Kulliyāt Copies Of 'Alisher Nava'i In World Manuscript Collections

Oysara Madalieva
Junior Researcher, Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbeki-stan Academy of Sciences, Trainee teacher at Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan

ABSTRACT

During 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī's lifetime, his works were compiled into collections, so-called kulliyāt. This practice continued for the next five centuries, i.e. until the XIX century. Today, such manuscripts are stored in the collections of Ori-ental manuscripts in France, Russia, Turkey, Iran and Uzbekistan. The article is devoted to the Source study analysis of these kulliyāt and comparative comparison of their content. On the basis of the sequence and contents of the kulliyāt, the author highlights the dominant role of a particular genre in the lit-erary environment of a certain period of time.

KEYWORDS

'Ali Shīr Navā'ī, kulliyāt, literary genre, poems, divans, gazelle.

INTRODUCTION

Copies and versions of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī 's *kulliyāt* (1441–1501) are currently kept in the manuscript funds of England, France, Russia, Turkey, Iran and Uzbekistan[1]. These kulliyāts, compiled in different eras, are structurally different. Some of them have been studied in detail - one can refer to catalogs [Volin 1946: 232-233, Levend 1958: 130-146, Sulaymonov

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[1] We did not have the opportunity to directly get acquainted with the *kulliyāt* of 'Ali Shīra Navā'ī stored in collections abroad. We are grateful to Dr. A.

Erkinov for providing photocopies of the Istanbul and Paris versions of *kulliyāts*.

1973: 83-92, Hakimov 1980: 9-16, Hakimov 1991: 14-27, Aydın 2008: 44 -72, G'aniyeva 2016: 8-30, Vasileva 2017: 220-291]. Early analysis on them was written in the 1960-80s and is mainly dedicated to eight copies of Navā'ī's kulliyāt.

Istanbul versions of the kulliyāt of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī were described in the Agah Sırrı Levend catalog (1897–1978) (Topkapi – Revan, inventory No. 808; Sulaymaniya, inventory No. 4056) [Levend 1958: 130-150, Erkinov 1991: 79-82, Madaliyeva 2018: 77-83]. There is also a Kashgar version of the kulliyāt. According to D. Ruzieva, it is kept in the Alisher Navai Museum of Literature, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences [Ro'ziyeva 1970: 3]. The researcher is trying to prove that the scribe of this kulliyāt was the classic author of Uyghur poetry Abd ar-Raḥim Nizārī (late 18th – 19th centuries). The author also claims that the poet rewrote other works of Navā'ī. In her opinion, this indicates that the Uighurs immensely respected the work of the great poet. This article is so far the only one devoted to the study of the Tashkent version of the Kashgar kulliyāt of Navā'ī.

MATERIALS & METHODS

One of the first researchers on the kulliyāts of Navā'ī in Uzbekistan who initiated the photocopying of collections was Sulaymonov [Sulaymonov 1973: 83-92]. In his article, he noted that "he collected eight of the most famous manuscripts of kulliyāts of Navā'ī stored in world libraries in the [collection] of the State Museum of Literature" [Sulaymonov 1973: 85]. He had mentioned the following versions of the kulliyāts of Navā'ī: Istanbul (Topkapi-Revan, inventory No. 808; Sulaymaniya, inventory No. 4056); St. Petersburg (Russian National Library, inventory No. 55; inventory No. Dorn. 558); Paris (National Library of France, Suppl. Turc.

Inventory Nos. 316 and 317); London (Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of the British Kingdom, Inventory No. OR 47); and Tashkent (Alisher Navai State Museum, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences, Inventory No. 842[2]; Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences, inv. No. 316). Currently, there are photocopies of the Paris and Istanbul versions of kulliyāt kept in the Alisher Navai State Museum, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences. The fate of the remaining photocopies is unknown[3]. Perhaps they are stored in the home archive of the family of Prof. H. Sulaymonov [Sulaymonov 1973: 86-87].

Sulaymonov described in detail these eight kulliyāt. In his article, he expressed his thoughts on the codicological features of the manuscripts of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī. He wrote in detail about the first compilers, and about the rules for compiling and editing them [Sulaymonov 1973: 83]. He also described the shape, size, dating, and provided information about the scribes, using the example of the Paris kulliyāt list [Sulaymonov 1981: 191-194]. The professor described the possible composition of a compilation of the kulliyāts on the basis of the Paris list, supplemented with "bayts and prose of the poet from the Topkapi and St. Petersburg variants, with miniatures of the 15th century" [Sulaymonov 1973: 92]. But for unknown reasons, this publication has not been carried out.

M. Hakimov also studied kulliyāts of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī. In the introduction to the catalog "Description of Navā'ī's manuscripts", M. Hakimov mainly writes about the history of Tashkent lists of kulliyāts of Navā'ī [Hakimov 1983: 3-13]. The catalog basically monographically describes the Tashkent

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[2] H. Suleymanov noted that a photocopy of kulliyāt of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī is kept in the State Museum of Literature, while the original is stored in his personal library.

[3] H. Suleymanov noted that he took information about kulliyāt of Navā'ī stored in the library of Sullaimaniya (inventory no. 4056) in the Agah Sırrı Levend catalog.

collection [Hakimov 1983: 17-39].[4] M. Hakimov claims that in the history of literature of the Turkic world, the kulliyāt of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī was the most perfect and the poet himself was the first compiler of the kulliyāt [Hakimov 1988: 75]. Ali Shīr Navā'ī did not include the Persian "Divān-i Fānī and Risāla-yi Mufradāt" in his kulliyāt, which testifies to the conscious choice of the poet in favoring the development of the Uzbek language and its literature [Hakimov 1988: 77]. With this conclusion, M. Hakimov confirmed some of the key ideas expressed earlier by H. Sulaymonov [Sulaymonov 1973: 92].

Both experts claimed that the inclusion in the kulliyāt of Navā'ī only of Turkic-language works of the poet has a deeply symbolic character. They believed that this fact legitimizes 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī's works as classics in Turkic language and literature [Sulaymonov 1973: 93, Hakimov 1988: 77]. In recent years, other lists of the kulliyāt of Navā'ī have been discovered in the Islamic Republic of Iran [Aydın 2008: 44-72]. The studies of D. Ruzieva, H. Suleymanov, and M. Khakimov did not provide information on Iranian kulliyāt lists.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION
On the analysis of the kulliyāts of Navā'ī

The term kulliyāt [كليات] is of Arabic origin and means "assembled" [Sulaymonov 1973: 84]. Kulliyāt includes the main works of the author that are combined into a single book. 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī at the end of his life composed his own kulliyāt and included twenty-six works in the Chagatai language within it. Subsequent kulliyāts of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī are incomplete. All subsequent *kulliyāt*s mainly include *Khazā'in al-ma'ānī*, *Khamsa*, *Lisān al ṭayr*, *Maḥbub al-qulub*, and therefore are considered incomplete [Hakimov 2013: 134].

M. Khakimov writes about the kulliyāt that, despite its length, it should consist of only one book. These may include: lyrics, epic works, prose. A kulliyāt includes works in a certain order; the compiler of kulliyāt should only be one scribe [Hakimov 2013: 74]. In the "Description of Navā'ī's Manuscripts" catalog, five manuscripts are called kulliyāt [11: 17-39]. According to the definition of kulliyāt by M. Hakimov, only one of them corresponds to all parameters, since only eleven works by Navā'ī are collected in the remaining four manuscripts. The term "collected works" may be used to indicate them. The author agrees with this opinion to the introduction to the catalog [Hakimov 1983: 6]. A similar problem arises when classifying the works of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī. For example, the scholar Şadi Aydın designated the six Iranian versions of the collected works of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī as kulliyāt. Below, we will discuss this problem in detail.

A copy of the kulliyāt of Navā'ī (No. 808), stored in the Topkapi library in the Revan Foundation, was compiled and transcribed by Darvish Muḥammad Tāqī in 901/1496–1497 during the lifetime of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī [Navoiy 1496–1497: 802]. Darvish Muḥammad Tāqī was born in the middle of the 15th century and died in the first half of the 16th century. Information about him is fragmentary [Hakimov 1991: 14]. According to M. Murodov: "Muḥammad Tāqī was a subtle poet of his time" [Murodov 1971: 58]. Darvish Muḥammad Tāqī, in addition to a kulliyāt of Navā'ī, rewrote the works of "Terma dīvānī" by Navā'ī, "Baharistān" by 'Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī and "Lubbi lubābi ma'navī intikhābi masnavī" by Ḥusayn Kāshifī [Munirov 1970, 17, Murodov 1971: 58, Lutfillayev 2017: 188, Hakimov 1991: 14-15]. The particular kulliyāt of Navā'ī written by Darvish Muḥammad Tāqī consists of twenty-six works. It begins with Munājāt (2b – 3b). Next comes khutba-i

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[4] See more about the monographic description: Sodikov K. Matshunoslik wa manbashunoslik asoslari. - Toshkent, 2017. –P. 185.

davāvin, i.e. dibācha to Badāyi 'al-bidāya (4b – 5b).

Next come the religious and philosophical works and tadhkira: Chihil hadith (Arba'in; 6b – 7b), Sirāj al-muslimin (8a – 9b –in the beginning one sheet missed), Nazm al-javāhir (10b – 18a), Lisān al- ṭayr (19b – 54b), Nasāyim al-muḥabbat (55b – 175a). In the kulliyāt, the *Khamsa* poems come in the following order: Ḥayrat al-abrār (176b – 213b), Layli wa Majnūn (214b – 249a), Farhād va Shīrīn (250b – 305b), Sab'a-yi sayyār (306b – 353b), Sadd -i Iskandarī (354b – 422a). Then there are divān as part of the Khazā'in al-ma'ānī: Gharā'ib al-ṣghar (423b – 481b), Nawādir al-shabāb (482b – 539a), Badāyi 'al-wasat (540b – 596b), Fawā'yid al-kibār (597b – 658b). Next are tadhkira, historical works, literature, manāqiby: Majalis al-nafa'is (659b – 693a), Tarikh-i anbiyā va hukamā (694b – 718a), Tarikh-i muluk-i ajam (718b – 733b - no title), Ḥālāt-i Sayyid Ḥasan (734b – 737b), Ḥālāt-i Pahlavān Muḥammad (738a – 741a), Waqfiya (742b – 749b), Mizān al-avzān (750b – 757b), Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin (758b–773a), Muḥākamat al-lughatayn (774b – 781b), and ending with Munshaāt (782b – 802b). Another copy of the kulliyāt (No. 4056) is stored in the Sulaymaniya Library, but the history of this version is unknown [Navoiy: 784]. The copy has the seal of Sultan Mahmud I (1730-1754), which indicates that this kulliyāt was composed in the 18th century. The manuscript consists of the following works: Munājāt (1b – 2b), Chihil hadith (Arba'in; 3b – 4a), Nazm al-javāhir (5b, 9b – 16b), Sirāj al-muslimin (6b – 8b), Lisān al-ṭayr (17b – 51a), Nasāyim al-muḥabbat (52b – 163a), Ḥayrat al-abrār (164b – 203a), Farhād va Shīrīn (203b – 260b), Layli wa Majnūn (261b – 293a), Sab'a-yi sayyār (293b – 338b), Sadd-i Iskandarī (339b – 405b), Khutba-i davāvin i.e. dibācha to Badāyi 'al-bidāya - 406b – 409b), Gharā'ib al-ṣghar (411b – 470b), Nawādir al-shabāb (471b – 528a), Badāyi' al-wasat (529b – 583b), Fawā'yid al -kibār (584b – 646a), Mizān

al-avzān (647b – 657b), Majalis al-nafa'is (659b – 691a), Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin (692b – 706b), Tarikh-i anbiyā va hukamā (707b – 7a), Tarikh-i muluk-i ajam (731b – 745b), Ḥālāt-i Sayyid Ḥasan (746b – 749b), Ḥālāt-i Pahlavān Muḥammad (749b – 753a), Waqfiya (754b – 758b), Munshaāt (75), Muḥākamat al-lughatayn (776b – 784a).

During the restoration of the kulliyāt, the sheets of Nazm al-javāhir and Sirāj al-muslimin switched places [Levend 1958: 143]. According to Agah Sırrı Levend (1897-1978), divan poems and the number of poets in Majalis al-nafa'is vary greatly. However, both of these kulliyāt are very similar. There is no dibācha to Khazā'in al-ma'ānī, or in Maḥbub al-qulub [Levend 1958: 77-83]. In his study on the influence of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī on Ottoman poetry, Sigrid Kleinmichel writes: "Only in two literary genres can the influence of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī be tadhkira and Khamsa" [Kleinmichel 2006: 685]. The source of information on the poetic art of Navai, which influenced Ottoman literature, in our opinion, could be precisely the kulliyāt form. In the collections on the "Cultural Heritage of Uzbekistan" we can find the illustrated book "Works of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī stored in Russian libraries", where there is information about three copies of kulliyāt of Ali Shīr Navā'ī (Khanykov, 55; Dorn, 558; Dorn, 559) [Vasileva 2017: 220-291[5]]. One of the kulliyāt (55 Khanykov) was compiled on 22 zul-hijjah 904 years / July 31, 1499 in Herat. The copy has the following contents: 550 sheets, dimensions: 33x22 cm. The text is written in nasta'liq with 27 lines each. Poetic works are written in 4 columns, prose without columns. The text is written in black ink, the headings are red. The manuscript was restored several times [Vasileva 2017: 220]. This kulliyāt contains the following works of Navā'ī: Lisān al- ṭayr (1b – 36a), Farhād va Shīrīn (37b – 94b), the "old" introduction to divāns (possibly dibācha to Badāyi 'al-bidāya 95b – 98b), Munshaāt (99b – 100b), Waqfiya (111b – 118b), Gharā'ib al-ṣighar

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[5] For these manuscripts see: Volin S.L. Description of manuscripts of Navai's works in Leningrad collections

// Collection of articles edited by A.K. Borovkova. Moscow, Leningrad, 1946.- Pp. 232-233.

(119b – 177b), Nawādir al-shabāb (178b – 234b), Badāyi 'al-wasat (235b – 292b), Layli wa Majnūn (294b – 329b), Sab'a-yi sayyār (330b – 378a), Sadd-i Iskandarī (378b – 448a), Fawā'yid al-kibār (449b – 510a) and Ḥayrat al-abrār (511b – 550a). The author of the inventory believes that this "kulliyāt was compiled during the life of Navā'ī; the poet himself wrote most of the text." During the purchase of the Khanykov collection, it was noted that the main manuscripts are autographs, for example, the works of Navā'ī and the travelogue by Zayn al-ābidin. The author of the inventory refers to the poem Sadd-i Iskandarī, where the scribe asks Allah for mercy on behalf of the reader, but does not mention the already dead author. Furthermore, the author of the inventory argues that the handwriting of the manuscript is characteristic of an unprofessional clerk. Thirdly, professional copyists use the Arabic word "tammat" ("end") in the colophon, and the Turkic "tügändi" ("end") is used in the manuscript. Fourth, there are a lot of editorial amendments in the text (suggesting that the editing was perhaps done by another person) [Vasileva 2017: 220]. Not all arguments of the inventory compiler can be agreed upon. For example, the third argument does not take into account the fact that not all professional scribes used the Arabic "tammat". For example, in the colophon of the divan Nawādir al-nihāya 893 / 1487-1488, rewritten in Herat by A'bd al-Jamil kātib (main fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences: No. 11675), we meet: توکاندی دیوان جدید – *tügändi devān-i jadīd*, translated as "the new divan is finished", written in Turkic [Lutfillayev 2017: 234-235]. A contemporary of the latter, 'Ali Hijrānī, who transcribed Badāyi' al-wasat kulliyāt (BNF Supl.turc. 317; 201a), also used the Turkic phrase "Tügändi Badāyi 'ul-wasat divāni …" in the colophon [Madaliyeva 2019: 96-105]. Therefore, the St. Petersburg list of the kulliyāt of Navā'ī requires additional research. In 1001–1004 / 1592–1596 the scribe Naẓar 'Ali Fayḍī wrote for the library of the governor of Khorasan, Gilan and Mazandaran Abu-l-Manthur Farhād Qaramanli in the city of

Kizilagach kulliyāt' Ali Shīr Navā'ī [Sulaymonov 1973: 88, Vasileva 2017: 79-80. This copy is currently stored in the Russian National Library (Dorn, 558) [Volin 1946: 10, Sulaymonov 1973: 88, Vasileva 2017: 79-80]. H. Sulaymonov in his article points out that the kulliyāt was rewritten in 1004 / 1595-1596-1007 / 1598-1599. [Sulaymonov 1973: 88]. Its contents are as follows: Arba'in (1b – 3a), Nazm al-javāhir (3b – 12b), Ḥayrat al-abrār (13b – 5b), Farhād va Shīrīn (56b – 118a), Layli wa Majnūn (119b – 157b) , Sab'a-yi sayyār (158b – 209b), Sadd-i Iskandarī (210b – 286a), Lisān al- ṭayr (287b – 325b), Khazā'in al-ma'ānī dibāchasi (326b – 330a), Khazā ' in al-ma'ānī (330b - 586a), Majalis al-nafa'is (587b - 613b), Tarikh-i anbiyā va hukamā (614b - 639b), Tarikh-i muluk-i ajam (639b - 654b), Munshaāt (655b – 668a), Maḥbub al-qulub (669b – 694a), Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin (695b – 709a), Risāla-yi mufradāt (710b – 713b), Waqfiya (714b – 722a). Regarding Khazā'in al-ma'ānī, S. Volin noted: "it is a copy of Makhzan al-ma'ānī" [Volin 1946: 10]. H. Sulaymonov did not agree with the opinion of S. Volin [Sulaymonov 1963: 35]. There were other copies of Khazā'in al-ma'ānī, sorted alphabetically [Madaliyeva 2019: 57-69]. At the same time, Terma dīvāni ("Selected verses") from Khazā'in al-ma'ānī were compiled. The Russian National Library has another copy of a *kulliyāt* of Ali Shīr Navā'ī, rewritten in 928 / 1521-1522 consisting of 227 sheets (Dorn, 559) [Vasileva 2017: 232]. The text is written in nasta'liq handwriting; there are 25 miniatures in the text. The collection consists of Chihil hadith, Nazm al-javāhir, and four Khamsa poems (Sadd-i Iskandarī is absent) [Vasileva 2017: 232]. S. Volin and H. Sulaymonov do not describe this manuscript as kulliyāt. The main reason, most likely, is that in this collection there are only 6 works.

The Paris kulliyāt copy of Navā'ī was compiled by Ali Hijrānī in Herat in 930–933 / 1525–1527 [Navoiy 1525-1527: 469 (Suppl. Turc. 316), 406 (Suppl. Turc. 317)]. 'Ali Hijrānī lived in the second half of the 15th - the first half of the 16th centuries and was a major representative of

the Herat school of scribes. Ghiyās al-Din Khondamir (1475, Herat - c. 1535, Gujarat) mentions' Ali Hijrānī as one of the most prominent scribes in the Navā'ī library: "Mavlana Hijrānī is the most famous scribe and master of nasta'liq, often performed with his poems" [Hakimov 1991 17, Navoiy: 246]. This kulliyāt (National Library of France: Suppl. Turc. 316 and 317) is no different from the collection transcribed by Darvish Muḥammad Tāqī. M. Khakimov believes that librarians divided the *kulliyāt* list into two volumes for the convenience of readers. Two volumes consist of 876 sheets and include twenty-six works of Navā'ī.

In the center of folio 2a within a circle there is an ornament (frontispiece) where the following works of Navā'ī are written inside: Munājāt (2b – 4a), Arba'in (5b – 7a), Nazm al-javāhir (8b – 18a), Sirāj al muslimin (19b – 21b), Nasāyim al-muḥabbat (22b – 154a), Lisān al- -ayr (155b – 193a), Ḥayrat al-abrār (194b – 236b), Farhād va Shīrīn (237b – 298b), Layli (299b – 337a), Sab'a-yi sayyār (338b – 391a), Sadd-i Iskandarī (392b – 469a) - the first volume of kulliyāt (Suppl. Turc. 316) ends here, Khutba-i davāvin (2b– 6a), Gharā'ib al-ṣighar (7b – 74a), Nawādir al-shabāb (75b – 137b), Badāyi 'al-wasat (138b – 201a), Fawā'yid al-kibār (202b – 268b), Mizān al -avzān (269b – 276b), Muḥākamat al-lughatayn (277b – 285b), Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin (286b – 301b), Majalis al-nafa'is (302b – 329b), Tarikh-i anbiyā (330b – 354b) Tarikh-i muluk-i ajam (355b – 370b), Waqfiya (371b – 378b), Ḥālāt-i Sayyid Ḥasan (379b – 382b), Ḥālāt-i Pahlavān Muḥammad (382b – 386a) and Munshaāt (387b). On some sheets on colophons there are notes (3: 24b, 31a, etc.). At the beginning of each work, the names are marked in golden letters[6]. The folios of the first part of the kulliyāt (Suppl. Turc. 316) include 169a (Lisān al- ṭayr), 268a (Farhād va Shīrīn), 350b, 356b (Sab'a-yi sayyār), 415b and 447b (Sadd-i Iskandarī) contain the following miniatures: 1. Sheikh San'an near the house of a beautiful Christian woman (169a); 2. Visit of Shirin to Farhad (268a); 3. Bahram Gur on the hunt (350b); 4. Bahram Gur in the black palace of the princess (356b); 5. The battle of Iskander with Darius (415b); 6. Iskander and his army in the Mediterranean Sea (447b) [Sulaymon 1981: 193]. H. Sulaymonov wrote about the discussions between Kühnel, Martin, Bloche, Sakisyan, Stchoukine about the authors of these miniatures [Sulaymon 1981: 193]. For example, Stchoukine claimed that in the first miniature traces of the Herat school were visible, and in the second Safavid elements. He believed that the image of Bahram Gur depicts Shah Ismail (1502-1524), the future prince Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) [Sulaymon 1981: 193] as the young prince. H. Sulaymonov claimed that although the kulliyāt was rewritten at a time when Khorasan belonged to the Safavids, it continued the artistic traditions of the Timurids [Sulaymon 1981: 193]. In 2008 Aydın Şadi published the "Catalog of Turkic Manuscripts Stored in Iranian Libraries" ("İran kütüphaneleri türkçe yazmalar kataloğu") in Istanbul. This catalog lists copies of kulliyāts of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī. So, in the National Library of Tabriz, under number 3682 the Kulliyāt-i Navā'ī is stored. The time of creation and its compiler are not known. Another kulliyāt is kept in the National Library and the Archive of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Inv. No. F-1604). The time of creation and its compiler are also unknown. The same library stores another copy under the number F-105. The time of creation and compiler are anonymous. The contents of the manuscript include: Tarikh-i muluk-i ajam, Ḥayrat al-abrār, Layli wa Majnūn, Farhād va Shīrīn, Iskandar-nama, Baḥram-nama and Lisān al-ṭayr. The volume totals 426 folios.

According to the catalog, the collections of "Kulliyāt-i Navā'ī" are stored in the Gulistan

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[6] In manakib Ḥālāt-i Pahlavān Muḥammad (382b) and manakib Ḥālāt-i Sayyid Ḥasan, the last sheets are connected and have no gap

library under the numbers 1784, 2191, 1770. Treating collection no. 1784, we must state that the time of creation and compiler is not known. The manuscript volume has 600 sheets. Kulliyāt No. 2191 was compiled by the scribe Abd al-Wahhāb Hijāzī in 987/1579. The contents of the collection include Baḥram-nama, Ḥayrat al-abrār, Farhād va Shīrīn, Layli wa Majnūn, Iskandar-nama and Bayān al-ṭayr (Lisān al-ṭayr). There are 18 miniatures and the manuscript has 405 folios.

At the beginning of the manuscript there is a seal of Nasriddin Shah Qajar (July 16, 1831 – May 1, 1896). Most likely the manuscript was kept in his palace library. The copyist is named Ibn Abd al-Makārim Abd al-Wahhāb Hijāzī who was a representative of the Bukhara school of scribes of the 16th century. [Hakimov 1983: 115-116, Hakimov 1991: 19]. The Hamid Sulaymon Fund at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan has a manuscript No. 2630 rewritten by this scribe [Hakimov 1983: 116]. The Tehran and Tashkent copies of kulliyāt of Navā'ī copied by Abd al-Wahhāb Hijāzī contain 18 miniatures. They were copied in 1579–1580. Perhaps these copies are made on the same principle. It must be borne in mind that the Iranian *kulliyāt* includes only Khamsa and Lisān al-ṭayr. Therefore, they cannot be called complete lists. Most likely, in this case, the term kulliyāt of Navā'ī is used in a narrower sense and resembles the variation of kulliyāt called Khazā'in al-ma'ānī.

The copyist of the Gulistan version of kulliyāt of Navā'ī (Inv.No. 1770) is unknown. The composition of the collection includes:

Muqaddima-i manzum, Nasr-i alayi, Jaml al-abrār, Khusrav va Shirin, Layli wa Majnūn, Sab'a-yi sayyār, Dibācha-i divān-i ghazal, Divān-i sāni mavsum be Nawādir shabāb, Divān-i thalith mavsum be Badāyi 'al-wasat, Divān-i rabi' mavsum be Fawā'yid al-kibār, Kitāb-i Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin, Kitob-i Inshā, Kitāb-i Majalis al-nafa' , Kitāb-i tarikh, Risāla-yi Waqfiya, Risāla-yi mu'ammā, Kitāb-i Nasāyim al-muḥabbat min shamayil futuvvat, Sharh-i ḥāli Shaykhi San'ān, Kitāb-i aruz and Risala dar bayāni Sayyid Ardashir[7].

The Persian work Risāla-yi mu'ammā (Risāla-yi mufradāt)[8] included in the kulliyāt of Navā'ī was included in the list created by Naẓar 'Ali Fayḍī (Dorn, 558). Most likely H. Sulaymonov was not familiar with the Gulistan list of *kulliyāt*. H. Sulaymonov believed that the inclusion of Risāla-yi mu'ammā contradicts the principles of creating kulliyāt of Navā'ī [Sulaymonov 1973: 92]. Probably, the inclusion of the Persian-language work in the Turkic-speaking corps depended on the geography of writing and politics of that time, and not on the principle of the compilation.

At the Abu Ali Sino University of Hamadan, under No. 104 is stored a kulliyāt of Ali Shīr Navā'ī. The time and author of the correspondence are unknown. There is no beginning and end to the collection. The volume of the manuscript is 300 sheets.

Five manuscripts of kulliyāt are stored in the "Description of Navā'ī's Works" catalog of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences. The author of the

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[7] The works in Kulliyāt are given as described in the catalog. Perhaps the author used a Persian-language catalog. In the Middle Ages, there was no clear title for the works of 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī. See: Sulaymonov H. Navoiy asarlarining manbalari va nashri haqida // Alisher Navoiy. "Xazoyin ul-maoniy" - "G'aroyib us-sig'ar". O'n besh tomlik, birinchi tom. - Toshkent: O'zSSR Davlat badiiy adabiyot nashriyoti, 1963; Sirojiddinov SH., Erkinov A. Kirish // Alisher Navoiy: qomusiy lig'at. II tom. Mas'ul muharrir: f.f.d., prof.

Sh.Sirojiddinov. Ijodiy guruh: S. G'aniyeva, A. Erkinov, O. Davlatov, E. Ochilov, K. Mullaxo'jayeva, D. Yusupova, Z. Mamadaliyeva, I. Ismoilov, A. Malikov, L. Jo'rayeva. - Toshkent: Sharq, 2016. - B. 8-30.; Madaliyeva O. "Xazoyin ul-maoniyning umumiy alifbo tartibli nusxasi" // Alisher Navoiy va XIX asr. - Toshkent, 2019. - B. 57-69.
[8] "Risolai mufradot" is written in Persian." Cit. from: Makārim al-akhlāq [28:42].

catalog notes that not all kulliyāt covers all Navā'ī works and is only conditionally called and classified as kulliyāt [Hakimov 1983: 6]. These manuscripts are numbered 316, 526, 2589, 163, and 1248. M. Hakimov notes about these versions: "They do not fully comply with the principles of the compilation of kulliyāt, but are very close to the genre kulliyāt" [Hakimov 1983: 6]. The most complete among them is a copy copied in 1824–1830 by Abd al-Raḥim ibn Muḥammad Fāḍil Kashgharī (H.S. 316) [Navoiy 1824–1830: 692, Hakimov 1983: 6-30]. This collection consists of sixteen works of Navā'ī (with the Khazā'in al-ma'ānī complex there will be nineteen if included). The content and appearance of this kulliyāt differ from Istanbul, St. Petersburg, Paris, and Tehran ones. The collection begins with a Dibācha to Badāyi 'al-bidāya and continues with Khazā'in al-ma'ānī divans. The Khamsa poems are out of order. This means that the compiler of kulliyāt did not consider the Khamsa as a single composition but as independent poems. Folio 2a contains a register of works by an unknown author. On folios 2a – 13b the author gives a description of the contents of the collection. The works are arranged in the following order: Dibācha to Badāyi 'al-bidāya (16b – 21a), a set of divans Khazā'in al-ma'ānī (22b – 329b)[9], Majalis al-nafa'is (333b – 361b), Lisān al- ṭayr (363b – 393a), Maḥbub al-qulub (394b – 422b), Ḥayrat al-abrār (424b – 458a), Khazā'in al-ma'ānī dibāchasi (459b – 463b), Munshaāt (463b – 481b), Farhād va Shīrīn (483b – 532a), Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin (533b – 540a), Layli wa Majnūn (542b – 572a), Arba'in (573b – 576a), Hilāliya qasidashi (576b – 577b), Sab'a-yi sayyār (579b – 620a), Sadd-i Iskandarī (621b – 680a), Waqfiya (681b – 692a). Perhaps the composition of kulliyāt of Navā'ī depended on the compiler and customer and the literary tastes of the era. For example, in the Tashkent copy of kulliyāt, his verses (divans) were primarily valued. Arba'in was carefully copied in the manuscript. Each of the 40 hadiths is

framed with golden patterns. The hadiths are copied in thulth calligraphy, and after each hadith, Navā'ī comments are given in the qit'a genre. M. Hakimov in the explanations to the catalog claims that this kulliyāt is a product of the Kashgar school of scribes. It is known that in the first half of the 19th century Kashgar fought China's expansion [Taşağil 2002]. Obviously, the compilation of the kulliyāt in such a difficult situation, in 1824–1830, was symbolic.

CONCLUSION

As a result, we come to the following conclusions:

The collection of works of the poet in one volume is called kulliyāt. The collection may include lyrical, epic, historical, or scholarly works of the author. Several works of Navā'ī collected together in some catalogs are called kulliyāt, although they do not cover all the works of the poet. Despite this fact, we must continue to study these kulliyāts, taking into account the context of the era and the worldview of the compiler. Kulliyāt could be compiled based on the whims of the author, calligrapher, or customer. Kulliyāt compilations were basically copied by one calligrapher. Kulliyāts are considered a model of book writing and miniature. At the same time, miniatures of various art schools can be found in Kulliyāts. Prof. H. Sulaymonov believes that the Parisian versions (Nos. 316, 317) and the Sulaymani copy (No. 4056) from Topkapi (No. 808) are the kulliyāt, compiled by Navā'ī himself. Although these versions are compiled differently, they are united by the fact that in all three versions there is no Maḥbub al-qulub and Dibācha to Khazā'in al-ma'ānī. Such a composition allows one to agree with the opinion of the specialist. A kulliyāt compiled by 'Ali Shīr Navā'ī himself is not reproduced in any of the well-known lists. This phenomenon

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[9] In this kulliyāt, all the verses of the Khazā'in al-ma'ānī divan are given in alphabetical order.

testifies to the dependence of the methodology of compiling kulliyāts in different eras and the influence of literary tastes on this work.

D.S. Likhachev wrote: "The study of the text is the foundation for further discoveries in literary criticism" [Likhachev 1962: 29]. We believe that a critical textual study of the kulliyāt of Navā'ī will provide the keys to a further understanding of the development of history and literature in the Central Asian region. Also, the publication of facsimiles of kulliyāt will be an important milestone in studying Navai's literary heritage.

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