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**THE ANDIJAN UPRISING OF 1898
AND ITS LEADER DUKCHI-ISHAN
DESCRIBED BY CONTEMPORARY POETS**

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Foreword

The 1898 Andijan Uprising and “Muslim Question” in the Russian Empire (Introduction to A. Erkinov’s Publication)¹

A. Erkinov’s publication presented here includes a number of original sources, namely, works of eminent poets of Central Asia from the late 19th to the early 20th century. Such works are very rarely studied as original historical sources. However, local poetry, as a genre, provided the most complete reflection of the religious-ethical standards of the era, particularly with regard to the most significant events of the time, such as the Andijan uprising, which occurred during a rather peaceful period. The author begins his article with a brief analysis of a change in views toward the Andijan uprising and other similar uprisings that took place in Central Asia. Erkinov shows how the evaluation of these events changed in Soviet historiography, depending on the ideological clichés of a given period, and the level of “ideological attentiveness” (marginality) of a particular researcher. The survey of opinions from the period of independence regarding the same uprising and attempts to present the uprising’s leader as one of the fighters “in the long-lasting struggle for independence,” is quite interesting. Not without irony, Erkinov notices that now a reassessment of the same events is sometimes performed by literary critics, who in old times amicably supported another ideology and its “scientific” approaches.

To the observations of the author I would add the following. It seems that the historical evaluation of the advance of the Russian empire in Central Asia (which proceeded partly as annexation² and partly as conquest with subsequent

¹ I would like to express my thanks to proff. Devin DeWeese, Hisao Komatsu and Sergey Abashin for useful comments and discussions.

² It should be remembered that the Kirghiz / Kazakh *zhüzes* (hordes) were incorporated into the Russian Empire on the basis of mutual agreements, e.g., Small and Middle Hordes. For detail see: Крафт И. И. “Судебная часть в Туркестанском крае и степных областях.” New ed.: Ешмухамбетов С., Жакеев С. (сост.) *Из истории казахов*. Алматы: Жалын, 1999. С. 330-339. One of the older works on the subject: Demko G. *The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan (Uralic*

colonization) will be influenced for a quite long time by the political realities of the present day, which have arisen after the disintegration of the USSR. The present reconsideration of history in the countries of the region predominantly comes with an ideological coloring, continuing the pattern established in Soviet times which fostered, especially in the “marginal” (or “provincial”) republics, the development of hypertrophic national narratives that led to isolated to the “national privatization of history,” in the Central Asia countries.³ Moreover, in the vast majority of the countries in the region the official authorities determine the vector of historical reassessments of the past, especially regarding the colonial and Soviet periods, by considering history as the most convenient way for “consolidation of the nation” (in perceptions of modern ideologists and politicians of the countries in the region). Post-colonial “patriotism” (in the definition given by politics and a significant part of the marginal intelligentsia) bursts into “modern history” and forms paradigms for the next “reconsideration” of history. This political (nationalist) ideology, by the way, is a product of the former Soviet provincialism and hidden opposition of “the Soviet Eastern sister republics,” which already then (in their own ways) had begun in a concealed manner to challenge the results of national delimitation.⁴ Such realities to one extent or another politicize today’s process of the reconsideration of one’s own history, which even without this is already so politicized that the occurrence of even more or less objective studies induces an ambiguous evaluation among researchers, who were once unified (shackled) within the uniform political and ideological system.

What is indisputable is that the conquest and colonization, and especially “membership in the country of the Soviets” (or, “semi-centennial apologetics” as defined by S. Dudoignon, the French researcher⁵) for a long time left a deep mark, and particularly influenced the minds of historians of the senior and middle generations in the former “southern republics” of the USSR. The “mark” was so deep that the anti-colonial and anti-Soviet rhetoric frequently published now is couched in well-known **Soviet** stylistic formulas and clichés.⁶ Moreover, as has

and *Altaic*). New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004.

³ See interesting remarks on methodology of studies in post-colonial Central Asian countries: Горшенина С. “Извечна ли маргинальность русского колониального Туркестана, или войдёт ли постсоветская Средняя Азия в область post-исследований?” *Ab Imperio*, 2007. № 2. С. 242-245.

⁴ The classical example is a famous book “*Tadzhiki* (The Tajiks)” by B. Gafurov (the latest edition – Dushanbe: Irfon, 2002), in which the author, according to attestation of eyewitnesses, wrote none of the lines. See comments to the Internet-version of the recent speech of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan on the occasion of B. Gafurov’s Jubilee celebrations: Э. Рахмонов. *Бобоҷон Гафуров и национальная самобытность таджиков. 26.12.2008* (*Permanent link to the site of the speech and comments*: <http://www.centrasia.ru/news>).

⁵ Дюдуањон С. А. “Кадимизм: элементы социологии мусульманского традиционализма в татарском мире и в Мавераннахре (конец XVIII – начало XX вв.)” Дюдуањон С. А., Исхаков Д., Мухаметшин Р. (ред.) *Панорама-форум*. 1997. № 12. спец. вып. *Ислам в татарском мире: история и современность*. Казань: Панорама, 1997. С. 69.

⁶ See also the above-mentioned article by S. Dudoignon: Dudoignon S. A. “Changements

been said, the "reassessment" is more often done by just those historians who themselves obtained a decent Soviet education, and once with a fair share of emotions (expressing the same loyalist moods, but to the red banner) proved the all-round advantage of "Annexation of Central Asia to Russia," and one-sidedly convicted those "bourgeois scholars," who wrote at that period about expansion or colonization, and so on. The reaction of some Russian scholar appears not less emotional and not entirely scientific; they also diligently try to argue the facts that the colonization of Central Asia did not bring benefits to the Crown of the Russian Empire and that it was precisely the local peoples who gained more advantages from colonization.⁷

Similar problems (in particular, as far as it concerns Islamic studies) existed and still can be seen today among western researchers (taking into account the conventionality of this geographical term). The significant part of western research was and still remains under, as defined by Devin DeWeese, the captivity of "Sovietological Islamic studies" ("Sovietological Islamology"), which is not interested in any other aspects of complex processes, aside from the special influence of Soviet ideology and the regime on the Islamic heritage within the framework of the creations of the history of new nations.⁸ Certainly, the limitation of both the "Soviet" and "Sovietological" schools is conditioned by realities of the "Cold War," the former common borders, limited access to sources, language barriers, and the like – problems, which, it seems to me, still persist, especially among the post-Soviet researchers of Central Asia. Though the present isolation of research in many respects repeats the problems of Sovietology, with the same ideological schemes (of anti-Soviet and sometimes anti-Russian orientation), and is amazingly similar to the approaches of the Sovietological school, but in a more primitive form.⁹ It is quite clear that the debates among historians in the post-Soviet era – of what was "better" for the region, whether its annexation to the Russian empire, or "everything remaining unaltered" – are absolutely unproductive, and, as noted, they simply reflect the ideological and partly political realities of the post-Soviet period.¹⁰

politiques et historiographie en Asie Centrale (Tadjikistan et Uzbekistan, 1987-1993)." *Cahier d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien*. № 16, 1993. pp. 100-110.

⁷ In this sense, the most characteristic work is the above-mentioned publication: Литвинов П. П. *Государство и ислам в Русском Туркестане (1865–1917) (по архивным материалам)*. Елец: Елецкий государственный педагогический институт, 1998. С. 122-123, 140-142. Also see work by the same author: Литвинов П. П. *Органы департамента полиции МВД в системе "военно-административного" управления Русским Туркестаном (по архивным, правовым и иным источникам)*. Елец: Елецкий государственный университет, 2007.

⁸ DeWeese D. "Islam and the Legacy of Sovietology: A Review Essay on Yaacov Röi's *Islam in the Soviet Union*." *Journal of Islamic Studies*. Vol. 13. № 3, 2002. pp. 298-330.

⁹ See also: Горшенина С. "Извечна ли маргинальность....," С. 234-235.

¹⁰ Time and again we hear (not only in everyday life, or in the propagandistic press, but also among venerable scholars) that if it had not been for the periods of colonization and Sovietization, today there would not be any difference between the region of CA and Afghanistan. This reminds me of a similar "what if" interpretation of the "great mission of Amir Temur," who won the fight with the Turkish sultan Bayazid I, and thereby saved Europe (I wonder, what he saved it from?).

In any case, these two extreme estimations can only have scholarly interest (for example, in terms of studying the post-Soviet [post-colonial] reassessments of history, their links with political realities, the professional level of researchers, etc.).¹¹ Apparently, the best way out of such peculiar “dead ends” in debates is to publish original sources, and Erkinov does this rather productively and in a professional manner.

The evaluation (self-estimation) of approaches used in Soviet time is an especially sensitive issue among post-Soviet scholars. Self-justificatory references of some CA researchers to “the ideological dictatorship of Moscow” in discussions of publications or dissertations, particularly covering the Timurid period, and especially the period of colonization, look interesting (if not to say amusing).¹² Also repeating ourselves, we say that the same type of reassessment (alas, not always objectively) occurs among some modern Russian researchers who are held captive by the series of fundamental works from pre-revolutionary and partly post-revolutionary periods.¹³ However, in Russia the idea of a “civilizing mission” was regularly revived and made its way into popular publications in the past as well. Such is the case with a series of articles that obviously served to justify the elimination of the Kokand / Khoqand Khanate (February 1876).¹⁴ It was precisely in that period, when, in a manner of speaking,

Regarding the latter example, the wording used by the experts in Timurid studies, for example, of Uzbekistan, are surprisingly similar to the respective expressions of the Soviet historian Academician B. A. Rybakov, who advanced the argument about the extraordinary role of Medieval Russia, which redeemed Europe from the Mongols. Here we can see how deep the influence of Soviet historiography was, and how convenient it was in the formulation of apologetic views on history.

¹¹ The historical collisions are discussed in considerable detail (in the context of the views of western, Russian, and to a lesser extent Central Asian scholarship) in the above-mentioned articles by S. Gorshenina and S. Abashin.

¹² Moreover, works of local scholars were quite often stamped with notorious “ideological marking” by their own colleagues because of scholarly competition, which (due to the system existing since Stalinist times) could be hidden by that very marking based on the “ideological immaturity of the submitted work.” However, based on my knowledge of examples of such cases and publications, I dare to conclude that the inner self-censorship of “ideological loyalty” among the Soviet scholars of CA functioned much more effectively than a “peremptory shout from Moscow.” Besides, there are still many living scholars in Central Asian countries, whose dissertations on topics mentioned above, or similar areas, were once not accepted by the local Academic Councils and were “dismissed” with the familiar stamp of “ideological immaturity.” However, practically all of them defended their theses precisely in Moscow, where scholarly institutions were highly ideologized, though not so much (especially in later Soviet times) as in any of “Southern republics” of the former Soviet Union. See also the observations in: Dudoignon S. A. “Changements politiques et historiographie...,” pp. 100-110.

¹³ A fairly detailed analysis of contemporary condition of the post-colonial studies in Russia (with analysis of the sources of influence, reanimated old paradigms and others) is provided by S. Gorshenina in her two works: Горшенина С. “Извечна ли маргинальность...,” С. 39-43; Горшенина С. “Крупнейшие проекты колониальных архивов России: Утопичность тотальной Туркестаники генерал-губернатора Константина Петровича фон Кауфмана.” *Ab Imperio*, 2007. № 3. С. 60-63).

¹⁴ See, for example: “Кокан(д)ское ханство.” *Грамотей*, 1876. № 3. С. 55-67 (От редакции).

the "civilizing missions" formula of colonization, and the blessings brought to the subject peoples by the "civilizers," were actively discussed again.¹⁵

Most likely, for the military leadership and politicians of Russian Turkestan, the rhetoric of the "educating and civilizing mission" served only as a necessary accompaniment to the quite pragmatic goal of the "subjugation of the frontiers," or, according to S. Gorshenina, a way of "politically legitimizing" the conquest.¹⁶ That position appeared and began to be introduced in political and even in military lexicon (alongside with such words as "reconciliation," "gain," "advance"), chiefly in the days of the first "Organizer of the territory" K. P. von Kaufman.

Self-inspired estimations of this sort frequently looked like self-justifications as well, and in the course of time they eventually generated the sense of a "high civilizing and educating mission," even though the mission was accomplished with the help of force and contrary to the will of the local peoples. Such self-estimation, to one extent or another, provided a guiding principle or a reference point for many Russian researchers of the territory, for example, N. P. Ostroumov (1846-1930) and, in part, V. P. Nalivkin (1852-1918). It should be mentioned however, that the position of the latter moved in the opposite direction as a result of the influence of numerous circumstances, including some of a personal nature.¹⁷ In fact N. P. Ostroumov showed great diligence in "the education of aborigines," but in such a form that he and his like-minded fellows understood it.¹⁸

In the present paper, I do not intend to make inferences about views on Russian colonization, or on the correlation of imperial, national or historical narratives in works of modern researchers - a subject of bibliographic and

¹⁵ Thus, for instance, one of the anonymous authors (probably from military-political circles) of that time, in an attempt to prove the rightfulness and appropriateness of the elimination of the Kokand Khanate, writes, "therefore it is desirable that *force* serve the actual (p)reservation of our domain [in Central Asia], which is possible only when *European culture* penetrates into these ... steppes, if *force will be found to be a blessing for that civilization* for which it would serve as a protector. (The Russian people) possess the ability to master and attract (to) themselves foreign ethnic groups, or at least those that stand at lower stages of educational [development]" (italics mine – В. В.). *Санкт-Петербургские ведомости*, 1875. № 224.

¹⁶ Горшенина С. "Крупнейшие проекты..." С. 46.

¹⁷ For more detail see: Абашин С. Н. "В. П. Наливкин: «...будет то, что неизбежно должно быть; и то, что неизбежно должно быть, уже не может не быть...». Кризис ориентализма в Российской империи?" Суворова Н. Г. (ред.) *Азиатская Россия: люди и структуры империи*. Омск: Издательство ОмГУ, 2005. С. 43-96.

¹⁸ The activity and views of N. P. Ostroumov in the capacity of the "expert-orientalist" and in the context of Russian "orientalism" and colonialism are discussed in the article by A. Khalid: Khalid A. "Russian History and the Debate over Orientalism." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. Vol. 1. № 4, Fall 2000. pp. 691–699. See also: Алексеев И. Л. "Н. П. Остроумов о проблемах управления мусульманским населением Туркестанского края." Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и науч. ред.) *Сборник русского исторического общества*. Т. 5 (153). *Россия и Средняя Азия*. Москва: Русская панорама, 2002. С. 89-95.

methodological disputes of the last 10 or 15 years.¹⁹ I am mainly interested in responses of Russian experts and politicians to the Andijan uprising, and especially in the responses of those who worked in Central Asia, and in their own way stimulated a new wave of discussions on “the Muslim question” in association with that uprising, as has been mentioned already by some researchers.²⁰ This question is also closely related to historiographical and methodological debates on colonialism, Russian “orientalism” (including the well-known concept of “power and knowledge”), and the status of Russian experts. These debates are naturally associated with the idea of Russian Mission and attempts to bring the “aborigines” into the “civilizational space,” as it was understood by some experts and politicians. However, the existence of the personal, sometimes rather very friendly, contacts between the “regional experts” of Russian Turkestan and the “aborigines” requires substantial corrections the widely discussed question of the status of the Russian colonial expert (within the framework of the evaluation of “Russian orientalism”), and requires more complex concepts than those offered by some researchers.²¹ However, to speak about “patriarchal colonialism” as some Russian researchers (see above) try to do is also irrelevant.

Nevertheless, jumping ahead, we should note that the majority of Russian experts working in the region could not overcome estrangement from the autochthonous population in spite of the fact that some of them (for example, V. P. Nalivkin) were inclined toward just that. On the other hand, I was also interested in the attitude of the local population toward the colonizers, as the degree of estrangement of the local population was much more extensive, and

¹⁹ See the brief review in the above mentioned articles by S. Gorshenina. One more article on the subject (written in French and intended mainly for western readers) is being prepared in co-authorship with S. Abashin.

²⁰ See, for example: Brower D. *Turkestan and the Fate of the Russian Empire*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003. pp. 88-90; Crews R. D. *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*. London: Harvard University Press, 2006. pp. 287-289, 343-347; Komatsu H. “Dār al-Islām under Russian Rule.” Tomohiko U. (ed.) *Empire, Islam, and Politics in Central Eurasia*. Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 2007. pp. 9-18. These papers contain brief bibliographical reviews.

²¹ See, for example, the discussion on this subject, which was spurred by publication of N. Knight’s article proposing to applicability of Edward Said’s concepts to Russian “orientalism”: Knight N. “Grigor’ev in Orenburg, 1851–1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?” *Slavic Review*. Vol. 59. № 1. Spring 2000. pp. 74-100. In a corresponding article A. Khalid provides further justification for applying the Said’s concept to Russian “orientalism,” on the example of the renowned N. P. Ostroumov’s activity: Khalid A. “Russian History...” In the same issue of the journal “Kritika,” N. Knight publishes a response to A. Khalid’s publication: Knight N. “On Russian Orientalism: A Response to Adeeb Khalid.” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. Vol. 1. № 4, Fall 2000. pp. 701–715, while M. Todorova adds her comments on their debates: Todorova M. “Does Russian Orientalism Have a Russian Soul?” A Contribution to the Debate between Nathaniel Knight and Adeeb Khalid. *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. Vol. 1. № 4, Fall 2000. pp. 717–727. Later, the Russian researcher S. Abashin proposed his assessment of the colonial history of Turkestan. See: Абашин С. Н. “В. П. Наливкин...,” С. 44-46.

could hardly be surmounted "as soon as possible," as wished by V. P. Nalivkin, whose liberal position, it is necessary to say, could not gain dominance in the general colonial policy in the south of the Russian Empire. In any case, the "Russian vision," or more precisely, Russian "orientalism," has been studied for a long time and there are more works on the topic than works that analyze the views emanating from the South ("The East").

There is no need to prove that it was unusual for the majority of uprisings among the discontented masses in the period of colonization to have open political demands. However, the uprising of Dūkchī Īshān²² was undoubtedly political, though some of his followers were guided by different motivations, at least at the initial stages of involvement in the Īshān's "organization." Deliberate political engagements (including those of an obvious anti-colonial nature) were not extraneous to local peoples, and especially to the intelligentsia, as well as to Bukhara and Khiva Khanates.²³ In this sense the major action was demonstrated by the various reformers and, particularly, by their (relatively) left-wing elements – the Jadīds, and later (during the period of the two last Russian revolutions) by the opponents of Jadīds – the so-called "qadimists."²⁴

Again looking at the Andijan uprising, we repeat that it should definitely be considered as an action of a purely political nature (though a local one), and one clearly targeted against the colonial authorities.²⁵ At that time it had been taken precisely in this spirit both by the local colonial administration and by the center of the Empire. This is confirmed by the appearance of a flood of publications in the Russian press, which expressed reactions (sometimes with an extremely aggressive attitude) to the Andijan uprising, and thus this gave rise to a new discussion of "the Muslim (Mohammedan) question" and "dervishism."²⁶

²² For more detail on the uprising see our previous publication: Бабаджанов Б. М. "Дукчи Ишан и Андижанское восстание 1898 г." Абашинов С. Н., Бобровников В. О. (сост.) *Подвижники ислама: Культ святых и суфизм в Средней Азии и на Кавказе*. Москва: Восточная литература, 2003. С. 251-276.

²³ It will suffice to mention Aḥmad Dānīsh, Dāmullāh Ikrāmcha, Ṣadr-i Dīyā, who in fact became the precursors of the Young Bukharans' movement. In this respect the last quarter of the 19th century in Khorezm remains uninvestigated and it appears that Young Khivans' movement was the product of external influence, not an indigenous movement.

²⁴ The most comprehensive analysis using this approach has been recently accomplished by Professor S. Agzamkhodjaev: Агзамходжаев С. *История туркестанской автономии (Туркистон мухторияти)*. Ташкент: Тошкент ислом университети, 2006 (the chief sources and bibliography are discussed there).

²⁵ This is true despite the fact that the ideological motivations for the uprising came from religious paradigms, with a vague appeal to the Turkish Sultan (as the "Caliph of the Muslims"). Of particular interest is the fact that just before the uprising Dūkchī Īshān, according to the old tradition, was "raised and hailed as a khan," thus giving the uprising a political color in a most striking manner.

²⁶ In my earlier paper I have already discussed the "Sufi constituent" of the Andijan uprising. See: Babadžanov B. M. "Dūkchī Īshān und Aufstand von Andižan 1898." Kügelgen A. v., Kemper M., Frank A. (eds.) *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*. Vol. 2. Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998. pp. 167-191. I think speaking about the Andijan uprising in terms of "Sufi movement" is absolutely

A very distinct assessment of this uprising and of “the Muslim question” in general was made by the local colonial administration of Central Asia. In this respect, “The report written and presented with unquestioning obedience and veneration by faithful and loyal subjects” signed by S. M. Dukhovskoy, the Governor-General of Turkestan of that time (March 1898-1901), is particularly interesting.²⁷ From the first words of the report, it becomes clear that it was precisely the Andijan uprising that motivated writing the document and addressing it to Nikolay II (1894-1917). The report perceives the uprising exclusively as “a secret plot... of the Muslims kindly treated by the Russian authorities” and indicates that “the impulses among the Muslims to uprisings similar to the Andijan uprising are possible in the future, as well.”²⁸

Taken as a whole, the document represents the distinctive quintessence of the inconsistent attitudes toward “the Muslim question” that reigned in the moods of the region’s so-called “practical specialists in Islamic studies” (experts), who were the actual authors of the document; thus, the document reflects their personal observations, investigations, and, most importantly, their apprehensions and fears.²⁹ Certainly, their views in one way or another influenced the formation of the positions of some politicians, military leaders and representatives of the administrative system, both in the colony, and in the capital.

The position toward “Muslims,” or “Islam and natives,” expressed in the document, was dual to some extent. On the one hand, we see “fatherly love and care” (in a rather political and messianic sense) toward the Muslim “masses of beloved sons,” and a sincere aspiration to destroy the “walls and chasm” between the Russians and the local people.³⁰ On the other hand, Islam is perceived as “clearly hostile to Christian culture and it excludes any possibility of full moral

inappropriate, taking into consideration the serious transformations that took place in Sufism. It is clear that the documents mentioned here initiated the discussion of the Andijan uprising in terms of “dervishes’ *ghazawāt*,” and included as a parallel to Shamil’s uprising in Chechnya (absolutely incomparable uprisings both in scope and organization!). Compare: Crews R. D. *For Prophet and Tsar...*, pp. 288-289.

²⁷ “Ислам в Туркестане, Доклад туркестанского генерал-губернатора С. М. Духовского, 1899 г.” Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. вступ. ст., предис. и коммент.) *Императорская Россия и мусульманский мир*. Москва: Наталис, 2006. С. 138-178.

²⁸ “Ислам в Туркестане...” С. 142-143.

²⁹ According to the editors (A. Yu. Arapov and E. I. Larina), V. P. Nalivkin, the distinguished ethnographer and expert of the local territory, played a significant role in the preparation of the report (Introduction to the edition, P. 139-140). In our opinion, N. P. Ostroumov, played no small role in drawing up the “investigatory” part of the document (particularly, regarding the information on academic institutions), because the parts of the document concerning “aboriginal education” were obviously borrowed from his publications (alongside with the ideas of V. P. Nalivkin). See: Остроумов Н. “Колебания во взглядах на образование туземцев в Туркестанском крае (Хронологическая справка).” *Кауфманский сборник, изданный в память 25 лет, истекивших со дня смерти покорителя и устроителя Туркестанского края генерал-адъютанта К. П. фон-Кауфмана 1-го*. Москва, 1910. С. 139-160. However, the exact list of the group of authors is still an open question.

³⁰ “Ислам в Туркестане...” С. 162.

assimilation with us by the present Muslim subjects.”³¹

This sharp estrangement was decisive in defining the main direction of the policy towards “Mohammedanism” (*Magometanstvo*), which was also offered in the document – the politics of force (power) in combination with the idea of “moral / cultural assimilation” through educational establishments of the colonial administration (first of all, Russian-native schools).³²

With regard to the first part, i.e. resolving issues with the Muslims by force, the most typical remark of the document (*inter alia*) is the following: “The Turkestani natives over the course of many centuries became accustomed to the unrestrained autocracy of their former governors... and respect brute force.”³³ Building on this message, the document persistently calls for demonstration to the local population of the constant readiness to resolve “any discontent” with the help of the active armed forces of the tsarist military and to consider the demonstration of force as the most effective means of “suppression and pacification.”

When it comes to the question of “cultural assimilation of the native population,” the document as we can see presents complaints about the failure of the “campaign” and testifies to the Muslims’ fidelity to their religious authorities.³⁴

The other documents, to which I want to draw attention, were created by S. M. Dukhovskoy’s administration and offer special significance to the Andijan uprising and to “the Muslim question” raised in association with it. These are secret documents reported by the colonial administration (in Tashkent) under the title: “The General Rules of the Commission on the Question of a Muslim Religious Directorate in the Turkestani Territory” with Appendices (Draft of the

³¹ Там же. С. 155.

³² On the experience of organizing Russian-native schools in the Volga-Ural region, see: Geraci R. P. *Window to the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001. pp. 116-158. The researcher states that these schools (at least when famous Turkologist V. V. Radlov administered them) were not so much agents of Russianization and Christianization as instruments of education for citizenship and secularization: *Ibid.* p. 157. S. Abashin (with reference to the work by R. P. Geraci) believes that “The policy of establishing Russian-native schools in Turkestan was apparently correlated with the politics of establishing Russian-Tatar schools”: Абашин С. Н. “В. П. Наливкин...” С. 77, note 87. However, the curricula of the Russian-native schools in Turkestan (both in Russian Turkestan, and in the khanates) were clearly different from the Tatar ones. In order to attract children of the local Muslims (on the initiative of N. P. Ostroumov), the major portion of schools’ curricula was represented by introductory-level religious (Islamic) sciences, and the Russian language, whereas the ideas of citizenship and moreover, of secularity were not publicized at all: Sulaymonov S. *Russ-tuzem maktablari va ularning o’quv dasturlari. Magistrlik malakaviy ish*. Toshkent: Toshkent Davlat Sharqshunoslik Instituti, 2006. 20-34-b.

³³ “Ислам в Туркестане...” С. 155.

³⁴ See the following quotation: “The Russian administration has in hand the most insignificant means for **cultural struggle against the Muslim religion**, and for weakening that influence which Muslim schools, *qāḍīs*, *īshāns* and so forth exert...” “Ислам в Туркестане...” С. 154.

Directorate's Staff and Draft of "On Muslim educational institutions").³⁵ The General Rules were accompanied by a cover letter from the General headquarters of the (Asian) Military Ministry, which contained a revised version of several articles of the Regulations "On the organization of a Directorate for the Religious Affairs of the Muslims in Turkestan" (as a replacement of the 1886 edition of Regulations).³⁶ It is clear as evidenced by the drafts of the General Rules and the cover letter that the Andijan uprising stimulated debates on the legitimacy of the policy of "ignoring Islam by the Russian administration" and on the forms of "supervisory control of the religious affairs of the Muslims."³⁷ The colonial administration of Turkestan insisted on putting an end to the former policy of "non-interference into the religious affairs of the Muslims of Turkestan," having submitted the results of the work of their own experts on amendments and additions into the former "Regulations on the administration of the Turkestani territory," produced earlier by the Count Ignatiev's Commission.

The most important issue, which drew objections from some experts who lived and worked in the southern frontiers of the Empire and were involved in the creation of the above-stated document, was resistance to the emerging proposals for the creation of a Religious Directorate in Turkestan following the example of the Religious Directorates in Ufa and the Caucasus. The documents suggest the creation of a Directorate that would be under direct military-and-administrative control (without any intermediary role for the Muslim elite, such as muftis) over the appointment of *mullahs* over the opening of mosques, *madrasahs*, and *maktabs*, and over supervision of *waqf* properties. In the opinion of the authors of the Cover Letter and of the commentators from the Military ministry, the establishment of Religious Directorates in Russia and the delegation of powers to "administer their religious affairs," created conditions for the unification of previously "scattered and separated Muslims" and enabled them "to manage and regulate the affairs of Muslims in an even stronger Muslim spirit," providing "enabling conditions for the rallying of more Mohammedans." Should a similar organ (i.e., Religious Directorate) be established in Turkestan, the Russian State would lose the ability to wage a struggle against "the hardcore Mohammedans," and it would create an undefeatable wall, "through which it will be difficult for Russian culture and ideas of assimilation to penetrate," etc.³⁸ As a consequence,

³⁵ "«Необходимость неотложного принятия мер для направления в духе государственных интересов духовного строя мусульман», Проект устройства управления духовными делами мусульман Русского Туркестана, 1900 г." Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. вступ. ст., предис. и коммент.) *Императорская Россия и мусульманский мир*. Москва: Наталис, 2006. С. 194-221.

³⁶ Там же, С. 194-201.

³⁷ Там же, С. 198, 200, 202-204.

³⁸ Там же, С. 195, 202-205. In the above-mentioned Report of the General Dukhovskoy, the Religious Directorates of the Muslims of the Empire were blamed for "anti-Russian and anti-Christian propaganda": "Ислам в Туркестане..." С. 147-148. It was precisely because of this notion that the authors proposed (even before writing the Report) to establish an "Administrative Religious Directorate" subordinate to an administrator (most likely chosen among the experts of the territory).

as the compilers of the documents remarked in dismay, "the conversion of Muslims to Christianity occurred in exceptional occasions, while reversion to the Muslim faith by those who had once departed from it became rather common."³⁹

Another question that deeply worried the Turkestani experts (and, accordingly, military officials and administrators of the territory) was the Islamization, by Tatar mullahs, of the nomadic and especially the settled "Kirgiz" (i.e., the Qazaqs)⁴⁰ who were considered the most convenient target for assimilation because of they remained "indifferent in matters of religion."⁴¹ The same idea in similar phrases was worded in General S. M. Dukhovskoy's Report.⁴²

The publishers believe that both S. M. Dukhovskoy's Report and the Note of the Commission "had been put into cold storage" and had no practical consequences.⁴³ This may correspond to reality, because, at a minimum, strong-arm tactics in relation to the so-called "Muslim frontier regions" were resisted by relatively authoritative state figures such as S. Yu. Vitte, then Minister of Finance.⁴⁴ He accused General Dukhovskoy of extreme measures and of a "negative attitude toward the Muslims and to Islam," and stated that the Andijan events invoked a ghost of "Pan-Islamism."⁴⁵

Meanwhile, General Dukhovskoy remained as governor for three years and managed to implement a significant part of his own proposals. He punished with utmost severity not only the participants in the Andijan uprising, but innocent people as well, thus demonstrating exactly the kind of "firmness and strength" which he suggested in the documents mentioned above; he proposed that such an approach be raised to the level of a general policy of the Empire with regard to "the Muslims favored by the Russian authority."

³⁹ "«Необходимость неотложного принятия мер...»..." С. 202. Presumably, the point is about the "falling away" (renewed Islamization) of baptized Tatars. See.: Загидуллин И. "Причины отпадения старокрещенных татар Среднего Поволжья в мусульманство в XIX в." Дюдяньон С. А., Исаков Д., Мухаметшин Р. (ред.) *Панорама-форум*. 1997. № 12. спец. вып. *Ислам в татарском мире: история и современность*. Казань: Панорама, 1997. С. 34-56 (Ibid. bibliography).

⁴⁰ See: Франк А. "Татарские муллы среди казахов и киргизов в XVIII-XIX веках." *Культура, искусство татарского народа: истоки, традиции, взаимосвязи*. Казань, 1993. С. 124-132.

⁴¹ "«Необходимость неотложного принятия мер...»..." С. 202-203.

⁴² "Ислам в Туркестане..." С. 152.

⁴³ Introductions to the edition: "Ислам в Туркестане..." С. 141; "«Необходимость неотложного принятия мер...»..." С. 193 (in the first instance – with reference to the above-mentioned work by P. P. Litvinov).

⁴⁴ "Записка С. Ю. Витте по «мусульманскому вопросу», 1900 г." Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. вступ. ст., предис. и коммент.) *Императорская Россия и мусульманский мир*. Москва: Наталис, 2006. С. 242-261. The "Note" was composed in a style of strong criticism (of using force, as suggested by S. M. Dukhovskoy) with argumentative and rational warning. According to the editor's statement, the document was prepared by experts knowledgeable in Islam and well-informed of state of affairs with "Mohammedanism" in the Russian Empire (Editor's foreword, С. 242).

⁴⁵ "Записка С. Ю. Витте...", С. 253-255.

As it relates to the cultural and legal assimilation of local Muslims, the main vector of activity suggested in the aforementioned documents was to intensify the so-called “Russian-native” education and to attempt to legitimize civil courts in the region, which already functioned in other Muslim areas of the Empire. However, the local experts with undisguised disappointment wrote that it was not possible to open such schools on a wide scale and that the number of Muslim educational institutions (disseminating “fanaticism and obscurantism,” according to concepts of that time) was much bigger than the number of the Russian-native ones.⁴⁶

Thus, the Andijan events again had revived the political, missionary and partly research interest in Islam, or, using the formula of that time, in “the Mohammedan / Muslim question,” thus stimulating the number of publications and assessments by the academic researchers and politicians (I will speak about them below).

Reading the aforementioned documents and especially local publications triggered by the Andijan events leaves the impression that this burst of debates and information was incited by those colonial experts (including N. P. Ostroumov) who radically disagreed with the policies of “consistently ignoring Islam” and “non-interference into their religious affairs,” established by von Kaufman, the first Governor-General of Turkestan.⁴⁷ The Andijan uprising was most likely used to invoke the **artificially created** “Islamic threat” in order to lobby for the idea of toughening administrative control in the “Muslim question.”

A more sober estimation, both of the uprising, and of the scale of the “Islamic threat,” in our view, was proposed by S. Yu. Vitte, whose opinion was most likely formulated by the academic researchers of the St. Petersburg School of Oriental Studies. In the “Note” signed by S. Yu. Vitte, uprisings similar to the Andijan uprising are characterized as “small outbursts of religious fanaticism”; the “Note” concludes that “it is unlikely to be correct to consider them as characterizing the attitudes of all Muslims toward the Russian authorities: uprisings owing to ignorance... happened even among the native Russian population.”⁴⁸ S. Yu. Vitte also quite reasonably believed that the measures offered by S. M. Dukhovskoy could engender hostile attitudes toward Russia not only within CA, but also in the entire Muslim world.⁴⁹

In fact, Vitte’s accusations of extreme views were aimed not only, and

⁴⁶ “Ислам в Туркестане...” С. 154, 156, 163. Issues of the “correct education” (certainly, in Russian understanding) of the natives were discussed also by S. Yu. Vitte, a famous minister and politician, who gave a reasoned estimation of the Andijan uprising and governmental measures on the “Muslim question” (see below).

⁴⁷ About these policies see: Рыбаков С. Г. “Устройство и нужды управления духовными делами мусульман России (1917).” Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. введ. ст., коммент. и прилож.) *Ислам в Российской империи (законодательные акты, описания, статистика)*. Москва: Академикнига, 2001. С. 293-297.

⁴⁸ “Записка С. Ю. Витте...,” С. 249-250.

⁴⁹ “Записка С. Ю. Витте...,” С. 254-255.

not primarily, at S. M. Dukhovskoy. His accusations directly concerned also those who were involved in the drawing up of the aforementioned document. Obviously, they were experts similar those who put together then well-known publication on Islam, "The Collection of Materials on Muslims."⁵⁰ The critical Report of Abdulaziz Davletshin (his Muslim name is 'Abd al-'Azīz Dawlat-shāh), a famous Muslim officer in imperial service, is much less known.⁵¹ Here the author (he was a captain then) also makes a gentle hint that the ghost of the Andijan events became the reason for the one-sided views of the authors regarding Islam and the Muslims. A. Davletshin, by the way, had openly recognized conventionalism ("routinism") and the sluggishness of the minds of the majority of the Muslims of that time, including the stagnant forms of Muslim education in CA. However, he called for the separation of the historically developed forms of Islam from "stratifications of the latest interpreters" or from "additions and explanations of the latest interpreters."⁵² He most categorically objected to the thesis in the "Collection" that "the Muslims are the most irreconcilable enemies of Christianity, and that Islam teaches hatred toward all other religions and prescribes the extermination of Christians whenever an opportunity occurs."⁵³ A. Davletshin reasonably stated that characterizations of this kind (without proper knowledge of the fundamental principles of Islam) would arouse mistrust and hostility towards the "natives" of CA. Meanwhile such judgments about their religion lead Muslims to have a "feeling... of deep insult, and promotes an even greater increase in historically developed discord."⁵⁴

Approximately ten years later, discussion of the "Muslim question" was again revived, and this time it was associated with the name of the Minister of Internal Affairs and Chairman of the Council of Ministers (since 1906) P. A. Stolypin. In this case, discussions were stimulated by new challenges to the integrity of the Empire (such was the opinion in the top echelons of power) posed by "Pan-Islamism" and "Pan-Turkism." Without looking too much into the details of the corresponding documents (published in the aforementioned collection "Imperial Russia..." and addressed to the Council of Ministers), we emphasize the following statements, which are of interest for our purposes.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ *Сборник материалов по мусульманству*. Том 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1899; Том 2. Ташкент, 1900. The "Sbornik (Collection)," however, included rather neutral and informative articles by V. L. Vyatkin, S. Lapin, V. P. Nalivkin (Editor of Том 2).

⁵¹ "Доклад капитана Давлетшина по содержанию «Сборника материалов по мусульманству»" Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. вступ. ст., предис. и коммент.) *Императорская Россия и мусульманский мир*. Москва: Наталис, 2006. С. 233-237.

⁵² "«Желательно, чтобы ознакомление с мусульманством велось без крайностей, более спокойно и разносторонне», Генерал Абд-ал-Азиз Давлетшин и его труды по «мусульманскому вопросу», 1911 г." Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. вступ. ст., предис. и коммент.) *Императорская Россия и мусульманский мир*. Москва: Наталис, 2006. С. 236.

⁵³ Там же. С. 236.

⁵⁴ Там же. С. 236-237.

⁵⁵ Published by D. Yu. Arapov under title "Записки П. А. Столыпина по «мусульманскому вопросу», 1911 г." Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. вступ. ст., предис. и коммент.) *Императорская*

The statements here repeat in a weakened but expanded form the provisions and proposals of the above-named documents signed by General Dukhovskoy (even with direct reference to them). We note two important points, which were emphasized in the documents.

1. The documents *de facto* suggest abandoning the politics of “ignoring Islam,” given the growing threat of “Pan-Islamism,” as the compilers believed this would be to the state’s interest. According to Russian diplomats and gendarme services, this ideology came from Turkey, and partly from India.

2. P. A. Stolypin’s message on the surface calls for abandoning “missionism” and suggests a cautious and tactful attitude toward Muslims that would not touch their religious feelings. However, most of the actions and measures proposed by Stolypin’s experts (first of all, by A. H. Kharuzin) *de facto* still bear the spirit of “missionism” and are based on the idea of “accelerating cultural assimilation.”⁵⁶

It appears that due to P. A. Stolypin’s death as a result of a terrorist attack in Kiev (September 1911), the implementation of his Notes was not realized in full. The positive consequence of the second “raising of the Muslim question” was a revival of research in Islamic studies at a higher academic level, and the launching of projects on establishing special courses on Islamic studies as well as the foundation of a journal.⁵⁷

Thus, the new spate of discussions, at the turn of the century, about the “Mohammedan / Muslim question” actually began as a kind of reaction to the Andijan uprising. Turkestani experts such as V. P. Nalivkin and N. P. Ostroumov also ignited interest and discussions.⁵⁸ The first of them, along with his personal participation in preparing the above-mentioned “Report” to General Dukhovskoy, wrote an “independent expert” note concerning the “Muslim *ghazawāt*” that ostensibly threatened Russia.⁵⁹ In general, one can sense that in his approach to

Россия и мусульманский мир. Москва: Наталис, 2006. С. 313-337. The author shows that both documents were actually written by the Russian ethnographers (and later government officials), the brothers A. N. and N. N. Kharuziny and their sister V. N. Kharuzina (Introduction to the edition, С. 316).

⁵⁶ Там же. С. 327-331, 335-336.

⁵⁷ Там же. С. 337-342.

⁵⁸ See A. Erkinov’s remarks regarding the articles on the “Islamic threat” collected by N. P. Ostroumov.

⁵⁹ “Записка о возможных соотношениях между последними событиями в Китае и усилением панисламистского движения (Compiled by [V. P. Nalivkin] on the request of S. M. Dukhovskoy).” Арапов Д. Ю. (сост. и авт. вступ. ст., предис. и коммент.) *Императорская Россия и мусульманский мир*. Москва: Наталис, 2006. С. 181-190. The author states that it was necessary to “anticipate the Muslim *ghazawāt*, vigilance, remaining calm and giving full attention”: Там же. С. 171; and in clear “Huntington” style it continues that the *ghazawāt* “by which Islam today threatens European civilization will inevitably break out as soon as the Muslims ... manage to unite and strengthen to the point when they can give us a new solid revanche”: Там же. С. 188. In his later works of 1913, V. P. Nalivkin renounces his ideas, criticizing even the “mission” endeavors and aspirations of his compatriots: Наливкин В. П. “Туземец раньше и теперь.” Арапов Д. Ю. (ответ. ред.) *Мусульманская Средняя Азия*:

and estimation of the "Islamic threat," V. P. Nalivkin (at least, for that time) had a dual attitude toward Islam and Muslims. On the one hand, we see interesting publications by this outstanding researcher in which one could sometimes find relatively kind treatment of certain "morals and customs" of the local population.⁶⁰ On the other hand, we see that V. P. Nalivkin closely participated in creating the expert notes that chiefly called for the politics of force against Muslims, or indicated the danger of Muslims to Russians, and to Christians and Europeans at large. However, in his many other (later) works, when V. P. Nalivkin took the side of the socialists' platform, he openly regreted being involved in creating the image of "the dangerous natives." As S. Abashin reasonably noted, the example of V. P. Nalivkin's activity and the transformations (sometimes complete about-faces) in his attitude toward Muslims and Islamic culture suggests that the position and estimations of Russian "orientalists" were going through a rather complex (sometimes psychological) metamorphosis.⁶¹ However, the question regarding the degree of influence of the liberal V. P. Nalivkin (and other individuals similar to him, if any) on real policy in Turkestan still remains open.⁶² In any case, here and below, our discussions concern chiefly the period before and right after the Andijan uprising, which had an enormous influence on the positions of many Russian experts of the region.

Judging by the above-mentioned documents and by the quantity of the published material concerning the Andijan uprising, it is obvious that local experts of the Turkestan colony (so-called "practical experts in Islamic studies") intentionally approached both *Shar'iat* and other Islamic sciences as alien (and at times as hostile) "rules and standards of life and religion of the natives." Such an attitude of "mission" (and among certain experts, such as N. P. Ostroumov, a literally missionary approach), as registered in popular publications, and even in some documents of that time, could hardly add to mutual trust or to sympathy and good feelings.⁶³ Specific characteristics and definitions of the autochthonous people and their way of life (such as "savagery," "Asiatic barbarians," "Muslim fanatics," "foreigners," "aborigines" and so forth) used in the documents and publications of that time had programmed an estrangement which also in no smaller degree generated mistrust and even a hostile attitude toward Islam and Muslims. And such an attitude was again "heated-up" by the Andijan uprising.

Традиционализм и XX век. Москва: Институт Африки РАН, 2004. С. 60-62, 64, 77, 82-83, 102-103.

⁶⁰ See, for example, his interesting work written in co-authorship with his spouse: Наливкин В. П., Наливкина М. В. *Очерк быта оседлого туземного населения Ферганы*. Казань, 1886. The full bibliography of V. P. Nalivkin (including references to the unpublished works) see in the above-mentioned work by S. Abashin: Абашин С. Н. "В. П. Наливкин..."

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Compare the groundless statements of P. P. Litvinov claiming that V. P. Nalivkin had managed to lower anti-Russian moods and feelings among the "aborigines / *tuzemtzev*": Литвинов П. П. *Государство и ислам в Русском Туркестане...* С. 122-123, 140-142.

⁶³ See, for example, the above-stated A. Davletshin's reaction to the publication of the first issue of The "Сборник материалов по мусульманству"

At the same time, the so-called “practical experts in Islamic studies” had rather casual knowledge of Islam’s canons and especially of its legal and theological origins. However, they had an excellent knowledge of the practical obedience or non-obedience of the society to these canons and could observe the local forms of practicing Islam, ceremonialism, etc. However, above all, this cohort of experts presumably remained for a long time under the influence of estrangement stemming from the attitude of “mission” implanted by universities of that time, or mostly by courses in military schools, where the same messianic ideas of Russian people having an educational mission for “wild frontiers” clearly reigned, as they did within educated society. Moreover, the presumption of the “barbarity of Mohammedans” that was also present for a long time did not help to overcome such alienation. And only the country-wide influence of liberal-populist and later of socialist ideas seriously changed the positions of Turkestani experts,⁶⁴ including their considerations of the “Muslim question,” although they too led to the same idea of “the rapid enlightenment of the dark masses of natives.” Certainly, neither V. P. Nalivkin, nor even the missionary N. P. Ostroumov assumed the absolutely unreal task of the “Christianization” of Muslims. They spoke about education (enlightenment) and “civilization” as they understood them. Quite another matter was that they failed to deliver their understanding to local people. The governmental support and appropriate resources were required for this purpose. It is worth noticing, however, that not even the attempts of the Jadīds to “educate” the people were met with enthusiasm by ordinary believers, who always looked suspiciously upon everything new.

In any event, the lengthy residence of Russian experts (such as N. P. Ostroumov) in the very midst of “Mohammedans,” and close contacts and dialogue with them, obviously added no enthusiasm, but rather strengthened the idea among many of them that it was impossible to bring the inert masses of “Mohammedans” to “civilization” (as viewed by Russian experts). The majority of those experts could not overcome alienation, whether their own, or, conditionally speaking, that of the objects of their research and of their failed experiments in cultural assimilation (assimilation was not as large-scaled as they wished then). Perhaps as a result of living in the “alien” environment a specific (most likely psychological) phenomenon emerged: many Russian experts were irritated by the “stubbornness” of the local society, which with difficulty yielded to “cultural assimilation,” did not understand “its blessing,” and remained estranged and even hostile.⁶⁵ To judge from the aforementioned documents and publications of that time (the period before and just after the Andijan events), local experts and the administration had clear perceptions (which were very often quite true) that although the Russian people brought peace to the Turkestani inhabitants (by stopping internal wars and collisions between the khanates), the “ungrateful natives” did not give adequate appreciation, and even resorted to

⁶⁴ Абашин С. Н. “В. П. Наливкин...” С. 95-97.

⁶⁵ See, for example, the above-mentioned works by A. A. Semenov and N. P. Ostroumov.

uprisings.⁶⁶

Disappointment, in the possibility of a "peaceful mission to enlighten the natives," perhaps, strengthened the very idea of forcing the process through, as, for example, with a cardinal reformation of the educational system. Also, it seems that another outcome was the emergence of proposals that called for more active cultural assimilation. However, the tradition of ignoring the religious life of Muslims adopted since K. P. von Kaufman's times clearly created an obstacle to the implementation of such proposals. It appears that the Andijan uprising provided local experts and the administration with the "well justified reason" to formulate and submit to the highest authorities their own point of view on the forms of overcoming estrangement, which they experienced most severely because they lived in that milieu, while the natural inertness and conservatism of the locals caused a continuous psychological and, probably, somewhat ethno-confessional, discomfort.

Obviously, there were also other reasons for V. P. Nalivkin's or N. P. Ostroumov's mistrust⁶⁷ of Muslims after the Andijan events. As judged by their publications and confidential notes, they were seriously alerted (if not frightened) by the articles of Islamist and reformers from Turkey and India that expressed their reaction to the colonial policy of Europe and partly of Russia. V. P. Nalivkin openly writes about them in the aforementioned "Note," anxiously stating that the distribution of such journals among Russian Muslims, who were also writing anti-colonial articles, was increasing. It is our opinion, however, that the threat of an "All-Islamic *ghazawāt*" as seen by the Central Asian "experts in Islam" in such publications could hardly gain the expected magnitude. If we consider the real picture of the Islamic world, which was then torn apart by contradictions, the contrived "religious-sacral" enthusiasm of the articles and appeals of the Islamists could not provide sufficient reason to believe in the "unification of Muslims" and, thereby, in the increasing strength of the "Islamic threat." It should be noted that "modernism" (of "pan-Islamists" and "pan-Turkists") was perceived with extreme hostility even within Muslim society and especially among the traditionalists of Central Asia. Moreover, there were no reasons to believe that there was a threat of Muslims coming together under the aegis of the collapsing Turkish Empire.

As a whole, the movements of the "Young Turks", Tatar "Islahchiler" and other similar religious organizations and communities (in one way or another influencing Turkestan), not quite rightfully referred to as "pan-Islamism" or "pan-Turkism" (or more recently "Jadidism"), never was a unified political or religious movement (it was not destined to become a unified movement after all), and remained an abstract and utopian idea. Moreover, its political potential and

⁶⁶ See the aforementioned "Note" by V. P. Nalivkin, who obviously was affected by the outburst of indignation among the Russian inhabitants of Turkestan caused by the Andijan uprising (see note 59).

⁶⁷ See his position in the "Muslim question" in his article mentioned above: Остроумов Н. "Колебания во взглядах..."

significance, obviously, were strongly exaggerated, as mentioned already, by V. V. Barthold.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the intellectual ferment and discontent with the policy of the agonized Empire was typical not only among the “Muslim frontier regions,” but even among some political elites of St. Petersburg and Moscow. The more active and really dangerous were other (“populist,” socialist and other) movements, which murdered not one, but many city administrators, ministers and even the Emperor.

In any case, the majority of “practical experts in Islamic studies” (or “orientalists”) failed to develop a deep understanding of the fact that the Russians had clashed with a culture that was in critical condition (as was suggested by such orientalist and Islamic studies experts as V. V. Barthold, the archeologist and orientalist V. L. Vyatkin, and later I. Yu. Krachkovsky and V. P. Nalivkin), but was still “different” and “dissimilar.” The indoctrinated view that the culture of people “standing on a lower step of development” should be replaced with “higher” culture was never given up.

However, estrangement (natural and historical) was not limited to a significant portion of the Russian “experts of the region,” particularly those who were in “the midst of Mohammedans.” Starting from as early as the first stages of the Russian colonization and the “conquest of the territory,” local Muslim communities were certainly not going to accept dispassionately the fact of the seizure of their territories. Opposition to the Russians was viewed as a sacral response to “the non-believers, who attacked first” the territory of Islam, and, hence, legitimized *jihad*, even without its official, so to say, declaration by the *imām* / *khalīfa*. At the initial stages the region saw exactly this kind of reaction and here we can recall the movement of the *ghāzīs* (chiefly young *madrasah* students) who participated in the confrontation with the Russians in Bukhara,⁶⁹ or the armed protests against Khudāyār-Khān before the liquidation of the Kokand Khanate (for example, the “uprising” of Āftābachi⁷⁰), and others. However, these movements were not a serious threat, and never reached a broad scale; indeed, they never could have become such because the ideology of Islam, and Islamic institutions had been deeply weakened as a result of the deep political and moral crisis of the khanates, which then were torn apart by internal and external wars.

⁶⁸ Бартольд В. В. “Панисланизм.” *Сочинения*. Vol. VI. Москва: Наука, 1966. С. 402.

⁶⁹ These uprisings were described by Aḥmad Dānish: Aḥmad Dānish. *Tarjimat al-aḥwāl-i amīrān-i Bukhārā-i sharīf az amīr Dāniyāl tā ‘asr-i amīr ‘Abd al-Aḥad* (Biography of amīrs of holy Bukhārā from amīr Dāniyāl to amīr ‘Abd al-Aḥad). Manuscript of IO AS RUz. № 2095. ff. 22a-23b; 29a-b; Семенов А. [А.] “Покоритель и устроитель Туркестанского края генерал-губернатор К. П. фон Кауфман 1-й (материалы для библиографического очерка).” *Кауфманский сборник, изданный в память 25 лет, истекших со дня смерти покорителя и устроителя Туркестанского края генерал-адъютанта К. П. фон-Кауфмана 1-го*. Москва, 1910. С. XX, LI-LXII (the Collection cited above).

⁷⁰ See more about him in the composition: Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim ibn Dāmullā Mīrzā Raḥīm Tāshkandī. *Ansāb al-salāfīn va tawārīkh-i khawāqīn* (The genealogy of Sultans and the history of Khaqans). Manuscript of IO AS RUz. № 7515. ff. 134a-150b, cited in more detail below.

It was very unreasonable to expect that the local Muslims would extend an unconditional welcome to the colonizers. We should bear in mind that the conquest was accomplished by force (though it had some positive consequences for the local population), and moreover there was a centuries-old isolation and estrangement in the region, which could hardly be eliminated in just a few decades. Later on, however, when the policy of "non-interference" and "ignoring the religious life of Muslims" had been put in place, the majority of the local *'ulamā* recognized the territory of Turkestan "as the land of concord / peace with unbelievers" (*dār al-'ahd, dār al-ṣulḥ*), and by doing so they achieved a much greater stability (according to the former wording – "pacification") than the local administration achieved by undertaking some questionable actions (such as making an inadequate response to the Andijan uprising.)⁷¹

It should be noted that in the early stages of colonization the perception and recognition of Russian dominion in Turkestan and attempts at assimilation (including legal assimilation) to some measure resembled the perceptions by the Tatar world of Russian domination – i.e., as a system and law spreading exclusively religion (Christianity).⁷² Similar to what happened in the Volga region, persistent attempts at assimilation (frankly speaking, ineffective attempts) pushed local communities to resort to self-isolation and to strengthening the role of the *Shar'iat* in daily life as the only way of resisting cultural assimilation, which could hardly appear as legitimate (even with requiring the Russian language in *madrasahs*, or unpopular Russian-native education, etc.).⁷³

As *mullās* among the Tatars and Bashkir (ethnoses that were for a long time targets for Christianization) became very active, it is legitimate to claim that the long-term missionary work of the Orthodox Church (which was less active than the Catholic Church) ended in a fiasco. In subsequent periods the Imperial authorities carried out a more considered policy in missionary attempts by forbidding, at least, forced proselytizing. Given these conditions, sermons (*da'wā*) of Tatar and Bashkir *mullāhs* in the Steppe were much more successful; this is explained not only by affinity of their languages to the Turkic-speaking peoples living there, but also by the fact that people of the Steppe identified themselves (according to the rule "*iqrār bi-lisān*") for a long time as Muslims. At the same time we should give credit to the Russian empire for its state policy which often regarded appeals by administrative organs in the "Muslim frontiers"

⁷¹ See also our article: Babadjanov B. "Russian Colonial Power in Central Asia as Seen by Local Muslim Intellectuals." Eschment B., Harder H. (eds.) *Looking at the Colonizer. Cross-Cultural Perceptions in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Bengal, and Related Areas*. Berlin: Ergon Verlag, 2004. pp. 80-90.

⁷² Compare: Дюдуаньон С. А. "Кадимизм..." С. 59.

⁷³ It was not by accident that it was exactly "Tatars," who went to "Kirgiz-Kaysak Steppe" in order to "Islamize" the local peoples and gained, as several researchers think, some success: Франк А. "Татарские муллы среди казахов и киргизов..." С. 124-132. The authors of the "Notes" anxiously speak about this indicating it could possibly lead to strengthening of Islam in Turkestan in the context of confrontation with Russia.

for assimilation merely as permissible rhetoric (which could appear in articles expressing the “mission” spirit and the like). Although such a (relatively tolerant) position did not destroy mutual estrangement, it nevertheless bought relative tolerance into everyday life.

Returning to what was said before, we should note that Russian colonization of CA led to the strengthening of Islamic (and to some extent, ethnic) identity among the local people (first of all among traditionalist *‘ulamā* and other ordinary believers close to them), which developed as a defense reaction.⁷⁴

It appears that in the steppe areas, this process was really a re-Islamization of the nomads. The compilers of the mentioned documents openly wrote about it too, expressing fears that the Russian Muslims could be adding another 5 million actively Islamized “Kirghiz / Kazakhs of the steppe” (see above). Overall though, such anxiety on the part of the Russian experts and politicians seemed to be seriously exaggerated, insofar as the Tatar *mullāhs* **had not managed to carry out** really large-scaled and full-fledged Islamization of the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. Moreover, partial Islamization did not create “anti-State moods” in these tribes as expected by the Russian experts.

Appeals for “strengthening Islam and the *Shar‘īat*,” although in other forms, were also observed in the so-called “settled” or “semi-nomad” areas of Transoxiana, particularly after the liquidation of the Kokand Khanate (1876). This could be seen also in the production of religious works. For example, the compilation and mass copying of elementary theological compendia in the local languages explaining the basic requirements of the *Shar‘īat* and the required ritual norms (*farḍ*) became considerably more widespread (in comparison with the period of khanates) among the Muslim *‘ulamā* in Turkestan. These compendia were designed for ordinary believers. In the rather uniform “forewords” (*muqaddima*) of these compositions, the motives of the authors (frequently anonymous), who complained of existing difficult conditions “for preservation of the pure faith” (mainly in association with more frequent and close contacts of some Muslims with “Russian Christians”), gained particular emphasis. The loss of pure faith, they suggested, would bring the “doomsday” (*ākhirat zamān*) and therefore, to prevent it, “such-and-such” an author was obliged to remind people again about the religious and moral duties of the true believer.

One such compendium (among the largest, with 92 sheets / 184 pages)

⁷⁴ As early as the beginning of colonization (prior to the liquidation of the Kokand Khanate in 1876), the corrupt practice of the local colonial administration led to the “animosity of the local population,” and with the foundation of the Governor-Generalship (1865), many inhabitants of Kokand moved to Chinese Turkestan / Xinjiang (Kashgar, Yarkend and others). See: Семенов А. [А.] “Покоритель и устроитель Туркестанского края...” С. X-XI. Later, when in accordance with K. P. von Kaufman’s initiative a more deliberate policy of “respect for rights of the natives and non-interference into the religious life of the Muslim population” was launched, the refugees voluntarily started coming back to the territory of Turkestan: Там же. С. LXXVI.

belongs to the pen of the renowned historian Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim ibn Mīrzā Raḥīm Tāshkandī.⁷⁵ In the foreword, the author directly connects the “weakening of Islam and Muslims” with the liquidation of the Kokand Khanate by the Russians.⁷⁶ In his other historical essay, he puts even greater emphasis on the negative (from the author’s point of view) consequences of the Russians’ arrival.⁷⁷ Incidentally, in his “History,” compiled several years after the simplified theological compendium mentioned earlier (before 1886), he has a similar foreword in which he gives an apocalyptic interpretation of the “arrival of the Russians.” Most interestingly, the critical review of political and interethnic squabbling (as religiously illegitimate mutinies - *fitna*) of the time of khanates ends with a quite expected conclusion: the Russians were sent by Allah as punishment for continuous disorder under the khans and direct infringements of the *Shar‘iat*.⁷⁸

Meanwhile, the author served at the royal court of Khudāyār-Khān, the last khan of Kokand, and witnessed all the political and interethnic disorders (among the Turkic tribes) during the period of the khan’s rule (1865-1875)⁷⁹. For instance, he witnessed the uprising of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Āftābachī (the former adviser and the confidant of Khudāyār-Khān), which was cruelly suppressed by General Skobelev’s army. This event had seriously affected the author’s attitude and caused enmity toward the Russians. However, the author, being favored by Khudāyār-Khān, forgot to add that actually the khan himself called in the Russian army “for assistance,” as the chief rhetoric of the rebels was associated with anti-Russian slogans and waging *ghazawāt* against the non-believers.⁸⁰

Mullā ‘Ālim believes that imitating the Russians (in behavior or clothes), and even borrowing their things is a symptom of losing the faith and of the oncoming Apocalypse.⁸¹ At the same time, the traditionalists of that time regarded the emergence of modernist movements among the local Muslims (the same “Jadidism” in different forms), and particularly, their proposals to adopt certain things from the Russians, as “a religious split or cleavage” and as another sign of the nearing “end of the world.”⁸²

It is obvious that the fears of authors such as Mullā ‘Ālim about “losing Islam” should be viewed as a position of traditionalists (and a majority of ordinary believers, who followed them), who were afraid of the potential loss of

⁷⁵ Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim ibn Dāmullā Mīrzā Raḥīm Tāshkandī. *Hidāyat-i mu‘minīn* (The righteous pathway of the faithful). Manuscript of IO AS RUz. № 9379.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* ff. 1b-2a.

⁷⁷ Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim. *Ansāb al-salāfīn va tawārīkh-i khawāqīn*. He is known for his phrase “*mu‘min-u tarsā aralash*” (Christians and the faithful got mixed).

⁷⁸ Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim. *Hidāyat-i mu‘minīn*. ff. 158a-b.

⁷⁹ For more detail see: Набиев Р. Н. *Из истории Кокандского ханства (феодалное хозяйство Худаяр-хана)*. Ташкент: Фан, 1973. С. 10-11.

⁸⁰ Набиев Р. Н. *Из истории Кокандского ханства...* С. 83-85. See also: Семенов А. [А.] “Покоритель и устроитель Туркестанского края...” С. LVIII-LX.

⁸¹ Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim. *Hidāyat-i mu‘minīn*. The author’s verses at ff. 152a-153b.

⁸² See the introductions to both compositions of Mullā ‘Ālim.

the only understandable, clear and sacral, i.e. religiously and morally legitimate instructions, and the order of life. Judging by his works (particularly his “History”), we can say that he perceived new conditions as extremely uncomfortable both morally and “ethnically,”⁸³ as the new-sprung (Russian / Christian) alternative showed its political and economic superiority by managing easily enough to liquidate the Kokand Khanate, by attracting the religious and economic elite (*īshāns*, *qāḍīs*, *mullās* and *bāys*), and by gaining the favor of the corrupt tribal aristocracy.⁸⁴ This superiority was perceived by traditionalists as a challenge. The only answer to this challenge, in the opinion of the author, was to avoid “blending with the Russians” (first of all, in a religious sense). In other words, here we see a direct demand from Muslims to preserve their religious identity, i.e., in fact to maintain their former confessional isolation. The general atmosphere of anticipation of the Messiah (*Mahdī*) became strong among the traditionalists of Russian Turkestan, as had happened in other parts of the Muslim world which, having no real power for resistance, fell under the colonization of the Europeans. Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim himself could not refrain from such feelings, and even named the “exact date” of the *Mahdī*’s arrival - 1304 / 1886-87 - when the pitiless Messiah would free the Muslims from the unbelievers (*kāfīrlārdīn musulmānnī khalāṣ ītar*).⁸⁵

Incidentally, Dūkchī Īshān’s composition «*Ibrat al-ghāfilīn*» is made in

⁸³ Of course, the ethnic identity of the authors of similar writings (particularly, Mullā ‘Ālim) entails peculiarities, and does not coincide with the modern one. Nevertheless, in the beginning of his work: Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim. *Hidāyat-i mu’minīn*. ff. 2a-b. Mullā ‘Ālim turns to the sacral history of the Uzbeks (!), describing their “sacred genealogy,” which goes back to the Old Testament Prophets and at the same time, identifies the “best tribes” of the Uzbeks and the “worst of them”: Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim. *Hidāyat-i mu’minīn*. ff. 4b-17b, 77a-b.

⁸⁴ Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim. *Ansāb al-salāṭīn va tawārīkh-i khawāqīn*. ff. 153 a-b. Incidentally, some innovations (for instance, more comfortable houses and many “Russian things”) were gladly and readily used by many aristocrats in the Kokand Khanate (before its liquidation) and even by Khudāyār-Khān himself, for which they received great criticism from the major part of the clergy, which saw in it the signs of “departure from the faith”: Набиев Р. Н. *Из истории Кокандского ханства...* С. 81. The author of “*Ansāb al-salāṭīn va tawārīkh-i khawāqīn*,” however, does not include his patron Khudāyār-Khān in the list of those who are “departing from the faith” (for their adherence to “things, clothes and the way of life of the non-believers”) and claims just the opposite – that with the arrival of the Russians and the signing of the enslaving agreements with General von Kaufman, the Khan started to “adhere to the Shar’iat and respect the ‘ulamā’ and mullās even more”: f.113a. Probably, such behavior (and appropriate rhetoric) could be instructed by the “ideological measures” of Khudāyār-Khān in order to mitigate the negative responses for his “contacts with the Russians and evident politeness toward them». Khudāyār-Khān, however, having been enthroned by the Bukharan Amīr Naṣr Allāh during his third reign, lost Bukhara as a source of external guarantee for his throne against growing opposition from the Qipchaqs. As judged by correspondence with the Russians: Набиев Р. Н. *Из истории Кокандского ханства...* С. 78-80, he saw the Russian troops as a new guarantee for saving his throne and took extremely unpopular measures to fill up the treasury in the economically exhausted Khanate. As a result of Russian support for the unpopular khan, the local people, in the words of A. P. Khoroshkin, an outstanding expert on then-current affairs, began to “scold us (=the Russians) to our face and make our ears burn” (cited from: Набиев Р. Н. *Из истории Кокандского ханства...* С. 83).

⁸⁵ Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim. *Ansāb al-salāṭīn va tawārīkh-i khawāqīn*. f. 155a.

the same spirit, and therefore it is possible and necessary to consider his work in the same line of the aforementioned compendia of traditionalists, who appeal to ordinary Muslims in an attempt to "save their faith." The composition is written in a fairly traditional fashion and very easy-to-understand poetic form. Here we see that the author, with the same motives as those of Mullā 'Ālim, harshly criticizes the religious aristocracy, *bāys*, and others "corrupted by the Russians."⁸⁶

In fact, the clichés used by both authors in criticism of the religious aristocracy and the political elite are well known from "admonitory literature," poetry and even historical works written before Russian colonization (for example, Aḥmad Dānīsh's writings, or the works of Ḥakīm-khān, an eminent historian-chronicler).⁸⁷ After the Russian conquest (partial colonization and the establishment of a protectorate over two khanates), criticism found "a second breath" and much a clearer external trigger.⁸⁸ This time the religious puritan rhetoric among the traditionalists became amplified, and all precedents of "bad morals and manners" were linked with the Russians ("aliens," "non-believers"), or with the religious aristocracy and the khans "corrupted by the Russians."

In any case, an intensification of this sort of rhetoric during the early days of Russian colonization can be seen as a specific reaction to the arrival of the "foreigners," and as an understandable and legitimate attempt at self-preservation (of course, in a sense as it was understood by the majority of "traditionalists" and other ordinary Muslims, who were under their influence). As a result, this particular reaction, obviously, could only create more reasons for open estrangement from the "disbelievers," and this estrangement could not be eliminated in just a few decades, as the colonial authorities and particularly the Russian experts in the "Muslim question," wished.

Strengthening and even restoring the functions of the Islamic institution can be directly and indirectly attributed, surprisingly, to the colonial authorities. First of all, internal civil strife and the khans' mutual raids, which at the end were leading to a decline of the majority of Muslim institutions, were eliminated. The most affected institutions were the traditional establishments (like mosques, *maktabs* and *madrasahs*), and their number, despite being somewhat ignored (and possibly due to that) by the colonial administration, multiplied during Russian colonization (particularly in provinces).⁸⁹ The same could be said about

⁸⁶ Бабаджанов Б. М. "Дукчи Ишан и Андижанское восстание..." С. 257-264.

⁸⁷ See, for example: Мухаммад Хакимхан [тура] ибн Ма'сумхан [тура]. *Мунтахаб ат-таварих*. Мухтаров А. (Подготовка факсимильного текста, введение и указатели). В 2 книгах. Книга вторая. Душанбе: Дониш, 1985; *Muntakhab al-tawārikh, Selected history*, Vol. 2, by Muḥammad Ḥakīm khān, Kawahara Yayoi and Haneda Ko'ichi (eds.). Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. 2006.

⁸⁸ See other early examples: Allworth E. "The Changing Intellectual and Literary Community." Allworth E. (ed.) *Central Asia: a Century of Russian Rule*. New York-London: Columbia University Press, 1967. pp. 349-396.

⁸⁹ Остроумов Н. "Колебания во взглядах..." С. 146.

the *qāḍī* courts, which were preserved in old fashion, though with some control by colonial authorities, and which even managed to spread their influence on poorly Islamized Turkic tribes of the Ferghana valley like *Qipchaqs*, *Qurama* and the *Qirghiz*.⁹⁰

Later however, as a more cautious and considerate policy toward the local population continued (despite separate attempts by some experts and officials to strengthen control over the sphere of the “Muslim question,” and with relation to the Andijan uprising), the quantity of “anti-Russian works” written by the traditionalists, decreased sharply. On the contrary, we see emergence of compositions in which the authors speak of the necessity to use the achievements of the Russian people and call for more frank and open contacts with them.⁹¹ Moreover, some traditionalists started praising the “White Tsar” in their *khuṭbas*, while others still spoke against him⁹².

However, one additional point is indisputable. The Andijan uprising, with all its tragic consequences (because of its artificially inflated “threat”), remained a local event, even in terms of the Ferghana valley (Andijan and its vicinity), and no one in the colony or in the khanates gave substantial support to it. On the contrary, we see quite numerous accusations that “illiterate *Īshān* from among the common people” had broken the existing “peaceful *fatwā* with the White tsar.” Most importantly, as we have stated in our previous publications,⁹³ such characteristics came out of the mouths of historians and statesmen, who could not be suspected of their sympathy to the Russians. Most likely, these developments were the result of the rather sound policy initiated by K. P. von Kaufman (which also addressed, in its the widest sense, the “Mohammedan” question, as the sorest point.)

The Andijan uprising, nevertheless, triggered in many Russian experts of Turkestan and the colonial administration another surge of mistrust toward the Muslims (despite the influence of liberalism in the understanding of that time), and reignited earlier fears; for a long time it was mentioned in numerous scientific and particularly in popular publications as a clear example of the “unreliability of Muslims,” their wrong reaction to the “high mission of Russia,” etc. The responses of the majority of Muslims, on the other hand, were quite different, but by no means servile. As judged by many verses selected and presented by Erkinov here, such reaction fully corresponds to an old tradition which recommended against irritating a stronger opponent, and praised searching for compromise with him (“*fatwā* with the White Tsar”). The violation of a compromise was perceived as a religiously illegitimate action.

⁹⁰ Бакиров Ф. *Казийские суды в Туркестане до Октябрьской революции 1917 года* (unpublished article, Library of IO AS RŪz, 1968).

⁹¹ See our aforementioned article: Babadjanov B. “Russian Colonial Power in Central Asia...” And certainly, the Jadids’ publications are a special case.

⁹² Erkinov A. *Praying For and Against the Tsar: Prayers and Sermons in Russian Dominated Khiva and Tsarist Turkestan*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004 (ANOR 16).

⁹³ Бабаджанов Б. М. “Дукчи Ишан и Андижанское восстание...” С. 277.

And the last point. Although the plans of cultural assimilation of Russian Turkestan were not implemented on a large scale due to many reasons, the political (imperial) integration of the local elite of all levels was accomplished to a certain extent. For example, the feeling of being a part of Russia led to emergence, among the majority of the local believers, of specific way of naming themselves (for instance, the "Russian Muslims," and then the "Soviet Muslims"⁹⁴). Moreover, during two Russian revolutions a lot of political movements and parties (both Islamic and nationalist in orientation) included in their political programs calls for a different degree of autonomy (including one with an independent army and currency), but none of them, at least from the territory of Turkestan, demanded full withdrawal from Russia (the RSFSR in that period).⁹⁵

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⁹⁴ In the Soviet period there was a journal "Sovet Sharq musulmonlari" ("Muslims of the Soviet East" – since 1947) with translation (since 1965) into different languages.

⁹⁵ Агзамходжаев С. *История туркестанской автономии...* С. 18-42 and further. The inertia of the political integration with Russia appeared quite long-lasting and continued practically until the last years before the collapse of the USSR. When M. Gorbachev initiated a nationwide referendum asking whether to maintain the USSR (1989), the largest number of affirmative votes came from the southern Soviet republics. Even the former Central Asian Islamic High Council for the Affairs of Religion, Muslim Spiritual Authority (SADUM headed then by the new mufti – the deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Muhammad-Sodiq Muhammad-Yusuf) called the believers to poll their votes for preservation of the State of the Soviets, adding, however, a requirement for greater freedoms for believers.

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*Dedicated to my Father,
Doctor of Philological Science,
Professor SADIRKHAN ERKINOV*

Introduction to the Publication¹

After the conquest of Central Asia in the second half of the 19th century and the foundation of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan (1876-1917), the socio-political situation in the region had sharply changed. The new colony of the Russian empire consisting mainly of the local Muslim population was established. From the point of view of the colonial administration, the Russian / Orthodox culture carried with it education and implanted a higher level of culture to the local population.

The position of the Soviet historiography in evaluation of the “missionary impulses” was quite curious. Early Soviet historians endeavored to emphasize Soviet Russia’s positive role in the “Red East.” Therefore they, in their own way, “played up to” the moods of the local intelligentsia, mainly those of the *jadids*, by diligently criticizing “the gloomy colonial past” — and the claims of the imperial officials and some men of science of the colonial period that the colonization brought “enlightenment” to the local peoples constituted one of the subjects of their criticism.

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union (1922-1991) the situation has naturally changed. The history of the region began to be re-evaluated, as the local historians as well as intelligentsia — who considered themselves among the humiliated by the titular ethnic group of that time, the Russians — began playing

¹ The present study and the texts of the poems were prepared under the Project “Zerrspiegel” (Project coordinator – Prof. Jürgen Paul, Marthin Luter King University, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany, manager – Dr. Beata Eshment, financial support – Fund “Volkswagen”) accomplished in 2001-2004 (<https://zerrspiegel.orientphil.uni-halle.de>). The author would like to express gratitude to Bakhtiyar Babadjanov, Sergey Abashin, Abdulatif Turdialiev, Hamidulla Baltabaev, and Shadman Vahidov for valuable advice during the research. Some facts regarding the views of the poets with respect to the Andijan uprising were published in my article: Эркинов А. “Андижанское восстание и его предводитель в оценках поэтов эпохи.” *Вестник Евразии*, 2003. № 1. С. 111-137. The article is used here significantly augmented and revised.

a bigger role. As a matter of fact, a significant part of local researchers (most of them non-professional) took upon themselves the role of a peculiar kind of “advocates” standing in support of the local history. The reaction was quite as expected – right after the independence the historians suddenly recalled “the great history” (“the great past”) and, particularly, the disparagement of this “greatness” in the Soviet historiography. However, such an “advocatory approach” was and remains inherent not only in Central Asia; this trend is observed throughout the entire post-Soviet space. Thus, the positions of the “re-evaluators” can approximately be described as follows: “Everything that was subjected to criticism under the Soviet system should be re-evaluated, because the criticism was inconsistent and mistaken. Hence, it is necessary ‘to justify’ everything that was exposed to the Soviet criticism. Only then it will be possible to produce an objective picture of our history.”²

Moreover, more and more often “re-evaluation” becomes a subject of pseudo-scientific speculations, especially from those researchers who by force of an old Soviet (paradoxically!) habit search for the easiest ways to defend their “ideological” dissertations. The topics which became targets of total re-evaluation in the local historiography include the popular uprisings that occurred in the territory of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan (incidentally, there were a number of such large scale local uprisings). However, even superficial studies lead to the conclusion that not all of these uprisings were manifestations of direct resistance to the tsarist authorities.

Going into more detail, in fact, hundreds of uprisings occurred in the territory of the three Central Asian Khanates, namely Kokand (1710-1876), Bukhara (1747-1920), and Khiva (1804-1918). However, not all of them were intent on overthrowing the government. More often the mutineers were expressing their discontent with the injustice of the ruling circles, their nonobservance of laws, migration policy, and excessive taxes; also, uprisings could obtain the form of tribal separatism and so on. Furthermore, the most important point is that such uprisings were directed both against the tsarist authorities and the local governors-monarchs (Bukhara, Khoresm). Besides, the rebels might not even think of a political component of their rebellion, i.e. often they did not put forward any political slogans.

However, it became fashionable in a way to define in the local historiography all the uprisings of the period of the Russian empire — or the dissidence during the period of its successor, the Soviet Union — as anti-colonial,

² This brings to mind some anecdotes from life during the Soviet period. In line with the realities of the time, people of different ethnicities used to languish in long queues for food-products, clothing, and so on. However, the people of the press did not raise a question about a queue being a product of economic problems, but saw it as a “positive factor”: They maintained that a queue was a striking example of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union. Though in reality, people used to quarrel and fight in these queues, particularly, when somebody attempted to push in or jump the queue. Such acts of impudent fellows were to be assessed from the viewpoint of “ethnic inferiority and inadequacy, impudence” of the violator. Several generations have been raised based on such approaches.

anti-soviet or even anti-feudal (sic!) protests in the course of struggle for independence. Sometimes, it is pushed to the point of absurdity. If for instance, in colonial Turkestan during a domestic conflict a Muslim murdered a Russian commoner immigrant there are no grounds to reckon this as a case of political action, and still less of a case to consider this as “a certain stage” of a struggle for independence.

This also concerns some movements that are now assessed without taking into account their peculiar features, ideological or political dynamics. For example, such approaches are apparent in estimation of the “*bāsmachilik*” movement in Central Asia in the 1920s-30s. No doubt, from the outset the movement was anti-Bolshevist in character. But in the course of time in many respects it turned into an uncontrolled movement of different groups, which finally slid down into mere banditry and even to terror. And these dynamics, or the aggravating crisis of the “*bāsmachilik*,” in my opinion, is greatly overlooked by some modern local historians who aspire to glorify this movement with an aureole of “Robin-Hoodism.”³

However, time slowly but inevitably puts everything in its place; bias is gradually giving way to objectivity. One can see this in the changes in the estimations and views with regard to the above-stated facts — expressed now with less emotional excitement.⁴ The bias of researchers, as a rule, is associated with that a significant part of local historians who seldom involve the whole palette of primary sources of that era in their studies. For example, when using the archival materials in Russian (most often from the State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan), one should not forget that the majority of the documents came down to us from the colonial administration, and they give the judgment of the problem from the viewpoint of the official imperial circles. Some materials (even from that same State Archives) in Arabic script — in the Old Uzbek, Chaghatay, or the Tajik languages, or in other Oriental languages (Arabic and Persian) — haven’t yet received proper attention. In point of fact, the historians, due to the traditions inherited from the Soviet period, do not know Oriental languages well enough, or even the Arabic script — which would be helpful in learning such a language. Meanwhile, many sources covering that

³ Such aprioristic, preconceived approach to the *bāsmachilik* movement can be observed in research works dominated by the idealized-populist and pseudo-patriotic spirit (for example, K. Radjabov et al).

⁴ It is interesting that the academic historians and history teachers today confess to have changed their assessments of uprisings in the Russian Empire. In private conversations associated professors of the History departments (Nemat Palvanov, Dilshod Urakov) told me the following. Several years ago, in teaching history almost all the uprisings in the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan were assessed as anti-colonial, but now the number of the uprisings that receive such assessment is reducing. The historians began to realize that not all the uprisings had a political / anti-colonial character. In the opinion of the colleagues, at present only several uprisings in the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan can be regarded absolutely anti colonial in character. Thus, more or less appropriate example among them can be the 1916 uprising against mobilization of the local people of Turkestan for work in the front-line areas during the World War I.

period (not only local ones, but even those related to the Russian administration etc.) are written in these languages. Besides, only a comparatively small quantity of these sources has been translated into modern languages; and even such translations were not always conducted at a due scientific level.

Among such seldom used sources we can mention the press (periodicals) of Turkestan, which also was published in Arabic script up to 1929. It is the sources of this type that contain the information derived, so to say, “from the milieu” — that is, based on the accounts of eyewitnesses and even participants of the uprisings or movements. Hand-written and narrative sources, which include the press of Turkestan, haven’t yet properly researched in studying popular uprisings, such as the movement of “*bāsmachilik*” in Uzbekistan. The oral history, the number of living bearers of which is getting smaller and smaller, is left out as well. In such a situation, it is worthwhile to pay attention to primary sources of the era that contain contemporary accounts of the uprisings and of their leaders.

The mentioned sources, in contrast to the archives of the colonial administration in Russian, contain many interesting details, as seen from the other side, so to say, a “local” account of the events. That is why the attention of researchers in due time was drawn by the anonymous hagiographical account of the life and deeds of Dūkchī-Īshān. His life and activities are described in this hagiography, just in accordance with the rules of the genre, in a peculiar semi-fantastic form.⁵ However, it is this source that gives completely original information, allowing us to look into the psychological state of the local population that rushed to gather around Ishan who eventually involved them in an *a priori* doomed *jihād*.

This edition publishes and examines the texts of the poems that express responses of the educated part of the Central Asian society to the Andijan uprising of 1898. The subject, of special interest here is the views of these people regarding the leader of the uprising Muḥammad ‘Alī-khalīfa (1852-1898),⁶ better known as Dūkchī-Īshān. As we have already mentioned, in the midst of the modern local intellectuals and researchers the disputes do not cease until now: Was it an episode of national liberation movement, or a response of “religious fanatics” to vital issues? Or did the population perceive Dūkchī-Īshān as a “saint” and, if so, why did the most of the religious aristocracy declare him impostor?

This publication presents an account of the uprising through the prism of poetic works, which from time immemorial played in Central Asia a specific role in appraising socially significant events. This study analyzes a series of verses by various authors that make a whole independent cycle which can be titled “*A Satire on Dūkchī-Īshān*” (*Dūkchī-Īshān hajwī*).

⁵ Манъкиб-и Дӯкчӣ Ёшан (Аноним життя Дукчї Йшана – предводителя Андижанского восстания 1898 года). Бабаджанов Б. (введ., пер. и ком.), фон Кюгельген А. (изд.). Ташкент-Берн-Алматы: Дайк-пресс, 2004.

⁶ Hereinafter we do not use the widely accepted transliteration of terms and names, but present their original spelling in Arabic script at their first occurrence in the text.

Thus, as the selection below shows, the majority of popular poets condemned Dūkchī-Īshān. There is also no point in denying the fact that to some extent the biggest part of these verses were published in the press owing to the colonial authorities which desired to hear condemnation of the uprising from the local intelligentsia. Still, in criticism of Dūkchī-Īshān there was much sincerity too: The poets reflected feelings of the local spiritual and intellectual highest ranks who considered attempts of resistance to the superior force of the Empire meaningless and found many benefits, both for themselves and for the entire local society, in the order established by colonial authorities. At the same time, it should be remembered, however, that sympathetic words for the rebels and their leader simply could not be voiced openly at that time.

Nevertheless, as B. M. Babadjanov noted, condemnation of Dūkchī-Īshān's *jihād* (as completely senseless, inconsiderate, and even religiously illegitimate act, *fitna*), came from historians as well (for example, from the Bukharan historian Mīrzā 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Sāmī (1838-1907), who had an extremely negative attitude to the Russian rule (see below)). That is, to claim that the authors published below were guided exclusively by the desire "to please" the colonial authorities would be incorrect too. It is another matter that the authorities, according to B. M. Babadjanov, were concerned about the consequences of their not quite adequate and too rigid response to the almost unarmed rebels' actions.

* * *

We believe it is pertinent here to give a brief description of the events (mainly based on the published works) that caused such vigorous response of the local writing intelligentsia of that time. We will try to review the assessments of this event made in different periods in more detailed form than it was made by the previous researchers. After that, we will present our own analysis of the texts published here.

Thus, in 1898, in the city of Andijan, the Ferghana region, a uprising burst out under the leadership of Muḥammad 'Alī-khalīfa, better known as Dūkchī-Īshān. On the early morning of May 18, two thousand insurgents attacked the barracks of the tsarist troops in Andijan. 22 soldiers were killed and 18 more were wounded. There were also victims among the officials and Russian civilian population. The attackers retreated immediately after the return fire from the Russian soldiers. Dūkchī-Īshān and his retainers were captured in a day. During the personal search of one of the captives there was found a Koran with an enclosed forged certificate attesting that Dūkchī-Īshān was appointed the caliph (successor) of the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909). All the leaders of the uprising died on the gibbet, hundreds ordinary participants were exiled to Siberia and other areas of the Empire. The Andijan uprising has been

studied mainly by historians.⁷ In the Soviet research works it was considered as a national uprising against the colonial regime, as a national-liberation and anti-feudal movement.⁸ Alternatively, it was also regarded as a reactionary insurrection of religious fanatics.⁹ In such research works the evaluation of the uprising was forcibly squeezed into the frameworks of the prevailing communist ideology and, therefore, was expressed in conformity with the concepts deriving from this ideology. The publications outside the former USSR known to us were comparatively unbiased,¹⁰ or at least apolitical.¹¹

The attitude of contemporaries to Dūkchī-Īshān bears considerable importance for assessing those events correctly. The attitude of the colonial authorities or the Russians in general is well known. On the other hand, the attitude of the local people is much less known. Belletristic materials of that period fairly help to fill this gap. They practically have not been studied in connection with the uprising; meanwhile, it is a well-known fact that literary works fully reflect (and simultaneously form) the responses of society to any particular event, at least, among the reading public. In Central Asia, the literature,

⁷ On the history of the uprising and its leader, see: Эгамназаров А. *Сиз билган Дукчи Эшон: ҳужжатли қисса*. Тошкент: Шарқ, 1994; Babadžanov B. M. “Dūkči Īshān und Aufstand von Andīžan 1898.” *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries. Vol. 2: Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*. von Kügelgen A., Kemper M., Frank A. (eds.). Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998; Бабаджанов Б. “Дукчи-Ишан.” Прозоров С. М. (ред.) *Ислам на территории бывшей Российской империи: энциклопедический словарь*. Том 1, Москва: Издательская фирма “Восточная литература” РАН, 2006. С. 143-145; *Ўзбекистоннинг янги тарихи. 1-қитоб: Туркистон чор Россияси мустамлакачилиги даврида*. Тошкент: Шарқ, 2000. 353-381-б. The primary literature is indicated in: *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia*. Bregel Y. (comp. and ed.). Parts I-III. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1995. pp. 620-621. Below we add our own bibliographical and historiographical observations on this subject.

⁸ *История и историография национально-освободительных движений второй половины XIX – начала XX в. в Средней Азии и Казахстане: итоги, поиски, перспективы изучения*. Зияев Х.З. (изд.). Ташкент: Фан, 1989.

⁹ The negative assessment of the uprising was given, for example, by the First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Uzbek SSR A. E. Niyazov (1903-1973) at the Xth Plenum of the CC CR UzSSR, March 16, 1952. See: Раззоков Х. *Завқий ҳаёти ва ижоди*. Филология фанлари номзоди илмий даражасини олиш учун ёзилган диссертация. Тошкент, 1953 (unpublished). 55-56-б. Some investigations of the Soviet period contained positive evaluation. See, for example: *Очерки истории коммунистической партии Туркестана*. Ташкент: Фан, 1958. С. 22; Сайдаметов Д., Шляпников Н. “Озодлик курашининг ёрқин саҳифаси.” *Шарқ Юлдузи*, 1968. № 7. 169-177-б; Содиқов Х. “Кураш сабоқлари.” *Гулистон*, 1978. № 11. 17-19-б.

¹⁰ Бабаджанов Б. М. “Дукчи Ишан и Андижанское восстание 1898 года.” Абашин С. Н., Бобровников В. О. (изд.) *Подвижники ислама: Культ святых и суфизм в Средней Азии и на Кавказе*. Москва: Восточная литература, 2003. С. 253.

¹¹ For example, studies by Prof. Komatsu, Hisao, see: Komatsu H. “The Andijan Uprising Reconsidered.” Tsugitaka S. (ed.) *Muslim Societies: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2004. pp. 29-61; Komatsu, H. “Dār al-Islām under Russian Rule As Understood by Turkestani Muslim Intellectuals.” U. Tomohiko (ed.) *Empire, Islam, and Politics in Central Eurasia*. Sapporo: Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, 2007. pp. 9-18.

and particularly poetry, from time immemorial took a special place in assessment of socially significant events. Until now, here still lives the tradition of expressing attitudes and ideas, not only through articles published in the press, but also by means of poems. Sometimes products of such self-expression found wide distribution and sympathy among the readers, and influenced the minds and hearts much stronger than other kinds of oral or written creative works. Pathos of poetry appeared to be more convincing than the rational analysis offered in the press articles. This can be seen by the examples of the verses devoted to the leader of the Andijan uprising and the uprising itself. Created by different authors, nevertheless, they form, as some researchers rightfully pointed out,¹² a uniform independent poetic cycle, which can be named “A Satire on Dūkchī-Īshān” (Dūkchī-Īshān hajwi).¹³ It is this cycle that is the subject of this study. It will be examined in the context of the historical and religious situation in the Turkestani territory, specific features of the Central Asian literature between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, it seemed that the way to an unbiased interpretation of the Russian colonial policy of the 19th - beginning of 20th centuries was now open. Such interpretations were not uniform, varying in different times. It is no secret that in the 1950s - 1980s, the emphasis on “the positive aspects” of the conquest of Central Asia prevailed. They preferred not to recall the very fact of the conquest, as the formula “annexation of Central Asia to Russia” was established strongly enough. Sometimes — probably, due to a misunderstanding — even the attribute “voluntary” was added. Resistance to the Russians was quite often equated to “religious obscurantism.”¹⁴

Turning back to the raised subject, a well-known maxim comes to mind — it seems that only few learn lessons of history. The bitter irony of it is that people who previously wrote about the colonial period in accordance with the Soviet ideological directives, nowadays, not in the least being confused, have replaced their “positive estimations” with opposite ones. They began to define Andijan uprising exclusively as anti-colonial, though the rebels had far more motivations for uprising, including those directed against the institutions of local

¹² Мадаминов А., Қўшмоқов М. “Рост йўлга етаклади инкилоб.” *Гулистон*, 1980. № 12. 22-б; Касимов Б. *Революция и литература*. Ташкент: Фан, 1991. С. 59.

¹³ Эркинов А. “Дукчи-Ишан хаджи.” Прозоров С. М.. (ред.) *Ислам на территории бывшей Российской империи: энциклопедический словарь*. Том 1. Москва: Издательская фирма “Восточная литература” РАН, 2006. С. 145-146.

¹⁴ Pierce R. N. *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960; Sheehy A. “The Andijan Uprising of 1898 and Soviet Historiography.” *Central Asian Review*. 14/2. 1966. pp. 139-150. Manz B. F. “Central Asian Uprisings in the Nineteenth Century: Ferghana under the Russians.” *Russian Review*. 46. 1987. pp. 267-281; Halbach U. ““Holy War” against Czarism: The Links between Sufism and Jihad in the Nineteenth-Century Anticolonial Resistance against Russia.” Kappeler A., Allworth E. (eds.) *Muslim Communities Reemerge. Historical Perspectives on Nationality, Politics, and Opposition in the Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. Durham-London: Duke University Press, 1994. pp. 268-271.

Qūzī Raḥīm Khwāja-Īshān, in his poem written on the occasion of the earthquake in Andijan in 1902, complained that a certain Īshān (referring to Dūkchī-Īshān) “dishonored his people,” because, as the poet insisted, if the Muslims, while not forgetting Allah, had served the tsar, there would have been peace and calmness. However, this didn’t happen and everything went wrong: Because of the mutiny, the Supreme Being punished Andijan, and the city was turned into ruins.¹⁹ It appeared that the leader of the uprising and his supporters were responsible for the deaths not only of the victims of the uprising, but also of those who later died in the earthquake. Perhaps, only the Ferghana historian Muḥammad ‘Azīz Marghīlānī in his composition “*Ta’rīkh-i ‘Azīzī*” offers a somewhat different assessment of the uprising and its consequences²⁰ (I will discuss it later).

The researchers of the Uzbek literature have seldom touched upon the anti-Ishan cycle, though some of the researchers discussed works by the well-known poets of the period at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries including Muqīmī and Dhawqī.²¹ Some works contain mentions of corresponding verses of other poets of the time, such as: Nādim Namangānī,²² Rājī Marghīlānī,²³ Muḥammad ‘Umar Umīdī-Hawāī,²⁴ Tāsh-khwāja Asīrī,²⁵

¹⁹ *Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazīlī*. 1903. № 6; Эгамназаров А. *Сиз билган Дукчи Эшон...* 124-б. Also in poems by Muḥī (1865-1921) and Ḥājī Šābirī, the Andijan earthquake is interpreted as “visitation of God” heaven-sent to the Muslims for their departure from injunctions of Islam. See: Қосимов Б. *Излай-излай тоғаним*. Тошкент: Ғ. Ғулом номидаги нашриёт, 1983. 64-б; *Bayāḍ*. Ю AS RUz. Fund-3. № 2492. ff. 219a-220a.

²⁰ Муҳаммад ‘Азиз Марғилоний. *Тарихи Азизий (Фарғона чор мустамлакаси даврида)*. Воҳидов Ш., Сангирова Д. (нашрга таёрловчилар, сўзбоши ва изоҳлар муаллифлари) Тошкент: Фан, 1999. 53-64-б.

²¹ *История литератур народов Средней Азии и Казахстана*. Москва: Наука, 1960. С. 148-150; Муминов И. *Из истории развития общественно-философской мысли в Узбекистане*. Ташкент: Фан, 1957. С. 141-173; Каримов Ғ. *Ўзбек демократик шоири Муқимий ва унинг даври адабиёти*. Филология фанлари доктори илмий даражасини олиш учун ёзилган диссертация. Тошкент, 1961. 565-581-б; *Ўзбек адабиёти тарихи*. Том 5. Тошкент: Фан, 1980. 54-б; Каримов Ғ. *Ўзбек адабиёти тарихи*. Тошкент: Ўқитувчи, 1987. 110-112-б; Раззоқов Ҳ. “Муқимий ва Завқий.” *Фурқат ва Муқимий ҳақида мақолалар*. Тошкент: Фан, 1958. 132-146-б; Мадаминов А., Турдалиев А. ““Баччағар” кимга бағишланган?” *Ўзбекистон адабиёти ва санъати*. 1992. №3.

²² Ҳалилбеков А. *Нодим Намангоний ҳаёти ва ижоди*. Филология фанлари номзоди илмий даражасини олиш учун ёзилган диссертация. Тошкент, 1967. 197-201-б; *Ўзбек адабиёти тарихи*. 1980. 264-б; *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*. Supplementband, 37. Hrsg. Paul J. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. pp. 119-121.

²³ Ахмеджанова Ф. *Творчество прогрессивных поэтов андижанской литературной среды конца XIX в. и начала XX в. (Раджи, Мунтазир, Шавки)*. Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Ташкент, 1970. С. 10-11; *Асрлар нидоси. Октябрь революциясигача бўлган давр ўзбек адабиётидан намуналар*. Тошкент: Ғ. Ғулом номидаги нашриёт, 1982. 283-284-б; Марғиноний М. Г. “Дукчи эшон ҳаракатининг бадий тадқиқи.” *Ғулистон*, 1994. №5. 57-59-б.

²⁴ Ҳожибоев Т. *XIX аср ўзбек шоири Муҳаммад Умар Умидий ҳаёти ва ижоди*. Филология фанлари номзоди илмий даражасини олиш учун ёзилган диссертация. Тошкент, 1974. 94-96-б; *Асрлар нидоси...* 217-221-б.

²⁵ Раджабов З. *Поэт-просветитель таджикского народа Асири (Краткий очерк)*. Душанбе:

Ḥājjī Šābirī, and Sultān Aḥmad.²⁶ However, the verses related to the Andijan uprising have been discussed only from the point of view of creative work and life of each individual poet, outside of the literary context common to them, which was a peculiar creative competition where several poets participated at a time.²⁷ Besides, the evident shortcoming of such research works is their obvious ideological implications and, therefore, the biased approach to the subject. In particular, this applies to the studies of the Soviet period. For example, the verses by Ḥājjī Šābirī about Dūkchī-Īshān were analyzed in the context of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 and, certainly, from the positions of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.²⁸ A conclusion was drawn that the poet had not been prepared enough yet to evaluate the events correctly. As for another demonstrative example of the ideological implications, we can recall the statement that Dūkchī-Īshān was allegedly an agent of the English imperialism²⁹, and that Dhawqī in his poem derided the supporters of western imperialists who sought to sow discord between the Uzbek and Russian peoples.³⁰ In such a way Turkestan poetry was artificially customized to agree with the “revolutionary history,” even though in the literature of that period there were many works that in no way suited this cliché.

Modern assessments of the Andijan uprising in Uzbekistan sharply moved to the side contrary to the Soviet one. For example, in the modern popular literature of Uzbekistan, the poets who participated in that satirical cycle against Dūkchī-Īshān are seen as traitors.³¹ According to B. Babadjanov’s remark, Dūkchī-Īshān in some works was declared ‘a hero of the national liberation struggle’.³² In another passage the same researcher noted, “Now a part of intelligentsia of Uzbekistan associates Dūkchī-Īshān with one of the stages of the struggle for independence. The anniversary of the Andijan uprising was intended to be celebrated officially in 1998. However, the peculiar ‘duality’ of the figure of Dūkchī-Īshān — as ‘the fighter for national independence’ and as the supporter of restoration of the Islamic state just like in the times of the first four righteous caliphs — induced the authorities to cancel the celebration events on the

Ирфон, 1974. С. 45-46; Тошходжа Асири Худжанди. *Избранные произведения*. Асадуллаева С. (сост. текста, авт. вступ. ст. и прим.) Москва: Наука, 1982. С. 166-167.

²⁶ Қосимов Б. *Излай-излай тоғаним*. 59-65-б; Каримов Ғ. *Ўзбек демократик шоири...* 567-б.

²⁷ For example, B. Kasymov gave an estimation of Ḥājjī Šābirī’s poem as one of the best in the cycle, but he ignored such matters as who participated in compiling the cycle, or what its historical and social backgrounds were. Қосимов Б. *Излай-излай тоғаним...* 60-б.

²⁸ Қосимов Б. *Излай-излай тоғаним*. 50-65-б; Қосимов Б. *Инқилобий шеърят саҳифалари*. Тошкент: Ғ. Ғулом номидаги нашриёт, 1977; Касимов Б. *Революция и литература*.

²⁹ Абдуғафуров А. *XIX иккинчи ярми ўзбек демократик адабиётида сатира (Муқимий ва Завқий асарлари буйича)*. Филология фанлари номзоди илмий даражасини олиш учун ёзилган диссертация. Тошкент, 1958. 198-б.

³⁰ “Завки.” *Краткая литературная энциклопедия*. Том 2. Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1964. С. 70.

³¹ Эгамназаров А. *Сиз билган Дукчи эшон...* 124-б.

³² Бабаджанов Б. М. “Дукчи Ишан и Андижанское восстание...” С. 254.

background of the tense religious situation in the republic.”³³

In recent years, there appeared works suggesting a more unbiased approach to the problem of perception of the Russian colonialism as a whole, and of the uprising under the leadership of Dūkchī-Īshān in particular.³⁴ Indeed, methodologically it is more correct to show all aspects of perceptions of colonialism by the local writing intelligentsia, to publish and study both groups of sources / texts: reflecting the negative attitude to the new authority and those containing rather sharp criticism of the forces (persons, movements) that opposed the authority. In this research, I want to concentrate on such critical works.³⁵

³³ Бабаджанов Б. “Дукчи-Ишан.” С. 145.

³⁴ Бабаджанов Б. “Андижанское восстание 1898 года: «дервишский газават» или антиколониальное выступление?” *O'zbekiston tarikhi*, 2001. № 2, 4; Komatsu, H. “The Andijan Uprising...”; Алимова Д. *История как история, история как наука*. Ташкент: Узбекистан, 2008.

³⁵ It is also characteristic of the above-mentioned German project. The aim of the project was to demonstrate all the spectrums of views in the post-Soviet space regarding the Russian colonialism from 1850 to 1914. As already seen from the project title “Zenspiegel” (“False Mirror”), the emphasis is placed on frequent distortions in depicting colonialism. It is essential that the authors participating in the project do not determine beforehand the investigated phenomenon in terms of the rigid opposition of “positive – negative.” The project carries out publication of various materials from the hand-written and archival Funds located in St. Petersburg, Tashkent, and Baku, which are written in Russian, Azerbaijan, Persian, and Uzbek languages. The sources selected for the publication reflect both the views of colonizers toward the colonized, and vice versa. See: (<http://zerrspiegel.orientphil.uni-halle.de>)

The Circle of Poets - Authors of the Cycle “Dūkchī-Īshān Hajwī”

The cycle “A Satire on Dūkchī-Īshān” consists of 20 verses in Uzbek dated to the beginning of the 20th century, with a total volume of more than 1,500 lines.³⁶

Let’s briefly see who the authors were.

Muqīmī (1850-1903), or Muḥammad Amīn Khwāja Muqīmī, was a popular poet from Kokand who wrote verses under the pseudonym of Muqīmī.³⁷ He is known mainly as a poet-satirist and a humorist. His poem is consist of 19 *bays* (38 lines) in the genre of *ghazal* (every other line rhymes) with a *radīf* (a refrain word repeating after a rhyme in each verse) “*Bachchaghar*” (“the son of a sin”).³⁸ It narrates about the “swindle” (*firibgarlik*) of a certain Īshān.³⁹ The title of this poem is “Ba-hajw-i khalīfa-yi Mingtīpa” (“A Satire on the caliph from Mingtepa”⁴⁰); for the first time it appears in the collection of verses of another poet, Nādim Namangānī⁴¹ (see below). It is thought that this poem is related to

³⁶ Only 30% out of the total volume was published in the source language – the Uzbek language of the early 20th century, in modern script. Many of the poems were published in the Arabic script – the script of the original text (<https://zerrspiegel.orientphil.uni-halle.de>). The rest of the poems remain unknown to the modern readership. One cannot exclude a possibility of finding new poems from this cyclis.

³⁷ *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*. Vol. 2. Wiesbaden, 1965. pp. 398-399; *Материалы по истории прогрессивной общественно-философской мысли в Узбекистане*. Ташкент: Фан, 1976. С. 541-550; “Мукими.” *Краткая литературная энциклопедия*. Том 4. Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1968. С. 1012-1013; “Мукими.” *Литературный энциклопедический словарь*. Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1987. С. 656; *История узбекской литературы (с XVII в. до Великой Октябрьской социалистической революции)*. Том 2. Ташкент: Фан, 1989. С. 246-286.

³⁸ See: Мукикий. *Асарлар*. Ф. Каримов (нашри). Тошкент: Ф. Фулом номидаги нашриёт, 1971. 378-379-б; Мукими. *Избранные произведения*. Ушакова С. (пер.) Ташкент: Издательство им. Г. Гуляма, 1959. С. 46-47.

³⁹ Каримов Ф. *Ўзбек демократик шоири...* 577-б.

⁴⁰ Ming-tepa is the place where Dūkchī-Īshān’s *khānaqā* was situated. See: Komatsu H. and Babadjanov B. op.cit.

⁴¹ *Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4179. f. 120b.

Dūkchī-Īshān⁴² and it was Muqīmī who initiated the anti-Īshān cycle. Nevertheless, the question of the addressee still remains disputable. For example, A. Abdughafurov believes that although this ghazal (*ghazal*) was addressed to Dūkchī-Īshān, it contains the generalized image of *īshāns* (hereditary Sufi sheikhs) “who seek their own benefit in everything.”⁴³ In the opinions of other researchers, it depicted Muḥammad Mūsā-bī, the curator (*mutawallī*) of the Kokand *madrasa*⁴⁴ where Muqīmī studied; in fact, it was included in the *bayād* copied as early as 1304/1887⁴⁵ — which is 11 years prior to the Andijan uprising! According to other versions, the poem portrayed a certain Dahubist-bī(?)⁴⁶ or Sadubist-bī(?) from Ming-tepa.⁴⁷ It is possible to assume that it was only after the uprising that the *ghazal* began to be associated with Dūkchī-Īshān, with the purpose of using the authority of Muqīmī.⁴⁸ The scholars have yet to establish the addressee of that *ghazal* and closely examine the text.

There is another poem by Muqīmī in which researchers see the criticism of Dūkchī-Īshān.⁴⁹ But apart from the mention of the settlement of Ming-tepa, where Dūkchī-Īshān lived, there are no other proofs to support such an assumption. Muqīmī in one of his poems claims that other Īshāns suffer because of Dūkchī-Īshān (“*Īshānlār qālīb Dūkchīnīng ‘aybīga...*”).⁵⁰

Dhawqī (1853-1921), or ‘Ubayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ-ūghlī Dhawqī, was born and lived his entire life in Kokand, where he held great authority among the local poets. He is known for his lyrical as well as satirical verses. He was a close friend and a close associate of Muqīmī.⁵¹ Some researchers claim that in the spring of 1898, Muqīmī and Dhawqī went on a journey to Andijan and Osh and were witnesses of the Andijan events, so to say, saw the events with their own eyes⁵², and after that they both expressed their indignation against Dūkchī-Īshān.⁵³

⁴² Зарипов Х. *Муқимий ҳаёти ва ижодида оид материаллар*. Тошкент: Ғ. Ғулом номидаги нашриёт, 1959. 16-17-б.

⁴³ Абдуғафуров А. *XIX иккинчи ярми...* 197-201-б.

⁴⁴ Мадаминов А., Турдалиев А. ““Баччағар” кимга бағишланган?”

⁴⁵ The manuscript of the Ferghana Provincial Museum of Literature (situated in Kokand). № 6738.

⁴⁶ *Bayād ma’a hajwiyāti mawlānā Muqīmī ma’a Furqat*. Коканд: Издательство Шумакова, 1914. pp. 129-131; Мадаминов А., Турдалиев А. ““Баччағар” кимга бағишланган?”

⁴⁷ Мадаминов А., Қўшмоқов М. “Рост йўлга етаклади инқилоб...” 22-б.

⁴⁸ An indirect proof of this is provided by the poem-imitation of Sulṭān Aḥmad which is written with a *radīf* similar to Muqīmī and contains criticism of Dūkchī-Īshān. See: Абдуғафуров А. *Ўзбек демократик адабиётида сатира*. Тошкент: Адабиёт ва санъат нашриёти, 1978. 205-б.

⁴⁹ Каримов Ғ. *Ўзбек адабиёти тарихи*. 110-б; Муқимий. *Асарлар*. 381-б.

⁵⁰ “*Khūqandlīk bīr bāynī sha’nīga Muqīmī shā’irnīng aytgān shī’rīdūr.*” *Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazītī*. 1903, №2. p. 6.

⁵¹ Hofman, H. F. *Turkish literature. A bio-bibliographical survey*. Section 3, part I, vol. 6. Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 1969. p. 178; “Завки.” *Литературный энциклопедический словарь*. Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1987. С. 603; Қайюмов П. *Тазкираи Қайюмий*. Тошкент: Адабиёт музейи, 1998. 491-493-б; *История узбекской литературы...* С. 386-400.

⁵² Каримов Ғ. *Ўзбек адабиёти тарихи*. 112-б.

⁵³ Бендриков К. Е. *Очерки по истории народного образования в Туркестане (1865–1924)*. Москва: Просвещение, 1960. С. 75.

Dhawqī's *ghazal* of 40 lines is presented in historical sources under the title "Hajw-i Yīkchī-Īshān" (A Satire on Īshān-spindle maker).⁵⁴ The last line of the poem contains a chronogram (*ta'rīkh*) with the indication of the date of the uprising (1316/1898). Dhawqī left another humorous poem in which he hints at Dūkchī-Īshān and the district where Dūkchī-Īshān lived.

Nādim Namangānī (1844-1910). The poet's full name is Sulaymān Khwāja mulaqqab bi-Īshān Bābākhān walad-i Ūlugh Khwāja-Īshān Shaykh al-islām-i Namangān. He was born and lived in Namangan,⁵⁵ he maintained close relationships with tMawlawī Yhe poets of Kokand, such as Furqat, Muqīmī and Dhawqī.⁵⁶ In his poetic heritage, there are prevailing plots related to burning social issues, on the one hand, and the Sufi stories, on the other. There are known to be several of Namangānī's verses related to the subject of our interest, totaling 450 lines.

First, there is a *mukhammas* (a verse with five-line stanzas) — published in the Appendix to this paper in the Russian translation — which consists of 31 stanzas (155 lines) and has the *radīf* "emasmu?" It was included by the author in his collection of verses.⁵⁷ Here we find strict condemnation of the actions and personality of Dūkchī-Īshān.

Second, the *ghazal* of 35 *bayts* (70 lines) — again with the *radīf* "emasmu?" — from the same collection.⁵⁸ In this verse the author continues to express his indignation regarding the uprising and deeds of Dūkchī-Īshān.

Third, there are known to be two more verses in the *mukhammas* genre with the same *radīf* "khalifa" ("caliph"). Both of them are presented in another manuscript. The first *mukhammas*⁵⁹ consists of 10 stanzas (50 lines); this poem is not mentioned in any scientific research, and its text has not been published yet. In this poem, the author compares Muḥammad 'Alī-khalīfa with the first four caliphs (the deputies to the Prophet Muḥammad) and draws the conclusion that Dūkchī-Īshān is an impostor. The second *mukhammas* is listed in the manuscript right after the first one⁶⁰ and has 20 stanzas (100 lines). This verse was mentioned by A. Halilbekov.⁶¹

There is a *mathnawī* (a verse constructed by rhymed couplets) of 70 lines also related to Dūkchī-Īshān which is also ascribed to Nādim.⁶² The pseudonym

⁵⁴ Завкий. Танланган асарлар. Раззоков Х. (нашри). Тошкент: Ғ. Ғулом номидаги нашриёт, 1960. 32-33-б.

⁵⁵ Ўзбек адабиёти тарихи. 1980. 250-265-б; Ҳалилбеков А. Нодим Намангоний ҳаёти...

⁵⁶ Қайюмов П. Тазкираи Қайюмий. 335-б.

⁵⁷ Bayāḍ. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4179. ff. 2136-217a; Verzeichnis... p. 121; Ҳалилбеков А. Нодим Намангоний ҳаёти... 197-201-б.

⁵⁸ Bayāḍ. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4179. ff. 2226-224a.

⁵⁹ Bayāḍ. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4182. ff. 826-836. These two manuscripts were written in one hand-writing, and most probably represent the poet's autographs.

⁶⁰ Bayāḍ. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4182. ff. 84a-86a.

⁶¹ Ҳалилбеков А. Нодим Намангоний ҳаёти... 197-б.

⁶² Bayāḍ. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 9365; Handlist of Sufi manuscripts (18th – 20th Centuries) in the holdings of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Republic of Uzbekistan (Biruni).

of the poet is not indicated in the work which gave grounds to consider it anonymous.⁶³ Despite the doubts about the authorship, this verse is notable for its originality, and it occupies a certain conceptual place in the cycle: The author declares that Dūkchī-Īshān's actions are not permitted by the *sharī'ah* and that the people should obey the Russian tsar.⁶⁴

Rājī Marghīlānī (1834-1918), or Rājī Marghīlānī (Marghīnānī), one of the renowned poets in the Kokand cultural milieu. He was born in Margilan in the Fergana region⁶⁵, and until 1904 he was a *qāḍī* of this city.⁶⁶ He met Russian orientalist, including V. V. Barthold ⁶⁷. He wrote two poems about Dūkchī-Īshān⁶⁸: a *mathnawī* of 76 *bayts* (156 lines) and a *ghazal* of 17 *bayts* (34 lines) with the *radīf* “*eshon*” (“Īshān”). In these verses Marghīlānī, unlike other poets, gave much attention to the description and negative evaluation of the Andijan uprising.

Umīdī-Hawāī (1835-1906), or Muḥammad ‘Umar Umīdī-Hawāī, belonged to the circle of the Kokand poets.⁶⁹ He wrote historical works about the Kokand Khanate (1710-1876), such as “Badawlat-nāma,” “Maktūbcha-yi khān,” and “Jang-nāma.” He was in close friendly relations with the orientalist N. F. Petrovskiy. He left two anti-Īshān *ghazals* with the *radīf* “*eshon* / *Īshān*,” and, according to T. Hajibaev's statement, the researcher of his creative works, the first *ghazal*, consisting of 11 *bayts* (22 lines)⁷⁰, was written before the uprising, the second one of 8 *bayts* (16 lines) – after its suppression.⁷¹ Presumably he also authored a chronogram dedicated to the Andijan uprising but it has not been discovered yet.

Tāsh-khwāja Asīrī (1864-1916). This poet from Khujand⁷² wrote mainly in Tajik. He studied in Kokand where he became friends with Muqīmī, Dhawqī,

Paul J. (ed.) Berlin: Das Arabische Buch. 2000, № 1710; *Verzeichnis...* pp. 119-120. See: Нодим. *Танланган шеърлар*. Турсунов А., Ҳалилбеков А. (нашри) Тошкент: Ғ. Ғулом номидаги нашриёт, 1964. 31-32-б.

⁶³ Каримов Ғ. *Ўзбек демократик шоири...* 574-575-б.

⁶⁴ *Verzeichnis...* p. 120.

⁶⁵ Аҳмаджанова Ф. *Ўзбек адабиёти тарихидан*. Тошкент: Университет, 1994. 22-44-б.

⁶⁶ Қайюмов П. *Тазкираи Қайюмий*. 321-б.

⁶⁷ Мелиоранский П. “Документ уйгурского письма Султана Омар-шейха.” *Записки Восточного отделения Императорского русского археологического общества*. Том XVI. Санкт-Петербург, 1902; *Туркестанские ведомости*. 1902, 25 августа.

⁶⁸ *Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUZ. Fund-1. № 5868. ff. 18a-21a; Марғиноний М. Ғ. “Дукчи эшон ҳаракатининг...” 57-59-б. *Асрлар нидоси...* 283-284-б.

⁶⁹ Қайюмов А. *Қўқон адабий муҳити*. Тошкент: Ўзбекистон ССР Фанлар Академияси нашриёти, 1961. 68, 312-б; Хожибоев Т. *XIX аср ўзбек шоири...*

⁷⁰ *Асрлар нидоси...* 221-б.

⁷¹ Хожибоев Т. *XIX аср ўзбек шоири...* 94-96-б. According to T. Hajibaev, the second poem is contained in an anthology from the private collection of Mufazzal Shaumarov.

⁷² “Асири.” *Краткая литературная энциклопедия*. Vol. 1. Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1964. С. 339; “Асири.” *Энциклопедияи адабиёт ва санъати тоҷик*. Ҷилд I. Душанбе: Энциклопедияи тоҷик, 1988. С. 184-185; “Асири.” *Литературный энциклопедический словарь*. Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1987. С. 547.

and Furqat. They exchanged poetic messages and were in correspondence with each other. Asīrī wrote the 20-line *ghazal* “*Dar madhammat-i Īshān-i Dūkchī*” (“On criticism of Īshān Dūkchī”).⁷³

Mawlawī Yūldāsh (1861-1922) was Muqīmī’s disciple. He lived in Kokand, and was a recognized religious authority.⁷⁴ He wrote verses and works on theological topics. He wrote a poem of 66 lines in the *musaddas*⁷⁵ genre with criticism of Dūkchī-Īshān.

‘**Abd al-Ghafūr Muḥibb** (the 19th and the 20th centuries) was a poet from Namangan,⁷⁶ one of the poets belonging to the literary circles of at the time of the uprising. He composed two poems. The first one is a big *mathnawī* of 82 lines; in this poem Muḥibb claimed that Īshān himself died, but he was responsible for the sufferings people still have to endure. The second, longer, *ghazal* of the same author contains 90 lines.⁷⁷

Šidqī Khāndayliqī (1884-1934) is a renowned Uzbek educator and a reformer of the beginning of the 20th century. He authored several works on the renewal of the cultural society of Turkestan.⁷⁸ In his poetic composition “*Iktisāb*” he criticized the Īshāns who had transformed their religious authority into a source of profit. Giving various examples from life of Īshāns, he particularly dwells on the charlatanism of Dūkchī-Īshān (347 lines). At the same time it should be noted that this part of the poem is written in 1919, that is, in the already changed political and ideological environment.⁷⁹

Hājji Šabirī (the 19th and the 20th centuries) was a native of Samarkand; any other detailed information on his biography has not been discovered yet. In imitation of Namangānī he wrote about Dūkchī-Īshān a *mukhammas* of 75 lines with the *radīf* “*emasmu?*”⁸⁰

Sul•ān Aḥmad (the 19th and the 20th centuries) was one of the Chimkent Īshāns. There is no exact and reliable data on him. His poem of 66 lines was

⁷³ Тошходжа Асири Худжанди. *Избранные произведения*. Москва: Наука, 1982. С. 3-5, 166-167.

⁷⁴ Тожибоев Р. “Мавлавий Йўлдошнинг бир таърихи ҳақида.” *Ўзбек тили ва адабиёти*. 2001, № 6. 53-54-б; Турдалиев А. “Мавлави Йўлдаш.” Прозоров С. М. (сост. и отв. ред.) *Ислам на территории бывшей Российской империи*. Москва: Издательская фирма Восточная литература, 2006. Вып. 5 (in print).

⁷⁵ Ahmadjon Madaminov, the expert in source studies from Kokand (1926–2008) was the first to pay attention to this poem: Мадаминов А., Қўшмоков М. “Рост йўлга етаклади...” 22-б.

⁷⁶ Қайюмов П. *Тазкираи Қайюмий*. 309-310-б.

⁷⁷ The Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-109a. f. 26. The present sheet contains three poems—two poems by Muḥibb and one anonymous poem (by order of appearance in the article, an anonymous *ghazal* № 2).

⁷⁸ Сидкий Хондайликий. *Танланган асарлар*. Қосимов Б., Жавҳарова Р. (нашри) Тошкент: Маънавият, 1998.

⁷⁹ Šidqī Khāndayliqī. *Iktisāb*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 7629/2. ff. 18a-19б. In the publication indicated in the previous reference, the segment dedicated to criticizing Dūkchī-Īshān is omitted which also testifies to biased selection of historical texts by some modern researchers.

⁸⁰ *Bayāḍ-i Hājji Šabirī. Tāshkent*. without indication of the year. 11-15-б; Қайюмов П. *Тазкираи Қайюмий*... 435-б.

published in the local colonial newspaper “*Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazētī*” (“Turkestani indigenous newspaper”) of October 30, 1911, under the headline in Russian “A Verse about Andijan Īshān.”⁸¹ At the end, it was emphasized with irony that it had been devoted to illiterate Īshāns. The experts regarded it as a peculiar kind of the people's comment on the uprising written in imitation of Muqīmī, as the author obviously followed his style.⁸²

Anonymous verses. There are only two of them, and they were kept in the collection of N. P. Ostroumov (1846-1930), the editor of “Turkestani indigenous newspaper” in 1883-1917.⁸³

1) The *ghazal* of 30 lines titled “*Nāẓm-i wāqī‘a-yi Dūkchī-Īshān*”⁸⁴; by style and rhyming it closely resembles the above mentioned poem Tāsh-khwāja Asīrī.

2) One more *ghazal* of 36 lines⁸⁵; it contains, among other things, the following notion, “Nobody knew the representative of what *sulūk* (the Sufi brotherhood - A. E.) the Īshān was.”

The first anonymous *ghazal* sharply differs from the second one by style, so, obviously, the poems were written by different poets.

* * *

Now, let us briefly discuss the general artistic features of the cycle, while noting first that the poetic collections (cycles) in the Turkestani literature of the second half of the 19th and the beginnings of the 20th centuries themselves have not yet been sufficiently studied.

A literary cycle, which is a series of poetic writings on one theme, was a fashionable trend in the second half of the 19th century. After the liquidation of the Kokand Khanate in 1876, and transformation of all its inhabitants into Russian citizens, the local literary tastes drastically changed, and together with them changed the subjects and the style of poetry. The values and canons of the medieval literature degraded, traditional genres and forms that once seemed to be inviolable began to lose their invariability. The literary genres that had developed for centuries now continued to exist only formally while gradually degrading both in the content, and in artistry.⁸⁶ The new era demanded new aesthetics

⁸¹ Publication of the poetic text in lithograph: *Bayād-i maḥbūb al-maḥbūb. Litografiya G. Arifjanova. Tāshkent, 1913.* 131-134-6 (IO AS RUz. Fund of lithographical books. № 330).

⁸² Абдуғафуров А. XIX иккинчи ярми... 197-б.

⁸³ N. P. Ostroumov himself also wrote about the uprising. See: Остроумов Н. “Интересный документ, касающийся Андижанского восстания.” *Вестник офицерской школы восточных языков*. Вып. 1. Ташкент, 1911.

⁸⁴ The Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-143. f.16; Каримов Ф. *Ўзбек демократик шоури...* 575-6.

⁸⁵ The Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-109a. f.26.

⁸⁶ For example, see: Erkinov A. “The perception of works by classical authors in 18th and 19th century Central Asia: The example of the Xamsa of ‘Ali Sir Nawa’i.” *Muslim Culture in Russia and*

(simplified to a certain extent); satire and humor got more and more intensified in works of art; the literature became more realistic (true, not without losses in the art quality). In particular, poetic answers-imitations during the period under consideration became a game: There appeared the cycles of poems on various events, satirical characters, things, and animals that the medieval canons categorically did not allow. In other words, the *ghazal*, as a matter of fact, being originally more likely a unified sacral genre, began to evolve into various forms. In the poetry of that time it is possible to find verses devoted to horses (*āt*), flies (*pashshalār*), a certain Victor⁸⁷, the Andijan earthquake of 1902, etc.

At the same time, when examining the verses related to Dūkchī-Īshān it is important to take into account that participation in a poetic cycle demanded observance of some rules and, therefore, did not necessarily give full play to individual creativity. Not only the subjects, but also formal features should draw together the verses of the same cycle. So, it was necessary to use special art forms — a certain rhyme, a certain meter, a *radīf*, and fixed forms of answers-imitations. Thus, we see that many verses-answers from the cycle "A Satire on Dūkchī-Īshān" were written on the *radīf* or the rhyme of the predecessor. The *radīf* "Bachchaghar,"⁸⁸ for example, was used by Muqīmī and Sul•ān Aḥmad, the *radīf* "emasmu?" — by Nādim Namangānī (in his two poems) and by Ḥājji Šābirī; the *radīf* "eshon" — by Dhawqī, Rājī Marghīlānī and Umīdī-Hawāī (in two poems), respectively. Such compliance with the formal rules of a cycle, and the very "journalistic character" of the theme did not act to raise the artistic level of poems — which, though, was not required because those verses were intended for the general readers, whose number sharply increased in connection with the appearance of new capabilities of the printing industry (lithographs and printing houses) and newspapers.

It is necessary to add that almost all poets participating in a cycle belonged to the same circle: Many of them were natives of Kokand, the former capital city

Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries. Vol. 2. Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998. pp. 513-526; Каримов Ф. Ўзбек демократик шоири... 80-82, 231-6.

⁸⁷ Viktor Dmitrievich Akhmatov, a Russian entrepreneur, the manager of the Kokand division of Kamenskiy Brothers. In 1889, the audit revealed shortage in the cash in the amount of 16 thousand roubles. Having learned about that, Akhmatov added cash shortage up to 300 thousand roubles and went into hiding. However, in 1892, his case was tried on the accusation and found guilty. Even before the trial the poet Muqīmī composed a satire on him, and people sang it in the streets of Kokand; its text with its translation into Russian was published by N. Ostroumov in 1895 in the IX-th volume of the Notes of the Eastern Department of the Russian Archaeological Society. See also: Абдугафуров А. Сатира в узбекской демократической литературе во второй половине XIX в. (по материалам творчества Мукими и Завки). Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Ташкент, 1958. С. 10.

⁸⁸ The present variant is presented in translation of the poet's poems (See: Мукими. *Избранные произведения*. С. 46-47). "Bachchaghar" can be translated also as «a son of a bitch». This word does not contain an obviously negative meaning, however, the insulting sense remains. Even today in Kokand it means some kind of an abstract curse or indignation much alike similar abusive epithets in other languages.

of the Kokand Khanate, had close personal friendly relations, and consciously wrote poems to participate in this particular cycle. Such participation was perceived at that period as a competition in artistic skills; outside the context of participation in some cycle it was difficult to prove one's poetic mastery. Owing to such inclination to competition, by the end of the 19th century in the Kokand literary community one could hardly find any individual poetic collection of poems (*dīwāns*) by the same poet. Even the eminent poets seldom created *dīwāns*. The place of a *dīwān* was steadily occupied by a *bayāḍ* — a collection of poems of several poets.

It is interesting to note one more detail: Dūkchī-Īshān also presented his edifications to the followers in the form of verses or rhymed prose. In 1311/1893-94 under the pseudonym of “Dīwāna” (God's fool), he wrote verses in his work “ ‘Ibrat al-ghāfilīn” (Edifications for the strayed).⁸⁹ His verses urge to follow the norms of Islam; they are intended for elementary religious education of the commoners and are characterized by a low artistic level (see also B. Babadjanov's introduction to the present collection).

⁸⁹ Babadžanov B. M. “Dūkči Īshān...” pp. 170-177; *Манъқиб-и Дӯкчӣ Ёшан...*

Assesments of the 1898 Andijan Uprising and Its Leader Dūkchī-Īshān in Works of the Contemporary Poets

The researchers of “A Satire on Dūkchī-Īshān” are also interested in another range of questions: Was the mainly negative response of the authors of a cycle toward the Andijan uprising and to the personality and actions of its leader sincere, and, if so, to what extent? Was this burst of criticism connected with a secret order of the Governor-General of Turkestan S. M. Dukhovskoy (1898-1901) who wished to hear condemnation of the uprising from the mouths of the local intelligentsia? And yet another important question: What was the attitude of the popular poets of that time towards the claims of Dūkchī-Īshān to be a Sufi instructor (*murshid*)? In fact, all the poets named above knew about Sufism not by hearsay, many ideas and aspects of their creative work were generated under the direct influence of Sufi poetry.

During his childhood Fāḍil-bīk ibn Āta-bīk was an eyewitness of the Andijan events. He wrote his memoirs in 1898 and published them in 1924. In this memoirs he claims that back then the poets were instructed to write verses with criticism of Dūkchī-Īshān and send them to local newspapers.⁹⁰ However, we have not yet encountered any direct documentary proof of this.

It is possible to find the answer to the first question in H. Baltabaev’s newspaper article “Secrets of the mercenary literature” published in 1998 in Uzbek.⁹¹ The article only involved a very small part of poetic works related to the Andijan uprising. This article is written in the form of a popular scientific one. It emphasizes that the poets created verses by order of the tsarist administration that wanted to establish a prevailing negative attitude towards the uprising and its leader.

This testimony is also backed up by the existence of the so-called “Addresses” (“Testimonials”) with eulogies for the Governor-Generalship of

⁹⁰ Фозилбек Отабек ўғли. *Дукчи Эшан воқеаси*. Ахмад С., Долимов У., Ризаев Ш. (ноширлар) Тошкент: Маънавият, 1992. 37-б.

⁹¹ Болтабоев Х. “Ёлланган адабиёт сирлари.” *Ўзбекистон адабиёти ва санъати*. 1998. № 49.

Turkestan and condemnation of Dūkchī-Īshān sent by the inhabitants of Kokand, Osh, and the Osh uyezd (district) and printed in local newspapers in the Uzbek and Russian languages.⁹² Therefore, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that the discussed verses presented a direct “answer” by the popular poets to the appeal from the Russian colonial administration addressed to the local intelligentsia in response to the Andijan events “properly.” Having suppressed the uprising with upmost cruelty, the imperial administration demonstrated its completely uncompromising position and proved that it was ready to use extreme measures in case of any attempt against its authority. Under such conditions, the poets could hardly express any other attitude to the uprising, except for a negative one.

At the same time, it is necessary to pay attention to the following fact: If the poets wrote their poems with criticism of Dūkchī-Īshān by order of the authorities, then why were only two of those 20 poems published in official press of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan?! Why were there verses left unpublished and stored in the archives of N. Ostroumov, the editor of the local newspaper?

In our opinion, the poets wrote these verses not under the orders of the colonial authorities’ appeal, but under the impressions from the repression that followed the uprising. Many local historians and poets who cannot be suspected of having sympathies with the colonial authorities were sincere in their condemnation of the armed attack launched by Dūkchī-Īshān’s supporters, considering that it “has violated *fatwā* (a formal legal opinion given by mufti, an Islamic legal authority) regarding the peace concluded with the White tsar.”⁹³ On the other hand, by then, the intelligentsia already realized that it was impossible to break free from the chains of colonial oppression through an unorganized mutiny. The sorrowful experience of numbers of the spontaneous uprisings that took place during the years of the imperial rule over the territory had shown that.

After the suppression of the uprising, the local Russian press began to refer to it as the “insurgency of religious fanatics.”⁹⁴ “The main cause of the mutiny is *ghazawāt*. During the attack the green banner appeared, and the Koran was recited.”⁹⁵ At the same time, the colonial administration tried to declare the uprising as contradicting the true aims of *ghazawāt*.⁹⁶ To make the condemnation of Dūkchī-Īshān more authoritative, they even tried to find suitable instructive maxims in the local classical poetry. For example, the orientalist N. G. Mallitsky

⁹² *Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazīti*. 1898. № 35; *Туркестанские ведомости*. 1898. № 64.

⁹³ See: Babadjanov. “Dūkchī Īshān...”

⁹⁴ In the Ostroumov’s archives there is kept a file with newspapers clippings in Russian about the sacred war of Muslims against the disbelievers: The Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-2.

⁹⁵ *Туркестанские ведомости*. 1898, 28 мая; Тареев Б. Л. “Ферганская область.” *Нива*. 1898. № 26. С. 514; *Правительственный вестник*. 1898. № 115; 1899. № 124, 141.

⁹⁶ “О священной войне мусульман с неверными (по случаю последних событий).” *Туркестанские ведомости*. 1898. № 77, 78.

found a versicle in the poetic wisdom of words (*hikmat*) written by Ahmad Yasawi, a well-known mystic of the 17th century, and interpreted it as a prophetic sentence about Dūkchī-Īshān. “Aḥmad Yasawī, the great thinker and the saint of Turkestan, was right that the modern Īshāns, in the overwhelming majority of cases, are noted for their avarice and ignorance. And the following prophetic words

انينك فتنه سى دجال دين بد تر بولغاي

can be applied precisely to Īshān Madalī of Ming-tepa: The word “*fitna*” means “a uprising, mutiny, disturbance.”⁹⁷ N. Mallitskiy also presents the translation of this line: “His uprising (the mutiny) will be worse than (the mutiny) of Dajjāl (false-Messiahs).”

By the way, Nādim Namangānī called Dūkchī-Īshān as Dajjāl⁹⁸ and Pharaoh.⁹⁹ These two images are absolutely negative for Muslims: Dajjāl is a false-Messiah, the antipode of the true Messiah; Firawn is the Biblical and Koranic Pharaoh who pursued Joseph / Yūsuf. Although Dhawqī and the author of the second anonymous poem called the Andijan uprising as *ghazawāt*, they did so with a fair share of irony. (E.g., the anonym made a peppered remark that to fight in the *ghazawāt* people were getting “armed with knives and cow manure.”) Actually, in many respects they reproduced the attitude to the uprising and to his leader shown by the Turkestani semi-official organ in the Uzbek language.¹⁰⁰

Let us discuss another aspect that was brought up by the critics of Dūkchī-Īshān and has not yet been thoroughly analyzed by historians of the Andijan uprising. Rājī Marghīlānī claims that Dūkchī-Īshān is a Shiite, and his father comes from Shughnān (that is, from Pamir), thereby hinting at the origin of both of them from the local Ismailites.¹⁰¹ In his second poem Marghīlānī reproaches Īshān for giving himself out for Mahdi, the hidden Shiite imam.¹⁰² Nādim Namangānī when rejecting Dūkchī’s claims for Īshānship referrers to him as not only a mere ignoramus, but also a *qizilbāsh* (“a red-head” — the Shiites in Central Asia often were called so) and an *īrānī* (Iranian).¹⁰³ In his second verse ‘Abd al-Ghafūr Muḥibb also called Īshān as a *qizilbāsh* and a Shiite. Rājī Marghīlānī pays attention to the fact and that the uprising broke out on the sacred day for the Shiites, on the 10th of *Muḥarram* (‘*āshūrā*)¹⁰⁴, and equates it to the

⁹⁷ Маллицкий Н. “Ишаны и суфизм.” *Туркестанские ведомости*. 1898 № 72.

⁹⁸ *Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4182. f. 836.

⁹⁹ *Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4179. f. 2146.

¹⁰⁰ *Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazīti*, 1898. № 32, 33.

¹⁰¹ According to some other data, his ancestors were natives of Kashgar. See: “Андижанское восстание 1898 г.” *Красный архив*. 1938. № 3 (38). С. 145; Сайдаметов Д., Шляпников Н. “Озодлик курашининг ёркин саҳифаси.” 169-177-6.

¹⁰² The character of Mahdi was very popular with the Muslims. See: Эркинов А. “Андижанское восстание и его предводитель...” С. 124, 136.

¹⁰³ *Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. № 4182. f. 846.

¹⁰⁴ Komatsu H. “The Andijan Uprising...” pp. 44-45.

useless self-torture practiced by the Shiites (*shahsey-vahsey*) which was usually performed in the same month.¹⁰⁵

Probably, by calling Dūkchī-Īshān an Iranian (it also can be read as *pirsiyān*, that is, a Persian) and a *qizilbāsh*, Nādim Namangānī, Rājī Marghīlānī and, and following them ‘Abd al-Ghafūr Muḥibb only wanted to emphasize that Dūkchī-Īshān was “an outsider,” in other words, that he was simply not a Sunnite. But we should not neglect the assumptions concerning the Shughnān origin of Īshān, his connections with Pamir. Such assumptions are supported by some indirect proofs. In 1898, the magazine “*Niva*” informed that “Dūkchī-Īshān, an ethnic Uzbek, <...> after accomplishing pilgrimage moved to the village (*qīshlāq*) of “Tajik” (of Ming-tepa, however, certainly there were several settlements) where he lived 10 years.¹⁰⁶ At that time in Ferghana the immigrants from mountainous southern areas were frequently called “Tajiks,” and such facts of migration were not just a few single instances. As A. A. Bobrinsky noted, “In Bukhara, in Osh, and in Kokand there are natives of Shughnān and Wāhān who are also Ismailites.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, there are some facts testifying that “the Ismailite *pīrs* had their *murīds* in the Ferghana Valley.”¹⁰⁸

Here is another Ismailism-related fact: Fāḍil-bīk ibn Āta-bīk in his childhood witnessed the Andijan events of 1898 and wrote his account of these events much later (published in 1924).¹⁰⁹ Later, according to some sources (see below) he had contacts with Pamir — Badakhshān. For example, the famous researcher and politician Ahmad Zaki Validi Togan (Aḥmad Dhakī Walīdī Tūghān) (1890-1970) wrote that in private collections of the Ferghana Valley there was held a work of Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī “*Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*” (History of Badakhshan)¹¹⁰ (for example, in Yūnus-jān dādkhāh Muhammadov’s private library). And the most interesting is that in Andijan in the private archive of Fāḍil-bīk there is kept one more copy of the above mentioned “*Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*.” This copy covers the historical events taking place in Badakhshān are presented until the period of life of the owner Mīrzā Fāḍil-bīk himself (in his own handwriting), who lived in Badakhshān for several years.¹¹¹ The two known copies of “*Ta’rīkh-i Badakhshān*” of Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī were kept in the Ferghana Valley. The first one covers the period of 1068/1657-58 - 1223/1808-09. The second copy was completed in Osh and belonged to the

¹⁰⁵ *Verzeichnis...* P. 120.

¹⁰⁶ Герцулин М. Я. “Кишлак Таджики в Ферганской области.” *Нива*. 1898. № 50. С. 991.

¹⁰⁷ Бобринский А. А. *Секта Исмائية в русских и бухарских пределах Средней Азии*. Этнографическое обозрение. кн.53. Москва, 1902. С. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Зайцев В. Н. “Памирская страна — центр Туркестана. Историко-географический очерк.” *Ежегодник Ферганской области*. Т. II. Новый Маргелан, 1903. С. 54.

¹⁰⁹ Modern edition: Фозилбек Отабек ўғли. *Дукчи Эшон воқеаси*. Тошкент, 1992.

¹¹⁰ Санг Мухаммад Бадахши. *История Бадахшана*. Болдырев А. Н. (Изд.) Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского университета, 1959.

¹¹¹ Валидов А. З. “Восточные рукописи в Ферганской области.” *Записки Восточного отделения императорского Русского археологического общества*. Том XXII. №3, 1915. С. 304.

Andijan citizen Fāḍil-bīk ibn Āta-bīk, also known as Surkh-afsar. It covers the history of the territory from 1223/1808-09 to 1325/1907.¹¹² This author had been compelled to flee to Badakhshān from the persecution of the local authorities after Dūkchī-Īshān's uprising in 1898. It is interesting that the author of the memoirs about Dūkchī-Īshān's uprising also fled to Badakhshān, from where, according to some data, Dūkchī-Īshān himself came. It seems that all these facts show that it is necessary to study the personality and activities of Dūkchī-Īshān in the context of his probable ties with Pamir.

Nevertheless, the central subject in the poems of a satirical cycle was not the origin of Dūkchī-Īshān, but the criticism of his personality and deeds. Īshān arranged daily entertainments and handouts for the needy and for ordinary pilgrims in his hospice (*khānaqā*), dealt out alms to the poor. Although before the uprising the local press sympathetically told about these acts of charity¹¹³, after the uprising all these activities were regarded as only means of gaining profit. Another common aspect of the criticism of Dūkchī-Īshān was his claims for ability to perform miracles (*karāmat*). Almost all the poets agreed in an opinion that Īshān's miracles were *sākhta* (faked), and they had reasonable grounds for this. Dhawqī, Nādim Namangānī, and Rājī Marghīlānī blamed Īshān that he deliberately deceived people, giving out a technical innovation ("boilers that cooked without fire") for his own ability to perform miracles. Şidqī Khāndayliqī in his poem mentions another trick. In order to prove his miraculous abilities, Dūkchī-Īshān devised a simple method: "He identified" his disciples (*murīds*) with typical offerings. Someone of disciples was for him "*Āt- Sūfī*" (Sufi-horse), another one — "*Tūya-Sūfī*" (Sufi-camel), others were itemized as a Sufi-rice, or a Sufi-ram, etc. Depending on what the visitor presented Īshān with as an offering, the visitor was accompanied with a disciple with a corresponding nickname. Having seen the disciple, Īshān "began to see clearly" and uttered what the visitor had brought.

The author of a textbook of the Uzbek language for Russian learners, the orientalist P. E. Kuznetsov in 1912 in Sorbonne (Paris, France) defended his Doctoral thesis entitled "Fighting of civilizations and languages in Central Asia" and published it in the same year. In this book, prior to Şidqī, he already mentioned this type of Dūkchī-Īshān's "*karāmat*."¹¹⁴ An old man aged of 84 from that district where Dūkchī-Īshān lived, in 1993 told that, according to people's stories, Dūkchī-Īshān had applied such tactics to deceive his admirers.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, Īshān reached his purpose because the commoners saw in such tactics his ability to perform miracles.¹¹⁶

Some poets also condemned ritual practices of Dūkchī-Īshān. For example,

¹¹² Ахмедов Б. "Предисловие." Санг Мухаммад Бадахши. *Тарих-и Бадахшан...* С. 321.

¹¹³ *Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazīti*. 1898. №12.

¹¹⁴ Kouznetsov P. *La lutte des civilisations et des langues dans l'Asie centrale*. Paris : Jouve et Cie Imprimeurs Editeur, 1912. p. 187.

¹¹⁵ Эгамназаров А. *Сиз билган Дукчи эшон*. 122-б.

¹¹⁶ Раззоков Х. *Завқий: ҳаёти ва ижоди*. Тошкент: Фан, 1955. 34-б.

Sultān Aḥmad stated that Īshān instead of making secret, internal *dhikr* for the sake of comprehension of God (*dhikr-i pinhān*)¹¹⁷, Īshān showed off in front of people by making a public *dhikr* (*dhikr-i āshkār*).¹¹⁸

All these claims against Dūkchī-Īshān gave rise to a question: Can he be reckoned Sufi? Undoubtedly, his authority among common people was great; but as for the educated intelligentsia, let alone the nobles, at the best they perceived him with sympathy, but more often than that they treated him with contempt. Even though the already mentioned historian Muḥammad ‘Azīz Marghīlānī recognized Īshān a rather poor but “generous person.” He considered Dūkchī ignorant, and emphasized that if he had been knowledgeable, “the Satan would not have misdirected him” (*Shayṭān yūldan āzdīrdī*).¹¹⁹ As far as it concerns the poets of the cycle, many of them come from the Īshān’s and Sufi’s circles. Thus, as far as it is known, Nādim Namangānī and Sultān Aḥmad came from Īshān clans, Rājī Marghīlānī had served *qāḍī* for 40 years, Mawlawī Yūldāsh was a religious authority in Kokand. Dūkchī-Īshān’s lowborn background (“a black bone”¹²⁰) and his doubtful (probably even illegitimate) position in the Sufi hierarchy in many respects had predetermined the negative and scornful attitude of the clerical aristocrats towards him. Nādim Namangānī even wrote that Īshān’s activities did not meet the requirements of Islam and Sufism. Dūkchī-Īshān wrote in his “‘*Ibrat al-ghāfilīn*” (1311/1893-94) that at the age of 25 he for the first time faced ‘*ulamā* and *mullā*, who accused him by pointing out that he “comes from ignorant plebs” (*nādān qāra suyak*).¹²¹ So the question of his origin and background, obviously, was brought up by poets not without purpose.

On the other hand, it is necessary to note that — for as paradoxical as it might seem — in all poems of the cycle, the attacks against Dūkchī-Īshān are constantly accompanied with the general anticlerical attitudes. In some of them anticlericalism even surpasses criticism towards a concrete person (see, for example, poems by Muqīmī, Nādim....).

¹¹⁷ They mean the kind of *dhikr* that was preferred by the followers of the Sufi groups of Naqshbandiya / Mujaddiya. For detail, see: Babadžanov B. M. “On the history of the Naqshbandiya Mugaddidiya in Central Mawaraannahr in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries.” *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*. Kemper M., Kügelgen A. V., Yermakov D. (eds.). Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1996.

¹¹⁸ It is necessary to note that the debates over the types of *dhikr* (with especially virulent attacks on the representatives of loud types of *dhikr*) have a centuries-long history both in Central Asia and beyond its borders. For detail, see: Бабаджанов Б. “Зикр джахр и сама’: сакрализация профанного или профанация сакрального?” Абашин С. Н., Бобровников В. О. (сост.) *Подвижники ислама: Культ святых и суфизм в Средней Азии и на Кавказе*. Москва: Восточная литература, 2003. С. 237-250.

¹¹⁹ Муḥammad ‘Azīz Marghīlānī. *Тарих-и ‘Азизи...* 62-63-б.

¹²⁰ See: Абашин С. “Ок-суяк.” Прозоров С. М. (сост. и отв. ред.) *Ислам на территории бывшей Российской империи*. Москва: Издательская фирма Восточная литература, 2006. Том 1. С. 318-319. See also interesting reasoning by B. Babadjanov on the “low origin” of Dūkchī-Īshān and his deliberate avoiding of the religious elite and aristocracy: Бабаджанов Б. М. “Дукчи Ишан...” С. 265-272.

¹²¹ Бабаджанов Б. М. “Дукчи Ишан...” С. 258.

On the whole, after the uprising the colonial administration became rather apprehensive about any local gatherings of people. For instance, peculiar people's poets, *maddāhs*¹²², (together with *wā'izas* and *dīwānas*) fell under suspicion too. They were called "market preachers." And after the 1898 Andijan uprising such wandering "poets" were regarded with suspicion, believing — and not without reason — that *maddāhs* could provoke new riots against the Russian administration in Turkestan.¹²³

In one of the manuscripts during research we found a folk song which, evidently, was written in honor of the Andijan uprising.¹²⁴ The song describes the scene where the armed Andijan citizens resisted *kāfirs* — disbelievers who destroyed Andijan. It is possible to assume that it was written by a commoner and was sung by the common people. The song also expresses the grief for the victims of the severe repression and terror — often meaningless — that followed the uprising. Even more interesting is that the political grounds of a uprising (and not only the Andijan uprising) did not play a serious role in this simple song. In the first place, the unknown author expresses sorrow for the victims, ordinary people, destruction of the place he used to live, etc. Below is the text of this folk song; it is rather primitive (primitive in terms of the form and rhythm), but at the same time it is indicative of a highly emotional burst from common people during these times¹²⁵:

اشولە

قىلدى كافر قصد ايتىپ بول انديجان نى قىستىدە
صف بوليب توردى بىنە انديجان قىستىدە

قازى كلان كين بيلان بيل باغلادى حمت بيلان
زەرە چە هيچ قورقمائين اوروشكا كوردى انديجان

نە بىكىت لار باركان مىلتوقغە توتى قوقمايين
اولدوروب جاندارمىنى حىدب چىقردى انديجان

كل تىففە اوزرە چىقىپ قىلدى الم بىراقىنى
چا طرفغە توف اتيپ خوب بولدى ويران انديجان

¹²² *Maddāh* is a teller of folk tales and legends about kings and Islamic heroes, the narrator of legendary biographies of medieval religious authorities, first of all, of the Sufis: Эркинов А. "Маддах." Прозоров С. М. (сост. и отв. ред.) *Ислам на территории бывшей Российской империи*. Вып. 4. Москва: Восточная литература, 2003. С. 45-47.

¹²³ The Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-109a. f. 3.

¹²⁴ *Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-3. № 2572, f. 51a.

¹²⁵ The poetic language of the song is primitive and has grammatical blunders, which we retained unaltered, according to the original text.

چین بیلان ناچنکا یتى همچنان آوازه سی
رسته سیه چم باسیب خوب بولدی محکم اندیجان

نیلابین بولسون امان دیب نامه یازدیم لامکان
کوبکا نیچه کویدیو قالانلا ر ایتور الامان

Song

The disbelievers went against Andijan for the sake of revenge
They broke into columns in order to take revenge upon Andijan

Qāḍī-yi kalān courageously acted against (the violence)¹²⁶
Being afraid not one jot or tittle, Andijan has started war

Brave guys, having no fear, went against rifles
They have killed a gendarme, and Andijan drove (the enemies) away

[Enemies] came to Kul-tepa¹²⁷ out of ashes and set up their banner
There were cannon-shots right and left, and Andijan was destroyed

The rumors about it have gone away all over the world
The Andijan dwellers were suppressed and forced to button their lips

What on earth was I to do? I have written this appeal so that they remain safe
To the rest I wish well-being, for all that had burned down you will not return

Another example of the attitude of ordinary people towards the figure of Dūkchī-Īshān is presented by renowned Uzbek writer ‘Abd Allāh Kakhār (1907-1968), who was raised in the Ferghana Valley. In the memoirs of his childhood under the title “Fairy tales about the Past” (written in 1965) he writes the following. ‘Abd Allāh Kakhār’s father was a smith. Once, his apprentice performed a conjuring trick for the village children. People thought that if an apprentice was so strong, his teacher - the master - could work wonders. Therefore, people began to think that the smith had a supernatural power and could help suffering people by reciting conjurations and invocations. When a woman of the *qīshlāq* came to Abdulla’s father asking him to help her by conjurations, the smith’s wife denied that her husband was a sorcerer. ‘Abd Allāh Kakhār describes this scene in his memoirs as follows:

¹²⁶ It is unknown, which Qāḍī-yi kalān is meant here. It is possible to assume that Qāḍī-yi kalān of the city indeed attempted to call the tsarist administration to abstain from too severe and inadequate measures.

¹²⁷ Kul-tepa is the name of Ming-tepa after it was destroyed by the Russian artillery. The village currently uses this name.

“... Mum, understanding nothing, repeated and repeated:
- But, in fact, my husband is an ordinary smith!
The woman did not cease to cry:
- My darling, let me be a slave of him, even if he is a smith.
Madalī-the-confessor was a spindle-maker too ...”.¹²⁸

Madalī-the-confessor — this is the name of “Madalī-Īshān” was translated into Russian. Actually, it is this name that he was known under among the common people. This episode described by ‘Abd Allāh Kahhār, as can be seen from the context, took place approximately in 1915. It means that memory of Dūkchī-Īshān continued to live among the ordinary people even 15 or 20 years after his death. In addition, the persistent belief in his miraculous abilities also continued to live, probably passed by word of mouth.

¹²⁸ Абдулла Каххар. *Сказки о былом*. К. Каххарова (изд.). Москва: Художественная литература, 1987. С. 194; Абдулла Каххор. *Асарлар*. 3-том, К. Қаҳҳорова (нашри) Тошкент: Ғ. Ғулом номидаги нашриёт, 1988, 224-б.

Conclusion

Thus, the acknowledged poets of the time, as well as local intellectuals, almost unanimously condemned the Andijan uprising and particularly its leader. The fact that Dūkchī-Īshān was a man of low origin, as well as his doubtful position in the hierarchy of the Sufis in many respects predetermined a negative and scornful attitude of the noble clergy towards the leader of the failed *ghazawāt*.

Such condemnation of the uprising (even in the form of creating this cycle) is explained not only by the fact that the Turkestani authorities in every possible way stimulated expression of “the discontent with Īshān among the native people and intelligentsia.” The deeper reasons had induced the local poets to the explosion of satirical works. It is perfectly clear that the main reason lies in their aspiration to maintain, by any means, peaceful co-existence with the colonial authorities, which military, economic, and political superiority had been by then an obvious fact. Even those theologians who at the beginning of colonization, with weapons in hands hand, participated in resistance to the Russian troops, eventually, came to the conclusion that due to the circumstances it was more preferable to seek a compromise with the conquerors, and, as it has been already noted, they adjusted theological substantiations in line with such a choice.¹²⁹

The Russian colonialism had brought to the Muslims of Central Asia many insults and oppressions. It was a conquest, and any attempt to revive the Soviet formula of “annexation” — and, particularly, with a ridiculous attribute “voluntary” — is, to put it mildly, nonsense. However, the attitude towards the colonization on the part of the local elite in due course became rather favorable overall.¹³⁰ The Muslims, in accordance with their own words, lived more peaceful lives under the Russians, than under the khans with their endless wars, internal feuds, and civil discord. Nonetheless, we mustn’t make this position

¹²⁹ Муҳаммад Йўнус Ҳўаджа (Тў’иб). *Тўҳфа-йў Тў’иб*.... С. 8-10.

¹³⁰ About the dynamics of the attituded of the Muslim writing intelligentsia toward the colonists, see: Babadjanov B. “Russian Colonial Power in Central Asia as Seen by Local Muslim Intellectuals.” *Looking at the Colonizer. Cross-Cultural Perceptions in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Bengal, and Related Areas*. Eschment B., Harder H. (eds). Berlin: Ergon Verlag, 2004, pp. 75-90 (the main bibliography is presented there).

absolute too. For example, the Muslims of Turkestan could read officially a Muslim prayer (*khutba*) for their ruler being in good health — the Russian tsar, but, at the same time, they also could express their grievances against the imperial Russian authorities. The Andijan uprising, as N. Ostroumov noticed, “proves that the Turkestani natives are absolutely not solidary with a prayer for the tsar and for the tsarist government.”¹³¹

However, one also cannot but see the fact that the relative stability (at least, the termination of civil strives) that established after the Russian conquest and colonization introduced calmness and peace so much treasured by people.¹³² This was also emphasized by the poets – participants of the cycle about Dūkchī-Īshān, for example by ‘Umīdī-Hawāī and ‘Abd al-Ghafūr Muḥibb.¹³³ Certainly, among the intelligentsia and clergy there were also those who sympathized with the insurgents, but they could hardly have expressed their opinions openly, in public. However, as we saw above, even such estimations found reflection in their creative works (particularly the folk ones) which have come down to us in various forms.

Anyway, in conclusion let us note that none of events or phenomena in history can be assessed unequivocally. Moreover, our assessments of such events mustn’t be affected by the current realities (or aspirations) of today. Otherwise, we would’ve repeated the mistakes of our recent past, which should be regarded as a bad example rather than just a subject of total condemnation and “repartition.”

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¹³¹ Остроумов Н. “Молитва за русского царя в Туркестане.” The Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-88. f. 7a; Erkinov A. *Praying For and Against the Tsar: Prayers and Sermons in Russian Dominated Khiva and Tsarist Turkestan*. Berlin : Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2004 (=ANOR 16). p. 68.

¹³² Мулла Олим Махдум Ходжи. *Тарихи Туркистон*. Алимардонов Т., Абдулҳаким Н. (нашри) Қарши: Насаф, 1993. 98-99-б; Мирза Алим ибн Мирза Рахим Тошканди. *Ансаб ас-салатин ва таварих ал-хавакин*. Юлдашева С. (Пер. на рус. яз.) Ташкент: Мозийдан садо, 2007. С. 192-206.

¹³³ Хожибоев Т. *XIX аср Ўзбек шоири...* 82-б; The Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-109a.

Illustrations

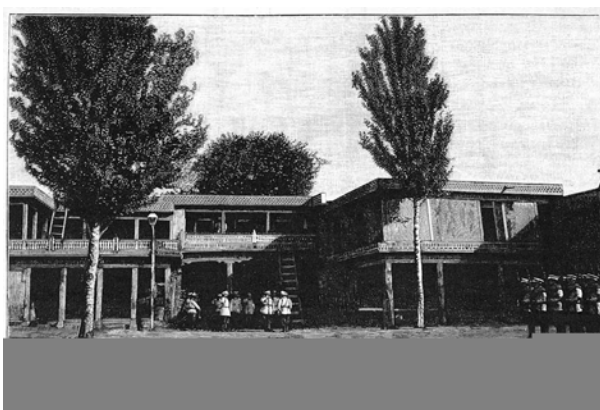


Illustration 1. The Home of Dūkchī Īshān (from the book: Сальков В. П. *Андижанское восстание в 1898 году*. Казань, 1901).

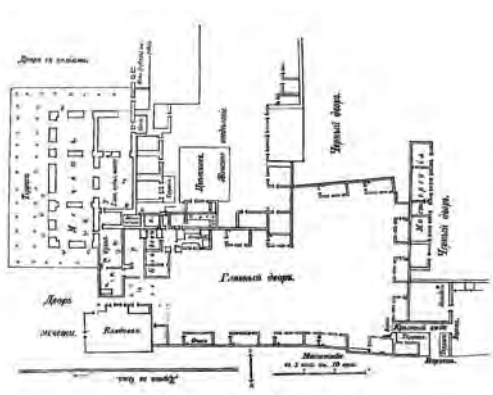


Illustration 2. The Plan of Dūkchī Īshān's Home (from the book: Сальков В.П. *Андижанское восстание в 1898 году*. Казань, 1901).

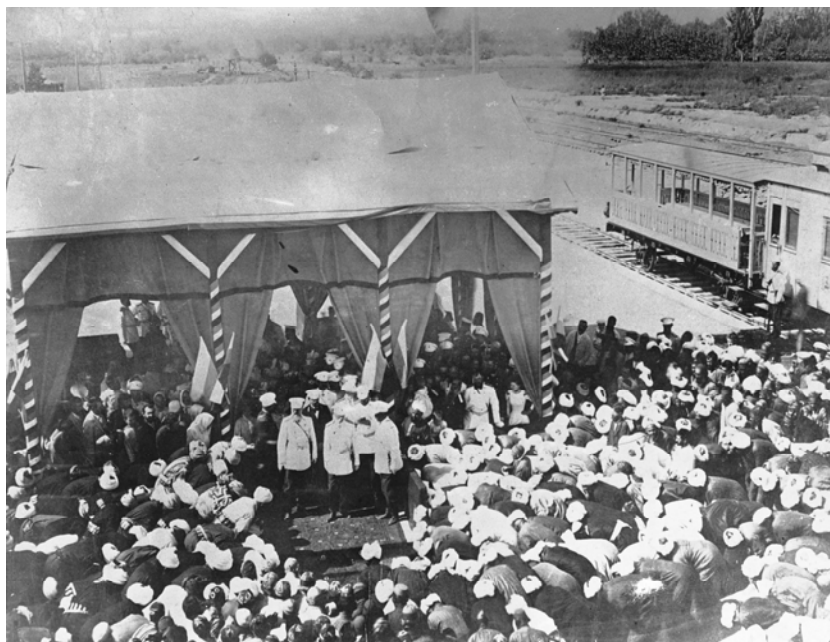


Illustration 3. Obeisance of natives (Natives plead guilty) after the Andijan revolt of 1898. Andijan (Central State Archive of Cinema and Photo Documents of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund A 60, photo 25).



Illustration 4. The door of masjid at Dūkchī Īshān's home (Ferghana Museum of Regional Studies, Uzbekistan). Photograph: Adham Ashirov.



Illustration 5. Common shape of Andijan. Populated blocks of natives. 1902. (Private archive of Aleksey Matveev).



Illustration 6. Railway station of Andijan. 1902. (Private archive of Aleksey Matveev).



Illustration 7. Bazaar of Andijan. 1902. (Private archive of Aleksey Matveev).

Appendix

Texts of verses

Muqīmī
(1850-1903)

Ҳажви халифаи Мингтепа

Махзани холи – даҳан, тил – мори гўё баччағар,
Заҳри котил суҳбати монанди дунё баччағар.
Дангаса, номардлик майдонида сарпо улуг,
Муттаҳамлик дафтарин бошида туғро баччағар.
Ис чиқарған ерда ҳозир мисли шайтон ҳамтабак,
Қанча сўксанг шунча шилқим; турфа суллоҳ баччағар.
Ботини чўян қозон, қайнар ичида реву ранг,
Зоҳири бир сўфи сурат, қўлда ассо баччағар.
Ётқузиб тилсанг баногаҳ қорнидин чикмас алиф,
Салласин кўрган киши дер: – “Катта мулло баччағар”.
Ҳалқада мундин бўлак болонишин йўқ, охири
Қилмағай деб кўркаман ҳазратга даъво баччағар.
Неча муддат йўқ эди, ул қайданам ҳозир бўлиб,
Ош арусда хангираб, кўп қилди ғавғо баччағар.
Шунча қўйнинг пўрдоғу пўстдунбасин ўғирлади,
Тозалаб Мингтепасига қилди савғо баччағар.
Сурмалар тортиб қачон кўрсанг кўзига, доимо
Ўзга бергай, қўлида ойина, оро, баччағар.
Билмам одам шаклида юрган уммисибъёнмукин,
Отини тутсанг агар ҳар ерда пайдо баччағар.
Бир пучак пул хайр ногоҳ бир гадо қилса тамаъ,
Истаган янглиғ вужудин андин анқо, баччағар.

Меравад ҳаржо шикамро маҳз пур кардан, дигар
Нест парвойи ғами имрӯзу фардо, баччағар.
Кир ювиб мағзобасин кўпугини олиб йиғиб,
Рўзада қўйғай отин қандин нишолло, баччағар.
Илгари филжумла номусу ҳаёси бор эди,
Қайси кун ҳаждинки келди, бўлди расво баччағар.
Борса ҳар ерда уруб беҳуда ёлғон лофу қоф
Дерки: “Султон берди менга етти тилло”, баччағар.
Ғар асо тутса қўлиға сиз ани айб айламанг,
Вокианким, кўзи очиқ, ботин аъмо баччағар.
Қилмас эрдим ҳажв, ночор айладимким ўқишиб,
Аҳли донишга бўлур деб дафъи савдо баччағар.
Ҳеч кимни баччағар деб бўлмағай, то бу тирик,
Мундин ўзга баччағар йўқ, ўзи танҳо баччағар.
Эй Муқимий, сендин озоре биравга етмасин,
Душманинг ҳам бўлса ҳаргиз дема асло баччағар.

(Муқимий. *Асарлар*. Тошкент: Ғ.Каримов, 1974. 378-379-б.)

**Dhawqī
(1853–1921)**

Ҳажви Йикчи Эшон

Солдинг олам аҳлиға кўп шўришу ғавғо эшон,
Хайрият, тезроқ еди бошингни бу савдо эшон.
Омилиғдин кашфи жин еткурди бошлаб дорға,
Қилмас эрдинг ушбу иш, бўлсанг эди мулло эшон.
Сенга ким эди қўйган қилмоқ тариқат даъвосин,
Э шариат ҳукмидан оламда бепарво эшон.
Хориқи одат: ўтинсиз ош пиширдинг томда,
Айлабон рангин “каромат”ларни хўп барпо эшон.
Аҳли Фарғона тутар маҳшарда домонингни бил,
Ушбу йил қилдинг зарар ҳар кимга минг тилло, эшон.
Ишни сен қилдинг, балоға қолдилар бечора халқ,
Ғўзани сен еб, кесилди бўзчи, банги, ё эшон.
Шухратингни(нг) офати ёлғиз ўзингга тегмади,
Балки сен офат бўлиб қилдинг вабо пайдо эшон.
Э касофатлик вужудинг наҳсидин Мингтепада,
Хонавайрон бўлди бир минг манзилу маъно, эшон.

Қанча одам ўлдилар, кўп халқ бўлдилар асир,
 Шаръ ҳукми: қониға зомин бўлибсан, хо эшон.
 Тутмаса Қодиркули мингбоши, гар осилмасанг,
 Айлар эдинг бу маҳалда Махдилиқ даъво эшон.
 Ўт югуртирдинг “каромат” деб қилиб бидъат ўчоқ,
 Қилмади бу ишни ҳеч оламда бир тарсо эшон.
 Номуборак макдаминг Мингтепани қилди хароб,
 Гар қадам кўйсанг чиқаргай дудлар дарё, эшон.
 Ҳам бошингга, ҳам (кетинга) тегди отқон сопқонинг,
 Марг сен соҳибхуруж ўлғонга, э расво эшон.
 Ҳимматинг олий экан, ушбу “ғазот”инг ажриға,
 Борсанг арзир тўхтамай дўзахга – сен танҳо, эшон.
 Мундоғ иш одам демай, оламда ҳайвон айламас,
 Сўфи мисвоку мусалло, шона-ю салло эшон.
 Ранг-баранг рангу риё қилмоқда шайтон ҳамтабақ,
 Йигчи халфа ном чиқардинг, баччағар, усто эшон.
 Енги кир малла чопонинг, меши дастурхонларинг,
 Феълү атворинг тамоми ёқмаган бежо, эшон...
 Ҳийлакор доғулидек сурат совуқ, сират бузук,
 Бир чўкиб икки қарайдурғон алоқарғо эшон.
 Мунча асбобу халойиқ қолди бошингдин сабил,
 Қирғизу, кипчоқ кетурган ҳадя-ю савғо эшон.
 Ҳар киши бу шўриши Фарғонадин сўрса нишон
 Завқий айтур: жон чикиб, тарихидур иғво эшон!

(Завқий. *Танланган асарлар*. Раззоков Ҳ. (Нашрга тайёрловчи). Тошкент: Ўзадабийнашр, 1960. 32-33-б.)

Nādim Namangānī
(1844–1910)

(I)

(b213↓)

دوران چرخ ایدل بیدد یمان ایسمو
 طوفان غصه غم آثار قان ایسمو
 کرد غبار فتنه یر آسمان ایسمو
 فرغانه اهلی غم دن رنگی سمان ایسمو
 بو شوریش قیامت آخر زمان ایسمو

ساداتُ پیشوالر یتکان رهنمالار

اقتطابُ اولیالر ز هَادُ اتقیالار
علم اهلئ رسالار حجاجُ پارسالار
قاری قوش ادالار اهل دلُ دعالار
شیخان خانقالار شمس جهان ایسمو

هر برلاریده یوز غم دوران پر جفادن
کونکل لری پریشان خوفُ خطر بلادن
بر لحظه قرقمای غوغا ماجرادن
خونابه لر یوترلار بر درد بی دوان
از بس که بو زمانه کوب جان ستان ایسمو

بولدی یکر مه اوج یل فرغانه فطرتیغه
اوتی بو ایمفراطور ظل حمایتیغه
سوندی بویون خلیق حق نی ارادتییغه
کورکوزدی شاه سعین بو ایل فراغتیغه
(a214↓/↑b213)فرغانه دولتی ده دارالامان ایسمو

بو شاهیمزنی قیلمیش ایزد بسی مظفر
ملکی خطاُ روم تا هند بالمقرر
اسکندر زماندور محکومی جمله کشور
سالغان بو شوکتی دین بحر ایله برکا لنکر
بو پادشاه عالم صاحب قرآن ایسمو

فرغانه دولتیده تابغان ایدی فراغت
هیچ وجه دین یتشمای بو ایل کا ظلم زخمت
بیچاره کم بغل لر بولمیش ایدی بدولت
افسوس کیم فلک دین یوزلاندی بیز کا محنت
بر بر دیین قولاغ سال بو داستان ایسمو

بو دهر آفتیدین بر شوریش اولدی پیدا
مینک تیغه لیغ ایشاندن چیقتی فسادُ غوغا
بولدی دماغی فاسد بر کیچه قضارا
مردم کا سالدی اغوا اول خبیثی دیو آسا
ای اهل عقلُ دانا بیزکا زیان ایسمو

ایتی جهان ابلیکا نیرنک و سحرُ جادو
صورت ده اولیا دیک سرته مثل هندو
بی علمُ بی دیانت باطن ده خنکُ بدبو
شیطان آدمی خواصلی خطاُ منجو
(b214↓/↑a214)سر فتنه جفاجو یکچی ایشان ایسمو

بر کته خانقاهی قیلغان در آشیانه
مینک آتنی باغلا غودیک بر یانغه اخته خانه
اشُ قرانین ایتکان بو ایل کا دالم دانه

جادوگری زمانه سحریدن آشاخانه
فرعون دین نشانه مله چفان ایسمو

اول خانقاهی ایچرا ار غمچی دام تذویر
مله چفان سله ابله کا ایردی تدبیر
نیرنک برله قیلدی بی عقل لرنی تسخیر
مینک تیغه جایی بولدی کویاکه شهر کشمیر
مردم کوزیکا ایشان اصلی یلان ایسمو

دیو شیاطین اولدی اول بد نهاده اهزن
تاریک تیره بولدی چشمیغه روز روشن
بولدی جنون زیاده جاک ایتی جیب دامن
عقلی باشیدین او جتی دیدی غزا قیلرمن
مقصود بو ایشی دین ایلدین تالان ایسمو

بر نیچه شیاطین قولغه الیب فجاغین
کر دیلر اندیجان کا فاسد قیلیب دماغین
بعضی نی او خلاکانده کستی کیچه تماغین
قاجتی شبانه قودی سلات ایتب سراغین
بو شیرلر قاشیده اول ماکیان ایسمو (a215↓/↑b214)

بر تلکراف برله توتی جهاننی عسکر
قیلغان تمامی در برتر تفنک خنجر
فرغانه ملکی تولدی لشکر بیله سراسر
هر قیسی ذال رستم مردانه دلاور
میدان جنک ایچره بر ارسلان ایسمو

توتی لر انی محکم کتمان تیغه بولیده
بوینیغه توشتی زولون سلات لار قولیده
کیلنوردی اندیجان کا عسکر اونک سولیده
رسوالیغ ایله اولدی اول باغی سک یلیده
بو عبرت تمامی اهل زمان ایسمو

بر نیچه لر اسیلدی انی ضالالتی دن
بعض سبیرکا کیتی شه نی سیاستی دن
فرغانه باش کوتارمس بولغان خجالتی دن
آنی کسافتی دن اول فتنه آفتی دن
کوب ایل اسیر زار بی حان مان ایسمو

بو ایشنی کرجه قیلدی ایشان بی دیانت
فرغانه اهلی بولدی موندین بسی حجالت
مینک تیغه لیغ نی جایی ویرانه بولدی غارت
ایمدی نه سود قیلغای افسوس ایله ندامت
اوج لک صوم اخجه بر مق بار کران ایسمو (b215↓/↑a215)

کر بولمسه بو ایشان ری ایله اقتضاسی
فرغانه نینک ایللی نی تاراج ایله اذاسی
بولغای مو ایردی هزکز بو نوع مجاراسی
یتکای مو ایردی بیزکا بو کلفت جفاسی
قیلغان آنی خطاسی ظلم عیان ایمسمو

خلق ایچره سامری دیک کوب فتنه لر سالدی
نیرنک حیلله برله کوب ایلدین اخجه الدی
جادو سحری آخر فرغانه کا بیلیندی
فرمان ایفراطور بولغاج انکا اسیلدی
اول پادشاه اعظم حکم روان ایمسمو

بر برغه یخشی ایردی روسیه مسلمان
مهر ایلله شفقت اوزره پیوسته شاد خندان
کوب ربط اشنالغ ایللاب بولوب قدردان
افسوس کیم غباری سالدی اراره شیطان
بو ایش نی باشلغان لر مار جیان ایمسمو

یتکان بو طرز کلفت حکم ازل قلم دن
اول باعث مفرت یکجی متهم دن
بو ایل نی بغری قاندور خوف خطر الم دن
هر لحظه درد غم دن بر نیچه ستم دن
ویرانه لرده یغلاب ازرده جان ایمسمو (a216↓/↑b215)

قیلغان ایشی مخالف ایردی شریعت ایچره
عکس نظام ملت دین طریقت ایچره
بو طرز فتنه کرلیغ یوقتور حقیقت ایچره
کر اول حلال انکالر اول ایشنی عادت ایچره
دین دن چیقار دیکان لر اسلامیان ایمسمو

الحمد لله ایمدی اول پادشاه اعظم
ایتمای ینه کرم نی فرغانه اهلی دین کم
قیلدی تمامیمزنی آزاد شاد خرم
جزم خطا اهلی نی بیزلردین ایتی برهم
فرغانه اهلی موندین کوب شادمان ایمسمو

تحقیق ایلله الغ لر روشن قیلب عدالت
یخشی بیلله یمان نی ممتاز ایتب یغایت
یتی جزاغه باغی اوزکه هم سلامت
شکرانه سیکا دیرمیز حمد ثنا دوامت
اول شاهمز دعاسی ورد زبان ایمسمو

قیلغان مخمس ایلله بو قصه نی نمایان

نادم تخلصی دور اولاد شاه مردان
فرزند شیخ الاسلام جایی انی نمکنان
ایشان توره اسمی ... و عملی ثنا خوان
اشعاریدین ... ایمسمو (b216↓/↑a216)

بو ایش لر یکه بولدی تقدیر اقتضاسی
لوخ قلم غه یازغان عالمنی ماجراسی
بر درد بارکه یوقتور هرکز انی دواسی
قیلغان عزیز لرنی اوباش تخت پاسی
کلزار شرع برحق موندین خزان ایمسمو

دنیا تردودیدن هر کیم باشیده سودا
نفس هوا یولیده شام سحر تمنا
... پرداسی آخرت یوق کونکل لریده اصلا
... کرم مروت بو ایل ایجیده عنقا
... مردان کوزون نهان ایمسمو

افسوس کیم خدا جو مردانه لر عدم دور
روشن ضمیر دانا مردم ایجیده کم دور
سردار مصلحت بین اوباش متهم دور
بو ایل غه کار باری اول زمره نی ستم دور
مردم ایشی همیشه آه فغان ایمسمو

ضنديق دیو صورت شرمندہ بدولت
سرمست فیل هیت بدافت پر کسافت
پلدار بی طهارت رندان اهل غارت
هندوی تره طینت باش اولدی فی الحقیقت
فرغانه ملکی ایمدی مازندان ایمسمو (a217 ↓/↑b216)

کرجه جند اولیا اقطاب لر اوتوب دور
رخسارینی بو ایلدین پر ایچره برکتیب دور
قالغان بو بی نوالر هجران ده قان یوتوب دور
درد غمان بو کیتی اور اقیغه بتیب دور
ای بنده اوزمه امید حق مهربان ایمسمو

شایدکه حق تعالی بزکا عنایت ایتسه
آسایش فراغت ساری اشارت ایتسه
شرع شریفه احمد روحین حمایت ایتسه
شورشور ایلی نی عالمده غارت ایتسه
دنیا یوزی دمیده بر کلستان ایمسمو

معراجیغه یتیشتی ظلم جفای دوران
فسق فجوره تولدی ملک تمام توران
مهدی بیلله مسیحی وقت خروجی آلان

ايول غم ستم دين بر لحظه يوتمغيل قان
سالغيل ايشينك خداغه حق مستعان ايمسمو

(*Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1, Msc. № 4179. ff. 213b-217a.)

Стихотворение¹³⁴

Наманганца Ишан-Баба-Хан-Тюри, Шейхуль Исламова (по поводу андижанского возмущения)

О, сердце! Не очень ли небо враждебно к нам стало?
Не след-ли кровавый после потопа (современного) остался от печали?
Не новый-ли свод в небесах от пыли восстания явился?
Не жёлтым-ли стало от печали лицо у людей Ферганы?
Не служит-ли смута признаком мира конца?

Сеиды, передовые люди, лучшие духовные путеводители,
Светочи святых, отшельники благочестивые,
Люди науки, образованные, набожные ходжи,
Лучшие чтецы Корана, усердные молитвенники,
Шейхи дервишских обителей – теперь не принижены-ли они?

У каждого сто огорчений от виновников стольких бедствий,
Сердце их в печали от происшедшего в Фергане возмущения...
В одну секунду не избавиться от страха пред этой бедой.
Они глотают кровавую слюну; нет лекарства от этой боли,
Ибо не много-ли погибло в это время людей?

Двадцать три года со дня присоединения Ферганы
Прошло под Августейшим покровительством Русского Императора.
Ведь по Божей воле этот народ покорён...
Государь проявил свою заботливость о благополучии его,
И не стала-ли безопасной страной Фергана?

Победителем соделал Господь этого Государя нашего.
Царство Его простирается до Китая, Рума и Индии...
Как при Искандере¹³⁵ пусть распространяется Его власть

¹³⁴ The Russian translation of the same poem from the newspaper *Туркестанские ведомости* (1898, № 45).

¹³⁵ Alexander III of Macedon (Alexander the Great).

Во все стороны – на море и на сушу!
Не само-ли небо покровительствует этому Государю Вселенной?

Обрела Фергана в Его царствие благополучие,
Никого не касалась беда от насилий,
Богачами стали несчастные бедняки. Но
Печально, что бедствие с неба ниспало на нас.
Этот рассказ для того, чтобы друг другу передать его.

От злого рока этих дней появилась смута,
От минтюпинского ишана вышла смута.
Подобный диву, безумец вложил в сердце людям мысль о возмущении.
О, разумные, толковые люди, не вред ли нам от сего?

Он показывал народу хитрости, волшебство и чародейство...
По наружности святой, а внутри, как индиец
Необразованный и бессовестный, бездушный и зловредный
Шайтана слуга и по нраву манджур,¹³⁶
Главарь восстания с султаном на чалме, не Икчи-ишан ли?

Большую двухэтажную обитель он построил
И около – конюшню на 1000 лошадей,
Как силос, пищевой котёл уставил... Для народа
Столовая его с волшебством, – время чародеев!
Его желтоватый халат не есть-ли признак Фараона?

Мечеть и минарет он построил и с фокусом котёл.
Желтоватый халат и чалма помогла в планах безумцу.
Своими хитростями он увлекал неразумный народ.
Подобным Кашмиру сделалась Минтипе.
Не настоящий-ли лжец ишан в глазах людей?

Это диво-шайтана – дурной путь.
Потемнел дневной свет в очах (у ферганцев);
Порвались у них ворот и полы от дел безумца.
Оставило его сознание и он газават объявил...
И не было-ли целью при этом разоренье народа?

Несколько наших людей, взяв в руки ножи,
Пришли в Андижан, злой умысел имея;
Ночью перерезали горло некоторым спящим
И ночью же бежали: их погнали солдаты.

¹³⁶ The Chinese.

Перед этими львами они не более, как курицы.

По телеграфу наполнилась страна войсками;
Все они имели ружья, револьверы и сабли.
Ферганская область наполнилась войсками.
Каждый воин по храбрости подобен Гиу времени Рустама.¹³⁷
Не львы-ли это на поле битвы?

Ишана захватили на дороге в Китмень-типе,
Наложили оковы на руки ему, и солдаты
В Андижан привели; справа и слева шли солдаты...
Покрылся срамом возмутитель, как собака в навозе.
Не служит-ли это время уроком для всего населения!

За его заблуждение несколько человек повешены,
А некоторые пошли в Сибирь, – по суду Государеву.
Не может поднять Фергана голову от срама.
От этого дела ишана, от этого возмущения
Разве не много народа сделалось арестантами, безумные людьми!

Безчестное дело сделал ишан,
И многие ферганцы осрамились.
Место минтипинца разрушено, разорено...
Какая же польза получилась? Печаль и раскаяние...
Не тяжело-ли уплатить 300,000 рублей штрафа?

Если бы не был приведён в исполнение замысел ишана,
Произошли-ли бы погром и стеснение для Ферганы
От каждого из этих вожаков?
Постигло-ли бы нас такое тяжёлое горе?
Не ясно-ли заблуждение учиненного им заговора?

Подобно Самраю¹³⁸, смут много посеял в народ,
Хитро-лукаво денег много собрал.
Его обман и волшебства после стали понятны Фергане.
По повелению Императора, он был повешен...
Может-ли не исполниться приговор Великого Государя?

В этом деле участниками были: грабители – воры
Безумные, безшабашные бездомники, продавцы масла,
Глупые дураки киргизы-жнецы,

¹³⁷ The heroes of the ancient Persian epos popular in Central Asia.

¹³⁸ Made a golden calf, which was worshipped by the Jewish people during the Moses' absence.

Бродяги, клятвопреступники, а ближе всего нищие, питающиеся айраном.
Не был-ли одним из них Бек-джан Кузы-оглы?

Это сборище неразумных глупцов, полуумных,
Не имеющих пищи, голодных, нищих, не имеющих верховых животных...
У каждого из них на плечах были палки и дубины без острия.
Не подобны-ли они собакам, лающим на луну,
В надежде достать с неба каравай или кость?

Хорошо жили друг с другом русские и мусульмане,
Всегда были дружелюбны, радостны-веселы,
Много у них было связей в знакомстве,
И горестно, что бросил шайтан пыль вражды среди них.
Не змеи-ли, не скорпионы-ли эти возмутители?

От Предвечного предопределения такого замешательства,
От виновного веретенщика, бывшего причиной зла,
У многих печень в кровь обратилась от боли страха.
От ежеминутной болезненной думы о насилиях ишана
Не скорбит-ли душа? Не плачет-ли горько?

Сделанное им противно уставам шариата,
Противоречит канонам веры и обычаям тариката:
От возмущения вред всеобщий: нет этого в Хакыкате¹³⁹.
Если же он считал это позволительным, то поступил по личному обычаю...
Не отступники-ли от ислама названные мусульмане?

Власти проявили справедливость при разследовании дела:
Тщательно различали благонадёжных от злонамеренных;
Подверглись наказанию преступники, а все прочие невредимы,
Они всегда возносят благодарение, хвалу и славу Богу.
Не творят-ли они постоянно молитву и за нашего Государя?

Теперь хвала Богу: Великий Государь
Не уменьшил Своих милостей к Фергане:
Освободил всех нас от суда и сделал радостными,
Ныне простил он наши преступления.
Не возрадуются-ли от этого жители Ферганы?

Изложивший пятистишием этот ясный рассказ
По прозванию «Надим», потомок Шаги-Мардана¹⁴⁰,

¹³⁹ Tariqa is the path of the Sufis, haqiqah is the Sufi truth.

¹⁴⁰ The fourth "righteous" caliph Ali (the true successor to the Prophet Muhammad).

Сын Шейхуль-ислама, – из города Намангана.
Не распространятся-ли эти стихи по свету?

(*Туркестанские ведомости*. 1898, № 45.)

(II)

(222b↓)

بو شورش زمانه بی حد یمان ایسمو
طوفان غصه غم اثار قان ایسمو
حق طاعتی نی قیلماي شرع نبی ده بولماي
سرکشته اسری بحر خان مان ایسمو
سادات خواجه ملا خواهی فقه دانا
تجار شیخ کبرا رنکی سمان ایسمو
اوباش بی دیانت قلاش اند صورت
سردار بو دیار کلفت نشان ایسمو
پیران پارسالار زهاڭ اتقیالار
شیخان حانقالار شمس جهان ایسمو
افسوس کیم زمانه کج بولدی جاودانه
یخشی بیله یماننه ظلمی نهان ایسمو
هر لحظه درد غم دن بر نیجه ستم دن
زهر اب پر الم دن ازرده جان ایسمو
هر کیم ده بولسه طلا خواهی جهود ترسا
بو ایل غه خواجه یئ اول کته کان ایسمو
ضندیق دیو صورت شرمنده بدولت
درکاهی جمله ایلغه دار الامان ایسمو
خیر سخا یوقالدى فسق فجور الدی
بدعت کا شهر تولدی آخر زمان ایسمو
دوق دغل یمان لر ظلم ستم کا کان لر
(223a↓/↑222b) بو مملکت ایجیده مار چیان ایسمو
بر خلق کار باری ذکر فن شعاری
بو پخته امیرکان کاهش جان ایسمو
شیطان آدمی خواصلی خطا منجو
سیر فته جفاو یکجی ایشان ایسمو

جادوکر زمانه سحریدین آشخوانه
فرعون دن نشانه خوک قوان ایسمو
مردم کا سالدی غوغا اول جنی دیو آسا

ای اهل عقل دانا بیزکا زیان ایسمو
 حق لطف دین دیار فرغانه ای برادر
 محکوم ایفراطور دار الامان ایسمو
 نصرانی لرنی شاهی دارای کجکلاهی
 از نصرت الهی صاحب قران ایسمو
 بیزلر انکار رعیت اندین بو ایل کا شفقت
 ملکی خطا روم تا اسفهان ایسمو
 یکجی ایشان نادان دجال ملک توران
 عالمغه سالدی طوفان بو داستان ایسمو (223b↓/↑223a)
 آنی کسافتیدین اول فتنه افتی دین
 کوب ایل اسیر زار بی خان مان ایسمو
 بعضی اسیلدی یتی بعض سبرکا کیتی
 غربت ده زار یغلاب کوز خون فشان ایسمو
 مونده قالبب بلاسی همشیره اغاسی
 ایش خاندان لر ییغه آه فغان ایسمو
 مینک تیفه غارت اولدی کوب نی اوبی بوزیلدی
 اورنی موجوک کا بولدی ظلم عیان ایسمو
 سیلاب بولدی برهم یتی الوس غه مینک غم
 ضعف اولدی دین کم بو امتحان ایسمو
 ویرانه بولدی خاکان اهلی همه پریشان
 یوزی بیلان یقیلکان اول اندیجان ایسمو
 فرغانه تنج ایردی قرغز بو ایشنی قیلدی
 صلات لر قصاصی بر جان کا جان ایسمو
 جرم خطا ذلت کوب بولدی ایل کا غفلت
 ایل کوزیکا کرامت آش ایله نان ایسمو (224a↓/↑223b)
 ای خلق بی سرانجام عالم ده صبح ایله شام
 دیب پری جاهل خام بین یغلاکان ایسمو
 معبود جمله عالم یزدان پاک اعظم
 شرازه بند آدم اول لامکان ایسمو
 قران ایرور کلامی مذکور تیلده نامی
 بیزکا اتا انادین حق مهربان ایسمو
 اندین رسول برحق احمد ایرور محقق
 دین شریعتی دین حکمی روان ایسمو
 اول افضل پیمبر جمله نبیغه سرور
 محبوب حی داور عرش آشیان ایسمو
 اصحاب چار یاری احفاد نامداری
 هر قیسی قطب هر غوث کلان ایسمو
 اقوال مشتهدین آثار اهل تدوین
 حبیل المتین و دست بو امتان ایسمو
 توتمای بولر طرفین نهج ملت دین
 ای خلق جهل آیین ذکرینک قزن ایسمو
 ایشان نی خاتقاسی قیلغان اوزون دعاسی...

(III)

عالم ایلیدین اولغان قطب جهان خلیفه
بولسه فنای مطلق اولدور عیان خلیفه
حق دن بولک تابیلیمس قربت نشان خلیفه
دریای معرفت دور طبعی روان خلیفه
اول وارث نبی دور عرش اشیان خلیفه

بو بکر ایردی صادق صدق سخاوت ایجره
عمر شهنشاه ایردی تخت عدالت ایجره
عثمان شهید بولدی عین تلاوت ایجره
شیر خدا علی کیم ایردی شجاعت ایجره
بو تورث مصطفی کا بی شکان خلیفه

اصحاب آل ایرورلر سر حلقه عزیزان
آینه حقیقت انوار قطب دوران
صبح شب معارف برمشتهد پران
حبل المتین ملت حصین الحصین ایمان
دیرلر بولرنی اهل کرد بیان خلیفه

ایردی جنید بشر داود کاهی رهبر
بو حفیض نقش بند اول بایزید سرور
اول جمله اولیالردین نبی غه زیور
بحر علوم ایجره غواص در کوه
دامانیدین جهان کا کوه فشان خلیفه (83a↓/↑82b)

هر برلریده ظاهر ایردی خدا تناسی
یوق ایردی هیچ دنیا امرینی اقتضاسی
بولغان فنای مطلق امت نی رهنمائی
ارباب معرفت نی مرشد پیشواسی
بیلکای لر انی یردن تا آسمان خلیفه

یوق دور الرده هرکز بیهوده کرایله فر
نه دستگاه ظاهر کته قزان لنگر
نه لای دین مناره قرغز قزاقی زن غر
نقشین عصا کجکول مله جفان قلندر
نه ذکر فکری ایردی آش قزان خلیفه

ایمدی عجب بو ایشی نیجه کله خرلر
عامی بی دیانت بر قانجه سنی غرلر
مانند کته تالی فوک فوروج غرلر
بی علم بی فراست ارباب شور شرلر
واجد تاکه ایمدی هر زمان خلیفه

مانند سامری کوب عالمغه سالدی غوغا
 بر نیجه پیری ناحق اهل ردای رسوا
 اوباش لرغه بولدی مرشید راست پیما
 سیرت ده دیوی ملعون باطن لری خداجا
 اوشبو دیار ایللیغه کان زیان خلیفه (83b↓/↑83a)

شیخ خانقاسین ایلاب جو دام تذویر
 حیوان غه اوخشاکانی چیکتی بو دامه بر بر
 آش قزانین ایتی نیرنک برله تدبیر
 حمق اهلین ایتی آخر بو حيله برله تسخیر
 اول روده پای سوی مازندران خلیفه

یعنی بو بر ایشانی مینک تیفه لیغ بیانی
 اغدارکان ایل باشیغه شورابه بلانی
 بد اصل پر کسافت دجال وقت ثانی
 خرس پلنک کوهی احمق نی کته کانی
 موندین مراد بیل کیم یکجی ایشان خلیفه

(Bayāḍ. IO AS RUz. Fund-1, Msc. № 4182. ff. 82b-83b.)

(IV)

(84a↓)

مینک تیفه موضعیدین چیتتی وبا خلیفه
 تا خون نی وجودی بولدی بنا خلیفه
 اق تور تونی و لیکن قلبی قرا خلیفه
 مکر حيله دین الیب قولغه عصا خلیفه
 اسلام ایللیغه سالدی کوب ماجرا خلیفه

ایرانی ایردی ذاتی بیلماق خلاق آنی
 مخلص بولوب باریسی مروملای یمانی
 بیلسانک حماقتینی اوشبو ایرور نشانی
 قبله ساریغه ایلاب حولیسیده خلانی
 مردار لعنتی اول روسیا خلیفه

عالمغه فتنه سالماق ایردی انی حیالی
 قورسون آلهی مونداغ مرشید نی جمالی
 خیریت ایتی تنکریم پر قعرینی مکانی
 یوقسه ایتاردی دعوت دینیغه احتمالی
 بر وقت تابتی برهم اهل ریا خلیفه

شداددېك جهان نى ملكېنى قېلدى اباد
شيطان لعنتى كا اولماقچى ايردى استاد
ابليس لارنى بردى دستىكا خط ارشاد
اوزىنى شېخ ايلاب آتېنى قويدى زهاد
تسبيحى آخر اولدى وا حسرتا خليفه (84b↓/↑84a)

تسخير خلق قىلغان مكارلاردين ايردى
الېته يلغان ايردى هر نكته كه ديدى
ايرماسمو بو علامت يوق ملادين مريدى
اى عامى لار كورونك لار اول بدرك بيلندى
موندين آلهى برسون بزكا فنا خليفه

قالسون سبيل آلهى او مله تون ردالار
تسبيح دلچ كچكل نقش ايلكان عصالار
صياد دامى بىنكليغ اول كته خانقالار
فكر فساد برلان اينكان اول آه والار
عالم نى روزكارين قىلدى قرا خليفه

مينك تيفه دين خروجى ايرانى ايردى ذاتى
محمد على خليفه خلق ايچره انى اتى
اول شور فتنه اميز يوق ايردى بر اوياتى
بو زنده پر بولماي برهم يدى حياتى
بولسه ايتاردى جور بيجد جفا خليفه

سوردوم پناكاهيم من اولادين ايزمنى
مجهول نسب ديب انى بردى برو خبرنى
فيس مخاو دبرمن بدرك بو بى پدرنى
كافر هم ايتماكان دوا كار بو سىنى غرنى
مايوس قىلدى ايلنى مادر زنا خليفه (85a↓/↑84b)

كونكليه بار ايكان دور اسلامغه عداوت
بو فتنه دين مرادى اول بدرك فلاكت
اظهار مذهب ايتماق خلق حرمانىنى غارت
ايلاب قاجيب كترمن ديب ايردى اصل نيت
خيريت اى بران لر بولدى فنا خليفه

شېخ زمانه لرنى هر كز كوزيغه ايلماي
نه بيرىكا ايشانيب انديشه هيچ قيلمى
باشيغه توشى كلفت راه روئش نى بيلمى
هر كز انى دليغه وهم عذاب كيلمى
كمراه لرنى شېخى كان خطا خليفه

مينك تيفه مرغيلاننى كاسان شهرخاننى

خوقند هم نمكان اوش ايله انديجاننى
 خلقى نى ملزم ايتىنىڭ شىخى نىچە زماننى
 يركا قراتىنىڭ آخر بر نىچە نكتە داننى
 اندىشه ايلمىس سن ايله نما خليفه

بعضين بىتىم ايلاب قىلدىنىڭ جدا اتادىن
 بىخان مانُ سرسان بدتر ايتب كدادىن
 ايلاب جدا برونى خىش ايله اقربادىن
 بعضى نى جفتى دىن هم بعضى نى اشنايدىن
 بولماي آلەي اولغىل پرهدا خليفه (85b↓/↑85a)

كوهرنى تابغان آدم كورساتماي كشيغه
 حق دىن بولك نى دىماي پخته بولور ايشيغه
 توتىمس قولاغ هر كز هر عالم موشىيغه
 اولكىل آلەي قالدىنىڭ عالمى تشويشيغه
 كذب ايله دىب هميشە من اوليا خليفه

اهل سلوك دىكان كم ايلر بسى علايق
 دنيانى ترك قىلغاي البته اى خلايق
 بولغاي تلى دليغه انى هميشە صادق
 كر بولسه دىنىڭ انى ايدوست لر منافق
 محمت على ايشان ديك كان جفا خليفه

عالم دىكان ايشك لر اخلاص بى معانى
 ايلاب كسافتى دىن كىلتور دىلر بلانى
 البته دىب كرامت ايشانيمز قزانى
 ايمدى بىسانكى ياريب اول مفت آش نانى
 زهر زقوم بولسون يكان غذا خليفه

(ملحق دور بو امن محمس نادم دن)
 باردور حديث هر كيم بى علم بولسه ...
 جتى بولور و ياكيم اولكاي بغير ايمان
 اوشبو جهت دن اولدى جنى و قىلدى طغيان
 فرغانه ايجره سالدى شورُ فساد طوفان
 معجون جمله علت بحر بره خليفه (86a↓/↑85b)

ضالُ مضل ايدىنىڭ سن كمراه لرنى پيرى
 ايليس ديوُ شيطان بى رولرنى اميرى
 اهل زناُ زندق اوغرى نى دستكبرى
 فسقُ فجور ايلينى شرمندهُ شريرى
 يوق ايردى سنده هر كز شرم حيا خليفه

تاريخ بر مينك اوج يوز اون التى سيدة غوغا
 مينك تيفه ليغ ايشاندين عالمغه بولدى پيدا

کویاکه سورکی ایجتی فر غانه بولدی رسوا
پاک ایتماکی کماندور کر کیلسه ندر دریا
قیلدی کیتی ایلمن کوب تحت پا خلیفه

مونه فسانه لرنی من ایلادیم که تحریر
بولغایمو دیب یران لر عامی ایلیکا تعذیر
عالم ایشانکا هر کیم قول برسه ایلبان پیر
خرسندلیغ ده کیجکای عمری بولوب جهان کر
مونداغ کیشینی بولمس تریمی عذا خلیفه

هر امرکیم بولوبدور خاکی بو خاکدانه
هیچ اختیار بولمس یخشی بیله یمانه
نه قرب حاصل اولغای مخلوق ناتوانده
هر نیک بدنی حکمی خلاق انس جانده
نه سندین نه مندین حکمی قضا خلیفه

(Bayāḍ. IO AS RUz. Fund-1, Msc. № 4182. ff. 84a-86a.)

(V)

مرغان او یازدیغه طابع مینک تپه غه مکر قزانینی قورغان
اوزی بداصل بیکیچی خلیفه نی هجوی اوشبودور

اویاز مرغان مینک تپه دین
بناکه چقتی بر مگار رنگین
انی قیلیمیش ایشی بیکیچی لیک ایرکان
اتام چمیانلیک ایردی دیرمیش ایرکان
ینه دیوارکش لیک صنعینیی
قیلوب تابوب یر ایرکان قسمتی نی
انکا بیکیچی خلیفه لیک لقب دور
ولی بداصل مجهول النسب دور
نیچوکیکم بیلمادوک آتا باباسین
ینه بیلمس کیچی عمه طغاسین

حماقت بابیده یکتا ایکان اول
جهالت ایچره بی همتا ایکان اول
خلاق ایلبان تفتیش آنی
بولک مذهبده ایرکان دیرلار آنی
اوزی جنی ایکان پرسیان هم
تاقیلیمس اصلیدین نام و نشانهم

قرا ساچ قره قاش آلمه باش دور
 دیسم کر پرسیان دیمه اداشدور
 اوزی عامی جاهل لیک ایشان
 کرامت لاری آنی باری یلغان
 چنانچه منظر اوزره داش قورودور
 حقیقت ده تیشوكد بین اوت یورودور
 خلایق آنی بی اوت پیشتی دیرلار
 عزیز مهمانلار پیشتی دیرلار
 آتی محمد علی دور اول قزیلباش
 عجب شهرت چیقاردی اول بریب آش
 انی ایشان لیک دور آش نانی
 بیغیلدی انده آدم لار یمانی
 بلی نادان جاهل لار بیغلسه
 الارغه مفت آش نان تافیلسه
 اسیر نفس بولغان مرد نادان
 دیمه آدم ایرور اول بلکه شیطان
 خلایق آش نانیدین گپورغای
 شیلانی نی کرامت دیب یوکورغای
 دیکایلار پیریمیز سیز پشوامیز
 نه یرغه باشلاسنکیز بار غومیز بز
 دماغیغه بو طغیان اول ایشکنی
 اوروش قیلماق نی سالس قیلمه شکنی
 یمان بداصل قیرغیزلار یغیغاچ
 یوکورکای قوی ساری ایت بولسه کر آچ
 قزیل باشلار محرم آبی بولغاچ
 أونوجی کون نی عاشورا دییغاچ
 محرم آیدیه غوغا توزارلار
 الار کوکسیغه اولکون تاش اورارلار
 محرم آیدیه اول ایت قوتوردی
 براق قه جنی لار برلان یوکوردی
 قوتورغان ایت کبی دارغه اسیلدی
 انینک بیر اقلاری اوتغه یاقیلدی
 نیچوکیکم بیلمس اول بد بخت اصلا
 شریعت ده درست ایرمس بو غوغا
 اطاعت فرض واجب پادشاغه
 دیسم حق دور سوزوم کیتمس خطاغه
 نیچوکیکم پادشاه عالم آرا
 تافیلمس عصریده بر ظلم اصلا
 همه اهل جهان ممنون و مسرور
 جهان آباد و عالم بولدی معمور
 نشاط و عیش ایله شادان و خندان
 جهان اهلی نه ینکلغ تافتی احسان
 مونک دیک عصر اول نادان جاهل
 یمان ایش قیلدی اما خلق غافل

خیال و عقل دین اوتمسدی اصلا
مونینکدیک بی ادبلیک بولسه برپا
مونینکدیک بی ادب لیک قیلسه بنده
جزا تاتقوسی دور ایکی جهانده

(*Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1, Msc. № 9365.)

Rājī Marghinānī
(1834–1918)

(I)

اشعاری راجی مرغنانی

(35↓)

ایردی فرغانه ملکی دامانه
گاه آباد گاه ویرانه
ایردی صحراسی برله امصاری
سلطنت نی نظامیدین عاری
دشت صحراسی اوزیک قیرغیز
بعضی سی یخشی بعضی شورانگیز
اوتدیلاز مونده هر نچوک جانلار
آز زمان ایچره قنچه سلطانلار
ایردی آزرده فرقهء اشراف
غلوه دین خالی بولمغاچ اطراف
بولدی روسیه مملکت داری
حکمی فرغانه اهلی غه جاری
شرع اورنیده حرمتی برلان
هر کیم اوز دین ملتی برلان
دنیوی منفعت مسلمانلار
کورددی تجار خیلی دهقانلار
قیلیدیلاز کوب یقین اوزاق یولنی
قالمادی وهم دشت ایله چولنی
همه نی حالیدین اوزی آگاه
برنی ایلاز کدا براونی شاه (35↑/36↓)
بیلا دور اول حکیم حکمت نی
بردی روسیه غه بو دولت نی
بولدی بزلار غه مرحمت گستر
ایمپراطور اعظم و اکبر
دوریده نفعی ایلغه عام اولدی

سلطنت امری بانظام اولدی
 باز ایله صعوه بر چناق اولدی
 قوی ایله بوری هم قوناق اولدی
 لطفی هر فرقه لارغه تینک اولدی
 دولتی باره باره کینک اولدی
 توتدی صدا ایله حکمی فرمانی
 اوزبکُ ترک فرس عبرانی
 شمع اشفاقی چون منور دور
 رافتی عامه غه برابر دور
 کیم بو دولت غه بولسه بد پیشه
 نخل عمریغه اور غوسی تیشه
 حق یاروتکان چراغ اوچمایدور
 بیخی محکم درخت کوچمایدور
 عدل شاه قیلسه ملکنی آباد
 اولسون اول کیمسه اولمسه منقاد

آته سی بیکچی اصلی شغناندین
 اینه سی ایمچی کاتته بولغاندین
 نیچه مدت اویدیه بیک قیلدی
 گه سُمک قیلدی گه بیشیک قیلدی (↑36/↓37)
 تاشلادی بیک ساتورنی کمپیر غه
 باردی ایشان بولور غه بر پیر غه
 همه صنعت غه بولدی اول عامل
 پاخسه دیوار غه جوده کامل
 اوزینی شیخ ژنده لیک قیلدی
 ظاهری یخشی بنده لیک قیلدی
 ظاهری ایل کوزیغه کوب یخشی
 علمالار دیوردی کوز یخشی
 کورونوردی خوب ایل کا یومشایکان
 ایسکی طون ایسکی سله شومشایکان
 چیقدی مینک تیفه نی کناریغه
 جا قیلیب ایلنی رهگذار یغه
 سپیٹی چیرتمککا دان توزاق قیلدی
 آونی اندیشه سین اوزاق قیلدی
 ترکُ قیرغیزنی آلدی خوب تاو لایب
 بردی هر کیمکا کونکلنی آولایب
 باغلادی بیلنی کاتته همتکا
 توردی هر کیمسه بارسه خدمتکا
 خیلی مهمان غه آچدی دروازه
 بولدی ایلغه بلند آوازه
 قوی سویوب گوشتینی بوتون بردی
 یخشی مهمانغه یخشی طون بردی
 مکر شیطان یولیدین آزدوردی
 تیلبه بولدی دیو یازدوردی (↑37/↓38)

گرد باد جنون اور اب آلدی
ایتاگین جن توتوب بور اب آلدی
باشلادی آنی یوز هو الار غه
قالدی بیهوده ماجرالار غه
خام خشت برله نردبان قیلدی
کوییا عزم آسمان قیلدی
خواه لادی ایر ماغماقنی بالا غه
باشلاسه غلوه نی مسیحا غه
نردبانی یقیلدی بتماسدین
قالدی حسرتده کوککا یتماسدین
اوخلادی خلقه ایچره توش کوردی
اویقوده مملکتنی بوش کوردی
قولغه آلیب عصای موسی نی
قولماق بولدی قوم عیسی نی
شیخ عامی غه دیودور حامی
انی رویاسیده یوق الهامی
فیض بز لارده فتح نصرت دیب
غیب دین بولدی بو بشارت دیب
آلدی غه سالدی نیچه صوفیدین
جمعی احمق ایلینی توپیدین
قنچه مسواک کوب تراغ بردی
ییک یغاچدین یساب یراغ بردی
کیلدی بعضی پیاده لوقلاب
چرچکان آتده بعضی دوقلاب (38↑/39↓)
بوری توننی یوزی قرار غانده
یتی خاکانغه تانک بوزار غانده
دیدى صالدا ت خیلین اوشلار میز
اوخلاتوب تور موقینى تیشلار میز
ییک یغاچ بردی هر بر احمقغه
قصدی صالدا تار غه سوقماقغه
کورکه روسیه خلقی ایرمکمو
ییک سانچورکا ایسکی چرمکمو
دیدى بز لارکا اوق آتالمس دین
قاچادور اورنیده یتالمس دین
کامل القهر قوم عیسی غه
تیکدی غرق اولدی کاتته دریا غه
بیلمادی دولتی مؤبدنی
قینادی امت محمدنی
بیلدی سالدات اورنیدین توردی
تورت مینکی نی قولادی سوردی
صبح وقتیده توردی قتیغ باد
قیلدی ایسکاب تاپارنی بی بنیاد
بولدی بیهوش جنی ایشانی

قول اياغيني ڪيتدي درماني
 باشيده مله اوستيده ژنده
 بولدي قيلغان ايشيغه شرمندہ
 قوشوني اول زمان قاجيب ڪيتدي
 فتنه توفراغيني ساچيب ڪيتدي (39↑/40↓)
 كوب مسلمان لار آت چاپيشتيالار
 قاجكانين آختاريب تاپيشتيالار
 بعضي سي اولدي ضرب ڪلتڪ غه
 ييڪچي ايشاني چيقتي غلتڪغه
 اهل افساد دار غه اسيلدي
 لله الحمد فتنه باسيلدي
 فتنه باسيلدي چنكي ڪيتمايدور
 بو ڪدورت نينڪ زنكي ڪيتمايدور
 يانكان اوت اورتاسيده اول ناگاه
 تاشلادي اوزني ديب خليل الله
 باشقه لار هم بو اوتده قاورولدي
 ڪولي هر مملڪتكا ساورولدي
 بو فرا ايشني اول يمان قيلدي
 اق ڪونكل لار غه كوب زيان قيلدي
 باش ڪوتاركان ني یرکا خم قيلدي
 شرم دين جبهه ميزني نم قيلدي
 بو يمانلار ايشيغه مضطرميز
 فتنه ني جنگيدين مڪدرميز
 شاه اعظم ني لطفيدور دريا
 چرڪ دريا سوييده ناپيدا
 حق آلان لارني يارمند ايتسون
 سرنگون لارني سربلند ايتسون
 عبرت اهليغه كوب نصيحت بار
 عاقل آدم غه آنڪلاماڪ دركار
 هيچڪيم شير غه تيڪالمایدور
 تيڪسه هم پنجه سين ايگالمایدور (40↑/41↓)

ايشانوب ايچڪولارني زوريغه
 اورادور اوزني زور بوريغه
 اوزني عاقل اورارمو خنجر غه
 تيڪسه بولغايمو ياتكان اژدر غه
 زور سرپنجه يوقمو بور ڪوتده
 اولدورور تولكي لارني بر پوتده
 ايتونڪ البته خيل سچقان غه
 گربه ڪوركانده چيقمه ميدانغه
 بارمو چومچوقني چيقيماگان جاني
 گر قوروق چي ني ڪورسه سايقاني
 مور پر قيلسه بولسه بالا سير
 ييم قيلور آني هر قنات ليڪ طير

قرغه اوزىنى قىرچىغاي دى دور
لاف بيهوده كاتته بوخ يى دور

(*Bayāḍ*. IO AS RUz. Fund-1, Msc. № 5868. ff. 35-41.)

(II)

Йикчи эшон хақида ҳажв

Қурди сахрога чиқиб бир хийлагар йигчи эшон,
Қўйди ўт ер остидан қайнатди том узра қозон.
Билмаган илму адаб, беақли мажҳули ажаб,
Эрди ул ҳурматталаб, қилди ўзин ялғон эшон...
Ҳийласидин беҳабар бирмунча ҳайвонлар они,
Томда пишган ошини билди қароматдин нишон.
Шул сабабдин борди ҳар ким шайх деб назри билан,
Сувратин қўргач қилиб, шайху машойихдин гумон.
Тўни бўзни малласи, бошида шалғом салласи,
Ерга мойил калласи, бир қўлда туз, бир қўлда нон.
Бора-бора қилди даъвони минорадек баланд,
Хоҳлади овозасин еткурмакка то осмон.
Ёв бўлиб Исоға, чикмоқ қасдида афлокға,
Қилди бутмасдин йиқилган хом ғиштдин норбон.
Малла йиртиқ тўн кийиб, ҳадди ошиб кўб бошни еб,
Чикди аҳмақларга деб: “Ман Маҳдийи охир замон”.
Ўйлади лашкар тузиб, йўл тилигрофини узиб,
Релсдин андак бузиб, олса керак, деб Андижон.
Юрди жойидин чиқиб, оқ латгани қўлга илиб,
Найзасин йигдин қилиб, фатҳ этгали мулки жаҳон.
Кеча бирдан йўл юриб, ҳар жойда қўрқибон туриб,
Отни Ҳаканга буруб, йўл топти лагерга ниҳон.
Қўрди отидин инуб, саллотлар ётмиш тиниб,
Отни устига минуб, қочди қўриб қўйган ҳамон.
Қўрди кўзини очиб, лашкарлари кетмиш қочиб,
Бошга туфроғлар сочиб, ҳайрат билан қилди фиғон.
Кеттилар чийдек тўзиб, жамиятин ул дам бузиб,
Баъзи дарёга сузиб, баъзи бўлуб беҳонумон.
Қанчаси банди бўлиб, баъзиси калтакдин ўлуб,
Фитнага олам сузиб, шармандалиқ бўлди аён.
Ўзи ҳайратдин қотиб, қочолмади тоғдин ошиб,

Айтишиб саллот ўлон баёнида: “Эшон ёмон”.
Туттилар лашкар босиб, имкони не Рожий ўкиб,
Эл аро расво бўлиб, дор остида то берди жон.

(*Асрлар нидоси: Октябрь революциясигача бўлган давр ўзбек адабиётидан намуналар.* Тошкент: Фафур Ғулом номидаги адабиёт ва санъат нашриёти, 1982. 283-284-б.)

Umīdī-Hawāī
(1835–1906)

(I)

Йиғчи эшон ҳажви

Дарбадар оламни қилди баччағар гумроҳ эшон,
Макри шайтон бирла тадбир кўрсатиб пайдо эшон.
Йўқ каромат бирла ёру қанча хотун-қизлари,
Қайси хотун бўлса мухлис, ҳар сифат зебо эшон.
Марғинондан қанча одам бордиларким кўрғали,
Тўн кийиб, қорни тўйиб раҳмат била суллоҳ эшон.
Мисвогидан ўт чиқармиш – баччағарнинг шуҳрати,
Катта иш бирлан қилурсан, муттаҳам, даъво, эшон.
Қайси кофир, қайси чурчут қилди бу безорилик,
Сен хароми, беадаб, оламда бир танҳо эшон.
Сенга унвон берди қози ул Муҳаммадхон деган,
Муфти, аълам, кирғизу берганда йўқ фатво эшон.
Борди Сармсоқ хўжа эшон сан билан суҳбат қилиб,
Қўй билан эчкини қилдинг анга қўп савғо, эшон.
Қўрқамен тил очқали улким Қодирқул думадин,
Мухтарам билсин губур, ҳоким билан подшо, эшон.
Манки кўрқдим аввало ёзсам губурга билдуруб,
Камбағал бечораман, хайратда дил огоҳ, эшон.
Қилмасунму ҳажв, аммо кўрса ҳам раммолида,
Йўқ Умиди, муттаҳамдан бўҳча ё сарпо, эшон.

(*Асрлар нидоси....* 221-б.)

(II)

Йиғчи эшон ҳажви

Ер юзинда йўқ сенингдек ақли паст нодон эшон,
Ёки иблис ҳамтовоқ макрида бу шайтон эшон.
Аввало қилдим мани бечора эълон бирла хўб,
Солмади ҳеч ким қулоғин, бўлди бу яксон эшон.
Қанча одам хонавайрон бўлдилар маҳбус бўлиб,
Молу мулки кетти, бўлди ҳам ҳижил, ҳайрон эшон.
Подшомиз ҳазрати Фарғонаға қилса ғазаб,
Қўп ёмон аҳволимиз бўлғай шикаст, вайрон, эшон.
Ҳартуми бекларгача аҳмоқ кишилар эргашиб,
Андижонга етмайин токим Ялангқўрғон, эшон.
Теша, болта, ошпичок, калтак билан кетмонгача –
Мўжиза мисвок эмиш, ёнида бир қумғон, эшон.
Муллаарким, халфаларким Мингтепа савғотида,
Бўлсин эмди баччағар, яксон ўлиб, бежон эшон.
.....
Ким Умидий, баччағарға ёзса бир девон, эшон.

(Ҳожибоев Т. “XIX аср ўзбек шоири Муҳаммад Умар Умидий ҳаёти ва ижоди”.
*Филология фанлари номзоди илмий даражасини олиш учун ёзилган
диссертация*. Тошкент, 1974. 95-б.)

Tāsh-khwāja Asīrī
(1864 - 1916)

در مذمت ایشان دوکچی

بر خبر جنون اثر ایشیتیمیز اوزاقدن
عاصی اندیجان تلاش دوکچی زن طلاقدن¹⁴¹
جهل بلاسیده غرق متهم حرام خلق
مقصدی غصب مال خلق تیشه و هم تیاقدن
توره جهل اوردوسی انکلامس ایردی بولغوسی

¹⁴¹ This publication claims that the son of the poet Safakhan Asiri added here the following bayt (See:
Асири Хучанди. Ленинобод: Гулчин. 1964.):

بر نیچه غافل اولدی جمع تولدی مزاج متهم
قاچیق و دزد و کله خم شبرو و شبسیاقدن

فتنه فساد قیلغوسی یاقین و هم اوزاقدن¹⁴²
 قوربکه موزیکه نجیسی تاشبکه امتحانچیسی
 کبریتیکان سنانچیسی زمبرک ت...
 آتلاری گربه و مشیق اریغ و لاغر و بیشیق
 قوتور و خاریش و قسیق جسمی الا تراقدن
 بالی بولوق دمی قریق ا رقیسی مرغ و ... یغ
 بیلی اوشاق ایاق سنیق واهمه ا ولاقدن
 چو دیسه ایندامای تورر قمچی ا وررده ا وسورر
 باشینی زورگه کوتورر محنت ایله تیاقدن¹⁴³
 رزم قیلورگه مایه سی تیر و تفنک و خایه سی
 اسلحه چرخ پایه سی نیزه لاری قیاقدن
 کویلاگی چرکین و ثروش جنده سی پارچه و بوروش
 شو حال ایلن قیلور اوروش اولسه ایدی مزاقدن

(Тошходжа Асири Худжанди. Избранные произведения. Асадуллаев С. (Сост.)
 Москва, 1982. С. 166-167.)

Mawlawī Yūldāsh (1861–1922)

تحسر از دل پر درد (الفوائد المولوية والموائد المعنوية)

آه کیم، آه که اسلامه نه باب اولدی بیلینگ
 گنده پز لار قولیدین سینه کباب اولدی بیلینگ
 گنده خور لار کوبیدین چشم پز آب اولدی بیلینگ
 فرق تحقیق ایله تقلید کمااب اولدی بیلینگ
 نارسا تحت بنارس ده بتاب اولدی بیلینگ
 رونق دؤن دغل ضو شهاب اولدی بیلینگ

چینقتی بر عامی نادان سفالت پیشهء
 مکر و شنید ایله ایشانلیق نی قیلیب اندیشهء
 بیلگان ایرکان بو زمان خلقین اوروبان تیشهء
 دعوی شیخلیق و قیلدی ثبات ریشهء
 لعل و یاقوت ایله گه مشتبه اولور شیشهء

¹⁴² This publication insists that the addition is represented in the same collection. See: *Асири Худжанди*:

خائن خلق مله پوش باده جهل قیلدی نوش
 ناموسی یوق و طنفروش اوغری و سلپ ایاقدن

¹⁴³ This publication asserts that this distich also belongs to the poet's son, Safākhān Asīrī.

مکړینی اولی دیب بذل ثیاب ایتدی بیلینگ

آدمی لیک شرفی شهرت ایکان دیب اوقتی
دوکچی لیک بر لا خلائق کوزیغه دوک سوقتی
دوک کبی مورچه میان توغری بولوشنی بوکتی
توختامای چرمکیده چرخ فلک اورگوتی
وه عجب، طرفه ایشان، دیب همه عالم سوکتی
کنه شهرت قازنوب خاک تراب اولدی بیلینگ

عظمت آشفز ایشان اولسا عجب یوق زیرا
عظمت لیک ده شاکر برله رجب یوق زیرا
توکمه و انجمن و گپ ده جلب یوق زیرا
وعظ تللیس ده بازار حلب یوق زیرا
مجلس انس ده اظهار نسب یوق زیرا
باشقه ایش جمله سی در زیر رکاب اولدی بیلینگ

بو آدم لار عجب آدم که بر او بیرسه چفان
آنی ذکریده غلو قیلماغه صرف ایلار جان
ملالارنی قویابین آنلاره تیکدورمه زبان
یتی قاضی خانه غه تار تیب ایتارلار ارمان
عامی لارنی سوکا بیرگین که الار بوینی یوغان
ماقتانوب نیگا الار تحت عذاب اولدی بیلینگ

اوزی بیر عامی جاهل دیگانی لاف اولسا
آته میز اولدی وفا بیرلار دیبان جاف اولسا
ایشلاری جمله سی ناکرده اسلاف اولسا
بو قدر جهل ایلاب ایشانلیغی انصاف اولسا
هم کراماتی آنی قابل اوصاف اولسا
امتیاز عالمی ویران و خراب اولدی بیلینگ

هر قجاکیم بو جهالت ایل ارا فاش اولدی
نفس اماره نی مأمورلاری چاش اولدی
مونچه از غونلیغی باشقا رغوچیسی آش اولدی
شغل دین و شرف شرع فرا تاش اولدی
طمع و حرص و هوا جمله غه سرداش اولدی
بو سوزوم تجربه لیک فصل خطاب اولدی بیلینگ

بعض بر کیمسه تقلید خرافات ایشیتیب
لاف اوباش ایله آواز کرامات ایشیتیب
عامی لاردین بیجا بر کفر و ضلالت ایشیتیب
علم دشمن لاری دین قانچا محالات ایشیتیب
حضرت ایشان ایتگان ایمیش دیب دم حالات ایشیتیب
دیدي کیم ایمدی جهان محو سراب اولدی بیلینگ

صرف ايتار قول- قول اوپوتار خاتون آلاز بزم توزار
طرفه تمكين و سويوقلوق بيللا عالمنى كيزار
كاوشين ايگري ديسنگ، كين ايله دنيانى بوزار
هم تيار تيش لار اوزار اوستيغا بر نيچا سوزار
آبرو حفظى بو ديب ايل كوزيغا اوزنى چوزار
معنى فقر و فنا عكس حساب اولدى بيلينگ

غلطى ليك عجب ايل كوزيغه شايان كورينور
توغريليك ايگري و ايگري شجر البان كورينور
علم جهل اورنيدا بر خار مغيلان كورينور
ايشته بو قلب حقائق نيچا آسان كورينور
حكما مذهبي بو وړطه ده ويران كورينور
بحث بر هان و جدل نقش بر آب اولدى بيلينگ

فضل حق، شايد اگر حاليميز ادراك ايتسا
بو فلاكت قميدين كوزلاريميز پاك ايتسا
علم دين سغى بيلان بوزنى عرفناك ايتسا
معرفت نوري جهالت ثمنين چاك ايتسا
كبر و نخوت يوقالوب كونگولمىزى خاك ايتسا
آندا ايشلار همه بر وفق كتاب اولدى بيلينگ

(*Al-fawā'id al-mawlavīyat wa al-mawā'id al-ma'nawīyat*, The Kokand Museum of Literature. № 658, pp. 233-235.)

‘Abd al-Ghafūr Muḥibb (XIX – XX)

(I)

احوال هجويات ايشان مينك تپه كى

اي جهاندارشاه باهشت
فقرا پروړ علو دولت
نيچه بلدوركه بيز رعيت لار
كورماب ايردوك جفا محنت لار
مملكت لاركوب ايردى ارزانليق
يتيم اوغولغه چوخ فراوانليق
عيش راحت بيله فراغت دين
ايمين ايردوك جميع آفت دين
هيچكيم دين يوق ايردى ظلم ستم

کیمسه کا یتماس ایردی دردُ الم
کوچه لارده عجب امارت لار
رسته اهلیده کوب سخاوت لار
فقرأ برچه اغنیا بولدی
جمله غه نشو ایله نوا بولدی
غلٹی لیک لارده تورلی متاع
هوس اهلی غه ایردی کیفُ نشأ
همه زرین قباُ کلکون پوش
بولدی بزاز نیچه کهنه فروش
کیدى اطلس نی نیچه جول فوشلار
عقل تابتی تمام بیهوش لار
کوپایب مملکت ده سوداگر
آقچه دانیغه تولدی سیم ایله زر
کیچه کوندوز دعا قیلار ایردوک
خمر برلا رسوا قیلار ایردوک
تینجلیک برلا سرفراز ایردوک
عز و دولت ده بی نیاز ایردوک
چیقتی مینک تپه ساریدین ناکاه
بیکیچی ایشان دیب عامی کمره
ایردی بر بیکیچی شوم بد کهری
بر کسافت ماب حيله کری
شیخ لیک دعوی سین قیلیب نیچه یل
ایکری بولسه بولور مو تیل بیله دیل
اوزی بر عامی ایشک بولسه
بی برد بی ثمر خشک بولسه
لاف ایشاتلیک ایلاب اول ناکس
یا قزیل باش ایرور یا جرکس
حيله لار برله خانقاه قیلیب
بخشی لار مذهبین تباه قیلیب
آشُ نان برله ایل نی صید قیلیب
دامُ تذویرُ مکُرُ کید قیلیب
ایل نی رسوا لی یولیغه باشلاب
اهل سنت مذاحبین تاشلاب
عامی لیک خمریدین بولوب بدکیف
ایل نی رسوالی یولغه سالدی حیف
کیمکه بی علم شیخ لیک قیلسه
یوق عجب اوشبو حال ایله اولسه
اوزینی چاغلای قیلیب اغوا
بولدی عالم اراسیده رسوا
اوزی حسرت ده اولدی و کیتی
لیک ایل کا کسافتی بتی
بی کنه لار کنه کار اولدی
شاهیمیز خجلتیده زار اولدی
شرمسار اولدی مونچه یخشی یمان

حاليميز شاهيميزكا بولسون عيان
 اوشبو ايشده كناه سيز دورميز
 حقدين اوزكا پناه سيز دورميز
 ينه ايتاي بو ايت كسافتى نى
 موعمين ايلكا بلا و آفتينى
 ايلكارى تيسكارى منار قيليب
 نيچه نى يركا خاكسار قيليب
 قويوب اشخانه سيكا ماشنه لار
 علم نيرنك حيله ياشنه لار
 بر بلند تام اوزا قزان نى قويوب
 ايل كرامات اوليا كا جويوب
 كركان ايل نيچه سين سقالي كويوب
 كوب خجالت بيله اوياتكا قويوب
 بو رويش يوق ايدى نبي لارده
 اصفيا اتقيا ولى لارده
 روح پاك نبي لار اوردى مكر
 مجتهدلار ولى لار اوردى مكر
 كوب عزيز قاليب يمان اسناد
 بى ادب شريدين فغان ايله داد
 بى ادب بر اوزين يمان توتماز
 بلكه عالم نى بوزماين اوتماز
 چوزماين سوزنى مختصر قيلديم
 بو رموزلار بيله بسر قيلديم
 بر دعا ايلانكيز خلايق لار
 صدق ايله راست سوزده صادقلار
 ساقلاسون يورتنى ميز نى آفت دين
 توشماسون شاهيميز عدالت دين
 شكر الله محب دل اكاه
 كورماديم من انينك كى كمراه
 تمت

(Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009, Inventory-1, Item-109a. f. 26a.)

(II)

چيقيب مينك تپه دين بر عامى ايشك بيكچى ايشانى
 فساد خلق اوچون توغدى مكر اول بولدى شيطانى
 بريب بريب بر نيچه ايلكا آش نان تسخير خلق ايلاب
 كمان ايلاب خلايق غوث ايرور يا شيخ صنعانى
 ايكان اول نابكار فتنه جو مكار ريوانكيز

كسافت دامیغه ایلدی نیچه عامی ملانی
قیلیب آغار بی معنی طریقت یولیغه یعنی
اوزین شیخ زمان ایلاب قیلیب بیهوده دعوانی
بریپ بر نیچه یل اول آش نان صید خلیق دین
دلیده یوق ایکان یاد خدا مرضای سبحانی
قویوب آشخانه سین تام استیغه اوتتی نهان ایلاب
فناز ماشنه دیکان ایکان ایل تره نادانی
پیشوروب آشینی سرعت بیلله اول ترفه العین
کرامت انکلاتیب ایل بیلیمین مکار رسوانی
قرانین کورکان لر بر نیچه سین بار خزان ایتی
قولین توتقان کیشی لار بولدیلار بر بیلله یکسانی
همه بارغان کیشیکا کورساتوردی شیوه رنکارنک
تکلف برله مطبخ خانه سیده قیلدی مهمانی
سالیب ایل الدیغه دسترخانین مله تون برله
آلیب بر قولیغه توزنی قولیده نان حلوانی
مکر کیچه قایدین آش نان بیدی زهر زقوم اولدی
انینک بر دانیغه کویاکه چیققی آنی مینک جانی
ایشیتیم خانقاهین یانیده طر فیه منار ایتیمیش
تکیدور خام اوستی خشت پخته کور منارانی
غرض معراج ایدی یا اوشبودین سیری توقوز افلاک
تصرف ایلا دیم سفلینی دیب قصد ایتسه علیانی
بو اندین هم تعجب سورسه لار مردم تا مریدین
جوابی چاه قازدیم یانیغه آغای تامور آنی
ینه اوز لفظیدین تأریخ موندین هم تعجب راق
بشارت سید کونین دین دیب قیلدی انشانی
بشارتلیک مناری سهل کونده واژگون بولدی
تکیده قالدی ایرلار صوفی لار هم نیچه صبیانی
قالیب میز برچه میز غافل اوشال مکار مکریدین
تغافل کا سالیب ایل نی کرامت کورساتیب آنی
تمامی کار باری برچه ریو رنک قلابی
جهانده آدم اوغلی کورمدی انداغ هنردانی
مکر ابلیس ایدیمو یا فرنک یا قزیل باش
فدا قیلدی مکر قصد مسلمانلار اوچون جانی
مسلمان بولسه ایردی مجتهد قولین توتار ایردی
ادایی دین ایتاردی مصلحت کر بیلسه عقبی نی
ایشیتیم قرض آلیب ایلنی پلین برمای هزاران صوم
جهود هندی هم بای لار بزاز افغانی
همه پلدارلار حسرت ندامت برله قالدیلار
کیمه ایتورنی بیلمای درد ایچیده بولدی حیرانی
نچوک کیم ملک اشپاسی تمامی پادشاه لیکدور
مکر اول شوم نا انصاف دوزخ قیلدی مأوانی
منکا جزم اولدی اوشبو بدکهر حالی منافقدور
خلاف وعده یلغان ایروردی عهد پیمانی
همه لشکر لاریغه بردی بر مسواک تسبیحی

الار غه اسماندين توغ توشوبدور ديدى يلغانى
 مسواكينك ملتغيغينك نيزه تسبيحيك قيليچينك ديب
 قىليپ تحريص اوشبو مكر برله نيچه نادانى
 توشوب ايل الغرض ناچار اولوب سرعت بيلان كىلدى
 شباخون اوردئ صلاتلاركا سالدى غوغانى
 تاقىپ برونچه غفلت برله ياتقان آزاد روسلارنى
 ياريپ قارنين قراغلاپ مثله ايلاب قىلدى يغمانى
 قچان اوشبو تمثل بار ايميش حكم شريعت ده
 بيلينك بو اهل سنت دين ايماس بوزدى مسلمانى
 مكر قصدى مسلمانلار غه بو خونريز ليك سالغاي
 بوزولغاي راه رسمى ايلاكاي تنبيه سلطانى
 غرض بو فتنه نى سالغاي اوزى باشيني قوتقارغاي
 جهانغه اوت توتاشقاي تا بوزولغاي دين اديانى
 اكر بو نابكار شيعه بدكردار ايماس بولسه
 نچوكدين عالمان دهردين سورماس بو فتوانى
 خدا اوردى جميع انبيا و چهار يار لار هم
 عزيزلار اوليا لار مجتهدلار غوث ربانى
 تور الماي قاجتى ينكى شهردين قوغون يكان ايت ديك
 ايزيدىن قولادى حاكم توره چون شير غرانى
 قاجيب اول چيكة لاب سرعت بيلان دريا بويين كوزلاب
 شاشيلكان تولكى ديك دريادين اوتى نا مسلمانى
 قاليب ميز بى خبر اوشبو كسافت ماجراسيدىن
 و كرنه بيلساك ايردوك قويماس ايردوك اوشبو رسوانى
 خدا انينك التفاتى نيچه حاكم برله نايب لار
 شهرنى كورديلار كيم هيچكيم بيلماس بو غوغانى
 همه اوز حاليله كسب تجارت برله مشغول دور
 و كرنه حاليميز غه ييغلار ايردى يتى ايوانى
 آلهى بهره ور قىلغىل هميشه عز دولت دين
 بيلينى باغلاسون قادر قلى نى شير بزدانى
 اول ايشان شوملوغى بو اندجان اهليين خجل ايلاب
 عجايب شرمسار ايتى همه قاضى دملانى
 خبر تابتى شهرنى بولغالاب بيكچى ايشك قاجميش
 بويوردى هر طرفكا آدمى چابك سوارانى
 كيراك اسلام ايلي دايم دعاي جانينى قىلسك
 بو ايرنى سايه سيده اندجان كورماس پريشاني
 سوراغلاب پست بالا تاغ چولنى اول دل آورلار
 توتوب تاش كوفروكيدىن باغلاديلار زار افغانى
 اكر بو فتنه آخر زمان نى توتماسه ايردى
 انى شرى فساد اندود ايتاردى روى دنياى
 محب زينهار مجهول نسب لاركا كونكل برمه
 مريضى جرمينكا قىلغىل شريعت دين مداوانى

(Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009, Inventory-1, Item-109 a, f. 26 a.)

Şidqī Khādayliqī
(1884–1934)

اكتساب

↓(18a)

اندجا نلی دُوکچی ایشان اضلالی و بو ایشان لیق غا بر
نیچه انسان شیطان لارین اشتراکی و هر بریغا بر نام قویولماقی
و بو نام یوزه سندان یتى قىت پرده ایچیندا حضرت ایشان نینگ
اظهار کراماتی و بو آوازہ استماعیدین خلق نینگ گروه گروه کیلماقی

نیکالای دوریدا چیقیب بر ایشان
کیم دیر ایردیلاز آنى دُوکچی ایشان
آدمی یوزلی نیچا شیطانلار
اشتراک آیلاشوب کوتاردی ایشان
تارقالیب تورلی یرغا بارچالاری
ایل نی اوز یوللیغا چاقیردی روان (↓18b/18a↑)
کیچتی بو ایش اوزه نیچا ای و کون
شهرتی کیتی بس آنى هر یان
خلق کیلماق غا باشلادی توپ توپ
تیوه و قوی و ایلقی لار آلییان
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

شرکت اهلین برین آتی میوه
بریسى نینگ آتی ایکن تیوه
بری قوی و بری ایکن اوغلاق
اوشبو سوزلار آنیغ یالان دیمه
بری ایردی هوکوز بریسى سیگر
یا نا ایردی برسین آتی تنه
بری ایردی گورنج بری شالی
بری بوغداى بری ایدی ارفه
حاصل شرکت اهلئ نینگ نامی
آ نگلاغیل ایردیلاز اوشال خیلده
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولمه خام طمع

بر کیشی بر نیمر سا کیلتورسا
قوی و یا آت آنگلا ای دانا
شرکت اهلین بری بولوب حاضر
قوی غا قوی آت غا آت ایدی همپا (↓19a/18b↑)

باشلاب ایشان قاشیغا کیلتور غاچ
یوز سوراردی ایشان بابا قولیغا
دیر ایدی قوی کیتور دینکزمو قوزوم
بس کرامت ایتار ایدی آندا
بیغلاب آیتوردی آری ای تقصیر
آیلاغای سیز مینی حقیم غا دعا
مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولمه خام طمع

یا کیتور سا برار کیشی گر آت
شرکت اهلین بری کیلوردی بات
باشلاب ایشان قاشیغا کیر غاندا
ایشان ایتور ایدی کیتور دیمو آت
خود اوشال آدم آتی آت ایردی
شول سبب دیر ایردی کیتور دیمو آت
الغرض کیمکه کیلسا آیشیکدان
کیلتور ارکن ایشان ساری بر ذات
آنی کور غاچ کرامت اظهارین
قیلور ایرکن ایشان بی برکات
مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

اورته دا هر نیچا بیغیلغان مال
تقسیم اولونغای ایردی بی جنجال (↓19b/19a↑)
فرستی آز عمر اوچون ای وای
بو کیبی حرص بو کیبی آمال
لیک دنیا دا بولدیلار بدنام
قالدی گردن لاریغا و زر و وبال
بو کیبی مکر و فن ایماس درکار
چونکه دنیا مثال خواب و خیال
هیچکیم کور مامیش بو خیل فتنه
یا مگر اوشبو فتنه دجال
مینی قاشیمدا دور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولمه خام طمع

خام خشت دان الوند تاغی چاغلیق بر بلند مناره
بناسی و بو بنا باعثی بر لا ساده خلق نینک ابتلاسی
خام خشت دن یاساب بلند منار
بی ایشیک بی تیشیک عجب ای یار
صبح چاغی مناره اوزره اذان
آیتیلور ایردی هر کونی بر بار
بر نیچا گول سوراشمیش اول ایشدان
چیقار آواز و موندا کیملار بار
شرکت اهلی بیراردی بیلا جواب

بو اذان نی مگر فرشته ایتار
هر کیچا صبح ده توشوب کوکدان
(↓20a/19b↑) شول منار اوزره بولغوسی طیار
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

ایمدی بو مکرغا قولاق سالینگ
بیلماسانگیز بو دم بیلیب آلینگ
یر تیگیدان تیشوک قویوب انگا
صوفی چیقغایدی صبح برلان تینگ
ایتکای ایردی اذان قیلیب آهنگ
ایماس ایردی فرشته آنی بیلینگ
اوشیونی کور غاچ ایل گروه گروه
کیلور ایردی مونگا نظاره قیلینگ
عاقبت نی بولور درست انگلانیگ
شرکت اهلینی اوشبو ایشلاری نینگ
مینى قاشیمدا دور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

دیر ایدیلار کرامت ایلا مگر
بو مناره تورار ایمیش یک سر
خام خشت یوقسا تورماغای مونداغ
کیم بتی قت فلک غا طعنه اورر
ظاهریدا تیشیکی یوق آنی
قابسی یردین مونی ایچیغا کیمر
صبح دا بر فرشته کوکدان اینوب
شول مناره اوزه اذان چاقیرر
آدمیزاد ایشی ایمسدور بول
(↓20b/20a↑) چونکه آماده کوندا وقت سحر
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

نوبهار اولدی یاغدی کوب یامغور
یاغسا یامغور ستون سیزاوی بیقیلور
بارچا دیوار و تام اولوب نم هم
کیتی سو بارچا جور غادان شور شور
قالدی ساغ اونچا مونچا خشتین اوی
کمیلغ اوی لاری بولوب چون گور
باشلانیب آندا طرفه کولدور گوب
تام باسیب تیفه بولدی نیچا چوقور
شول بهار ایچرا اول بلند منار
بیقیلیب بولدی بر عجب شر و شور
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

باستی مکتب اهلین ایتی هلاک
 ایلادیلار بیغی سیغی یاقه چاک
 آچیب آلیب همه اولوک لارنی
 کومدیلار تارتیب آنلار اوستیغا خاک
 بیلما دی مستبد حکومت هم
 چونکه یاشوردیلار نیچا بی باک
 بی کنه اولدیلار نیچا معصوم
 نی ایش اولغای قولاق سال ایت ادراک
 قویماس ایشان نی آنلارینک قانی
 کیم او بیچاره لار ایلدیلار پاک (↓21a/20b↑)
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما حام طمع

بر پنهانی مغاره یاساب ایلیقتیریق قوه سی ایلان پیشادور غان
 آشخانه سالینغانی و اوشبو بویاما کرامت نی تماشاسیغا بر نیچا علماً اسمندگی
 جانورلار و قانچا ایشان پرست گاؤ و خزلارینک بیغلغانی عاقبت ایشان
 نینگ کشف جن غا قالیب نیکالایغا صوغوش اعلانی

یاسادی سونگرا بر خیل آشخانه
 قورولوب نیچا خیل قازان یانه
 بی اوتون بی توتون پیشار ایدی آش
 یعنی آتی ایدی شولان خانه
 بارچا ایردی بو ایشلاره حیران
 چونکه هیچ بیلماس ایردی بیگانه
 هیچ بر یردا بوق ایدی تیشوکی
 چیقماس ایردی توتون موری کانه
 کوروبان آتی نیچا دانالار
 بولدیلار قل اوشالدم ایشانه (↓21b/21a↑)
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

زیب و زینت تاپیب مثال کنشت
 فرش خانه ایدی سراسر خشت
 هر قازاندا پیشیب نیچا خیل آش
 کورغان آدم دیر ایردی مثل بهشت
 هر کونی یعنی بار عام ایردی
 تولوبان آش ایلان تغاره و طشت
 میهمان آندا طمعه خوار بولوب
 دیماس ایردی کیشی موشوک غاچا پشت
 ظاهری گرچه کیم ایدی زیبا
 لیک زردشت جایی دیک ایدی زشت
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما طمع

مونى خود شرکت اهلى بيلغاي ايدى
مونگا بر نيچا کيمسا تعيين ايدى
اورناتيب انگا تورلى ماشينه
ير تيگيني قازيب مغاره کيبي
اوت يوباريب ايليقثيريق برلان
قائيناتاردى قازان نى يوز يولى
شولان ايردى تون و کون آماده
سانسيز ايردى انى نصيبه خورى
کوروب اول ايش نى يوزتوبان ييقيليب
مخلص اولدى انگا سميع جاجى
[مينى قاشيمدادور حرام طمع
ايلدان اميد اوز اولما خام طمع] (↓22a/21b↑)

اوردى شيطان اخبرده توز يولدن
کيم قضا يتسا قوش اوچار قولدن
بيغيب اطراف دين مريدلاريني
اولا بردى بارچاسيغا شولن
وعظ ايتيب اولزمان مريدلارغا
ديدى مين نيکالاي غا جنگ آچامن
اندا گوکراشتى بارچا کاته کيچيك
بيز نه بيلدوق بو ايش سينگا روشن
قايىسى بر کوندا بارچا کيلماق غا
حکم قيلدى ايشان بابا بيطن
مينى قاشيمدادور حرام طمع
ايلدان اميد اوز اولما خام طمع

ديديلار حضر تا که بيزده ياراق
يوق مگر بيزده کيتمان ايله اوراق
جنگ ميدانى دور قيامت خيز
آندا قول کيلماغاي سويول و تايلاق
اولزمان در غضب بولوب ايشان
قيليج اولغاي ديدى اوروشدا اوراق
جنگ ميدانيدا بولور قالقان
باشلارينگيز داگى يامان قاليلاق
جنگ چاغيدا پيشوا بولسام
نيمه ايش نيکالاي نى اولدورماق
مينى قاشيمدادور حرام طمع
ايلدان اميد اوز اولما خام طمع] (↓22b/22a↑)

ناگهان بولدى آندا حرب اعلان
آندجان تیکراسى ارا اى جان
روس لارنى خاتون قيزين قيردى
جوش اوروب سيل ديك بولوب الامان

اندجاندا کم ایردی عسکر لار
 قیلدی آنلارنی لحظه دا یکسان
 قاقتی لار هر طرف غا اولکون سیم
 بیز غا یاردم کیراک دبیان در آن
 تاشکند دین قوشون چیقیب بیحد
 آتش ارايه برلا بولدی روان
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

تا یتیب بارغونچا عسکر لر
 قیلدیلار روس ایچینی زیر و زبر
 جنگ فرض اولدی دیب همه یرغا
 چاپاول دین ایشان یوباردی خبر
 خلق دریاچا جوش اوروب در آن
 خبر اولغاج یتوستیلار یکسر
 اولکونی بس توکولدی ناحق قان
 چونکه کوب اولدیلار مسلمانلار
 آز ایکن روس لار بصد افسوس
 که یتوشتی آلاز غا آنچا ضرر
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع (↓23a/22b↑)

بولدی کوب ایل نی قانیغا ضامن
 کوب خاتون قیزنی توکتی ناموسین
 بولدی اول واقعه حقیقت دا
 بر نشان شورش قیامت دین
 نیچا قیشلاق طوب آستیدا ویران
 بولدی لال اولدی بارچا دقت دین
 قیز انادین اوغول اتاسندان
 آجرا الیب بیغلاشوردی زار و حزین
 کیم سبب بولدی دیسانگیز مونگا
 مین دیگایمین اوشال ایشان بی دین
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

ناگهان اوشبو حالت ایچرا قوشوب
 یتوشتوب اوق چیقاردیلار اولکون
 ایل نی بوغدای نی باغیدیک قیردی
 قالمدی اندجان دا باغری بوتون
 بیلدی ایشان که کیتی ایش قولدان
 قاچتی تولکی کیمی بولوب دل خون
 بیلما دیم کیتی قایسی گور غا قاچیب
 توشمایین کیتی قولغا اول ملعون
 اندجان نی ألوغ گزرلاریدا

الامان ديب ايل ايتى لار شاقون
مىنى قاشىمدادور حرام طمع
ايلدان اميد اول اولما خام طمع (↓23b/23a↑)

اولزمانى اوروش قوماندانى
باستى قويدى اوشانداغ اغوانى
بارچا بى جان تن ايردىلار يا نادان
جسميغا كيردى خلق نينگ جاني
توردى قورغان ديوارى ديك عسكر
صف چيكيب راست انگلانگيز انى
نيچا آدم نى اوشبو هييت دان
قالمادى تيير انورغا درمانى
بيلدى سوز راستين غوبور اطور
باشلاب ايركان ايشان بو غوغانى
مىنى قاشىمدادور حرام طمع
ايلدان اميد اوز اولما خام طمع

فقرا لار چيكيپ ساوغ ساوغ آه
عرض احوالين ايتدىلار كوتاه
فقرا نى صداقتين بيلغاج
رحم قيلدى همان ياريم پادشاه
كيليشيب بر نفس دا دوختور لار
اوق ييگانلارغا دارو قويدىلار آه
كورينگز شونچا ايل نى بر شيطان
يولدان اوردى و ايلادى گمراه
جمله مؤمن نى بيللا شيطان دان
اوز پناهيدا ساقلاسون الله
مىنى قاشىمدادور حرام طمع
ايلدان اميد اوز اولما خام طمع (↓24a/23b↑)

نى كيراك اى ايشان بو خيل غوغا
كوب كيشى لارنى ايلادينگ بى جا
بولماسا سيندا طوپ و طوپخانه
يا قوشون يوقكه آيلاسنگ دعوا
بر مثل بار اتالماگان ساپقان
هم تيگار باشقا هم تيگار كوتكا
بولدىلار نيچا مينك كيشى نابود
بولدىلار نيچا مينك كيشى بى جا
اول خاتونلاركه ايردى گل دان پاك
سين سبب بولدونگ اولدىلار رسوا
مىنى قاشىمدادور حرام طمع
ايلدان اميد اوز اولما خام طمع

شكر لله كه باسيليپ غوغا

تارقادیلار همه ایل اوز اوییغا
 کوچادا قالدی خانه ویرانلار
 آه اوستیغا آه اوروب آنده
 آیریلیب کوب کیشی یر و سودان
 تنتیراب قالدیلار مثال گدا
 نیچالارنی توتوب قیلیب سورگون
 سییر یا ساری هایدایلار تا
 دوکچی ایشان نی خانقاهی نی
 طوب بیلان قیلدی یرغا جای بجا
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع (↓24b /24a↑)

دوکچی ایشان نی جای و قیشلاغین
 کوککا سوردی تام و تُفراغین
 قویمادی تیبرانورغا بر جاندار
 کورساکیم تیشلار ایردی بارماغین
 قالدی اوز جابیدا ایکین و بیغین
 آلمادی کیمسا آنی یافراغین
 دیدیلار دمبدم امان یا رب
 کونگلو میز دان چیقار ستم داغین
 دوکچی ایشان سوزیغا آلداندوک
 ایشیمیز اونگلا ایمدی سول یاغین
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

سونگرا هر یان یوگوردی کوب چاپاول
 چاپاول لار قطاریدا قراول
 ایستاشیب قیستاشیب کیزار ایردی
 یعنی هر بر قدم دا شهر و آؤل
 بارچانی تینچی کیتی شول باعث
 بیغلاشیب هر بر اویدا بیوه تؤل
 چونکه قورقوشتیلار همه اوزدان
 قالما یوق تهمت ایچرا دیب بوئکول
 هیچ یر یوق ایدیکه بی شاقون
 هیچ یر یوق ایدیکه بی غلغل
 مینی قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
 ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع (↓25a/24b↑)

بارچه توبلار عزاغا آیلاندی
 تقه تق خیر ایشیکی بایلاندی
 تولکی یانگلغ قاجیب ایشان اولکون
 مگرم بر چوقورغا جایلاندی
 تازه سودیک ایدی خلایق لار
 اوشبو سیل بر لا طرفه لایلاندی

همه یردا ایشان نی تاپماق غا
آخری نیچا کیمسا سایلندی
بریلپ هر قابو غا اقچه و پُل
بُوریلار موپلی نی مایلندی
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما حام طمع

کیتی لار آندا هر طرف ایزلب
وقت یتی و آدیلاز اوشلاب
تابتوروب سیم ایلان کنب ارقان
ایت کیبی قول ایاغینی باغلاب
یوکلشپ بر بوزوغ ارابه اوزه
یوردیلار اندجان ساری قورشپ
روس ایچیغا کیتوردیلار آخر
انگا لعنت اوقوب سوکوب سیلنت
دار قور غوزدیلاز غوبورناطور
اولتوروردی ایشان چوکوب اینگرب
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع (↓25b/25a↑)

دار اوزه چیکتی سالدی بوینیغا بند
بند ایمس ایردی بلکه ایردی کمند
تیر بارانغا بولدی بس فرمان
توتی لار اوقعا اولزمان یکچند
دار آستیغا بر چوقور قازیلاب
آهک ایلا تولاتی ای دلپند
مرده سین آهک آستیغه باستی
چورویان قالمادی بو غون پیوند
اوشبو ایش تاکه بولدی سرانجام
قاینادان بولدیلاز همه خر سندن
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع
ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

اندجان بارغانمدا مین ای جان
کورغان ایردیم اوشال چوقورنی عیان
بار ایکان کیم یانیدا بر قیشلاق
دیر ایکانلار اولوس انی خاکان
صدقی قان یوتوب تمام ایتدیم
اوشبو شیطان نی قصه سین آلان
اوقوغان موندان عبرت آلسوندیب
یادگار ایتدیم اوزدان ای یاران
بر کیچا کوندوز ایلابان دقت
ایل کوزین مونگا ایلادیم حیران
مینى قاشیمدادور حرام طمع

ایلدان امید اوز اولما خام طمع

(*Şidqī Khāndayliqī. Iktisāb. IO AS RUz. Fund-1. Msc. No. 7629/2. ff. 18a-25b*).

Hājji Şābirī
(XIX – XX)

1↓(1)

دوران چرخ ایدل بیجد بمان ایسمو
طوفان غصه و غم حددین آشکان ایسمو
کردُ غبار فتنه تا آسمان ایسمو
اسلام اهلی غمدین رنکی سمان ایسمو
بو شورش عجائب آخر زمان ایسمو (11↑/12↓)

سادات پیشوالر هم شیخ رهنمالر
اولاد اتقیالر علم اهل هم رسالر
قاری خوش ادالار اهل دل دعالار
اصحاب فضل دانش هم خیل پارسالار
ملای درس خوانلار کوب بی نوا ایسمو

هر بر لاریغه یوز غم دوران پرجفادین
کونکل لاری مشوش بو آفت سمدین
هر لحظه قوتولمای خوف غم و بلادین
خونابه لار یوتارلار بو درد بی دوادین
فسق فجورغه تولکان روی جهان ایسمو

فاش اولدی فسق عصیان هر شهر و هر قریاده
فرغانه ده یورادور ایرکاک لار ایله ماده
ناکس بولوب سواره سادات دور پیاده
بر نیچه قیز حرامی توغدی حرامزاده
فرغانه نی زمینی دار الامان ایسمو

بو عصر افتیدین چیقستی فساد اغوا
مینک تیفه لیک ایشاندین کوب شور بولدی پیدا
بولدی خیال فاسد بر کیچه سی قضا را
مردم غه سالدی فتنه اول غول دیو آسا
ای اهل عقل انصاف بز غه زیان ایسمو (12↑/13↓)

تا قوردی دام تذویر اول نفع جوی بدخو

مردم دن آلدی اقچه مکر ایله قیلدی جادو
کوب خلق نی چیقاردی بولدی قیلیب هیاهو
ظاهر غه ایردی ایشان باطن غه خنک بدبو
بو نوع مکر و حيله از بهر نان ایسمو

فرغانه غه ایشانلار دیدی ایسمن ایشان
تانیب مریدلاریدین اویی غه قالدی حیران
هر کیمکه ایردی آشنا ایشانغه بولدی سرسان
کیتی اویی نی تشلاب هر ساریغه کریزان
تانغان ایشانلیغیدین جمله ایشان ایسمو

هر کیم مریدی ایردی غمکین و زار اولدی
کلدیک آچیلغان ایردی غم آفتیغه سولدی
نیچه کشیلار اویی آخر خراب بولدی
منصب دار ایردی هر کیم بلو غه اول قوتولدی
منصب دار اهلی کورکیل شاد و خندان ایسمو

بو فتنه لار غه باعث مینک تیغه ایشانی
اوت سیز پیشور طعامی بو دورانی نشانی
کرامت دیب بیغیلدی آدم لاری مکانی
ماشینه دین قزانی یوقدور مریدنی سانی
مینک تیغه نی ایشانی مله چقان ایسمو (14↓/↑13)

بیر کیچه قیلدی غوغا مردمغه سالدی غوغا
شیطان فریفته قیلدی اسرار بولدی افشا
دیدي کیلینک مریدلار سیز اولدورونک نصارا
آخر بو فکر ایله عالمغه بولدی رسوا
شیطان سوزی آلیبان سرسان بوکان ایسمو

دنیا فریفته قیلدی کوب حيله لارنی قیلدی
مینک تیغه لیک کیشی لار یاپریمدیب یقیلدی
عسکرنی تیغ قدی عضالارینی تیلدی
عقل بار آدم آخر دیوانه لار بیلدی
انکا مرید بولکان سبیر کیتکان ایسمو

بو فتنه لارنی ایلاب کوزدین یوقالدی غایب
اول فتنه کرنی فکر چون ایردی غیر صائب
قالدی بلا و غم غه هر چند بولدی تائب
اندیجان نی حاکمی کوبورناطور غه نایب
صلات عسکر ایله اوشلاب کیلکان ایسمو

شیطان جین سوزیغه ایشان که چندی بولدی
عسکر قولیغه ناکاه بند لوندی بولدی
اوشبو بلاغه باعث اول کندی شخص بولدی

تقدیر غه بریب تن عسکر غه بندی بولدی
اندیجانغه کیلتوروب دار غه اسغان ایمسمو (14↑/15↓)

نیچه مریدی ایله اسیلدی دار غه بی شک
دار اوستیغه اولوبان احوال بولدی چون سک
کوردی انی کوز ایله یوز مینک کیشی نیچه لک
دارنی تکیغه ایردی فار غوچوتور اهک
داردن اهک توشتی کویوب یانکان ایمسمو

حاجی صابر آخر دیدی بو ینکلیغ اشعار
قیلدی مخمس ایچره ایشان ایشینی اظهار
آز غه در دست ایرمس کوب ایله قیلسه بیکار
شایدکه بولسه پندیم آزاده لار غه یادکار
بیهوده ایش نی قیلغان دوکچی ایشان ایمسمو

(*Bayāḍ-i Hājjī Šabirī*. IO AS RUz. Fund of lithographical books. № 11087. pp. 11-15.)

Sultān Aḥmad (XIX – XX)

Стих об Андижанском ишане

اوشبو زمانمزداغی عامی ایشان لار خصوصیده
بر شاعر نینگ یازکان شعرى

اوشبو کونلارده کوپایمش عام ایشان بچه غر
اعتقاد ایتمش انکا بر نیچه نادان بچه غر
عامیلار صیدی اچون یلغان کرامت ایلابان
بر پوچک پلغه ساتار ایمانین ارزان بچه غر
عامی ایشان بر ایشکدور بو ایشک دین کم ایرور
بو ایشک نی تانیمای اخلاص قیلغان بچه غر
عامی ایشان کیم ترور ایتای سزه ماهتین
ذکری حقنى دنیا اچون دام قیلغان بچه غر
بی توکل بی قناعت بی دیانت بی ادب
حرص شهوت کبر نخوت حيله غه کان بچه غر
دیدى حضرت جیفه دور دنیا طلا بی کلاب
کم دور ایت دین جیفه اوچون شیخ بولغان بچه غر
خلق برتن دور بو تن غه عامی ایشاندور مرض
بو مرض نینگ بعضی سی دور دوکچی ایشان بچه غر

بو مرض چون بولدى پيدا اندجان ملكى ارا
نيچه لار نينك خاتمانين قىلدى ويران بچه غر
اندجان ملكى ارا مينك تيبه دين ايلاب ظهور
ايلادى مينك تيبه نى ير برله بكسان بچه غر

لايصح لزهد ديديلار مع الجهل اهل شرع
حق طلب بولسنگ اوقوغيل نامسلمان بچه غر
جهل عورت علم ايشتان فى المثل دستار زهد
كيكوچه دستار بزرگ كيكيلى ايشتان بچه غر
عهد قىلدينك پرينك آلدیده كنه قىلما سليكا
برچه قىلغانينك كنه اى عهد يلغان بچه غر
اوقوغاى اوراد يوز لحن خطا برلان مدام
مسجد ايچره نعره تارتيب الغالى نان بچه غر
هفته ده بر كون بو كورمكى بيلور اوزيكه فرض
فرضدين سورسنگ بولور البته حيران بچه غر
توشمسه بولغاى كوتين تيكان تونگوز ديك در غضب
بولغاى ايشان بولغانیغه كوب پشيمان بچه غر
ايل قاشیده نعره تارتيب ايلاكاي ذكر آشكار
حق اوچون هيچ برده قيلمس ذكر پنهان بچه غر
روز شب يوقدور يمك ايچمك دين اوزكا مقصدى
اوشبو باعث دين سمورميش مثل حيوان بچه غر
اندكى بولسه رياضت ياكى خوف آخرت
بولمس ايردى مونچه فربه بوينى يوغان بچه غر
قىلماغاى اعزاز اهل علم كرچه فرزدور
همچنان كيم قيلمى آدم غه شيطان بچه غر
ايل كوزيغه كورونور غه ظاهرأ كول ولندى
ليك خلوتده ايرور عيار چقان بچه غر
انجمن ده اولتورادور كوز يوموب بوينين ايكيب
كره بنگليغ سچراكاي كركورسه سچقان بچه غر
ايل قولیغه كوزینی تيکماقدين اوزكا كسبى يوق
كور شل ينگليغ وجودى ايلكا تاوان بچه غر
بى قناعت دور ايكاسز اينديك ايل كزماق ايشى
بول كوپك نفسى اوچون صحرا ده سرسان بچه غر
كىتمكاي هرکز قزاق لار اوليدين ايلانيب
اونغونچه يا اولاق يا قاف ارقان بچه غر
اوتقوزور بر ماچه خرنى آلدیغه جين اوردی ديب
اول جين اورغانغه سالور دم بو جين اورغان بچه غر
زيب زينت برميش اوزيغه حرير تونلار كيپ
سرمه برله غازه قوييمش مثل نسوان بچه غر
بولسه برچه سين كى بى كسب طماع فقط
بولغاى ايردى لحظه ده بو دهر ويران بچه غر
حييف كيم بيلمس عوام سرين الار نينك يوق ايسه
تقصير ايشان اورنيغه دير ايردى ايشان بچه غر
ببرمس ايردى نذر انكا عامى و بى عقل لار

ترك ايتاردى رسم ايشان ليغ نى آلان بچه غر
 بد متاعى كاسدى كا ايل خريدار اولمسه
 قورمس ايردى اولابو نوع دوكان بچه غر
 اوتوز ايكي بچه غر ديكان غه كيلسه اچيغى
 ايتامن منك بچه غر ملين ملين بچه غر
 بلدنكز مونى سبب دين مسجد اچره تولغوسى
 پاى كوبان دست افشان دنبه جنبان بچه غر
 بارك الله جانور زهنينكى قوى جا بليه ديب
 اويناتور ميمون كى ايشان شيطان بچه غر

چمكند ليك سلطان احمد خان ايشان مرحوم نينك عامى ايشان لار حقيده يازكان
 شعرلارى تذكرة خاطر يازيلدى

(*Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazītī*. 1911. №82.)

Anonymous verse

(I)

نظم واقعهء دوکچی ايشان

بیر خبر جنون اثر ایشیتنه میز اوزاق دن
 آسی اندیجان تلان دوکچی زن تلاق دن
 بیر نیچه مشت پر بلان چومچوق و زاغ لار بلان
 دعوی بازلیک قیلکان قرغه وقرقناق دن
 اسکری جمعی بی پدر لولی نجان بد کوهر
 خوک خصال و سک سیر در بدر سیاق دن
 آمی و مله پوش لار جیران دوغ فروش لار
 کریمه مثالی موش لار صبحه سی ناس قاباق دن
 کویلاکی چیرکین و تروش جنده سی پرچهء پرورش
 بورکه بیتی قیلور اوروش سله لاری سیچاق دن
 غلچئه غور موجوک قیرغیز تورهء کموک
 تحبیک و اچیق چوچوک فلغری قزاق دن
 اوزبک و جوکی پرتک قیچاق وفج نیم رنک
 حومزت الترنک قشقری سچاقدن
 قریه سی ایرکک خاتون توفنکی تیزک اوتون
 غزات که چیققی لار بوتون حربیه سی آش پچاق دن
 بیراقی ایسکی جای نماز توشه سی روزهء نماز
 تمع سی بیم و پیاز دونیرکی بوقاق دن
 فکری غزاده ایرته کیچ قوی نینک قبور غه سی قیلیچ
 میلی غی بار بوغوم قمیچ پتره سی قوم بلاق دن

رزم قیلور غه مایه سی تیرو توفنك و (سایه سی)
اصلحه چرخ فایه سی نیزه لاری قیاق دن
چادری تنك و تار اویه چيله سی بوركون بویه
قورخانه سی قزان کویه زنیركی اوچاق دن
قوربکه موز دیکانچی سی تاشبکه امتحانچیسی
کپریتیکان سنانچیسی ششپری جین چراقدن
ایشیک آغاسی کورکورک مرشبی کورشیپیرک
توپقاری فرشتورک پروانه چی جزایت دن
آت لاری کوربه و مشق لاغر اریغ و عاشق
قوتو خاریش و قیچیق جسمی آلا تراق دن

(Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009. Inventory-1. Item-143. f. 16.)

Anonymous verse (II)

ایشان نی ایکنچی هجویاتی

چیتقی بر مکاره یاران مرغان او یازیدین
تابتی شهرت اول ایشك برکان فراوان آشیدین
بر توقوز قزان قوروب بی اوت پیشادور آش دیب
برچه نی مغرور ایتوب بیغدی جهان اطرافیدین
عامی ایردی لیک احساندین تاپیب شهرت جهان
بیغلوردی ایر و خاتون آنچنان اینچنین
اول فریب کر اوزینی خيله بیلان شیخ کورساتیب
ایلادی قیرغیز ترک نی اوزیکا مخلص چنان
کوب آشیب کیتی اوزیدین آخری جینی بولوب
اوغریلاردیک کیچه سی جنك قیلدیلا فچاق بیلان
تآنك آتمای قاچتی انداغکیم قاچادور اوغریلار
اوچکون اوتمای توتی قادرقلی دلاور بی کمان
خدمت شایسته قیلدی تابتی آنی اختاریب
تاش کوپروک اوستیده باغلاب بویان بولدی روان
عامی لیکدین آخری رسوایی عالم بولدی اول
کوب یمان ایرکان یمانلیکده یمانلاردین یمان
آق پادشاه دولتیده کوب خاطر جمع ایدوک
کوب قورقدوک کوب چاپلادوک بیزکا هم بولدی یمان
پادشاهی عادل ایرکان یخشی یمان اجراتوب
اول یمانغه بیش کیشی نی قوشوب آستی اولزمان
دارنی آستیده چاه کاو لالاب الارنی سالدیلار

سو قويوب آهك بيلان دودين چيقاردى آسمان
 يىكچى لىك انكا لقب ايردى اوزى شيطان دين
 بى رويش چوكى صفت اما اوزى بلغان ايشان
 اصل نسلدين انى هيچكېمسه آكه بولمادى
 بيلمادى هيچكېم انى بيلكانلار ايتور پاده بان
 نيچه بولوست اول ايشان حاليدىن آگاه اولمايىن
 اورنيدىن بىكار بولدى دلده كوب ارمان بيلان
 لازم ايركان پادشاه لىك خذمتين قيلدى بجا
 قالدى جاييده توروب از تحت دل خذمت قيلان
 فتنه آخر زمان ايركان انى بيلدوك يقين
 منكه ساي قاضى سى دورمن اندكى قيلديم بيان
 سال تاريخى ايدى مينك اوجيوز اون آلتى ده
 لىك اولكان كونى ايردى 1 نجى سرطان
 هيچكېم بيلماس ايكان قيسى سلوكده ايركانين
 شوملوغيدىن بى جنازه كيتى بيش قومي بيلان

(Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Fund of N. Ostroumov. I-1009.
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List of Names and Terms in Latin and Arabic Characters

‘Abd al-Ghafūr Muḥibb	عبد الغفور محب
‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II	عبد الحمید
‘Abd al-Raḥmān Āftābachī	عبد الرحمان آفتابه چی
‘Abdulaziz Davletshin	عبدوله زیز دولیتشین –
– ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Dawlat-shāh	عبد العزیز دولت شاه
<i>a‘lam</i>	اعلم
Aḥmad Dānish	احمد دانش
Aḥmad Yasawī	احمد یسوی
Aḥmad Dhakī Walīdī Tūghān	احمد ذکی ولیدی توغان
<i>ākhirat zamān</i>	آخرت زمان
Allāh	الله
Āq pāshshā	آق پاشا
<i>āshūrā</i>	عاشورا
<i>āt</i>	آت
<i>Āt-Sūfī</i>	آت صوفی
<i>bachchagar</i>	بچه غر
“Badawlat-nāma”	بدولت نامه
“Ba-hajw-i khalīfa-yi Mingtīpa”	بهجو خلیفهء منگ تیپه
<i>bāsmachilik</i>	باسمچلیک
<i>bayāḍ</i>	بیاض
<i>bayt</i>	بیت
Dahubīst-bī	ده بیست بی
Dajjāl	دجال
“Dar mazammat-i Īshān-i Dūkchī”	در مزمت ایشان دوکچی
<i>dhikr</i>	ذکر
<i>dhikr-i āshkār</i>	ذکر آشکار

<i>dhikr-i pinhān</i>	ذکر پنهان
<i>dīwān</i>	دیوان
<i>Dīwāna</i>	دیوانه
<i>dīwāna</i>	دیوانه
Dūkchī Īshān – Madalī Īshān – Muḥammad ‘Alī-khalīfa “Dūkchī Īshān hajwi”	دوکچی ایشان – مدلی ایشان – محمد علی خلیفه دوکچی ایشان هجوی
<i>emasmu</i>	ایمسمو
Fāḍil-bīk ibn Āta-bīk – Surkhafsār	فاضل بیک ابن آته بیک – سرخ افسار
<i>farḍ</i>	فرض
<i>fatwā</i>	فتوی
<i>Firawn</i>	فرون
<i>firībgarlīk</i>	فریب گرلیک
<i>fitna</i>	فتنه
<i>Furqat</i>	فرقت
<i>ghazal</i>	غزل
<i>ghazawāt</i>	غزوات
Hājī Šābirī	حاجی صابری
“Hajw-i Yikchī Īshān”	هجو یکچی ایشان
Hakīm-khān	حکیم خان
<i>ḥikmat</i>	حکمت
“‘Ibrat al-ghāfilīn”	عبرت الغافلین
“Iktisāb”	اکتساب
<i>īrānī</i>	ایرانی
<i>īshān</i>	ایشان
“Īshānlār qālīb Dūkchīnīng 'aybīga...”	ایشان لار قالب دوکچی نینگ عیبی گه
<i>jadīd</i>	جدید
“Jang-nāma”	جنگ نامه
<i>jihād</i>	جهاد
<i>kāfir</i>	کافر
<i>kāfīrlārdīn musulmānnī khalāṣ etar</i>	کافر لاردین مسلمان نی خلاص ایتار
<i>karāmat</i>	کرامت
<i>khalīfa</i>	خلیفه
<i>khānaqā</i>	خانقا
Khudāyār-khān	خدایار خان
<i>khuṭba</i>	خطبه
<i>maddāḥ</i>	مداح
<i>madrasa</i>	مدرسه

Mahdī	مهدی
“Maktūbcha-yi khān”	مکتوبچه خان
<i>mathnawī</i>	مثنوی
Mawlawī Yūldāsh	مولوی یولداش
Mīrzā ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Sāmī	میرزا عبد العظیم سامی
<i>mudarris</i>	مدرس
<i>muftī</i>	مفتی
Muḥammad ‘Azīz Marghilānī	محمد عزیز مرغلانی
Muḥammad ‘Umar Umīdī-Havāī	محمد عمرامیدی هوایی
Muḥammad Musā-bī	محمد موسی بی
<i>Muḥarram</i>	محرم
<i>mukhammas</i>	مخمس
<i>mullā</i>	ملا
Mullā Mīrzā ‘Ālim ibn Mīrzā Raḥīm	ملا میرزا عالم بن میرزا تاشکندی
Tāshkandī	
<i>muqaddima</i>	مقدمه
Muqīmī – Muḥammad Amīn	مقیمي – محمد امين خواجه مقیمی
Khawāja Muqīmī	
<i>murīd</i>	مرید
<i>murshid</i>	مرشد
<i>musaddas</i>	مسدس
<i>mutawallī</i>	متولی
<i>nādān qāra sūyak</i>	نادان قاره سويك
Nādim Namangānī – Sulaymān	نادم نمنگانی – سليمان خواجه ملقب باباشان بابا
Khawāja mulaqqab bi-Īshān Bābākhān	خان ولد اولغ خواجه ايشان شيخ الاسلام
walad-i Ūlugh Khawāja-Īshān Shayh	نمنگان
al-islām-i Namangān	
“Naẓm-i wāqī‘a-yi Dūkchī-Īshān”	نظم واقعهء دوکچی ايشان
<i>pashshalār</i>	پشه لار
<i>pīr</i>	پیر
<i>pirsiyān</i>	پرسیان
<i>qāḍī</i>	قاضی
Qāḍī-yi kalān	قاضی کلان
<i>qīshlāq</i>	قیشلاق
<i>qīzīlbāsh</i>	قیزیل باش
Qūzī Raḥīm Khawāja-Īshān	قوزی رحیم خواجه ايشان
<i>radīf</i>	ردیف
Rājī Marghilānī (Marghinānī)	راجی مرغلانی (مرغانی)
Sadubīst-bī	سد’ بیست بی
<i>sākhta</i>	ساخته

Sang Muḥammad Badakhshī	سنگ محمد بدخشی
<i>shahsey-vahsey</i>	شخصی و خسی
<i>sharī‘ah</i>	شریعت
<i>shayṭān yūldan āzdīrdī</i>	شیطان یول دن آز دیردی
Şidqī Khāndayliqī	صدقی خاندیلقی
Sulṭān Aḥmad	سلطان احمد
<i>sulūk</i>	سلوک
Tā‘ib	تایب
<i>ta‘rīkh</i>	تاریخ
“Ta‘rīkh-i ‘Azīzī”	تاریخ عزیزی
“Ta‘rīkh-i Badakhshān”	تاریخ بدخشان
Tāsh-khwāja Asīrī	تاش خواجه اسیری
“Tuḥfa-i Tā‘ib”	تخفه تایب
“Turkistān wilāyatīnīng gazīti”	ترکستان ولایتی نینگ گزیتی
Tūya-Şūfī	تویه صوفی
‘ulamā	علما
<i>umma</i>	امه
<i>wā‘iz</i>	واعظ
Yūnus-jān dādkhāh Muḥammadūw	یونس جان دادخواه محمدوو
Yūsuf	یوسف
Dhawqī – ‘Ubayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ-ūghlī	ذوقی – عبید الله صالح اوغلی ذوقی
Dhawqī	