oriental Institute of Tashkent holds 56 copies of them, both complete and selective. Although the *dīvans* of Djāmī are less numerous than those of Navā'ī – perhaps because of having been copied less frequently than those of Navā'ī –, Djāmī's presence as a poet was very strong. Many verses of Djāmī appear in virtually each single Central Asian *bayāz* manuscript we were able to see (several hundreds in all). This is probably the reason why his *dīvans*, complete or selective, were not copied very often.

On the other hand, one may observe that the *dīvans* of Djāmī – like those of Navā'ī – were copied less often in the 15th-18th century than during the 19th century. Of course, we cannot take these figures at face value, one of the main objections being the fact that older manuscripts are more subject to deterioration and eventual destruction than those of the 19th century. Yet the quantitative difference is significant enough to be considered as a reliable indication: 18% vs. 82% in the case of Navā'ī, 40% vs. 60% in the case of Djāmī.

As for the *bayāz* in general, I said that their compilers aimed at showing the readers the best instances of poetical mastery. Among the criteria for the choice of the verses, the personality and the authority of the poet played the most important role. Until the 19th century, Persian-language poetry was much more widespread among Central Asian readers than the poetry in Chaghatay. The intellectual circles of this region, which were in majority Turkic-speaking at a later period, read and wrote poetry mainly in the Persian language.

After the vanishing of the Timurids (1370-1506) from the historical scene, the linguistic situation in Central Asia changed. At the inception

of Shaybanid power (1500-1601), Chaghatay was still in use as a literary language.²³ Later, however, the Persian language considerably strengthened its position within the literary field, especially after it became the official language of the Shaybanid khanate. This situation continued under the following dynasties, the Astrakhanids (1601-1747), the Manghits of Bukhara (1742-1920) and the Mings of Kokand (1702-1867). Between the 15th and the 18th centuries, Chaghatay poetry represented only a small part of literary creation. It was only when royal courts displayed a new interest for Chaghatay that the literature in this language could develop itself in a more dynamic fashion. This is what happened towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, when three new political powers rose almost at a same time in Central Asia: at Bukhara, Kokand and Khiva. However, here we cannot analyze in detail the linguistic situation in each of the three states – a situation, which appears quite different from one khanate to the other.

6. The *bayāzes* in Turkey, Iran, India

As a conclusion, it could be interesting to have a glimpse of the place occupied by Persian poetry in other regions. We chose a sample of 25 poetical *bayāz* manuscripts preserved at the Bibliotheque Nationale de France and copied in areas other than Central Asia.²⁴ They were produced in Iran, India and Turkey between the 16th and the 19th centuries. A preliminary scrutiny allowed some interesting remarks.

6.a) Only one language *bayāz*. When the *bayāzes* include poems in only one language, the latter is always and without exception Persian. It is noteworthy that during the 16th-19th centuries, the *bayāzes* which were copied in Iran, India and Turkey presented essentially the same repertoire of classic authors of Persian literature. This repertoire was very similar to the one we saw in the case of Central Asian *bayāzes*, with verses by Khusraw Dihlavī, Ḥāfiz, Sa'dī, Djāmī and others. When, as in the Indian *bayāzes*, well-known bilingual poets such as Navā'ī or Sultān-Husayn Bāyqarā are quoted, only their Persian verses are recorded.

²³ Bombaci, A., *Histoire de la littérature turque*. traduit par I. Mélikoff. Paris, 1968.

²⁴ Bl, III, №1968-2012.

Starting with the 18th century, other poets were added to this repertoire: authors such as Šā'ib, Sayyidā, Bīdil, who were considered the classics of this later period. Their poems are quoted in a number of *bayāzes*, including those copied in Iran. Together with the poetry of the classics, the *bayāzes* contain also quotations from local Persian-language poets. This latter group of local poets varies from one great geographical region to another.

6.b) Bilingual *bayāz*. The bilingual *bayāzes* from our sample are only found among those copied in Turkey and India. More precisely, only one “Indian” manuscript dating back to the middle of the 18th century contains some Urdu verses. Turkish bilingual *bayāzes* are much more numerous. Furthermore, they are more ancient than the bilingual *bayāzes* we know from Central Asia: the oldest Ottoman specimen dates from the 16th century. These *bayāzes* include poetry in both Persian and Ottoman, as well as, sometimes, in Chaghatay Turkic. Among the Chaghatay poets quoted in the Ottoman *bayāzes*, there is of course Navā'ī, but also Bābur Padshah (1494–1530) and ‘Ubaydallah Khān Shaybānī (1533–1539). In one Ottoman *bayāz*, around 20% of the verses are in Turkic language (Chaghatay and Ottoman Turkish)²⁵.

Why did the poems by Chaghatay authors add themselves so late to those by Persian authors in Central Asia, while in the Ottoman Empire this happened as early as the 16th century? Currently I cannot answer in detail to this question, but I would like to point to some possibilities for further investigation.

Certainly this was the consequence of a mixture of linguistic, demographic and cultural factors. In the first place, one should take into consideration the role of the official language of the state: in the Ottoman Empire it was Ottoman Turkish, while in the Uzbek khanates of Central Asia (with the notable exception of Khiva) it was Persian.

Also the ethnic composition of the readers and their mother-languages is important – since the literary taste of the readers influenced the compilers of the *bayāzes*. Moreover, the question of the difference between the lower and middle strata of readers and the intellectual elites deserves deeper investigation. Which was, for instance, the influence of

²⁵ BNF-SP 826 (Bl, III, №1976), copied in 947 / 1540-1541.

the model of social and cultural formation which goes under the name of *adab* and is strongly marked by Persian language and culture? For instance, in the Ottoman *bayāzes* including Chaghatay poems by Navā'ī and Babur we also find verses by Mawlana Lutfi, who was considered as the greatest Chaghatay poet before Navā'ī himself. Here, however, Luṭfī's poem is his famous Persian ghazal built on the *radīf* "āftab".

Finally, in the Ottoman Empire one may observe the strong influence of "Timuridism", i.e. the cultural identification with the Timurids, a phenomenon which has recently been investigated by Michele Bernardini.²⁶ Chaghatay poets enjoyed great popularity in the Ottoman Empire, in particular Navā'ī who had become the object of poetical imitation himself. In the same time, literature in the Ottoman language flourished and was encouraged by the court. Therefore, Chaghatay verses could enter the bilingual, or trilingual, Ottoman *bayāzes* earlier and more easily.

In Central Asia, also the Shaybanid khanate tried to identify itself with the previous ruling dynasty, the Timurids. However, being of recent nomadic origin, the Shaybanids attached more importance to their "public image", that is, to their total conformity with the canon of artistic creation, which expressed itself in the solid and immutable model of Persian classic culture. An overdeveloped interest for the classics of Persian literature is one of the reasons which could explain why Chaghatay literature remained at the margins of literary life. Only Navā'ī, among the Chaghatay authors, emerged. This situation changed only with the end of the 18th century, when new states tried to assert their own legitimacy and values.

Some conclusions

In the intellectual circles of Central Asia, where Persian culture and language had an overwhelming weight during the 15th-18th centuries, Persian poetry appears overwhelmingly in the *bayāzes*. The Persian

²⁶ Bernardini, M., "Ottoman 'Timuridism': Lāmī'i Celebi and his Sehrengiz of Bursa", in *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th – 17th Centuries*. E.M.Jeremias (ed.), Piliscsaba [2002] 2003, pp.1-6.

language had preserved its primary importance among the educated people, and was the most important means of poetic expression. Chaghatay Turkic gained more importance only at the end of the 18th century and above all during the 19th, when the role of popular poetry increased and new states adopted new cultural policies. However, the Persian language continued to be studied and used until the inception of Soviet power in Central Asia in the 1920s.

Abbreviations

- BNF-SP – Bibliothèque nationale de France - Supplément persan.
- IORUz – Oriental Institute of the Republic of Uzbekistan, named after Biruni (Tashkent).
- B1 – Blochet E., *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Vol. III, Paris, 1928.
- EI² – *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2^e édition, volumes I-XII, E.J. Brill, Leiden-Paris, 1960-2004.

| Arabic letters | Latin letters |
|----------------|---------------|
| ا | ' |
| ا | a |
| آ | ā |
| ب | b |
| پ | p |
| ت | t |
| ث | th |
| ج | dj, j, ğ |
| چ | ch |
| ح | ḥ |
| خ | kh |
| د | d |
| ذ | dh |
| ر | r |
| ز | z |
| ژ | j |
| س | s |

| | |
|---|------|
| ش | sh |
| ڭ | ʃ |
| د | d |
| ت | t |
| ز | z |
| ‘ | ‘ |
| غ | gh |
| ف | f |
| ق | q |
| ك | k |
| گ | g |
| ل | l |
| م | m |
| ن | n |
| و | ū |
| و | o |
| و | v, w |
| ه | h |
| ی | i, ī |