



Article

Problems Concerning the Manuscript Sources, Structure, and Content of Hashmat Bukhari's Divan

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Annotation: This article provides a scholarly analysis of the manuscript sources, structural composition, and textual features of "Devoni Ghazaliyot" by Mirsiddiqkhan Hashmat Bukhari, one of the prominent representatives of 19th-century Tajik literature. The study examines the author's creative legacy in Persian, Arabic, and Turkic languages, his representation in biographical anthologies (tazkiras) and poetic collections (bayāz), as well as his position within the literary milieu, employing source studies and comparative literary analysis methodologies. The article further substantiates the connection between Hashmat's oeuvre and the Indian style (the Bedil school), highlighting the predominance of symbolism, subtle expression, mystical content, and Sufi-oriented perspectives in his artistic thinking. It also demonstrates, through textual examples, that the poet composed works in various genres, including the ghazal, qasida, mukhammas, rubai, and others, with particular emphasis on his innovative semantic approaches and extensive use of artistic imagery in the ghazal genre. The findings indicate that Hashmat's literary output is significant not only from an aesthetic and literary standpoint but also in terms of its historical and social content. He is characterized as a poet who reflected the socio-political issues of his time, criticized courtly environments, and inclined toward Enlightenment ideas. Based on manuscript sources, the article proposes new approaches to the scholarly study of Hashmat's "Devoni Ghazaliyot."

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Key words: Mirsiddiqkhan Hashmat Bukhari, Devoni Ghazaliyot, Tajik literature, manuscript studies, textual analysis, Persian poetry, Indian style (Sabk-i Hindi), Bedil school, Sufi literature, literary heritage, ghazal poetry, source studies, comparative literary analysis, nineteenth-century literature, artistic imagery.

Introduction

Many valuable scholarly, literary, and historical works authored by Mirsiddiqkhan Hashmat in Persian, Arabic, and Turkic languages have survived to the present day. The study and analysis of these works constitute one of the important issues in literary scholarship. To substantiate and confirm the above observations, it is appropriate to refer to the author's own reflections. He writes [1]:

Burdī garav az forisī maydoni fasohat,

Hashmat, sukhanoni tu ba tozī, kī tavonad.

A semantic translation of the verse is as follows:

O Hashmat, you have won the prize in the field of eloquence through the Persian language; who could possibly translate your words into Arabic?

Methodology

The prominent scholar Sadriddin Ayni likewise emphasized Mirsiddiqkhan Hashmat's mastery of Persian, Turkic, and Arabic languages, stating:

"Hashmat composed poetry and prose works in Persian, Turkic, and Arabic. In addition, he authored treatises in various fields of knowledge and engaged in editorial and scholarly activities"

Furthermore, Sharifjon Makhdum Sadri Ziyov, in his work *Tazkori Ash'or*, described Mirsiddiqkhan Hashmat's intellectual capacity, talent, and exceptional creative mastery in poetic form. In addition to this characterization, the author included several poetic examples from Hashmat's literary heritage, thereby providing further evidence of his artistic skill and literary achievements:

*Zi ash'ori turkii on mustatob,
Namudam du-se baytro intixob.*

*Ki to qudratash dar sunufi kalom,
Mubarhan shavad nazdi ahli anom.*

*Ba tozi varo niz ash'orhost,
Ki har yak az on gavhari bebahost.*

*Bale, az nitoji chunon shahriyor,
Rasid haminchun gavhari shohvor [6, 106].*

Semantic Translation:

*Turkiy she'rlaridan uning nafis va go'zal namunalaridan
Ikki-uch baytini tanlab oldim.*

*Toki uning so'z san'atidagi qudrati
Xalq va ilm ahllari oldida yaqqol namoyon bo'lsin.*

*Arab tilida ham uning she'rlari mavjud bo'lib,
Ularning har biri bebaho gavhardir.*

*Ha, ana shunday buyuk ijodkorning ma'naviy merosi natijasida
Shunday qimmatli va shohona durdona yuzaga kelgan.*

Despite the various hardships imposed by thirty-five years of house arrest and a highly restricted environment, Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat remained consistently engaged in the pursuit of knowledge and the composition of numerous scholarly and literary works. Information concerning this aspect of his life is recorded in Hoji Ne'matulloh Muhtaram's *Tazkirat ush-shuaro:

Results and Discussion

"Although he lived in solitude and seclusion, his poetry enjoyed widespread popularity among the people. No matter how isolated and withdrawn he remained, his verses circulated extensively through literary anthologies and miscellanies. It seemed that as soon as his fresh and original poems were composed, they immediately became known

among the public. He devoted considerable effort and diligence to collecting the *divans* of both classical and later poets, as well as compiling anthologies of poetic meanings and themes [2].

Moreover, through his initiative, several booksellers became actively involved in the trade and dissemination of books."

*Menihad dar zeri poyi fikr kursī az sipihr,

To ba kaf meovarad yak ma'nii barjastaro* [3].

A contextual translation of these verses may be rendered as follows:

"Beneath the feet of thought stands a throne as vast as the heavens,

From which one attains a sublime and luminous meaning."

The foregoing observations demonstrate that the works of Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat had already been recorded in various literary anthologies (*bayoz*) and biographical collections (*tazkiras*) during the period of his house arrest, attracting the attention of scholars and compilers of literary biographies. His systematic study of the literary heritage of the past and his profound reverence for the works of earlier authors significantly contributed to the expansion of his intellectual outlook and artistic imagination. This intellectual foundation enabled him to produce *tazkiras*, memoirs, a *Divan of Ghazals*, and numerous treatises on diverse subjects.

Tazkiras occupy a prominent place within Hashmat's creative legacy [4]. In compiling thematic *tazkiras*, he achieved a level of success that surpassed many of his contemporaries.

Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat was a prolific and innovative author who produced works in a wide range of scholarly disciplines. Consequently, his literary heritage is remarkably rich and multifaceted. Authors of literary sources and *tazkiras* highly praised both his poetic talent and his authority as a compiler of literary biographies, emphasizing the historical and literary significance of his writings [5].

The present section examines the structure and content of Hashmat's manuscript entitled *Devoni Ghazaliyot*.

The writer's artistic style is characterized by a strong inclination toward the Indian Style (*Sabk-i Hindi*) and the Bedilian literary tradition. This literary movement emerged in India during the late sixteenth century within Persian-Tajik literature and subsequently spread widely throughout Transoxiana, Khorasan, and Western Iran.

Among the most important features of the Indian Style are the expression of concealed meanings, refinement of language, symbolic representation, elegance of speech, subtle intellectual reflection, emotional depth, and the broad scope of poetic imagination [6].

Prominent Tajik literary scholars such as Sadriiddin Sa'diyev in *Tajik Literature in the Seventeenth Century* and Usmon Karimov in *Tajik Literature of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century and the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* have provided detailed analyses of the distinctive stylistic characteristics of writers from this period.

The influence of the Indian Style in Tajik literature began in the sixteenth century and intensified considerably during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In his study of the literary history of the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, Usmon Karimov concludes that the influence of the Indian Style increased significantly during this period, particularly through the growing prestige of its last major representative, Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil [7].

Thus, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the sphere of influence of the Indian Style had expanded even further, giving rise to new artistic phenomena in literature [8].

The essence and distinctive features of the Indian Style require poetic thought to be conveyed through veiled, symbolic, and intellectually complex expressions. The majority of literary works produced during this period clearly exhibit the characteristic features of this style. Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat likewise belonged to the circle of followers and devoted adherents of the literary school established by Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil.

Hashmat's poetry is distinguished by its rich poetic constructions, sophisticated literary devices, original meanings, semantic harmony, verbal elegance, and the skillful use of words and expressions [9].

Ghazals

An examination of the structure and content of Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat's *Devoni Ghazaliyot* reveals that the ghazal occupies a central position in his oeuvre, both in terms of thematic content and artistic richness. One of the defining characteristics of the ghazal tradition of this period was the diversity of poetic imagery and the poets' inclination toward the Indian Style. However, they were not exclusive adherents of this literary trend. On the contrary, they also paid considerable attention to the creative traditions and aesthetic ideals of the great masters of Persian literature Hafiz, Jami, and Alisher Navoiy and consciously followed their example in their ghazals [10].

For this reason, the study of these ghazals provides a valuable scholarly basis for tracing the development of both the Indian and Iraqi literary styles and for identifying the specific features of their application. Literary anthologies and *tazkiras* contain a greater number of examples from Hashmat's ghazals than from any other genre, indicating that these works attracted notable attention from both biographers and literary researchers [11].

Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat g'azallarining aksariyati "Hashmat" taxallusi bilan yaratilgan. Biroq, October Revolution g'alabasidan so'ng shoir "Vohid" taxallusini tanlaydi. Bu haqda Shayx Abdulqodir Karomatullohi Buxoriy quyidagicha ma'lumot beradi: "Hashmat inqilobdan keyin o'ziga 'Vohid' taxallusini tanlagan edi. U nihoyatda bilimdon, fazilatli, tarixchi shaxs bo'lib, falakiyot, nujum va boshqa ilmlar bo'yicha ham chuqur bilim va xabardorlikka ega edi".

Hazar zi jur'ati Vohid, ki dar maqomi g'urur,

Qadam nihoda nadonad, ki rasmu rohi man ast [12].

Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat's mastery in expanding meanings and creating new semantic layers is most vividly manifested in the ghazal genre. The majority of his ghazals are devoted to themes of love and beauty, the realities of life, moral instruction and ethical values, as well as criticism of ignorant and status-seeking individuals. It should be noted that Hashmat's ghazals generally consist of seven to nine couplets and were composed under the influence of, and in imitation of, the ghazals of Hafiz Shirazi, Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil, and Abdulqodirkhoja Savdo.

As noted above, the influence of the Bedilian style was exceptionally strong in the works of poets of this period, a fact that can also be observed through the following examples. For instance:

Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil:

Chashmi shuxat ayni noz, abruy mushkin nozi mahz,

In chi tufonest, yo Rab, noz bar boloi noz [13].

Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat:

To kushodi az kamoni abruvon paykoni noz,

E'timode yoft lag'zish behad az paymoni noz [14].

Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil:

Bepardast jilva zi tarfi niqobi subh,
To kay ravi chu didai anjum ba xobi subh.

Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat:

Bo jilvai xayoli tu, ey oftobi subh,
Shud pardahoi didai mo az niqobi subh [15].

The above examples demonstrate that the influence of the Bedilian style was particularly strong in the literary environment of the period. A comparison of these verses reveals clear thematic and stylistic parallels between the poetry of Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil and that of Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat. Although Hashmat's ghazals did not reach the same level of artistic sophistication and semantic complexity as Bedil's works, he nevertheless sought to emulate the master poet and to compose poetic responses to his verses. This tendency reflects Hashmat's admiration for the Bedilian literary tradition and his aspiration to continue its aesthetic principles within his own poetic practice.

Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat also composed a *tatabbu'* (poetic imitation) and a poetic response to one of Abdulqodirkhoja Savdo's ghazals, achieving a certain degree of success in this literary endeavor.

Abdulqodirxo'j

a Savdo:

Abdulqodirkhoja Savdo:

*Dar harimi dil jafoi kist rahbar teg'ro,
Garchi nabvad roh dar saddi Sikandar teg'ro.*

*Mavji may to obi shamsheri sitam farqe nadosht,
Shavq pindorad ba dasti yor sog'ar teg'ro.*

*Boz zin daryo sare berun kashi hamchun hubob,
Har qadar mavji havodis rext bar sar teg'ro [8, 153].*

Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat:

*Zad ba yak teg'am, nakard on naxl yaksar teg'ro,
Toyiri shavqam nadod afsus shahpar teg'ro.*

*Kushtai tegi turo shavqest, fardo kay nihad,
Dar tarozuyi amal bo obi Kavsar teg'ro.*

*Kushtai tegi tuam, tegi tu az man tashnatar,
Bar saram az ob ham afshon sabuktar teg'ro.*

An examination of the content and essence of Abdulqodirkhoja Savdo's ghazal reveals that it possesses a distinctly mystical and Sufi-oriented character and was composed in the Bedilian style. In contrast, Hashmat's ghazal contains expressions of dissatisfaction with the vicissitudes of fate, reflections on the sufferings inflicted by the beloved, and, in certain instances, elements of mystical and philosophical contemplation.

It is noteworthy that terms such as *oyina* (mirror), *shisha* (glass), *vahdat* (unity), and *ajz* (humility or helplessness) are characteristic features of the Indian Style. The use of such concepts gradually became a literary convention among poets associated with this school. The frequent occurrence of these terms and expressions throughout Hashmat's *Devoni Ghazaliyot* confirms his close adherence to this literary tradition and demonstrates the profound respect he held for its aesthetic and intellectual principles.

In addition to composing ghazals, qasidas, mukhammas, masnavis, and elegies (*marsiyas*), Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat also produced individual poems in several other minor literary genres. Some of these works will be discussed and analyzed in the following sections.

Qasida According to the Tajik scholar Rasul Hodizoda, the qasida genre experienced a significant decline during this period, both in form and content (8, p. 70).

The unhealthy cultural and social environment of the time appears to have exerted a negative influence on qasida composition, contributing to a weakening of artistic quality, a reduction in thematic depth, and a gradual deterioration of the genre's structural coherence. The majority of Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat's qasidas were dedicated to the praise of Amir Muzaffarkhan and therefore belong to the category of panegyric qasidas. The remaining qasidas were written in an autobiographical (*hasbi hol*) spirit and focused on criticizing members of the ruling elite, expressing objections to the political order of the Emirate and its administrative practices.

Furthermore, some of his qasidas reflect the principal ideas of the Bukhara Enlightenment movement. For instance, in his qasida entitled "Xitob ba qiblagohi xud Amir Muzaffar" ("Address to My Qibla, Amir Muzaffar"), the poet openly articulates his critical views and strongly condemns the members of the royal court:

**Chun zin jahon tu raxt kashidi ba bog'i xuld,
Pahluyi man nadidai orom bistaro.**

**Kunji qafas mahalli tamoshogaham shudast,
To ruhi tu fishonad az in g'am shahparro.**

**Geti chi ta'naho, ki ba holam namekunad,
Guyo nayoft g'ayri man in zol muztaro.**

**Aftodaam ba majlisi xalqe, ki be gazof,
Az nang meramad zi muloqotashon haro.**

**Bar holi xud kunam agar ohanggi giryaе,
Xandand, qoh-qoh ba man hamchu shashdaro [7, pp. 42–43].**

Although Amir Muzaffar is mentioned with praise and respect in the qasida “Voqea navmiya va oqibati kori Amir Muzaffar”, preserved in the manuscript copy of Hashmat’s Devoni Ghazaliyot, the work also pays particular attention to the consequences of his actions and to the concepts of reward and punishment on the Day of Judgment. Hashmat reflects on the fate of Amir Muzaffar and the outcomes that may arise from his deeds in a sincere yet cautious and indirect manner. The poet presents his critical views through an objective assessment of reality, expressing them on the basis of careful observation of contemporary life:

*Dar kori shar’ niz takohul zi jad biburd,
Gar jahd mefuzud, judo bud yovaro.*

*A’moli zolimash chi jafoho ba holi xalq,
Kardand, u nadosht charo hech bovaro.*

*In ganjho, ki ta’na zanad bar xayoli dahr,
Az javri zulm bud, na chun bodavoro.*

*Tu bexabar, ki bar sari darvoziyon chi raft,
Atfolashon judo shuda, zanho zi shavharo.*

*Az guftahoi u mutanabbah shudam base,
Kardam nazar ba sui on hashri asg’aro.*

*Didam miyoni tudai jonho fitodaast,
Bar nazdashon nishasta janobi Payambaro [7, pp. 45–46].*

The examples cited above demonstrate that Hashmat’s qasidas are characterized by a strong spirit of protest, criticism of the oppression and injustice practiced by the rulers of his time, depictions of the deteriorating conditions of society, and reflections on the difficult circumstances of the poet’s own life. Consequently, like the qasidas of Qori Rahmatulloh Vozeh, Shamsiddin Shohin, and Ahmad Donish, the majority of Hashmat’s qasidas reflect the socio-political realities of the Bukhara Emirate. Their thematic content and underlying ideological message reveal clear indications of reformist thought and aspirations toward social and intellectual renewal.

Like his contemporaries among the panegyric qasida poets—Afzalmakhdumi Pirmastiy, Anbar, Mirzo Abdulazimi Somiy, and other poets associated with the royal court—Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat had the opportunity to praise and glorify the ruling elite. However, as a representative of the oppressed strata of society, he consistently remained sympathetic to the common people and expressed his objections to the inappropriate actions and injustices of government officials and wealthy individuals.

Mukhammas

Hashmat’s Devoni Ghazaliyot contains one mukhammas composed in response to a ghazal by Soib Tabrizi, three based on ghazals by Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil, two linked to ghazals by Hayo, two composed on ghazals by Mazhar, and one based on a ghazal by Kalim Kashani, amounting to a total of nine mukhammas.

These mukhammases primarily explore themes of love, mysticism, and spiritual enlightenment. Among the poets who were deeply influenced by Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil, Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat occupies a notable position. Both in content and form, his mukhammases demonstrate a considerable degree of affinity with Bedil's poetry. To illustrate this observation, it is useful to examine one of Hashmat's mukhammases in greater detail:

Mashqi yodi didani ruyat dilam to mekunad,
Juyi xun bar chashmam az dil roh paydo mekunad.

Chun kafat e'jozi mu'jaz peshi Muso mekunad,
Dastu po rangin turo mashshota be jo mekunad,

Ey sarat gardam, hino hangoma barpo mekunad...

Har dilero dar jahon behad ba chize orzuzt,
Chashmi har yak jonibe v-on bahri sayri rangi bust.

Zumraero qul-quli mino sadoi zikri "Hu"-st,
Az hama qat'i nazar kun, to bubini ruyi Dust,

Chashm bastan az jahon, chashmi digar vo mekunad [7, 39].

This mukhammas corresponds closely to the ghazals of Mirzo Abdulqodir Bedil in terms of content, thematic orientation, underlying purpose, and manner of poetic expression. It may therefore be concluded that Hashmat was particularly attracted to Bedil's concepts of love and mystical spirituality. His admiration for Bedil's intellectual and artistic worldview is clearly reflected in the structure and imagery of this composition.

Hashmat's other mukhammases likewise demonstrate a strong conformity with the ghazal traditions of the poets whom he imitated. Both in their formal construction and in their adherence to the tradition of nazira (poetic response or imitation), these works attest to the poet's literary skill and creative competence.

As noted above, in addition to ghazals, qasidas, and mukhammases, Hashmat's *Devoni Ghazaliyot* also contains examples of other poetic genres, including masnavis, rubaiyat, fards, shahroshubs, musallas poems, historical qit'as, and several other forms of verse. Some of these compositions possess comparatively less literary and artistic value than his major works. In order to illustrate this observation, several representative examples may be considered.

Ruboiy:

*Dildor mudom dardi sar dod maro,
Dardi dilu ham ohi sahar dod maro.
Dar kokuli u volaamu dil dodam,
Dar har sari mu dardi digar dod maro [7, 75].*

Fard:

*Be rashhi inoyat zi kafi Xizr muhol ast,
Nushidani obe, ki Sikandar natavonist [7, 75].*

Shahroshub:

Guftam, ey saqqoi pir in nolaat az bahri chist?

Guft: Dam darkash, ki mashki man ba jomam xun girist [7, 76].

These examples indicate that their themes and underlying ideas largely derive from the literary traditions of earlier poets. Consequently, they display relatively limited evidence of innovative artistic exploration or original poetic imagery. While these compositions reflect the author's familiarity with classical literary conventions, they contribute less significantly to the development of new aesthetic forms and thematic approaches.

In another instance, Hashmat depicts the difficulties and hardships of his own life through the genre of musallas:

Ne'mati ayyom samm boshad maro,

Shodii ayyom g'am boshad maro,

Rohati davron alam boshad maro.

Shud jigar afsurdavu chashmam safed,

Baski kardam girya dar rohi umed,

Dida chun naqshi qadam boshad maro.

Gashtaam oshiq ba on siminzakan,

Raftaam az xud ba yodi on dahan,

Jilva dar shahri adam boshad maro [7, 77].

In this poem, the poet presents a deeply personal portrayal of suffering and emotional distress. The blessings of life are metaphorically described as poison, while joy itself becomes a source of sorrow. The imagery of a weakened heart, tear-filled eyes, and unfulfilled hopes conveys a profound sense of disappointment and spiritual exhaustion. At the same time, the poem incorporates traditional motifs of classical Persian-Tajik poetry, particularly the themes of love, separation, longing, and self-annihilation in the memory of the beloved.

These examples demonstrate that Hashmat's literary heritage encompasses a wide range of poetic genres and themes. Although some of his shorter poetic forms may not possess the same artistic significance as his ghazals, qasidas, and mukhammases, they nevertheless provide valuable insight into the poet's personal experiences, emotional world, and creative development. Through these works, it is possible to observe both his adherence to established literary traditions and his efforts to express individual feelings and reflections within the framework of classical poetic convention.:

Conclusion

Furthermore, Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat demonstrated his literary talent through composing poetry in a wide variety of genres within the Persian poetic tradition. There is little doubt that he achieved a considerable degree of success in practicing many of the

major forms of classical poetry. A study and analysis of his literary heritage allow the following conclusions to be drawn:

- The poet composed verses in Turkic, Arabic, and Persian languages.
- During the period of his house arrest, he incorporated his personal experiences and emotional condition into his poetry.
- His poetic works reveal a pronounced inclination toward the Indian Style (Sabk-i Hindi).
- Hashmat possessed sufficient literary mastery to compose works in numerous genres, including qasida, masnavi, ghazal, mukhammas, qit'a, chronogram (tarikh), musaddas, rubai, fard, and shahroshub. This is confirmed by both the materials preserved in various tazkiras and by his Devoni Ghazaliyot. The poet devoted particular attention to these literary forms and achieved a notable degree of success in their composition.

Thus, Mirsiddiqxon Hashmat's literary legacy reflects not only his extensive knowledge of the classical poetic tradition but also his creative versatility and artistic skill. The diversity of genres represented in his works demonstrates the breadth of his literary interests and his ability to adapt established poetic forms to express personal, social, ethical, and mystical themes. As a result, his writings occupy a significant place in the literary and cultural heritage of the Persian-Tajik literary tradition.

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