

Manuscripts of the Treatise "Hadīqat Al-Ārifīn" of Ishāq Khoja Bin Ismā'īl Ata¹

Ishāq Hudja Bin Ismā'īl Atā'nin "Hadīqat Al-'Ārifīn" Risalesinin Yazmaları

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Abstract

Reliability and validity of written sources is always critical in research. A key step in conducting thorough and accurate research is to find the most reliable and original versions of written sources. Researchers often rely on primary sources to ensure the highest level of credibility and accuracy in their work. Factors such as the preservation of the manuscript, the integrity of the text, the circumstances of the copying, and the environment in which the author and scribes worked and lived all contribute to determining the reliability and significance of a source. Paleographical and codicological data play a critical role in understanding the history and provenance of manuscripts, allowing researchers to assess their authenticity and importance in the context of their time and place. Analysis of such data can help shed light on research into these historical documents. Therefore, in the article we try to describe the paleographic and codicological features of the manuscripts of "Hadīqat al-Ārifīn", preserved in the book collections of Tashkent, Kokand, Kabul, Uppsala. Undoubtedly, this comparative analysis can provide valuable insight into the main dogmatists of the Yasavī Sufi school. By comparing different versions of the manuscript from different collections, researchers can analyze textual variations and stylistics that can shed light on the development and interpretation of Yasavī 's teachings within the Sufi tradition. The manuscript copies help to understand the evolution and transmission of Yasavī 's spiritual and philosophical ideas across different regions and time periods.

Keywords: Khoja Ahmad Yasavī, Ishāq Khoja, Ismā'īl Ata, "Hadīqat al-Ārifīn", Turkistan Tashkent.

Özet

Yazılı kaynakların güvenilirliği ve geçerliliği araştırmalarda her zaman kritik öneme sahiptir. Kapsamlı ve doğru araştırma yapmanın önemli adımlarından biri yazılı kaynakların en güvenilir ve orijinal versiyonlarını bulmaktır. Araştırmacılar, çalışmalarında en yüksek düzeyde güvenilirlik ve doğruluk sağlamak için sıklıkla birincil kaynaklara güvenirlir. Taslağın korunması, metnin bütünlüğü, kopyalanma koşulları ve yazarın ve yazıcıların çalıştığı ve yaşadığı ortam gibi faktörlerin tümü, bir kaynağın güvenilirliğinin ve öneminin belirlenmesine katkıda bulunur. Paleografik ve kodikolojik veriler, el yazmalarının tarihini ve kaynağını anlamada kritik bir rol oynayarak araştırmacıların, el yazmalarının özgünlüğünü ve önemini buldukları zaman ve yer bağlamında değerlendirmelerine olanak tanır. Bu tür verilerin analizi, bu tarihi belgelere yönelik araştırmalara ışık tutmaya yardımcı olabilir. Bu nedenle makalede Taşkent, Kokand, Kabil, Uppsala kitap koleksiyonlarında muhafaza edilen "Hadīqat'ül 'Ārifīn" yazmalarının paleografik ve kodolojik özelliklerini anlatmaya çalışıyoruz. Kuşkusuz bu karşılaştırmalı analiz, Yesevî Sufi ekolünün başlıca dogmatikleri hakkında değerli bilgiler sağlayabilir. Araştırmacılar, yazmanın farklı koleksiyonlardaki farklı versiyonlarını karşılaştırarak, Yesevî'nin öğretilerinin Sufi geleneği içindeki gelişimine ve yorumlanmasına ışık tutabilecek metinsel farklılıkları ve üslup özelliklerini analiz edebilirler. El yazması nüshalar, Yesevî'nin manevi ve felsefi fikirlerinin farklı bölge ve zaman dilimlerindeki evrimini ve aktarımını anlamaya yardımcı oluyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hoca Ahmed Yesevî, İshâk Hoca, İsmâ'îl Ata, "Hadīqat'ül-Ārifīn", Türkistan, Taşkent.

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Introduction

The Sufi tradition in Central Asia has a rich and varied history, characterized by the teachings and contributions of numerous influential Shaykhs and scholars. It is well known that Sufism, which arose as a mystical and ascetic movement within Islam, developed with its adherents, teachings, practices and its own internal peculiarities and all this was transmitted orally (by parables, stories, legends) and writing in different genres of literature. Sufi literature in Central Asia covers a wide range of genres, including mystical poetry (such as *ghazals*, *qasidas*), didactic treatises, hagiographies (*manāqib*, *tazkirah*), spiritual silsila (*tabaqāt*) transmissions. These works often reflect the teachings, experiences and spiritual insights of Sufi Shaykhs and their followers.

Numerous source studies on Sufi works have shown that they can be considered from a historical, cultural, linguistic point of view: they have formed different methods and techniques of data analysis, and opened the way to consider Sufi works in different aspects.

One of such important literature and one of the earliest sources on the teachings of Yasavī Sufi school is the "*Hadīqat al-ʿĀrifīn*" written by Ishāq Khoja bin Ismāʿīl Ata al-Qazīgūrtī al-Turkistānī in the *Chagatai* medieval written Turkic language during the 14th century. Today, 12 copies of this significant work "*Hadīqat al-ʿĀrifīn*" ("Garden of the Gnostics"), are known in academic circles. These copies serve as a valuable resource for scholars, researchers, and students interested in the study of Sufism, Turkic literature, and Islamic mysticism in Central Asia. Among these, nine are held in the Center of Oriental Manuscripts named after A.R. Biruni at the Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan (recognized as the Tashkent copies). One copy is located in the Ghafur Ghulam Literary Museum of the Fergana region (recognized as the Kokand copies), another is housed in the National Archives of Afghanistan in Kabul (known as the Kabul copy), and one is preserved at Uppsala University Library (recognized as the Uppsala copy).

The handwritten copies of the treatise *Hadīqat* have been studied by scholars for centuries, and their study contributes to further research in different contexts. Various researchers, including F. Kopurlu and Z. Togan, who initially discussed the work in their writings, N. Tosun, who emphasized the religious aspects, along with D. DeWeese, A. Muminov, B. Babajanov and Z. Zhandarbek, who underscored the significance of source analysis in the treatise, all align in agreement regarding the authorship and the period in which this treatise was penned.

According to the renowned Turkish Scholar F. Köprülü, in the 14th century, the *Chagatai* language emerged as a fusion between the Kipchak and Khwārazm Turkish language dialects. This view finds support through specific examples highlighted in the works of researchers who examined the writings of 'Ataī, Sakakī and Khwājuāndī (Köprülü, 2004, p. 18). For instance, E. Fazylov, in his analysis of "*Latafat-nāme*" by Khwājuāndī, a contemporary poet of Ishāq Khoja (from the first half of the

14th to the early 15th centuries), draws parallels between grammatical features in "*Latafat-nāme*" and "*Nahj al-Farādīs*" by Mahmūd al-Bulgārī, composed in the capital of the Golden Horde, Sarai, during 1357-1358. E. Fazylov notes that similarities in imperative-indicative forms between these works and other texts like "*Khusrū wa Shīrīn*", "*Gulistān bit-Turkī*" and "*Mahabbat-nāme*" (Fazylov, 1966, p. 68). Scholar E. Fazylov, who has deep studied medieval Turkic literature, suggests that the common literary language *Chagatai* was crystallized during the period in which "*Latafat-nāme*" was composed for Sultān Mahmūd, ruling in Khwārazm around 827/1414 (Fazylov, 1974, p. 132).

However, "*Hadīqat al-ārifīn*" has been transmitted to us through handwritten copies in 15th to 19th centuries, yet the original text from the 14th century, the era when the *Chagatai* language was evolving, has not survived.

The work of Ishāq Khoja bin Ismā'il Ata has survived in two versions: the first is the titled version '*Hadīqat*', specifically called "*Hadīqat al-ārifīn*", and the second is untitled '*Risāla*' version, in which the title of the work is not explicitly identified. The oldest titled version, dating from around the 15th century, is stored in the National Archives of Afghanistan (No. 63/19 pt. 3). A one of version, transcribed in 1260/1844 within an unnamed '*risāla*' edition of the treatise, is housed in the Library of Uppsala University (O Nov. 380).

In the Center for Oriental Manuscripts named after Abu Rayhān Birūnī (COM) in Tashkent, there are five manuscripts of the '*Hadīqat*' versions (MS 11838, 3637, 11941, 12387, 13074). Although two versions provide insight into the history of the manuscript, the remaining copies lack details about their origins and time of creation. In the COM collection there are three copies of the '*risāla*' version (MS 3004, 2851, 252).

1. Ishāq Khoja al-Qazigūrtī and His Descendants

There is only little information available about the personality of the author "*Hadīqat*" Ishāq Khoja al-Tuhkistānī. However, there is a range of data that can be combined to learn more about the author.

One of the biographers who presented Ishāq Khoja bin Ismā'il Ata al-Qazigūrtī as a major representative of the Yasavī school of Sufism is "*Nasā'im al-Mahabba*" of Mir 'Alī-shīr Navā'ī (d. 906/1501), a prominent figure in the state of Amir Timur, thinker, author of the first biographical dictionary (tazkira) Sufi saints, written in *Chagatai* language. The work "*Nasā'im al-Mahabba*" was created on the basis of "*Nafahat al-Uns*" of Abdurrahmān Jāmī in 901/1495-96 and included additional biographs and activities of many saints from Khorāsān, India and Turkistān, written by Alī-shīr himself, dealing with the "*Mashā'ikh-i Turk*" ("Shaykhs of the Turks") deserve special attention. However, Mir 'Alī-shīr Navā'ī, does not provide such important chronologies as the years of birth and death of the mentioned saints, and does not indicate the exact sources of the available data. Additionally, an important issue for scholars who have

studied Sufi schools is the information they provide about teaching and practice. These details in "*Nasā'im al-Mahabba*" are limited and not sufficient to establish a clear connection. However, the inclusion of the names of 23 Shaykhs of Yasavī's later successors, not found in other sources, was one of the most important data for our study. In his work, 'Alī-shīr pays a lot of attention to the characteristics, character and image of each person, which is preserved in the memory of the people. It is worth noting that the information contained in it served as a source for later Persian-language historical and biographical works (Walmsley, 2014).

Before, during, and after Navā'ī's time most of the works that mentioned Aḥmad Yasavī and his successors were produced within the Khojagan–Naqshbandi continuum. Many of these works can be classified as risāla, manāqib, or maqāmāt, which focused on the words and deeds of Sufi masters, as recorded by their pupils. Jāmī had a well-stocked personal library, which he had brought with him from Mawarannahr, and an interesting quirk in the historiography of the Yasaviya is thrown up by a copy of the "*Nafaḥāt*", in the margins of which may be found a Turkic work called "*Ḥadīqat al-‘arīfīn*", the hagiography of Ishāq Khoja b. Ismā'īl Ata.

One of the most important sources of information from the memoirs of representatives of the Naqshbandi school about the life and work of Shaykh Ishāq Khoja is "*Rashahat ‘ayn al-hayāt*" of Fakhr ad-Dīn 'Alī Sāfi bin Kamal ad-Dīn Wa'iz Kāshifī (1463-1532). *Rashaḥāt-i ‘ayn al-ḥayāt*, the early tenth/sixteenth-century hagiography dedicated work to Khoja Aḥrār, written in Persian (909/1503-04), was so widespread in Central Asia that it was translated into Arabic and Turkish. The peculiarity of this work is that the memories of Ishāq Khoja and Ismā'īl Ata are conveyed through the stories of Khoja Aḥrār, a major representative of the *Naqshbandī* Sufi school. Brief details in the memoirs confirm some aspects of the stories kept in the mouths of the people.

One of the biographical works that provides valuable information about Ishāq Khoja and the representatives of the Yasavī Sufi school is the Persian-language work of Muhammad 'Alīm al-Siddīq, known as 'Alīm-Shaykh Azīzān, entitled "*Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quḍs*" created in 1035/1626. An extensive article by Kambarbekova was written about the documentary significance of this work about the Sufi school of Yasavī (see Kambarbekova, 2015).

One of the documents that gives brief information about Ishāq Khoja at-Turkistānī and Ismā'īl Ata al-Qazigūrtī 's contemporaries and successors is the work "*Risāla fī madīnah al-Baidā*" (the manuscript is preserved in the COM, No. 1990/IV). P. P. Ivanov was the individual who attributed significance to the treatise as a valuable source of data in his initial research works (Ivanov, 1927). After many years, Teshabay Ziyaev translated "*Sairam shakhri hususidagi risalacha*" (A small treatise about the city of Sairam) into Uzbek language and published it intermittently in the periodical "*Turkistan Vilayati Gaziti*" (No. 36, 40-42; 43-47, 49-50 of 1990). Devin DeWees provides a comprehensive analysis and critical

review of the data's empirical value in a comprehensive research article (DeWeese, 2000). Kazakh scholar Zh. Tulebaeva translated the treatise into Russian (Traktat o Sairame, 2009).

The treatise "*Risāla fī madīnah al-Baidā'*" (Treatise on the City of the White Mosque) consists of three main sections telling the history of the city, public life and famous historical figures who played significant roles in the religious and cultural life of the city. The first section provides a historical account of the city of Sairam, spanning from ancient times to the 18th century. The second part delves into the notable individuals buried within the city's vicinity and its surroundings. Lastly, the third part is dedicated to the legends and tales surrounding the city of Sairam. In the second part, the names of several contemporaries and followers of Ismā'il Ata and Ishāq Khoja are mentioned. They are Otlugh Yūnūs, whose mouth was on fire because of the intensity of his dhikr, Shaikh Kamal ad-din Baizavī, known as Sar-Khalqa Baba and Bozdak-Ata, because of his cry like a camel, when a calamity befell Sairam (Risāla fī madīnah, ff. 23b, 24a-b, 38a). These anecdotes offer a glimpse into the esteemed figures linked with the city. However, while the text provides insights into the revered figures like Ismā'il Ata and Ishāq Khoja, further substantial details about their lives, actions, and influences are necessary to reach definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, the existing data suggests the existence of many respected followers of Ismā'il Ata, highly regarded in the area, with their graves frequented by visitors.

"*Yanābi' al-mawadda lizi qurbā'*" authored by Sulaimān bin Khoja Ibrāhīm al-Qundūzī (1805-1877), known as Baba Khoja, Khoja Kalān provides insights into the history and genealogy of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Baba Khoja, who was born in Balkh and passed away in Constantinople, offers valuable information on this subject in his book. Within the text, Khoja Kalān highlights figures such as Khoja Ahmad Yasavī, Ismā'il Ata, and Mir Haydar as descendants of Muhammad bin al-Hanafīya in Transoxiana. Notably, Ismā'il Ata is portrayed as a prominent leader, religious figure, and saint with deep roots in a distinct spiritual and social sphere, representing the lineage of 'Alī bin Abi Tālib (al-Qundūzī, 1416, p. 443).

In the genealogy (shajara) of Ismā'il Ata as found in the *Hadīqat* manuscripts, it is depicted that he traces his lineage back to Muhammad bin Hanafīya: Muhammad bin al-Hanafiyah - 'Abd al-Fattāh - 'Abd al-Jalīl (bab) - 'Abd al-Jabbār - 'Abd al-Kahār - 'Abd al-Rahīm - 'Abd al-Jalīl - Ibrāhīm Sūfī - Mikā'il Sūfī - Isma'il Sūfī - Aina Sūfī - Muhammad Sūfī - Mahmūd Sūfī - Badr Ata - Balī Ata - Suyūdūk Ata - Kuyūdūk Ata - Ibrāhīm Ata - Qazigurtliq Atam Ismā'il Ata - Ishāq Khoja (COM. No. 252, f. 87a).

During the Middle Ages, particularly in the 13th-14th centuries, researchers noted the profound reverence among Turkish people for the descendants of Prophet Muhammad. The tradition of addressing the flowers of Khoja Shaykhs from the Yasavī Sufi school, such as Sayyid Ahmad Ata (d. 691/1291), Kusām Ata, and Kulāl Ata (d. 771/1370) as

Sayyid Ata-i, Kusām Ata-i, and Kulāl Ata-i, alongside figures like Mir-Khaydar-i and Ismā'il Ata-i, stems from the profound reverence shown by the Turkish people towards the descendants of Prophet Muhammad. This practice is documented in historical sources, reflecting the significance of honoring these esteemed individuals within the respective Sufi lineage (Semenov, 1954, pp. 21-22).

In the treatise concerning Sairam, mentioned that Ishāq Khoja lived during the same period as Qāsim Shaykh Karmināghī, who identified as a disciple (khulafa') of the renowned Shaykh Shams al-Din Uzgāndī in his time. This highlights the interconnected spiritual circles and relationships existing among these influential figures during that era (Risāla fī madīnah, f. 24a-b). These details are in the treatise "*Sharaf namā-i shahī*" (16th century) by Hāfiz-i Tanish ibn Mir Muhammad Bukhārī: "*Qāsim Shaykh Karmināghī, who lived in the 14th century, is confirmed that it belongs to the Yasavīya-'Azīzān brotherhood*" (Bukhārī, 1989, p. 82). Shams al-Dīn Uzgandī is one of the disciples of 'Abd al-Haq 'Azīzān in the Yasavī order. He was one of the creative Shaykhs of the Yasavī school, he took his own place in *Chagatai* literature with the poems "*Wafat nāma-i hazret Bibī Fātima*", "*Shams-i 'Asi*" and "*Yetim-namā*".

Judging by these data, it can be assumed that Ishāq Khoja lived in the years 1310-1380. He inherited the position of Shaykh from his father, Shaykh, highly respected among the people of Turkistan, Ismā'il Ata. The period of Ishāq Khoja's life coincided with the time when the revival of the Islamic religion and the activation of Muslims was at its peak in the Chagatai Ulus.

From the information in *Rashahat* and *Risāla fī madīnah al-Baidā'*, it is determined that Ishāq Khoja lived in the region of Isfijāb between Tashkent and Sairam. Like his father, Ishāq Khoja followed in the footsteps of Ismā'il Ata in the Shaykhzade way. Later, his son 'Abd al-Samī' Wālī bin Ishāq Khoja, who was succeeded by Maulāna Hakīm Isfijābī, who was educated by his father, succeeded him. Thus, the descendants of Ishāq Khoja were Shaykhs who were followers of Murid and were famous for their religious figures in the region of Isfijāb and their graves were considered holy places. The treatise also mentions Hāfiz al-Dīn Baharzī, the most famous murid of Ishāq Khoja (Risāla fī madīnah, ff. 23b-25b).

In the genealogy of the Siberian Tatars, preserved in the State Archive of Ancient Acts of Russia, there is also valuable information about the descendants of Ishāq Khoja bin Ismā'il Ata. This genealogy was preserved among the documents of G. Miller, who worked at the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1733-1743. The document was also researched and published by doctor of the University of Amsterdam, young scientist A. Bustanov (see Bustanov, 2011). The 9-page manuscript genealogy from the 18th century that belonged to the sons of Mir Khoja, Taki Khoja, and Naki Khoja, holds significant historical and familial value. G. Miller provided two titles in German for the same document, indicating that it was written in different handwriting at different times and by different

people. The titles are: "Sedschire das ist Geschlecht Register des Mulla Bobasch zu Jepantschinskie jurti Wohnshaft" ("Chronicle of Mullah Bobash from the village of Epanchino") and "Sedschire das ist Geschlecht Register des Seit Mir-Chodja zu Tobolsk Wohnshaft" ("Genealogy of Mir Khoja Seyit in the city of Tobolsk"). This chronicle, written in the *Chagatai* language in the village of "Kucha-Yalan", located 40 km north of Tobol, reports the genealogy of the generation of Ishāq Bab (1a-5a) and the descendants of Ismā'il-Ata bin Ibrāhīm Ata to the owner of the genealogy - Mulla Babash or Babai Shaykh as in manuscript (ff. 5a-b).

The descendants of Ishāq Khoja b. Ismā'il Ata, who grew up in Siberia in this genealogy are as follows: Ata Ibrāhīm's son - Ismā'il Ata, his son - Ishāq Khoja, his son - Yahiā Khoja, his son - 'Abd al-Mannān Khoja, his son - 'Abd al-Mu' min Khoja, his son - 'Abd al-Samad Khoja. 'Abd Samad Khoja had six sons: the name of the first was Baba Khoja, the name of the youngest was 'Abdu ar-Rahman Khoja, the name of the youngest was 'Abd al-Fattāh Khoja, the name of the youngest was 'Abd al-Jabbār Khoja, the name of the youngest the name is 'Abd al-Kahhār Khoja, the name of the younger one is 'Abd al-Jalīl Khoja. The son of Abdu al-Rahmān Khoja is Ibrāhīm Khoja. Ibrāhīm Khoja's son is Bābā Khoja, his son is Ibrāhīm Khoja, his son is Dahiyah Khoja, his two sons are Sharabatī Shaykh and Khaluati Shaykh.

Sharbatī Shaykh's son is Majnūn Shaykh, Majnūn Shaykh's son is Muhammad Shaykh. Muhammad Shaykh's son Nuh Shaykh, he has two sons, one is Zengi, he is alive. The son of Zengi is Majnūn Shaykh, alive.

Khaluati Shaykh's son is Muhammad Shaykh, his son is 'Uthmān Shaykh, his son is Zulf 'Alī Shaykh. Zulf 'Alī Shaykh's son is Baba Shaykh, he is alive. The son of Baba Shaykh is Daūd Shaykh, he is alive (Bustanov, 2011, pp. 92-96).

The scientist A. Bustanov in his research focuses on Sharbatī Shaykh, who was active among the owners of Siberia and considered the head of the dynasty in the 17th-18th centuries. In the chain of events of the chronicle "*Shajara-i Risalasi*", created around 980/1572, it is reported that Sharabatī Shaykh, a descendant of Shaykh Khoja Ishāq, the descendants of Jagfar Sadiq were at a reception with Kushūm Khān (d. 1598), the ruler of Siberia. It is also reported that before arriving with Yarīm Seyit in Tobol, the capital of the Siberian Khanate, they lived in Urganish. They arrived in Siberia at the invitation of Kuchum Khan (d. 1600) to spread religion (din acar ucun) among the inhabitants of the region (Bustanov, 2011, p. 91; Bustanov, 2010, p. 73).

The works of the Tobolsk cartographer and historian Semyon Remezov (1642-1721) and the Dutch historian and politician Gerhard Miller (1705-1783) mention this event. G. Miller writes that 500 Bukhara families moved to Tobol, live richly and benefit the country (Witsen, 2010, pp. 948-949). Based on genealogy and other written data, the descendants of Ishāq Khoja in the 16th century, led by Sharabatī Shaykh, immigrated to the village of Kucha-Yalan/Epanchino near Tobol in the

Siberian Khanate. Later, under the rule of the Russian Empire, they were recognized as the Shikhov family (probably from the word Shaykh) and were engaged in trade and administrative services in the Tobolsk district. Compared to other families of Bukhara Shaykhs living in the Omsk region, people later recognize the Shikhov family as Sarts. Before the establishment of Soviet power, the Shikhov family maintained its elite position. After the heads of the dynasty were repressed under Soviet rule, they began to be forgotten. (Bustanov, 2010, pp. 207-211). And the descendants of Ismā'il Ata, who remained in Central Asia, live in the regions of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan.

Now, let's examine the paleographic characteristics of each surviving manuscript of the '*Hadīqat*', which are housed in various book collections. These characteristics offer valuable insights into the manuscript's age, production methods, and the region where it was copied. They also contribute to a deeper understanding of the handwritten traditions of Central Asia and their features.

2. Manuscripts of "*Hadīqat al-Ārifin*"

2.1. Kabul copy (Afghan National Archives, No. 63/19 pt. 3)

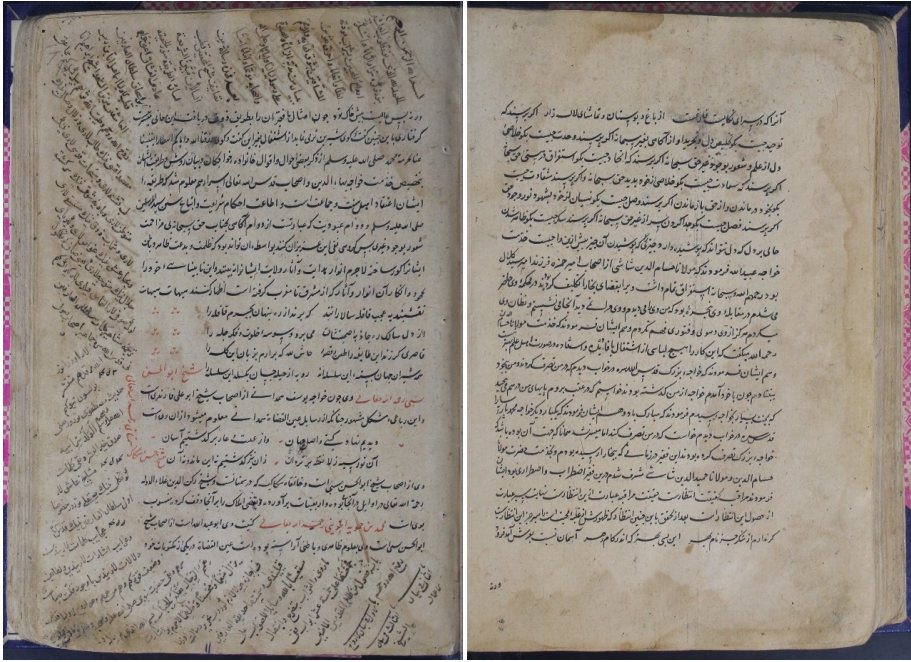
Copy of Kabul, the oldest manuscript of the existing *Hadīqat* manuscripts today. This ancient manuscript, briefly reviewed by the famous scientist Z. Togan an important work on the life activity of Ismā'il Ata (Togan, 1981, p. 347). The text occupies 77 pages (ff. 183a-259a) and is an appendix to Abdurrahmān Jamī's book "*Nafahāt al-Uns*", compiled in 881/1476. Variations in calligraphy suggest that the "*Hadīqat*" treatise was written in the margins after the *Nafahāt* text. In addition, the manuscript contains other Persian inscriptions in the margins as additional notes about the saints. Apparently, the treatise "*Hadīqat*" was also added to enrich the work of Abdurrahmān Jāmī and develop the narrative about Khwāja Ahmad Yasavī, Sūksūk Ata, Ismā'il Ata.

The Kabul copy according to the catalog compiled by Mahmoud Azam Afdali (Afdalī, 1363), and a digital copy of the manuscript from the Afghan archive, acquired by Dr. Ahmad Tashkin during his business trip to Kabul in 2023. Zaki Walidi Togan was the first to report that in the manuscript, stored in the National Archives of Afghanistan under inventory number No. 63/19 pt.3. Z. Togan in 1923 (April-December) took part in the next conference of Muslims of Central Asia, and after the conference he was in Iran, Afghanistan in search of materials related to the history and culture of the Turkic peoples, and he came across this manuscript in the book fund of Kabul (Togan, 1969, pp. 486-515). After this, the researcher who worked with the microfilm of the manuscript and delved deeply into the codicological details was Devin DeWeese, a professor at Indiana University (USA).

Compiler of the catalog of manuscripts of the archive of Afghanistan Muhammad Azam identified Ishāq Ata ibn Ismā'il Ata ibn Ibrāhīm Ata as the Shaykh of tarīqa Naqshbandīya.

Figure 1

Kabul Manuscript f.183a beginning of the treatise "Hadiqat"

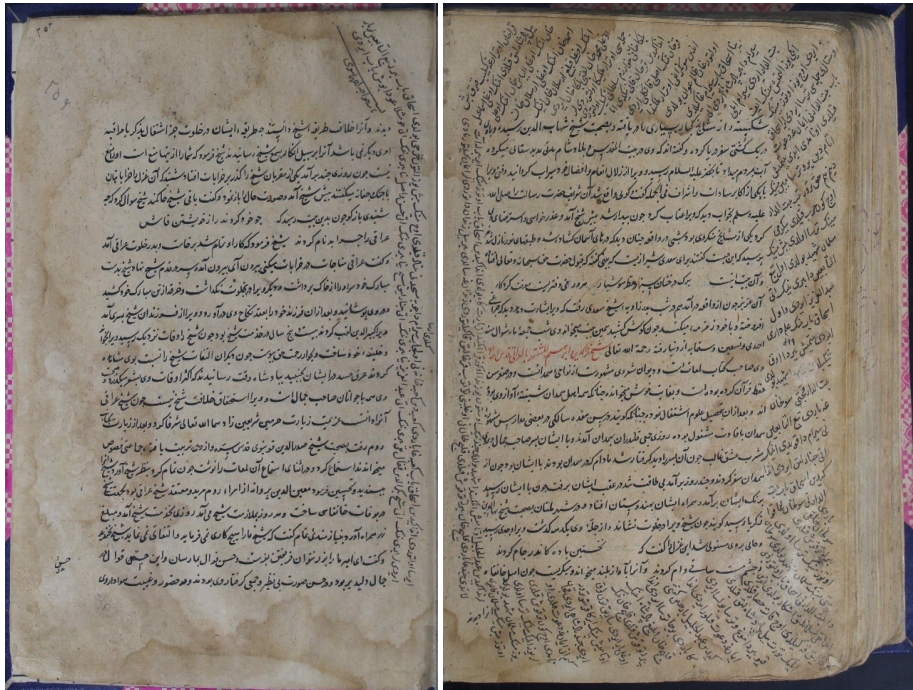


The main text of the manuscript "*Nafahat al-Uns*" is written on Samarkand paper in black ink, 25 lines each in *nasta'liq* calligraphic script. The text "*Hadīqat al-'arifīn*" is written in the margins in small, more cursive handwriting. The original binding of the manuscript, consisting of 361 sheets, has not survived. This suggests that the manuscript has undergone restoration or re-binding at some point in its history. The book is bound in a restored cardboard cover, covered on both sides with red checkered paper. Starting from the second page, the manuscript is accompanied by additional works in Persian, Arabic and Turkic. The complete and incomplete works have been rewritten as additional content within the main body of the manuscript. At the outset of the manuscript of the treatise "*Nafahat*," in the margins, it is supplemented by the work of Nizām ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār – "*Tazkirā'i al-Awliā'*". This suggests that there are marginal notes or annotations in the manuscript, possibly referencing other works or providing commentary on the main text. There is no colophon indicating when the manuscript was written. Based on the paleographic and codicological features described, as well as the information about the included treatise "*Nafakhat*" being compiled in 883/1478-79, it's reasonable to infer that the additional texts was likely copied sometime between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 15th centuries (Islamization, 2013, p. 31). D.DeWees noted the stability of spelling in the Kabul copy and the fact that there is a phonological difference in the spelling of individual words; vowels are not often noted, compared to the text of the Tashkent variants. *Chagatai* became a literary

language under the "Timurids" in the 16th century. In later Tashkent versions (MS 11941, 252, 2851, 3637, 11838), the vowels in the endings (-i, -ini, -ning, -dik, -lik, -dan, -din, etc.) are strictly preserved, but in the Kabul version, in most cases the vowels (-nn, -dk, -lk, -dn) were omitted. Also in nouns *karindash* (قرینداشی - قرینداشي), in verbs *bashlab* (باشلاب - باشلب), *turur* (بولدی لار - بولور), *bolur* (بولور - بولور), *qilib* (قیلیب - قیلیب), *boldi* (بولدی - بولدی), *erdi* (اریدیلار - اریدیلار), referential pronouns they (اولار - اولار). Researchers are confident that the Kabul copy is the oldest version of the work of "Hadiqat al-Ārifin" and dates back to the 15th century, perhaps it was copied from the first written text (Islamization, 2008, pp. 33, 82]. The writing features of the Kabul copy can be compared with the *Nahj al-Farādīs's* manuscript, written in 761/1360 in Khūrāzm. The 1360 manuscript of *Nahj al-Farādīs* is kept in the Suleymaniye Library (Yeni Cami, 849) in Istanbul. Janos Ekman printed a facsimile of the manuscript of *Nahj al-Farādīs* (es-Sarayî, 1956).

Figure 2

Kabul Manuscript f.259 the end of the treatise "Hadiqat"



2.2. Uppsala copy (Library of Uppsala University, No. O Nov.380, Zn.472)

The Uppsala copy is one of the manuscripts of the "Risāla" version of the treatise, was first described in the manuscript catalog of the Uppsala university in 1930 (Zetterstéen, 1930, p. 193), then in the works of the encyclopedist M.F. Koprulu (Köprülü, 1950, p. 212) and the famous

researcher H.F. Hofman (Hofman, 1969, pp. 316-318) and in the catalog of A. Muhaddis. A. Muhaddis describes it in his brief catalog as "*Risāla-i dar tasaūf*" (Treatise on Sufism) (Muhaddis, 2013, p. 141).

According to the information in the catalog, the manuscript, located in the shelf No. O Nov.380, Zn.472 of the library, contains 39 large and small Sufi works. In particular, the dictionary of Allahyir Sūfi's (d. 1720) "*Lugat-i Maslak al-muttaqin*" (ff. 25a-26b), 'Abd al-Qādir Jailānī (1078-1166) "*Khamriah*" *qasidas*, (ff. 33b-38a), biography of "*Maqamat-i Shaykh Amīr Kulāl*" (d. 1370) (ff. 58a-70b), Sālih bin Mubarak Bukhārī's "*Anīs al-tālibīn wa uddat al-sālikīn*" (copied in 1269/1852-53), Muhammad Sūfi Danishmand's three-part treatise "*Mir'at al-qulūb*" (copied in 1260/1844, ff. 158b-177a), "*Risāla dar bayān Tarīqa-i Ahmadiya*" by Ghulām 'Alī-shāh Naqshbandī (copy. 1260/1844, pp. 243a-249b), "*Rashahat 'ain al-hayāt*" by 'Alī b. Husayn Kāshifī (d. 1532) (ff. 359b-417a), Khoja Muhammad Parsā (d. 1420) *qasidas* (ff. 326b-359a), the work "*Intihāb-i Hashiat-i asmā' al-husna*" (ff. 417b-423b), "*Kitāb dar al-tasawuf wa mutasawuifa*" (ff. 424a-528a) by Ahmad b. Jalāl ad-din Kashānī (d.1542), "*Risāla-i Dairiyya*" (ff. 277b-285a) by Daruīsh Muhammad (d.1844), "*Diwān-i Yūnus, Qasīda-i Mufarriqah*, etc., collection of poems and "*Risāla-i dar namaz adab-iān*" (ff. 39a-50b), "*Risāla-i Muazzini*" (ff. 76b-33a), Hizb al-Bahr (ff. 288a-2897b), etc. there are anonymous treatises. Among them, on pages ff.177a-218b, there is a 4-part treatise called "*Risāla dar al-tasawuf*" ("Treatise on Sufism"), the author of which is written as Khoja Ishāq ibn Ismā'il Ata (Zetterstéén, 1930, pp. 307-308; A. Muhaddis, 2013, p. 142).

The size of the manuscript is 26x17 cm, the size of the text is 15x8.5 cm. The text of "*Hadiqat*" is in the form of manuscript writing, which includes 19 lines on each page. From the paleographic features of the book, it can be assumed that the manuscript was written in Central Asia. It is not shown how and when it entered the library fund.

All works contained in the manuscript are fragmentary. The work we examined consists of 15 parts and the copy of Uppsala contains only 3 parts, although the catalogs indicate it as 4 parts. The *Hadiqat* text in the manuscript is preceded by Muhammad Danishmand's (d. 1195/1781) treatise "*Mirāt al-Qulūb*" (ff. 158b-177a), and the *Hadiqat* is followed by anonymous short treatises on Sufi teachings in Persian "*Maktubāt-i Mirzā Jān-i Janān*".

2.3. Tashkent copies (The Center of Oriental Manuscripts named after Abu Raikhan Biruni of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, MS 11838, 3637, 11941, 12387, 3853, 13074, 3004, 2851, 252)

There are nine manuscripts of the treatise "*Hadiqat al-'arifin*" in the Center of Oriental Manuscripts: six volumes (MS. 11838, 3637, 11941, 12387, 13074, 3853) are in the Fund-1 and three manuscripts (MS. 252, 2851, 3004) are in the Fund-3. Codicological and paleographical descriptions of Tashkent copies are described in the catalog of the Institute (Cataloge, 2002) and in the research works (Islamization, 2013, pp. 30-41).

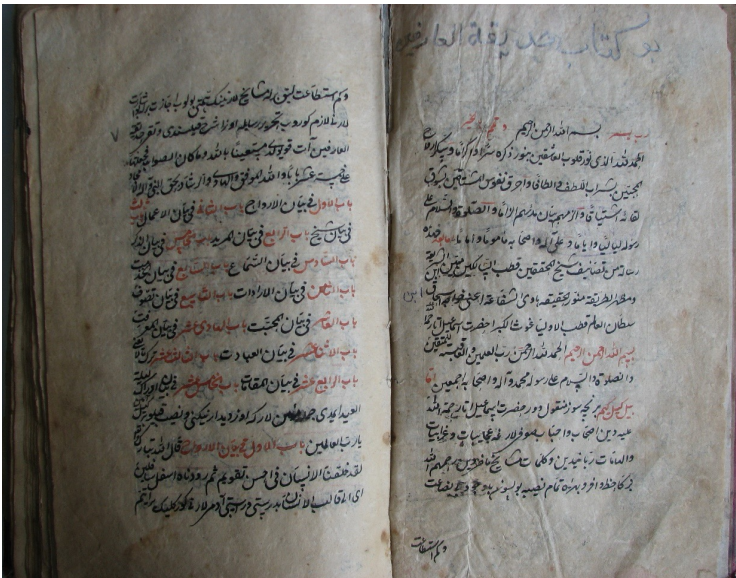
2.3.1. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-3 MS 252

Among the Tashkent copies of the Treatise COM MS 252 has historical significance as one of the oldest lists. According to the colophon information, the manuscript was rewritten on the 17th of *Rabī' al-Thānī* in 1103 AH, which corresponds to January 7, 1692 according to the Gregorian calendar.

The paleographic characteristics are as follows: The manuscript measures 23x17.5 cm, with a text size of 17.5x15 cm. The paper, identified as Kokand paper, shows signs of damage from dampness, with frayed edges and torn front and back pages. These defects indicate the manuscript's age and the challenges it may have faced over time but do not interfere with the reading of the text do not damage them. The text is written in (ff. 1b–88a) *nasta'lik* style using black ink, a characteristic script commonly used in Central Asian manuscripts. Titles of chapters (*bab*) and names of individuals are highlighted in red ink, adding visual distinction and organization to the text. Additionally, some words are underlined in red ink for emphasis or highlighting key points.

Figure 3

Tashkent copy of "Hadiqat" MS. 11838 ff. 1b-2a



The pages are numbered in black pencil, possibly by foundation staff. The eastern pagination – *riqābe* are steady, indicating the exact sequence of the manuscript leaf.

The binding of the book is hard, oriental. The cover is made of cardboard and covered with brown leather, which is typical of Central Asian manuscript traditions. The *turūnj* and the upper and lower *sarturūnj*s are decorated with embossed floral patterns.

Codicological information: Copyist of the manuscript is Khoja Ya'qūb bin Khoja Ismā'īl. In genealogies, Khoja Ya'qūb is the eighth descendant of the author Ishāq Khoja; we will discuss this in detail below. The manuscript provides the genealogy of the author Ishāq Khoja and Ismā'ī Ata on pages 87b–88a. This genealogical information provides valuable insight into the origins, heritage, and family connections of the author, enriching our understanding of the person behind the manuscript. On the first open page of the book, the names of the works included in the book are written in pencil by library staff as "*Hubb al-Qulūb*", "*Maqamat Sayyid Ata*", "*Risāla Adab-i pīr wa murīd*". The beginning of the text begins with the words:

"Aning uchun daruīshlikda wa du'ālarinda qusūr boldi irsa taqi maqsūdlari hāsīl turur". The text on the last page ends with the words: "Ismā'īl Ata r.a. Bukhāra ilindan asirliktan khalās bulub kildi. Wa Ata r.a. un turt iashinda irdi kim atasining urniğa ulturdi, awwal iyk irdi kim Sultān Mahmūd Tāi' pādīshāh buldi Allahu 'alam. In kitāb tamāa shūd faqīr Ya'qūb bin Khoja Ismā'īl" (f. 88b).

Figure 4

Tashkent copy of "*Hadiqat*" MS. 11838 ff. 112b-113a



As we can see, the beginning of the manuscript text in list No. 252 begins with the last pages of the second part (bab dar bayān al-a'māl) of the Treatise.

The text of "*Hadiqat al-Ārifīn*" in the manuscript is as follows:

1. The main text of "*Hadiqat al-Ārifīn*" (ff. 1b-85a);
2. "*Nasab-nāma*" (ff. 85a–88a);
3. "*Risāla fī manāqib Ismā'īl Ata*" (ff. 88a-94b).

The introduction says that Ismā'īl Ata had a follower from Turkestan named Pir Ali ibn Bai Taimur, who was in the service of the ulema for a long time. He was given the "ijazah" to return to his country, to call the people to the path of Allah, to show the people the right path, just as the leader of the Shaykhs Khoja Ahmad Yasavī showed the right path to his people and enemies, and for this purpose this treatise was written.¹ Manaqib consists of 6 parts (bab).

2.3.2. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-3 MS 2851

The manuscript No. 2851 is untitled '*risala*' version of treatise, holds significant importance among the Tashkent manuscripts, as it contains a wealth of valuable information for researchers. The fact that it includes both the complete text and appendices suggests that it offers comprehensive coverage of its subject matter, making it a valuable resource for scholars across various fields. Here's a breakdown of the paleographic features: the size of the manuscript is 20x12.5 cm, the size of the text is 14x7.8 cm, there are 15 lines on each page, the type of writing is Turkistan *nasta'liq*. The text is written in black ink, the titles and names of Allah, names of persons and the date of copying are written in red ink. The *riqabe* and the writing model are permanently preserved by the hand of one person. The paper is an oriental Central Asian paper, the cover is cardboard, covered with green leather, embossed *turūndj* pattern on both sides, the same shape. The book has been partially restored. Pagination of manuscript pages was done in pencil by fund staff.

The text of the work on pages 21a-276a. In addition to the treatise "*Hadīqat*", the manuscript contains "*Mirāt al-qulūb*" (01a-21a) of Muhammad Dānishmand, one of the prominent representatives of the school of Khoja Ahmad Yasavī.

According to the information in the colophon, the manuscript was copied on the 23rd day of Muharram 1284, i.e. on the 27th day of May 1867, in the place called "Suzuk Ata". At the top of the left page, in small letters in the margin, the following descendants of Sayyid Akram Khoja are distributed by another person's hand: Sayyid Akram Khoja had three sons - Sayyid Kāmil Khoja and Sayyid Mukhī ad-dīn Khoja and Sayyid Fazl Khoja. Sayyid Kāmil Khoja has four sons - Muhammad Ikhtiyār Khoja, Muhammad Munauwar Khoja, Sayyid Muhammad Azim Khoja and Sayyid Muhammad Arip Khoja. Looking at these data, we know that the manuscript was preserved in the hands of 12 generations of the author - Ishāq Khoja, and the sons of Seyit Kāmil Khoja, the eldest son of the copyist Seyit Akram Khoja. At the end of the book, the genealogy of Ismā'īl Ata's descendants ("*Nasab nāma digār Ismā'īl Ata r.a.*") was

1 Bande faqir haqir Ismā'īl Atā Turkistān niāzmandlaridan Pīr 'Alī ibn Bai Timūr Andakānī dekan bi'at irādāt berdi. Bir muddati madid wa ahdi ba'id bu dā'ifning khuzurida 'ulamā'rlining khizmatida mashgūl buldi irsa anka idjāzat buldi kim, uz ilinga muradja'at qilgil wa khalā'iq'larni Haq Ta'āla iuliga da'uat qilgil, nichuk ki mashā'ikhlar muqtadasi Khoja Ahmad Yasavī r.a. 'azāuında rāh rastni kurkizdilar khalā'iqqa rāh wa qiām kurkuzunglar dib ul ma'ma uchun bu hisālat kitāb buldi

distributed, ending with Sayyid Akram Khoja, who wrote this manuscript and completed it ("*kātib-e hamin nasab-e sharīf mutabarrak Manqib-e sharīf hazrat Ismā'īl Ata rahmatul-Allahi alayhi tamam yaft*") (f. 276a).

According to information on the pages of the Flyleaf, this manuscript was sold in September 1973 to the second-hand bookstore "Tashkniga" for 50 soms, and later transferred to the fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

The sequence of texts in the manuscript is as follows:

1. "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*" (ff. 21a-254b);
2. "*Nasab nāma-i Ishāq bāb*" (ff. 255b-259b);
3. "*Nasab nāma-i Khoja Ahmad Yasavī*" (ff. 259b-260a);
4. "*Nasab nāma-i Ismā'īl Ata*" (ff. 260a-261b);
5. "*Risāla fī manāqib Ismā'īl Ata*" (ff. 261b-276a).

2.3.3. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-3 MS 3004

List No 3004 is one of the three lists of *Hadīqat* preserved in the 3rd Fund of the Center Oriental Manuscripts. The text of the *Hadīqat* is written on ff. 17b-205a. The manuscript begins with Muhammad Dānishmand's didactical treatise "*Mir'āt al-qulūb*" (pp. 1a-17b), as list No2851.

The size of the book is 21x13.5 cm, the volume of the text is 15x8.5 cm. The text is written in black ink in 15 lines on Central Asian paper. Chapters (bab), personal names, Allah names are written in red ink and some words are underlined. The cover is hard, according to the tradition of Central Asian books, 4 bifoils and 8 pages are bound as one notebook. The cover is made of cardboard, covered with green leather and varnished. *Sarturūnj* on the front cover indicates the name of the cover artist and the year of creation: Mullā Niyāz Baqī Sakhhāf, 1251/1835. The manuscript is well preserved. From codicological data we see that it was also in the hands of the descendants of Ishāq Khoja according to the inscription "in kitāb az mulk-i Mullā Abrār Khoja" (f. 01a), i.e. "This book is the property of Mulla Abrar Khoja" at the beginning of the book. The colophon at the end of the text indicates that the manuscript was completed in 1252/1856 and does not indicate the name of the copyist. The further history of the manuscript can be judged from the seal of "Tashkeniga" No. 13, printed on the second flyleaf at the end of the book (f. 206b), according to which it was sold from the bookstore "Tashkeniga" on January 4, 1981 for 200 soms.

The manuscript includes the following appendices:

1. "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*" (ff. 17b -191a);
2. "*Nasab nāma-i Ishāq bab*" (ff. 191a-194a);
3. "*Nasab nāma-i Khoja Ahmad Yasavī*" (ff. 194a-b);
4. "*Nasab nāma-i Ismā'īl Ata*" (ff. 194b-195a);
5. "*Risāla fī manāqib Ismā'īl Ata*" (ff. 195a-205a).

2.3.4. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-3 MS 3637

Among the Tashkent lists, one of the manuscripts containing all its information is MS No. 3637. The book consists of 214 pages and 2

endpapers, 1 endpaper, size 21x13 cm, size of the text written on oriental paper of yellow-brown color, 14x7 cm. The text is written 13 lines on each page in black ink (the names of Allah, the title of the chapter, personal names are written in red ink). The cover is made in the Kokand style, the time of manufacture as indicated in *sarturūndj* is 1269/1853. On the first page of the book we can see that the manuscript belonged to the descendants of Ismā'il Ata according to the Persian inscription "*Sāhib-i kitāb awlād-i janāb-i Hazrat-i buzurg Ismā'il Ata, alayhi rahma*" (f. 01a). On the endpapers contain fragments of poem in Persian and Turkish. The text of the treatise of the "*Hadīqat*" version is written on pages 1b–214b of the manuscript.

The date of completion of the copying of the manuscript is indicated in two places: one on page 207a, the other on page 214b in the colophon at the end of the book. The scribe of the manuscript is Rais Khoja ibn Azamat Khoja (f. 207a). On the last pages of the stamp of the second-hand bookstore "Gorknigtorg" No. 13, information is given that the manuscript was obtained for 75 som in 1982.

The arrangement of texts in the manuscript is as follows:

1. "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*" (ff. 1b -208b);
2. "*Nasab nāma*" (ff. 208b–213a);
3. "*Nasab nāma-i Qutb at-tariqah Ahmad Yasavī*" (ff. 2136a-b);
4. "*Nasab nāma-i khātim al-awlīā' Ismā'il Ata bin Ibrāhīm Ata*" (ff. 213b-214a).

2.3.5. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-1 MS 11838

The main fund of the Eastern Manuscript Center is fund 1, contains five lists of the *Hadīqat*, among them the most complete, voluminous and preserved as a separate manuscript is No. 11838. This list represents a distinctive version of the titled '*Hadīqat*' redaction. It is also distinctive, among copies of both redactions of Ishaq Khoja's work, in terms of the additional texts appended to it.

The book consists of 141 pages, 1 flyleaf at the beginning and two last pages at the end. Size of book 24.5x14.7 cm, text size 16x9 cm. The text of the treatise is written on oriental paper on pages 1b-141b (15 lines per page) in black ink by one person in the *nasta'liq-shikaste* style. The pages are not numbered, the pagination is oriental, and the custodies are observed. The book is in hard oriental binding, notebooks are bound with 8 sheets, which is typical of Central Asian book traditions. The cover is made of cardboard and covered with green leather, with stamping *turūndj* and *sarthurūndj* with red pendants. The manuscript in good condition.

The text indicates the title of the work "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*" and the time of writing - 1259/1843 in several places: at the beginning and in the colophon at the end of the book (f. 141b). Although information about where and by whom the manuscript was written is not indicated, but basing on these paleographic clues, we can infer that the manuscript likely originates from the Turkestan region.

The text of the work and appendices in the manuscript is arranged as follows:

1. "*Hadiqat al-Ārifin*" (ff. 1b -132a);
2. "*Nasab nāma*" (ff. 132b-135b);
3. "*Nasab nāma-i Qutb at-tarīqah Ahmad Yasavī*" (ff. 136a);
4. "*Nasab nāma-i khātīm al-awlīā' Ismā'il Ata bin Ibrāhīm Ata*" (ff. 136b-138b);
5. "*Dar bayān pirān-i irādat*" (ff. 140b -140a);
6. "*Dar bayān buzurkān uzbekiyya*" (ff. 140a-141b).

2.3.6. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-1 MS 11941

This list, preserved in fund 1 of the Center for Oriental Manuscripts, has lost the last pages with its appendices, although the text of *Hadiqat al-arifin* (ff. 1b-144b) is preserved in its entirety. The size of the book is 24x14.5 cm, the text size is 16x9 cm. The text was written by one person in the *nasta'līq-turkistānī* style, which is common in Central Asian manuscripts, with black ink and red ink. The pagination was done in black pencil by the staff of the Center, and the oriental competition has been preserved up to the missing pages of the text. The original cover has been replaced, rebound with a cardboard cover, the pages of the notebook consist of 8 folios (sheets). On the inside endpapers of the book is the 1962 birth certificate of 66-year-old Shukur Abdollaev, resident of house 14, Akhunguzar-1 neighborhood, Oktyabr district, Tashkent. The manuscript also contains notes from the former owner of the manuscript, Shukur Abdollaev, where he writes that he paid 50 kg. rice for the book and for restoration 10 kg. rice, since there are no other manuscripts (*chunku bashqa nusqasy yoq*). He also indicates the name of the book as "*Hadiqat al-arifin sharkhi*" and wrote that it should be well preserved and thanked the former owner Isaev Habīb-hājī ughly for keeping it intact and not losing it.

The manuscript contains no information about when and by whom it was written, but according to paleographic data it can be dated to the 19th century.

2.3.7. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-1 MS12387

Manuscript No. 12387 consists of 169 pages and includes 1 endpaper at the beginning and 3 endpapers at the end. The shape of the book is 20x13 cm, the text size is 13.5x6.5 cm. The text of the work is written on pages 1b-169b of the book in black ink in the *nasta'līq* style (names of Allah, chapter titles, personal names in red ink), the text is covered with red ink. The original pages have been damaged by moisture, there are traces of moisture around the edges, and the ink has washed off.

It can be seen that the cover and paper of the book were made by local craftsmen. The cover of the book is intact, made of cardboard and covered with brown leather. In the *sarturūndj*, is indicated the name of the master bookbinder Mullā Yūldāsh Sakhhāf and the year of production

is 1287/1871. The paper is brownish-yellow, untreated, only partially restored. At the top of the main text the title of the work is indicated as "Manāqib hazrat-i Ismā'il Ata r.a." On the left side there is an inscription in the *Chagatai* language:

"I wrote the words of Ismā'il Ata in red to give a more beautiful aesthetic, it was no longer possible to decorate, I did what my grandfather did, I tried to preserve the book as best I could."

Also, in the margins of pages 06a-8b, to reinforce the words of Ismā'il Ata, excerpts from the Hikmet of Khoja Ahmad Yasavī were given. The text of the work is incomplete; in chapter 14 it is interrupted at the place where the status of the Mashaikhs is mentioned. The manuscript contains no information about when, where or who wrote. The paper, writing style and design of the book appear to have been written much earlier than the time indicated on the cover (1287/1871) by the descendants of Ismā'il Ata.

2.3.8. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-1 N°13074

MS No. 13074 is one of the Tashkent copies, indicating the place of her correspondence. The book is in hard black cover, the size of the black cardboard cover is 26x16 cm. Volume the book is about 175 pages and contains three works. The book begins with the Sufi work of Abu al-Ma'alī Muhammad 'Awaz in Turkish "Tuhfa-i Qādirīya" (ff. 1a-64a), followed by the anonymous work "Ta'bīr-nāma Yūsuf 'alayhi al-salām" (ff. 64a- 66a). Then followed the works "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*", written on pages ff 67b-173b of the book. This manuscript does not include zail of "*Hadīqat*" as Nasab-nāma, manāqib. The text is rewritten on each page, 19 lines, in nasta'liq-Turkistānī handwriting. According to the information at the end of the book, the manuscript was written in the madrasah of Shaykh Badal-Dadha near the mausoleum of Khoja Ahmad Yasavī (f. 173b). On the cover of the book, in the *sarturūndj*, the name of the master bookbinder is indicated - Mullā Muhammad Farūq Sakhkhāf, and the date of production of the binding is 1271/1854, which suggests that the manuscript was written in the 1850s.

2.3.9. Center of Oriental Manuscripts (COM) Fund-1 MS 3853

Among the lists stored in the Fund-1 of the Center for Oriental Manuscripts, there is a list containing a defective text of the work. The size of the book is 20x14 cm. The paper is oriental, brownish-yellow in color, the edges of some pages are damaged by time. The text is written in 13 lines on each page, in nasta'liq handwriting. The ink is black, section titles, personal names and individual words ("Allah", "prophet", etc.) are written in red ink, words considered important to the reader are underlined. Hard binding, cover corresponds to the information in *turūnj* - 1283/1866, master bookbinder Mullā Muhammad Hājī Sakhkhāf. There is an inscription indicating that the owner of the book was a certain Nabī Khān Danmullā ibn Hāj Muhammad 'Alī (f. 23a). It seems that several pages of the manuscript have been lost; the book contains the texts from

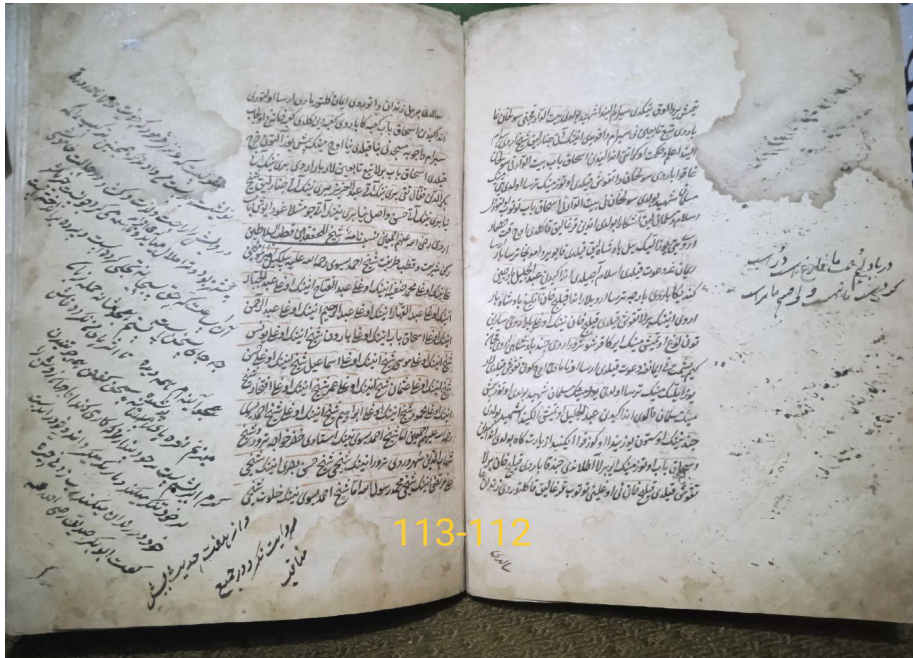
the beginning of chapters IV - XI (ff.1a-135b). The external paleographic features of the book indicate that it was written in the second half of the 19th century.

2.4. Kokand Copy MS 698

One manuscript of the treatise "*Hadīqat*" is kept in the collections of the Literary Museum of the Fergana Region named after Ghafur Gulam (founded in 1961) under inventory number No. 698. The manuscript contains two works: "*Tanzīl al-Sālihin wa kashf hājāt al-murīdīn*" on pages 1b-21b and the untitled '*risāla*' version of the treatise "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*" on pages 22b-79b. Manuscript size: 22.5 x 17.5 cm. The text of the two works was copied by the same hand in black ink according to the *nastā'liq* script. Handwritten paper is a medium-thick, untreated, yellow-brown woven paper made from cotton. It feels like a few pages have separated from the bottom ones and a few pages (43, 47, 54, 56, 69) have been processed. Since the last pages of the book were lost, the texts were supplemented by the hands of later scribes. In the margins of the pages copied by *Hadīqat* are written fragments of several Sufi works. Although the text of this version is defective, but it was rewritten by later scribes, it is important for two details: 1) on f. 23a it is stated that the work was completed in the month of Ramadan in 736 *hijra*, i.e. in May 1336; 2) pages 67a - 69a of the manuscript contain *manāqib* - a short biography of *Ismā'il Ata* and genealogy on pages 75b - 78a. It states that *Ismā'il Ata* was born in *Sairam* and died in 734/1333-34 at the age of 120 (f. 69a).

Figure 5

Kokand copy MS 698, ff. 112b-113a



The first work in the manuscript "*Tanzīl al-Sālihīn*" is considered a collection of Yasavī's teachings and prayers. This version may have been copied by Ismā'il Ata's murids, since fragments of several critical works were written in the margins of the *Hadīqat*, such as "*Qissa-i Malika-i Dānishmand*", "*Tafsīr-i Husaynī*", "*Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*".

Abdulatif Turdialiev, candidate of philosophical sciences, senior researcher at the Gafur Gulam Literary Museum, was the first to present this manuscript to the scientific community in the collections of the Gafur Gulam Literary Museum. The scientist translated the text of the Sufi treatise "*Tanzīl al-Sālihīn*" from the mentioned manuscript into Uzbek and published it in the issues of the journal "*Jahon adabiyati*" (Turdialiev, 2017).

Figure 6

Kokand copy MS 698, ff. 2a-3b



Conclusion

From the described features of the manuscripts of "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*," several deductions can be made. The adornment, calligraphy, covers, and other paleographic aspects of these manuscripts offer valuable insights for researchers, shedding light on various historical, cultural, and societal aspects. Manuscripts constructed for sultans, qādīs, and high-ranking officials often boast intricate decoration and illustration. Conversely, the surviving manuscripts of "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*" present a stark contrast, lacking any embellishment or ornamentation.

These manuscripts are tailored for everyday use, with a medium size of 20x15 cm (+/- 3 cm). Based on the calligraphy and codicological evidence, it seems that scribes and book owners with moderate levels of experience penned the manuscripts. Hence, copyists, readers, owners, users, and custodians are likely associated with a specific Sufi environment, potentially including the author's descendants (MS 252; MS 2851 Sayyid Akram Khoja) and followers.

The Tashkent copies we referenced date back to the 17th – 19th centuries and indicate a lineage of copying among the descendants and murids of Ismā'il Ata in Central Asia. Among these manuscripts, the oldest copy of the '*Risāla*' version, MS 252, was transcribed by Khoja Ya'qūb bin Khoja Ismā'il, who belonged to the 9th generation of Ishāq Khoja al-Turkistānī. Another manuscript, MS 2851 was written by Sayyid Akram Khoja, tracing his lineage back to the 11th generation from the 9th son of the author's father, Ismā'il Ata. Two additional versions, numbered 3004 and 3637, were in possession of Ismā'il Ata's descendants. All '*Risāla*' versions (MS. 252, 2851, 3004), where the title of the work is unspecified, can be attributed to direct descendants of Ismā'il Ata.

Various studies have shown that Pontius in Central Asian papers is exceptionally rare, and if present, the distance between them measures about 15 mm. additionally, it has been observed that there are typically 7–8 'verge' lines per 1 cm, with this number increasing to 8-10 in later centuries. An examination of Tashkent manuscripts revealed the presence of papers originating from Samarkand, Bukhara, and Kokand. Kokand paper displays a brownish-yellow hue, while Bukhara paper is creamy, and Samarkand paper appears milky white. Papers produced in the Kokand Khanate exhibit artisanal qualities, featuring a fibrous structure with high light transmission and moisture absorption. However, they are often inadequately processed, lack ironing, and lack pantuizo. Kokand papers are prominently featured in most Tashkent manuscripts, indicative of papers commonly used during the 17th-19th centuries.

Kurrāsa, that is, the number and binding of notebooks, is another feature that indicates where and in which oriental schools the manuscript was prepared. We have seen that the artifacts considered in this issue were prepared according to the Central Asian binding tradition. Notebooks are folded from 4 or 3 biofilms and form eight or six sheets, respectively.

In the question of where and in which eastern schools the manuscript was prepared, first of all, you should pay attention to the materials of the cover, *turundj*, *sarturūnj*, *lachak*, *lisan*, etc., since these elements reveal the characteristics of book schools. In Central Asia, until the 18th century, most covers were made from paper, which was not suitable for writing, and cardboard was made from them. From the beginning of the 19th century, bindings were made in special workshops. Thanks to this, their production technologies, thicknesses, sizes and patterns have become uniform. The covers, made in Central Asia, were mainly made of cardboard, and green, black and brown varnished paper were glued on

top, and skins were covered around the edges. The lids were decorated with large *turūnj* medallions and small *sarturundj* medallions, and the edges were edged with *zanjira*. *Turūnj* were not decorated with complex plant patterns, but in the *sarturūnj* the masters usually indicated their name and year of preparation binding. The manuscripts in question were made by local craftsmen of Samarknad, Bukhara, Tashkent, Turkestan, Kokand (MS 3004 - Mullā Niyāz Bakī Sahnāf, 1251/1835; MS 12387 - Mullā Yuldāsh Sahnāf, 1287/1871; MS 13074 - Mullā Muhammad Farūk Sahnāf, 1271/1854; MS 3853 - Mullā Muhammad Hāji Sahnāf, 1283/1866-67). As we said above, in manuscripts before the 18th century the name of the master was not indicated on the covers; according to these traditions, on the cover of manuscript No. 252, rewritten in 1103/1692, the name of the master is not indicated.

The name of the master was also typically inscribed on the covers of Central Asian manuscripts within the central *turūnj*. "*Lisan*", "*astara*", and "*zanjira*" which are prevalent in Ottoman and Persian book traditions, were absent in the manuscripts we reviewed.

The *kurrāsa*, which refers to the quantity and binding of notebooks, serves as an indicator of the geographical origin and the specific oriental schools where the manuscript was produced. Our examination reveals that the items in question were crafted in accordance with the binding tradition of Central Asia. Notebooks are assembled from either 4 biofilms, resulting in eight sheets, respectively.

The differences between the two versions of the treatises '*Hadīqat*' and '*Risāla*' can be illustrated as follows:

- Manuscripts of untitled versions of the '*Risāla*' include appendices (*zail*) alongside the main text of the treatise.

- The texts of the '*Risāla*' versions are relatively larger compared to the '*Hadīqat*' versions.

- Although the chapter and section titles are consistent across both versions, the volume of text in each listing differs. This variation is not due to differences in font size or text scale but rather the content itself.

- The "*Risāla fi manāqib Ismā'īl Ata*" (No. 252, pp. 88a-94b; No. 2851, pp. 261b-276a; No. 3004, pp. 195a-205a), present in the '*Risāla*' versions, is absent from the manuscripts of the '*Hadīqat*'.

- In versions where the title is provided, the manuscript elaborates on the writing of the work and provides the rationale behind naming it "*Hadīqat al-Ārifīn*", which is not absent in the versions of the '*risāla*'.

"*Hadīqat al-ārifīn*" constitutes a didactic treatise composed in the medieval written Turkic language of *Chagatai*. The author's intent was to document the teachings, counsel, and ethical insights gleaned during their tenure, effectively constructing a personal discourse encountered in a Shaykh's discourse within a *khanqah* or *taqqiyah*. In this regard, "*Hadīqat al-ārifīn*" epitomizes the Sufi legacy within the *Chagatai* Turkic linguistic sphere.

Ishāq Khoja bin Ismā'il Ata al-Qazigūrtī at-Turkistānī's work, according to scholars, stands as one of the earliest written treatises within the Yasavī tradition in the domain of Kazakhstan. Author's silsila in the Yasavī tariqat continues to Ismā'il Ata al-Qazigūrtī - Ibrāhīm Ata al-Turkistānī - Sükskūk Ata - Muhammad Dānishmand - Khoja Ahmad Yasavī, as shown in the "*Hadīqat*" texts.

Although there are several Sufi literary works that preceded the *Hadīqat al-'ārifīn* (14th century), disseminating the Sufi teachings of Yasavī, the early manuscripts of these works in such quantity as the *Hadīqat* have not survived, or the surviving copies are still unknown to the current academic environment.

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Appendices / Ekler

Appendix 1

The copies of 'hadiqat' versions

Kabul MS 63/19 ff. 183a–259a
 COM MS11838 ff. 1b –132a
 COM MS 3637 ff. 1b –208b
 COM MS 11941 ff. 1b–144b
 COM MS 12387 ff. 1b–169b
 COM MS 13074 ff. 67b–173b
 COM MS 3853 ff. 1a–135b

The copies of 'risāla' versions

Uppsala O Nov.380 ff. 177a–218b
 COM MS 252 ff. 1b–85a
 COM MS 2851 ff. 21a–254b
 COM MS 3004 ff. 17b –191a
 Kokand MS 698 ff. 22b–79b

Appendix 2

Bābs in the 'hadiqat' version (MS 11838)

1. bāb bayān al-aruākh
2. bāb bayān al-a'mal
3. bāb bayān shaykh
4. bāb bayān al-murīd
5. bāb bayān az-dhikr
6. bāb ba bayān as-samā'
7. bāb bayān al-khizmat
8. bāb bayān al-irādāt
9. bāb bayān at-tasawūf
10. bāb bayān al-ma'rifat
11. bāb bayān al-mahabbat
12. bāb bayān al-'ibādāt
13. bāb at-tark ma la iu'nihī
14. bab bayān al-maqamah
15. bāb bayān idrāk laylat al-'id

Bābs in the 'risāla' version (MS 2851)

1. bāb bayān al-mashaikh
2. bāb bayān al-a'mal wa du'ā'
3. bāb bayān fi tasbīh
4. bāb bayān adab al-murīd
5. bāb bayān az-dhikr
6. bāb bayān as-samā'
7. bāb bayān al-khizmat
8. bāb bayān al-fakhr
9. bāb bayān at-tasawūf
10. bāb bayān al-mahabbat
11. bāb bayān al-ma'rifat
12. bāb bayān al-'ibādāt
13. bāb bayān at-tark al-rajul ma la iu'nihī
14. bāb bayān maqamat-i al-mashā'ikh
15. bāb bayān idrāk laylat al-'id ibtidā' al-kitāb

