

A ‘Missing’ Source on Eighteenth-Century Central Asia Rediscovered: the Istanbul Manuscript of the Works of Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī

Evrin Binbaş | ORCID: 0000-0003-1200-4335

University of Bonn, Germany

ebinbas@uni-bonn.de

Devin DeWeese | ORCID: 0009-0004-4859-7982

Emeritus, Indiana University (Bloomington, Indiana, USA)

deweese@iu.edu

Received 20 April 2025 | Accepted 30 August 2025 |

Published online 5 November 2025

Abstract

This research note reports the rediscovery of a Persian manuscript in Istanbul that preserves several unique works from late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Central Asia, mostly dealing with the historical, genealogical, and ritual profile of the Yasavī Sufi tradition and written by a certain Sayyid Aḥmad Nāṣir al-Dīn Marghīnānī, a native of the Farghāna valley. The manuscript was first brought to light nearly a century ago by Zeki Velidi Togan, who assigned it the generic title *Tārīkh-i mashā'ikh-i turk* and gave some idea of its contents, which suggested its importance for the later phases of Yasavī history prior to the Russian and Soviet eras in Central Asia; Togan later wrote, however, that the manuscript had gone missing, and since that time it has lain unstudied and unidentified. The study recounts the loss and rediscovery of the manuscript, now registered as Istanbul University Library F745, offers insight on why it went missing for such a long time, and outlines its contents, confirming its value as a barely-tapped source on the social and cultural history of Central Asia.

Keywords

Central Asia – Sufism – Yasavīya – Farghāna – Sayyid Aḥmad Nāṣir al-Dīn Marghīnānī al-Dīn – Zeki Velidi Togan

Introduction¹

[DD] At the end of February 2025, I received an email message from my friend and colleague of many years, Evrim Binbaş, informing me that a goal we had sought, for over 20 years, together—though he more actively, on a much better-informed basis, and ultimately more effectively—and one that I had hoped for, less productively, for another 20 years before that, had at last materialized.² The goal was determining the whereabouts of a manuscript mentioned and utilized nearly a century ago by Zeki Velidi Togan (d. 1970), the eminent historian and Turkologist whose life and scholarly career took him from his native Bashqortostan through Central Asia, India, Iran, and Europe before he settled finally in Turkey; Togan had rightly identified the manuscript in question as an important source on the Yasavī Sufi tradition, but had acknowledged later—25 years after his first published reference to it—that he could no longer find it where he had first consulted it. Togan assigned the manuscript the ‘collective’ title “*Tārīkh-i mashā’ikh-i turk*,” and as explored below, it indeed comprises several works that together address multiple aspects of the history of the “Turkic shaykhs,” as the Yasavī Sufis were often called; as such, the newly rediscovered manuscript—formerly known as Halis Efendi 199, and now registered as Istanbul University Library F745—is a distinctly valuable source on a still poorly studied aspect of the religious, cultural, and social history of Central Asia.³

The rediscovery of the manuscript that was used by Togan a century ago, and then lost to scholarship for nearly 75 years—to judge from the absence of references to it by Turkish scholars interested in the Yasavī phenomenon since Togan’s 1953 article—was achieved above all through the efforts of Binbaş; the final steps, of combining the clues he provided with unfettered access to

1 The authors will dispense with titles in referring to each other, using surnames alone; sections written individually are identified by initials at the beginning and end. They acknowledge, in alphabetical order, the help and contribution of the following colleagues: Shahzad Bashir, Zekiye Eraslan, Alpaslan Fener, Ahmet T. Karamustafa, Nevzat Kaya, Judith Pfeiffer, İsenbike Togan, and David Tyson.

2 Letter from Binbaş to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, 28 February 2025.

3 The manuscript is now available online. See İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi Ms F745: <https://nek.istanbul.edu.tr/ekos/FY/nekfy00745.pdf> (accessed on 16 July 2025).

the collection in which the manuscript is now held were taken by Alpaslan Fener, a staff-member at Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, and we both wish to express our sincere gratitude to him for his invaluable help in locating the manuscript. Nevertheless, the manuscript's identification and rediscovery would not have been possible without Binbaş's deep knowledge of manuscript libraries and collections in Turkey, and of the history of scholarship there, not to mention his sheer persistence and 'sleuthing' skills; the recovery of this invaluable source is the fruit, more broadly, of his generous devotion of time and energy in pursuing a goal that, as he well knew, would benefit scholarship in general rather than his own work directly.

Although this manuscript's rediscovery unfolded chiefly in Istanbul, it may be set against the backdrop of a broader process affecting manuscript sources on Central Asian history, underway during the past 30-odd years; in addition to the growing study and publication of sources preserved in manuscript repositories in the region, several important works that were feared lost in the course of the turmoil of the twentieth century—manuscripts examined in private collections in the early twentieth century and briefly described by scholars such as V. V. Bartol'd or Togan himself, but then lost track of through many subsequent decades—have been identified and recovered for scholarly use. ^[DD]

^[EB] The manuscript's rediscovery also reflects a wider phenomenon in the study of Islamic manuscripts well beyond Central Asia. It is worth telling the story of the discovery, disappearance, and re-discovery of the "*Tārīkh-i mashā'ikh-i turk*," as it gives us a picture of how scholarship, its methods, and its technical-cum-technological infrastructure have changed since 1926 when Zeki Velidi Togan appears to have first consulted the manuscript at the Beyazıt Library in Istanbul. Our aim in writing the story of Halis Efendi 199 is twofold. On the one hand, we would like to celebrate the recent advances in making historical sources available to researchers. The digital revolution, if it is indeed a revolution, has brought an almost countless number of sources, including manuscripts, coins, archival sources, and much more, to our finger tips. In the past, when the authors of this article started their careers in the late 1970s and the late 1990s, respectively, it was imperative to travel long distances to get hold of even a single manuscript, but today one just needs a proper contact or application procedure to request access to, or digital photographs of, a manuscript, or in some cases, such as the manuscript riches of some countries like Turkey, one just needs to register to an internet portal for access to thousands and thousands of manuscripts. We enjoyed, in different degrees, the unique advantage of flipping through real manuscripts while smelling the often moldy odor of their folios and bindings, and suffered through, again in different degrees, the frustrations caused by inaccessible collections, obstinate librarians and curators, and stuffy reading rooms. On the other hand, we would like

to recognize the disadvantages of recent developments, such as the disconnect that we have with our most significant sources now. Today there is not much difference between searching for a manuscript in a digital catalogue and looking for the most recent publications on a given subject. The problem is that we have to rely on what the library, or its digitalization services to be more specific, provide us. Anything that they miss, we miss as well. We hope that the story that we tell here will leave a note on how manuscript and library research has changed in recent decades.^[EB]

This manuscript's rediscovery offers an opportunity to explain, first, why it seemed worth finding; this account is framed by DeWeese's comments on the field of Yasavī studies. The story of actually tracking down the so-called "*Tārīkh-i mashā'ikh-i turk*" is one best told by Binbaş, and comprises the second part of this research note; it offers a reminder of the 'legwork' that is usually still necessary before lost treasures can be brought to light again, no matter how much the process is helped along by technological advances. The third part, again by DeWeese, outlines the newly-accessible manuscript's significance for the study of the Yasavī Sufi tradition and for broader developments in the history of Central Asian Sufism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[DD] A Missing Link among Yasavī Sources

When I began pursuing my interests in Sufi traditions in Central Asia in the late 1970s and early 1980s, there were essentially two scholarly works available that discussed the historical and biographical profile of the Yasavī Sufi tradition (rather than limiting themselves entirely to discussion of the so-called *Dīvān-i hikmat*, the collection of Chaghatay Turkic poetry ascribed to the tradition's eponym, Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī): one was the classic book of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü (d. 1966) on "the earliest mystics in Turkic literature,"⁴ originally published in 1918, and the other was a quite short article by Zeki Velidi Togan, framed as offering "some new information about the Yasavī tradition,"

4 Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebiyâtında ilk mutaşavvıflar* (Istanbul: Matba'a-i Âmire, 1918); roughly the first half of the work is devoted to the Yasavī tradition, with the rest focused on the Anatolian Sufi poet Yünus Emre. The first Latin-script Turkish version was published only in 1966; see now the English translation, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, translated and edited by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), with a foreword by DeWeese assessing Köprülü's work (pp. viii–xxvii). See also note 27 below.

published in 1953 in a Festschrift for Köprülü.⁵ Köprülü used a wide range of sources known at that time, but his chief focus in his book was on the supposed impact of the tradition's 'founder,' Aḥmad Yasavī, upon cultural and especially literary currents that emerged in Turkic Anatolia; the shaykhs of the Yasavīya active in Central Asia from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries were 'covered' in his book in less than a page, and Köprülü was unaware of some of the most important sources on Yasavī history.

By contrast, Togan's brief article paid more attention to later figures in the Yasavī *silsila*, but in doing so, it gave with one hand and took away with the other: Togan offered tantalizing hints at the rich material on Yasavī history preserved in a manuscript—which he labeled the *Tārikh-i mashā'ikh-i turk*—that had *not* been consulted by Köprülü, and gave some specific examples of what it contained, but then reported that the manuscript had disappeared, though he hoped that it was still preserved, registered under some different designation. Togan identified the manuscript he discussed as No. 199 in the Halis Efendi collection that was preserved at "Bayezid Umumî Kütüphanesi" (today Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi) in Istanbul, affirming that it was available there as late as 1932; he also included a brief description of the manuscript and its subdivisions (to which we will return shortly), which Togan identified as the work of a single author, Sayyid Aḥmad Nāṣir al-Dīn Marghīnānī, and dated to 1229/1814.

This was how I first learned of this important manuscript (it would be 45 years before I could examine it myself, through photographs sent to me by Binbaş, courtesy of Dr. Fener). Togan's discussion of Marghīnānī's 'work' led me to believe that MS Halis Efendi 199 might include especially valuable material on multiple aspects of Yasavī history, based on his specific mention of particular figures named in it (Ismā'īl Ata, Zangī Ata, Sayyid Ata), and his affirmation, without details, that the work discussed later Yasavī shaykhs "especially of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries." His dating of the author, Marghīnānī, only heightened the manuscript's importance: its material on earlier phases of the Yasavī tradition might preserve original traditions not reflected elsewhere, or might instead be entirely derivative and thus informative only about later refractions of earlier accounts, but its discussions of later Yasavī shaykhs were bound to mark significant additions to what was known from other hagiographical sources, which diminish in number in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If the author indeed lived into the early nineteenth century, in other words, he might have recorded first-hand information about that relatively

5 Zeki Velidi Togan, "Yeseviliğe dair bazı yeni malûmat." In [60 doğum yılı münasebetiyle] Fuad Köprülü Armağanı (Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1953): 523–529.

poorly-known period that was not to be found in any other work. Marghīnānī's *nisba*, moreover, identifies him as a native of the Farghāna valley, a region in which the Yasavī tradition left very few traces in sources I had found, produced down to the middle of the nineteenth century; finding his work, I understood, might open up the history of Yasavī lineages that had remained entirely unknown to me.

I eventually came across other references by Togan to MS Halis Efendi 199. First, I tracked down an article in which he cited passages from the manuscript dealing with the Yasavī saint Sharaf Ata, published already in 1928, in Ottoman script;⁶ the narratives he recorded there were not known to me from any other source, and indeed Sharaf Ata was typically left out of the major hagiographical treatments of the early Yasavī figures, again underscoring the likely significance of Marghīnānī's 'work.' Later, I found a note, in a posthumous publication by Togan,⁷ discussing the same "*Tārīkh-i mashā'ikh-i turk*;" here he further complicated the question of the work's whereabouts by referring to it as "the manuscript of İsmail Saib." Wherever it was during Togan's time, and whoever had possession of it, the manuscript containing Marghīnānī's writings was clearly of importance; in the introductory survey of sources in my still-unpublished history of the Yasavī Sufi tradition, I wrote the following tentative summation as a place-holder for a discussion of the manuscript Togan had used:

It is clear from Togan's description that the work not only made use of written sources, including some no longer available, but was a rich record of oral tradition as well, much of it linked with the legacy of Aḥmad Yasavī; as such its loss is much regretted, and its eventual rediscovery should be a primary goal of Yasavī studies.

During the 1990s there were two further developments of relevance to Marghīnānī's writings and the task of finding MS Halis Efendi 199. The first involved another seemingly missing manuscript: in his 1953 article, Togan had mentioned that the unique manuscript of another important source on the Yasavī tradition—the *Javāhir al-abrār*, written by the Yasavī shaykh Ḥazīnī during the late sixteenth century, a work used extensively by Köprülü for his

6 Aḥmed Zekî Velîdî [Togan], "H'vârezmde yazılmış eski türkçe eserler." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 323–324.

7 See Zekî Velîdî Togan, "Salur Kazan ve Bayandarlar." In Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı* (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1973): CVIII. This small treatise was originally published in 1966. See below, notes 28, 43, and 46.

1918 study—had also gone missing; the manuscript containing that work had also been part of the Halis Efendi collection, and the apparent lack of any further study of it led me to assume that it too was indeed lost, until I came across sporadic references to the work from the late 1950s, 1970s, and 1980s, citing ms T3893 at Istanbul University Library. It thus became important to check whether these references indicated the existence of a second manuscript containing Ḥazīnī's work, or the 'reappearance,' in a different collection and under a different number, of the manuscript Köprülü had used.

In April, 1995, during a brief stay in Istanbul on my way to Turkmenistan, I was able, with the assistance of my friend and former student David Tyson, to check the card catalogue of the manuscript collection at the university library, and found, under "Ḥazīnī," a manuscript assigned the generic designation "*Menākub-ı Evliyā Tercümesi*;" I had neither the time nor the requisite permission to examine the manuscript itself, but two months later, another friend and colleague, Ahmet T. Karamustafa, had a look at it on my behalf, quickly confirmed that it corresponded to Köprülü's description of the *Javāhir al-abrār*, and assisted me in obtaining a microfilm of the manuscript for my study (unbeknownst to me at the time, the manuscript was published—part in facsimile, part in transcription—during the same year).⁸ This volume, which Togan had noted as missing from the Halis Efendi collection, was thus rediscovered in the University collection, bolstering the hope that ms Halis Efendi 199 might also be found somewhere, despite the absence of further scholarship upon it—or, in this case, even of scattered references to it. As a result, by the late 1990s, I was pestering colleagues who mentioned upcoming travels to Istanbul, and who offered to look for things I needed from libraries there, providing the few details I thought I knew about the manuscript based on Togan's description.

The second development of the 1990s relevant to Marghīnānī's *oeuvre* came not from Istanbul, but from Tashkent, as a result of the end of the Soviet era. A joint German-Uzbek manuscript cataloguing project at the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Republic of Uzbekistan (IVRUz), organized and coordinated by Jürgen Paul in conjunction with several researchers in Tashkent,

8 Hazini, *Cevāhirü'l-ibrār min emvâc-ı bihâr* (*Yesevî Menâkıbnamesi*), ed. Cihan Okuyucu (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Gevher Nesibe Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1995). The book was republished with an improved introduction by Mücahit Kaçar. See Hazini, *Cevāhirü'l-Ebrâr min Emvâc-ı Bihâr İyilerin Dalgalı Denizlerden Çıkardığı İnciler -Yesevîlik Âdâbı ve Menâkıbnâmesi-*. Ed. Cihan Okuyucu and Mücahit Kaçar (Istanbul: Büyüyen Ay Yayınları, 2014). Okuyucu, and later Kaçar, like most previous and later Turkish scholars, have assumed that the manuscript contains a single work, entitled *Javāhir al-abrār*, but it is quite clear that it contains two different works, with different focuses, one in Turkic (the *Javāhir*), incomplete at the end, and one in Persian, lacking the beginning (thus leaving the title unknown).

targeted for attention a large body of religious literature (including many Sufi works) of the sort that was assigned low priority in Soviet times for ideological reasons—produced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—then, and still, the most obscure period in the religious history of Muslim Central Asia. The project yielded two vitally important publications, first (in 2000) a handlist of manuscripts reflective of Sufi currents of that era, and then (in 2002) a more detailed descriptive catalogue of a small but important selection of works included in the handlist; both publications included accounts of a unique manuscript (MS IVRUz 11290) containing an untitled work (ff. 1a–48a) by the same figure that Togan had identified as the author of the writings preserved in MS Halis Efendi 199—called, in the Tashkent manuscript, Amīr Sayyid Shaykh Aḥmad Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Amīr Sayyid ‘Umar al-Marghīnānī.⁹

The description in the 2002 catalogue rightly dated the work to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century,¹⁰ and provided an important bit of information regarding the author's connection to the Yasavī *silsila* by noting the work's affirmation that Marghīnānī was a disciple of Mawlānā Niyāz-Muḥammad Chuqmāqī of Bukhārā (his *nisba* is written in different ways in the Tashkent manuscript itself and in other sources); Chuqmāqī was a prominent figure of eighteenth-century Central Asian Sufism, representing the phenomenon I have referred to as the ‘bundling’ of *silsilas*, and was usually identified as a disciple of another such ‘bundler,’ Īshān Imlā (d. 1161

9 B. Babadzhanov, A. Kremer, and Iu. Paul' (ed.), *Kratkii katalog sufiiskikh proizvedenii XVIII–XX vv. iz sobraniia Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan im. al-Biruni* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2000): 11, No. 96 [33]; Bakhtiiar Babadzhanov, Ul'rike Berndt, Ashirbek Muminov, and Iurgen Paul' (ed.), *Katalog sufiiskikh proizvedenii XVII–XX vv. iz sobranii Instituta Vostokovedeniia im. Abu Raikhana al-Biruni Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002; *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Supplementband 37; cited hereafter as *KSP*): 108–110, No. 49 (described by Shovosil Ziyadov). The catalogue description did not explicitly note the author's identity with the author discussed long ago by Togan (though Togan's article was cited, without comment); their identity was noted, however, in a brief Uzbek publication, from 2001, by Nadirkhan Hāsān, who had spent time conducting research in Istanbul: see Nadirkhan Hāsān, *Aḥmād Māhmud Ḥazīnīy (Ḥāyati va ijadi)* (Tashkent: Fān, 2001): 25. Hāsān's point was to argue the ‘superiority’ of Ḥazīnī's works over the apparently lost source mentioned by Togan; this of course misses the point that the two authors wrote in quite different times and with different aims, with Ḥazīnī indeed preserving earlier recordings of Yasavī lore, but obviously unable to memorialize Yasavī shaykhs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and uninterested, perhaps, in registering the enormous body of genealogical lore reflected in Marghīnānī's writings.

10 As discussed below, Togan's dating of Marghīnānī's writings to ca. 1229/1814 is problematical, but unfortunately nothing in MS 11290 or in the manuscript Togan consulted (the focus of the present discussion) allows a more precise dating of Marghīnānī's works, beyond assigning them to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

or 1162/1749).¹¹ The description also noted the work's inclusion of many Sufi *silsilas*, which is true enough, but in the fall of 2003, I was able to consult MS IVRUZ 11290 directly and gain a fuller picture of the contents of its first section.¹²

The author first declares (f. 1a) his aim of tracing his lineage back to the Prophet Muḥammad through two female ancestors—a goal itself of interest in the context of late-eighteenth-century Central Asia¹³—but in fact structures his work in two parts, the first giving a series of natural genealogies (ff. 1b–16b), and the second presenting a series of Sufi *silsilas* (ff. 16b–48a), in each case linking the author genealogically and initiatically to each of the four rightly-guided Caliphs, but in most cases also ‘passing through’ prominent saints of Central Asia datable to the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries (and in two instances inserting genealogically-prominent women into initiatic lineages as well). In both sections, the author records a remarkable array

11 On these figures see Devin DeWeese, “‘Dis-ordering’ Sufism in Early Modern Central Asia: Suggestions for Rethinking the Sources and Social Structures of Sufi History in the 18th and 19th Centuries.” In *History and Culture of Central Asia/Istoriia i kul'tura Tsentral'noi Azii*, ed. Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Kawahara Yayoi (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo, 2012): 271–276, with further references. MS 11290 somewhat complicates the accounts cited in this article, about Chuqmāqī's contentious relationship with Shāh Murād (r. 1785–1800), the Manghit ruler of Bukhārā, by affirming that Chuqmāqī died during the reign of Amīr Shāh Murād's father, Dāniyāl Ataliq (f. 43a).

12 The listing of other parts of MS 11290 in the catalogue description (p. 110) includes some errors, but does note another section (No. 6, ff. 98a–115b) as a work by the same Marghinānī, assigning it the provisional title *Silsila-yi 'alīya*. This section (actually occupying ff. 98b–115a) is indeed a work by our author—who gives a longer genealogy than he does in his other works when identifying himself in the introduction—but is in Turkic, and is a doctrinal work (outlining human ‘spiritual morphology,’ with its ‘circles’ [*dā'iras*] and ‘subtle centers’ [*latīfas*], clearly based on models originally known from Naqshbandī writings), offering no further material relating to Yasavī genealogy, *silsila*, or practice; Marghinānī's telltale address, *ay farzand* (see below), appears often in this Turkic work.

13 As I have discussed elsewhere, the work of Marghinānī preserved in MS 11290 is one of at least five genealogical texts produced in the eighteenth century—one could now add several works preserved in the rediscovered manuscript of interest here—that together provide a ‘bridge’ between larger genealogical compilations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, focused on the families of major saints such as Khwāja Aḥrār or Makhdūm-i A'zam, and the *nasab-nāmas*, outlining the origins and lineages of a host of *khwāja* families and other sacred descent groups, that proliferated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; see Devin DeWeese, “Sacred Descent and Sufi Legitimation in a Genealogical Text from Eighteenth-Century Central Asia: The Sharaf Atā'ī Tradition in Khwārazm.” In *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet*, ed. Morimoto Kazuo (London: Routledge, 2012): 210–230. These texts reflect different modes and degrees of acknowledging and highlighting the roles of female ancestors, but together undercut sweeping statements about the ‘invisibility’ of women in ‘pre-modern’ Central Asia.

of genealogical and initiatic lore, linked chiefly but not exclusively to Yasavī shaykhs, including traditions that were unknown to me from any other source; along the way, he offers important information, sometimes original and sometimes confirming what is reported in other sources, about many of the leading lights of Sufi history in Central Asia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and records genealogical traditions linking those figures, and himself, to much earlier saints and shaykhs of the Yasavīya—who are especially prominent throughout the work—as well as of the Naqshbandīya, Kubravīya, and 'Ishqīya.

Toward the end of the section of MS 11290 compiled by Marghīnānī, the initiatic and genealogical lineages give way to a discussion of another type of sacred lineage prized in many regions and Sufi traditions: the transmission of a handshake (*muṣāfaḥa*) from the Prophet through a few intermediaries—including at the beginning figures identified as “long-lived Companions” of the Prophet—down to the author himself (ff. 42a–43b).¹⁴ This short text begins with an account of the Prophet's promise of intercession, on the Day of Judgment, to anyone who received such a handshake through no more than seven intermediaries (it is in this section that Marghīnānī affirms that he wrote the work when he was 56 years old [f. 43a], but unfortunately we still do not know the year in which the work was completed, or the dates of Marghīnānī's birth or death). The discussion of the handshake is followed by several short hagiographical narratives (ff. 44a–45b), chief among them a story involving Shaykh Maṣlaḥat al-Dīn Khūjandī, here identified as a Sufi successor (*khalīfa*) of Aḥmad Yasavī, but shown as predicting, as the troops of Chingīz Khān approached Khujand, the endurance, despite the destruction wrought by the Mongols, of the sanctity and purity of *another* Sufi *ṭarīqa*, that of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā.¹⁵

The final section in the work (ff. 45b–48a) recounts several visionary experiences the author underwent in various locations, including the shrine of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, the “madrasa of Bibī Khalifa” in Bukhārā, and a mosque in the village of “Armijand” in the district of Ghijduvān; some of the visions involve the Yasavī saints Ḥakīm Ata and Ḥubbī Khwāja in addition to Aḥmad

14 On the significance of such ‘handshake’ traditions, see the discussion in Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011): 1–8.

15 The story resembles tales, versions of which were first recorded in the late fifteenth century, that are discussed in Devin DeWeese, “‘Stuck in the Throat of Chingīz Khān:’ Envisioning the Mongol Conquests in Some Sufi Accounts from the 14th to 17th Centuries.” In *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn in collaboration with Ernest Tucker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006): 34–36.

Yasavī himself, and the work ends with Marghīnānī citing another of his Sufi masters—Sayyid Muḥammad Dhakariyā [*sic*] Khwāja, whom we will meet again below, but who is here identified as having been licensed to teach in the *ṭarīqa-yi Naqshbandīya*—lamenting that his pupil, Marghīnānī, who he hoped would be “firm and strong” in the Naqshbandīya, had now “gone out of my hands and relinquished my path to me” (*aknūn az dast-i man ba-raftī, ṭarīq-i marā-marā be-gudhashī*), to become a companion to Aḥmad Yasavī and Ḥakīm Ata in the *ṭarīqa-yi jahriya* (f. 48a). This brief account, and the multiple initiatic affiliations outlined by the author in the Tashkent manuscript, underscore the complexity of Sufi relationships in Central Asia by the late eighteenth century.

This rich material preserved in MS IVRUz 11290, moreover, seemed to overlap, but only partly, with what Togan’s brief description suggested might be found in the “*Tārīkh-i mashā’ikh-i turk*,” I came to regard MS 11290 as a worthwhile ‘consolation prize’ that offered at least some insight into the kind of material that the larger body of Marghīnānī’s writings, as preserved in MS Halis Efendi 199, might be expected to contain.

Ironically, there was in fact a *third* development germane to the “*Tārīkh-i mashā’ikh-i turk*” during the 1990s, but I learned of its importance only recently. In 1995, a Persian-language catalogue of the Persian manuscripts held at Istanbul University Library was published in Tehran, and it included a brief entry on MS F745, the manuscript formerly known as MS Halis Efendi 199;¹⁶ it was described, however, in a thoroughly misleading way, giving little indication that this was the manuscript discussed by Togan. Not only was there no citation of any of Togan’s published references to it,¹⁷ but there was also no hint that the manuscript’s contents were linked in any way to the Yasavī

16 Tawfiq Hāshim-Pūr Subḥānī and Ḥusām al-Dīn Āqsū (Hüsamettin Aksu), *Fihrist-i nuskhā-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi fārsī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishgāh-i Istānbūl* (Tehran: Pizhūhashgāh-i ‘Ulūm-i Insānī va Muṭāla‘āt-i Farhangī, 1374/1995): 333 (and in the index, on p. 730); the catalogue does not mention numbers from earlier collection inventories that might have facilitated identification.

17 Naturally, given the absence of any reference to Togan’s discussions of the manuscript, the ‘title’ he assigned to it (or to the major work in the volume), “*Tārīkh-i mashā’ikh-i turk*,” is not to be found either in the description or in the index to the catalogue. Only the mention, in the description, of the author’s name, “Aḥmad Mawlānā Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī,” offers a point of contact with what was previously known of the manuscript; but the catalogue’s index of authors does not include him under his name, Aḥmad, his *laqab*, Nāṣir al-Dīn, or his *nisba*, Marghīnānī, listing him instead under the title “*amīr*” (which he does use in the work, to be sure, along with the title “sayyid”), and thus making it more difficult to find him. Moreover, the catalogue bears no classificatory structure, but simply presents descriptions in the order of the manuscripts’ inventory numbers; there is thus no ‘section on Sufism’ to check (nor is there an index of subjects).

tradition, to the “Jahrīya,” or to the “*mashā’ikh-i turk*,” as Togan had stressed; the manuscript as a whole is characterized simply as “a collection on traveling the Sufi path,”¹⁸ and the account of the manuscript’s disposition, with three sections identified and only the vaguest of characterizations given for each, would likewise not have drawn the attention of someone familiar with Togan’s description of a manuscript containing four substantial works. Consequently,¹⁹ the manuscript remained undiscovered for three more decades following the catalogue’s publication; this period, incidentally, coincided with enormous growth in interest in the Yasavī tradition, in Turkey and in Central Asia, and it is all the more remarkable, and lamentable, that the manuscript continued to elude not only the authors of this research note, but the scholarly community in Turkey as well. [DD]

[EB] Discovery and Disappearance

Zeki Velidi Togan discovered ms Halis Efendi 199 soon after he arrived in Istanbul in 1925 and occasionally referred to it in his publications. He did so for the first time in his article on the Turkic works written in Khwārazm in which he discusses Sharaf Ata, a disciple of Zangī Ata, on the basis of this manuscript.²⁰ Later in 1947 in his seminal work on the early modern and modern history of Central Asia titled *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*, Togan used

18 The ‘title’ is in fact given as “*majmū’a va silk-i taṣavvuf*” (perhaps a misprint, echoing the designation “*majmū’a-yi silk-i taṣavvuf*” assigned in the description to the first section of the manuscript); there is an echo of one common appellation of the Yasavī *silsila*, as the “Sulṭānīya”—derived from the eponym’s status as the “*Sulṭān al-‘arīfīn*”—in the catalogue’s reference to the ‘second work’ found in the manuscript—actually the third—as “*al-risālat al-ḥamdīya* [?] *al-sulṭānīya*,” but not even this treatise’s focus on the Sufi *dhikr*, or its use of the term *jahrīya*, a designation likewise used frequently for the Yasaviya, is mentioned in the catalogue). The ‘description’ of this manuscript, indeed, improves upon Togan’s only in noting that the manuscript comprises 193 folios in all, as opposed to Togan’s unexplained mention of only 149 folios, and in giving a better reading of the name of the author’s son (as discussed below).

19 Binbaş in fact told me of this catalogue’s publication in 2004, noting that a quick check of the index failed to turn up Togan’s manuscript; I failed to follow up on this lead to check more closely, however, and so, as a result, for the past 20 years, it was the Tashkent manuscript that provided my chief ‘access’ to the Sufi hagiographical and genealogical lore assembled by Marghinānī; I mapped out its contents in a master “1290” file, utilized its material for conference papers, and occasionally cited it in published works, usually alongside a lament for the ‘lost’ manuscript of the author’s works used decades earlier by Togan, e.g., in “Sacred Descent.”

20 [Togan,] “Ḥvārezm”: 323–324.

Marghīnānī in a discussion on Baba Tüktü Şaşı Aziz and the involvement of Yasavī shaykhs (*Türk şeyhleri*) in politics. In the same work, Togan discussed the genealogy of the khans of Khoqand based on Marghīnānī, referring to this specific manuscript as “*Menâqib-i Meşâyikh-i’t-Türk*.”²¹ Following these brief references, he discussed the manuscript in detail in an article that he wrote for the Fuad Köprülü Festschrift in 1953. Togan’s rather witty introduction to his article suggests that İsmail Saib Sencer (1873–1940), the keeper of manuscripts (*hâfiz-ı kütüb*) at the Beyazıt State Library between 1916 and 1939, was already aware of the significance of the manuscript.²² Let us leave İsmail Saib aside for the time being, as we will return to him later, and read the conversation between him and Togan, as narrated by Togan:

Ḥazīnī’s *Javāhir al-abrār min amwāj al-bihār*, which was one of the most significant sources of Fuad Köprülü’s [*Türk Edebiyatında*] *İlk Mutasavvıflar*, is no longer part of the Halis Efendi collection. MS Halis Efendi 199 in the Beyazıt State Library, which is an even more significant source for the history of the Yasavīs than Ḥazīnī’s work, and which I used in several of my works published between 1926 and 1932, is also missing today: *Tārīkh-i mashā’ikh-i Turk*, written by Sayyid Aḥmad Naşir al-Dīn Marghīnānī of Farghana in 1229 AH/1814. This 300-page Persian text written by a Yasavī shaykh made use of many texts that have not come down to us, and it also reflects to a large extent the oral lore of the Syr Darya basin where the Yasaviya was very much active. When I asked İsmail Saib Bey how it was possible that Köprülü, who had never missed any source about the subjects that he investigated, had not seen this important source, he responded: “Maybe he had heard that this work was here, but I didn’t show it to him.” Today this work, which is no longer part of the Halis Efendi Collection in the Beyazıt State Library, is also not part of the late İsmail Saib’s personal collection that was transferred to the *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi* (Faculty of Language and History-Geography) in Ankara either. It is possible that the manuscript that was in the Beyazıt

21 A.Zeki Velidî Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*. 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Endurun, 1981 [1947]): 197, 202. The first edition of this text was published in Arabic script in Cairo between 1929 and 1940. It includes the discussion in the main text, but lacks the footnotes; hence there are no clear references to MS Halis Efendi 199. See Aḥmedzekî Velidî [Togan], *Bugünkü Türkistân ve Yakın Mâzîsi* (Cairo: al-Ma’rifa, 1929–1939): 164, 168. In the 1981 [1947] edition of the book Togan’s transliteration of the manuscript’s title alternates. I chose the first occurrence on p. 197.

22 Azmi Bilgin, “İsmail Saib Sencer.” *TDVİA* 23 (2001): 122–123.

State Library until 1932 has not been lost, but was catalogued under a different name there.²³

We will never know for sure if İsmail Saib really hid the manuscript from Köprülü, but we can confidently argue that İsmail Saib was being unfair to Köprülü. Halis Efendi was an officer at the Finance Ministry and his rich library was purchased by the Ministry of Education in September 1917, months before the publication of Fuad Köprülü's *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*.²⁴ İsmail Saib, together with Şerafeddin Bey, was in charge of taking into custody and curating Halis Efendi's collection. Therefore we can assume, though we cannot be sure, that he must have instantly noticed the value of the manuscript.²⁵ However, even if İsmail Saib let Köprülü know about the manuscript as soon as he noticed its value, Köprülü would have had very little time to work on it and incorporate it into his book. Halis Efendi's collection was purchased by the Ministry of Education, apparently without the preparation of any detailed inventory, and was handed over to the Beyazıt Library, which was then the National Library of the Ottoman Empire. The collection stayed at the Beyazıt Library until 1924 and was then transferred to the library of the Dârü'l-Fünûn, the precursor to Istanbul University.²⁶ We should also note that when Köprülü used Ḥazîni's *Javāhir*, the manuscript was still in the hands of Halis Efendi.

23 Togan, "Yesevîliğe Dair": 523.

24 The purchase of Halis Efendi's library seems to have created a sensation among the intellectual circles of Istanbul. For a description of these debates with references to archival records of the purchase see the detailed article by Hakan Anameriç, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Satın Alınan Özel Kütüphaneler/Koleksiyonlar. Belgesel—Metodolojik Bir İnceleme." *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 40 (2021). 70: 298–300. The famous bibliophile Ali Emiri (1857–1923), the discoverer of the *Dīvān Lughāt al-Turk* who founded the famous Millet Library with his own collection in Istanbul, was a vocal critique of the process of the acquisition of Halis Efendi's private library. Ali Emiri accused Halis Efendi of overstating the number of manuscripts in his collection, of hiding the gems of his collection and selling them to customers abroad, and of using aggressive tactics in building his collection. In his articles, Ali Emiri refers to a number of valuable items, but not to Marghināni's work. See 'Ali Emiri. "Mecmū'a." *'Osmanlı Tārīḥ ve Edebiyāt Mecmū'ası* 2/14 (1335/1919): 266–267; *idem*, "Yine Ḥālīş Efendi'nin Ketm ve İzā'e-i Kütüb Mes'elesi." *'Osmanlı Tārīḥ ve Edebiyāt Mecmū'ası* 2/15 (1335/1919): 299–303; *idem*, "Ma'ārif Neẓāret-i Celilesine." *'Osmanlı Tārīḥ ve Edebiyāt Mecmū'ası* 2/16 (1335/1919): 331–334. Anameriç summarized the contents of these articles in his article.

25 Anameriç, "Osmanlı": 298. The Şerafeddin Bey in question here is most probably Mehmet Şerafeddin Yaltkaya (1880–1947), who was a prominent scholar of Islamic thought and philosophy, a companion of İsmail Saib, and the second president of the Directorate of Religious Affairs in Turkey. See İsmail Kara, "Yaltkaya, Mehmet Şerefettin." *TDVİA* 43 (2013): 308–310.

26 Anameriç, "Osmanlı": 300.

Therefore, it is also possible that either Halis Efendi did not notice the value of MS Halis Efendi 199, or he did not share the manuscript with Köprülü.

Even if İsmail Saib, or Halis Efendi, hid the manuscript from Fuad Köprülü before 1924, Köprülü had plenty of opportunities to inquire about MS Halis Efendi 199 in his later publications in which he revisited the topic of the Yasaviya, given that by then, Togan had already referred to it in his publications. However, in each instance, Köprülü failed to notice Togan's references. In 1940 Köprülü wrote an article for the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* and included the same article in his notes and corrections to the Turkish translation of V. V. Bartold's *Kültura musulmanstva*.²⁷ Köprülü's article includes a literature update on the Yasaviya, but here he ignores both Togan's 1928 article and MS Halis Efendi 199. And then in 1945 in his article on Chaghatay literature, he made no mention whatsoever of Togan's 1928 article. In 1928 Köprülü was the editor of the *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, the journal that published Togan's article, so he must have been aware of Togan's reference to MS Halis Efendi 199. We can perhaps excuse Köprülü's failure to notice Togan's reference to Marghinānī in *Bugünkü Türkistān ve Yakın Māzisi*, as this book, which had been published in Cairo, was a rather rare publication in those years. However, given Köprülü's prominent position in Turkish academia, we can surmise that Köprülü had access to this book even though it had been published outside Turkey. Still, he probably missed the reference, because the initial Cairo edition of the book does not include footnotes and references, and one needs to read the book from cover to cover to notice Togan's reference. It appears that Köprülü never took note, purposefully or not, of Togan's announcement of MS Halis Efendi 199, or if he knew about it, he did not acknowledge it.²⁸

27 Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 7th ed. (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1991 [1918]); M. Fuad Köprülü, "Ahmed Yesevî," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 1 (1941): 210–215; W. Barthold and M. Fuad Köprülü, *İslam Medeniyeti Tarihi*, trans. Ahad Ural (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1977 [1940]): 186–199.

28 Togan's final reference to Marghinānī was in a note that his former student Orhan Şaik Gökyay published in his encyclopedic book on the Dede Korkud narratives in 1973. In this note, Togan refers to Marghinānī to suggest that Aqman and Qaraman, who were the leaders of the Qiyat in the epic of Qoblandi Batır, were in fact Turkmens and affiliated with the Yasaviya. See Togan, "Salur Kazan": 793–800. Published bibliographies of Zeki Velidi Togan give the publication date of this small article as 1966. See Tuncer Baykara, "A.Zeki Velidi Togan (1890–1970) Bibliografyası (Bibliography)." *Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi* 13 (1985): 29; R.M. Bulgakov, *Materialy k bibliografii Akhmet-Zaki Validi Togana* (Ufa: Gilem, 1996): 64. There exists an off-print of the article with independent pagination. It is likely that the off-print was published in 1966 and later in 1973 this off-print was included in Gökyay's book with proper pagination. See Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers x-310 (Yesevi Şairleri). Baykara suggests that Gökyay's book was published

It is plausible to argue that Köprülü's silence made Marghinānī and his work a non-subject for Turkish historians, and to the best of my knowledge no Turkish scholar pursued Togan's references to Halis Efendi 199. It would be useful to contrast this situation with Ḥazīnī's *Javāhir al-abrār*, which was Köprülü's main source in his *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*.²⁹ In his 1953 article, Togan reported that Ḥazīnī's work was also missing, but it appears as though Turkish scholarship maintained a healthy interest in this work, so much so that the new Turkish encyclopedia of Islam titled *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* devoted a separate article to this manuscript. Cihan Okuyucu edited Ḥazīnī's *Javāhir al-abrār* in 1995, but he seems to have been unaware of both MS Halis Efendi 199 and Togan's multiple references to it.³⁰ In the same year, Tawfiq Hāshim-Pūr Subḥānī and Hüsametdin Aksu, who prepared a catalogue of Persian manuscripts at the Istanbul University Library, likewise overlooked and therefore completely missed Togan's references, even though Aksu was a well-informed scholar of Sufism in the late medieval and early modern Islamic world, and was himself a professor at Istanbul University. Subḥānī and Aksu catalogued MS Halis Efendi 199, but they missed its significance, and their catalogue information includes significant errors. The description of the manuscript makes no reference to previous scholarship by Togan, and it is misleading, getting the basic structure of the manuscript wrong (see below for further discussion).³¹ Furthermore, the catalogue is organized according to inventory number, without any references to the provenance of individual manuscripts and without any topical arrangement, such as Sufism or History. Necdet Tosun made significant contributions to our knowledge of the sources on the Yasavīya and he introduced a previously unknown work by Ḥazīnī titled *Manbaʿ al-Abḥār*, but he seems to have taken no interest in MS Halis

in 1966, but this must be a mistake, as no reference to a 1966 version of this book appears in any catalogues. In any case, this issue is irrelevant for us, because Fuad Köprülü died in 1966 and in his later years he was more involved in politics than academia. Togan referred to the same topic of Aqman and Qaraman without acknowledging Marghinānī's text in his notes to Rashīd al-Dīn's Oghuz Khan narrative. See Zeki Velidi Togan, *Oğuz Destanı. Resîdeddîn Oğuznâmesi, Tercüme ve Tahlili* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1982 [1972]): 105.

29 Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında*: 368–369. Köprülü refers to the Halis Efendi collection without giving any shelfmark. When the book was first published in 1918, the manuscript was most probably still in the hands of its original owner, Halis Efendi. Nihat Azamat says that because the editors of the 1976 edition of *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* located the manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library, many scholars looked for it in the wrong place. Nihat Azamat, "Cevâhirü'l-Ebrâr," *TDVİA* 7 (1993): 432. The manuscript is currently located at İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi MS 3893. See note 8 above.

30 Hazini, *Cevâhiru'l-Ebrâr*.

31 Subḥānī and Aksu, *Fihrist*: 333. See notes 16 and 17 above.

Efendi 199, or in Togan's article.³² Tosun bypasses both Marghīnānī and Togan in his otherwise comprehensive article on the Yasavīya published in the *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.³³ Mehmet Mâhur Tulum took his cue from Tosun's article and studied and edited Ḥazīnī's *Manba' al-Abḥār*. However, he also ignored Togan's references and did not develop an interest in MS Halis Efendi 199.³⁴

It is indeed a puzzle for me that Turkish scholars did not pursue Togan's references for such a long time. One possible explanation for this is that Turkish scholarship was heavily influenced by Köprülü's work and was mostly interested in the purported impact of the Yasavīya on Ottoman Sufism. Indeed, there has been a long-running and in many ways still-ongoing debate on the influence of the Yasavīya on the Alevis and Bektashis of the Ottoman Empire.³⁵ In this regard, Ḥazīnī is the perfect source for this scholarship. A Central Asian Sufi from Hişār-i Shādmān, who migrated to the Ottoman lands, Ḥazīnī represented the iconic Central Asian Sufi, and naturally attracted more attention than Marghīnānī. It should also be added that scholarship in Turkey on post-1500 Sufi networks in Central Asia is rather underdeveloped. When we consider all these factors, it is not surprising that Marghīnānī was not part of the conversation in Turkey. Marghīnānī had to wait until DeWeese decided to embark on a grand project on the history of the Yasavīya in Central Asia.

Rediscovery

DeWeese was aware of the significance of Marghīnānī as well as Togan's references to it since the 1980s when he started working on Central Asian Sufism.³⁶

32 Necdet Tosun, "Yeseviliğin İlk Dönemine Ait Bir Risale: Mir'âtü'l-Kulûb." *İLAM Araştırma Dergisi* 2 (1997): 2: 41–86. See also Tosun, "Yesevîlik Araştırmaları İçin Bazı Mühim Kaynak Eserler." *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 15 (2017): 30: 83–105.

33 Necdet Tosun, "Yeseviyye." *TDVİA* 43 (2013): 487–490.

34 Ḥazīnī, *Menba'u'l-Ebhâr fî Riyâzı'l-Ebrâr "İyilerin Bahçelerindeki Suların Kaynağı."* Ed. Mehmet Mâhur Tulum (İstanbul: Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi, 2009).

35 For a survey of these debates, see Ahmet Karamustafa, "Yesevîlik, Melâmetîlik, Kalenderîlik, Vefâîlik ve Anadolu Tasavvufunun Kökenleri Sorunu." In *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler. Kaynaklar-Doktrin-Ayin ve Erkân-Tarikatlar Edebiyat-Mimari-Güzel Sanatlar-Modernizm*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2005): 61–88.

36 Devin DeWeese, "The 'Kashf al-Huda' of Kamal ad-Din Khorezmi: A Fifteenth Century Sufi Commentary on the 'Qasidat al-Burdah' in Khorezmian Turkic (Text Edition, Translation, and Historical Introduction)." (PhD Dissertation, Indiana University 1985): 589; Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania

On several occasions he inquired about the whereabouts of the manuscript. First, on 24 February 1999, he contacted Shahzad Bashir, who was planning to spend part of the spring conducting research in Istanbul, and asked him to look for MS Halis Efendi 199.³⁷ Bashir responded to DeWeese's query on 20 June 1999, after he returned from Istanbul. Bashir could not find the manuscript, but he learned that the manuscript should be part of Istanbul University's manuscript collection:

I am back from Turkey and am sorry to report that I could not locate "Tarikh-i masha'ikh at-turk" by Sayyid Ahmad Nasir ad-Din Marghinani. I checked at the Suleymaniye, Millet, Beyazit and University libraries and had no luck. I did figure out that the Halis Efendi collection was merged to the University (although there is no published record of this as far as I could tell) at some point since I saw a few things of interest to me with the collection's stamps. However, I couldn't figure out any way of getting at a list which correlated the old numbers with the new. To make absolutely sure, I checked for both author and title in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish catalogues but to no avail. The catalogue at the University is generally quite poor with things misnamed, etc., so I wouldn't be surprised if the manuscript is there but has been obscured through some error. Unfortunately, though, only someone with very high connections and possible direct access to the stacks can rummage through and find it.³⁸

Already in 1999, then, Shahzad Bashir had found out that the manuscript was most probably at the Istanbul University Library, but was miscatalogued. However, he did notice that Halis Efendi's books included his stamp, and suggested that it might be possible to go through all these stamped manuscripts and locate MS Halis Efendi 199. Because the collection as a whole was so poorly catalogued, he concluded, this would be an insurmountable task.

Bashir could not know in June 1999 that the conditions were going to get even worse. Just a few months after he finished his work in Istanbul, the eastern Marmara region was hit by a massive earthquake on 17 August 1999. The epicenter of the earthquake was in Gölcük, about 80 kilometers southeast of Istanbul, but the damage in Istanbul was also substantial. Due to the earthquake many libraries in Istanbul, including the Istanbul University Library,

State University Press, 1994): 484. Apart from occasional references, DeWeese studied Togan's references to Marghinānī in the most detailed manner in a separate article on Sharaf Ata. See DeWeese, "Sacred": 210–230.

37 Letter from DeWeese to Shahzad Bashir. Private Correspondence, 24 February 1999.

38 Letter from Shahzad Bashir to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, 20 June 1999.

closed their doors to readers for months, sometimes years. This was the obstacle that Judith Pfeiffer, the next hunter of Marghīnānī's manuscript, faced.

On 7 April 2000, DeWeese asked Judith Pfeiffer, who was also then residing in Istanbul, to look for the manuscript.³⁹ A few days later, DeWeese sent a detailed description of Marghīnānī's manuscript according to Togan's 1953 article in order to help her in her search for the manuscript.⁴⁰ Soon Pfeiffer also found out that ms Halis Efendi 199 must have been in the Istanbul University Library, but she could not go any further, because the University library was closed due to the cracks on its walls caused by the 1999 Gölcük Earthquake.⁴¹

The next person who tried to locate the manuscript upon DeWeese's request was myself (Binbaş).⁴² I started searching for the manuscript before I left for Istanbul for my doctoral research in the autumn of 2004 and the winter of 2005.⁴³ It was obvious that the Halis Efendi collection was dispersed or missing, and in order to reconstruct the collection's history I started reading about the history of manuscript collections in Turkey. Sometime in April 2004 I located the Halis Efendi Collection at the Istanbul University Library. Apparently the collection had been transferred to the Library of Dārū'l-Fünūn in 1925–1926.⁴⁴ At this point, I also missed a precious opportunity. As mentioned above, Tawfīq Hāshim-Pūr Subhānī and Hüsametdin Aksu had published the catalogue of Persian manuscripts at the Istanbul University Library, and I had already purchased this rare catalogue in 1997. I trusted Zeki Velidi Togan and assumed that the title of the manuscript was "*Tārikh-i mashāyikh-i Turk*" and checked only the titles mentioned in the catalogue, but ms Halis Efendi 199 was catalogued under the 'title' "*Majmū'a wa [sic] silk-i tasawwuf*." To

39 Letter from DeWeese to Judith Pfeiffer. Private Correspondence, 7 April 2000.

40 Letter from DeWeese to Judith Pfeiffer. Private Correspondence, 12 April 2000.

41 Letter from Judith Pfeiffer to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, 12 April 2000.

42 Letter from DeWeese to Binbaş. Private Correspondence, 15 March 2004. Due to the moves from one university to another two times, my email record on this topic is patchy. I rely on DeWeese's Indiana University records. Fortunately, I have my library notes from those years and I can get a pretty clear picture and chronology of what I did to find out the whereabouts of the manuscript.

43 Letter from DeWeese to Binbaş. Private Correspondence, 15 April 2004. In this letter DeWeese also informed me about Togan's article in the book by Orhan Şaik Gökyay. See also notes 7 and 28 above, and note 46 below.

44 Letter from Binbaş to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, 23 April 2004. My letter to DeWeese cites the following references: *Bibliography on Manuscript Libraries in Turkey and the Publications on the Manuscripts Located in these Libraries* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1995): 43; *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1992): 111/335. See also *Türkiye Kütüphaneleri Rehberi* (Ankara: Millî Kütüphane Bibliyografya Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1957): 20.

make things worse, the author's name, cited as "Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mawlānā Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī" by Subḥānī and Aksu, was listed under "Amīr" in the catalogue's detailed indices.⁴⁵ Therefore, the only way of noticing the entry dedicated to MS Halis Efendi 199 was to read the catalogue and index from cover to cover, but unfortunately at that time, as a dissertating student, that was not my top priority. Sadly, DeWeese and I were not alone in missing this reference, as no other person, in Turkey or abroad, noticed this entry in the catalogue.

Before my departure to Istanbul for my dissertation work, I was thrown off by Togan's reference to Marghīnānī in Gökyay's book. In this short article Togan refers to MS Halis Efendi 199 as a manuscript in the library of İsmail Saib (*İsmail Saib nüshası*).⁴⁶ There was thus the possibility that the manuscript was mixed with İsmail Saib's private collection; İsmail Saib's reputation as a dervish-like figure, who lived in the library with his numerous cats, bolstered my suspicions that the manuscript might have been mixed in among manuscripts that belonged to him personally. In brief, I went to Istanbul with three distinct possibilities in mind about the whereabouts of MS Halis Efendi 199: Istanbul University Library, where the manuscript might have been miscatalogued; Beyazıt Library, where it could perhaps have been lost in another collection; and the Library of the Faculty of Language and History-Geography, where a good portion of İsmail Saib's personal manuscript collection was housed.

When I went to Turkey, I visited İsenbike Togan, my mentor, in Ankara, and during this visit, I had the opportunity to study Togan's notes in a folder titled "Yesevi Şairleri."⁴⁷ In this folder I found three earlier drafts of Togan's article and one of them did not include the conversation between İsmail Saib and Zeki Velidi Togan. The initial drafting of the article must have taken place as early as the 1930s, and Togan most probably started writing the article without any plans for its publication venue. More importantly, however, the earliest draft of the article gives the call number of the manuscript as "Halis Efendi 191," not as "Halis Efendi 199." This led me to think that maybe there was a typo in the published version of Togan's article.⁴⁸

By autumn 2004 Istanbul University's manuscript collection had been re-opened to researchers, albeit at the Istanbul University Museum in the Main Building. When I went there, the collection and its resources were only partially available due to the chaos caused by the earthquake four years

45 Subḥānī and Aksu, *Fihrist*: 333.

46 Togan, "Salur Kazan ve Bayandarlar": 794. See note 28 above.

47 Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers x-310 (Yesevi Şairleri).

48 Letter from Binbaş to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, 17 October 2004.

earlier.⁴⁹ Recovering the Halis Efendi collection required a substantial amount of digging in the library, because when the library's manuscript collection was created in 1925–26, the original call numbers were not preserved and a new classification based on the language of the manuscripts was created. When I went to the library, the library did not have a systematic catalogue, but it had large-scale Excel printouts that included basic references to manuscripts; however, I could not locate MS Halis Efendi 199 in these Excel sheets. The librarians, who were extremely helpful, made another list, a handlist to be more precise, available to me, and this list included the original call numbers and the corresponding catalogue numbers for the manuscripts. I went through this list and prepared a list of all Persian manuscripts that I could identify, 215 items in all, but none of these manuscripts was MS Halis Efendi 199. Then, I looked for the two manuscripts that had been noted by Togan in his article and in his notes: Halis Efendi 191 and Halis Efendi 199. But, according to this list, both manuscripts were Arabic and they had nothing to do with Marghīnānī and his corpus:

Halis Efendi 191 (AY1955): ‘Abd Allāh ‘Alī Abī ‘Umar al-Bayḍāwī, *Taqrīrāt*⁵⁰
Halis Efendi 199 (AY1701): Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Kabīr (Jild-i Awwal)*

Halis Efendi 191 is an Arabic manuscript, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta’wīl* by Qāḍī Bayḍawī (d. 685/1286). “Numero (Number) 191” is written on the flyleaf just above the manuscript's current call number, “AY1955.” The name “*Halis Efendi Kütüphanesi*” is printed on the following page (See Figure 1).⁵¹

Halis Efendi 199 is the first volume of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī's Qur'ān commentary titled *Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb* with the current call number AY1701, which is written again just below “Numero (Number) 199.”⁵² However, the library mark of Halis Efendi is not found on this manuscript. Therefore, I concluded that MS Halis Efendi 199 was either not at the Istanbul University Library, or it was lost in the collection. During my visit, I also checked Ḥazīnī's *Javāhir al-abrār* at the Istanbul University Library. It was catalogued under the call number TY3893 and its original call number was MS Halis Efendi 184. I will return to

49 Letter from Binbaş to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, undated. I rely on my undated email to DeWeese in writing about my research at the Istanbul University Library. My previous letter is dated 17 October 2004, and the letter's headline includes my address at that time, at ARIT—American Research Institute in Turkey. Therefore, I must have written these notes before 31 January 2005, when I left ARIT.

50 Here I follow my handwritten notes, as my email to DeWeese confuses these two manuscripts.

51 See <https://nek.istanbul.edu.tr/ekos/AY/nekay01955.pdf> (accessed on 17 June 2025).

52 See <https://nek.istanbul.edu.tr/ekos/AY/nekay01701.pdf> (accessed on 25 June 2025).

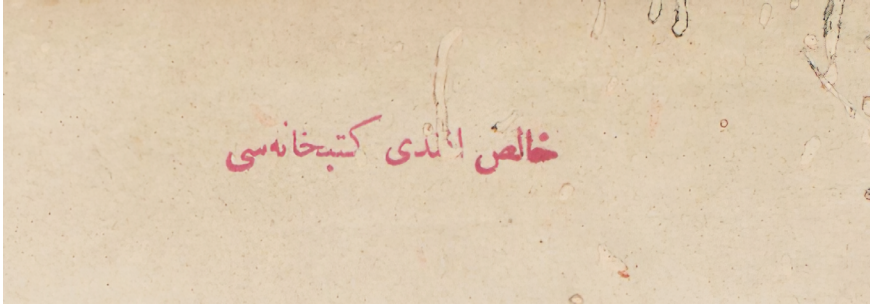


FIGURE 1 Ex Libris of Halis Efendi in Halis Efendi 199 (AY1955)

Halis Efendi 184 later, but at this point, it is worth mentioning that in those years none of the collections in Istanbul, or anywhere else for that matter, was available digitally.

My second hypothesis on the whereabouts of MS Halis Efendi 199 quickly went out the window. I looked for the manuscript in the Beyazıt Library. Like the Library of the Istanbul University, the Beyazıt Library has new call numbers and all new acquisitions were catalogued under “Bayezid Umumi.” I worked on the card catalogues, but there was no sign of the manuscript in the collection. A very kind assistant librarian managed to find a list of manuscripts that had come from the Halet Efendi Collection. I thought maybe everybody, including Köprülü and Togan, was wrong and Halis Efendi was just a typo for Halet Efendi. It was a theory that even I did not believe, but I worked on the list anyway. According to this list, from the numbers 3546 through 3733 the Beyazıt Umumi collection included manuscripts from the Halet Efendi collection. I went through all these numbers in the card catalogue, and apart from a hagiography of Khwāja Aḥrar (Beyazıt Umumi MS 3624), I did not find anything relevant to my search, and this concluded my pursuit in the Beyazıt Library.

The third hypothesis that I pursued was that Marghīnānī’s manuscript was in Ankara, at the Library of the DTCF, i.e. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi (School of Language and History—Geography). İsmail Saib Bey himself owned a substantial collection of manuscripts. I thought maybe, just maybe, the manuscript that I was looking for was mixed with his own books and went to Ankara, when the Ministry of Culture purchased his collection for the newly opened DTCF in 1935.⁵³ However, I found an interesting reference in Nimet Bayraktar’s article

53 I remember vividly why this idea occurred to me at that time. During my graduate studies at the University of Chicago, I worked at the library of the School of Social Service Administration to support my studies. Eileen Libby (d. 2019), the veteran librarian of the University of Chicago, used to tell us interesting, often entertaining, stories about

indicating that not all the manuscripts of the collection of İsmail Saib Bey went to Ankara; some actually stayed in Istanbul and were transferred to the Süleymaniye Library.⁵⁴ The Süleymaniye Library's classification system is different from that of the Beyazıt Library and the Library of the Istanbul University, and its subcollections, which used to be smaller libraries in Istanbul, such as Ayasofya and Fatih, retain their individual numbering. But İsmail Saib Bey's collection would not be part of these collections. However, the Süleymaniye Library does have a sub-collection called *Yazma Bağışlar* (Gifted Manuscripts) which includes later acquisitions of the library, and if his collection was included in the vast and sprawling collections of the library, it would be part of the *Yazma Bağışlar*. I tried to find Marghīnānī's book in this collection with no success. Then, I knocked on the door of Nevzat Kaya, the then-Director of the Süleymaniye Library. I explained to him what I was trying to find, and he immediately stood up and took out a typed list of manuscripts on a bluish yellow onionskin paper with an undated list of 5661 manuscripts that the Ministry of Education purchased from İsmail Saib Bey. The list was titled: *İsmail Saib Sencer'in Maarif Vekilliği Tarafından Satın Alınmasına Karar Verilen Yazma Kitapları* (İsmail Saib Sencer's Manuscripts that the Ministry of Education Decided to Purchase).⁵⁵ I went through the entire document and prepared a list of manuscripts that I might be interested in looking at, but there was no sign of MS Halis Efendi 199 in the list. A couple of days later, I went to Nevzat Kaya's office again, and lo and behold, Cihan Okuyucu, the editor of Ḥazīnī's *Javāhir al-abrār* was sitting in the room. Nevzat Kaya introduced me to Okuyucu, and I partially explained to him what I was trying to find. He was very helpful and kind, and told me that Ḥazīnī's work had never been lost, directing me to Nihat Azamat's article in

the libraries and how they functioned. Once she asked me why I thought the library had installed an electronic alarm system that goes off when a book is taken out without the proper check-out process. I said, "To keep book thieves out!" She said, "No! To keep professors in!" Apparently, after working at the university for many years, some professors had lost the distinction between their personal library and the university library, and they would come to the library, grab a book, and walk out. So, the university installed the electronic security system to alert absent-minded professors that they first needed to check out the books they needed. For me the analogy was clear: perhaps, I thought, in İsmail Saib's case as well the line between his personal collection and the library collection was blurred.

54 Nimet Bayraktar. "Tanınmamış Bazı Kütüphane Koleksiyonları." *Journal of Turkish Studies [Festschrift in Honor of Günay Kut]* 27/1 (2003): 209–216.

55 The list included only the titles of the manuscripts and how much the ministry paid for each manuscript. I could not find out when or by whom the list was prepared. Since the document refers to İsmail Saib Sencer with his last name, it must have been prepared after 1934, when the Surname Law was issued and all Turkish citizens adopted a last name.

the *TDVİA*. He recommended that I should go through every manuscript on the Yasavīya, Naqshbandīya, and Central Asian Sufism in the Library of the Istanbul University. In this way, my search for Marghīnānī's manuscript in the collection of Ismail Saib Bey was over.

By the time I finished my work in Istanbul, I reported back to DeWeese telling him that I was unsuccessful in locating the manuscript he needed, and that we should both have gone to Istanbul to search for the manuscript together. I was still hopeful, because I felt that I had not finished my work in the Istanbul University Library and the Ismail Saib Collection in Ankara.⁵⁶ Interestingly, while looking for Marghīnānī's manuscript for DeWeese, I also developed an interest in this manuscript, because MS Halis Efendi 199 is unusual as a Sufi text that makes reference to Oghuz Khan, my original dissertation subject at the University of Chicago. However, my dissertation subject evolved eventually into an intellectual biography of the Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī. In my dissertation's new remit, I had no urgent need for Marghīnānī's reference to Oghuz Khan. During my occasional visits to the Istanbul University Library over the years, and during communication with the DTCF Library in 2011, I inquired about MS Halis Efendi 199, but I had neither the opportunity to go through entire collection in Istanbul or Ankara nor the urgent personal need to locate this mysterious manuscript. Only once, in 2018, did I visit the Istanbul University Library to look at a manuscript of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī. By that time, the collection was digitized and made available in three computers, one for each language, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. The computer dedicated to Persian manuscripts was in use by another reader, and I had to wait until he finished his work. While waiting in the reading room I started browsing the catalogues, and then I remembered Marghīnānī and the catalogue by Subhānī and Aksu. I asked librarians if I could use the catalogue, but the library staff were not aware of the catalogue's existence. This was yet another missed opportunity.

My interest in MS Halis Efendi 199 was rekindled about two years ago when the literary historian Güler Doğan Averbek of Marmara University in Istanbul started publishing her invaluable work on Osman Rescher's role in the manuscript trade in the early decades of the twentieth century. Osman Rescher, known as Oskar Rescher (1883–1972) before his conversion to Islam, was a German-Turkish scholar who was a specialist in Arabic literature.⁵⁷ He

⁵⁶ I had found out that only 3000 manuscripts, out of a total of some 5700, were catalogued in the DTCF Library. I do not remember how I acquired this information; most probably it was during my visit to the DTCF Library in Ankara. See Letter from Binbaş to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, 31 August 2005.

⁵⁷ Sedat Şensoy, "Reşer, Osman," *TDVİA* 35 (2008): 10–11.

was also a student and close friend of İsmail Saib Bey. It occurred to me that MS Halis Efendi 199 might have been mixed with those manuscripts that Rescher sold to European collections.⁵⁸ However, even though I exchanged emails with her on other subjects, including İsmail Saib Bey's manuscripts in Istanbul and Ankara, I did not dare raise the question of whether Rescher might have unwittingly sold something that was part of a public collection.

The topic became part of my conversation on 11 September 2024 with Alpaslan Fener, a scholar of Timurid historiography and intellectual history, who is also a librarian at the Süleymaniye Library. I mentioned the mystery of MS Halis Efendi 199 to him and told him that the manuscript was most probably at the Istanbul University Library, but that I had not been able to locate it. Fener, a skillful researcher with good background knowledge about digital manuscript collections in Istanbul, and, thanks to his role at the Süleymaniye, with relatively easy access to manuscript collections in the city, went through the collection ledger and checked the manuscripts with Halis Efendi's signature, a method that Shahzad Bashir had proposed about 25 years ago, and located the manuscript sometime after September 2024. He informed me about his discovery in a Zoom meeting on 28 February 2025, and I informed DeWeese on the same day.⁵⁹ The mystery was no more!

But how and why did MS Halis Efendi 199 escape the attention of several generations of scholars, including myself? The most significant factor was that Togan's references to the manuscript were missed by earlier scholars, including Fuad Köprülü. It is my contention that if Köprülü had referred to Togan's article, either he or one of his students and admirers would have located the manuscript at the Istanbul University Library. The reason why I missed the reference is a bit more complicated, even though I went through the entire handlist of the Halis Efendi collection that was available to me at that time and tried to extract the call numbers of all Persian manuscripts.

I am not sure if it matters anymore, but one explanation for why the manuscript went missing is the following. MS Halis Efendi 199 does not include the print stamp of Halis Efendi; it just includes a handwritten note "Halis ¹⁹⁹." (See Figure 2) 184

58 Güler Doğan Averbek is combing through the European public collections and identifying the manuscripts that Osman Rescher sold to these institutions. For preliminary results of her research, see Averbek, "The Islamic Manuscripts Oskar Rescher Sold to the Breslau State and University Library between 1924–1932." *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 16 (2025): 74–96; *eadem*, "Kitap Tüccarı Bir Âlimin Kısa Hayat Hikâyesi: Osman Yaşar Reşer (Oskar Emil Rescher, 1883–1972)." *Müteferrika*, issue 63 (2023): 1–25 (for her earlier publications on the topic, see p.1 fn. 1).

59 Letter from Binbaş to DeWeese. Private Correspondence, 28 February 2025.



FIGURE 2 Flyleaf of Marginānī's work, Istanbul Universitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi F. 745

This is odd. It is not very clear if the manuscript number is 199 or 184—the flyleaf bears both numbers—and even more confusing is that Halis Efendi 184 might even be the original call number of Ḥazīnī's *Javāhir al-abrār*.⁶⁰ It looks as if someone—whoever wrote that note—noticed that the two manuscripts were connected, but this note led to confusion. Perhaps because of this confusion, neither this manuscript nor the number “199” is included in the list of Halis Efendi manuscripts in the Istanbul University Library. Therefore, I had to go through the list of Persian manuscripts and physically inspect every single manuscript for some sort of sign indicating that the manuscript came from Halis Efendi's collection. For such a task, one needed to wait until the digitalization of the entire collection. Of course, one hard lesson should not be missed in my experience: always read manuscript catalogues from cover to cover.^[EB]

60 The manuscript of Ḥazīnī's *Javāhir al-abrār* does not include the ex libris of Halis Efendi. My handwritten notes suggests that its original number was MS Halis Efendi 184, but I put a question mark next to the number. On 30 July 2025 I visited the Istanbul University Library and inquired about the manuscript's number in the Halis Efendi collection. The library's ledger, which is not available to readers, gives its number in the Halis Efendi collection as Halis Efendi 8898. According to an original handlist in Ottoman Turkish titled *Ḥālīş Efendi Kütübhanesi Yazma Kitāblar Defteri*, MS Halis Efendi 184 is a work titled *Futūḥāt al-'ayn* and its new number is TY2288. However, MS TY2288 is a volume that includes Karaçelebizāde 'Abdül-'Aziz's *Zafernâme* and a Turkish translation of al-Ghazālī's *Kīmā al-Sa'adat*. The current ledger says that MS Halis Efendi 184 is Ismā'il Ankaravī's *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* and its call number is MS TY2285. There is a work titled *Futūḥāt al-Ayniyya* by Ismā'il Ankaravī in the collection, but its call number is MS AY4134-02. See İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi MS TY2288 (<https://nek.istanbul.edu.tr/ekos/TY/nekty02288.pdf>, accessed on 01 August 2025); İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi MS TY2285 (<https://nek.istanbul.edu.tr/ekos/TY/nekty02285.pdf>, accessed on 17 August 2025); İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi MS AY4134-02 (<https://nek.istanbul.edu.tr/ekos/AY/nekay04134-02.pdf>, accessed on 17 August 2025). I am grateful to Ms. Zekiye Eraslan for her assistance during my visit to the library.

[DD] With the Manuscript at Hand

The works preserved in MS Halis Efendi 199/Istanbul University F745 will require more in-depth study, including contextualization and comparison with other sources, than has been possible since Binbaş's message arrived in my email inbox. Nevertheless, it is possible to give a better outline of its contents than has been available to date, and to add a few observations on what it adds to our understanding of the Yasavī Sufi tradition (and some other issues as well); in the latter regard, the manuscript meets or exceeds the hopes and expectations I had invested in it, based not only on Togan's discussions of it, but also on my study of other sources on Yasavī history and genealogy from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

A good place to begin, in terms of outlining its contents, is with the two previous descriptions of the manuscript. The now 30-year-old catalogue description may be dispensed with quickly: it said that the manuscript consists of three treatises, (1) Marghīnānī's "compilation on traveling the Sufi path," said to occupy ff. 1–37b; (2) a treatise identified, unhelpfully, as "*al-risālat al-ḥamdīya al-sultānīya*," occupying ff. 38–57a, with no further discussion of its subject or contents; and (3) a work (*maktūb*, evidently not to be understood here as a "letter") addressed to Amīr Sayyid 'Urvatullāh, said to occupy ff. 57–192b. Short excerpts of the beginning and ending passages of these three 'works' are given, but the description ignores numerous clear breaks in the text, and handwriting, fails to identify the 'second work' as dealing with the vocal *dhikr*, and refrains from identifying the addressee of the 'third work' as the son of the author, Marghīnānī (despite the address, *ay farzand*, found repeatedly in the text).

It is difficult to believe that the editors of the catalogue looked at all closely at the full manuscript, given its actual divisions, as outlined below; it is clear, to be sure, that they did not merely copy the description from some other source (unless perhaps from the library's card catalogue?), since as noted they make no mention of Togan's use of the manuscript. In all fairness, the catalogue description improves upon Togan's description in two regards: it acknowledges the full extent of the manuscript, comprising 193 folios (despite not properly accounting for what appears in those folios), and it gives a more likely reading for the name of the author's son—'Urvatullāh—than Togan offered (as noted below).

As for Togan's description from 1953, it is closer to the mark with regard to the disposition of the first 149 folios, but Togan inexplicably described MS Halis Efendi 199 as containing *only* those folios, or 300 pages. There is indeed an important break in the manuscript after f. 149b, and it is conceivable that the

manuscript was rebound at some point after Togan used it, adding ff. 150–193 to the original codex of 149 folios; it is clear, however, that works and fragments of works found in the later folios include material written by Marghīnānī—in some cases repeating material found in the earlier folios—and the later material is of unmistakable relevance to the earlier sections of the manuscript. It thus seems more likely that the manuscript always included the full range of 193 folios, and that, as Binbaş suggested to me, this odd lapse on Togan's part signals that he made notes on the sections of the manuscript that interested him, comprising the first 149 folios, and later worked on the basis of his notes, without returning to the manuscript itself (as he acknowledges, after all, in his article from 1953, that he was unable to do, owing to its disappearance).

Togan's files may hold the answer to his curious mis-characterization of such a basic feature of MS Halis Efendi 199, but searching for this answer ultimately bears more on the history of the study of this manuscript than on the manuscript itself. In any case, Togan's description is more or less accurate for the first three-quarters of the manuscript, and we may review his description for these sections, adding some correctives and caveats, and then turn to the less well-organized material found on ff. 150a–193b.

(1) *An Incomplete Genealogical Work*

According to Togan's description from 1953, the manuscript contained four works. The **first**, he wrote, comprised ff. 1a–30b (it actually appears on ff. 1b–29b), and contained a "*silsila*" of lineages linked to "the Yasavī shaykhs" Sayyid Ata, Ismā'īl Ata, Zangī Ata, Khurāsān Ata, Mīr Ḥaydarī, "Maḥtūm-i A'zam," and "Maḥtūm-i Ḥorezmī," as well as accounts of the "Akeşelik Seyyids" (but in the manuscript [10b], "Āq-eshek-lik") and the "Seyyid Nasirīs," with whom the author was connected; from the names mentioned, it was already surmisable that what was found in this section of the manuscript was not a series of initiatic lineages, but lineages reflecting claims of entirely natural descent,⁶¹ and this is indeed what this first work is about. As such, this work,

61 Though Sayyid Ata, Ismā'īl Ata, and Zangī Ata were fitted into a Sufi initiatic *silsila* traced from Aḥmad Yasavī in relatively early sources, they are also known as the ancestors of sacred descent groups prominent in Central Asia at least since the fifteenth century; Khurāsān Ata is not known from Yasavī *silsilas*, but is a designation for one of the three Islamizing 'warrior saints' credited, in a narrative set in the second century of the *hijra* but first recorded in the fourteenth century CE, with spreading Islam in the Farghāna valley, Eastern Turkistan, and the Syr Daryā valley; "Mīr Ḥaydarī" is a designation for a lineage of sayyids prominent in Central Asia; and "Maḥdūm-i A'zam" refers to the major Naqshbandī shaykh of Central Asia in the sixteenth century, who came to be implicated in a wide range of genealogical traditions, some reflecting his own putative descent from

in which the author identifies himself as the as “*khādim al-fuqarā* Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad Mawlānā Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī,” and which is incomplete at the end, closely parallels the work preserved in the Tashkent manuscript, MS IVRUz 11290, and even includes, at the outset (f. 1b), the author’s stated intention to trace his genealogy through prominent female ancestors, as well as a presentation organized around lineages purportedly descended from the first four Caliphs.

This first section thus includes valuable genealogical traditions surrounding families claiming descent from various Yasavī saints, beginning with extensive material on the ancestors, brothers, wife, and children of Aḥmad Yasavī himself (esp. ff. 19a–20b and 25a–29b, with substantial portions of the text on ff. 25a–27b repeated at ff. 144a–146b); the work is of interest for echoing two distinct traditions about the mother of Aḥmad Yasavī (ff. 19a–b, 25a–b), but not explicitly contrasting them, and for the extensive oral tradition reported in connection with the discussion of Yasavī’s daughter, called here Gawhar Khūsh-tāj Bībī, which is prominent in the section on ‘Umarid lineages (ff. 3b–4a). The discussion of Yasavī’s brother, and *his* sons and grandsons, meanwhile, differs notably from the presentation of these figures in the Ürüŋ-qūylāqī *nasab-nāmas* reflected in other traditions, and appears to conflate Aḥmad Yasavī’s nephew, “Khawja-yi Dānishmand,” called, as we are told, “Zāhid Ürüŋ-qūylāqī,” with Yasavī’s learned disciple, Şūfī [Muḥammad] Dānishmand, known from earlier hagiographical sources.⁶²

The work ranges more widely as well, however, in recording similar traditions about groups and individuals linked to other descent groups, especially

the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Sufi known as Burhān al-Dīn Qīlich. Togan’s list appears to have been drawn from f. 10b in the manuscript, where Sharaf Atā’ī and Chūpān Atā’ī descent-groups are added to the mix.

- 62 On the Ürüŋ-qūylāqī traditions, recorded as early as the late seventeenth century and adapted in numerous later *nasab-nāmas* that imply *rivalry*, rather than an identity, between the Ürüŋ-qūylāqī lineage and the disciple Şūfī Muḥammad Dānishmand, see the discussion in Ashirbek Muminov, Anke von Kügelgen, Devin DeWeese, and Michael Kemper, *Islamizatsiia i sakral’nye rodoslovnye v Tsentral’noi Azii: Nasledie Iskhak Baba v narrativnoi i genealogicheskoi traditsiakh*, Tom 2: *Genealogicheskie gramoty i sakral’nye semeistva XIX–XXI vekov: nasab-nama i gruppy khodzhei, sviazannykh s sakral’nym skazaniem ob Iskhak Babe* (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2008): 51–81, as well as in Devin DeWeese, “The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th-Century Central Asia: Descent Groups linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 31/4 (1999): 510–512, and *idem*, “Narratives of Conquest and Genealogies of Custody among the Sacred Families of Central Asia: Manuscript Charters of Ancestral Islamization and Hereditary Privilege.” In *Genealogical Manuscripts in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Markus Friedrich and Jörg B. Quenzer (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2025; Studies in Manuscript Cultures, Vol. 44): 114–116.

when the focus turns to different groups of sayyids (here is where he lists the saintly ancestors, beginning with Sayyid Ata and Ismā'īl Ata, mentioned in Togan's article [f. 10b]); at one point, for instance, the author traces the ancestry of his wife—whose father was among the several Sufi masters claimed by Marghīnānī—back to Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (d. 786/1385), and then turns to the Sayyid Atā'ī lineage of one of his own disciples. It is also in the section on sayyids—here clearly understood as encompassing all 'Alids—that the author mentions his own descent, traced through a lineage descended from a son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya whom he calls “Shāh Manṣūr-i Qirqiz,” and who he says is buried “in the east of the town of Marghīnān, in the district of Tāshlāq-i Dū-jūya, below the shrine of Ibn Mu'adh b. Jabal” (f. 11b);⁶³ this “Shāh Manṣūr b. Muḥammad-i Ḥanafīya,” along with his shrine in Marghīnān, is mentioned often later on in the manuscript, in connection with the author's genealogy, but this appears to be the only time he is labeled a “Qirqiz,” suggesting a possible conflation with traditions linking Qirghīz origins with the illustrious Sufi, “Shāh Manṣūr Ḥallāj.”⁶⁴ The author also finds a place in his reconstruction of sacred lineages for another Islamizing figure, whom he calls “Tūklās Ata,” and links genealogically with the three Islamizing heroes led by Iṣḥāq Bāb⁶⁵ (ff. 26b, 145b).

This first section of the manuscript includes several places in which an entire line is left blank, possibly merely a sign that headings were meant to be added, but possibly a sign that the material in this 'work' was a rough draft that the author intended to organize into a more polished presentation; the latter suggestion is perhaps strengthened by the manuscript's preservation of another version of some of the material included in this first 'work,' in a later section (see below). In any event, the first section also includes 'theoretical' discussions (typically marked with the heading, *dar-īn mas'ala ke*, i.e., “on the question of ...”), relating to sacred lineages, regarding the lawfulness of assigning precedence and favor on account of lineage, or opinions of the 'ulamā on rulers showing honor to sayyids, or whether the status of sayyid passes through

63 This evidently refers to a shrine ascribed to a son of the Companion of the Prophet, Mu'adh b. Jabal; I have not yet looked for references to this shrine.

64 On these traditions, see the discussion in DeWeese, *Islamization*: 504–506, with further references.

65 Traditions about these three figures are the subject of Devin DeWeese, Ashirbek Muminov, et al., *Islamization and Sacred Lineages in Central Asia: The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in Narrative and Genealogical Traditions*, Vol. 1: *Opening the Way for Islam: The Ishaq Bab Narrative, 14th–19th Centuries* [*Islamizatsiia i sakral'nye rodoslovnye v Tsentral'noi Azii: Nasledie Iskhak Baba v narrativnoi i genealogicheskoi traditsiakh*, Tom 1: *Otkrytie puti dlia islama: rasskaz ob Iskhak Babe, XIV–XIX vv.* (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2013).

the mother's side as well as the father's; these discussions are of interest for 'problematizing' the genealogical idiom that shaped so much of Muslim religious life in Central Asia, and elsewhere, but also for revealing the specific modes of 'justification' for the prominence of sacred lineages in the region during the eighteenth century. It is nevertheless the rich genealogical 'data' and narrative traditions that give the work its primary value, and closer study of its material, and comparison with the presentation of quite similar material in MS IVRUz 11290 (and in a later section of the manuscript explored here, as discussed below, namely the *fifth* section), will enrich our understanding of the social and religious history of Central Asia in this era.

(2) *A Genealogy of the Khāns of Khoqand*

The second work noted by Togan (but ignored in the catalogue description) is quite short, occupying ff. 30b–37b; Togan described it as comprising genealogies of the *khāns* of Khoqand and stories about Timur and his descendants, and this is essentially what it contains, though several important clarifications are worth noting here. The first is that the author does not identify himself anywhere in this work; Togan assumed that it was written by the same Sayyid Aḥmad Nāṣir al-Dīn Marghīnānī who clearly wrote the first and fourth works in the manuscript, but this is not at all clear. This section of the manuscript was copied in an entirely different hand, and it contains none of the characteristic textual and rhetorical elements that Marghīnānī typically employs (the invocation *ay farzand*, the introduction of new topics with the phrase *va nīz badānand ke*, "And let them know also that ..."), suggesting that it might have been composed by someone else, and circulated separately, before simply being bound together with several works of Marghīnānī (especially the first and fifth works in the manuscript) because of their shared focus on genealogy.

This **second** work includes a longer introduction, with comments on royalty and royal lineage, before the author, without naming himself, announces his intention to recount the hereditary lineage (*nasab-i šuvar*) of a ruler who is identified, after several lines of exalted epithets, as Amīr Sayyid 'Umar Bahādur Khān, i.e., the *khān* of Khoqand, of the Mīng 'tribal' dynasty, who ruled from 1225/1811–1237/1821; each link in his royal genealogy is accorded extensive epithets, and the simple recording of the lineage occupies ff. 31a–32b: 'Umar Khān < Amīr Nārbūta Bahādir Khān < Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bahādur Sulṭān' < Amīr 'Abd al-Karīm Bahādur Sulṭān < Shahrūkh Bahādur Sulṭān < 'Ashur-qulī Bahādur < Ḥājī Bīy Bahādur < Shahrūkh Bahādur (the latter three are called "*bahādur ibn al-bahādur*") < Muḥammad Jamash Bīy. Down to this point, the genealogy matches what is related by several other sources on the ancestry of

the *khāns* of Khoqand (including the apparent duplication of Shahrukh),⁶⁶ but with the last-named figure, whose name is typically given as Chamash Bīy, the genealogical listing of names and epithets gives way to narrative before resuming on f. 33a.

The narrative amounts to yet another version—this one quite early, if indeed recorded during the reign of ‘Umar Khān—of the legend of origin of the Ming dynasty, though that tribal appellation never appears in this manuscript. According to the account, “Muḥammad Chamash Bīy” came to the Farghāna valley in the time of ‘Abdullāh Khān b. Iskandar Khān—i.e., the Abū’l-Khayrid ruler who consolidated his power through dynastic struggles from the 1550s through the 1570s, ruled as *khān* from 992/1584 until his death in 1006/1598, and managed to bring virtually all of western Central Asia, including even Khwārazm, under his control; a lion appeared on the banks of the Syr Daryā and blocked the *khān*’s advance through the valley, but Chamash Bīy, acting at the directive of the Sufi saint Mawlānā Luṭfullāh Chustī (d. 979/1571; his *nisba* is written thus in this work), managed to take the lion alive and bring it to ‘Abdullāh Khān, who thereupon conferred upon Chamash Bīy the governance of the area.⁶⁷ During the same ‘audience’ with ‘Abdullāh Khān, the account continues, Chamash Bīy told of his Bāburid descent, and recounted how he had come to Farghāna from “Nūghāyistān,” a region further identified as on “the banks of the River Irtish, Jimgī, Tubūl, and Tārī”—i.e., from western Siberia. With this brief and anomalous specification of the place of origin of ‘Umar Khān’s dynasty, however, the narrative ends and the genealogy resumes—now in a thoroughly anomalous form—with several earlier links, however, requiring further explanation.

“Muḥammad Jamash Bīy” was, we are told, the son of a certain Kūchuk Bahādur Sulṭān, and the lineage is traced back further, first to “T.b.j.k Bahādur Khān” (identified as ruler of Nūghāyistān) < Abū’l-Qāsim Muḥammad Bahādur Khān < Muḥammad Amīn Bahādur Khān (who ruled in Turkistān and Khwārazm) < Khudāy-berdī Mīrzā Bahādur Khān < Tengrī-berdī Mīrzā Bahādur Khān; the combining of the title *khān* (once reserved for Chinggisids only) and

66 See the discussion of the various accounts of Ming genealogy in B. M. Babadzhanov, *Kokandskoe khanstvo: Vlast', politika, religiia* (Tokyo/Tashkent: NIHU Program Islamic Area Studies Center at the University of Tokyo/Institut Vostokovedeniia Akademiia nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan, 2010): 312–347.

67 The account adds that ‘Abdullāh Khān had a *yarliq* written regarding the rulership of this Chamash Bīy, and that both the *khān* and the saint came up with ‘meaningful’ appellations to replace their protégé’s unfamiliar name, with the former calling him “Shāh-bāsh” (“Be a king!”) Bīy, and Mawlānā Luṭfullāh calling him “Shab-mast” (“Intoxicated by night”) Bīy (f. 33a).

mīrzā (borne by the tribal aristocracy) for the last two figures is worth noting. The last-named figure, we are told, was also called Āltūn Béshik Mīrzā—if the date given for this second work's completion (discussed shortly) is correct, this marks our earliest reference to the 'name' *Altun Beshik*, "Golden Cradle," in the genealogy of the *khāns* of Khoqand⁶⁸—and the account explains further that Tengri-berdi/Āltūn Béshik was the son of "Bahādur Khān" [*sic*] < Mīrzā 'Umar Shaykh Bahādur Khān. Mention of the latter figure, identified as a descendant of Timur's son "Amīrānshāh," prompts discussion of the two prominent Timurid princes named Bābur, from which it is clear that the "Bahādur Khān" named as the father of Tengri-berdi/Āltūn Béshik was indeed Ṣahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur; but there is no hint of the story of Bābur abandoning his son in the wilds of the Farghāna valley, as known from the developed legend of Altun Beshik.

Instead, we find a series of "clarifications" (*vazīḥa*), exploring Āltūn Béshik's marriage to the daughter of a Chinggisid prince whose ancestry is traced first through several links clearly drawn from the Abū'l-Khayrid lineage of 'Abdullāh Khān, but traced through an uncle of the latter; after a few unrecognizable links preceding Abū'l-Khayr Khān's father, the lineage jumps from a Jochid to a Toluid Chinggisid line, following the line of the Ilkhanids from Abū Sa'īd back through Hülegü to Chingīz Khān, and then continuing to list the latter's ancestors back as far as the figure here called "Muḥammad Āltūqī Khān," and called a few folios later "Muḥammad Al.n.qūyī Bahādur Khān" [f. 37a], both recognizable as deformations—and transgenderings—of the famous miraculous progenitor of the Chinggisid house, Alan-qo'a. The latter figure is said to have married the daughter of Imām 'Alī Bāhir, a son of Imām Zayn al-Ābidīn, and the lineage of Chingīz Khān, and of 'Umar Khān, is thus supplied not only with descent from the Prophet, but with descent from the ancient kings of Iran

68 For in-depth discussions of the legend of Altun Beshik and the sources that present versions of it, see T. K. Beisembiev, "Legenda o proiskhozhdenii kokandskikh khanov kak istochnik po ideologii v Srednei Azii (na materialakh kokandskoi istoriografii)." In *Kazakhstan, Sredniaia Aziia i Tsentral'naia Aziia v XVI–XVIII vv.* (Alma-ata: Nauka, 1985): 94–105; Babadzhaniy, *Kokandskoe khanstvo*: 306–338; Scott C. Levi, "The Legend of the Golden Cradle: Babur's Legacy and Political Legitimacy in the Khanate of Khoqand." In *History of Central Asia in Modern Medieval Studies (In Memoriam of [sic] Professor Roziya Mukminova)*, ed. D. A. Alimova (Tashkent: Yāngi Nāshr, 2013): 102–118; Aftandil S. Erkinov, "Fabrication of Legitimation in the Khoqand Khanate under the Reign of 'Umar Khan (1225–1237/1810–1822): Palace Manuscript of 'Bakhtiyār-nāma' Daqāyīqī Samarqandī as a Source for the Legend of Altun Bīshik." *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 19/2 (2013): 3–18; and Scott C. Levi, *The Rise and Fall of Khoqand, 1709–1876: Central Asia in the Global Age* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017): 98–107.

(through the marriage of Zayn al-Ābidīn's father, Imām Ḥusayn, as we are told, to the daughter of "Yazdjir").

Other "clarifications" discuss the Timurid side of the lineage, offer a fanciful account of Timur's career, and advance other claims about the descendants of Altun Beshik, who included, we learn, the "*sultāns* of the Qazāqs;" in the course of one such genealogical meditation, we are given the date for this second work's composition (f. 36b). The ruler of Bukhārā in our time, we are told, which is specified in words and figures as 1229/1814—the date seized upon by Togan for the composition of the "*Tārīkh-i mashā'ikh-i turk*," and seemingly for the contents of the manuscript as a whole—is Amīr Ḥaydar Pādshāh b. Amīr Shāh Murād Bīy Manghīrt [*sic*], whose lineage descended from the daughter of Abū'l-Fayz Khān.⁶⁹ The genealogical material continues, with two lineages that offer the closest tie-ins with the genealogies discussed in the works clearly written by Marghīnānī: first, a genealogy of the *mother* of Timur is traced back to Muḥammad-i Ḥanafīya through a lineage given elsewhere by Marghīnānī that recalls, without matching precisely, the 'Qarakhanid' lineage traced in the narrative of the three Islamizing warrior-saints led by Ishāq Bāb (i.e., through "Awliyā'-i Qarākhān," though this appellation is applied to different descendants of Muḥammad-i Ḥanafīya in the two accounts); and second, the ancestry of the mother of 'Umar Khān is traced through Muḥammad Ḥakīm Tirmidhī and the eighth *imām*, 'Alī-yi Mūsā al-Rizā, back to 'Alī and the Prophet.⁷⁰

These genealogies are as fanciful as they are interesting, as is the case with many of those found in Marghīnānī's works, and may further strengthen the supposition that he was the author of this second work as well; it could have been simply based, or modeled, upon material he collected, however, and the question of authorship must remain open. In any case, the second work's completion in 1229/1814 lends it considerable importance as one of our earliest sources on the process of legitimizing the *khāns* of Khoqand, with significant,

69 The latter claim makes it clear that the author's point was to note the *Chinggisid* ancestry of Amīr Ḥaydar (or, more to the point, his further descent from an ancestor shared by Chingiz Khān and Timur, here identified as Tūmina Bahādūr Khān): this passage concludes noting that "the former *khāns* of Bukhārā were descendants of 'Ubaydullāh Khān and Shībānī Khān (!), who were descendants of Chingiz Khān, and the tradition is well-known that the emperors of Russia and China were among the descendants of Chingiz Khān" (*khavāqīn-i sābiqa-yi bukhārā az awlād-i 'ubaydullāh khān va shībānī khān ast, ke az awlād-i jinkiz khān ast; naql mashhūr ast ke khavāqīn-i ūrūs va khittā az awlād-i jinkiz būd-ast* [f. 36b]).

70 The version given bears comparison with the maternal genealogy given for 'Umar Khān in the *Shāh-nāma-yi 'Umar-khānī* of Mīrzā Qalandar "Mushrif" Isfāragī, completed in or soon after 1237/1822; see Babadzhanov, *Kokandskoe khanstvo*: 341, and the fuller discussion of the claim of sayyid-ship for the *khān*, pp. 338–352.

and datable, material relevant to the construction of their genealogy and the development of the legend of Altun Beshik; we cannot take up a detailed comparison of this work's account with other versions, but its early date, and its differing versions of names and other details in the genealogy—including the dynasty's 'Siberian' origins—pose complications to all previous scholarship on the legend and on other facets of the legitimation of Khoqand's Ming rulers.

(3) *A Treatise on the Vocal Dhikr*

Togan characterized the third section of the manuscript, comprising ff. 38b–57b (in fact, ff. 38b–57a) as a “treatise on the vocal *dhikr*” (*Risāla-yi jahriya*) outlining ten varieties of the type of Sufi *dhikr* (i.e., the ritual practice of “remembrance,” involving the repetition of the divine name or some other formula as a meditative discipline) that was uttered or recited audibly (*jahr*), rather than silently. His description in this case is reasonably accurate, though it is not clear why Togan wrote specifically of *ten* types of vocal *dhikr*: many more than ten are identified and briefly explained in this **third** work, which will bear comparison with several short works on the same subject produced during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.⁷¹

A comparative study may identify common themes and concerns in discussions of the vocal *dhikr* during this era, but it may also help determine whether it is possible to distinguish specifically Yasavī modes of the vocal *dhikr* from forms employed in other Sufi lineages in this era. Audible or notably loud forms of the vocal *dhikr* were also used in Central Asian Sufi lineages and/or communities identified as 'Ishqī and Kubravī at various stages in their development,

71 Several of these were first discussed in Bakhtiyar Babajanov, “About a Scroll of Documents Justifying Yasavi Rituals.” In *Persian Documents: Social History of Iran and Turan in the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Kondo Nobuaki (London/New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003): 53–72 (the same article was also published elsewhere: Bakhtiyar Babadjanov, “About a Scroll of Documents Justifying Yasavī Rituals.” In *Italo-Uzbek Scientific Cooperation in Archaeology and Islamic Studies: An Overview*; Rome, January 30, 2001, ed. Samuela Pagani [Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Centro di Studi e Ricerche sul Mondo Islamico)/Tashkent: al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences/Samarkand: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, 2003]: 289–305), and in B. M. Babadzhanov, “Zikr *dzhakhr* i *sama*: sakralizatsiia profannogo ili profanatsiia sakral'nogo?” In *Podvizhniki islama: Kul't sviatykh i sufizm v Srednei Azii i na Kavkaze* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2003): 237–250; see also B. M. Babadzhanov and S. A. Mukhammadaminov, *Sobranie fetv po obosnovaniu zikra dzhakhr i sama* (A Collection of Fatwas in Defense of the Vocal Dhikr and Sama) (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2008), and Babajanov's descriptions of several such treatises in *KSP*, pp. 245–247, No. 136; pp. 256–257, No. 144; pp. 257–269, No. 145), as well as the description of another by the late Ghulam Kārimov (*KSP*, pp. 254–256, No. 143).

with additional strains of the *dhikr-i jahr* 'imported' into the region through the Qādirī, Chishtī, and even Suhrawardī initiatic lineages that came to the region in 'bundled' form during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; all of these forms were sometimes criticized and condemned, as harmful 'innovations,' by some Mujaddidī Naqshbandī shaykhs during this era, just as early Khwājagānī and Naqshbandī groups had criticized the Yasavī and 'Ishqī forms of the vocal *dhikr* in earlier centuries. At the same time, just as Naqshbandī groups came to tolerate the vocal *dhikr* beginning in the sixteenth century, some Mujaddidī shaykhs likewise came to adopt it, or to allow their disciples to employ it, during the later period, and works defending and opposing the *dhikr-i jahr* accordingly came to reflect new alignments and combinations of communal and initiatic preferences (even before the broad assaults on Sufi rituals in later times, by would-be 'reformers' and the subsequent Jadidists who followed their lead). It will thus be important to delineate specific practices as discussed in such works, when possible.

With this agenda in mind, a few refinements and clarifications to Togan's brief description, based on a quick examination of the work, may be useful. To begin with, at the end of the work, the copyist has indeed referred to the completion of *al-risālat al-jahrīya al-sultānīya*, but throughout the work itself, the phrase *dhikr-i jahr* (or its equivalent) is only rarely used, as the author indeed focuses on the specifically (and traditionally) *Yasavī* form of the vocal *dhikr*, which is typically referred to in this work as the *dhikr-i arra* (or sometimes, using an Arabized form, as *al-dhikr al-arrat*), i.e., the "*dhikr* of the saw," a term that reflects (as explained in other sources) its raucous, rasping sound, likened to that of a two-handed saw cutting rhythmically through wood. In this short treatise, it is thus the *dhikr-i arra* that is shown to have had numerous varieties, each with a distinctive designation and formula.

Secondly, the author never identifies himself by name in this treatise, but it is clearly the work of the same Marghīnānī who wrote the first work (and, as we will see, the fourth, fifth, and sixth works as well as the short seventh and eighth); this is evident from his repeated use of the address "*ay farzand*" (though he does not name his son in this work as he does in the fourth), and from the remarkable 'summary' passage at the end of the work, discussed below. This third work is, incidentally, complete, like the second and fourth works, but unlike other substantial sections in the manuscript (the first lacks the ending, while the fifth and sixth works lack both their beginnings and their ends); the handwriting in the third work is clearly different from that in which the second work was copied, but matches the handwriting in the longer fourth work.

Finally—in terms of preliminary refinements—based on Togan's brief discussion, I had expected this work to resemble some of the other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century treatises on the vocal *dhikr* noted above, and to be (like most of those treatises) of considerably less value for the history of the shaykhs and Sufi circles that comprised the Yasavī tradition, i.e., its 'personnel;' I thus expected to give only a brief discussion of this work, focusing primarily on the overtly 'biographical' sections of the manuscript. My initial expectation was borne out through much of the work, but to my surprise, this third section turned out to be of enormous interest for the history of the Yasavī tradition, in three regards, beyond the valuable discussions of the *dhikr-i arra*. First, the third work includes specific, invaluable comments on an obscure figure of the Yasavī tradition from the late sixteenth or seventeenth century; these comments underscore, and to some extent clarify, comments about the same shaykh found in the fourth work, and are best discussed after introducing him below, in the review of that part of the manuscript.

Secondly, in the midst of the work, the author pauses to discuss the *dhikr* varieties in which he himself was initiated, and the shaykhs through whom they reached him, supplementing his 'autobiographical' comments in several works, and adding some nuance to his characterization of his Sufi training. And thirdly, near the very end of the work, the author addresses his son with what amounts to a summary of the history of the Yasavī *silsila*, an account closely tied to the issue of its ritual practice; this passage in effect explains why he was writing more or less everything that he is known to have written. It would not have been imagined, based on Togan's description, and certainly not from the catalogue description, but the author's closing comments in this work on the Yasavī *dhikr* are perhaps the most significant in all of Marghīnānī's works (especially when combined and contextualized with some of his comments in the fourth and sixth works, discussed below).

The work opens with an extended section in Arabic (ff. 38b–41a), as the author explains, following the phrase *ammā ba'd*, "Some of my brethren in the Jahri-Sultānī *ṭarīqa*⁷² asked me about the character of the vocal *dhikrs*, in the manner of the saw, in the mystical practice of the shaykhs of the Turks" (*fa-qad sa'ala minnī ba'd ikhwānī fī'l-ṭarīqat al-jahrīyat al-sultānīyat 'an kayfīyat*

72 This is Marghīnānī's most common way of referring to what we are calling simply "the Yasaviya," but occasionally he uses longer phrases. In the introduction to the fourth work, he refers to *in tā'ifa-yi 'ālīya-yi 'ālīya-yi rīzaviya-yi muṣṭafaviya-yi sultānīya-yi nāṣirīya-yi manṣūrīya* (f. 57b); toward the end of the manuscript he refers to his path as *ṭarīqa-yi 'ālīya-yi sunnīya-yi sultānīya-yi nāṣirīya-yi manṣūrīya-yi uvaysīya* (f. 189a), the latter term perhaps intended to evoke his description (57b) of Aḥmad Yasavī as a "natural-born 'Alavī" (*'alavī-yi mādar-zād*) and thus perhaps, by extension, as an Uvaysi.

adhkār al-jahr bi-ṭarīq al-mīnshār fī sulūk al-mashā'ikh al-atrāk); the treatise is thus framed as the author's response to this inquiry.

After beginning with a brief theoretical discussion of the aims of the *dhikr* and of the two basic types, *jahr* ("public") and *khafā'* ("private"), he notes the further subdivision of each into three sorts, which in the case of the *jahr* he terms, in order, *qawlī*, *fī'lī*, and *qalbī*, pertaining to speech, action, and the heart; then he writes that in addition to these three 'subdivisions,' the *dhikr al-jahr* can also be divided into two sorts, with the first involving the raising of the voice to distinguish and emphasize the sounds of the divine name or names, and the second entailing the same but in conjunction with a constriction of the performer's larynx (*hanjarat al-hulqūm*).

It is the latter sort, he explains further, that the shaykhs call the *dhikr al-arra*, and this, he says, was performed by the Prophet in the cave on the mountain of al-Ḥirā'; he gives a reference, in effect, for this claim, citing the *riwāyat* written by "Mawlānā Sharīf Bukhārī" that was endorsed by "the 'ulamā of Bukhārā, Samarqand, Ḥiṣār, Balkh, and the cities of Farghāna." The *qāzīs* of these towns, he continues—alluding to a story he explains more fully at the end of his work—"gave a judgment in dispute against Shaykh Ḥabībullāh" (*ḥakamū quṣāt hādhihī'l-bilād fī nizā' shaykh ḥabībullāh*), and he then observes further that this *dhikr al-arra* "is the path of the great shaykhs" (*maslak al-mashā'ikh al-kibār*), as is affirmed in respected books, among which he names only the *Nafahāt* and *Rashaḥāt*. At this point, he writes that there are many varieties of the "*dhikr* of the saw"—he soon explains that *dhikr arra* is a Persian phrase for it used among the *mashā'ikh al-atrāk*—and he turns to naming the types and explaining them.

His first foray into naming and defining types of the *dhikr-i arra* lists 44 in all, but he eventually fills the work with multiple ways of distinguishing and framing both the *dhikrs* he discusses and the *awrād*, or Sufi 'litanies,' he outlines; when he first turns to the latter (in the middle of f. 41a), he begins with a heading indicating a new 'section' explaining litanies for daytime and nighttime (*faṣl dar bayān-i awrād-i layl va nahār*), adds his familiar address to his son, "*ay farzand*," and shifts from Arabic to Persian, the language in which most of the rest of the work is written. The types and descriptions of *awrād* and then, again, of *adhkār* continue for many folios, with specific formulae written out in both cases, prescribing precisely what is to be said during each variety, and noting how many times particular phrases are to be repeated, and the different times of day, and different sequences, in which each should be performed (it is in the midst of one early listing of special varieties of the "*dhikr* of the saw" that he refers to an obscure but important Yasavī shaykh, discussed

below). It may be of interest that by far most of the designations mentioned by the author in his lists of the varieties of the *dhikr-i arra* involve Arabic and Persian terminology, but he does refer several times to a type of *dhikr* denoted by a Turkic term—one otherwise used chiefly in military contexts, to refer to a quick raid or other vigorous attack—that signals the intense and energetic performance of the remembrance of God. The term is *chāpqūn*, and the *dhikr-i arra-yi jābqūn*, Marghīnānī writes (f. 55b), is a *dhikr* characterized by speed (*surʿat*) resulting from “the utmost desire and passion” (*min kamāl al-shawq waʿl-ishtiṭyāq*); he explains further that the term, i.e., *chāpqūn*, is of Turkic origin and refers to “the speed of a horse in its travel” (*surʿat al-faras fīʿl-sayr*).⁷³

After long enumerations and discussions of types of the *dhikr* and the *awrād*, the author shifts his focus for a time (ff. 54a–b), with a series of reminders, addressed to his son, of a more general cast, about the virtues of constancy in the *sharīʿa* and *ṭarīqa*, and the importance of adhering to the Sufi path and lineage of one’s individual shaykh, citing the Naqshbandī shaykhs Makhdūm-i Aʿzam, Luṭfullāh Chustī [*sic*], and Yaʿqūb Charkhī (quoting the latter’s *tafsīr*); this principle extends to writings as well, we are told, and Marghīnānī tells his son to pay attention to the books of his own masters, just as Ḥanafīs, Shāfīīs, and Ḥanbalīs heed the writings of jurists in their own *madhhabs*. It is, he writes, not merely permissible, but obligatory, for a person to stay with his or

73 The author first mentions the *dhikr-i arra-yi chābqūn* without explanation as an example of varieties of the *dhikr-i arra* that are used for special occasions (f. 44b), and elsewhere, in a long discussion of a form of *dhikr-i arra* that was also, we are told, the *dhikr* of Ādam, he writes that “some of the *mashāʾikh-i atrāk* call this *dhikr* the *dhikr-i jābqūn*” (f. 51b) (the copyist of this work and the next does occasionally distinguish between *jīm* and *chīm*, but seldom writes the latter). The only other reference to this term I have found in connection with the Sufi *dhikr* appears in Togan’s memoirs, where he notes the impact upon his mother by a Bashqort shaykh, linked by Togan with the Yasaviya, called “Mollagul Divana;” this figure (who dwelled in the town of Turkistan, and died, Togan writes, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War [1904–05], when Togan was 14) performed the *dhikr* by “throwing his head back and forth and jumping while reciting religious verses aloud,” and according to Togan, both the Persian term *arra* (for the “*dhikr* of the saw” [*bıçkı zikri*]) and the Turkish term *çapkın* (“rough” or “swift”) were applied to these intense motions during the *dhikr*. See Zeki Velidi Togan, *Hâtıralar: Türkistan ve Diğer Müslüman Doğu Türklerinin Millî Varlık ve Kültür Mücadeleleri* (Istanbul: Tan Matbaası, 1969): 13–18, and the Russian translation, Zaki Validi Togan, *Vospominaniia: Borʿba musulʿman Turkestana i drugikh vostochnykh tiurok za natsionalʿnoe sushchestvovanie i kulʿturu*, tr. V. B. Feonova (Moscow, 1997 [no publisher indicated]: 16–20, as well as the remarks of Friedrich Bergdolt, *Der geistige Hintergrund des türkischen Historikers Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1981; Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 59): 34–36, and Tuncer Baykara, *Zeki Velidi Togan* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1989): 3.

her own shaykh (“unless someone has been given permission and licensure for the choice of initiatic lineage and guidance” [*magar kasī-rā ke rukḥṣat va ijāzat-i ikhtiyār-i salāsīl va hidāyā*]), perhaps signaling that challenges to this principle were common, but were blamed by the author for the trials of his *silsila* as discussed toward the end.

After this digression—which does seem to clarify those parting comments—the author signals, to his son, his return to his subject, affirming that “the lucid pen has returned to the root of the discussion” (*ay farzand, āgāh bāsh ke qalam-i mubīn ba-aṣl-i suḥḥan bāz gasht* [f. 54b]); he indeed turns to formulae and enumerations of types of *dhikr-i arra*, first noting 21 types (but in fact discussing just 20), and then beginning to delineate 20 sorts with names reflecting their contents; he discusses only 12 of these, however, before again addressing his son and signaling that he is ready to conclude the work. “Whoever seeks more details,” he writes, should consult additional sources, which he names, but which cannot be identified for certain;⁷⁴ then, he writes, “Whoever seeks the path of a dervish of the shaykhs of the Turks” should consult a different set of books: he names the *Tanbīh al-ẓāllīn*, among the compositions of the Sulṭān Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī,⁷⁵ the *Lamaḥāt*, among the works of ‘Ālim Shaykh ‘Alīyābādī, and the *Hujjat al-dhākirīn* by Mawlānā Sharīf Bukhārī (on the latter two works, see the discussion of the *fourth* work in the manuscript, below). He goes on to name several authoritative figures, the first of whom is Imām Sighnāqī, “author of the *Nihāya*” (a prominent book of *fiqh*, but by the seventeenth century, this Sighnāqī was ascribed a treatise about Aḥmad Yasavī); the rest are Yasavī shaykhs: Mawlānā Ṣūfī Dānishmand, identified as a *khalīfa* of Aḥmad Yasavī (as if he might not be familiar to his readers), Khudāyād Ghazīra-gī [*sic*], Qāsim Shaykh Karmīnagī, Khwāja Sulaymān Ūzgandī (otherwise unknown, unless he is to be identified with a figure incorporated into Aḥmad Yasavī’s familial lore), and Shams al-Dīn Ūzgandī (all but the first and fourth are accorded entries in the fourth work in the manuscript, as noted below). Despite not naming books by the latter figures, he concludes that “others of the shaykhs of the Turks have many compositions; they should consult them, and they should not reject this *ṭarīqa*” (*va ghayruhā min mashā’ikh*

74 They are the *Shams al-ma’ārif*, a *Sharḥ mawāqif*, a *Sharḥ-i navad-nuh* (?) and a *Sharḥ awrād-i fathīya* (i.e., a commentary on Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī’s collection of Sufi litanies)—all mentioned without identifying their author—and a *risāla* of Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn.

75 A work by this title is ascribed to Yasavī in sources produced no earlier than the nineteenth century.

al-atrāk taṣnīfāt-i bisyār dārand, muṭālaʿa konand; nabāyad īn ʿarīqa-rā īnkār [sic] konand [ff. 56b–57a]).

This referral and admonition then bring us to the final passage in the work, which as noted evokes and explains the passage at the outset alluding to the dispute with the Mujaddidī Shaykh Ḥabibullāh:

Son, this *silsila*, from the time of the Prophet (peace be upon him) down to the time of his holiness, Sulṭān Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī, and from his time down to the time of Mawlānā Sharīf, was flourishing and brilliant. In the time of Subḥān-qulī Khān,⁷⁶ his holiness Shaykh Ḥabibullāh, who was among the successors of Miyān Maʿsūm [Sirhindī],⁷⁷ came from India and promoted the Naqshbandī path in Bukhārā; Subḥān-qulī Khān was the patron and supporter of Shaykh Ḥabibullāh. Despite the support and patronage of the aforementioned *khān*, his holiness Mawlānā Sharīf wrote a *rivāyat* giving him a judgment of unbelief, brought his holiness Shaykh Ḥabibullāh into the circle of the vocal *dhikr*, and had him perform the vocal *dhikr*; and so from the time of Mawlānā Sharīf down through the time of Mawlānā Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī, who was among the companions of Mawlānā Sharīf, [it, i.e., the Yasavī *silsila*] flourished. But after his death, no one remained among the great shaykhs, and a scarcity of men occurred in this *silsila*; in Bukhārā, the Sulṭānī [i.e., Yasavī] *silsila* did not survive at all. After that, when it happened that a saint remained in some hidden corner or wild place, this humble [servant], who is your father, served him and attached himself to him; praise be to God that through His will (may His glory be magnified), this book, which is a testament for you, was written. The outcome and purpose is this, that the Sulṭānī *silsila* is true, and he who harbors a rejection of it is an infidel; the rejecter has been broken, let not the broken be led astray. God is the beneficent and the protector.⁷⁸

76 The Ashtarkhānid ruler Subḥān-qulī Khān reigned from 1092/1681 until his death in 1114/1702.

77 Ḥabibullāh (d. 1111/1699–1700) was a *murīd* of “Miyān Maʿsūm,” or Khwāja Muḥammad Maʿsūm (d. 1079/1668), the son and successor of the ‘founder’ of the Mujaddidī current of the Naqshbandīya, Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624).

78 MS F745, f. 57a: *ay farzand, īn silsila az rasūl ʿalayhiʾl-salām tā ba-zamān-i ḥaẓrat sulṭān khwāja aḥmad yasavī, az zamān-i īshān tā zamān-i mawlānā sharīf muravvaj va bā-ravnaq būda, dar zamān-i subḥān-qulī khān, ḥaẓrat shaykh ḥabibullāh ke az khulafāʾ-i miyān maʿsūm būda-and az hindūstān āmada, ʿarīqa-yi naqshbandīya-rā dar bukhārā ravāj dāda-and; va subḥān-qulī khān murabbī va muravvij-i shaykh ḥabibullāh būda-and, bā-vujūd-i tarvij va tarbiya-yi khān-i madhkūr, ḥaẓrat mawlānā sharīf rivāyāt nivishta*

Stories about the conflict, and sometimes the reconciliation, between the Yasavī shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf Bukhārī and the Mujaddidī-Naqshbandī Shaykh Ḥabībullāh are found in multiple sources of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the defense of the vocal *dhikr* was the reason the former wrote his *Hujjat al-dhākirīn*;⁷⁹ Marghīnānī's comments underscore the impact of their interaction a century later, as well as his own sense of 'mission' in reviving and spreading the *silsila* that cultivated the "*dhikr* of the saw"—a mission he discusses more extensively in the sixth work in MS F745, discussed below. More broadly, it is worth noting that the author's focus on the *dhikr-i arra* would seem to indicate that he was indeed focusing on the vocal *dhikr* as performed in distinctly Yasavī communities, but in this regard as well, some caution is necessary; the author, after all, claimed initiations that envisioned the 'mingling' of forms of Sufi practice used not only in distinctly Yasavī circles, but also in Qādirī, 'Ishqī, Kubravī, and Naqshbandī/Mujaddidī groups, and it is doubtful that specific alignments between initiatic lineage and varieties of the vocal *dhikr* can be meaningfully demonstrated for the era in which he was writing.

(4) *A History of the Shaykhs of the Yasaviya*

Togan's article from 1953 described the fourth "and final" section of the manuscript as occupying ff. 57b–149b, and as having been written by Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn Marghīnānī for his son, Sayyid "Gurretullah," his reading of the son's name (i.e., "Ghurratullāh") always struck me as odd, and I had presumed that it was a misreading of the name "Izzatullāh," but the manuscript itself makes clear that his reading had omitted a clearly-written letter, and that the name of the author's son—whom he addresses throughout the work simply as "*ay farzand*"—was "Urvatullāh" (in this regard the 1995 cataloguers improved

hukm ba-kufr karda-and, ḥaẓrat shaykh ḥabībullāh-rā ba-ḥalqa-yi jahr dar-āvarda, jahr kunānda-and; az zamān-i mawlānā sharīf tā zamān-i mawlānā niyāz muḥammad chuqmāqī [sic, with chīm], ke az aṣḥāb-i mawlānā sharīf-ast, muravvaj būd; ba'd az vafāt-i īshān az mashā'ikh-i 'izām aḥadī namānda, va qaḥṭī-yi rijāl dar-īn silsila paydā shoda, dar bukhārā silsila-yi sulṭānīya hīch namānda; ba'd az-ān īn kamīna ke vālid-i shumā-ast dar har gūsha va dar bīsha aḥyānan 'azīzī mānda būda-and, khidmat kardam, va tatabbu' kardam; al-ḥamdu-li'llāh bi-mashī'atihi 'izza sha'nuhu ke īn kitāb ke vaṣīyat-nāma-yi shumā-ast nivishta shod; muḥaṣṣal va maqṣūd īn ke silsila-yi sulṭānīya ḥaqq-ast, va ṣāḥib-i inkār-i ū kāfir-ast; ba-shikast munkir, shikast-shoda gum nashavad; va'llāhu'l-muwāfiq wa'l-mu'īn.

79 Some of the stories are discussed in DeWeese, "Dis-Ordering" Sufism": 263–266, and see also Devin DeWeese, "Sufis as the Ulama in Seventeenth-century Central Asia: 'Ālim Shaykh of 'Alīyābād and Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf of Bukhārā." In *Sufis and their Opponents in the Persianate World*, ed. Reza Tabandeh and Leonard Lewisohn (Irvine, California: Jordan Center for Persian Studies, 2020): 119–121.

upon Togan's account). Not mentioned in the catalogue or by Togan was the additional appellation mentioned for his "natural son" (*farzand-i 'aynī va şulbī*), who, he writes, bore the byname "Şūfī Khwāja 'Azīzān," or the work's further rhetorical address, not only to "my beloved son (*bar farzand, nūr-i chashma-ī* [sic]), Sayyid 'Urvat," but also "to whoever follows me or follows him among the devout and righteous" (*va 'alā man taba'anī wa man taba'ahu min al-atqiyā' va'l-adhkiyā'* [sic], f. 57b).

As discussed below, this **fourth** work—which, unlike several in the manuscript, is complete—actually occupies ff. 57b–140b, and is not the final section of the manuscript, which includes another two substantial sections, and an additional two short works, after the fourth work comes to an end. Togan described this section as dealing with the *silsila* of the Yasavī shaykhs, and the branches of the *ṭarīqa*; the latter point is exaggerated, inasmuch as the work does not follow many 'branches' of the Yasavī *silsila*—Marghīnānī, for example, appears to have been unaware of, or to have ignored, the 'branch' that led to Ḥazīnī in the sixteenth century—but it does follow that *silsila* from Aḥmad Yasavī himself down to the author, with accounts of saints and shaykhs whose lives spanned the full period from the thirteenth century through the eighteenth. Despite the value of the rich genealogical material foregrounded in the first section (and the fifth), and of the discussion of the vocal *dhikr* in the third section, this fourth work is without question the single most important section of MS F745 in terms of the initiatic lineage of the Yasaviya—though, as we will see, it must be read in conjunction with the *sixth* section, discussed below, from the portion of the manuscript not described by Togan. It is also the work, among the several included in the manuscript in full or fragmentary form, that most fits the generic 'title' suggested by Togan—sometimes, seemingly, for the entire manuscript—namely the "*Tārīkh-i mashā'ikh-i turk*."⁸⁰

80 This 'title' appears nowhere in the fourth work itself, or indeed in the manuscript as a whole, but we may point to three apparently self-referential comments by the author suggesting that Togan was not far from the mark. The first two appear in the untitled genealogical work found in the Tashkent manuscript, MS IVRUz 11290. At one point (f. 33a), the author writes, "In the *Kitāb-i mashā'ikh-i turk*, they have written that" Aḥmad Yasavī donned the Sufi *khirqā* from the hand of "Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd b. Abū'l-Khayr;" shortly thereafter, in the course of discussing the complicated genealogical and initiatic connections linking Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī to the Kubravī and Yasavī traditions, the author writes (f. 35b), "In the *Manāqib-i mashā'ikh-i turk*, they have written that ..." (what follows is the explanation, found also in the fourth work, as noted above, that Shams al-Dīn Tabrizī was initially a disciple of his father, Imām Marghūzī, who was a disciple of Aḥmad Yasavī, and that Najm al-Dīn Kubrā was also a disciple of Imām Marghūzī). The third appears among the supplementary texts found later in the manuscript of concern here (f. 192b), in which the author notes that Najm al-Dīn Kubrā was a disciple of Imām Marghūzī, adding that the latter was known as Kōk Ton-lūk Ata, "whose grave is in Turkistān," and affirming

This fourth work also exhibits the simplest and most straightforward structure of any of the sections of MS F745; it is essentially a series of hagiographical entries devoted to the major shaykhs of the Yasavī tradition, as known to Marghīnānī, including some figures of collateral lines, outside the lineage leading directly to him—and thus partly justifying Togan's claim that the work covers “branches” of the Yasaviya, with most of the entries set off by headings, in red ink, consisting of the names of these shaykhs (in some of the longer entries, to be sure, a particularly important shaykh's disciples may be discussed in what amounts to a separate entry, with no heading, inserted into the life of the central figure).

As a work thus structured according to the unfolding of the Yasavī *silsila*, it is derivative both in concept and, for the most part, in content; it follows, that is, the basic structure used for presenting the Yasavī *silsila* found already in the first work to undertake that task, namely the Naqshbandī hagiography, devoted to the pivotal figure of Khwāja Aḥrār (d. 895/1490), the *Rashaḥāt-i ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, completed in the early sixteenth century, and repeated, with relatively minor adjustments (beyond the extension of coverage for another century) in the most important and comprehensive Yasavī hagiography, the *Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quḍs* of ʿĀlim Shaykh ʿAlīyābādī, completed in 1035/1626.⁸¹ The latter work provided additional hagiographical material even for the figures ‘covered’ already in the *Rashaḥāt*; Marghīnānī explicitly cites the *Lamaḥāt*, as well as a later Yasavī work, the *Hujjat al-dhākirīn* of Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlavī al-Bukhārī, completed in or soon after 1080/1669–70, in which the hagiographical section on the Yasavī *silsila* was based mostly on the

that this is written “in the *Shajara-nāma-yi mashāʾikh-i turk*.” Togan, of course, did not know of MS 11290, and did not discuss the part of MS Halis Efendi 199/Istanbul University F745 in which the latter reference appears, leaving it unclear whether his tentative designation for the work, or manuscript, might have been inspired by such a passage (which might recur elsewhere), but these references suggest that there is some justice in retaining Togan's designation (even as they cast doubt on adopting his characterization of the work as a *Tārīkh*).

- 81 On these two works' presentations of the Yasavī *silsila*, see Devin DeWeese, “The *Mashāʾikh-i Turk* and the *Khojagān*: Rethinking the Links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi Traditions.” *Journal of Islamic Studies* (Oxford), 7/2 (July 1996): 180–207, and *idem*, “The Yasavī Order and Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia: ʿĀlim Shaykh of ʿAlīyābād and his *Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quḍs*.” In *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. III: *Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501–1750)*, *The Safavid and Mughal Period*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn and David Morgan (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999): 389–414, both reprinted in DeWeese, *Studies on Sufism in Central Asia* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012; Variorum Collected Studies reprint series), Nos. VI and IX.

Lamaḥāt's presentation, but occasionally added 'new' information not found in the earlier work.⁸²

However, Marghīnānī's accounts of the Yasavī shaykhs, though largely ordered and based on the accounts of the *Lamaḥāt*, quite often add material not found in 'Ālim Shaykh's work, based evidently on oral tradition passed down within the *silsila*, as well as on other written sources; some of this material is not otherwise known—such as the stories about Sharaf Ata that apparently first drew Togan's attention for his 1928 article—and this fourth work will thus be of major importance for comparison with earlier accounts of the shaykhs of the Yasavī *silsila*; its 'new' material may turn out, naturally, to be of primary value as evidence on the way Yasavī history had been reshaped and was understood *within* the tradition in its latest phases, but it may occasionally include stories that go back to much earlier periods in Yasavī history, and in both cases it is of significant value, even for periods, and figures, for which it must be regarded as a secondary source.

Therein lies the major importance of the work, indeed, through some 90 percent of its text, from the beginning of the *silsila* down to the entry on 'Ālim Shaykh, i.e., ff. 57b–134b; for the remaining six folios, however (ff. 134b–140b), Marghīnānī's work takes on much greater significance, first as an additional, and often clarifying, source on Yasavī shaykhs and *silsila* lines that are otherwise only poorly reflected in other sources, and then as a firsthand original source on figures previously unknown to scholarship on the Yasavī tradition. That short section of this fourth work, combined with equally important material in the sixth section, discussed below, offers entirely new information on Yasavī history during the second half of the eighteenth century, showing the spread of the 'order' in that era into regions in which it is not known to have been previously found; it also reveals the author's concern for the Yasavī tradition, and his commitment to cultivate it as a distinct tradition, even alongside his multiple initiations and ties with shaykhs of other *silsilas*.

The 'new' material in Marghīnānī's work appears already in the long account of Aḥmad Yasavī with which the work begins, occupying ff. 57b–61a; the account includes multiple narratives focused on Yasavī, ranging from stories known already in the earliest sources on him to narratives known only from nineteenth- or twentieth-century sources. Some, interestingly, are known to me only from the works of the sixteenth-century Yasavī shaykh Ḥazīnī, even though Marghīnānī otherwise gives no evidence that he was aware of Ḥazīnī or his works, or even of the collateral *silsila* line leading to him, which branched off from the lineage leading to Marghīnānī (and, earlier, to 'Ālim Shaykh and

82 On Muḥammad Sharīf, see DeWeese, "Sufis as the Ulama": 112–138 (esp. 115–118, 121–122 on the *Hujjat al-dhākirīn*).

Muḥammad Sharīf) following Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn, a figure active in the late fifteenth century.

This is not the only instance in which Marghīnānī either did not know of, or chose to ignore, collateral 'branches' of the Yasavī *silsila*. Several stories included in the section on Yasavī in fact deal with one of his disciples, called here Bābā Mājīn (i.e., Bāb Māchīn), known for his familial legacy, but another major disciple of Aḥmad Yasavī, typically called Šūfī Muḥammad Dānishmand—whose *silsila* led to important shaykhs known chiefly from the writings produced in the Sufi circles associated with Ismāʿīl Ata—is not accorded an entry here, probably because Marghīnānī, or his sources or informants, conflated him with a figure bearing a similar name who appears in traditions about Aḥmad Yasavī's family, as a nephew (who, to be sure, is counted among Yasavī's disciples in Marghīnānī's genealogical works). The only 'collateral branch' of the Yasavī *silsila* followed for more than one generation—i.e., beyond just the naming of a fellow-disciple of a figure accorded an entry in the work—is the line that branches off after Mawdūd Shaykh, followed in three generations, i.e., Kamāl Shaykh Īqānī, Sayyid Aḥmad, and Shams al-Dīn Ūzgandī; the first member of this 'collateral branch' is mentioned already in the *Rashaḥāt*, while the other two are added in the *Lamaḥāt*.

The principal headings, and the folio range of each entry following the account of Aḥmad Yasavī, down to 'Ālim Shaykh, are as follows (the dates given for some figures do not appear in Marghīnānī's work, but are drawn from other sources, and are given for chronological orientation):

Hakīm Ata, 61a–63a (including stories on Ḥubbī Khwāja, identified as Hakīm Ata's son);

Sharaf Ata, 63a–64a;

Zangī Ata, 64a–65a;

Sayyid Ata, 65a–66a (beginning with the story, known already from the *Rashaḥāt*, of Zangī Ata's four disciples, with Sayyid Ata as the last);

Ismāʿīl Ata, 66a–68b (despite following the erroneous account of the *Rashaḥāt*, repeated in the *Lamaḥāt*, making him a disciple of Sayyid Ata, this is a long and important account, citing the expanded account from the *Ḥujjat al-dhākirīn* and mentioning other figures known from earlier sources from Ismāʿīl Atāʾī circles⁸³);

83 On those circles, see Devin DeWeese, "The Disciples of Aḥmad Yasavī among the Turks of Central Asia: Early Views, Conflicting Evidence, and the Emergence of the Yasavī *Silsila*." In *Role of Religions in the Turkic Culture: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Role of Religions in the Turkic Culture held on September 9–11, 2015 in Budapest*, ed. Éva Csáki, Mária Ivanics, and Zsuzsanna Olach (Budapest: Péter Pázmány

Khwāja Ishāq, 68b–69a (the son of Ismāʿīl Ata, but here the account is limited to the story, drawn ultimately from the earliest hagiography focused on Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband, on ʿAbdullāh Khujandī's encounter with Khwāja Ishāq);

(Near the bottom of f. 69a, the sequence is interrupted briefly by the overlined phrase, "*ay farzand*," introducing a brief resumé of the account of Zangī Ata's four disciples, adding material on Sayyid Ata drawn from a Sayyid Atāʾī shaykh of Marghīnānī, but returning to follow the *silsila* traced down from Zangī Ata through his disciple Ṣadr Ata).

Almīn Bābā, 69b;

Shaykh ʿAlī Shaykh, 69b–70a;

Mawdūd Shaykh, 70a;

Kamāl Shaykh (i.e., Īqānī), 70a–71a (here the account shifts, for three generations in all, from the central *silsila* line to a collateral branch);

Sayyid Aḥmad, 71a–b;

Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Ūzgandī, 71b–72a;

Khādīm Shaykh, 72a–78a (with this long account of an important fifteenth-century shaykh, including also accounts of his son and disciple Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, and of other disciples, the account returns to the central initiatic lineage traced down to the author);

Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn, 78a–81a;

Khudāyād, 81a–94b (d. 939/1532; this long account of the pivotal Yasavī shaykh of the early sixteenth century likewise includes accounts of other figures, but here again the sequence of entries shifts after this one to cover many disciples of Khudāyād);

Darvīsh Shaykh, 94b–106b (d. 958/1551: this long, composite, and hagiographically rich account includes material on many other figures of the Yasavī *silsila*, both before and after Darvīsh Shaykh, who was the paternal grandfather of ʿĀlim Shaykh and a leading disciple of Khudāyād; it also includes accounts of the latter's familial legacy, and its intertwining with that of ʿĀlim Shaykh);

Khwāja Mawlānā [Nūrī], another major disciple of Khudaydad (often paired with Mawlānā Valī, accorded an entry below, as teachers of Qāsim Shaykh), 106b–107b;

Mawlānā Munjāq Ḥāfīz, 107b–108b;

Mawlānā Khūsh-Muḥammad ʿAzīzān, 108b–109a;

Qanbar Shaykh, 109a–110b;

Catholic University/MTA-SZTE Turkological Research Group, 2017): 11–25, with reference to earlier studies.

Bakhshāyish Shaykh, 110b–111b (the heading is in this case not written in red);

Qāzī 'Azīzān, 111b–113a;

Jān Dawlat Ḥājī, 113a–b (the heading includes, though not in red ink, “va Ḥuẓūr Boldī Šūfi,” the two figures are discussed together in the *Lamaḥāt* as well);

Bābā-yi Tarkash-dūz, 113b–114a;

Ḥājī Katta Bék, 114a–b;

(several short accounts follow on ff. 114b–115a, with names marked only by overlining in red, that are mostly presented as separate entries in the *Lamaḥāt*: Mawlānā Shaykh Qiyām; Mawlānā 'Ābid Ghijduvānī; Kūkī Shaykh; Aḥmad Šūfi; Ēshekji Šūfi; Bābā Khādim; Muḥammad Ḥusayn);

Mīr Šun'ullāh, known as Amīr Nabīra, 115a–116a (a grandson of Khudāy-dād, buried at his shrine; much of the entry recounts a story, about Khudāy-dād 'predicting' the victory of 'Ubaydullāh over Bābur and his Šafavid allies, known from the *Lamaḥāt*);

Mawlānā Valī, 116a–118b (with others discussed as well).

Qāsim Shaykh of Karmīna, 118b–130b (d. 986/1579);

Pīrim Shaykh, 130b–132a (d. 1006/1597–98);

Mukhlīš Khān, 132a–b;

Iftikhār Shaykh, 132b;

'Ālim Shaykh 'Alīyābādhi [*sic*], 132b–134b (d. 1041/1632).

Following the account of 'Ālim Shaykh, Marghīnānī includes entries on figures for whom the *Lamaḥāt* was obviously no longer his source. They include figures whose place in the Yasavī *silsila* is presented differently in our sources—which become steadily fewer in number, and less detailed, in the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—with several shaykhs bearing *nisbas* reflecting their activity in the Syr Daryā valley among them;⁸⁴ Marghīnānī's work is quite late, but its newly available accounts may offer clarifications regarding some of these figures. Immediately after the account of 'Ālim Shaykh, for instance, comes an entry on Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Qavghānī (ff. 134b–135a),

84 For a discussion of some of the conflicting accounts of these figures, see Devin DeWeese, “The Yasavī Presence in the Dasht-i Qipchaq from the 16th to 18th Century.” In *Islam, Society and States across the Qazaq Steppe, 18th–Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Niccolò Pianciola and Paolo Sartori (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 844. Band): 47–58.

who is shown in some accounts as a disciple of ʿĀlim Shaykh, but is here identified as a *khalīfā* of Qāsim Shaykh Karmīnagī; more intriguingly, Marghīnānī writes that this figure “had a distinctive *silsila* and path, and at present the mystical practice in Turkistān is built upon his path” (*silsila va maslak ʿalā-ḥida dāshta-and, al-ḥāl binā-yi sulūk-i turkistān ba-maslak-i ān-ḥazrat ast*), suggesting that the uncertain handling of the ‘Syr Daryā shaykhs’ of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might reflect a distinctive profile going back to Ibrāhīm Qavghānī.⁸⁵

Such a distinctive profile is further supported by Marghīnānī’s comments about “Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Qavghānī,” alluded to above, in his treatise on the *dhikr-i arra*, where at one point he announces to his son his intention to describe the *dhikrs* and litanies employed by this figure, noting that Qavghānī “has a distinct method and path, which is today in effect at the illuminated shrine of the holy Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī” (*ān ḥazrat-rā ṭariq va maslak-i khāṣṣ-ast, al-ḥāl dar sar-i mazār-i fayz-āthār-i ḥazrat khwāja aḥmad yasavī jāri-ast* [44b–45a]); he goes on to describe “six circles of the *dhikr-i arra*” used by Qavghānī (one of which is the *dhikr-i arra-yi chābqūn*), and to discuss the litanies and other elements of practice that were distinctive to Qavghānī’s circle (ff. 45b–46a), but perhaps more noteworthy than these details is the basic characterization of Qavghānī’s community as in effect dominating Sufi practice at Aḥmad Yasavī’s shrine in Yasī/Turkistān. Marghīnānī goes on to outline his own *silsila* connection going back to Ibrāhīm Qavghānī,⁸⁶ leading him to a wider discussion of his initiatic lineages for the receipt of other prominent litanies,⁸⁷ but his account

85 In further support of this suggestion is the unusual treatise ascribed to him, discussed briefly in Devin DeWeese, “The Treatise of Ibrāhīm Qavghānī: A Newly Found Source on the Yasavī Sufi Tradition in Central Asia from the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Century.” In *Islamic Traditions in ‘Greater Khurāsān’: Ismailis, Sufis and Sunnis*, ed. Dagikhudo Dagiev (London: I. B. Tauris, forthcoming); a fuller study of the work is in preparation.

86 Marghīnānī explains to his son (f. 47a) that he is connected to Qavghānī through three intermediaries (*ay farzand, badān ke faqūr-i kamīna, ke vālid-i shumā-ast, ba-sih vāsiṭa ba-ḥazrat mawlānā ibrahīm Qavghānī murīd mībāshad, ba-īn ṭariqa ke ...*), through his master Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī < ʿAvāz Baṣīr < Muḥammad Ūtrārī < Ibrāhīm Qavghānī (see below on the latest three figures in the lineage).

87 He writes (f. 47a) that the litanies he calls the *chahār-tashbīḥ* (i.e., involving four invocations of the phrase “*subḥānaʾllāh*,” “glory be to God”) are of four types, which he labels smaller, small, great, and greater (*ṭariq-i aṣghar, ṣaghīr, kabīr, and akbar*), in that order; the first, he explains, is the method (*ṭariqa*) of Sayyid Ata, the “small” is the method of Mawlānā Ṣādiq ʿIshqī (a shaykh of sixteenth-century Mawarannahr), and the third is the method of ʿĀlim Shaykh. He himself, Marghīnānī notes further, was a *murīd* of ʾĪshān Sayyid ʾUthmān Khwāja Sayyid Atāʾī, who received the *awrād-i chahār tashbīḥ* as an inheritance; he traced another link through Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Qavghānī < Qāsim Shaykh Karmīna-gī < Mawlānā Valī < Mawlānā Ṣādiq ʿIshqī; and his link to the third type went

as a whole suggests that despite his obscurity today, Ibrāhīm Qavghānī was an important figure in the cultivation and transmission of the Yasavī legacy in the region of its origins, Turkistān, and was still recognized as a major shaykh at the end of the eighteenth century.

The entry on Qavghānī is followed by one on **Mawlānā Khwāja Muḥammad Ūtrārī** (f. 135a), identified here as Qavghānī's successor; other sources give conflicting accounts of this figure, making him a *murīd* of a disciple—from a town of the Syr Daryā valley—of 'Ālim Shaykh, or of 'Ālim Shaykh himself, and in any case placing him somewhat later than discipleship under a *murīd* of Qāsim Shaykh would allow. He is an important figure in this work, however, as Marghīnānī portrays him as responsible for, in effect, the implantation of the Yasavī *silsila* into the Farghāna valley, affirming that, in the time of Subḥān-qulī Khān (r. 1092/1681–1114/1702), he left his native Otrar, spent time in Bukhārā and Samarqand, and eventually went to Ūra-tepe, Khujand, Khūqand, Marghīnān, Andijān, and Namangān, where “most” of the *ʿulamā* and shaykhs became his *murīds*.

Marghīnānī next gives a relatively short entry on **Mawlānā Sharīf** (ff. 135a–b), by most accounts the most important Yasavī shaykh of the later seventeenth century, whose *Hujjat al-dhākirīn* is cited often by Marghīnānī; starting with this figure, nearly all the shaykhs accorded an entry in the work are ascribed multiple teachers, with multiple initiatic lineages, reflecting the pattern of ‘bundled *silsilas*’ discussed elsewhere. For Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf, four shaykhs are mentioned as having licensed him: 'Ālim Shaykh, the latter's disciple Khwāja Faṭḥullāh, the Naqshbandī shaykh “Mawlānā Kamāl” (i.e., Faghānzavī), and Muḥammad Ūtrārī; in the next entry, for **Mawlānā 'Avāz Baṣīr** (f. 135b), this figure is ascribed a licensure by a shaykh in Madīna, one from the same “Mawlānā Kamāl,” a third from Muḥammad Ūtrārī, and a fourth from Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf (who is also said by Marghīnānī to have licensed a shaykh known as Mīrzā Bahādur, whose chief initiatic lineage went back to the Kubravī shaykh Ḥusayn Khwārazmī).

The exception to the new ‘rule’ of multiple masters is the next figure, ‘**Uthmān Shaykh Rīgīstānī**’ (ff. 135b–136a), who is shown as a disciple of Muḥammad Ūtrārī alone; it thus remains unclear whether this figure can be identified with the “Mawlānā ‘Uthmān Bukhārī” named in other sources as a disciple of 'Ālim Shaykh or of Muḥammad Sharīf (and as a shaykh of the subject of the subsequent entry). Significantly, however, Marghīnānī sums up

through his master Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī < Mawlānā Sharīf < 'Ālim Shaykh (the “greater” type, he then adds, is “the comprehensive method” [*ṭarīqa-yi jāmi'a*], consisting of “many types” [*ṭuruq-i kathīra*]).

his short entry on this figure with the comment, “He took the utmost care in traveling the mystical path of the Jahriya, but after him, languor set in in the lineage of the Jahriya” (*dar sulūk-i jahriya ihtiyāt-i tamām dāshta-and, ba’d az īshān futūr dar khāna-dān-i jahriya rafta ast*). Marghinānī alludes elsewhere in his works to the ‘slackening’ in the Yasavī community he mentions here, as do other writers of the nineteenth century, and his sense of his own role in the tradition must be understood against this backdrop.

The next entry is for a much more famous figure, “**Mawlānā Muḥammadī**, that is, his holiness **Īshān Imlā’**” (ff. 136a-b), referring to the prominent scholar and poet of Bukhārā, mentioned earlier, who died in 1161 or 1162 (1749); in his case many more initiations are noted, his first having been with the Yasavī master ‘Uthmān Shaykh,⁸⁸ and his entry is followed by a short account of a less familiar figure, **Mawlānā Muḥammad Laṭīf** (f. 136b), known as Ḥaẓrat Īshān-i Shahīd (though the circumstances of his martyrdom are not discussed), who is shown as a disciple of Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf; earlier sources suggest his connection with the latter’s initiatic legacy,⁸⁹ without fully confirming Marghinānī’s account. In any case, Marghinānī names three *khalīfas* of this Muḥammad Laṭīf—Mawlānā Tursūn Khujandī,⁹⁰ Mawlānā Mīr

88 Presumably this refers to the figure just named by Marghinānī, namely ‘Uthmān Shaykh Rīgistānī, but his mention here as a master of Īshān Imlā’, and as a source of the Yasavī initiation claimed by the latter, suggests his identity with the “Mawlānā ‘Uthmān Bukhārī” mentioned as the shaykh of Īshān Imlā’ in other sources, which link him variously with ‘Alīm Shaykh and/or Muḥammad Sharīf initiatically; less clear is this figure’s possible identity with another “Mullā ‘Uthmān,” assigned the *nisbas* Balkhī, Ṭāliqānī, and Bukhārī, who is said to have been a Naqshbandī shaykh, but later to have become a *murīd* of Muḥammad Sharīf, adopting the Path of the Jahriya (*Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhīr Īshān*, MS IVRUz 855, ff. 332b–333b; on this work, see Aziza Shanazarova, “*Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhīr Īshān*: A Neglected Source on the History of the Naqshbandī Sufi Tradition in Central Asia.” *Journal of Sufi Studies*, 11 [2022]: 208–250).

89 The only “Muḥammad Laṭīf” linked to Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf known from earlier sources is apparently one of the latter’s sons, Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Laṭīf—who is said to have been known as “Khwāja ‘Abdullāh”—mentioned in a list of his sons, with their birth years, found in a manuscript dating from 1206/1791–92 and containing several works by and about Muḥammad Sharīf (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reşid Efendi MS 372, f. 316a); he was born in 1092/1681. An eighteenth-century source says that Khwāja ‘Abdullāh was a disciple (and son-in-law) of Khwāja Fuzayl, a natural descendant of Khudāyādād and a *murīd* of Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf (*Tadhkira-yi Ṭāhīr Īshān*, MS IVRUz 855, ff. 72b–73a, 75a, 77a).

90 Mawlānā Tursūn Khujandī is probably to be distinguished from the “Mullā Tursān Bāqī Namangānī” (using semantically equivalent Turkic and Persian terms for his name) who is linked with Khwāja Muḥammad Ūtrārī in a late-eighteenth century anecdote, on which see Devin DeWeese, “Shamanization in Central Asia.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 57 (2014): 350–51.

Šālīḥ Tāshkandī,⁹¹ and Mawlānā Rajab Namangānī—whose *nisbas* suggest the spread of Yasavī initiations to two ‘gateway’ towns near the Farghāna valley, and to a town in the midst of the valley itself; the successors from Tashkent and Namangān were both among the spiritual guides of Marghīnānī himself.

The same is true of the next figure accorded an entry, **Sayyid Muḥammad Dhakariyā Khwāja**, said to be known by the *laqab* [*sic*] Khalīfa Tāsh-Muḥammad Vāchkatī [*? vāch.k.nī?*] al-Bukhārī⁹² (ff. 136b–138a), referred to by Marghīnānī as “the Pīr-i A’zam” (“greatest master”), whose Yasavī lineage went back, we are told, to a relatively obscure disciple of Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf (“Mīrzā Bahādur,” shown in other sources as an initiate into exclusively Naqshbandī and Mujaddidī lineages), but who was also a disciple of “Mawlānā Miyān Ma’sūm Sirhindī” (d. 1079/1668), the son and successor of Aḥmad Sirhindī, thus combining Yasavī and Mujaddidī initiatic lineages; with this entry, we return to extended discussions of family ties, insofar as Marghīnānī was married to two granddaughters of the Pīr-i A’zam. This figure also looms large in the sixth work found in the manuscript, discussed below, as does the subject of the following entry, **Mawlānā Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī** al-Bukhārī (ff. 138a–b), whom we have also mentioned above as a significant ‘node’ in the bundling of *silsilas*; he is identified here as a companion and/or disciple of, among others, Mawlānā ‘Avaż Baṣīr, Īshān Imlā’, Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf, and the “Mīrzā Bahādur” named above as having been licensed by Muḥammad Sharīf.

Next comes an entry on **Makhdūm Khwāja ‘Ubaydullāh**, known as Īshān Makhdūm Ūra-tepegī (ff. 138b–139a), a natural descendant of the sixteenth-century Kubravī shaykh Ḥusayn Khwārazmī; the only initiation mentioned for him was through his grandfather in that lineage, called Īshān Mūsā Khwāja b. Īshān Mīr Yaḥyā b. Shaykh ‘Ubaydullāh Kūlābī, making it unclear whether (and how) he might also have been regarded as a Yasavī shaykh. The account of him

91 In the third work in the manuscript, the treatise dealing with the *dhikr-i arra*, Marghīnānī mentions in passing the practice, involving *awrād* and *adhkār* during the night, of “one of the *murshids* of this exalted *khānadān* of the Sulṭāniyā,” the “greatest *pīr*, his holiness Mawlānā Amīr Šālīḥ,” undoubtedly with this figure in mind (f. 53a; the reference is unusual, however, insofar as one of the honorifics he uses, “Pīr-i A’zam,” is usually reserved by him for another of his masters, discussed shortly).

92 This figure’s sphere of activity would seem to preclude his identification as the father of the Yasavī shaykh Khudāyād b. Tāsh-Muḥammad, usually assigned the *nisba* Khwārazmī but active also in Bukhārā, on whom see the editors’ introduction to Shaykh Khudāyād b. Tāsh-Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, *Bustān al-muḥibbīn*, ed. B. M. Babadzhanov and M. T. Kadyrova (Turkistan: Isasaitanu ghilimi-zertteu ortalighi, 2006), and the comments in DeWeese, “Dis-Ordering’ Sufism”: 270, and in DeWeese, “Shamanization”: 350. The name “Zakariyā” is consistently spelled in this work with an initial *dhāl*, no doubt echoing a tradition linking the origins of the *dhikr* of the saw with the Prophet Zakariyā.

is followed by an entry on a disciple of Īshān Imlā', **Mawlānā 'Abd al-Rahīm Afghān** (ff. 139a-b), and the final heading in the work marks an entry on **Mawlānā Shāh Raḥmatullāh Ḥiṣārī** (f. 139b), a disciple of Īshān Imlā' with initiatic ties to separate Yasavī, Naqshbandī, Mujaddidī, and Kubravī lineages as well. I have so far been unable to trace either the Afghan shaykh or the native of Ḥiṣār in other sources; the figure from Ūrā-tepe is mentioned later in the manuscript, in the sixth work, among important shaykhs of the author, but it seems doubtful that he should be identified with the "Ubaydullāh Bukhārī" who is mentioned in other sources as a successor of Muḥammad Sharīf.

As this fourth work comes to an end, the author addresses his son—in fact he now implies that he is addressing several sons—with benedictions and blessings, and, after emphasizing his status as a sayyid, and his hereditary 'affiliation' with the house of the Prophet (*va īn ṭarīqa-yi mā ṭarīqa-yi khānadān-i rasūl ast*), with a final admonition:

My son, as long as there are successors in this lineage who are sayyids, do not become a disciple of other successors; but if there should be no one among the sayyids, then take hold of the successors in this lineage. And if, God forbid, no one remains among the successors to this lineage, find sayyids of this same *ṭarīq* of the 'Azīzān and become their disciple; but if you do not find such sayyids, then, lamenting and groaning to God and His Prophet, stay with the [books of] *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, books of *fiqh*, and these dusty writings [of mine], and [await] what God wills.⁹³

This passage captures a bit of the author's anxiety for the future of the *silsila*, among his multiple initiatic and hereditary lineages, to which he clearly felt the strongest attachment—the Yasaviya—and foreshadows the indications in yet another work, considered below, in which he gives voice to the key role he felt he was called to play in furthering the Yasavī community. At the same time, it should be noted, based on searches that are still only preliminary, that of the 11 figures assigned prominent entries in Marghīnānī's work following 'Alim Shaykh and Ibrāhīm Qavghānī (the latter himself quite obscure in other sources)—a number we may increase to 14 if we include the three *khalīfas*

93 MS F745, f. 140a: *ayfarzandān, mā dāmike az sādāt-i khulafā'-i in khānadān hast, ba-khulafā'-yi digar murīd nashavīd; va agar az-in sādāt kasī nabāshad, ba-khulafā'-yi in khānadān chang bazanīd; va agar, na'ūdhu bi'llāh, az khulafā'-i in khānadān kasī namānd, az ham-ṭarīq-i 'azīzān sādāt-rā dar yābīd murīd shavīd; va agar in chunīn sādāt-rā nayābīd, ba-khudā va rasul-i khudā nālīda va zārīda ba-tafāsīr va āḥādīth [sic] va kutub-i fiqh va barīn maktūbāt-i chang-zada ba-bāshīd khudāy-ta'ālā chi khwāhad.*

of the sixth, Muḥammad Laṭīf, mentioned in the entry on him—six cannot be identified from other sources; possible identifications may be suggested for three others, but are doubtful; and five are mentioned in more than one other source, though only three of these—Muḥammad Sharīf, ʾIshān Imlāʾ, and Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī—may be considered prominent figures. Marghīnānī's work thus already enriches our knowledge of the 'personnel' of Central Asian Sufism, and the Yasavī 'order,' during the eighteenth century, and of developments during that time in the reformulation of initiatic lineages and communal 'boundaries;' it also provides a basis for more thorough searches of other sources, and also for comparison with the claims of Yasavī initiatic ties that have been coming to the fore in the past few decades.

(5) *A Fragment of a Genealogical Work*

The recovery of the sections of the manuscript that were described, if briefly, and used by Togan would be significant enough for scholarship on the Yasavī tradition, but the several works, of varying lengths, found in the final 44 folios of the manuscript—which Togan did not even acknowledge, much less describe—make this manuscript even more valuable; some of the works parallel what is found in earlier sections of the manuscript, while others—and one in particular—add remarkable material of a type rarely found in Central Asian sources of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

This 'new' material begins, as noted, with the final folios that *were* included by Togan within the folio-range of the fourth work he describes, but which clearly comprise a fragment of a **fifth** work, on ff. 141a–149b, following the end of the colophon, of sorts, that appears on f. 140b; there is a catchword at the bottom of f. 140b, indicating that the brief text that follows the colophon of the fourth work—written at a different time, clearly, but in which the same author refers to himself as “Amīr Sayyid Aḥmad Nāṣir al-Dīn, who is your father” (*ke padar-i shumā-st*), thus continuing the repeated addressing of his son—was to continue on the following folio; however, f. 141a does not begin with that catchword, and is written in a different hand, which continues until the end of f. 149b.

There are no catchwords through these folios, but the textual continuity leaves no doubt that this is a fragment of a separate work, which thus begins and ends abruptly, with neither introduction nor colophon to indicate its title or the name of the author; in this case, however, his identity is certain, thanks to the numerous self-referential comments throughout the genealogical material included in it. This fifth work, indeed, is not only similar, in its chiefly genealogical content, to the first work in the manuscript (and to the first work in MS IVRUz 11290), but in fact includes sections that closely parallel

the text in parts of that first work, though not in the same order, and often without an exact word-for-word correspondence (without belaboring the specific line-by-line textual correspondence, the parallel sections appear on ff. 25a–27b/144a–146b and 29a–b/141a). This fifth work may reflect a different redaction of what appears in the first work, or simply a later version in which the author restructured his genealogical material (a heading for a “third section” [*faṣl-i siyum*] appears, in red ink, on f. 144a).

The sections that are paralleled in the first work sometimes allow better readings of names, and in any case will be valuable for a careful comparison with the genealogical material found in that work and in MS IVRUz 11290; in sections that are *not* paralleled earlier, in the first work, Marghīnānī offers genealogical explorations on a wider range of figures, including several of his Sufi teachers, and some of his disciples as well; even when particular individuals whose genealogies are traced cannot be identified, the accounts often lead to interesting traditions.

At one point, for example (ff. 146b–147a), he discusses first the sons, and then the ancestors, of “Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Shaykh,” identified as among the eminent figures of the Jahri lineage; he fails to specify whether this is indeed the Ibrāhīm Qavghānī who is accorded an entry in the fourth work, but he goes on to tell us that this shaykh was among the descendants of Awliyā’-i Qarākhān (the “Awliya Ata” for whom the town now known as Taraz was once named, on account of his shrine there, and a figure incorporated into the narrative of the three Islamizing warrior saints led by Ishāq Bāb, as a grandson of the latter’s uncle, ‘Abd al-Rahīm). As noted already, Marghīnānī’s presentation of the lineages linked to those three saints differs from what we know from the earliest presentation (and from later versions as well), and in this case he acknowledges Ibrāhīm Shaykh’s descent from a *brother* of Awliyā’-i Qarākhān, but he then proceeds to graft a version of yet another famous genealogy into his grand picture of these sacred lineages: Awliyā’-i Qarākhān, he explains, had two wives, one from India and the other an Arab, with the former bearing him six sons—Qīpchāq, Qīrghīz, Qarliq, Khalaj, Taṭar, and “T.q.rāj” (?)—and his Arab wife bearing him one son, namely Oghuz Khān. Marghīnānī gives the familiar names of the latter figure’s six sons—Āy Khān, Kūn Khān, and Yuldūz Khān from his senior wife, and Kōk Khān, Ṭāq Khān, and Téngīz Khān from his junior wife—and then affirms that all six “abandoned kingship and royal sovereignty,” adopted the path of poverty, and became eminent shaykhs, “firm in the *silsila-yi Jahriya*.” He then outlines another lineage of Sufis whose ancestry went back to Oghuz Khān (f. 147b), affirming that they too were among the shaykhs of the Jahriya and were buried along the Syr Daryā; bringing his account full-circle to the latest phases of the Yasavi lineage he discussed in

the fourth work, he notes that the *murshid* of this lineage—evidently referring to the latest figure he had named, a certain Murād Shaykh—was one Burhān Shaykh ‘Azīzān, and that *his* master was Mawlānā Khwāja Muḥammad Ūtrārī, “whom the common and elite call Ākhūnd ‘Azīzān.”

Several other lineages are followed as well, with most figures discussed belonging to distinct hereditary lineages (“Khurāsān Atā’ī,” “Qīlīchī Atā’ī,” Sayyid Atā’ī) but also linked initiatically with one of the later figures of the Yasavī *silsila* mentioned in the fourth work; this fifth work thus fleshes out the body of disciples of several of those figures, but also reminds us of the repeated intersections of hereditary and initiatic lineages that seem to mark Yasavī history almost from its inception.

Such intersections are reflected in other ways in Marghīnānī’s works, which, as should be evident by now, should be characterized as *primarily* genealogical or initiatic in focus, not exclusively so. In the midst of this fifth work, for instance, and in the course of noting the hereditary Sayyid Atā’ī lineage of one Ya’qūb Khwāja ‘Azīzān—who was himself connected initiatically through one intermediary to Shaykh ‘Uthmān and Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf—he mentions that a son of this Ya’qūb Khwāja, named ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Khwāja ‘Azīzān, was “the first person who obtained licensure” from “this humble slave and servant of the poor and indigent”—i.e., Marghīnānī himself; he then proceeds to identify the second person who was licensed by him as Khalīfa Ḥāfiẓ Tāsh-Muḥammad, who, he explains, had been a disciple of Īshān Imlā’, Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī, and Muḥammad Dhakariyā Khwāja (apparently in that order), but had received licensure from “this humble slave.” For some reason—perhaps the copyist omitted the passage—he fails to mention his third licensee, but he continues his list with accounts of the fourth person licensed by him, Mawlānā ‘Ubaydullāh Turkman, the fifth, Mullā Muḥammad Fayyāz Khujandī, the sixth, Mullā ‘Īdī Muḥammad (also linked previously to Muḥammad Dhakariyā Khwāja), and the seventh, Mullā Ḥayyit-qulī Ūshī (ff. 147b–148b), with genealogical accounts of the latter figure’s wife following thereafter. The fifth work thus not only is invaluable for the history of familial groups linked to the Yasavī tradition, but also bears on the continuity of Yasavī initiatic transmissions beyond Marghīnānī himself.

(6) *An Incomplete Work on the Yasavī Tradition and Marghīnānī’s Role in It*

Quite different handwriting appears on f. 150a, where there is also found, once again, written in red ink, the address “*ay farzand*,” familiar from the third and fourth works; this folio does not begin with the catchword from f. 140b, and its distinctive handwriting continues only to the end of f. 150b, where the

catchword, however, indicates that f. 151a is indeed in the proper order, and continues the text from 150b. The handwriting on f. 151a somewhat resembles that found in the fourth work, but it nevertheless undoubtedly signals a different copyist: it is somewhat neater and finer than in the fourth work, and the copyist does not follow the habit, evident in that fourth work, of almost invariably adding *maddas* to explicit medial *alifs*. In any case, the same handwriting continues almost to the end of the manuscript, forming the bulk of a sixth work (ff. 150a–189b) that thus stands apart in terms of its two copyists, but may have been originally an extension of the fourth work, or a part of a different redaction of it; in any case, it too begins and ends abruptly, with no proper introduction and no conclusion or colophon.

The author is again clearly the same Marghīnānī, as is evident from the frequent self-referential comments and from the repeated instances of the characteristic address “*ay farzand*,” toward the end we find a reference to “the time of this *darvīsh*, who is your father” (*dar zamān-i īn darvīsh ke padar-i shumā ast* (f. 189a). Yet this is a much more personal work, or part of a work, than the others preserved in this manuscript, with extended accounts of the author’s own sequence of Sufi training, and his own visionary experiences, that reveal him to be a quite remarkable religious personality, with a quite exalted sense of his own mission; it is particularly regrettable in the case of this work that no introduction survives to offer some sense of Marghīnānī’s stated aim in compiling it, or of its connection to his other works. The visions, and claims, recorded in this sixth work go well beyond what is presented in the ‘visionary’ section near the end of MS IVRUz 11290, and should remind us, again, of the range of religious profiles, and perspectives, that flourished in a period that is still too often collapsed tendentiously into a mere prologue for the advent of a flattened notion of ‘modernity.’

Much of this sixth work has a focus on doctrine and practice, and will be useful in conjunction with the third work, on the *dhikr*; but there is also frequent discussion of the Yasavī initiatic lineage, with attention to reconciling—or simply combining—the multiple early traditions about Aḥmad Yasavī’s own *silsila*, through the various masters ascribed to him, with citations of various works, mostly familiar (ff. 153a–155a). Already at f. 160a, however, the author begins a somewhat meandering discussion of his own training, claiming that he was first trained by Khīẓr, then by his ancestor Muḥammad-i Ḥanafīya, and then by two other distant ancestors; he claims to have been licensed by “Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī” (and this sixth work, the text of which is generously interspersed with verse, appears to be the only one among his known works in which Marghīnānī sought to show off his poetic talents), and he likewise claims inspiration from Khwāja Kamāl Khujandī. Soon he begins moving

through an essentially chronological list of figures who each gave him three things: the first two—*ijāzat* and *rukḥṣat*—are familiar terms for licensure in Sufi training, while the third is *bashārat*, evidently referring to the “good tidings” of the distinctive role he believed had been destined for him.

The first Sufi mentioned in this connection is Miyān Shāh Ghulām Maʿšūm (a figure shown later with two *silsila*-links between himself and Aḥmad Sirhindī's son Muḥammad Maʿšūm), who, we are told, gave a *kulāh*—a Sufi cap, and a significant marker of designated succession—to “Ghiyāth al-Dīn Valī”—evidently referring to a figure mentioned below, native to Badakhshān—with the explanation that he should convey it to “a Turk” to whom it belonged; it thus came to Marghīnānī, he writes, in a great vision, and between this directive of Shāh Ghulām Maʿšūm—referred to as his *bashārat*—“and my birth,” 120 years passed. The bearer of this ‘good tidings’ is evidently to be identified with Shāh Ghulām Muḥammad Maʿšūm (d. 1175/1761), a Mujaddidī master based in Peshawar;⁹⁴ it is unfortunately impossible to guess when, precisely, his *bashārat* was delivered, leaving this chronological marker unhelpful in pinpointing the year of Marghīnānī's birth.

Next, Marghīnānī writes, it was his master Mawlānā Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī who gave him the *bashārat* about the role he was destined to play. First (f. 162a) he recounts this figure's words on the occasion of the burial of Mawlānā Ibrāhīm Sūkhārī, a disciple of Īshān Imlāʾ, when Chuqmāqī was asked why Īshān Imlāʾ ordered his Sufis to perform “vocal *dhikrs*” (*adḥkār-i jahr*), but did not do so himself; Chuqmāqī explained—with words that help us understand how the phenomenon of ‘bundled’ *silsilas* was understood—that Īshān Imlāʾ used to say, “I hold the lineage of the vocal [*dhikr*] for safekeeping; this *silsila* will go to someone, God willing” (*man silsila-yi jahr amānat dāram, in silsila ba-kasī khwāhad rasīd, inshāʾa'llāh*). “In the same way,” Chuqmāqī continued, “Mawlānā Ibrāhīm used to say, like our lord Imlāʾ, ‘I am the trust-holder of the lineage of the public [*dhikr*]’” (*man amānat-dār-i silsila-yi ʿalānīya-am*). Chuqmāqī, too, had referred to himself as the “lieutenant” (*nāʾib-munāb*) of the Yasavī lineage (*silsila-yi sulṭānīya-yi jahrīya*), Marghīnānī continues, and had predicted,

Any day now, a Turk, from among the Turkic sayyids, will come into the world of [physical] existence, and the perfections of this Royal

94 On this figure, see Waleed Ziad, “Ḥaẓrat Jīo Šāhib: How Durrānī Peshawar Helped Revive Bukhara's Sanctity.” In *Sufism in Central Asia: New Perspectives on Sufi Traditions, 15th–21st Centuries*, ed. Devin DeWeese and Jo-Ann Gross (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 136–7, with further references.

lineage of the Vocal [*dhikr*]*—*may God increase the blessings of the *sil-sila* until the Day of Resurrection*—*will become manifest in his blessed [*dhikr*] circle.⁹⁵

Chuqmāqī had reiterated a similar prediction on his deathbed, we are told, and Marghīnānī concludes his account noting that his master's *bashārat* occurred three years before his own birth; once again the uncertain dating of that 'good tidings'*—*if he referred to the occasion of his death, it would mean that Marghīnānī in fact never met Chuqmāqī during his lifetime, which seems not to have been the case, judging from other accounts*—*leaves it unclear *which* mention of the Turk under whom the Jahrī *silsila* would flourish he had in mind.

In any case, Marghīnānī continues recounting his *ijāzat*, *rukhṣat*, and *bashārat* under "the Pīr-i A'zam," Sayyid Muḥammad Dhakariyā Khwāja, whose disciple he became, he writes, at the age of 18; this master, however, had explained to his disciples ten years earlier that he had been licensed by 62 Jahrī shaykhs, and one Naqshbandī saint, and that, God willing, "a Turk from among the Turkic sayyids" (*yak turkī az sādāt-i atrākīya*) would come after some time and would receive the "connection and lineages" (*nisbat va salāsil*) that *he* had received from those 63 shaykhs. At this point, Marghīnānī begins to recount a remarkable visionary experience, which he likens to the Prophet's *mi'rāj*, in which after traversing multiple levels of hell, he heard the Prophet's voice and was soon taken through the eight paradises, as the spirits of prophets and saints gave blessings for him; during this vision, he encountered three figures from the Naqshbandī *silsila**—*'Abd al-Khālīq Ghijduvānī, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, and Khwāja Īmkana-gī Naqshbandī*—*and, after serving each of them for three years, in his vision, he obtained licensure from each. He then regained normal consciousness, and told his master, the Pīr-i A'zam, about his experience; soon he was receiving licensure to perform the vocal *dhikr* from six prophets*—*Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Dā'ūd, and 'Īsā*—*and performing the *dhikr* together with them, receiving also their promise to look after "every person who enters your *ṭarīq*" (*har kasī ke dākhil-i ṭarīq-i shumā gardad parvarish mikonīm* [f. 164a]).

Further visionary wonders came over him during his training under the Pīr-i A'zam. In one, as he performed austerities in a cave at the famous mountain of

95 MS F745, f. 162a: *sahl rūz-ast ke yak turk az sa'ādat-i* [sic, for *sādāt-i*] *turkīya ba-'ālam-i vujūd āyad, kamālāt-i in silsila-yi sultānīya-yi jahriya dar ḥalqa-yi mubārak-i ū, zāda'llāh barakāt silsila ilā yawm al-qiyāma zāhir gardad.*

Osh known as the Takht-i Sulaymān, a group of spirits appeared and became his disciples, declaring, “We are the ancestors of the holy Ādam,” while another group did the same, declaring that they were *children* of Ādam who had not yet come into the world. In another, he underwent training by the spiritual being (*rūḥānīyat*) of Abū Bakr, then of ‘Alī, and then of several Sufis, including Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī, Ḥakīm Ata, and two prominent ‘Ishqī shaykhs, receiving licensure from all of them; then, Marghīnānī continues, “The holy Ēr Ḥubbī” (referring to a saint typically cast as the wayward son of Ḥakīm Ata) became “my teacher in the vocal *dhikr*” (*mu‘allim-i dhikr-i jahr-i man*), and he next cites further ‘predictions’ by two of his other masters. Mullā Tūrsūn Muḥammad (evidently Khujandī, mentioned in the fourth work) used to say, he writes, “I saw in a book that the holy Prophet said, ‘In the year 200, in a province of the east, one of my descendants will arise from among the tribes of the Turks; his name is Nāṣir al-Dīn, and his year is rendered by [the phrase] “guidance to my peoples.”’”⁹⁶

After then noting his licensure by his next master, Amīr Ghā’ib al-Khujandī *thumma* al-Namangānī—specifying that in this case his *ijāzat* and *rukḥṣat* were given “in the flesh” (*ba-ḥasb-i šūrat va sīrat*), and thus suggesting that his contact with Chuqmāqī and with the “Pīr-i A‘zam” was in the spiritual world—he cites another figure, Dāmullā Ibrāhīm Khaṭīb, for a somewhat less exalted prediction: “This young Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn will become the shaykh of the noble town of Namangān” (*hamīn juvān sayyid nāṣir al-dīn shaykh-i balada-yi fākhira-yi namangān khwāhand shod* [f. 165a]). Several other such ‘predictions’ or laudatory comments are recorded as well, before Marghīnānī returns to a kind of summary of his most important masters (ff. 165b–166a): though he became a *murīd* of every saint he met, he says, his three key guides were Amīr Ghā’ib Namangānī, Niyāz Muḥammad Chuqmāqī, and the “Pīr-i A‘zam” (to whom he assigns specific roles as, respectively, his “master in the

96 MS F745, f. 164b: *mullā tursūn muḥammad mīguft man dar kitāb dīdam ke ḥazrat rasūl (ṣallāllāhu ‘alayhi va sallama) gufta-and ke dar sāl-i duvīst dar vilāyat-i mashriq az miyāna-yi qabā’il-i atrāk az farzandānam kasī ‘urūj konad, nām-i ū nāṣir al-dīn, sāl-i ū* [an undeciphered word, possibly to be crossed out, appears here] *ummatānam-rā hidāyat tāmm rasānad*). The reference to “the year 200” here might point to Marghīnānī’s birth in or around the year 1200/1785–86), but this is again too vague to warrant a more precise dating; however, the phrase that is apparently intended to give the year of his birth (through the numerical value of its letters), *ummatānam-rā hidāyat* (“Guidance to my peoples”), yields 1193/1779 (if we double the value of the *mīm* [40] in *ummatān*, which bears an explicit *tashdīd* in the manuscript). This date is reasonable given the rough chronology surmisable for Marghīnānī’s activity.

sharīʿa and Sufi path” [*pīr-i sharīʿat va ʿarīqat*], his “master in the sanctities of [divine] attraction and [spiritual] madness” [*pīr-i vilāyāt-i jadhba va junūn*], and his “master in the perfections of Truth and the pillars of [divine] Knowledge” [*pīr-i kamālāt-i ḥaqīqat va arkān-i maʿrifat*]); there were nevertheless seven others with whom he entered the bonds of discipleship and whom he considered his “masters” in “fellowship” (*ṣuḥbat*), including several mentioned already in the fourth work:

First, Sayyid ʿUthmān Khwāja Sayyid Atāʾī; second, Ṣūfī Khwāja-yi ʿIshqī; third, Mawlānā Amir Ṣāliḥ Tāshkandī; fourth, Mawlānā Rajab al-Namangānī; fifth, Mawlānā Shāh Raḥmatullāh al-Ḥiṣārī *thumma* al-Bukhārī; sixth, Mawlānā Afghān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm; and seventh, Mawlānā Makhdūm Ūra-tepegī.

This personal and ‘autobiographical’ account gives way at this point to additional discussions of doctrine and practice, first with an exposition of the divine “name of essence” (*ism-i dhāt*), i.e., “Allāh,” then a longer account of the *dhikr*, and eventually a discussion of the “stations” (*maqāmāt*) of the Sufi path; throughout the work, as in other compositions of Marghīnānī, there is little sign of any preconceived structure or ‘hierarchy’ of divisions and subdivisions, beyond the repeated address to his son and the turn to yet another matter he wanted him to know.

(7) *A Short Account of a Handshake Transmission*

The text of the sixth work appears to be coming to an end on f. 189b, but the text breaks off abruptly, and f. 190a bears a new *bismiʾllāh* at the top. The short text that follows, by the same Marghīnānī, occupies all of f. 190a and the first five lines on f. 190b; despite its brevity, it is—unlike many of the sections found in this manuscript—a complete ‘work,’ the **seventh** in the manuscript. It is an Arabic “handshake” (*muṣāfaha*) text, similar to the one known from MS IVRUz 11290 (ff. 42a–43b), and giving the same transmission lineage as recounted there, but without the interesting chronological indications added in that version.

(8) *An Incomplete Work on the Author’s Initiatic Lineages*

A new *bismiʾllāh* appears on f. 190b, after a few blank lines that follow the end of the handshake text, and the **eighth** and final text (ff. 190b–192b) again resembles part of Marghīnānī’s work preserved in MS IVRUz 11290, though it

once again breaks off abruptly at the end of f. 192b. This work first promises to record Marghīnānī's links to the Prophet through four *silsilas*, each framed as passing through one of the first four Caliphs, but identified in terms of Sufi lineages, i.e., 'Ishqī, Jahri, Kubravī, one labeled "Kubravī-Qādiri-Jahri," Qalandarī, Naqshbandī, etc. It is at the end of this short work (f. 192b) that Marghīnānī names yet another of his own masters, namely Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Badakhshī (thus supplying a *nisba* for a figure called simply Ghiyāth al-Dīn Valī in the sixth work [f. 161b]), whose lineage—labeled Naqshbandī-Qalandarī-Jahri—went back through his master Shāh Ghulām Muḥammad Ma'sūm (d. 1175/1761) < Khwāja Muḥammad Ismā'īl < Khwāja Muḥammad Žibghatullāh [*sic*, for Šibghatullāh (d. 1120/1708–09), also the son of his master] < Muḥammad Ma'sūm (d. 1079/1668) b. Shaykh-i Mujaddid (i.e., the son and successor of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī [d. 1034/1624]).

Conclusion

Despite the earlier use of MS Halis Efendi 199/Istanbul University F745, almost exclusively by Togan, the manuscript's 'rediscovery' makes available once again a valuable source on the entire history of the Yasavī tradition; the manuscript also offers, however, what amounts to new and otherwise unknown information on the last phase in the history of Sufism in Central Asia before the impact of the Russian conquest and Soviet rule. The manuscript includes sections that parallel what is found in the Tashkent manuscript IVRUz 11290, and while they are not at all mere copies of one or more works, they both confirm the author's deep interest, and erudition, in the genealogical and initiatic legacies of Central Asian Sufism, and above all of the Yasavi tradition, as they were understood in the latter part of the eighteenth century—both among a host of descent groups that defined themselves in terms of hereditary ties to saints of the Yasavī and other traditions, and among an evidently decreasing assemblage of Sufi communities claiming initiatic ties with the Yasavī *silsila*.

More broadly, several of the works preserved in the manuscript underscore what I argue were two key developments in the Yasavī tradition, and in Central Asian Sufi communities more broadly, that begin to be visible in sources from the eighteenth century, and are vital to understanding the landscape of Sufi communities and Sufi-linked descent groups we find during the nineteenth century, setting the stage for both the 'survival' of some groups in the Soviet

era and the rediscovery, or reinvention, of Sufi groups in the past 35 years.⁹⁷ One is the increasing domination of the social profile of Sufi communities by familial groups that traced their natural descent to prominent Sufi saints of the past, and often appear to have maintained the cultivation of Sufi teaching and practice; the other is the phenomenon I have referred to as the ‘bundling’ of initiatic *silsilas*, in which initiatic relationships that previously would have marked distinct Sufi communities defined in terms of different *silsilas* came to be ‘available’ through shaykhs who in effect collected multiple initiations, from multiple shaykhs based in those distinct communities, but then transmitted several, or all, of those initiations to their followers. Marghīnānī’s works offer ample examples of both processes.

On the other hand, Marghīnānī’s works offer less evidence on the diffusion of Sufi ritual and devotional practices beyond the confines of actual Sufi communities (whether defined initiatically or hereditarily), into the wider public, no doubt reflecting his own keen interest in promoting his own initiatic lineage, and the role of his sayyid lineage within it. His works seem untouched, on the one hand, by the latest phase—during the early nineteenth century—in polemical attacks upon the legitimacy of the vocal *dhikr*, but on the other hand, they bear witness to the longer arc of such attacks, in their vigorous defense of the Yasavī form(s) of the vocal *dhikr* as legitimate and, indeed, superior modes of Sufi practice.

The present study has offered only an outline of the contents of this newly ‘recovered’ manuscript, but the sources it preserves promise to add much more new information, as well as new dimensions, to the growing study of the intellectual history of Central Asia in the century prior to the Russian conquest.⁹⁸ The manuscript’s rich store of hagiographical and biographical data, reflecting both the cumulative lore of the Yasavī Sufi tradition and the eighteenth-century transformations in the understanding of the communal and initiatic dimensions of Sufi communities—much of it refracted through oral transmission and stamped with the distinctive religious outlook of Marghīnānī—offers an

97 See the discussion of these developments in Devin DeWeese, “Re-Envisioning the History of Sufi Communities in Central Asia: Continuity and Adaptation in Sources and Social Frameworks, 16th–20th Centuries.” In *Sufism in Central Asia: New Perspectives on Sufi Traditions, 15th–21st Centuries*, ed. Devin DeWeese and Jo-Ann Gross (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 21–74, and earlier comments in DeWeese, “Dis-Ordering’ Sufism,” and *idem*, “Shamanization.”

98 See, for example, James Pickett, *Polymaths of Islam: Power and Networks of Knowledge in Central Asia* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2020), and Waleed Ziad, *Hidden Caliphate: Sufi Saints beyond the Oxus and Indus* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2021).

alternative to sources reflecting juridical and elite intellectual training and activity, on the one hand, and to the recordings of folkloric and 'popular' narratives increasingly available for this period (both through extant manuscript copies of the *qiṣṣa* genre and through publications by ethnographers or by collectors of epic and folkloric literature), on the other. Its material may disappoint some for running counter to what is taken as the inevitable coming of 'modernity,' and others for reflecting the concerns of the preservers of initiatic and genealogical lore in a relatively limited region, without 'global' reach or interest; for students of Central Asia in this period who are interested in taking stock of the full range of sources available, and who valorize the lore and 'knowledge networks' of local communities as much as 'international' fashions, it will stand as a significant and revealing find. [DD]

References

Personal Correspondence

Correspondence between Devin DeWeese and Shahzad Bashir: 24 February 1999, 20 June 1999.

Correspondence between Devin DeWeese and Judith Pfeiffer: 07 April 2000, 12 April 2000.

Correspondence between Devin DeWeese and Evrim Binbaş: 15 March 2004, 15 April 2004, 23 April 2004, 17 October 2004, 31 August 2005, 28 February 2025, undated.

Archival Sources

Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers X-310 (Yesevi Şairleri).

Published and Unpublished Primary Sources

Ankaravî, İsmâ'îl. *Futūḥāt al-Aynīyya*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS AY4134-02.

Ankaravî, İsmâ'îl. *Tafsîr Sûrat al-Fātiḥa*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS TY2285.

al-Bayḍāwî, 'Abd Allāh 'Alî Abî 'Umar. *Taqrîrât*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS AY1955 (Halis Efendi 191).

al-Bukhārî, Shaykh Khudāyḍād b. Tāsh-Muḥammad. 2006. *Bustān al-muḥibbîn*. Ed. B. M. Babadzhanyan and M. T. Kadyrova. Turkistan: Iasaitanu ghilimi-zertteu ortalighi.

Hâliş Efendi Kütübhanesi Yazma Kitāblar Defteri. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, uncatalogued.

- Hazîni. *Javâhir al-abrâr min amvāj al-bihār*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS TY3893.
- Hazini. 1995. *Cevâhiru'l-ebrâr min emvâc-ı bihâr (Yesevî Menâkıbnamesi)*. Ed. Cihan Okuyucu. Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Gevher Nesibe Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü.
- Hazîni. 2014. *Cevâhirü'l-Ebrâr min Emvâc-ı Bihâr. İyilerin Dalgalı Denizlerden Çıkardığı İnciler -Yesevîlik Âdâbı ve Menâkıbnâmesi*. Ed. Cihan Okuyucu and Mücahit Kaçar. İstanbul: Büyüyen Ay Yayınları.
- Hazîni. 2009. *Menba'u'l-Ebhâr fî Riyâzı'l-Ebrâr "İyilerin Bahçelerindeki Suların Kaynağı."* Ed. Mehmet Mâhur Tulum. İstanbul: Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi.
- Karaçelebizâde 'Abdü'l-'Azîz and al-Ghazâlî. *Ẓafernâme and Tercüme-i Kîmyâ-i Sa'âdet*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS TY2288.
- al-Marghinânî, Sayyid Nâşir al-Dîn. [Untitled work on hereditary and initiatic lineages]. Tashkent, Abu Rayhon Beruni nomidagi Sharqshunosliq Instituti (IVRUz), MS 11290/1, ff. 1a–48a.
- Râzî, Fakhr al-Dîn. *Tafsîr al-Kabîr (Jild-i Awwal)*. İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, MS AY1701.
- Sharîf, Muḥammad. [Collection of Muḥammad Sharîf's works]. İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Reşid Efendi 372.
- Tâhir İshân, Muḥammad Tâhir b. Muḥammad Ṭayyib Khwârazmî. *Tadhkira-yi Tâhir İshân*. Tashkent, Abu Rayhon Beruni nomidagi Sharqshunosliq Instituti (IVRUz), MS 855.

Studies

- 'Alî Emîrî. 1335/1919. Mecmû'a. *'Osmanlı Târîḫ ve Edebiyât Mecmû'ası* 2/14: 266–267.
- 'Alî Emîrî. 1335/1919. Yine Hâliş Efendi'nin Ketm ve İẓâ'e-i Kütüb Mes'alesi. *'Osmanlı Târîḫ ve Edebiyât Mecmû'ası* 2/15: 299–303.
- 'Alî Emîrî. 1335/1919. Ma'ârif Nezâret-i Celîlesine. *'Osmanlı Târîḫ ve Edebiyât Mecmû'ası* 2/16: 331–334.
- Anameriç, Hakan. 2021. Osmanlı Devleti'nde Satın Alınan Özel Kütüphaneler/Koleksiyonlar. Belgesel—Metodolojik Bir İnceleme. *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 40: 298–300.
- Averbek, Güler Doğan. 2025. The Islamic Manuscripts Oskar Rescher Sold to the Breslau State and University Library between 1924–1932. *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 16: 74–96.
- Averbek, Güler Doğan. 2023. Kitap Tüccarı Bir Âlimin Kısa Hayat Hikâyesi: Osman Yaşar Reşer (Oskar Emil Rescher, 1883–1972). *Müteferrika* 63 (2023): 1–25.
- Azamat, Nihat. 1993. Cevâhirü'l-Ebrâr. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 7: 432.
- Babadjanov, Bakhtiyar. 2003. About a Scroll of Documents Justifying Yasawî Rituals. In *Italo-Uzbek Scientific Cooperation in Archaeology and Islamic Studies: An Overview; Rome, January 30, 2001*, ed. Samuela Pagani. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Centro di Studi e Ricerche sul Mondo Islamico)/Tashkent: al-Beruni

- Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences/Samarkand: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan: 289–305.
- Babadzhanov, B. M. 2003. Zikr *dzhakhr* i *sama'*: sakralizatsiia profannogo ili profanatsiia sakral'nogo? In *Podvizhniki islama: Kul't sviatykh i sufizm v Srednei Azii i na Kavkaze*. Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura: 237–250.
- Babadzhanov, B. M. 2010. *Kokandskoe khanstvo: Vlast', politika, religiia*. Tokyo/Tashkent: NIHU Program Islamic Area Studies Center at the University of Tokyo/Institut Vostokovedeniia Akademiia nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan.
- Babadzhanov, B., A. Kremer, and Iu. Paul', ed. 2000. *Kratkii katalog sufiiskikh proizvedenii XVIII–XX vv. iz sobraniia Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademiia Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan im. al-Biruni*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch.
- Babadzhanov, Bakhtiiar, Ul'rike Berndt, Ashirbek Muminov, and Iurgen Paul'. 2002. *Katalog sufiiskikh proizvedenii XVII–XX vv. iz sobranii Instituta Vostokovedeniia im. Abu Raikhana al-Biruni Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag; *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Supplementband 37.
- Babadzhanov, B. M. and S. A. Mukhammadaminov. 2008. *Sobranie fetv po obosnovaniiu zikra dzhakhr i sama'* (A Collection of Fatwas in Defense of the Vocal Dhikr and Sama'). Almaty: Daik-Press.
- Babajanov, Bakhtiyar. 2003. About a Scroll of Documents Justifying Yasavi Rituals. In *Persian Documents: Social History of Iran and Turan in the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Kondo Nobuaki. London/New York: RoutledgeCurzon: 53–72.
- Barthold, W. and M. Fuad Köprülü. 1977 [1940]. *İslam Medeniyeti Tarihi*, trans. Ahad Ural. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları.
- Bashir, Shahzad. 2011. *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Baykara, Tuncer. 1985. A.Zeki Velidî Togan (1890–1970) Bibliografyası (Bibliography). *Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi* 13: 11–33.
- Baykara, Tuncer. 1989. *Zeki Velidî Togan*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı.
- Bayraktar, Nimet. 2003. Tanınmamış Bazı Kütüphane Koleksiyonları. *Journal of Turkish Studies [Festschrift in Honor of Günay Kut]* 27/1: 209–216.
- Beisembiev, T. K. Legenda o proiskhozhdenii kokandskikh khanov kak istochnik po ideologii v Srednei Azii (na materialakh kokandskoi istoriografii). In *Kazakhstan, Sredniaia Aziia i Tsentral'naia Aziia v XVI–XVIII vv.* Alma-ata: Nauka: 94–105.
- Bergdolt, Friedrich. 1981. *Der geistige Hintergrund des türkischen Historikers Ahmed Zeki Velidi Togan*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag; Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 59.
- Bibliography on Manuscript Libraries in Turkey and the Publications on the Manuscripts Located in these Libraries*. Istanbul: IRCICA, 1995.
- Bilgin, Azmi. 2001. İsmail Saib Sencer. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 23: 122–123.

- Bulgakov, R. M. 1996. *Materialy k bibliografii Akhmet-Zaki Validi Togana*. Ufa: Gilem.
- DeWeese, Devin. 1985. "The 'Kashf al-Huda' of Kamal ad-Din Khorezmi: A Fifteenth Century Sufi Commentary on the 'Qasidat al-Burdah' in Khorezmian Turkic (Text Edition, Translation, and Historical Introduction)." PhD Dissertation, Indiana University.
- DeWeese, Devin. 1994. *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- DeWeese, Devin. 1996. The *Mashā'ikh-i Turk* and the *Khojagān*: Rethinking the Links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi Traditions. *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7/2: 180–207.
- DeWeese, Devin. 1999. The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th-Century Central Asia: Descent Groups linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31/4: 507–530.
- DeWeese, Devin. 1999. The Yasavī Order and Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia: 'Ālim Shaykh of 'Alīyābād and his *Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quḍs*. In *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. III: *Late Classical Persianate Sufism (1501–1750), The Safavid and Mughal Period*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn and David Morgan. Oxford: Oneworld Publications: 389–414. DeWeese, *Studies on Sufism in Central Asia* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012; Variorum Collected Studies reprint series), Nos. VI and IX.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2006. 'Stuck in the Throat of Chingīz Khān:' Envisioning the Mongol Conquests in Some Sufi Accounts from the 14th to 17th Centuries. In *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn in collaboration with Ernest Tucker. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag: 23–60.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2012. 'Dis-ordering' Sufism in Early Modern Central Asia: Suggestions for Rethinking the Sources and Social Structures of Sufi History in the 18th and 19th Centuries. In *History and Culture of Central Asia/Istoriia i kul'tura Tsentral'noi Azii*, ed. Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Kawahara Yayoi. Tokyo: The University of Tokyo: 259–279.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2012. Sacred Descent and Sufi Legitimation in a Genealogical Text from Eighteenth-Century Central Asia: The Sharaf Atā'ī Tradition in Khwārazm. In *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet*, ed. Morimoto Kazuo. London: Routledge: 210–230.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2012. *Studies on Sufism in Central Asia*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate; Variorum Collected Studies reprint series.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2013. The Yasavī Presence in the Dasht-i Qipchaq from the 16th to 18th Century. In *Islam, Society and States across the Qazaq Steppe, 18th–Early 20th Centuries*, ed. Niccolò Pianciola and Paolo Sartori. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: 27–67.

- DeWeese, Devin. 2014. Shamanization in Central Asia. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 57: 326–363.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2017. The Disciples of Aḥmad Yasavī among the Turks of Central Asia: Early Views, Conflicting Evidence, and the Emergence of the Yasavī *Silsila*. In *Role of Religions in the Turkic Culture: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Role of Religions in the Turkic Culture held on September 9–11, 2015 in Budapest*, ed. Éva Csáki, Mária Ivanics, and Zsuzsanna Olach. Budapest: Péter Pázmány Catholic University/MTA-SZTE Turkological Research Group: 11–25.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2018. Re-Envisioning the History of Sufi Communities in Central Asia: Continuity and Adaptation in Sources and Social Frameworks, 16th–20th Centuries. In *Sufism in Central Asia: New Perspectives on Sufi Traditions, 15th–21st Centuries*, ed. Devin DeWeese and Jo-Ann Gross. Leiden: Brill: 21–74.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2020. Sufis as the Ulama in Seventeenth-century Central Asia: 'Ālim Shaykh of 'Alīyābād and Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf of Bukhārā. In *Sufis and their Opponents in the Persianate World*, ed. Reza Tabandeh and Leonard Lewisohn. Irvine, California: Jordan Center for Persian Studies: 89–139.
- DeWeese, Devin. 2025. Narratives of Conquest and Genealogies of Custody among the Sacred Families of Central Asia: Manuscript Charters of Ancestral Islamization and Hereditary Privilege. In *Genealogical Manuscripts in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Markus Friedrich and Jörg B. Quenzer. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2025; *Studies in Manuscript Cultures*, Vol. 44: 97–120.
- DeWeese, Devin. (Forthcoming). The Treatise of Ibrāhīm Qavghānī: A Newly Found Source on the Yasavī Sufi Tradition in Central Asia from the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Century. In *Islamic Traditions in 'Greater Khurāsān: Ismailis, Sufis and Sunnis*, ed. Dagikhudo Dagiev. London: I. B. Tauris.
- DeWeese, Devin and Ashirbek Muminov, et al. 2013. *Islamization and Sacred Lineages in Central Asia: The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in Narrative and Genealogical Traditions, Vol. 1: Opening the Way for Islam: The Ishaq Bab Narrative, 14th–19th Centuries / Islamizatsiia i sakral'nye rodoslovnye v Tsentral'noi Azii: Nasledie Iskhak Baba v narrativnoi i genealogicheskoi traditsiiakh*, Tom 1: Otkrytie puti dlia islama: rasskaz ob Iskhak Babe, XIV–XIX vv. Almaty: Daik-Press.
- Erkinov, Aftandil S. 2013. Fabrication of Legitimation in the Khoqand Khanate under the Reign of 'Umar Khan (1225–1237/1810–1822): Palace Manuscript of 'Bakhtiyār-nāma' Daqāyiqī Samarqandi as a Source for the Legend of Altun Bishik. *Manuscripta Orientalia* 19/2: 3–18.
- Hāsān, Nadirkhan. 2001. *Āhmād Māhmud Hāziniy (Hāyati va ijādi)*. Tashkent: Fān.
- Kara, İsmail. 2013. Yaltkaya, Mehmet Şerefettin. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 43: 308–310.
- Karamustafa, Ahmet. 2005. Yesevîlik, Melâmetîlik, Kalenderîlik, Vefâîlik ve Anadolu Tasavvufunun Kökenleri Sorunu. In *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler*.

- Kaynaklar-Doktrin-Ayin ve Erkân-Tarikatlar Edebiyat-Mimari-Güzel Sanatlar-Modernizm*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları: 61–88.
- Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad. 1918. *Türk edebiyâtında ilk mutaşavvıflar*. Istanbul: Matba'a-i Âmire.
- Köprülü, M. Fuad. 1941. Ahmed Yesevî. *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 1: 210–215;
- Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad. 1991 [1918]. *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*. 7th ed. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları.
- Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad. 2006. *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, translated and edited by Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff, with a foreword by Devin DeWeese. London/New York: Routledge.
- Levi, Scott C. 2013. The Legend of the Golden Cradle: Babur's Legacy and Political Legitimacy in the Khanate of Khoqand. In *History of Central Asia in Modern Medieval Studies (In Memoriam of [sic] Professor Roziya Mukminova)*, ed. D. A. Alimova. Tashkent: Yāngi Nāshr: 102–118.
- Levi, Scott C. 2017. *The Rise and Fall of Khoqand, 1709–1876: Central Asia in the Global Age*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Muminov, Ashirbek and Anke von Kügelgen, Devin DeWeese, and Michael Kemper. 2008. *Islamizatsiia i sakral'nye rodoslovnye v Tsentral'noi Azii: Nasledie Iskhak Baba v narrativnoi i genealogicheskoi traditsiiaakh*, Tom 2: *Genealogicheskie gramoty i sakral'nye semeistva XIX–XXI vekov: nasab-nama i gruppy khodzhei, sviazannykh s sakral'nym skazaniem ob Iskhak Babe*. Almaty: Daik-Press.
- Pickett, James. 2020. *Polymaths of Islam: Power and Networks of Knowledge in Central Asia*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Shanazarova, Aziza. 2022. *Tadhkira-yi Tāhīr Īshān: A Neglected Source on the History of the Naqshbandī Sufi Tradition in Central Asia*. *Journal of Sufi Studies* 11: 208–250.
- Subhānī, Tawfīq Hāshim-Pūr and Ḥusām al-Dīn Āqsū (Hüsamettin Aksu). 1374/1995. *Fihrist-i nuskhā-hā-yi khattī-yi fārsī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishgāh-i İstānbūl*. Tehran: Pizhūhashgāh-i 'Ulūm-i İnsānī va Muṭāla'āt-i Farhangī.
- Şensoy, Sedat. 2008. Reşer, Osman. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 35: 10–11.
- [Togan], Aḥmed Zekî Velidî. 1928. H̱vārezmde yazılmış eski türkçe eserler. *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2: 323–324.
- [Togan], Aḥmedzekî Velidî. 1929–1939. *Bugünkü Türkistân ve Yakın Mâzîsi*. Cairo: al-Ma'rifa.
- Togan, A.Zekî Velidî. 1981 [1947]. *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*. 2nd ed. Istanbul: Enderun.
- Togan, Zeki Velidi. 1953. Yesevîliğe dair bazı yeni malûmat. In [60 doğum yılı münasebetiyle] *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*. Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası: 523–529.
- Togan, Zeki Velidi. 1969. *Hâtıralar: Türkistan ve Diğer Müslüman Doğu Türklerinin Millî Varlık ve Kültür Mücadeleleri*. Istanbul: Tan Matbaası.

- Togan, Zeki Velidi. 1973. Salur Kazan ve Bayandarlar. In *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı* by Orhan Şaik Gökyay. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi: CVII–CXIII.
- Togan, Zeki Velidi. 1982 [1972]. *Oğuz Destanı. Reşideddin Oğuznâmesi, Tercüme ve Tahlili*. Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi.
- Togan, Zaki Validi. 1997. *Vospominaniia: Bor'ba musul'man Turkestana i drugikh vostochnykh tiurok za natsional'noe sushchestvovanie i kul'turu*, tr. V. B. Feonova. Moscow, n.p.
- Tosun, Necdet. 1997. Yeseviliğin İlk Dönemine Ait Bir Risale: Mir'âtü'l-Kulûb. *İLAM Araştırma Dergisi* 2/2: 41–86.
- Tosun, Necdet. 2013. Yeseviyye. *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 43: 487–490.
- Tosun, Necdet. 2017. Yesevîlik Araştırmaları için Bazı Mühim Kaynak Eserler. *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 15/30: 83–105.
- Türkiye Kütüphaneleri Rehberi*. 1957. Ankara: Millî Kütüphane Bibliyografya Enstitüsü Yayınları.
- World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts*. 1992. 4 vols. London: Al-Furqân Islamic Heritage Foundation.
- Ziad, Waleed. 2018. Hâzrat Jîo Şâhib: How Durrânî Peshawar Helped Revive Bukhara's Sanctity. In *Sufism in Central Asia: New Perspectives on Sufi Traditions, 15th–21st Centuries*, ed. Devin DeWeese and Jo-Ann Gross. Leiden: Brill: 119–161.
- Ziad, Waleed. 2021. *Hidden Caliphate: Sufi Saints beyond the Oxus and Indus*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.