

# Muslim Subjectivity in Soviet Russia

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VOLUME 17

# Muslim Subjectivity in Soviet Russia

*The Memoirs of 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri*

*Edited by*

Alfrid Bustanov  
Vener Usmanov



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This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement No 804083).



European Research Council  
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MIND

The Muslim Individual in Imperial and Soviet Russia



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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30965/9783657793778>

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data available online: <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

© 2022 by the Editors. Published by Brill Schöningh, Wollmarktstraße 115, 33098 Paderborn, Germany, an imprint of the Brill-Group (Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria)

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Cover image: Photographic portrait of 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri. Alimkent, Uzbekistan (1936).

Taken from: Maryam Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fol. 6b. The private archive of Zuhra Valiullova, in Ufa.

Cover design: Celine van Hoek, Leiden

Production: Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn

ISSN 1877-9484

ISBN 978-3-506-79377-5 (hardback)

ISBN 978-3-657-79377-8 (e-book)



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## Acknowledgments

This project began thanks to the active support of Michael Kemper, who was ready to challenge accepted knowledge and explore new horizons in the history of Muslim cultures in Russia. During our work with the life narrative of al-Qadiri, we enjoyed fruitful conversations with Ilham Gumerov, who had first introduced the authors to each other. Many of the ideas expressed in the Introduction to this volume derive from the international symposium *On Muslim Subjectivity in Russia: The Hybrid Languages of Self-Description*, convened jointly with Naira Sahakyan at the University of Amsterdam in December 2019. We are grateful to the participants of the conference, including Shamil Shikhaliev, Galiia Muratova and Mansur Gazimzianov, as well as Danis Garaev, Naira Sahakyan, Teo Benussi, Pavel Shabley, and Dinara Mardanova. Similarly, we have taken inspiration from our colleagues Allen Frank, Roy Bar Sadeh, Paolo Sartori, Jeff Eden, Gulnaz Sibgatullina, Dasha Dorodnykh, and Artemy Kalinovsky. Special thanks to Shamil Shikhaliev who read multiple versions of the book and shared with us a great lot of ideas.

We would also like to thank David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye and Dittmar Schorkowitz for their invaluable help in publishing with Brill's Eurasian Studies Library. Two anonymous reviewers helped us to sharpen our arguments and strengthen the way we present al-Qadiri's memoirs.

The family of al-Qadiri in Ufa and Istärlibash opened their doors to us and allowed us to use the treasures of their personal archives. Without the support of Zuhra Valiullova and Vladimir Galimov, this project would not have succeeded.

We are indebted to Elly Dutton for her tireless editorial work as she made our text look more professional. Needless to say, all remaining typos and mistakes are the sole responsibility of the authors.

This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (gran agreement No 804083, *MIND: The Muslim Individual in Imperial and Soviet Russia* (2019-2024)).



## Note on Transcription and Transliteration

The style of al-Qadiri's memoirs is uneven: sometimes it achieves an elevated style, but more often the manuscript reflects the speech of its author. While this provides glimpses into the multilingual world of late imperial and early Soviet Russia, it also poses some difficulty for the transliteration and reproduction of the Arabic-script text.

Himself a proponent of the reformist worldview, al-Qadiri mainly used the reformed version of the Arabic script (*yanga imlä*), adapted to the specifics of written Tatar. This is also applied to Turkic and Kazakh expressions, including words of Arabic and Persian origin. Therefore, in this text, we use a simplified transliteration with indication of vowels [ä], [ī], [ö], and [ü]. *ʾayn* is always indicated with an [ʾ] and not as [g] in modern Tatar orthography, resulting for example in *ʾAbdullah* rather than *Gabdullah*. The orthography of transliterated terms in this text reflects inconsistencies that specialists can follow in our transcription of the original source text: there we have done our best to preserve the features of al-Qadiri's writing, including the punctuation.

For sentences and expressions in Arabic and Persian, we follow the transliteration system adopted in the third edition of *The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Cyrillic-script Tatar and Russian words are transliterated according to a simplified version of the Library of Congress transliteration system.

When transcribing the original text, we decided to leave out the copy of *Iman shartī* present at the beginning of the book and the subsequent chapter with its chronological list of events. Several important excerpts from the latter part have, however, been cited in the Introduction.

The reader can consult the glossary for the meanings of special terminology scattered across the manuscript. Usually, brief explanations of source language terms are provided in the translation.



# Glossary

<i>Abīstay</i>	an educated woman, imam's wife
<i>abzī</i>	honorific title for an older man
<i>agha</i>	honorific title for a respected elder
<i>ashkhana</i>	dining room
<i>akhsham</i>	sunset prayer
<i>aktä</i>	official document
<i>altin</i>	golden coin
<i>ämänät</i>	debts
<i>arwakhlar</i>	the holy spirits
<i>ash</i>	religious gathering; soup
<i>astana</i>	grave
<i>athar-i 'atiqa</i>	antique objects, monuments
<i>aulaq</i>	party
<i>awliyya'</i>	saint
<i>'adellek</i>	justice
<i>'ailä däftäre</i>	family register
<i>'ali jaza</i>	the maximum sentence for committing a crime
<i>'aqa'id</i>	the Muslim creed
<i>'ariza</i>	an appeal
<i>'askärlek khezmäte</i>	military service
<i>'awwam</i>	simple folk
<i>'ibrät</i>	example
<i>'ilm-i batin</i>	esoteric knowledge
<i>'ilm-i tariqa</i>	Sufism
<i>'ilm-i zahir</i>	exoteric knowledge
<i>'ulama</i>	religious scholars of Islam
<i>'umra hajj</i>	pilgrimage outside of the hajj season
<i>badal hajj</i>	the practice of performing pilgrimage on behalf of someone else
<i>bajay</i>	brother-in-law
<i>bälesh</i>	pie with meat and rice or potato
<i>baqcha</i>	garden
<i>baqiyat al-salihat</i>	a lasting pious deed
<i>baursaq</i>	puffed fried bread
<i>bay(lar)</i>	rich people
<i>bishmät</i>	a long tunic
<i>bid'at</i>	harmful religious innovation

<i>burich</i>	credit
<i>chälpäk</i>	griddle cake
<i>chapan</i>	robe
<i>chaqrim</i>	a Tatar equivalent of Russian versta, roughly corresponding to 1.06 km
<i>chirküü</i>	church
<i>dacha</i>	summer house
<i>dähshät</i>	terror
<i>dälillär</i>	national representatives in Mecca who helped hajjis during their pilgrimage
<i>danus</i>	denunciation
<i>dapros</i>	interrogation
<i>dehqan</i>	farmer
<i>desiatina</i>	an old Russian unit of land measurement
<i>din shähidläre</i>	religious martyrs
<i>du'a</i>	invocation of God
<i>dukhtur</i>	medical doctor
<i>etap</i>	a march of prisoners from one camp to another
<i>fabricant</i>	merchant
<i>fantal</i>	irrigation system
<i>ferrash</i>	peasants
<i>gah</i>	witness
<i>ghuslkhanä</i>	bath
<i>GPU</i>	the secret police in the Soviet Union. An abbreviation for Gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie, i.e. the State Political Directorate (called GPU in 1922-23 and OGPU in 1923-1934).
<i>hafiz</i>	a person who has memorized the Qur'an
<i>hämshir</i>	brother
<i>hastahanä</i>	hospital
<i>hazrat</i>	honorific title for a religious scholar
<i>hijrät qilu</i>	to resettle, often with a religious connotation
<i>i'tikaf</i>	staying in the mosque during the last ten days of Ramadan
<i>iftar</i>	evening meal after fasting
<i>ihata</i>	building, construction
<i>ijazat</i>	education certificate
<i>ijtihad</i>	personal striving to achieve a goal
<i>ijtimagiü chigish</i>	social origin
<i>ikende</i>	afternoon prayer
<i>ikhdiyary sürgen</i>	voluntary exile



<i>inqilab</i>	revolution
<i>iptäsh</i>	comrade
<i>ishan</i>	Sufi master
<i>ishanliq</i>	Sufism
<i>ispravnik</i>	an official
<i>istarshinä</i>	the local chief
<i>izvozhchik</i>	a coachman
<i>käfen(lek)</i>	burial cloth
<i>kägaz</i>	an official paper
<i>käläpush</i>	a Tatar cap
<i>kanisa</i>	church
<i>kasab</i>	work
<i>khalfä</i>	madrassa teacher
<i>khaliq</i>	people, village dwellers
<i>khaliq doshmani</i>	public enemy
<i>khäter</i>	memory
<i>khätirä</i>	memoir, keepsake
<i>khatm</i>	full recitation of the Qur'an
<i>khatm kutub</i>	graduation from a madrassa
<i>khökümät</i>	government
<i>khurafat</i>	superstition
<i>kolkhoz</i>	collective farms in the Soviet Union
<i>köy</i>	melody for recitation of poetry and songs
<i>kulak</i>	wealthy countryman
<i>küpäch</i>	small white loaf
<i>laqab</i>	a nickname
<i>madhhab</i>	a school of Islamic law
<i>madrassa</i>	educational institution
<i>mahalla</i>	a neighborhood within a community
<i>mähbusek</i>	imprisonment
<i>makhdum</i>	member of an elite family
<i>mämläkät</i>	home country
<i>marja</i>	Russian woman
<i>mäshq däftäre</i>	calligraphy book
<i>mawlid sharif</i>	celebration of the birthday of the Prophet
<i>mäzlüm</i>	unlawfully oppressed individual
<i>menovoi kägazläre</i>	official documents
<i>metrikä</i>	official document, certificate
<i>mihrab</i>	a niche in a mosque
<i>militсия</i>	police

<i>millät</i>	confessional or national identity
<i>millätchelek</i>	a pejorative term for nationalism
<i>mirath</i>	heritage
<i>mu'adhdhin</i>	the crier who calls to prayer
<i>muhajir</i>	Muslim migrant
<i>mujawir</i>	gatekeeper of a sacred place
<i>mullah</i>	mosque servant
<i>murid</i>	a Sufi disciple
<i>musadara</i>	confiscation of property
<i>mutawali</i>	community representatives
<i>näbir(ä)</i>	relative, child
<i>nachal'nik</i>	an authority figure in the village or in prison
<i>näfi bulu</i>	to be exiled
<i>nafs</i>	ego
<i>najat</i>	release from prison; salvation in a religious sense
<i>nan</i>	bread
<i>nasara</i>	Christians
<i>nasihät</i>	a religious advice
<i>nasl wa ansab</i>	genealogy
<i>nikah</i>	marriage ceremony
<i>niyat</i>	intention
<i>nughay</i>	the exonym for Tatars among Central Asian peoples
<i>obysk</i>	police search
<i>olugh mäqbarä</i>	the great cemetery in Istärlibash
<i>öylä</i>	noon prayer
<i>perepis</i>	the civil census
<i>pilaw</i>	rice cooked with meat, onion and carrot
<i>pood</i>	an old Russian measure of weight (16.38 kg)
<i>pop</i>	an Orthodox priest
<i>potrebitel'</i>	cooperative for everyday needs
<i>potrebsoyuz</i>	consumers' association
<i>prikazchik</i>	an estate manager
<i>qaber</i>	grave
<i>qabrstan</i>	cemetery
<i>qadar kichäse</i>	the Night of Power
<i>qari</i>	a Qur'an specialist
<i>qartlar</i>	elders in the countryside who hold traditional authority
<i>qataran</i>	a vehicle
<i>qatiq</i>	a fermented milk product
<i>qaynaga</i>	brother-in-law

<i>qaziliq</i>	dried meat
<i>qishlaq</i>	winter settlement
<i>qism</i>	tribal division
<i>qiyamat</i>	the Day of Judgement; a terrible moment
<i>qumiz</i>	a drink made from horse milk
<i>Qur'an tilawat</i>	recitation of the Qur'an
<i>qurut</i>	drained yoghurt
<i>rafiq(ä)</i>	a partner
<i>raka'at</i>	a single cycle of movements in daily prayers
<i>remont</i>	reconstruction works
<i>ru'</i>	tribal division
<i>rüzä</i>	fasting
<i>rüzä 'ayd</i>	feast of fast breaking (at the end of Ramadan)
<i>sabantuy</i>	spring festival
<i>sadaqa-yi jariyya</i>	enduring donation for the sake of God
<i>salib</i>	cross
<i>sami'</i>	a Qur'an specialist standing behind the one who performs the full recitation of the Qur'an, listening and if necessary correcting.
<i>sazhen</i>	an old Russian measure of length (2.13 m)
<i>selpo</i>	village cooperative
<i>silsavit</i>	a village office in Soviet Russia (Rus.: selsovet)
<i>shafa'at</i>	prophetic intercession on the Day of Judgement
<i>shahadat nama</i>	a diploma
<i>shäjärä</i>	genealogy
<i>shärik</i>	a fellow student
<i>shart nama</i>	agreement
<i>shpana</i>	delinquents
<i>söt anam</i>	mother
<i>isprafkä</i>	an official letter, certificate
<i>srok</i>	jail term
<i>suhur</i>	meal consumed before fasting
<i>sukhanä</i>	irrigation infrastructure
<i>sum</i>	Russian ruble
<i>ta'til</i>	vacation
<i>ta'ifa</i>	people
<i>ta'rikh</i>	a record; historical record
<i>tabib</i>	a doctor practicing traditional Muslim medicine
<i>talchuk bazari</i>	marketplace
<i>tanbih</i>	advice

<i>täräqqilek</i>	progress
<i>tarawih</i>	additional night prayers during Ramadan
<i>tärbiya</i>	care, upbringing
<i>tärjemä-yi hal</i>	(auto)biography
<i>tarkhan</i>	a status of tax exemption
<i>tawaf</i>	circling the Ka'ba during the hajj
<i>tayaq</i>	an old Tatar unit of land measurement, equivalent to Russian sazhen
<i>tekie</i>	guesthouse
<i>tien</i>	kopeks
<i>tir awiri</i>	fewer
<i>totqin</i>	imprisonment
<i>troika</i>	tripartite committees that functioned during the Great Terror with the right to swiftly impose punishment
<i>uchitel'</i>	teacher
<i>udarnik</i>	a shock worker
<i>uezd</i>	district in later imperial Russian administrative divisions
<i>ukaznïy imam</i>	an imam who received a certificate from the state Muftiate
<i>usul-i fiqh</i>	the theory of Islamic law
<i>ut kürshese</i>	neighbor
<i>utar</i>	a private settlement
<i>util', util'sir'e</i>	waste
<i>vagon</i>	carriage
<i>veksel</i>	a promissory note
<i>volchok</i>	the door viewer in prison
<i>volos(t)</i>	an administrative unit in the Russian empire
<i>waba</i>	cholera
<i>wä'dä</i>	promised money
<i>wäkil</i>	trustee
<i>wali ni'mät</i>	patron
<i>waqf</i>	pious endowment
<i>waqi'</i>	a historical event
<i>watan</i>	fatherland, country
<i>wujdan</i>	conscience
<i>yädkär</i>	object of memory, monument
<i>yastu</i>	night prayer
<i>yaum al-'ashura</i>	the tenth day of Muharram, commemoration of the day when Musa escaped from the pharaoh
<i>zadatka</i>	advance payment

<i>zagotovka dükeni</i>	supply service
<i>zamandash</i>	contemporary
<i>zemstvo</i>	an institution of local government set up in 1861
<i>zhizni</i>	spouse's uncle (by marriage)
<i>ziyarat</i>	cemetery; veneration of graves



# Introduction

by Alfrid Bustanov

## Preface

In the summer of 2018, Vener Usmanov, a historian of Muslim graveyards in Russia, introduced me to a lengthy book of memoirs composed by ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri al-Istärlibashi, a.k.a. Majid *qari* Qadırov (1881-1962),<sup>1</sup> a Qur’an specialist from Istärlibash village in the south-west of Bashkiria and a survivor of the Gulag.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript,<sup>3</sup> written in Arabic-script Tatar, exists as a unique autograph, carefully preserved first in the hands of the author’s daughter Maryam Kadyrova (1928-1999) and currently in the possession of his granddaughter Zuhra Valiullova (b. 1958) in Ufa.

On first sight, I did not recognize the importance of this first-person narrative. However, diving deeper into al-Qadiri’s narrative, it struck me how little we know about the *Weltanschauung* of Muslim individuals in Russia. What can we say about their ever-changing sense of self? What concepts formed the core of their personhood in various contexts? What vocabulary did they develop to describe themselves and the world around them? And how has that vocabulary altered in the course of the last two centuries?

I believe that a fruitful approach to addressing these questions is to explore sources that mirror the vernacular concepts of the self. Usually those are

- 1 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri is not to be confused with Qiyyam al-Din al-Qadiri (1882- ca. 1953), a Naqshbandi shaykh from Kazan, whose poetic self-reflections have been published recently: *Islamskaia poeziia v epokhu Stalina: Sbornik stikhov Kyiametdina al-Kadyiri*, ed. by Alfrid Bustanov and Ilham Gumerov (Kazan: Mardjani Institute of History, 2018).
- 2 The first history of this village was published already in the late nineteenth century: Muhammad-Shakir Tuqaeu, *Tarikh-i Istärlibash* (Kazan, 1899). Another study of the Islamic history of this village has been written by Vener Usmanov. His book contains an account of the village mosques, the local madrasa teachers, and a detailed description of the Arabic-script gravestones in the cemetery: Vener Usmanov, *Tarikh-i yadkärär*. Vol. 1 (Ufa: DizainPoligrafServis, 2005).
- 3 All the sources that I use below were initially consulted *de visu* in private or state archives across the Russian Federation; during the writing process, I worked with digital copies of various forms that I have collected in my personal repository. Hence, all references made below refer not to the physical items, but to the digital copies of them acquired during expeditions and archival work. With this ‘confession’ I follow the lead of Carnelis van Lit, who calls researchers to reflect on the digital culture that surrounds our work: L.W.C. van Lit, O.P., *Among Digitized Manuscripts: Philology, Codicology, Paleography in a Digital World* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020).

classified as ego-documents, be they private correspondence, diaries, photographs, or poetry. That is not to say, of course, that other genres or types of documentation are less relevant for our discussion of Muslim individuality,<sup>4</sup> but it is in the first-person narratives of various forms and genres that we find the most vivid manifestation of a writer's subjectivity. So far, the ego-documents of Russia's Muslims, both in their textual and visual form, have either been neglected by researchers, or used for the purpose of writing about the status of Muslim subjects in the Russian empire and the Soviet Union. Sources of this kind are hosted today in a myriad of private archives of varying size and prominence across the Russian Federation. In sharp contrast to the extensive autobiographical texts from early twentieth-century Central Asia that have appeared in English editions in recent decades,<sup>5</sup> so far no Muslim life narrative from late imperial Russia has been made accessible to an international audience. Moreover, while post-Soviet hagiographies and oral testimonies of Gulag experiences are available to scholars, al-Qadiri's narrative remains, to the best of my knowledge, the only eye-witness account of an educated Muslim who

4 A good example of a purely theological work, bearing great value for the study of Muslim individuality in Russia, is an encyclopedic compendium of ca. 1700 pages crafted by Fath al-Qadir b. Muhammad Dhakir Babich (1890-1976), elder brother of the poet Shaykhzada Babich (1895-1919), somewhere near Khujand (back then called Leninabad) in 1968. This extensive manuscript was initially meant as a refutation of an atheist pamphlet entitled *Mysteries of the Qur'an (Kor'än serläre)* and published by Garif Gobäy in Kazan in the same year, but ultimately developed into a fully-fledged manifestation of the Tatar Islamic tradition that provides glimpses into the cultural standards of Muslim personhood of the time. The only copy of this precious manuscript survived in the library of 'Abbas Bibarsov (1937-2012) in his home village of Urta Eluzan, in Penza region. Some village histories of the early twentieth century also blur the genre boundaries; for example, Allen Frank classifies *Tarikh-i Barangawi* (1914) by Ahmad al-Barangawi as "one of the most extensive autobiographies in Tatar Islamic literature": Allen Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia: Sufism, Education, and the Paradox of Islamic Prestige* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 16.

5 Timur Beisembiev, *The Life of 'Alimqul. A Chronicle of Nineteenth-Century Central Asia* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003); *The Sands of Oxus: Boyhood Reminiscences of Sadriddin Aini*, ed. by John R. Perry & Rachel Lehr (Mazda Pub, 2012); *The Personal History of a Bukharan Intellectual: The Diary of Muhammad Sharif-i Sadr-i Ziya*, trans. by Rustam Shukurov; ed. by Edward A. Allworth (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004). The latter work is especially rich in its relations of personal experiences and emotions of the author (an overview on pp. 63-70), which, however, remain only cursorily identified and not yet studied in their own right. Cf.: Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Les 'tribulations' du jüge Ziyä: Histoire et mémoire du clientélisme politique à Boukhara (1868-1929)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 59e Année, No. 5/6, *Asie centrale* (Sep.-Dec., 2004), 1095-1135.



endured the Stalinist repressions. In analyzing and publishing this source, I hope to draw closer attention to the self-perception of Russia's Muslims.<sup>6</sup>

The memoirs of 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri form a book consisting of 208 folios of first-person narrative, allowing for a fresh view on Muslim personhood, full of personal drama, intimate thoughts, (un)intended omissions, and profound nostalgia, peppered occasionally with either humor or sorrow. His memoirs are as exceptional in their detailed description of the awful experience of the Great Terror<sup>7</sup> as they are ordinary in their intimate narration of everyday concerns.<sup>8</sup> It is important to note however, that by the 1950s, when the elderly al-Qadiri wrote his book, there was nothing unusual in composing one's life narrative. Since the late nineteenth century, various forms of life writing had proliferated among the Muslims of Russia, greatly inspired by the already existing Islamic models.<sup>9</sup> In the course of this Introduction, I will refer to a wide range of autobiographical texts, which were composed in abundance chiefly in the first half of the twentieth century. None of those texts, however, expand on the individual Gulag experience to an extent comparable with al-Qadiri's memoirs.

What *kind* of personality did al-Qadiri embrace in his life story? I propose that by approaching the life stories of Muslim individuals as a form of self-fashioning, we can learn a great deal about the self-conceptions of social actors in the past. Shifting the research agenda in this way has clear potential for the de-exoticization of Islam and Muslims, by emphasizing the practices of introspection and self-description that cannot be narrowly ascribed to religious

6 Michael Friedrich has nicely formulated the need of attention to the non-political aspects of subjectivity: "Could it not be that this diary gives evidence of a life, which [...] was not fundamentally imbued by politics and ideology – the life of the renowned 'masses', that is the ordinary people, who happened to be Soviet citizens too?" Michael Friedrich, "Living in the 1920s: A Tatar Diary from Āji, Kasimov and Samarqand," *The Past as Resource in the Turkic Speaking World*, ed. by Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2016), 120.

7 Recent studies on Muslim experiences of Stalin's purges include: Allen J. Frank, *Gulag Miracles: Sufis and Stalinist Repression in Kazakhstan* (Vienna, 2019); Michael Kemper, "From 1917 to 1937: the Mufti, the Turkologist, and Stalin's Terror", *Die Welt des Islams* 57.2 (2017), 162-191.

8 On the everyday concerns of individuals as expressed in private correspondence, see: Alfrid Bustanov, "On Emotional Grounds: Private Communication of Muslims in Late Imperial Russia," *Asiatische Studien* 73.4 (2020), 655-682.

9 Danielle Ross, "The Promiscuous Life of a Genre for the Dead: The Marthiya as an Instrument of Community Construction in Muslim Russia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 64 (2021), 343-376.

identities.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, I use the adjective “Muslim” only to describe practices of self-description defined by creative engagement with Islamicate models and adaptation of the tools of other cultures and religious traditions (in other words, ‘Islamizing’ them). Simply put, I support the definition of Islam as ‘whatever Muslims say it means’, by emphasizing the active role of Muslim actors in self-description and in endowing the world around them with a specific meaning.<sup>11</sup> While for anthropological studies of contemporary Islam in Russia the subjectivity of actors has become a central topic of concern,<sup>12</sup> historical scholarship of the same field has largely ignored this trend. Nonetheless, it is in this realm of historical expressions of subjectivity by Russia’s Muslims that al-Qadiri’s life narrative fits so well.

In this Introduction to al-Qadiri’s memoirs, my goal is to broadly contextualize this particular ego-narrative and discuss the author’s personhood in comparison with similar sources. To do so, I will first propose a conceptual framework for the assessment of Muslim life writing in late imperial and Soviet Russia. Here I take a historical anthropological approach, prioritizing an emic take on the study of personhood where vernacular forms of self-expression are highlighted. Following that, I will introduce the contents of the manuscript and offer my conceptual reading of the work.

I believe that the research focus on the subjectivity of actors and their hybrid ways of self-fashioning helps to reveal the evolving process of day-to-day engagement with multiple factors of life in imperial and Soviet Russia, of which the state was only one factor, however prominent. By necessity, the study of Muslim subjectivity leads to scrutinizing emotions and looking more into horizontal forms of communication rather than established hierarchies. Al-Qadiri’s memoirs present a superb case that can serve as a starting point for formulating new questions and exploring the rich culture of Muslim personhood in Russia. I have therefore purposely avoided the easy classification of al-Qadiri as a Muslim reformist or Jadid. While modern conveniences – such as newspapers, steamboats and trains – were a normal part of his life, to see his memoirs exclusively through a modernist lens would be a great simplification.

Al-Qadiri’s manuscript allows for multiple readings. On the one hand, this rich text contains extensive information on the social and cultural history of Russia’s Muslims throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth

10 Dietrich Jung, “The Formation of Modern Muslim Subjectivities: Research Project and Analytical Strategy,” *Tidsskrift for Islamforskning* 11.1 (2017), 12.

11 Cf.: Rian Thum, “What is Islamic History?” *History and Theory* 57 (December 2019), 7-19.

12 *Normative Orders and the Remaking of Muslim Spaces and Selves in Contemporary Russia*, ed. by Lili Di Puccio & Jesko Schmoller, A Special Issue of *Ethnicities* (2020).

century. Al-Qadiri writes extensively on inter-ethnic relations in the Russian imperial borderlands, and provides glimpses of the various modes of self-positioning by non-Russian individuals in imperial contexts. Still, after careful study of the work, I believe that it is above all a life narrative: one that tells the story of a country dweller who happened to live under extreme conditions and nonetheless tried to make sense of his experiences in a distinctly religious manner. With this work, al-Qadiri produced a fascinating account of the history of the moral subject in Russia, written squarely within the Muslim episteme.

Al-Qadiri himself must have had access to similar life narratives produced by his predecessors, or even his contemporaries. What models did he have in mind when structuring the book of his life? What was the audience that he addressed? Was it a case of a psychological self-treatment undertaken by a former prisoner, or perhaps an attempt to imitate another's style with the aim of leaving a personal trace in history? His treatment of temporal and spatial contexts depended greatly on the cultural models that were available to him. Analysis of these contexts facilitates close examination of the actual performance of the type of persona that al-Qadiri chose for himself. I conclude this Introduction by contrasting al-Qadiri's self-narrative with an autobiographical novel by his daughter Maryam. By taking this approach to the text, my aim is to put al-Qadiri's book in perspective as part of a larger cultural repertoire of self-description.

### Conceptual Framework

The case of al-Qadiri is fitting for a *longue durée* study, since the book's contents reflect the circulation of modes of personhood from approximately the 1850s, as well as those that al-Qadiri had practiced or witnessed during the first half of the twentieth century. Additional sources from the private archives of his relatives, as well as interviews with them, allow us to extend our perspective into the late 1990s. This unusual chronological take, inspired by our sources, enables us to detect the internal dynamics in Muslim societies that do not exactly match the imposed and politically-motivated periodization and classification that populates most scholarship written from the state perspective. What matters here is the sense of time that the Muslims of Russia have developed over centuries, only partly in dialogue with imperial time frames.

The culture of personhood was surely known to Russia's Muslims well before the 1850s, but its earlier forms of expression remain to be explored – not simply because of the scarcity or inaccessibility of sources, but mainly due to

the current dominance of the Eurocentric narrative concerning the rise of the modern subject at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> This narrative influences the selection of suitable case studies, portraying the reformist intellectuals as the best match for an exploration of Muslim subjectivity during the twentieth century;<sup>14</sup> moreover, it obliges us to evaluate this subjectivity against the backdrop of the Western standard.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, existing studies on the subjectivities of Russian writers identify European models as the sole point of reference, thus integrating the history of Russian subjectivities into the grand Western philosophical lineage.<sup>16</sup>

Western modes of self-description, including those associated with the Russian imperial<sup>17</sup> and Soviet realms,<sup>18</sup> circulated among an array of other models that social actors could possibly realize for themselves. Usually, models remained fashionable and successful for a time and then went into decline, giving way to other models. Social actors could describe their life experiences as a strict adherence to a single model, or as a conversion from one model to another.

Conceptually, I perceive the concrete forms of self-description as emanating from the dynamic interaction between commonly-shared templates on the one hand, and individual experiences on the other. These templates include a

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- 13 Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Harvard University Press, 1992). Recent research on European ego-documents largely supports the narrative of the discovery of the modern subject. For example: Peter Burke, "Historicizing the Self, 1770-1830," *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf M. Dekker and Michael James Mascuch (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13-21.
- 14 With a focus on Egyptian modernists: Dietrich Jung & Kirstine Sinclair, "Multiple Modernities, Modern Subjectivities and Social Order: Unity and Difference in the Rise of Islamic Modernities," *Thesis Eleven* 130.1 (2015), 22-42. On Persianate modernist writers: Mana Kia, "Indian Friends, Iranian Selves, Persianate Modern," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36.3 (December 2016), 398-417.
- 15 *Speaking of the Self: Gender, Performance, and Autobiography in South Asia*, ed. by Anshu Malhotra & Siobhan Lambert-Hurley (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2015).
- 16 For example: Irina Paperno, "Who, What am I?" *Tolstoy Struggles to Narrate the Self* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014); *Individualitaetskonzepte in der russischen Kultur*, ed. Christa Ebert (Berlin: Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz, 2002).
- 17 *Interpreting Emotions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, ed. by Mark Steinberg & Valeria Sobol (Northern Illinois University Press, 2011); *Rossiiskaia imperiia chuvstv: podkhody k kul'turnoi istorii emotsii*, ed. by J. Plamper, S. Schahadat and M. Elie (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2010).
- 18 Christine Evans, "The 'Soviet Way of Life' as a Way of Feeling: Emotion and Influence on Soviet Central Television in the Brezhnev Era," *Cahiers du monde russe* 56.2-3 (2015), 543-569; *Subjectivity after Stalin*, ed. by Anatoly Pinsky, Special Issue of *Russian Studies in History* 58.2-3 (2019).

variety of rules and societal expectations that a person must fulfill to adhere to models that are current in a given community. An array of available templates makes up a repertoire from which individuals select and combine elements as appropriate. As Peter Burke puts it: “the self is not only a garden, but the gardener as well.”<sup>19</sup> The wider the repertoire of templates, the more complex and hybrid Muslim personhood tends to be. In other words, individuals were engaged in self-fashioning by consuming and cultivating cultural models, thus contributing to the formation and, ultimately, the change of those models. This process sets the limits of autonomy for the subject. I believe that the number of cultural models and their combinations cannot be endless, which means it is possible to describe, summarize, and conceptualize them. I take a similar approach to the interplay of individual and society: society is constantly engaged in the production and maintenance of cultural models, and expects individuals to follow them within a framework of shared understanding.

Words describing a concept might remain unchanged, but their meaning is subject to constant review and debate.<sup>20</sup> Individuals describe the cultural models they adhere to, as well as their life experiences, using specific jargon. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze not only the topics that individuals deemed relevant to discuss in relation to themselves, but also the language strategies systematically employed in such discussions. I therefore draw a link between the actual performance of individuality at the intersection of cultural standards and personal experience, and language use. Historically, Muslim culture in Russia was characterized by linguistic plurality and a variety of pragmatic language strategies.<sup>21</sup> This is especially true with regard to self-description. What motivates the various linguistic combinations that accompany the

19 Peter Burke, “Historicizing the Self, 1770-1830,” 19.

20 One possible example is a gradual change in meaning of the *ijtihad* vs. *taqlid* dichotomy among the Muslims of Russia from the seventeenth to the twentieth century: Rebecca Gould, Shamil Shikhaliev, “Beyond the Taqlid/Ijtihad Dichotomy: Daghestani Legal Thought under Russian Rule,” *Islamic Law and Society* 24: 1-2 (2017), 142-169; Michael Kemper, “Ijtihad into Philosophy: Islam as Cultural Heritage in post-Stalinist Daghestan,” *Central Asian Survey* 33: 3 (2014), 390-404.

21 For illustration of this linguistic hybridity: Alfrid Bustanov, “Speaking ‘Bukharan’: The Circulation of Persian Texts in Imperial Russia,” *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca*, ed. by Nile Green (University of California Press, 2019), 193-206; Paolo Sartori, “From the Demotic to the Literary: The Ascendance of the Vernacular Turkic in Central Asia (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries),” *Eurasian Studies* 18 (2020), 213-254; idem, “Between Kazan and Kashghar: On the Vernacularization of Islamic Jurisprudence in Central Eurasia,” *Die Welt des Islams* (2020), 1-31; Devin DeWeese, “Persian and Turkic from Kazan to Tobolsk: Literary Frontiers in Muslim Inner Asia,” *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca*, ed. by Nile Green (University of California Press, 2019), 131-156.

writing of one's self? Often these are instances of code-switching from one script to another, from one language to another, or even the borrowing of synonyms from different languages.<sup>22</sup> The Muslims of Russia had to write about themselves differently in different contexts; however, this is not to say that they necessarily reserved their supposedly 'true' identity for private texts, and changed masks (and therefore 'lied') in texts meant for public or official purposes.<sup>23</sup> Rather, individuals developed a very pragmatic sense of language use in different situations and for different audiences.<sup>24</sup>

The pragmatics of self-fashioning brings us closer to the concept of persona, i.e. the public and private forms of the self, constructed over time in accordance with societal expectations and individual choices.<sup>25</sup> I find this concept potentially promising in the study of Muslim culture in Russia. Individuals developed certain qualities in themselves and implemented personas<sup>26</sup> that they perceived as prestigious. They cultivated behavioral styles that cannot be reduced to a simplistic change of masks. The actual performance of persona reflects a complex engagement with expected and self-construed roles. It is not surprising that the rise of theater culture in the first half of the twentieth

22 Michael Kemper, Alfrid Bustanov, "Islam i russkii iazyk: sotsiolingvistichekieskie aspekty stanovleniia obshcherossiiskogo islamskogo diskursa," *Kazanskoe islamovedenie = Kazan Islamic Review* 1 (2015), 211-221; idem, "The Russian Orthodox and Islamic Languages in the Russian Federation," *Slavica Tergestina* 15 (2013), 258-277; *Islamic Authority and the Russian Language: Studies on Texts from European Russia, the North Caucasus and West Siberia*, ed. by Alfrid Bustanov and Michael Kemper (Amsterdam: Pegasus, 2012).

23 I allude here to the discussions on Soviet subjectivity that reject the metaphor of changing masks: Igal Halfin and Jochen Hellbeck, "Rethinking the Stalinist Subject: Stephen Kotkin's 'Magnetic Mountain' and the State of Soviet Historical Studies," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas Neue Folge*, Bd. 44, H. 3 (1996), 456-463. Cf.: Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia* (Princeton University Press, 2005).

24 Al'bert Baiburin, *Sovetskii pasport: istoriia, struktura, praktiki* (St Petersburg: European University Press, 2017), 27-29.

25 The study of scholarly persona is now blossoming in the history of European historiography: Gadi Algazi, "Exemplum and Wundertier: Three Concepts of the Scholarly Persona," *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131.4 (2016), 8-32; *How to Be a Historian: Scholarly Personae in Historical Studies, 1800-2000*, ed. by Herman Paul (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019); *Scholarly Personae in the History of Orientalism, 1870-1930*, ed. by Christiaan Engberts and Herman Paul (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019).

26 On the importance of rules of behavior (*adab*) in the context of Central Eurasia: Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "A Surrogate Aristocracy? Sufi Adab, Modernity, Rurality, and Civilization in Ex-Soviet Central Asia," *Adab and Modernity: A Civilising Process? (Sixteenth-Twenty-First Centuries)*, ed. by Cathérine Mayeur-Jaouen (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 527-551.

century coincided with the popularity of new forms of self-reflection in diaries and memoirs.<sup>27</sup> Further development of individual self-consciousness took place in the form of cultural practices clearly borrowed from the West – either directly, or via a Russian or Ottoman intermediary – such as the writing of diaries and autobiographies. Author subjectivity was most dramatically expressed in the cultural assimilation of these European genres and the way their forms were filled with Islamicate meanings. Examples of this include personal notebooks printed in the Soviet Union between the 1930s and 1970s with Arabic-script notes, written by Karim Sagitov (Fig. 1),<sup>28</sup> Zainap Maksudova,<sup>29</sup> and ‘Abd al-Hamid Mulakaev.<sup>30</sup> This process of cultural appropriation of foreign genres can be compared to the adaptation of Persian and Arabic narratives in the textual landscape of Eastern Turkestan: by the eighteenth century, the imported texts were effectively domesticated and no longer perceived as foreign.<sup>31</sup> A similar assimilation of Western practices of self-fashioning took place among Russia’s Muslims in the course of the twentieth century.

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- 27 Madina Goldberg, *Russian Empire – Tatar Theater: The Politics of Culture in Late Imperial Kazan*. Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Michigan, 2009). Notably, Mir Khaydar Fayzi (1891-1928), an author of popular theater plays, produced as many as seventy booklets with diaries covering his entire life: Kazan University Library, Mir Khaydar Fayzi Collection, MS. 40-106. These precious texts are now being prepared for publication. For a detailed overview of contents: *Mirkhäidär Fäizi shäkhshi arkhivinyng tasvirlamasy*, ed. by Diliara Abdullina (Kazan University, 1988), 7-125.
- 28 Karim Sagitov (1888-1939) was a journalist and Orientalist who worked for the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad in the 1930s. His personal files are today kept by his granddaughter El'mira Tissenko in St Petersburg.
- 29 Part of the archive of the literary scholar Zainap Maksudova (1897-1980) with her notebooks is now hosted at the Institute of Language, Literature, and Arts of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, as well as in the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan. On her: Alfrid Bustanov, “Muslim Literature in the Atheist State: Zainap Maksudova between Soviet Modernity and Tradition,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 9 (2018), 1-31; idem, *Biblioteka Zainap Maksudovoi* (Moscow: Mardjani Foundation, 2019).
- 30 Imam ‘Abd al-Hamid Mulakaev (1909-1979) was the son of Hamidullah (1870-1959), a long-standing imam of Chapuren village near Volgograd. Their family archive consists of Hamidullah’s autobiography composed in 1936, a few texts of Friday sermons, ‘Abd al-Hamid’s notebook, his will (*wasīyat*), and a few photographs. I consulted this archive at the house of ‘Abd al-Hamid’s son Rafiq Mulakaev (b. 1952) during my expedition to the village in early September 2019. Reportedly, ‘Abd al-Hamid possessed a rich library, which moved into the hands of ‘Abbas Bibarsov in the 1950s, who must have sold it, because I failed to find anything related to the Mulakaev family in his archive in Urta Eluzan.
- 31 Rian Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 16-38.

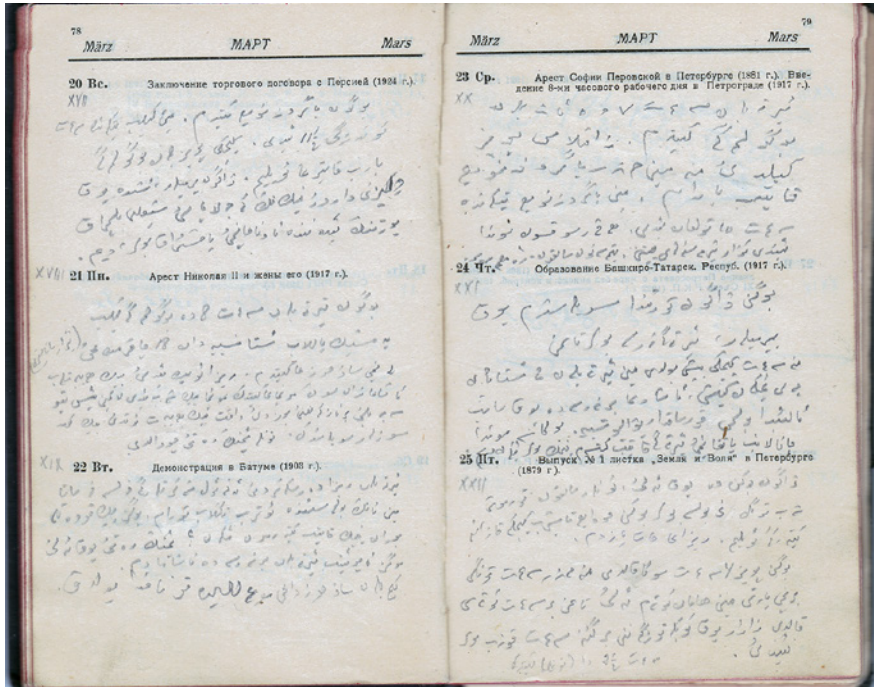


Fig. 1 A diary of Karim Sagitov, 1927. (The private archive of Karim Sagitov, St Petersburg.)

Given the performative character of subjectivity, I emphasize the importance of emotions alongside the history of concepts and language use, because individuals perceived emotions as crucial for self-definition. It is through the articulation of emotions that the structure of one’s worldview becomes visible. Zainap Maksudova was well aware of this fact and described the role of emotions in the production of intimate poetry as follows:

Turkic poetry has the following rules: it is easy to recite, its rhythm is balanced, fitting to musical performance and suitable for rhythms of drumming of feet and dance movements. In addition, poetry does not reduce itself to the clear statement of a poet’s ideas. It has to reproduce (*tudirirga*) the proper picture and strong feelings (*khislar*) from within the poet’s heart (*küngel*) in the heart of a listener or reader, be that excitement, happiness, sorrow, anger, longing, aspiration, desire to escape or to approach.<sup>32</sup>

32 Zainap Maksudova, *Shi'r sän'ate haqında qayber anglatmalar häm ürnäklär*. The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 18369-529, fol. 30.



This (re)production of emotions<sup>33</sup> lays the ground for introspective judgments, reflects the interrelation of individual and community, and sheds light on intimate, familial relationships. It remains to be explored, however, how Muslim individuals expressed their emotions in writing, which emotions were relevant when, which emotional regimes were developed, and what their impact was on those individuals' sense of self. Covering all these aspects here is impossible, but the memoirs of al-Qadiri provide us with a good starting point for discussion.

In analyzing al-Qadiri's narrative, I trace both the development of societal expectations and the way individuals put them into practice. Naturally, social actors mainly pursued the cultivation of successful types of persona; therefore, our task here is to identify those types that became popular during the lifetime of al-Qadiri, as well as those that became marginalized. Language use reveals the emotional value attached to personal experiences as well as to spaces and objects. Performance of persona, as expressed in language strategies, thus reveals an ever-changing attitude of individuals to themselves and the world around them.

### The Author

'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri was born in a Kazakh settlement called Isenbay in March 1881, but spent most of his youth in Istärlibash. Istärlibash, situated at the border of Tatar, Bashkir, and Russian settlements with the Kazakh Steppe, was by then an eminent center of Islamic learning. Al-Qadiri received elementary Islamic education from his father Shaykh al-Islam (1843-1918) and then continued his studies with other teachers, his chief patron being 'Ubaydullah 'Alikaev (d. ca. 1929) from Yalpaqтал in the Inner Horde, the residence of a prominent group of Sufi masters.<sup>34</sup> Despite the fame of the Naqshbandi lineage of his teacher and the sacred environment embodied in the shrines of Sufi shaykhs found in the Istärlibash cemetery, al-Qadiri never entered the Sufi path; nor did he consider going to Central Asia to increase his knowledge, as generations of his predecessors had preferred to do,<sup>35</sup> but instead dreamed of traveling to the Near East. 'Ubaydullah 'Alikaev provided al-Qadiri with

33 *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History*, ed. by Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles (Oxford University Press, 2018).

34 Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia: The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780-1910* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 297-300.

35 Allen J. Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia*, 95-150.

financial help to perform the hajj in 1904. Seizing this opportunity, the young student traveled to the central lands of Islam and spent four years in Medina, at the Mosque of the Prophet, where he memorized the entire Qur'an. After obtaining a diploma and traveling extensively, he returned to Istärlibash in 1908 and married Fatima (1881-1949), the daughter of 'Ali Aydabulov (d. 1920), a Kazakh scholar. From then on, he taught the Qur'an and performed recitations during the month of Ramadan in different locations. An experienced and successful entrepreneur, in 1912 he initiated the opening of a cooperative for everyday needs (*potrebitel'*) in Istärlibash.



Fig. 2  
A photographic portrait of 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri. Alimkent, Uzbekistan (1936). (Maryam Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fol. 6b. The private archive of Zuhra Valiullova, in Ufa.)

To escape military recruitment, in 1916 al-Qadiri began working at the sewing workshop in Orenburg. Between 1917 and 1922 he taught at rural schools in Mäläkäy and Istärlibash. Benefiting from the New Economic Policy (NEP) of the Bolsheviks, between 1923 and 1928 al-Qadiri devoted himself to agriculture and managed to establish a robust household. Meanwhile, he continued to perform his duties as a Qur'an specialist.

In 1928, together with thirty-six imams and wealthy co-villagers, al-Qadiri was imprisoned; however, the court did not find enough evidence to proceed and set him free for a while. Nonetheless, he was already arrested again the following year and accused of "counterrevolutionary activities." In August 1929, al-Qadiri was sent off to the construction of the White Sea Canal. He was

sentenced to ten years, but was released early and rejoined his family as early as 1935. Local officials in Istärlibash were hostile towards the former prisoner, and al-Qadiri had to flee to a place near Tashkent (Fig. 2). He worked there in factories until November 1942, when he was arrested again on a political charge and sentenced to ten years. This time he had to spend the entire term in several labor camps around Tashkent. Meanwhile, his wife Fatima passed away and was buried in Angren in 1949, when al-Qadiri was still in prison.

Al-Qadiri, by then sick and elderly, was finally released in 1952. He stayed for some time in the city of Angren with his children, then traveled to his beloved Istärlibash, visited his friends in Kazan, and spent his last days in Orenburg. ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri died in Orenburg in 1962 and was buried in the old Muslim cemetery. In 1990, due to construction works near the cemetery, al-Qadiri’s relatives decided to rebury him and his wife in Istärlibash, near the shrines of the great shaykhs of the village.

In many respects, al-Qadiri’s life path was typical of people of his time and background. Many of them studied abroad and then were imprisoned and even executed under false allegations. In one respect, however, the case of al-Qadiri stands out among his contemporaries: he dared to write a detailed account of his life.

## The Work

The memoirs of al-Qadiri are exceptional in the existing corpus of Muslim life writing in Russia for several reasons. First of all, the work covers a long period from roughly the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, with little attention to the events of conventional political chronologies. For example, he conflated the Russian Revolution into a single process that took place over a period of several years leading right up to the Great Terror, and the Second World War is simply absent from the story.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, the narrative comes not from a first-ranking theologian who would usually attract the attention of scholars,<sup>37</sup> but from a modest madrasa graduate who did not leave us any other

36 This appears strikingly similar to the narrative strategies in the diary of Khasan Urmanov (1904-1986): Michael Friedrich, “Living in the 1920s: A Tatar Diary from Äji, Kasimov and Samarqand,” 111-112. On the involvement on Soviet Muslims in the Second World War see: Jeff Eden, *God Save the USSR: Soviet Muslims and the Second World War* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

37 One can observe that even the personal writings of outstanding individuals, such as Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani, have remained outside academic interest: Kazan University Library, Ms. 1967. This manuscript has been stored at the library since 1965, but has never been

writing besides his memoirs. The language used by al-Qadiri gives an impression of the direct speech of a simple countryman, not the speech of a learned person of Islam. This linguistic contrast becomes striking when compared to the extensive diaries of 'Alimdjān al-Barudi (1857-1921), a prominent scholar in Kazan. The latter included in his notebooks some pieces of self-composed Persian poetry, used many Arabic and Persian loanwords, and formulated long sentences.<sup>38</sup> In fact, al-Barudi wrote in a scholarly fashion even in his self-reflective notes, thus mirroring a completely different type of persona, namely a scholarly one.

Al-Qadiri had been initially inspired to embark on the project of writing his memoirs by his return to Istārlibash in the summer of 1953, soon after his release from the labor camp in Uzbekistan and a few months after the death of Stalin, an event which is completely ignored in the memoirs. Al-Qadiri writes about his return to Istārlibash as follows: "I spent the winter of 1953 with my children in Angren, but in early June my daughter Wasilya, at her own expense, brought me back to Russia to my home village of Istārlibash, to see my sister Farhi Sorur and daughter Halima. In the village I visited my relatives and the graves of my parents."<sup>39</sup> He visited the village several times in the next few years; he wrote about seeing his house during the visit in 1954, and appears in a group photograph taken on that occasion.<sup>40</sup> Returning to this former place of happiness after a long time of hardship certainly had a great emotional impact on al-Qadiri, who was by then elderly.

The composition, paleography, and content of the manuscript (Fig. 3) suggest a rather complex history of the text. To write his extensive book, al-Qadiri had to rely greatly on his memory – or *khāter*, as he referred to it. As a professional Qur'an reciter, he possessed excellent skills of memorization, but on many occasions he confesses that he does not remember a name or a particular date.<sup>41</sup> To reproduce the minute details of his journey in the Near East, including prices of goods and distances between places, the author needed to rely on documentation, namely notebooks containing budgetary information and brief everyday notes. Such notebooks became part of the regular literary culture of Russia's Muslims already in the first quarter of the

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cited in any account of al-Marjani. For more details see Alfrid Bustanov, "Shihabaddin Mardjani and the Muslim Archive in Russia," *Islamology* 9.1-2 (2019), 139-148.

38 Similarly, the diary of Sadr-i Ziya' (1867-1932) was composed in Persian in a rhymed prose (*saj'*): *The Personal History of a Bukharan Intellectual*, 77.

39 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 135b.

40 *Ibid.*, fol. 79a.

41 *Ibid.*, fols. 89b, 141a, 145a, 146b, 163b, 167a. Most of these are names and dates that could not be previously documented by necessity.

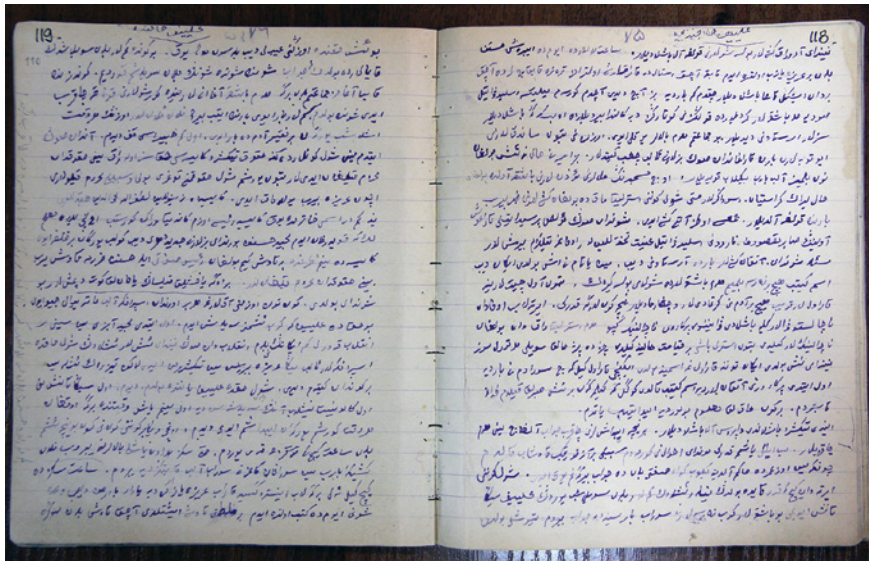


Fig. 3 The manuscript of al-Qadiri's memoirs, fols. 109b-110a

nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup> After his second imprisonment, on the basis of his brilliant memory and the remaining items from his private archive, al-Qadiri composed three sections of the text, each dated October 1955.<sup>43</sup> Following that, while in Orenburg, he copied a printed book of *Iman sharti* and marked the date as December 1955. It seems that the three sections mentioned above were copied and arranged together later, after 1956, because on fol. 134b, after the colophon dated October 9, 1955, al-Qadiri explicitly states that he had copied (*kücherdem*) the text and on several other occasions writes about events happening in “this year of 1956,” while the subsequent colophon still indicates October 1955.<sup>44</sup> Evidently, in order to produce this comprehensive account of his life, al-Qadiri relied on his notebooks (clearly dating to before his first imprisonment in 1928), later copying his reminiscences into a single book, and finally editing the contents, including making corrections, underlining the names of important places, and adding comments in the margin. Several biographies and notes were attached to the text in the early 1960s, just before

42 For example, a notebook with personal financial data from 1874-75, penned by a merchant (?) from a Tatar village near Nizhni Novgorod: Kazan University Library, Ms. 6363 T, 43 fols.  
 43 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 108a, 134b, 148a.  
 44 *Ibid.*, fols. 138ab, 154a.

al-Qadiri's death.<sup>45</sup> The seemingly well-structured text thus appears to be the result of a laborious process of copying and editing. Given that none of the 'raw' materials used in the production of the manuscript seem to have survived, the book of al-Qadiri's memoirs can produce a misleading impression of a narrative composed all at once.

The scarcity of written resources available to al-Qadiri from previous stages of his life was a dramatic outcome of state violence: his house was stormed by the police in 1930 and all documents were lost.<sup>46</sup> However, except for two diplomas for Qur'an recitation that served him as symbols of authority and supported his persona of *qari*, al-Qadiri does not mention items that had been present in his personal archive. This archive must have contained passports, textbooks, newspapers, and letters; in other words, all the paperwork usually associated with the teaching, trade, and travel activities that al-Qadiri describes at length in his book. We know that 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri valued books greatly: he writes with much pleasure about his personal development through reading certain books at the madrasa.<sup>47</sup> Later on, when we read about his travels in the Near East, we see that al-Qadiri spares no expense in buying and shipping books from Damascus and Istanbul.<sup>48</sup>

To write the biographies of other individuals and the history of Istärlibash, al-Qadiri relied on a variety of sources, including gravestone inscriptions, locally produced manuscripts and documents,<sup>49</sup> and the family registers (*'ailä däftäre*) in which the demographic data of the village were recorded annually.<sup>50</sup> Al-Qadiri was able to consult these sources on his visits to Istärlibash starting from 1953.

45 In fact, the last dates mentioned in the manuscripts are 1958 (the birth of his granddaughter Zuhra, fol. 207b) and 1961 (the death of his closest friend 'Ayd Muhammad, fol. 208a), but these are separate events added to the main narrative later.

46 Ibid., fol. 92a. Hasandjan Akhmerov found himself in a similar situation and had to write his childhood memoirs without any documents, having emigrated to Dushanbe: Häsändjan Äkhmärov, *Istäleklär (Qarmätbash awil'i mödärrise wä imam-khatyibi istäleklär)*, ed. by Masgut Gaynetdinov (Kazan: Iman, 2017), 145.

47 Noting down the books studied in childhood forms a standard part of the ego-narratives compiled by Russia's Muslims. Almost every diary and memoir that has survived to our day includes a section on the consumption of literature. Sometime in the 1910s or 1920s Zainap Maksudova produced an annotated register of books in various languages that she had read: *Uqılğan kitaplar haqında*. The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, 18369-542 (undated).

48 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 95a, 97b.

49 For example, al-Qadiri notes a manuscript book copied locally in 1799: Ibid., fols. 150ab.

50 Ibid., fols. 137ab, 138b.

The practice of collecting a personal archive as a form of self-reflection and interest in historical artifacts was certainly known to al-Qadiri: he lists the five richest libraries of Russia's Muslims<sup>51</sup> and relates a rumor that the Sarov monastery near Nizhnii Novgorod possessed ancient Islamic manuscripts in its archive.<sup>52</sup> As is evident from the chronological register at the beginning of the book, al-Qadiri possessed a historical consciousness and was interested in old documents in private collections in his home village of Istärlibash.<sup>53</sup>

In contrast to the large private collections carefully gathered by Muslim scholars of the era,<sup>54</sup> by the 1950s al-Qadiri had no extensive archive or library in his private possession; today, the manuscript in question remains the only written evidence of al-Qadiri, which has survived due to its emotional significance for his descendants. The radical rupture in cultures of documentation<sup>55</sup> sets al-Qadiri's memoirs apart from the earlier autobiographical accounts based on familial archives. Ahmad al-Barangawi (1877-1930) relied extensively on his rich family papers (although these do not seem to have survived<sup>56</sup>), and

51 "Rich libraries. The following are the richest libraries holding artifacts (*äthärlär*) of Russia's Muslims. First, the library of 'Alimdjän hazrat Barudi in Kazan. Second, the library of Zaynullah hazrat Rasulev in Troitsk. Third, the library of hajji Muhammad Hasan Aqchurin at Gur'ev factory. Fourth, the library of Muhammad Yusuf Dibirdiev at Bälängä factory. Fifth, the library of Ahmad al-Ishaqi in Orsk" ('Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 54a). The only library that has largely survived is the Barudi collection, now stored at Kazan University Library.

52 "Ancient Muslim artifacts (*äthärlär*). Muslim artifacts and manuscripts of the old times (*boriñgi zamannan qalğan*) are supposedly (*guya*) kept at the Sarov Monastery in Nizhnii Novgorod governorate" ('Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 52a). Indeed, a document on land ownership dated from 977 / 1569-70 has just recently been discovered in the collection of the Sarov Monastery, now stored at the State Archive in Saransk: Marsel' Akhmetzianov, Maksut Akchurin, "Dokument o piatisotletnei traditsii zemledel'cheskogo khoziaistva tatar," *Nauchnyi Tatarstan* 2 (2013), 84-91.

53 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 148b.

54 The personal archive as part of the Muslim culture of documentation in Russia emerged at the earliest in the second half of the nineteenth century and only spread further in the course of the twentieth: "Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani and the Muslim Archive in Russia," *Islamology: Journal for Studies of Islam and Muslim Societies* 9.1-2 (2019), 138-148. Danielle Ross accounts for the emergence of a new culture of privacy by pointing towards the broad availability of Russian manufactured paper in this period: Danielle Ross, *Tatar Empire: Kazan's Muslims and the Making of Imperial Russia* (Indiana University Press, 2020), 76.

55 On the term: James Pickett and Paolo Sartori, "From the Archetypical Archive to Cultures of Documentation," *JESHO* 62 (5-6), 773-798.

56 One exception is his work on the rules of Tatar orthography: Ahmadjan b. Hafiz al-Din al-Nasriy, *Adab al-katib* (1327 / 1909-10), Kazan University Library, 2203 T. Besides that, the Institute of Language, Literature, and Arts at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan possesses at least one manuscript copied (*jama'ahu*) by Hafiz al-Din

thus related his personality to similar life models of his close relatives, most of them being Islamic scholars of a Bukharan, Persianate type.<sup>57</sup> Authors writing roughly between the 1900s and 1930s usually had access to an abundance of written sources from rich personal, family, or institutional holdings.<sup>58</sup> It seems that many mosque collections came into existence after the Great Terror and especially in the course of the 1950s and 1960s, when parts of the libraries of pre-revolutionary *‘ulama* started to be donated to various institutions after the death of their owners. This explains, for example, why the Mardjani mosque in Kazan became host to more than 500 manuscripts by 1969, clearly originating from the former scholarly collections in the city and its surroundings.<sup>59</sup> A mullah in one such place compiled a register of incoming literature, both in manuscript and printed form.<sup>60</sup> Possessing an interest in life writing, in 1961 al-Qadiri noted excerpts from Ibn Khallikan's (1211-1282) biographical dictionary *Wafayat al-a‘yan wa anba’ abna’ al-zaman* and some other titles.<sup>61</sup> Possibly, he borrowed those works from the mosque library in Orenburg; in any case, we see that the classical biographical dictionary was likely among the sources of inspiration for al-Qadiri's account.

After several initial pages of notes, al-Qadiri's manuscript begins (fols. 17a-28b) with a hand-copied leaflet on Muslim catechism in Turki, *Iman sharti*, originally published in Kazan in 1909<sup>62</sup> and copied by al-Qadiri during his time

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al-Barangawi, the father of Ahmad. By contrast, it is very unlikely that we will in the future discover anything else produced by ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri. On Ahmad al-Barangawi's historical work see: Allen J. Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia*; Riza al-Din b. Fakhr al-Din, “Tärjemä-yi häl wä täbäqat kitapları,” *Shura* 1915 (2), 45; Marsel’ Äkhmätjanov, *Miras istäleklärä* (Kazan, 2008), 3-63. The latter work is a never-cited, but pioneering study of *Tarikh-i Barangawi*.

57 James Pickett, *Polymaths of Islam: Power and Networks of Knowledge in Central Asia* (Cornell University Press, 2020).

58 Allen Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia*, 25-26; Liliia Baibulatova, ‘*Asar’ Rizy Fakhreddina: istochnikovaia osnova i znachenie svoda* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatel’stvo, 2006), 60-107.

59 Al’bert Fatkhiev, Liliia Shaidullina, “Berech’ drevnie knigi,” *Nauka i religiia* 1969 (6), 48-49. Additional acquisitions from the Mardjani mosque in the following decades enriched the collections of the Institute of Language, Literature and Arts as well as the National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan.

60 Kazan University Library, Ms. 6048T, 6 fols.

61 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 1a. Albert Fathi briefly mentions that he visited the library of Orenburg mosque in 1967 and must have brought some manuscripts back for the Kazan University collection. No publication, however, reveals the findings of this expedition. Cf.: Al’bert Fatkhiev, Liliia Shaidullina, “Berech’ drevnie knigi,” 49.

62 In the nineteenth century, “such works in local languages greatly aided proselytism among animist and baptized Tatars.” Agnes Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy, and Literacy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2014), 69.



in Orenburg, in December 1955. At the stage of binding, this section was put at the beginning; the reason being that this brief summary of Muslim belief serves as a good conceptual introduction to the rest of the text, symbolically identifying the cultural sphere from which the writer's personality originates. Moreover, *Iman shartı* was among the very first books that al-Qadiri studied in his childhood with his father.<sup>63</sup> I can imagine that while writing his reminiscences in Orenburg (Chkalov) in 1955/56, he felt nostalgic and, once a printed version of the book was in his hands, he decided to copy it out of emotion. Zainap Maksudova shares a similar emotional assessment of her childhood reading experience that must have influenced her life-long interest in ancient literature:

More than a half-century ago I was a passionate (*därtle*) schoolgirl, who had only started to read and write in Turkic and learn Qur'anic verses at a female school (*abıstay mäktäbendä*) in one of the distant villages of Tatarstan. My teacher, i.e. my own mother, paid much attention to the study of books in the Turkic language, to becoming familiar (*yaqınlaştıru*) with the literature in the native language, and she must have had many ideas [in this regard], since she owned a great number of manuscripts and some printed versions of *Bäkhsetez yeget*, *Bi'ayat mä'shuqnamah*, *Nawruz*, *Kisekbash*, *Rahat-i dil*, *Yusuf kitabı* and others. She would look at them regularly, but would not give me any of them. In the end, she singled out one thick manuscript and said: 'Here, have a look at this book. In the case that you do not understand certain words, ask me.' I took the book and sat on a bench near the stove, close to the door. My mother taught both boys and girls. The girls were sitting on the top of the stove and the boys below the stove. Since there was no place on the top, I joined the boys. I was the smallest among them. I tried to read, went through several pages at the beginning, but failed to understand many words and was not sure about my reading. [...] While moving through the book, closer to the end I found the following title written in red saffron: *A Story. In ancient times a boy called 'Umar lived in a city.*<sup>64</sup> The word *story* was quite familiar and dear to me. Every evening I wanted to hear yet another *story* [before going to sleep]. 'Umar was also a familiar name. In our village the son of Borgash *abzıy* was called 'Umar, they would relate various anecdotes about him. Therefore, I believed that this book contained a very interesting story or fairytale and started to read it carefully.<sup>65</sup>

In what follows, Maksudova reproduces the text of that story which she read as a child from the same manuscript that she inherited from her mother. In

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Curiously, the circulation of *Iman shartı* is attested as far as the early twentieth century Eastern Turkestan: Rian Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History*, 62-63.

63 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 74b, 168a.

64 In the original: *Hikayat. Zamanı mazıyda ber shähärdä ber 'Umar atlıg yeget var ide.*

65 Zainap Maksudova, *Kechkenä waqıtta uqılğan hikäyät*. The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, 18369-350, fol. 2.

contrast to Maksudova's focus on supervised reading, in 1931 Said Vakhidi (1887-1938), one of the founding fathers of Tatar manuscript studies, recalled the oral transmission of texts: "From early childhood I was exposed to hearing from my parents, as well as from my beloved grandfather 'Abd al-Latif *babay* and the highly respected Mahi *äbi*, the tales, legends and other oral histories about our ancestors, the Volga Bulgars, and about our native history."<sup>66</sup> Childhood memories played an important role in Soviet-era Muslim memoirs, and both reading and listening to oral recitation formed key activities that the authors remembered in later life.<sup>67</sup> The entire book written by 'Arabshah al-Qishlawi (1887-1961) is devoted to his childhood, often evoking events that took place before he could have naturally remembered them himself.<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, these practices of childhood literacy continued until the 1950s, at a time when they could not be supported by the traditional Islamic institutions. Albert Fathi (1937-1992), lifelong custodian of the collection of Tatar manuscripts hosted at Kazan University,<sup>69</sup> underlines in his autobiographical sketches that in his early childhood his grandmother and aunt played an important role in transmitting to him a passion for Arabic-script Tatar literacy:

Besides relating to me the regular news (those were the years of war and right after), my grandma and aunt were similarly telling me various things, from the history of our village to fairytales and poetry, but the most exciting was to take a wrapped book from the shelves. That was like a moment of meeting that history face-to-face ... And what is more, the letter from my father [who had perished in the war] was also written in that old script.<sup>70</sup>

66 Said Vakhidi, *Opisanie vostochnykh rukopisei i dokumentov, pozhertvovannykh S.G. Vakhidovym v 1925 godu v Tsentral'nyi Muzei T.R. cherez Akademicheskii Tsentr Tatnar-komprosa v Otdel Vostochnykh rukopisei Tsentru Muzeiia T.R.* Vol. 1, part 1. Kazan, 1 January 1931, Kazan University Library, Ms. 1012 T, fol. 1a.

67 On the interplay of reading and listening in a similar context: Rian Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History*, 52-95. While Rian Thum emphasizes the social role of manuscripts in shaping collective identities distinct from nationhood, my study highlights the importance of texts in self-construction.

68 The author similarly lists *Iman sharti* among the very first books that he read: Gadelshah Äkhmädiev, *Kolïy babay näsele*, ed. by Ilshat Fäyzrakhmanov and Gölfia Shäikhieva (Kazan: Mardjani Institute of History, 2018), 88.

69 On him: Alfrid Bustanov, "Lichnyi arkhiv tatarskogo arkheografa Al'berta Fatkhi i vostochnaia arkheografiia v Kazanskom universitete vo vtoroi polovine XX veka," *Islam v sovremennom mire* 11.1 (2015), 159-174.

70 Kazan University Library, Albert Fathi Collection, d. 191, fol. 16a. As many other items in this collection, the file contains Fathi's sporadic and very chaotic self-reflections. These particular reminiscences go back to the 1980s.

Besides the formation of “a sense of collective regional and historical identity,”<sup>71</sup> the consumption of texts similar to *Iman sharti* in early childhood contributed immensely to the reproduction of the moral subject. I assume that al-Qadiri had emotionally recognized the centrality of this moral catechism to his concept of self, and that this is what led him to place a handwritten copy of it at the beginning of his life story.

The next part of the book (fols. 52a-70a) consists of a long list of historical events (*tarikhi waqi'alar*) with a very brief commentary for each, from the events of medieval Russian and European history until April 1961 (Fig. 4). To be precise, these chronological notes are mixed with medical prescriptions (*tibb*)<sup>72</sup> and there is no clear sequence of events, only a list of episodes of global and Russian history with Muslim insights. This part of the manuscript provides a glimpse into the author's historical consciousness. While he does not necessarily follow the chronological order of events, and freely mixes the Christian and Muslim calendars,<sup>73</sup> this engagement with chronology provides the author with an opportunity to write himself into history – either by linking his life experiences to great people of the past, or simply by evoking events that he witnessed during his lifetime. Furthermore, the form of this chronological narrative resembles at least two traditional genres, or models of writing, that al-Qadiri felt suitable for his discussion of history.

The first genre consists of noting down the events of the outside world (*waqa'īnamā*),<sup>74</sup> be that the first snow or an outbreak of cholera. Quite often, these brief chronological notes appear as marginalia in manuscript books, thus reflecting the personal dimension in claiming the classical canon of

71 Allen J. Frank, “Turkmen Literacy and Turkmen Identity before the Soviets: the Ravnaq al-Islām in its Literary and Social Context,” *JESHO* 63 (2020), 309. Here also on similar texts from the school (*maktab*) curriculum that proved central to identity formation.

72 The theory and practice of Muslim medicine, strongly tied to occult sciences and Sufism, was an important element of one's worldview that provides glimpses into the history of body, engagement with nature, and ideas on the structure of the universe. The circulation of medical texts among the Muslims of Russia had been extensive, as evidenced by the rich manuscript tradition since at least the mid-eighteenth century. However, no comprehensive study of this phenomenon exists to date. Examples of texts are present in: Marsel' Akhmetzianov, *Tatar khalkynyng boryngy yrym-arbaulary häm törle falnamäläre* (Kazan, 2012); idem, *Tatar arkhografiase: Tatar khalkynyng kul'iazma tyib khäzinäse müräsy* (Kazan, 2016).

73 For some pioneering insights into the history of time in Muslim Central Asia see: Anke von Kuegelgen, *Legitimatitsia sredneaziatskoi dinastii mangitov v proizvedeniakh ikh istorikov (XVIII-XIX vv.)* (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2004), 186-245.

74 Marsel' Akhmetzianov, “Kul'iazma kitaplarda keche zhanrlar,” *Kazan utlary* 3 (1994), 172-177; V.Kh. Khakov, “O tatarskikh letopisiakh i ikh iazyke,” *Struktura i istoriia tatarskogo iazyka* (Kazan, 1982), 100-109.

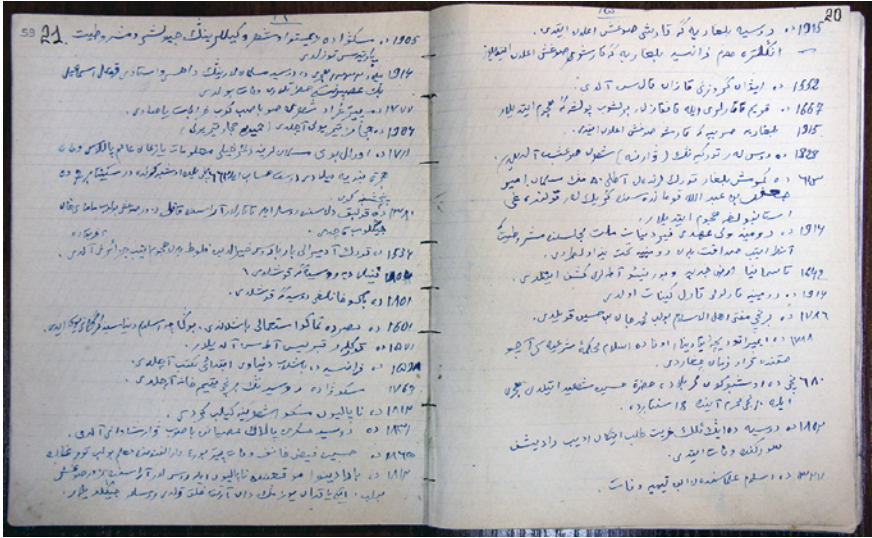


Fig. 4 A list of historical events in al-Qadiri's memoirs, fols. 58b-59a.

Islamic literature. A good example in this regard is a historical note (*ta'rikh*) in Persian on the supposed destruction of the city of Bulghar by Tamerlane, on the leaves of an ancient copy of the Qur'an.<sup>75</sup> According to current historiography, the composition of chronological registers was fostered by such works as *Chingiznamä*, a seventeenth-century historical narrative, and subsequently spread in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup> Zainap Maksudova collected

75 Kazan University Library, Ms. 5020 ar., fol. 181a. This must be one of the oldest known *waqa'īnamä*. On this interesting manuscript copied between the 15th and 17th centuries see: Nuriia Garaeva, "Stareishii spisok Korana v sobranii Nauchnoi biblioteki im. N.I. Lobachevskogo Kazanskogo (Privolzhskego) Federal'nogo Universiteta," *Vostochnye rukopisi: sovremennoe sostoianie i perspektivy izucheniiä*, ed. by R.F. Islamov and S.F. Galimov (Kazan, 2011), 93-105. Another reminder of genre boundary blurring comes from an anonymous anti-missionary treatise *A Present to the Pious for Rejection of the Wrong Beliefs*, copied (or authored?) by 'Iman akhund Kärimi in the late nineteenth century. The work starts off with a short chronology on the problematic relations between Russia's Muslims and the imperial state. Ironically, all the dates here are given according to the Julian calendar: *Tuhfat al-rashid li-radd i'tiqadat al-fasid*. The Cultural Center of Kazan, Ms. 10966/60, 344-345. Another copy of this work is stored at the Institute of Language, Literature, and Arts in Kazan (no. 3263, fols. 1b-75a) and is available online: <http://miras.info/projects/mirasxane/manuscript/208-rukopis-kritika-vzgljadov-missionera-vasileva-po-voprosam-islama.html> (last accessed 18.06.2020).

76 Rafael Shaikhiev, *Tatarskaia narodno-kraevedcheskaia literature XIX-XX vv.* (Kazan: Kazan University, 1990), 24; *'Chynggызnamä: tarikhi dastannar*, ed. by Raif Märdanov (Kazan: Milli kitap, 2019), 6.

some old examples of such records, dating back to the mid-eighteenth century. They often begin with the capture of Kazan by the Russians in 1552, and include a list of dates in the Hijri calendar accompanied by an animal name according to the Turkic calendar.<sup>77</sup> Historical information is usually provided briefly and often deals with contemporary political events, be that uprisings, wars, or enthronement of a new ruler. The spatial scope of such records is geographically wide: the clear focus is on events in ancient Bulghar and Kazan, but they also follow the situation in Moscow, Bashkiria, and the Orenburg region.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, it is difficult to precisely identify the locality of such texts, since textually they are not bound to certain settlements, as Sufi hagiographies or village histories would be. These chronological registers usually lack any clear impact of their author's personality, but they certainly mirror the cultural models that were in circulation at the time, whether in terms of the scope of historical consciousness, or in the way they juggle different chronological styles. Al-Qadiri was familiar with the genre of chronological registers, but he made this style of history writing more personal by inserting his memoirs right into his description of historical events, thereby realizing himself as a historical figure. For example, in a section devoted to the biography of Imam Shamil (1797-1871) and his descendants, al-Qadiri notes the following:

When I was in Medina the Radiant, at one of the Friday prayers in 1906 or 1907, a mu'adhdhin informed the community present at the Mosque of the Prophet that, in accordance with the Shafi'i law, after the congregational prayer the funeral of the son of the fighter Shaykh Shamil would take place. Then we conducted the funeral prayer. Your servant (*fäqirengéz*) was also present at the funeral. May God cover him with His mercy. Amen. 'Abd al-Majid Qadırov.<sup>79</sup>

The second genre – which al-Qadiri must have been familiar with while compiling his chronological record – is *tabaqat*, the classical genre of Arabic biographical literature, where biographies of outstanding individuals had to be

77 On the usage of the animal cycle in Central Asian historiography: *Firdaws al-Iqbal. History of Horezm by Shir Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi*, translated from Chaghatay and annotated by Yuri Bregel (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 1999), xxxix-xl; Anke von Kuegelgen, *Legitimatsiia sredneaziatskoi dinastii mangitov v proizvedeniakh ikh istorikov (XVIII-XIX vv.)* (Almaty: Daik-Press, 2004), 190-192.

78 Zainap Maksudova, *Waqa'i'namälärdän chüplänmälär*. The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 18369-366, fols. 1b-2a. As far as I know, this *waqa'i'namä* genre was completely unknown in Western Siberia.

79 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 53ab. Given that Ghazi Muhammad, the second son of Imam Shamil, passed away a few years before in 1902, al-Qadiri must have attended a funeral of some other relative of Imam Shamil.

organized according to a particular format.<sup>80</sup> A similar mode of writing was adopted a few decades after al-Qadiri by ‘Abd al-Khabir Yarullin (1905-1993),<sup>81</sup> a long-standing imam of the Mardjani mosque in Kazan, who also compiled a list of deaths of individuals whom he knew and accompanied that list with brief biographical notes.<sup>82</sup> Al-Qadiri used the writing templates of these two genres to express himself as a person of historical consciousness, capable of linking the events of global history with the history of his own life.<sup>83</sup>

Missing from the chronological narrative are myriad events of family life and local history. Meanwhile, the death of two of al-Qadiri’s closest friends made its way into the list, only a few pages after the death of Ibn Taymiyya and the fall of Granada.<sup>84</sup> Immediately after a brief treatment of Riza Fakhreddinov’s biography and a description of his grave in Ufa, al-Qadiri proceeds with a note on Imam Shamil’s tomb in Mecca. This is the first occasion upon which he expresses his involvement in historical matters and direct engagement with objects of the past. During his studies in Arabia, al-Qadiri took the opportunity to pay homage (*ziyarat qilib*) to the grave of Shamil and performed a Qur’an recitation there. A longstanding fighter against the Russian Empire in the Caucasus, Imam Shamil certainly enjoyed fame among the Muslims of Russia. As al-Qadiri was writing those lines in Orenburg, he noted down the grave inscription as he remembered it (*khäteremdä qalmış*).<sup>85</sup> When evoking the events of a distant past, al-Qadiri makes reference in the text to his own

80 The most famous example from the Russian context is *Wafiyat al-aslaf*, the magnum opus of Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani. This work covers the biographies of important figures of the Islamic world up to the time of the author. Numerous copies of the work have survived, but it has yet to be published. Kazan University Library, Ms. 149 Ar., 609 Ar. – 615 Ar., 4444 Ar.; National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 440 G; National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan, Collection R-5406, ‘Abd al-Rahman ‘Umari, Op. 1, D. 28, 29, 30 (copied in 1889). A small part of the work was translated into Tatar by a group of scholars in the 1950s, but has only recently been published: Shihabetdin Märjani, *Sailanma üsürlär* (Kazan, 2018), 35-126.

81 On him: Alfrid Bustanov, “Iarullin Gabelkhabir,” *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar’*, ed. by Stanislav Prozorov. Vol. II (Moscow: Nauka, 2018), 457-459.

82 The personal archive of ‘Abd al-Khabir Yarullin kept by his grandson Na’il (Kazan). Item 43. *Bu düftärdä ülgän keshelärneng adresläri, qaychan ülüläre haqında*. This manuscript covers the events between 1969 and 1993.

83 My observations here are inspired by the recent studies on time in autobiographical writing: *Controlling Time and Shaping the Self: Developments in Autobiographical Writing since the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf M. Dekker and Michael James Mascuch (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011).

84 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 66b-67a.

85 *Ibid.*, fol. 52b.

memory, especially in cases where he had forgotten something. In a similar way, the former mullah Hasandjan Akhmerov (1874-1955) makes reference to his memory when retrospectively evoking events of the 1920s.<sup>86</sup> Neither al-Qadiri nor Akhmerov, who had been imprisoned in 1926, explicitly cite any personal notes or contemporary diaries as their sources. It is not improbable that al-Qadiri had an impressive memory, but in some cases, especially with regard to his trip to the Near East, the precision and minute detail reveals that his memory must have been stimulated by written evidence from the time of those events.

The extensive ego-narrative that follows (fols. 72b-169a) comprises the following sections, separated by occasional titles and/or colophons:

- a) Majid *qari*'s formative years in Russia, fols. 72b-82a;
- b) *A Trip to Medina the Radiant* (1904-1909) and life in Istärlibash (1909-1926), fols. 82b-104b;
- c) construction of the water system in Istärlibash (1926), fols. 104b-108a;
- d) years spent at the White Sea Canal and labor camps near Tashkent (1928-1933, 1943-1952), fols. 108b-135b;
- e) biographies of his ancestors and relatives, fols. 136b-148a;
- f) the history of Istärlibash village, fols. 148b-157b;
- g) biographies of teachers in Istärlibash, fols. 157b-163b;
- h) biographies of Qur'an specialists in Istärlibash, fols. 163b-167b;
- i) al-Qadiri's teachers, fols. 168a-169a.

The memoirs of al-Qadiri thus bring together a range of historical and (auto)biographical genres that had been in circulation among Russia's Muslims before the Great Terror. This ego-narrative includes parts that can be variously identified as a pilgrimage account (*hajjnamä*),<sup>87</sup> a biographical

86 Häsändjan Äkhmärov, *Istäleklär*, 129. These memoirs were composed in Arabic-script Tatar, while the author resided in Dushanbe in 1945/1946. Cf.: Gadelshah Äkhmädiev, *Koliy babaynäsele*, 96.

87 The genre of *hajjnamä* was known in Inner Russia from at least the seventeenth century and continued into the years of late Socialism: the first account is from Murtada al-Simiti (1110 / 1699) and the last is from 'Abd al-Khabir Yarullin (1387 / 1968). Paradoxically, the Soviet era *hajjnamäs* are the most detailed and numerous; most of them, however, remain unpublished: The private archive of 'Abd al-Khabir Yarullin, file 16; 'Abd al-Rahman al-Rasuli's account, Kazan University Library, Ms. 3868T (this work was copied widely and is known in multiple versions); Muhammad Tugyzbaev's account (1954), Kazan University Library, Ms. 4208T; accounts by Sa'id Allagulov (1954) and Muhammad Rakhimov (1955) from the private archive of Hamza Torushev (Ust' Ishim, Omsk region); Ni'matdjan b. Din Muhammad's account (1956) from the library of 'Abbas Bibarsov in Urta Elezen (Ms. 48). Some publications include: *Tatar säyakhätnamäläre*, ed. by Ä. Alieva (Kazan, 2015); *Säyakhätnamälär*, ed. by Raif Märdanov (Kazan, 2011); Aidar Khäiretdinov,

dictionary,<sup>88</sup> a village history (*awil tarikhi*),<sup>89</sup> and a genealogical treatise (*shäjärä*).<sup>90</sup> The genealogical genre in particular helped al-Qadiri to define himself as part of a hereditary community: he explicitly identifies composing a genealogy (*nasl wa ansab*) as one of the main goals of his book.<sup>91</sup> Starting one's ego-narrative with an extensive genealogy and treatment of ancestors was a customary practice in Muslim life writing of the early twentieth century, as exemplified by the autobiography of 'Ilman akhund (1901/02)<sup>92</sup> and the introduction to Mir Khaydar Fayzi's diaries.<sup>93</sup> Even though al-Qadiri does not mention it explicitly, the section on village history (fols. 148b-157b) reveals a degree of dependency on a book published by Muhammad Shakir Tuqaeв in Kazan in 1899, but through the lens of Majid *qari*'s life experience.

The complex structure of the book mirrors not only the composite nature that arises from the assembling of separate notes, but also al-Qadiri's approach

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*Rusiädän, dimäk mömkin, ialngiz bän ... (Musa Bigievneг 1927nche elgy khadzhamäse). Tarikhi-dokumental' ocherk* (Kazan, 2016); Cf.: Michael Kemper, "Ismails Reisebuch als Genremischung," *Istochniki i issledovaniia po istorii tatarskogo naroda*, ed. by Diliara Usmanova, Dina Mustafina (Kazan, 2006), 318-331.

- 88 Qurban-'Ali Khalidi, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe, 1770-1912*, ed. by Allen J. Frank and Mirkasyim A. Usmanov (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), xviii-xx. The genre spread in the second half of the nineteenth century and culminated in the magnificent work *Athar* by Riza Fakhreddinov. Since then no attempt has been undertaken to compile scholarly biographies of the Soviet era. This is striking, against the background of a large collection of biographies brought together by a Kazakh religious figure, Saduaqas Ghilmani. It might be that his work was inspired by the Tatar tradition of biographical dictionaries: Saduaqas Ghilmani, *Biographies of the Islamic Scholars of Our Times*, Vol. 1, ed. by Ashirbek Muminov and Allen J. Frank (Almaty, 2015); Saduaqas Ghilmani, *Biographies of the Islamic Scholars of Our Times*. 2 vols., ed. by Ashirbek Muminov, Allen J. Frank, Aitzhan Nurmanova (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2018).
- 89 Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia*, 21-29.
- 90 Initially, genealogies must have been transmitted orally, with the first known manuscripts being dated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but their true rise as a literary genre took place in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century: Marsel' Akhmetzianov, *Tatar shädjäläre*. 3 vols. (Kazan, 2011, 2014, 2019); Mirkasym Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoricheskie istochniki XVII-XVIII vv.* (Kazan, 1972), 167-195.
- 91 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 72b-73a.
- 92 'Ilman akhund Kärimi (1841-1902) refers to his autobiography as *The History of Myself and What I Have Experienced* (literally: "what went over my head"): *Ta'rikh khosusimez wä sär-guzashtläremez*, and starts with his ancestors from the eighteenth century. The Cultural Center of Kazan, Ms. 10966/60, pp. 143-147 (autograph); an adopted publication by his son Fatih Kärimi (1870-1937): *Märkhum Gilman akhund* (Orenburg, 1903).
- 93 Kazan University Library, Mir Khaydar Fayzi Collection, Ms. 41, *Könlek дәftär* (undated), fol. 1a.



to writing his life, whereby he highlighted only a selection of stages that he wanted to share with his prospective audience: his formative years, his contribution to the welfare of his home village, his prison experience, and the biographies of people who he admired or who were dear to him.

Since al-Qadiri's book was unintelligible to his heirs (his daughter Maryam Kadyrova's autobiography from the 1990s does not reveal familiarity with the contents of her father's memoirs), we do not find much external intrusion into the text. Very few notes have been added to the manuscript after al-Qadiri: only a short poem that the author enjoyed reciting has been added at the beginning, and the date of his death at the end. At a certain point, the holders of the manuscript decided to bind the separate notebooks into a single volume to ensure its preservation. The binder, however, was careless with respect to the contents of the memoir – presumably simply because she or he did not understand a word of it – and cropped its pages to fit the size of the binding, destroying many of the margin notes left by the author.

### The Audience

Who were the intended audience for al-Qadiri's memoirs? It is safe to say that he wrote primarily for himself: the very process of writing a life story can be seen as a means of psychological self-treatment. After being released from a long imprisonment, it is likely that al-Qadiri wanted to restore justice by producing an authentic and true narrative of himself. In fact, at the time of writing and still at the time of his death, al-Qadiri was not yet officially rehabilitated. This rejection of unjust oppression (*na-haqq, bāla-gunahsiz mazīlüm*) increases the value of the author's subjectivity: al-Qadiri mobilizes literary and behavioral practices known to him and combines them all in a single multifaceted text.

As someone who consciously fashioned himself as a Qur'an specialist, al-Qadiri constantly addressed God, and invocations of God (*du'a*) appear regularly in the text. One of them, "Oh Allah! If s/he was a doer of good then increase his or her good fortune. And if s/he was a wrongdoer then overlook his/her wrongdoings," features as many as twenty-two times, as a short prayer for certain deceased individuals about whom the author wrote positively. In fact, the use of this invocation is intertwined with al-Qadiri's assessment of others' personality. This constant pious rhetoric shows that al-Qadiri's dialogue with God served an important function in his self-perception as a sincere believer, as well as in writing about others' lives. The same is true for Muhammad Fatih

al-Ilmini's historical work *Tawarikh-i Altī Ata* (1909), where the author regularly includes invocations of God.<sup>94</sup>

Writing in the Arabic script long after the official change of the alphabet, al-Qadiri still intended his memoirs for a certain readership. While describing crimes committed during the famine of the 1920s, he makes an emotional appeal to an imaginary reader: "Dear readers (*uquchilar*), judge for yourself."<sup>95</sup> Still, the readership is assumed to be local enough to be able to appreciate the good deeds performed by al-Qadiri for his beloved village of Istārlibash: "Maybe [the villagers] will learn the story upon reading this; I ask the readers (*uquchilar*) to pray for me."<sup>96</sup> Al-Qadiri's apparent confidence in continued access to Arabic-script literacy might, to a certain degree, reflect the situation at the time of writing: in the 1950s there were still many people able to consume texts that reproduced the visual standards of Islamic book culture. Moreover, for al-Qadiri, as for many other individuals of his generation and background, Arabic-script literacy in Tatar remained the most effective tool for self-expression, despite all the efforts of Soviet nation-building policies in shifting to the Latin and then Cyrillic scripts. Throughout the entire Soviet epoch, traditional Islamic literacy remained an option for the older generation as well as for a relatively small number of younger individuals who received their education in Soviet-era madrasas, and even for some circles of the intelligentsia.<sup>97</sup> This can also explain the absence of visual sources in al-Qadiri's book: he simply felt at home in the purely textual realm with its visual aesthetics, leaving aside photographs as rather alien to his mode of self-conception. That said, the language used by al-Qadiri demonstrates much flexibility, with openness to borrowing from different tongues, as well as code-switching when

94 Kazan University Library, Ms. 124 T. The work's shorter autograph (Ms. 5854T, 106 fols.) contains margin notes written by the manuscript owners, including the author's granddaughter Balkys Karmysheva (1916-2000). On this work, see Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia*; idem, "Islam and Ethnic Relations in the Kazakh Inner Horde: Muslim Cossacks, Tatar Merchants, and Kazakh Nomads in a Turkic Manuscript, 1870-1910," *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries. Vol. 2: Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. by Anke von Kuegelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998), 211-242.

95 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 103a.

96 Ibid., fol. 108a.

97 Notable is the correspondence of two eminent Orientalists, 'Abd al-Rahman Tagirdzhanov (1907-1983) and Mirkasyim Usmanov (1934-2010), in the 1970s and 1980s: always in the Arabic script and following the rules of traditional letter-writing. Institute of Language, Literature, and Arts of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Collection 115 (the archive of 'Abd al-Rahman Tagirdzhanov), op. 4, d. 63, 25 fols. Similarly, the graduates of the Mir-i 'Arab madrasa in Bukhara would regularly use the Arabic script for private purposes throughout the era of late Socialism.

reporting the direct speech of actors in the narrative who speak in Arabic, Kazakh, or Russian.<sup>98</sup> While for Qur'anic citations and hadiths al-Qadiri usually does not provide any comment or translation, borrowed words in everyday use are regularly rendered in several forms, i.e. in the original form followed by Tatar and Russian (all in Arabic script). Linguistic plurality and flexibility of choice, eloquently employed by the author, are thus placed in the context of traditional Tatar manuscript culture. Poets contemporary with al-Qadiri also made use of this linguistic polyphony in their work. For example, Muhammad Sadiq al-Imanquli (1870-1932) in his verses allows a Turk, an Arab, and a Persian to each speak in their own tongue, providing poetic translations only for the Persian speech.<sup>99</sup> Notably, one can hardly detect any influence of Persian literacy in al-Qadiri's memoirs: by the early twentieth century, when the formation of his individuality took place, the popularity of Persianate linguistic and behavioral models had entered their phase of decline.

As a graduate of the Russian-Tatar school<sup>100</sup> in İstärlibash, al-Qadiri knew spoken Russian well, to the extent that he was able to serve as a translator for Kazakh hajjis on their way to Mecca. Still, on his return trip from Arabia in 1908, al-Qadiri expressed some unease with official documentation: upon receiving a document from Russian officials he needed the assistance of "a learned person" (*belgän keshe*) to read it out for him.<sup>101</sup> Later on, he successfully evaded military service, where he would have improved his knowledge of Russian; but it is certain that during his two periods of imprisonment he must have learned the language well (including the prison jargon<sup>102</sup>), as revealed by his regular translations of certain Arabic and Tatar words into Arabic-script Russian throughout the text. During the past three centuries, Russian words in Tatar texts could be rendered either in the Arabic script,<sup>103</sup> or in Cyrillic,

98 Direct speech as a literary device was widely used by Riza Fakhreddinov in his work *Athar*: Michael Kemper, "Interlocking Autobiographies: Dialogical Techniques in Fakhreddinov's *Āthār III*," *The Written and the Spoken in Central Asia. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in Zentralasien: Festschrift für Ingeborg Baldauf*, ed. by L. Rzehak, T. Loy (Thetys, 2021), 67-82.

99 Muhammad Sadiq al-Imanquli, *Hikayat* (undated, early twentieth century), Kazan University Library, 1586 T, fol. 1b.

100 On Russian-Tatar schools: Elena Campbell, *The Muslim Question and Russian Imperial Governance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015), 60.

101 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 96b.

102 Note the usage of word *volchok* as a reference to a door viewer in prison and the recurrent references to officers as *nachal'nik*: Ibid., fols. 111b, 112a.

103 In particular, an anonymous Russian-Tatar dictionary from the 1870s contains the Arabic-script transliterations of Russian words and even full sentences with their translation into Tatar. Zainap Maksudova, who possessed the manuscript, reasonably observed that the dictionary must have been compiled at the Tatar Teacher's College in Kazan

depending on the will of the individual author.<sup>104</sup> This situational practice served as a mode of either alienation or nativization, given the ambivalent status of the Russian language for Muslims. On the one hand, comprehending the Russian language increasingly became a practical necessity, especially in the urban context and even more so for someone like al-Qadiri, engaged in operating a small business; on the other hand, the language was strongly associated with Christianity, state oppression, and the dominant culture of the Other. This ambivalence created a gray space for language tricks: even those who knew the language well still turned to the service of translators to win time in a conversation and gain control over the social situation.<sup>105</sup>

Based in Leningrad in the late 1970s, the mufti 'Abd al-Bari Isaev (1907-1983) had to render his drafts of the Arabic-script Tatar translation of the Qur'an in Cyrillic, despite the fact that he did not really feel at home with the rules of the Soviet-style Tatar grammar.<sup>106</sup> In fact, this manuscript was the only work in his extensive written oeuvre that he did not write in the Arabic script, and therefore his Cyrillic text reflected many features of traditional Islamic literacy, i.e. the omission of vowels, the absence of capital letters, and irregular punctuation. Isaev tried to address a broad audience consisting of the recent generation of Soviet school graduates, who would certainly not have been literate in Arabic. In contrast, al-Qadiri still believed that, on a local level, his life narrative would be understood in a traditional, if not to say conservative, linguistic and visual form. The same is true for the written oeuvre of Saduaqas Ghilmani, a Muslim scholar from late Socialist Kazakhstan.<sup>107</sup>

To write memoirs in Arabic-script Tatar in the mid-1950s with the hope of a possible readership in the future was a conscious choice of the author, who did not feel comfortable writing about himself in any form other than those familiar to him from childhood. In practice, this meant that from the very beginning of his project there was no real audience for his written narrative: the modes of self-description current in the first quarter of the twentieth century proved

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(*Tatarskaia uchitel'skaia shkola*): *Ruscha-tatarcha süzlek*, The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 18369-451, 41 fols.

104 As early as 1187 / 1773-1774, after copying a Turkic medical treatise, a certain 'Uthman b. Isma'il decided to repeat his name in the Cyrillic script for no apparent reason: Kazan University Library, Ms. 134 T, fol. 121b.

105 Qurban-'Ali Khalidi, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe*, 59.

106 Alfrid Bustanov, "The Qur'an for Soviet Citizens: The Rhetoric of Progress in the Theological Works of 'Abd al-Bari Isaev," *Forum for Anthropology and Culture* 14 (2018), 169-184. This translation has recently been published: Gabelbari khäzrät Isaev, *Kor'än Käräm tärdjemäse*, ed. by Alfrid Bustanov (Kazan, 2018).

107 Saduaqas Ghilmani, *Biographies of the Islamic Scholars of Our Times*. Vol. 1.

to be hopelessly outdated and incomprehensible already for his children's generation.<sup>108</sup>

Al-Qadiri's narrative is full of emotions and reflections on his life experience, where Islamic piety combines strikingly with prison jargon. There are many instances of the author providing the direct speech of his interlocutors, giving us a real sense of oral communication at that time. What we hear is not the voice of the learned elite, but of simple countryside folk who are disengaged from scholarly debates and uninterested in maintaining the sacred authority. What is the literary tradition that this voice appealed to?

### Sources of Inspiration

When we think of templates of Muslim life writing in the Russian empire, the first genre that comes to mind is a tradition of Tatar biographical dictionaries. First introduced to international scholarship by Mirkasyim Usmanov and Allen Frank, these sources provide researchers with extensive data on thousands of individuals. However, as Danielle Ross rightly observes, compilations of biographies "were carefully curated self-representations of a specific close-knit network of scholarly families, their students, and their clients who dominated social and cultural life in Kazan and its neighboring villages."<sup>109</sup> When approached through the lens of personhood (*shakhsiya*), we observe in these extensive biographical texts a great degree of standardization of individual biographical entries and even of the language chosen to describe those life histories. It would be extremely interesting to know which role models were important in collecting data for biographical accounts. In other words, the collections of biographies, or classical *tabaqat* genre, had the aim of teaching Muslims how to live a life worth remembering.<sup>110</sup> Hence the title of the most famous biographical collection, i.e. *Traces (Athar)*, composed by Riza Fakhreddinov between the 1890s and 1930s. By the 1950s, together with Mardjani's *Mustafad al-akhbar*, these were the only biographical dictionaries of prominent Tatar individuals available in print<sup>111</sup> and they proved to

108 Descendants of Hasandjan Akhmerov were also unable to read his reminiscences: Häsändjan Äkhmärov, *Istäleklär*, 139.

109 Danielle Ross, *Tatar Empire*, 3.

110 Cf. the genre of elegies that served a similar purpose: Danielle Ross, "The Promiscuous Life," 343-376.

111 Other biographical dictionaries existed in manuscript form and enjoyed only limited (if any) circulation: Qurban-'Ali Khalidi, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe*, xviii-xx.

be influential in the composition of similar works: for example, Zinnatullah Muhammad Rahimi in his biography of the poet Shams al-Din Zaki explicitly referred to these authors.<sup>112</sup> Al-Qadiri was also reading Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary to use it as a possible example. Behavioral models propagated via biographical dictionaries included seekers of knowledge, professional theologians and Sufis, and, to a lesser degree, those who supported them financially, i.e. pious merchants, often themselves involved in gaining knowledge in one way or another. Reading scholarly biographies of the past was not part of the regular school curriculum, but some exceptions were made to that rule. 'Alimdjani al-Barudi remembered with gratitude that when he was eleven years old, his teacher Nur 'Ali al-Barudi attached to a copy of al-Zamakhshari's primer on Arabic grammar, *al-Anmuzaj*, a brief biography of its author, and thus "opened the door to the enjoyment of biographical writing."<sup>113</sup> Indeed, it is not uncommon to find similar biographical notes on the first pages of Tatar madrasa textbooks of the nineteenth century, sometimes with references to the famous bibliographical reference book *Kashf al-zunun* by Hajji Khalifa.

Of course, there is always a certain degree of standardization involved in life writing in order to make the text understandable for an intended audience that shares common cultural values. In contrast to biographical dictionaries, accounts of the Prophet Muhammad provide a far more universal role model, democratic in its outreach: not everyone could excel in sciences or become wealthy, but everyone was meant to follow the example of the ideal Muslim personality embodied by the Prophet. The genre of prophetic biographies (*sira*) traces its history back to the first centuries of Islam, but such books were not always popular in Russia. Given our lack of knowledge about the dynamics of the circulation of Arabic and Persian texts in imperial Russia, it is hard to judge how intensively such classical *sira* books were consumed.<sup>114</sup> Clearly, such texts had been known and copied in local madrasas, but they did not

112 Zinnatullah Muhammad Rahimi, *Shams al-Din Zaki tärjemä-yi häle* (1915), The Scientific Archive of Ufa Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, F. 3, op. 63, d. 47. I used a photocopy of this manuscript: Kazan University Library, Ms. 6025 T, fols. 6-9.

113 Galimdjani Barudi, *Khätirä däftäre. 1920 elnyng oktiabrenän alyp 1921 elnyng noiabrenä kadär* (Kazan: Mardjani Institute of History, 2018), 140.

114 An incomplete catalog of Arabic manuscripts hosted by Kazan University Library, compiled by Masgud Idiätullin in the 1970s, lists only fourteen biographical works. Almost all of them deal with biographies of Muslim scholars in classical forms of *tabaqat* and *tarajim*, either collective for the Hanafi school, or individual (a biography of Imam Shafi'i copied in Egypt in the early seventeenth century: 1183 Ar.). One exception is a detailed biography of Abu Nasr al-Qursawi, copied by his great admirer, Muhammad Najib al-Tuntari, in the 1870s (1468 Ar.).

accentuate the personal character of their heroes, emphasizing instead their prescribed roles as pious bearers of Muslim authority.

Alfina Sibgatullina links the rapid growth of printed prose and poetry devoted to the character of the Prophet with the spread of the Naqshbandiyya khalidiyya Sufi brotherhood among the Tatars in the second half of the nineteenth century. Good knowledge of the personal characteristics of the Prophet was a necessary prerequisite for conducting Sufi practices of spiritual concentration on the figure of Muhammad via one's patron.<sup>115</sup> Al-Qadiri was surrounded by great Sufi masters but was not a Sufi himself; nor did he ever openly criticize Sufism either. His case shows that the prophetic example was still in demand beyond the strict confines of Sufi circles. Similar behavioral models were thus available to individuals from different ideological streams.

To continue this line of thought, it is tempting to draw a teleological line of genre development, from hagiographies of the early modern period that dealt with symbols rather than human lives,<sup>116</sup> to biographies and then autobiographies of the modern period that manifest the rise of the Muslim self and the appearance of self-reflection, and which focus on individuality as the central modus in the narrative.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, there is a clear difference between Muhammad al-Birgawi's (d. 1573) *Tariqa muhammadīyya*, an Ottoman poem that circulated widely in the Russian empire of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,<sup>118</sup> and the new *sira* books by the local authors. While in al-Birgawi's book the Prophet plays the role of a legendary man, the *sira* books reflected a demand for rationalism and for the Prophet as a figure closer to people, emphasizing the human aspects of his life experience and his qualities as a person. Different books aimed to produce different types of moral subject.

Biographies of the Prophet started to be published in Tatar in the 1880s, from which point the writing of such books was established as a tradition.<sup>119</sup> Clearly, the image of the Prophet in Russia experienced changes from the late

115 Alfina Sibgatullina, *Chelovek na minbare: obraz musul'manskogo lidera v tatarskoi i turetskoi literaturakh (konets XIX – pervaya tret' XX v.)* (Moscow: Sadra, 2018), 100.

116 For a brief overview of Central Asian hagiographical tradition see: Jeff Eden, "Hagiography in Central Asia," *Encyclopedia of Islam* III (Brill, 2020), 47-49.

117 Cf. a similar process in the literary history of Christian autobiographies in imperial Russia: *Vera i lichnost' v meniaiushchemsia obshchestve. Avtobiografika i pravoslavie v Rossii kontsa XVII – nachala XX vv.*, ed. by Denis Sdvizhkov, Gari Marker, Tat'iana Sochiva (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2019).

118 On the perception of *Tariqa muhammadīyya* in Russia see: Michael Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte in Tatarien und Baschkirien, 1789-1889: Der islamische Diskurs unter russischer Herrschaft* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1998), 148-172.

119 'Ata' Allah Bayazitov, *Muhammad Mustafa salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallamneng dönyaga kilüe wä dinneng bashlanuvı* (Kazan, 1881); Shähär Shäräf, *'Asr-i sä'adät* (Kazan, 1909); Rida

nineteenth century, especially if we take into account the rise of hadith scholarship in the region that took place at the same time. Again, there are no statistics that we can easily refer to, but even the available catalogs of manuscripts allow us to see that a specialized study of prophetic traditions was not all that popular before the mid-nineteenth century.

Al-Qadiri does not openly state the sources of his inspiration. By 1955, when he produced his memoirs, he would have had access to both the Muslim tradition of life writing and Russian/Soviet examples. Still, even without being cited directly, the Muslim symbolic language was sufficiently rich to provide al-Qadiri with all the templates that he used in his memoirs. By contrast, the Soviet models that were arguably available did not manifest in any of the literary and visual tools that al-Qadiri employed in his work.

‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri had certain role models that he desired to imitate. In particular, he writes about individuals who, in his opinion, embodied the ideal qualities of a Muslim scholar. He did not pursue that path himself, but held those who did in high esteem. Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani (1818-1889) was one such figure. Al-Qadiri mentions him in his memoirs only in passing, to say that his teacher ‘Abd al-Kabir Sateev had a similar health problem to al-Mardjani;<sup>120</sup> but in his outline of historical events he writes a short biography of al-Mardjani, whose life is portrayed as a struggle for truth against ignorance. It is also stated that it was God who guided al-Mardjani on this path.<sup>121</sup> In other words, al-Qadiri does not focus on the personal qualities of the scholar, but on his ideological convictions and the power of God to support truth in this world. This is especially interesting given the popularity of al-Mardjani already during his lifetime as an embodiment of the ideal Muslim personality – indeed, an entire poetic tradition came into being to praise his personal qualities.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, al-Mardjani himself took care over his public image, by producing one of the earliest Muslim autobiographies in Russia and showing a positive attitude to being photographed.<sup>123</sup> Note also that, as al-Qadiri was writing before the formation in the late 1950s of the Soviet academic discourse praising

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al-Din b. Fakh al-Din, *Muhammad* (Orenburg, 1909); Sungatullah Bikbulat, *Khäzrät-i Muhammad* (Kazan, 1914).

120 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 168b.

121 *Ibid.*, fol. 62a.

122 Alfina Sibgatullina, *V poiskakh cheloveka. Kontseptsia lichnosti v tatarskoi poezii XIX v.* (Elabuga, 2001), 62. A similar tradition of elegies appeared to praise ‘Abdullah Tuqay: Danielle Ross, “The Promiscuous Life,” 343-376.

123 Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani, *Wafyyat al-aslaf wa tahyyat al-akhlaf*, Kazan University Library, Ms. 614 Ar., fols. 291a-292b. His biography was also narrated by the generation of his students, as in the notebook of Muhassina Khabibullin (1871-1937) from Safajay village near Nizhni Novgorod: Kazan University Library, 2016 T, fols. 22b-23b. Mardjani’s close



al-Mardjani and his associates as secular ‘enlighteners’ and promoters of the national culture,<sup>124</sup> his inspiration must have come from within the Muslim tradition of life writing.

Al-Qadiri’s entry on ‘Alimdjan al-Barudi, another influential Muslim scholar, unanimously elected as the first Soviet mufti in 1917, is more detailed. It starts with a biographical sketch that emphasizes al-Barudi’s mastery of hadith scholarship acquired in Arabia and Egypt,<sup>125</sup> which al-Qadiri must have admired as someone who shared similar interests. What follows is a memory of direct contact with this great scholar, admiration of his personal qualities, and a description of commemorative practices:

I hope that God will count him among the forgiven servants. During his trip to Istärlibash he received me with special grace and asked me to recite a passage from the Holy Qur’an as well as a hadith, ‘The deeds are judged by the intentions’<sup>126</sup> from *Sahih al-Bukhari*. In his capacity as *mufti al-islam* he granted me a permit (*ijazatnamä*) in his handwriting to teach the hadith and Qur’an. When traveling, every time when I was in Ufa I would respectfully greet him. It is no exaggeration to say that he was very modest and a true scholar of Islam. While in Istärlibash, he collected the people of three neighborhoods together in a single mosque and provided good guidance to men and women. On every occasion he called on people to reject superstitions in religion.

In June 1958 I went to Kazan and was honored to perform the Qur’an recitation at the honorable grave of my respected teacher. Full of hope that God would accept [my prayers], I went home. May God forgive him. ‘Abd al-Majid Qadiri.<sup>127</sup>

Notably, in his own diaries, ‘Alimdjan al-Barudi described issuing *ijazas* as a mundane affair that he performed on a daily basis.<sup>128</sup> However, although he was otherwise attentive to documenting the names of grantees, al-Barudi seems to

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associates published a collection of reminiscences about their teacher: *Mardjani*, ed. by Shähär Shäräf et al. (Kazan: Ma’arif, 1333).

124 Alfrid Bustanov, Michael Kemper, “From Mirasism to Euro-Islam: The Translation of Islamic Legal Debates into Tatar Secular Cultural Heritage,” *Islamic Authority and the Russian Language: Studies from European Russia, the North Caucasus and West Siberia* (Amsterdam: Pegasus, 2012), 29–53.

125 The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St Petersburg hosts a collection of *ijazas* that al-Barudi had acquired during his trip to the Near East: Ms. C 2042.

126 [In the original: إِنَّمَا الْأَعْمَالُ بِالنِّيَّاتِ].

127 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 66a. While recitation of the Qur’an at one’s grave may be considered a Sufi practice, during the twentieth century this became a widespread custom no longer directly associated with Sufism.

128 At least two documents issued by al-Barudi (that I know of) deal with the transmission of the *Dala’il al-khayrat* in particular. One such *ijaza* was given to Muhammad Zarif b. al-Kamal (in the private archive of Islam Shangareev, Moscow) and another to Burhan Sharaf (dated 1314 / 1896, in the private archive of Al’mira Aminova in Kazan).

have completely forgotten about al-Qadiri: he does not mention ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri among the people who received *ijazas* upon his visit to İstärlibash.<sup>129</sup> This small episode neatly demonstrates the difference in importance attributed to social interactions between members of distinct classes. For al-Barudi, a member of the elite, his encounter with a former Medinan student did not appear to be important at all, but for the latter even a brief meeting with a person of respect was highly valuable. Al-Qadiri viewed the great scholars of Islam with much respect, but the kind of personas that he employed in the description of his life appear strikingly different from the traditional scholarly models. He was neither a theologian, nor an imam.

### Persona I: *Qari*

When writing about himself, al-Qadiri usually replaces the first-person pronoun *min* with the modest expression *fäqirengöz*, literally meaning “your servant.” This expression was widely used in private correspondence of the late imperial era.<sup>130</sup> Alternatively, he uses the plural form *biz*, “we.” Following this etiquette was not the only available option: in his autobiographical novel of 1936, ‘Ali Chaghatay (1867-1942), the first Tatar mullah to reject religion even before the Revolution, refers to himself in the third person, thus creating distance, as if to present himself as a literary hero.<sup>131</sup> In contrast to both al-Qadiri and Chaghatay, a contemporary of al-Qadiri, *al-hajj* ‘Arabshah al-Qishlawi (1887-1961), who served as gatekeeper of the Tatar cemetery in Kazan after the Second World War, refers to himself in his childhood reminiscences directly in the first person (in the form *min üzem*)<sup>132</sup> and only in the book’s colophon does the style change to a more self-denigrating: “I, the weak and poor servant of God” (*Allahining zä‘if wä fäqir qolı min*).<sup>133</sup> This variant was part of the same cultural repertoire, and the concrete choice between available forms depended

129 Galimdjan Barudi, *Khätirä däftäre*, 163.

130 For example, the correspondence of Riza Fakhreddinov and Muhammad-Najib al-Tuntari: Kazan University Library, 1595T, 35 fols.

131 Galiäsgar Gafurov-Chygtay, *Galineng altmish ellyk istälege*, ed. by Zufar Ramiev (Kazan: Süz, 2017), 12 et passim.

132 Gadelshah Äkhmädiev, *Koliy babay näsele*, 60, 75, 83, 89, et passim. ‘Abd al-Bari Isaev in his autobiography from the late 1940s uses the same self-reference *min üzem*: [“Tärjemäi hälem,”] in: Gabelbari khäzrät Isaev, *Dini äsärlär*, ed. by Alfrid Bustanov (Kazan, 2019), 221.

133 Gadelshah Äkhmädiev, *Koliy babay näsele*, 163 (in facsimile and transliteration). This change in writing is also peculiar to colophons, where the copyist would usually render their names in the third person.

on speech register: while Chaghatay aimed to compose a novel based on his life, al-Qishlawi kept the narrative quite informal; meanwhile, despite his preference for simple language, al-Qadiri elevated the style of his memoirs to somewhere between the literary persona of Chaghatay (with possible Soviet influences of the time) and the written everyday speech of al-Qishlawi.

Throughout his life narrative, ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri describes himself in two main capacities, which I regard as two types of persona that he purposely assimilated and displayed in writing: a pious Qur’an specialist and an unjustly oppressed individual.



Fig. 5  
‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri in Orenburg, 1961.

First, al-Qadiri presents himself as a *qari*. This term refers both to a professional reciter of the Qur’an, and to someone who has made a conscious effort to memorize the Word of God and spread it among his co-religionists. This combined meaning is a feature of the particular context, because one would normally expect that reciters are not necessarily bearers of the Qur’anic text (*hafiz kalam Allah*). The kind of persona that al-Qadiri developed through the years prior to his first imprisonment in 1928 had as its foundation a focus on the Qur’an and the authority of the Prophet as an embodiment of ideal personhood (*al-insan al-kamil*). As al-Qadiri claimed in support of the highly

contested celebration of the Prophet's birthday:<sup>134</sup> "especially today, in this time of weakness of religion, there is a dire need to tell the younger generation in their mother tongue in general terms about the personality (*nindi keshe bulgan*) of the Prophet and how he spread Islamic religion all over the world"<sup>135</sup> – hence the understandable emphasis on hadith scholarship, mastery of the Arabic language, and social activism. We can be certain that this type of persona dealt with prophetic legacy, simply in view of the fact that the young 'Abd al-Majid went to Medina, the city of the Prophet, to master the art of the Qur'an recitation.

*Qari* was the title that al-Qadiri used himself and placed in the mouths of his heroes, who address him as Majid *qari*. Within the main text, he refers to himself twice in the colophons as "Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam Qadirov known as (*al-mashhur*) Majid *qari*"<sup>136</sup> and "Abd al-Majid *qari* b. Shaykh al-Islam Qadirov."<sup>137</sup> When inserting his reminiscences in the chronological register (fols. 52a-70a) that precedes the main narrative, al-Qadiri leaves several types of personal signature, whether a slightly Russified 'Abd al-Majid Qadirov, a traditional Muslim form 'Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam Qadiri, or simply Qadiri.<sup>138</sup> In this way, the author navigated between the two intertwined cultural paradigms – the Russian and the Islamic – and claimed their authority by producing the respective forms of his personal name.

The epigraphic traditions of Istärlibash, to which al-Qadiri felt a strong personal attachment – he regularly refers to gravestone inscriptions in his book and had produced inscriptions himself – prescribed the formula *hajj al-haramayn* ("a pilgrim to the two Sacred Places").<sup>139</sup> Hence 'Abd al-Majid *qari* felt obliged to mention his Mecca trip in the text of his envisaged epitaph (although this epitaph was never realized, even after the reburial of his ashes in Istärlibash in 1990). Majid *qari* preferred here a purely Muslim phrasing, in the Arabic script: "'Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam al-Qadiri al-Istärlibashi, a pilgrim to the Sacred Places and a bearer of the Qur'an, is buried here."<sup>140</sup> Occasionally,

134 Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger. The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 144-158.

135 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 152a.

136 *Ibid.*, fol. 108a.

137 *Ibid.*, fol. 164a.

138 *Ibid.*, fols. 53b, 58b, 62a. Allen Frank and Ashirbek Muminov noted the evolution in the rendering of Saduaqas Ghilmani's personal name in the course of his lifetime: Saduaqas Ghilmani, *Biographies of the Islamic Scholars of Our Times*. Vol. 1, 18, n. 1.

139 Vener Usmanov, *Tarikhi yadkärklär*, 56-57, 105-106, 128.

140 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 207b. Only one gravestone in a neighboring village, Yashergän, dated 1339 / 1920 bears the title *hafiz kalam Allah*: Vener Usmanov, *Tarikhi yadkärklär*, 135-136.

one can encounter the same title of *hajj al-haramayn* already in colophons of nineteenth-century Tatar manuscripts,<sup>141</sup> but it is only in the twentieth century that this title becomes a standard that we find on gravestones<sup>142</sup> and even in commemorative photographs (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6 A staged photograph of a funeral scene in Soviet Perm. (Inscription reads: “The time of his separation from his dear wife, friends, and relatives. The deceased pilgrim of two holy places (al-hajj al-haramayn) Kamal al-Din b. ‘Alim. 11 August 1926. Perm. Photographer (räsamläüche): ‘Arif Rahim.” Source: collection of a Facebook public group “Permskii stil,” last consulted 02.12.2019: <https://www.facebook.com/ThePermStyle/photos/a.420047601505871/1322170004626955/?type=3&theater>. This photograph is part of a professional series devoted to the burial of Kamal al-Din b. ‘Alim from a private collection in Perm.)

The combined reference to Qur’anic expertise and pilgrimage is also present in the signatures of Shakir Khiyaletdinov (1890-1974) and the abovementioned ‘Abd al-Bari Isaev, the two subsequent muftis of Soviet Russia. Their personal writings as well as their gravestones in Ufa and St Petersburg feature the same

141 Epigraphic materials of the era would still prefer *al-hajj* as a stable formula. For example: Alfrid Bustanov, “Rukopis’ v kontekste sibirskogo islama,” Aleksandr Seleznev, Irina Selezneva, Igor’ Belich, *Kul’t sviatykh v sibirskom islame: spetsifika universal’nogo* (Moscow: Mardjani Publishing House, 2009), 190.

142 Vener Usmanov, *Tarixhi yadkärklär*, 18 (*hajj al-haramayn*, dated 1915), 71 (*al-hajj bi-l-haramayn*, 1337 / 1918).

title. Since all of these figures were contemporaries, it is safe to assume that they belonged to a community with shared life experiences, which defined one's individual personality. 'Abd al-Bari Isaev in particular, as a systematic practitioner of Qur'an recitation throughout his life, strongly maintained his identity as a bearer of the sacred word, often referring to himself simply as Bari *qari*. The difference between Isaev and al-Qadiri, however, was that Isaev was proud of his scholarly credentials, authored religious treatises, and served as imam for many years in Ufa and Leningrad, while al-Qadiri consciously rejected an offer to become an imam and never associated himself with scholarly obligations.

Interestingly, before the turn of the twentieth century we do not encounter individuals who describe themselves explicitly as reciters of the Qur'an, because knowledge of the Book was considered part of the regular training of *'ulama*. For example, the merchant Niyaz Aytikin (d. 1847) went to Cairo with the purpose of excelling in Qur'an recitation, but neither his grave inscription nor the biographical dictionaries refer to him as a *qari*.<sup>143</sup> When traveling to Medina to acquire the mimetic experience of memorizing the Holy Book at the Mosque of the Prophet became accessible to many, some individuals started to fashion themselves as bearers of the Qur'an and were proud of the chains of transmission that they shared with famous scholars. Al-Qadiri states that he first received an *ijaza*, a document stating his qualifications in Qur'an recitation, from his teacher Muhammad Shukri in Medina in 1908. In the 1920s, he asked for an additional certificate from 'Alimdjani al-Barudi.<sup>144</sup> Another person known for collecting similar documents testifying to mastery in Qur'anic sciences was Abu Bakr al-Shahmirzawi (d. 1321/1904). He had also studied in Cairo and possessed at least two *ijazas* for recitation.<sup>145</sup> It seems that only documents from abroad were deemed prestigious: even though 'Abd al-Bari Isaev was very proud of his *qari* status, I failed to find a formal *ijaza* from his teachers that would confirm it. In his autobiography, however, Isaev made it clear that he learned the Qur'an at the age of fourteen under the tutelage of Habib Rijal *qari* 'Abd al-Qadiri, a rural Qur'an specialist in Bashkiria.

Al-Qadiri's description of his *qari* persona largely follows an established pattern, which becomes striking when compared with the memoirs of other Qur'an reciters, such as Fayd al-Rahman b. Ahmad al-Amiri (b. 1874). In 1925,

143 Alfrid Bustanov, " 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahim's Biographical Dictionary on Siberian Islamic Scholars," *Kazan Islamic Review* 1 (2015), 29, 70.

144 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 92a.

145 The National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 385 G. On him: Rizaeddin Fakhreddin. *Asar. 3 khäm 4 tomnar* (Kazan: Rukhiyat, 2010), 277-284.

al-Amiri composed his life story, presenting himself as an individual who strived for knowledge from early childhood and preferred the role of a Qur'an specialist to the prospect of being a merchant. Unlike al-Qadiri, al-Amiri memorized the Qur'an already in Russia, at the madrasa of Ahmad Rahmanqulov in Troitsk, between the ages of twenty and twenty-three. Subsequently, in 1900 he decided to go to Cairo to deepen his knowledge of the Qur'an and learn the seven styles of recitation. Al-Amiri received a certificate from his teachers in Cairo and then returned to his home village of Iske Mängär near Kazan to teach and perform recitations.<sup>146</sup>

From the turn of the twentieth century onwards, we regularly encounter individuals who invested in learning the Qur'an, even in their later years in the Gulag setting: Jihangir Abyzgildin (1875-1938), imam of the first mosque in Ufa during the interwar period, wrote in his diary that he used his time in the Gulag to memorize the Holy Book. For this he was praised widely, including by fellow Qur'an specialists. Even though Abyzgildin did not call himself a *qari*, his situation resembles that of al-Qadiri, who combined the identities of a Qur'an specialist and a former prisoner.<sup>147</sup>

The rise of *qari* as a self-designation coincided with the paradigmatic shift towards translation and commentary of the Qur'an in the Tatar language: a whole series of works in this genre were composed between the 1880s and 1970s. This phenomenon can be considered as the formation of a new Qur'anic culture that included the practices of memorization and recitation as distinctly valuable, and therefore crucial for individual self-consciousness. Al-Qadiri was part of this emerging culture and the Qur'anic text certainly played a pivotal role in the formation of his core self. However, this culture was not highly prized beyond the Tatar-speaking areas of Inner Russia. Daghestani Muslims did not distinguish reciters of the Qur'an, while Daghestani vernacular translations of the Qur'an have appeared only recently. As far as I am aware, the same is true for Central Asian contexts: Tajik migrants became famous for their recitation skills only in the post-Soviet era, after all the Tatar *qaris* had passed away; and even then, only in Russia, where the prestige of professional reciters remains very high.

'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri's ego-narrative presents an intriguing case of the author systematically describing his life experiences with the aid of the Qur'an and hadiths. Regular citations of sacred formulas by heart are not merely ritual

146 Fayd al-Rahman al-Amiri, *Tārjīmā-yi hāl*, The private archive of 'Abd al-Khabir Yarullin (Kazan), Ms. 96, fol. 4a.

147 The Diary of Jihagir Abyzgildin is preserved in the private library of 'Abbas Bibarsov (Urta Eluzan village of Penza region), Ms. 65, fols. 388b-390a.

acts; we can consider that they had real importance for the author. Prayers (*du'a*) that he cites in the book are all 'reliable' in a sense that they all originate from the respectable hadith collections. Of course, the actual usage of such phrases was part of a long tradition that presupposes oral and written references to the holy books in everyday communication, especially in letters. Against this cultural background – that is, the typical speech acts – al-Qadiri chooses religious formulas that help him to advance an argument of his own; namely, that during one's lifetime one must leave a considerable legacy that benefits the community. A separate chapter on renovating the water systems in Istärlibash lays a particularly clear emphasis on this religious theme. In 1926, al-Qadiri became actively engaged in organizing this renovation work and described the whole procedure in minute detail, culminating in the following statement:

In my heart (*küngelemnän*) I pronounced the following prayer: "When God asks me: 'What good have you done for people in the world?', I will point to this work. In accordance with the hadith "The one who points towards something good gets the same reward as the one who did the good itself,"<sup>148</sup> may the Lord of the Universe count my work as an enduring donation (*sadaqa-yi jariyya*) with reward until the End of Times." To this day, that water system is still functioning. All the people around said: "Look, look, *qari*, your service was not for nothing." The whole village drank this water and everyone thanked the constructors after drinking. May that be for the sake of God. This must be the only good that I performed for Istärlibash. Maybe they will learn the story upon reading this; I ask the readers (*uquchilar*) to pray for me.<sup>149</sup>

It seems that leaving behind an object of material and spiritual value for the community was deemed crucial for describing one's personality.<sup>150</sup> The digging of a well near the mosque in Orenburg by the imam 'Abd al-'Aziz Murtazin is similarly described by al-Qadiri as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*).<sup>151</sup> 'Alimdjän al-Barudi, in turn, repeatedly mentions *sadaqa jariyya* as an important goal in one's life, including his own.<sup>152</sup> Writing much later, 'Abd al-Kabir Yarullin mentions the term in the context of education: "Abu-l-Muhsin b.

148 In the original: الدال على الخير كما قاله.

149 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 108a.

150 The poet Muhammad 'Ali al-Chuqri (1826-1889) praised Ni'matullah al-Istärlibashi (1772-1844), a patron of the local madrasa and a grand Sufi master, for his efforts in creating public spaces: Muhammad 'Ali al-Chuqri, *Tadhkirat al-shaykh al-marhum mulla Ni'matullah al-Istärlibashi*. The private archive of 'Abbas Bibarsov (Urta Eluzan village of Penza region), Ms. 1. fols. 3ab.

151 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 68b.

152 Galimdjän Barudi, *Khätirä düftäre*, 110, 178.



Shafi‘ullah passed away around the age of eighty-seven years on August 16, 1975. May God forgive him. He left behind a considerable enduring donation. For many years he was a madrasa teacher in Kazan.”<sup>153</sup> From this broad chronology of the term’s usage, we see that the moral ideal of Islamic philanthropy was not just associated with Muslim reformists of the early twentieth century; rather, it was a category of piety regularly evoked in discussion of moral subjects.

By making an enduring donation, individuals hoped for eternal salvation and spiritual reward in the afterlife – as much as through regular engagement with the Qur’an. Being a *qari* became al-Qadiri’s main identity, reflecting a dream that only partly came true: due to his long imprisonment, al-Qadiri ceased reciting the Qur’an regularly. This caused him much sorrow, that one can read between the lines: “Having performed the Qur’an recitation ten times, after 1927 I could not continue, because following the Great Russian Revolution I stopped performing the recitation. Many troubles befell me, as I have written above.”<sup>154</sup>

## Persona II: *Mäzlüm*

The unjustly repressed individual (*mäzlüm*) who spent a great part of his active life in prison is another persona displayed in al-Qadiri’s memoirs, which has deep roots in the Qur’anic textual tradition. While the persona of *qari* was a historically recent role model, for which al-Qadiri probably did not have any clear example to follow besides his that of contemporaries, the concept of *mäzlüm* provided a self-defensive strategy with a rich tradition of its own. The general pathos of this concept concerns the issue of power and authority: an unjust ruler (*zalim*) treats the pious Muslims badly and they suffer under his despotism. Imprisonment, exile, and the resettlement of Russia’s Muslims in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided fertile ground for self-victimization as an unjustly oppressed individual (*mäzlüm*) and the blossoming of prison poetry (*habsiyyat*).<sup>155</sup> In the 1870s, Ahmadjan al-Tobuli (1825-189?) described his experience in the Tobolsk jail in a similar fashion to the experience of a poor person (*bicharä mesken*) fated to endure

153 The private archive of ‘Abd al-Khabir Yarullin (Kazan). File 39. *Bu düftärdä ülgän kes-helärneng adresları, qaychan üüläre haqında*, fol. 3a. The author filled this notebook gradually between the 1960s and early 1990s.

154 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 165b.

155 Rebecca Gould, “Wearing the Belt of Oppression: Khāqāni’s Christian Qasida and the Prison Poetry of Medieval Shirvān,” *Journal of Persianate Studies* 9 (2016) 19-44.

tribulations.<sup>156</sup> Hamza Turushev (1899-1983, from a Siberian village), and Qiyyam al-Din al-Qadiri (1882-1953, from Kazan), developed their reflections on imprisonment in the 1920s and 1930s along the same lines of passive opposition to the state.<sup>157</sup> Given the problematic history of relations between Muslims and the Russian state, the persona of an oppressed pious subject remained fairly stable and popular over a long period and, unlike the *qari* persona, was available to Daghestani Muslims from at least the era of Imam Shamil.<sup>158</sup> One might observe here that although *māzliim* was a persona to describe a personal encounter with state oppression, not everyone who had experienced prison opted for this form of self-fashioning. In their extensive diaries and memoirs, ‘Alimdjani al-Barudi and ‘Abdullah Bubi (1871-1922),<sup>159</sup> who had been sentenced to different terms of exile, did not describe themselves as victims of the political regime.

Al-Qadiri’s use of the *māzliim* paradigm is rather ambivalent. On the one hand, he clearly states that the authorities treated him unjustly, but he moves the responsibility from the abstract Bolshevik state to the local officials in Istāribash, whom he knew personally, and some malicious individuals in Tashkent. On several occasions, al-Qadiri underlines that he has no objections to the Soviet government and even expresses gratitude to the labor camp management for their careful treatment of him as an elderly person, as he had become by the end of his term.<sup>160</sup> Thus, *māzliim* in al-Qadiri’s account blends self-victimization with a clearly pronounced loyalty to the Soviet regime. This apparent loyalty may in fact conceal a fear of being imprisoned again; however, it does not make much sense to speculate about the sincerity of these claims of loyalty, because we only have what al-Qadiri wrote in his memoirs. What al-Qadiri could not conceal is the unusual nature of this combination of acceptance of the new regime, gratitude for survival, and complaints of injustice. Regardless of these complexities, the deep sorrow of losing a long-desired persona of Qur’an reciter remained with al-Qadiri until his death.

156 Alsu Khasavnekh, *Akhmetzian Tubyli: zhizn’ i tvorchestvo tatarskogo poeta-sufiia XIX veka* (Kazan, 2017), 163-167 (excerpts from prison poetry).

157 Alfrid Bustanov, “Against Leviathan: On the Ethics of Islamic Poetry in Soviet Russia,” Michael Kemper and Ralf Elger (eds.) *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 199-224; *Islamskaia poeziia v epokhu Stalina*, 19, 147.

158 Michael Kemper, “Daghestani Shaykhs and Scholars in Russian Exile: Networks of Sufism, Fatwas and Poetry,” *Daghestan and the World of Islam*, ed. by Moshe Gammer and David J. Wasserstein (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2006), 95-107.

159 Kazan University Library, Ms. 207 T-208 T; *Bertugan Bubyilar hām Izh-Bubyi mādrāsāse*, ed. by Raif Mārdanov, Ramil’ Mingnullin, Suleiman Rākhimov (Kazan, 1999), 14-105; Gabdulla Bubyi, *Khatynnar*, ed. by Al’ta Mākhmütova (Iar Chally, 2013).

160 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 134b.

*Mäzlüm* was a persona of self-description, but for al-Qadiri it also provides a template for writing about the fate of religious personnel in the aftermath of the October Revolution. For example, in his list of historical events, al-Qadiri writes about the impressive complex of madrasa institutions and their servants in Qarghala near Orenburg:

After the revolution (*inqilab waqitında*), mosques and madrasas were closed down. They transferred into the hands of the government and were host to a whole variety of institutions. The following are imams and teachers of Qarghala of our times [...]. Zaki hazrat was among the last of them. He was exiled (*manfi bulib*) and disappeared (*gha'ib buldi*). May God cover him with His mercy.<sup>161</sup>

This *mäzlüm* type of persona was later developed further in the way al-Qadiri's life was perceived by his children. His daughter Maryam mainly described him as a victim of Stalinist purges, but without all the religious connotations that al-Qadiri himself intended when writing about his experience in the first person.

The repressions of the 1930s formed a dramatic moment in the lives of al-Qadiri and many of his associates. For al-Qadiri, it was very important to write about this experience, evaluate it and provide the readers with his version of events: a version that would restore his moral status after the unjust accusations and excessive violence that he had been subject to as a result of the Bolshevik revolution. Al-Qadiri's narrative had to serve the function of "a memory (*yädkäär*) for my children and to provide a lesson (*'ibrät*)."<sup>162</sup> To achieve this goal, al-Qadiri came up with an elaborated vocabulary that helped to describe the Great Terror from a distinctly religious viewpoint.<sup>163</sup> Imprisonment is *mähbus(lek)*, confiscation of property is denoted by the word *musadara*, and of course those who perished are called *shahids* (martyrs). The jail term is rendered in one place as *mähbuslärneng wä'däse*; elsewhere it is the Russian *srok*, however.<sup>164</sup> Exile is always expressed as *näfi* and voluntary exile is referred to as *ikhtiyary sürgen*.<sup>165</sup> Another interesting example is *siyasi maghyublar* – a term to denote political prisoners.<sup>166</sup> Al-Qadiri repeatedly used the term *najat*

161 Ibid., fol. 64a.

162 Ibid., fol. 108b.

163 Elaborating a special vocabulary in Tatar makes al-Qadiri's case distinct. Fayd al-Rahman al-Amiri, who described his brief imprisonment in 1921, preferred to use Russian loanwords: al-Amiri, *Tärjimä-yi häl*, fols. 12a-13b.

164 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 128a, 133b.

165 Ibid., fols. 117a, 159a.

166 Ibid., fol. 147a.

to denote the long-awaited release from prison.<sup>167</sup> The term *najat* as salvation of believers in the afterlife was central to Islamic theological literature (*'aqa'id* and *kalam*), and proved to be immensely important in the debates between the Orthodox missionaries and their Muslim counterparts in Imperial Russia in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>168</sup> Most of the vocabulary used by al-Qadiri to describe the Great Terror has Arabic roots and clear religious connotations. It is improbable that al-Qadiri could have borrowed this vocabulary from the Soviet Tatar language of the time, which by then had already adopted the Cyrillic script and been systematically purged of Arabic and Persian loanwords. Rather, he transplanted these terms from the domain of Muslim piety to the context of violence and injustice to support his life narrative of a moral subject, one that hoped for salvation (*najat*) in the afterlife for himself and the people he knew.



Fig. 7  
A drawing by 'Ussam Khanzafarov  
portraying the Bolshevik terror.

Al-Qadiri was not alone in pursuing such a literary agenda. 'Ussam Khanzafarov, a native of the Samara region, penned an extensive collection of poetry while exiled in Leninabad (Khujand) in the Tajik SSR, around 1939. His pious self-reflections form a powerful display of the author's mastery of the Qur'an and

167 Ibid., fols. 144b, 147a, 159a.

168 Dinara Mardanova, "Khasan-Gata Gabashi protiv missionera Evfimiia Malova: primer musulmansko-khristianskoi polemiki kontsa XIX v.," *Gosudarstvo, religiia, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom* 38.4 (2020), 343-372.

Muslim creed. As an expression of the idea that both good and evil stem from God, Khanzafarov drew a dramatic scene depicting a dialogue between a scholar and a Bolshevik (Fig. 7). The scholar proclaims: "I'm not afraid of you! I fear only God, the Invisible. [...] Oh comrade (*qardāsh*), put down your rifle and embrace piety (*taqwaliq*). [...] I am armed only with [the Qur'anic verse] 'fear God'<sup>169</sup>." The Bolshevik replies: "I am stronger than you. You will survive, if you are like me. Look at me: I am a god unto myself."<sup>170</sup>

While linking repressions with the outcome of revolutionary events, al-Qadiri spoke neither of the Russian Revolution, nor of the Great Terror, as the end-times. He did not use apocalyptic language and did not refer to any of the popular narratives that would from time to time appear among the masses to predict the arrival of the apocalypse.<sup>171</sup> Both al-Qadiri and Khanzafarov preached the moral superiority of believers over the Bolsheviks, and here, the Terror represented a personal trial that comes from God in order to reveal the best moral qualities of an individual. The practice of piety (*taqwa*) must lead to salvation (*najat*) in paradise.

Al-Qadiri's descriptions of others' imprisonment and execution trials reveal the author's deep feelings of sorrow. He classified those victims as innocent people, harmed by the government for no apparent reason other than that they were wealthy or belonged to the religious elite. In early 1905, while in Mecca, al-Qadiri first met a certain Farah al-Din efendi, a native of Turay village in Belebey district. Writing retrospectively, al-Qadiri added here that "at the time of the Great Russian Revolution (*olugh Rusiya inqilabi*) he was senselessly murdered by the revolutionaries, simply because he was a mullah. May God count him among the forgiven servants of God and among the martyrs of the religion (*din shāhidlāre*)."<sup>172</sup>

It must be noted that al-Qadiri's usage of the term *māz'lūm* is not restricted to the state Terror. He also turns to the term when relating the life stories of those who were killed by criminals, such as in the following two excerpts:

Lutfullah 'Alikaeu did not study much and was overwhelmed by worldly matters, doing agriculture. He had a mill at the Kūnderāk River in Shipay village. One night, a local official (*nachal'nik*) passed by and saw that a canal bridge was broken. He woke Lutfullah up and asked him angrily why he didn't care about the bridge. Lutfullah must have said something to him in irritation, and for this

169 Q 59: 18.

170 'Ussam Khanzafarov, [*Khikmätle fikerlären, shigyr'lären iazyp bargan däftärläre*], Kazan University Library Ms. 1849 T, fol. 77a.

171 A tradition of apocalyptic texts with a heavy imprint of Sufi hagiographies was in circulation in Tatar manuscripts starting from the turn of the nineteenth century up to the late Soviet era.

172 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 86b.

reason the official shot him with his revolver. Wounded like this, in a month Lutfullah passed away as an unfortunate victim (*mäzlüm*). May God forgive his sins, amen.<sup>173</sup>

When ‘Izzatullah *abzi* was alive, I went to see him at Azfikä station. He was a very poor and harmless person. Since he had a little education, he gave lessons in religion to the Bashkir children there. In summer, he would go to the foreign markets to be hired by the rich people for agricultural work. In his last days he used to transfer travelers from Azfikä station on his horse. One night he was innocently (*bi-gunah mäzlüm*) murdered by a Russian whom he transferred to a village. He was a very good person. May God have mercy upon him and count him among the martyrs (*shähid*).<sup>174</sup>

Notably, the style of writing in these cases does not differ from al-Qadiri’s descriptions of the Great Terror. Non-political murders and those committed by the totalitarian state were united by a common theme of injustice. In fact, al-Qadiri uses the same word *shähid* for the victims of the state Terror, of everyday crime and of the Second World War.

Even though al-Qadiri did not blame the government for his own experiences in exile, he is very open about the role of the state in repressing those closest to him, including his teacher ‘Ubaydullah ‘Alikaev: “Around the time of the Great Revolution, he was sent into exile (*näfi qilinip*) and stayed there for a while. That must have been around 1929.”<sup>175</sup> One of the village aristocrats ‘Abd al-Rahim b. Lutfullah Tuqäev similarly became a victim: “Because of the Great Russian Revolution, he was unlawfully oppressed (*mäzlüm na-haqq bälalärgü duchar bulip*) and must have died in prison in 1930. May God have mercy upon him. He perished so early. May God count his service to the people as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*) and forgive his sins.”<sup>176</sup> Revolution for al-Qadiri was a cause of and synonym for destruction and personal tragedy. It is notable that he repeatedly makes references to revolution, but never explains how the Soviets actually took power in Istärlibash, nor who the new rulers in the village were, under whom he had to suffer.

It is striking, however, to observe the contrast between al-Qadiri’s descriptions of the horrors of state repression on the one hand and the achievements of his family members on the other. In a section devoted to his genealogy, al-Qadiri largely follows the traditional biographical genre with places of education, names of important teachers, and the social prestige acquired by those

173 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 159b.

174 *Ibid.*, fol. 141b.

175 *Ibid.*, fol. 159a.

176 *Ibid.*, fol. 157b.



Fig. 8 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov and his wife Dilafruz, Istärlibash, 1969. (The photograph from the collection of Vladimir Galimov, Istärlibash.)

who devoted their lives to the pursuit of knowledge.<sup>177</sup> When it comes to writing about the young generation predominantly born in the Soviet Union, al-Qadiri's text appears to normalize the forced modernization. His sons and daughters pursued successful careers beyond the heritage of Muslim culture – a culture that was so dear to al-Qadiri, but apparently meant little to his immediate heirs. Descriptions of unjust punishments and difficulties in prison aside, al-Qadiri seems to suggest that the forced modernization was worthwhile, because his children received an education and managed to establish themselves well in the new system. A similar strategy was followed by 'Abd al-Bari Isaev, also a *qari*, who was briefly imprisoned and lost many of his teachers. In his poetry from the 1950s he referred to repressions simply as a wind of change, thus normalizing the state violence against Muslim culture in Russia for the sake of societal well-being. His children also successfully integrated into the Soviet system by obtaining university diplomas and getting important jobs in education and military service across the country.

In fact, al-Qadiri does not portray the destruction of Islamic infrastructure, execution of elites, and burning of libraries as the abrupt end of a centuries-long tradition. His picture is more complex than simply one of decline: for example, he attended the Qur'an recitations at the Orenburg mosque in 1954/55

<sup>177</sup> 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 136b-148a.

and praised 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov (1881-1972, Fig. 8) for his continuous service as a village imam after his return from the labor camps.<sup>178</sup> While al-Qadiri must have realized that there was little that united his worldview with that of his children, he apparently preferred not to reflect on it in his book.

Nostalgia was a theme that united the two types of literary persona, *qari* and *māzlim*. Al-Qadiri's description of his years of study and active travel reveals that this was the high point of his life. He perceived his imprisonment and the many years spent in labor camps as a great personal tragedy that forever prevented him from being able to achieve his life goals. However, he was restrained in his narrative and refrained from blaming the state for all of his personal troubles.

### Sufi Models of Subjectivity

It is probable that, during his life, al-Qadiri had access to various modes of self-fashioning. In the assemblage of biographies (fols. 157b-169a) he makes explicit mention of merchants and traders, agricultural workers, teachers, and legal and medical scholars. One particular cultural tradition of cultivating the self had historically been so prominent in his ecumene that al-Qadiri could not simply bypass it: the Sufi Naqshbandi tradition deeply rooted in the local tradition of Muslimhood.

Al-Qadiri's relation to Sufism proves to be ambiguous in the text. Even though he clearly avoided direct personal association with Sufi networks and practices, his life narrative and neat descriptions of other individuals reveal multiple borrowings from that tradition and a selective approach to mysticism.

In his narration of village history, al-Qadiri depicts Istärlibash as a prominent regional center for Islamic education and Sufism:

Istärlibash counts among the famous villages; its madrasas functioned as home to several hundreds of students from different places annually. There were many students from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. From among the inner cities of Russia, numerous students arrived from Saratov, Astrakhan (*Achtrakhan*), Uralsk, Simbirsk, Kazan, Ufa and other governorates. There were also many people pursuing the sacred knowledge of Sufism (*tariqat 'ilm-i batin*) from the shaykhs. Some 200 years ago, knowledge started to spread from here.<sup>179</sup>

The grand tradition of Sufism in Istärlibash was strongly bound to a single mujaddidi line of succession, associated with those who had studied with

<sup>178</sup> 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 147a, 164a.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 149b.



Niyyaz Quli al-Turkmani (d. 1821) in Bukhara at the start of the nineteenth century.<sup>180</sup> As we know from other sources, the Sufi shaykhs in Istärlibash practiced the silent form of remembrance (*dhikr-i qalb*),<sup>181</sup> and from very early on began cultivating the special status of the local cemetery, which contained the holy graves of the deceased Sufi masters. These graves were organized in architectural complexes uniting several burial places, with impressive epigraphic memorials built into the brick wall surrounding the graves themselves. The production of high-quality gravestones coincided with the import of Naqshbandi Sufism to the village. This epigraphic tradition reproduced the high standards of aesthetic culture that played skillfully with the Arabic-Persian and Turkic linguistic triplex (sometimes in verse) and a style of script and ornamentation clearly meant to have an emotional impact on visitors (Fig. 9-10). Unlike other places in the Volga-Urals, traditions of Arabic-script epigraphy were practiced in Istärlibash until the 1960s, by ‘Abd al-Rahim Aydabulov (1867-1966), a talented calligrapher (*munaqqash*) and close friend of ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, who is mentioned regularly throughout al-Qadiri’s memoirs.



Figs. 9 and 10 The gravestones of ‘Abd al-Kabir b. Din Muhammad al-Arslani (left) and shaykh Ni‘matullah al-Istärlibashi (right). (Photographs by the author.)

180 Allen Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia*, 112.

181 Ni‘matullah al-Utari, *Risala-yi madaniya*, Ms. Kazan University Library 5899 Ar., fol. 33b (an anonymous note on names, locations and practices of Sufi shaykhs in the Volga-Urals area).

The architectural complex in the cemetery was spatially and symbolically parallel with the educational complex within the village, with its multiple mosques and madrasas. The worlds of the dead and the living were inherently intertwined. This high culture of Islam engraved in stone was a result of a dialog between the elements brought by Tatar migrants from their homeland near the city of Kazan, with its rich epigraphic legacy and thousands of professionally produced grave monuments, and the Persianate cultural models imported from Central Asia, as well as aspects of Russian architectural design. Similar patterns of spatial organization can still be seen in the neighboring settlement of Qarghala near Orenburg, the Russian outpost in the south: namely, the parallel architectural complexes in the village and the cemeteries (of which there are three) and the proliferation of the transregionally famous Sufi tradition. In fact, Istärlibash and Qarghala can be regarded as parts of the same spatial phenomenon of Tatar Muslim expansion in the South Urals, which was accompanied by the birth of new cultural combinations (including the contribution of elements of nomadic culture).

In short, al-Qadiri was exposed from childhood to a strong, rich tradition of Sufism in the region that strictly defined models of behavior and forms of social expectation. Despite this grand tradition, al-Qadiri rejected Sufism as a path because he perceived it as having become corrupt. It is interesting to note that al-Qadiri did not question the legitimacy of Sufi rites or worldview from a legal or philosophical perspective. On the contrary, he praised those Sufi masters who struggled against unlawful innovations in the religion, such as the celebration of spring festivals (*sabantuy*) and gatherings in commemoration of the deceased.<sup>182</sup> He does not openly criticize Sufism in his memoirs; however, he does offer vivid descriptions of the personal qualities of several prominent shaykhs whom he deeply respected for being the true Sufis: for him, they were the exceptions that proved the rule of moral decay in Sufism relating to exploitative behavior, namely, the overreliance of its leading figures on alms from their followers. Negative examples of Sufi shaykhs, in contrast, are never named in al-Qadiri's book: only at one point does he refer to them anonymously as "our ignorant mullahs (*salqin sufi-mullamiz*)."<sup>183</sup>

Al-Qadiri's treatment of Zaynullah b. Husraw Shir 'Alikaev (1810-1905), also known as Amir khalfa (Fig. 11), is paradigmatic as a portrayal of moral Sufism. This was in fact the kind of Sufism that al-Qadiri approved of. Zaynullah did

182 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 150b.

183 *Ibid.*, fol. 95b. Interestingly, 'Abd al-Khabir Yarullin used this idiom, *salqin sufi*, during his sermon at the Mardjani mosque in Kazan, referring to those mullahs who operate beyond the mosque.

not even need to go to Bukhara for his studies, because of the presence of great teachers in İstärlibash, to where he had migrated from his home village in 1827. He had first learned the esoteric sciences from Muhammad Harith b. Ni'matullah, and later, after Ni'matullah's death, from 'Abd al-Hakim in Chilabi, who granted Zaynullah the authority to teach on his own. For al-Qadiri, this was an embodiment of the true qualities of a shaykh:

I knew him, he was a true shaykh. He lived as a true person (*chün keshe*) who sustained himself by doing a sufficient amount of agriculture and cattle breeding. He did not force his Sufi disciples to work for him, but had two assistants. He regarded everybody as equal and did not try to enter into public affairs on every occasion, nor did he talk a lot at gatherings. He did not travel to other villages to enjoy the hospitality of his disciples. Only rarely, if there was a huge wedding, would he go. He did not care about his stomach as other shaykhs did (*nafs khur bulip*). May God have mercy upon him. He gave the impression (*okhshiydir*) of a sincere shaykh.<sup>184</sup>

Zaynullah's son 'Ubaydullah first stayed with his father, then studied in Bukhara and finally established himself as a prominent Sufi authority in Yalpaqta, in the Kazakh lands. Al-Qadiri writes about Ubaydullah a number of times,<sup>185</sup> as he helped al-Qadiri to travel to Mecca and acted as his patron (*wali ni'mät*). In a similar case, Fayd al-Rahman al-Amiri enjoyed the support of the famous Zaynullah Ishan (1833-1917) who resided in Troitsk,<sup>186</sup> suggesting that the older Sufi generation did not prevent the young students from acquiring knowledge in Cairo and Medina.

Next to these two positive examples of moral Sufism, al-Qadiri lists Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith Tuqaeu (Fig. 12) among his teachers. Paradoxically, this shaykh was considered good because he did not practice Sufism:

It can be said that our teacher was very sincere and modest, a true scholar of the highest caliber; he was a specialist in every science. He received his education at the madrasa of the late 'Abdullah hazrat Gabdulgafurov in Olugh Chaqmaq village on the banks of the İq River in Belebey district. Then he went to study in Bukhara for several years and returned after getting a license (*ijazat*) in Sufism (*'ilm-i tariqat*) from Niyaz Quli al-Turkmani hazrat. [...] After that he started to teach the great khalfas at the madrasa, concentrating exclusively on exoteric (*zahir*) studies, without pursuing esoteric studies (*'ilm-i batin*). He said that first it is imperative to master the exoteric, and only then is the study of the esoteric allowed, because the exoteric is similar to a bowl: one has to properly clean it

184 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 157b-158a.

185 Ibid., fols. 74b, 80b, 81a, 99b-100a, 125a, 159a.

186 al-Amiri, *Tärjimä-yi häli*, fols. 21ab.



Figs. 11 and 12 The gravestones of shaykh Zaynullah b. Husraw Shir (left) and Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith (right). (Photographs by the author.)

before putting the esoteric knowledge inside. For this reason he did not practice Sufism (*ishanliq*) and focused on exoteric studies only.<sup>187</sup>

Moreover, al-Qadiri classifies the times of Habibullah's teaching as "the time of progress for religious scholarship."<sup>188</sup> Closer to the twentieth century, possessing the knowledge of Sufism without actually practicing it and transmitting it to students was becoming increasingly widespread. Models of personality fueled by the Persianate Sufi tradition were being gradually replaced by other models, as is evidenced by al-Qadiri's life account.

In his portraits of outstanding Sufis and Muslim scholars, al-Qadiri lays particular emphasis on their passion for knowledge and preference for reading books rather than socializing. For example, he praised such qualities in 'Abd al-Rahim Sha'manov ("He owned many books on medicine. He was reading constantly. [...] He did not socialize much, was always occupied by his job, caring about his rose garden and beautiful flowers"<sup>189</sup>) and Fathullah b. Fattah al-Din, who "was not talkative," "was knowledgeable in various sciences and in

187 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 75b.

188 *Ibid.*, fol. 155a.

189 *Ibid.*, fol. 161b.

later years [...] carefully investigated the writings of scholars from Egypt and Istanbul. He understood the many superstitions (*khurafat*) present in religion. He spent all of his free time reading books.”<sup>190</sup>

While disassociating himself from Sufi models, al-Qadiri nonetheless borrows significant aspects of Sufi practice, such as the veneration of graves and the celebration of Mawlid. Even though al-Qadiri does not reflect upon the roots of these two rites, their Sufi connotation remains obvious. According to his life narrative, al-Qadiri systematically visited the graves of important individuals – not only Sufis – both in Russia and abroad (on one occasion he even describes his visit to the tomb of a Muslim saint in Damascus, relating his hagiography<sup>191</sup>). The memorial culture of Ištärlibash, greatly enhanced by the Sufi tradition, had become so normalized and locally embedded that it formed part of al-Qadiri’s individuality without much self-reflection. The same is true for Mawlid celebrations: in his book, al-Qadiri alludes to his contemporaries who criticized Mawlid for not being part of the prophetic legacy. In the context of the “weakened religion,” al-Qadiri defends Mawlid as an opportunity to preach to simple folk and repeatedly evoked his own performance of the ritual in his youth.<sup>192</sup> This approach of integrating certain aspects of Sufi practice was shared by some contemporary Daghestani literati, such as ‘Ali Kaiaev (1878-1943) and Abu Sufyan Akaev (1872-1931), who did not question the legitimacy of Sufism, but insisted on adherence to its moral principles.<sup>193</sup> What united these figures was their advocacy of a moral ideal which was intentionally distanced from Sufi connotations.

### Inter-Subjective Relations

Al-Qadiri’s subjectivity was not solely a product of autonomous self-reflection. His sense of self was greatly enhanced by multiple encounters in various places across Russia, Central Asia, and the Near East. Mobility and sociation<sup>194</sup> served to broaden an individual’s horizons, also engendering direct contact

190 Ibid., fol. 162a.

191 Ibid., fol. 94b.

192 Ibid., 151ab.

193 Amir Navruzov, “*Dzharidat Dagistan*” (1913-1918) *kak istoriko-kul’turnyi pamiatnik* (Makhachkala, 2007), 181; Shamil’ Shikhaliev, “Musul’manskoe reformatorstvo v Dagestane (1900-1930 gg.),” *Gosudarstvo, religii, tserkov’ v Rossii i za rubezhom* 3 (2017), 159. I am indebted to Dr. Shamil Shikhaliev for this observation.

194 Sociation is a Simmelian term that entails the centrality of social interactions for our understanding of individual and society. Bryan S. Turner, *Max Weber: From History to Modernity* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), 166.

with multi-ethnic and multi-confessional environments that provided paths to self-improvement. In this section, I address how mobility and intersubjective relations are intertwined in al-Qadiri's narrative, when he writes about himself and others.

In his memoirs, al-Qadiri appears as a highly mobile subject. In his youth, clearly under the impression of new textbooks and newspapers, he was eager to see the world and traveled on a steamboat as a tourist. His educational trip to the central lands of Islam was undertaken with the purpose of mastering the Holy Book and becoming a professional reciter (*hafiz kalam Allah*). Later on, much of his travel was involuntary, such as the years of wandering related to periods of imprisonment, or the act of reburial after his death. Al-Qadiri belonged to the first generation of his village who could afford regular international and interregional travel. In that sense, he benefited greatly from technological progress and took advantage of the cultural repertoire of modernity, including Western clothing and expensive watches – a paradigmatic symbol of 'the modern subject.'<sup>195</sup>

It is fair to say that al-Qadiri was born into a migrant community, especially given that mobility was characteristic of Russia's Muslims already long before his birth.<sup>196</sup> His father Shaykh al-Islam originated from Tatar Qaramali village in Ufa governorate. Al-Qadiri, who was born in Isenbay and raised in Istärlibash, was officially registered in Tatar Qaramali. Pursuing education required extensive travel: Shaykh al-Islam first went eastwards to study with 'Abdullah Ghafurov in Olugh Chaqmaq village, before joining Khalilullah b. Rahmatullah in Istärlibash. There, he finished his studies and got married. Shaykh al-Islam's work as a teacher of small children brought him into contact with the neighboring Kazakhs: the locals of Isenbay gave him the nickname "Sari mullah" after the yellow color of his hair.<sup>197</sup> It is therefore no surprise that,

195 Peter Burke, "Historicizing the Self, 1770-1830," 80. Cf.: Liliia Gabdräfikova, *Tatarskoe burzhuaaznoe obshchestvo: stil' zhizni v epokhu peremen (vtoraia polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka)* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 2015), 241.

196 Norihiro Naganawa, "Transimperial Muslims, the Modernizing State, and Local Politics in the Late Imperial Volga-Ural Region," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18.2 (2017), 417-436; James H. Meyer, "Immigration, Return, and the Politics of Citizenship: Russian Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, 1860-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2007), 15-32; Mustafa Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire, and European Modernity, 1788-1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

197 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 80b. The author provides multiple instances of individuals bearing a nickname (*laqab*). Even the great shaykh Ni'matullah al-Istärlibashi had a nickname "Kättä hazrat" (fol. 150b), while shaykh Zaynullah 'Alikäev's nickname "Amir hazrat" (fol. 161a) was even engraved on his gravestone. The *laqab* practice helped to make

being part of this culture of mobility, al-Qadiri spent his entire life traveling long distances.

To illustrate his close affinity with his father, al-Qadiri described the great emotional impact of the very first trip that they took together to the Kazakh steppe, when the young 'Abd al-Majid was just eight years old.<sup>198</sup> The romantic retelling of the story of his first journey reflects how the mobile lifestyle was ingrained in al-Qadiri from early childhood. He learned the specifics of travel infrastructure, the hardships of long-distance travel and, most importantly, how to establish fruitful social connections. He became part of the multi-ethnic world at the southern imperial frontier: the Kazakhs loved him and he made a number of visits to Isenbay, the place of his birth. For al-Qadiri, the Kazakh identity was very familiar and emotionally close, especially since his wife Fatima was a daughter of a Kazakh scholar. Later on, as a madrasa student in Istärlibash, al-Qadiri traveled to the nearby places populated by Bashkirs and Russians in order to engage in small-scale trade that allowed him to continue his studies, as his father had financial difficulties. Therefore, it was natural that ideas of travel should arise spontaneously in al-Qadiri's mind: "sometime around 1898 it occurred to me that I wanted to travel the world."<sup>199</sup> Travel, which had already been customary for his parents, was made much easier by modern infrastructure: by steamboat he toured the major cities on the Volga,<sup>200</sup> not in the role of a pious pilgrim, but as a curious tourist. Along the way, he was assisted by relatives, co-villagers, or family acquaintances. Travel, trade, and inter-ethnic sociation in a variety of languages came easily to al-Qadiri, who had been familiar with such activities from early childhood; indeed, his accounts of sociation in his early life are full of humor and joy.

It was upon encountering various characters during his trips that al-Qadiri started to formulate the type of persona he wished to adopt. In Yalpaqtal, for example, he met a greedy Qur'an reciter and became irritated by his jealousy; this bad example fostered the desire to become a true *qari* and to perform recitations for the sake of God.<sup>201</sup>

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social relations less formal, as well as demonstrating the communal appropriation of public images of those individuals, by forming nicknames that captured such aspects of their personality in verbal form.

198 Ibid., fol. 74b.

199 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 79a.

200 On peculiarities of cities at the Volga River: Janet M. Hartley, *The Volga: A History of Russia's Greatest River* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2021), 156-173.

201 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 82a.

Al-Qadiri's journey to the Near East combined the hajj<sup>202</sup> with educational and touristic travel. Along the way he traveled by steamboat, train, and even caravan, and encountered many people, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Initially, he shared the journey with several Kazakh pilgrims, whom he undertook the role of servant and translator, but already in Istanbul he decided to part ways with them, preferring to spend time in the city. There were several people in Istanbul whom he could visit and spend time with. Some of these were individuals who had resettled from İstärlibash (here, al-Qadiri uses the word *hijra*, which might reflect the religious motives underlying their emigration from Orthodox Russia), while others were students like him, such as his lifelong friend 'Ayd Muhammad Akhmerov (d. ca. 1956). Incidental encounters on the steamboat left strong impressions, such as a meeting with Sayyid 'Abdullah Jafri, "a relative of sharifs in Mecca and a student of Istanbul University. [...] We traveled together, laughing and joking. Sayyid 'Abdullah was a handsome person with blackish hair, [dressed] in a European way with a tie."<sup>203</sup> The appearance of his interlocutors was appealing to him, and he certainly wished to imitate them.<sup>204</sup> Al-Qadiri quickly made friends and did not note any cultural or language barrier between himself and Muslims from other countries. Another prominent figure with whom the young 'Abd al-Majid managed to establish a strong connection was 'Abd al-Rahman b. Habibullah Tuqaev, a member of the aristocratic Tuqaev family from İstärlibash, who was at that time studying in Mecca.<sup>205</sup> They communicated "as relatives," "there was no end to [their] conversations" and they both "felt nostalgic."<sup>206</sup> 'Abd al-Rahman's tragic death from cholera affected al-Qadiri so deeply that, even at

202 On hajj in the Russian Empire: Eileen Kane, *Russian Hajj: Empire and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Cornell University Press, 2020); Norihiro Naganawa, "The Hajj Making Geopolitics, Empire, and Local Politics: A View from the Volga-Ural Region at the Turn of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz*, ed. by Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, Thierry Zarcone (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2012), 168-198.

203 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 85a.

204 Body practices form an important part of al-Qadiri's subjectivity. Regarding his fashion preferences, he repeatedly noted the way that dress could change the perception of individuals in the urban space. One such example is his changing from Tatar clothes to Ottoman dress in Istanbul in order to achieve a European appearance: *Ibid.*, fol. 84a.

205 Note that even the offspring of this well-established family with its rich Bukharan background from the nineteenth century did not go to study in Central Asia. The fashion for Ottoman / Near Eastern education became dominant by the early twentieth century, and the leading families championed that process. For more details on Tatar student experiences in Medina see Alfrid Bustanov, "On Emotional Grounds: Private Communication of Muslims in Late Imperial Russia," 655-682.

206 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 90a.



the time of writing his memoirs, he still heard the last words of his dying companion in his ears. All the people with whom al-Qadiri had studied, whether in Ištārlibash or in Medina, are referred to as his companions (*shārik*), a term that elevated them above friendship (*dust*).<sup>207</sup>

During his travels in the Near East, he exhibited curiosity about the world; his descriptions of visits to sacred places are combined with ethnographic observations. He notes that Jerusalem was mainly populated by Jews (*yahudlār*) and even describes their appearance, which reminded him of the customs of backwards traditionists at home: “The elderly Jews wore white caps (*kälāpush*) and their beards were very long. They kept beads (*tasbih*) in their hands, thus this habit must have come from them. We thought that our ignorant mullahs (*salqin sufi-mullamiz*) sitting in the mosque niches with rosaries must have taken this habit from the Jews.”<sup>208</sup> Al-Qadiri also took an interest in the Arab Christians of Beirut: “Their language is Arabic; their books and newspapers, as well as sermons in churches (*chirkäülär*), are in Arabic. Their scholars have also authored many books in Arabic, such as a book called *Nujum al-furqan*, i.e. “A Guide to Verses of the Qur’an,” accessibly written by Christian Arabs of Beirut.”<sup>209</sup> He did not compare them to baptized Tatars in Russia, however. Moreover, when it comes to conversion of a Chuvash village into Islam back in 1905, al-Qadiri reproduced the narrative of discovery of the true ancestral religion. During his trips, al-Qadiri did not shy away from visiting churches, including those built on the Holy Land by the Russians. The world of al-Qadiri was populated by multiple nations with distinct identities, who could nonetheless share a religion, as in the examples of the Christian Arabs in Beirut and the Chuvash Muslims in Russia.<sup>210</sup> His understanding of nations was rather nuanced and was informed by the reformist geographic literature of the early twentieth century (available in Tatar, Ottoman, and Arabic) as well as by a wealth of personal experience. The central concept he evoked in this regard was that of *millät*, but his use of the term depended on context. On the one hand, he speaks of Chuvash and British *millät* (fols. 95a, 103b), while on the other hand, he describes the servants at the tomb of Maryam as being of Christian *millät* (fol. 95a). With regard to his own identity, al-Qadiri did not accept the Bulghar identity of his predecessors; for him, the Volga-Urals were

207 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 75ab, 81b, 84a (*shārik*), 78a, 80a, 102b (*dust*). Unfortunately, there is no specialized study on the concept of friendship among the Muslims of Russia. Cf.: Oleg Kharkhordin, “Friendship and Politics in Russia,” *Common Knowledge* 22.2 (2016), 220–236.

208 *Ibid.*, fol. 95b.

209 *Ibid.*, fol. 95a.

210 *Ibid.*, fol. 103b.

home to multiple nationalities. What is certain is that al-Qadiri did not adopt the Soviet concept of ‘friendship of peoples’<sup>211</sup> or the Soviet ethnographic nomenclature that would undermine the fluidity of confessional and national identities.

Each time al-Qadiri came in contact with Russian imperial officials, he played tricks to turn the situation to his advantage.<sup>212</sup> Despite having plenty of money in his pockets after his stay in Medina, al-Qadiri arranged free tickets from the Russian embassy to travel from Damascus to Istanbul, and even managed to sell those tickets for a good price in order to get a spot on a better steamboat. Always eloquent in his use of language, he captured those games with a single proverb: “even a mangy sheep is good for a little wool.”<sup>213</sup> He used similar tricks during the 1914 military mobilization. Having been advised by his friends, he was not enthusiastic about fighting at the front and did his best to secure papers that allowed him to stay at home.<sup>214</sup> Moreover, al-Qadiri provided financial and material support to the Turkish captives, who happened to be in a hospital in Ufa. He states clearly in the text that “in those years, Turkey fought against Russia on the German side,” but explains his moral duty by citing verses of the Qur’an that exhort believers to help captives for the sake of God.<sup>215</sup> These sympathies laid the ground for later Soviet accusations that al-Qadiri was not a reliable subject of the state and, eventually, “a Turkish spy.”

In short, before the Great Terror, al-Qadiri was adept at dealing with state bureaucracy and other subjects on a horizontal level. It was after 1928 that things took an unpleasant turn; namely, with the ‘Alev affair in İstârlıbaş, when the accidental death of a local authority figure was used as a pretext for large-scale repressions in the village. Al-Qadiri was sentenced to the Solovki

211 Lowell Tillet, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969); Artemy Kalinovsky, Isaac Scarborough, “The Oil Lamp and the Electric Light: Progress, Time, and Nation in Central Asian Memoirs of the Soviet Era,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 22.1 (2021), 135.

212 This aspect of al-Qadiri’s subjectivity reminds me of the “trickster,” a type characterized by the ability to play at the intersection of different worlds without really belonging to one. Cf.: Mark Lipovetsky, “The Trickster and Soviet Subjectivity: Narratives and Counter-Narratives of Soviet Modernity,” *Ab Imperio* 4 (2020), 62-87.

213 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 96b.

214 Ibid., fols. 101b-102a. On the war experience of those who were eventually conscripted to the Russian army: Danielle Ross, “Fighting for the Tsar, Fighting Against the Tsar: The Use of Folk Culture to Mobilize the Tatar Population during World War I and the Russian Revolution,” *Small Nations and Colonial Peripheries in World War I*, ed. by Gearóid Barry, Enrico Dal Lago, and Róisín Healy (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 211-229.

215 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 167ab. It is striking that al-Qadiri did not fear writing about his association with Turkish captives.

prison camp and, beginning with his first imprisonment when he was already forty-seven, he lost his grip on rules of sociation, which changed along with the political developments. His repeated attempts to continue the practices of his youth always had negative consequences. For example, upon his return to Istärlibash, he intended to join his daughter Halima in Uzbekistan, but needed some money for the journey; to raise funds, he began buying and selling goods at the market in Orenburg. However, he was quickly arrested for speculation, as private trade was banned in Soviet Russia. As a result, his passport was confiscated, with the threat of a new jail term.<sup>216</sup> A somewhat similar encounter took place in Piskent: a certain storekeeper named ‘Abd al-Rahman ‘Uthmanov “sought personal profit by buying the products that [al-Qadiri] collected for the state supply without including them on the state account.” Al-Qadiri did not want to participate in stealing the products and soon became enemies with ‘Uthmanov, who made sure that al-Qadiri would go to prison under political allegations.<sup>217</sup> Distinct forms of sociation thus divided the life of al-Qadiri into two parts: the era of his youth when he knew how to accomplish things by means of trade and travel, and the era of repressions when he became a victim of state violence. The second period was also marked by changes in the way his interlocutors addressed him: the term *babay* classified him as an elderly person.<sup>218</sup> These two distinct eras exactly match the two types of persona embraced by al-Qadiri; namely, the pious Qur’an reciter (*qari*) and the innocent victim (*mäzliim*).

On several occasions, al-Qadiri explicitly notes that the propensity for good or evil behavior did not depend on the nation of origin. He states that it was a Tatar who denounced him in Piskent, and that and it was “a female Tatar procurator” who asked the court for the death penalty.<sup>219</sup> With much disappointment, he recounts how, on his way back from Solovki, nobody wanted to give him a lift: “The kolkhoz people were going home with empty carriages, but nobody took me on to where I was going. They carried hay. I reached the place on foot, saying to myself that even among Muslims there are such people.”<sup>220</sup> In sharp contrast, he recalls crying when a small Russian boy gave him a piece of bread in a moment of desperate need.<sup>221</sup> Similarly, when he became ill during his second prison term, the Russian “Kovalev, an old man with whom I spent years there, helped me as much as he could despite his poor condition.

216 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 126b-127a.

217 *Ibid.*, fols. 129b-130a.

218 *Ibid.*, fols. 119ab, 121a, 125a, 126b, 131b.

219 *Ibid.*, fol. 130b.

220 *Ibid.*, fol. 120b.

221 *Ibid.*, fol. 119b.

My Uzbek and Tatar companions did not even give me water.”<sup>222</sup> This is not to say that positive interactions with compatriots are absent from the text: al-Qadiri also provides an example of a co-villager who helped him with transportation, for whom al-Qadiri has many words of gratitude:

This poor fellow Tahir, maybe he did not even drink a cup of tea in my house in his whole life, but in my hard times he brought me home over 60 km, out of respect. This is a true Muslim. I will never, ever forget it. May God endow his life with blessing, may he live peacefully with his children without depending on other people. Amen. May his deeds be on the path of God, may God forgive his sins, may he leave this world with faith in his heart and enter paradise. Amen.<sup>223</sup>

Naturally, al-Qadiri changed over the years, and so did his attitude towards the people around him. The more time wasted at labor camps, the more fervently he desired to be with his beloved family (Figs. 14-15). Constant travel, both voluntary and forced, made him value the time spent with his wife and children.

Fatima, the wife of al-Qadiri, features only occasionally in her husband's memoirs. Al-Qadiri did not write anything about their relationship or the kind of emotions that were present between them. He spoke highly of her, and had respect for her origins from the family of a prominent Muslim scholar.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, they were close relatives, as their mothers were cousins (note that this did not contradict Islamic law and was a rather widespread practice among the Muslim peoples of Russia). In his book, al-Qadiri regularly offers words of gratitude for the care his wife gave him when he was in exile or in prison: “Thank you: despite the difficulty of those days, you thought of me. For this I asked God for a good life for my wife and children. [...] I did not experience much hunger, because my wife and children, though they did not have enough themselves, sent money and food.”<sup>225</sup> As a young couple, however, they did not see each other often, despite his parents' intention to arrange the marriage as a means to put an end to his trips.<sup>226</sup> They married in 1909; however, al-Qadiri relates that already one month later he traveled to see his patron ‘Ubaydullah ‘Alikaev, and then continued traveling until 1912. Their oldest child, Halima, was born only in 1913, four years after their marriage (although it is possible that there were other children who passed away in infancy). It was not until 1915 that the young family moved into their own house. Fatima

222 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 132b.

223 *Ibid.*, fol. 125a.

224 *Ibid.*, fol. 117b.

225 *Ibid.*, fol. 130b.

226 *Ibid.*, fol. 99b.

passed away in 1949; however, al-Qadiri did not write anything about how he learned of her death (he was still in prison at the time). He instead focused on commemoration practices: two years after his release from prison, al-Qadiri erected a gravestone for his wife and took several photographs of the burial place as a keepsake for his children:

This way I spent forty years with my wife Fatima and she passed away in Angren city of Tashkent oblast in Uzbekistan. "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return." She was buried in the cemetery of Tishektash community in Angren. In 1954, I placed a gravestone with an Arabic inscription and a grave enclosure (*ihata*) there. I also took a picture (*fotografiia*) [of the grave] and passed it on to my children as a keepsake (*khätirä*). May God have mercy upon her. The gravestone has the following inscription: "This is the grave (*qaber*) of Fatima, daughter of 'Ali. Pray in remembrance of her. This is the grave of Fatima, daughter of 'Ali and wife of Majid *qari*. She died on August 26, 1949. Her elderly brother 'Abd al-Rahman is a [gravestone] scribe (*yazguchi*). Her son Muhsin ordered the inscription."<sup>227</sup>

The period between the birth of his first child and his first imprisonment (1913-1928) was relatively quiet and free of travel. This is especially evident from the silence of the memoirs on this long period: al-Qadiri writes only about the terrible hunger between 1920 and 1922 and the restoration of the water system in 1926. Subsequently, al-Qadiri spent much of the rest of his life in Soviet labor camps and was unable to remain much with his family. In 1935, he moved to be near his daughter Halima and her husband, who had moved to a place near Tashkent. Indeed, many Tatars migrated at that time to various settlements in Central Asia. Some perceived this region to be relatively safe from repressions, others aimed to pursue new careers. Nonetheless, al-Qadiri could not remain long with his family in Uzbekistan: he constantly changed workplaces between Piskent and Angren and bought a house only in 1942, the year in which he was imprisoned for a second time. With al-Qadiri absent for so much of the lives of his children, their worldviews were formed largely within the new realities of Soviet modernization: boys pursued military careers, girls studied medicine, and the younger generation lived scattered across the Soviet Union, breaking with most of the cultural repertoire of their parents.

227 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 143b-144a.



Figs. 13 and 14 Before and after Solovki: the family of al-Qadiri in Istärlibash, June 1928 (left) and in Uzbekistan in the 1940s (right; al-Qadiri is absent in prison).

## On the Perception of Space

Which modes of conceptualizing space were available to al-Qadiri during his lifetime, and which of them did he apply in his life narrative? The hagiographical narratives of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries systematically constructed a space of Bulghar identity, mainly associated with conversion to Islam and the sacred tombs of saints. Danielle Ross has recently described the expansion of this spatial identity in the South Urals during the eighteenth century.<sup>228</sup> This region was jointly colonized by Russians and Tatars at the cost of the Bashkirs, who lost their lands, and in close interaction with Kazakhs, who also inhabited the region and received education at Tatar madrasas. The biography of Shaykh al-Islam, al-Qadiri's father, is illustrative of this process: he was a native of a Tatar village in south-east Tatarstan and operated as a school teacher in the Kazakh borderland. This multi-ethnic environment, at the intersection of cosmopolitan nomadic and settled traditions, was al-Qadiri's home.

The turn of the twentieth century saw the crisis of Bulghar identity and its replacement by the new national narrative.<sup>229</sup> "If I lived to do so, I intend to return to our country (*mämläkät*) after the month of Mawlid in 1326 of Hijri," writes al-Qadiri about his plans while still in Medina.<sup>230</sup> This short sentence illustrates the complexity of his perception of time and space. In the example cited above, al-Qadiri calls the country he came from *mämläkät* or "homeland." This word was often used in the course of the twentieth century to denote the space inhabited by the Tatar Muslim nation (*millät*). Riza Fakhreddinov used the term *mämläkät* to denote the space of Muslim culture in Inner Russia that did not include the North Caucasus and Central Asia.<sup>231</sup> Siberian Tatar migrants in present-day Turkey who moved there in 1907 still use the word with this meaning, attaching a great emotional value to it.<sup>232</sup> It seems that this spatial term came into use together with the rise of Tatar nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Mustafa Tuna has recently approached this spatial aspect by suggesting a division into cultural domains in which

228 Danielle Ross, *Tatar Empire*, 32-39.

229 For a study of Bulghar geography as represented in local hagiographies and historical works: Allen Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity Among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1998).

230 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 92a.

231 The title of Riza Fakhreddinov's work reads: "Traces. This is the book that contains the biographies of Muslim scholars of our country (*üz mämläkätomezdä*), their dates of birth and death, as well as other information" (Kazan, 1900). In contrast, the foreign lands are called *chit mämläkät*: al-Amiri, *Tärjimä-yi häl*, fol. 5b.

232 Fieldwork by the author in Bögrüdelik village (Turkey), July 2012.

individuals operated,<sup>233</sup> but without much attention to the vivid perception of space by social actors themselves.

What can be said about the repertoire and evolution of indigenous spatial terms? Their usage must have been situational and bound to individual choice, at least between the ever-changing state demarcations and local spatial vocabulary. If *mämläkät* is an emotionally laden term that expresses a certain attitude towards the Tatar homeland, then al-Qadiri also uses *Rusiya*<sup>234</sup> to render the name of his home country in a more neutral way. While *mämläkät* was widely used at the turn of the century, it ceased to be an everyday term with the demise of the tsarist empire. In Soviet times, the word “government” (*hükümät*)<sup>235</sup> completely replaced any references to homeland (in the sense of *mämläkät*): al-Qadiri never speaks of the Soviet Union as a spatial entity and instead refers to separate republics (besides Tatarstan, he also mentions Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan).

In fact, there were three places that al-Qadiri was intimately bound with. He was born in a Kazakh settlement, Isenbay, which he called his *watan* (homeland). He also felt affinity towards Tatar Qaramalı village, the birthplace of his father and the residence of close relatives whom he had visited in childhood. Moreover, from an administrative perspective, al-Qadiri was registered at Tatar Qaramalı until at least the 1920s and had to go there to obtain an international passport to perform hajj. Nonetheless, the place that really formed al-Qadiri as a person was İstärlibaş.

The village of İstärlibaş (Fig. 15), despite not being the place of his birth, was central to al-Qadiri’s self-conception. It is no coincidence that he used that place name for his *nisba* (attributive name), al-İstärlibaşı, signaling an emotional attachment to that locality and thus constructing his personal identity around that place. Despite his origins in a Kazakh village, his great mobility during his life, and his residence in the city of Orenburg at the time of writing his memoirs, this is ultimately how he wanted his name to appear on the grave inscription that he envisaged shortly before his death.<sup>236</sup>

The village of İstärlibaş was established by migrant Kazan Tatars in the early eighteenth century. These lands initially belonged to Bashkirs, and the new settlers arranged rental agreements with the Bashkirs that had to be renewed every fifty years. The history of this settlement must be viewed in the context of the gradual Tatar colonization of the South Urals in the eighteenth

233 Mustafa Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*, 239.

234 ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 86a, 95a, 156a.

235 *Ibid.*, fols. 92a, 102b, 159a.

236 *Ibid.*, fol. 207b.





Fig. 15 The visual landscape of Istärlibash in the 1950s. (A family photo album preserved by Vladimir Galimov, Istärlibash.)

century and the absorption of the region into the cultural realm of Tatar Muslims. Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that the village dwellers maintained their connections with Ufa, Orenburg and its satellite Qarghala ca. 200 km south of İstärlibash and, to a lesser degree, Kazan; as well as with the group of Tatar migrants in Khorezm.<sup>237</sup>

The village itself is located on the banks of the İstärli river, at the foot of a mountain. According to the 1897 census, the village population at that time numbered 2,124 people. While the majority of this population consisted of peasants, with only a few traders, from early on in its history İstärlibash became famous as a prominent educational hub and for being home to a dynasty of Sufi masters. Ni'matullah Tuqaeu (1772-1844) was the first to gain fame for his Sufi credentials as one of the students of Niyyaz Quli al-Turkmani (d. 1821) in Bukhara. Even though we do not know of a single treatise authored by Ni'matullah ishan, he attracted numerous followers who composed and widely copied eulogies praising him.<sup>238</sup> The famous poet Muhammad 'Ali al-Chuqri (1826-1889) arrived at the madrasa of Ni'matullah ishan only after the death of its director, but was nonetheless greatly inspired by his legacy: "his deeds have prompted affection (*mähäbbät äyläde*)," wrote al-Chuqri. In his commemorative verses, al-Chuqri praised the shaykh for his restoration of the mosque and madrasa as well as for the construction of a water system (*chishmä*) and a rich garden (*bagh*).<sup>239</sup> Another poet, the blind Shams al-Din Zaki (1825-1865) was also part of this sophisticated milieu that valued refined literary forms. The

237 Alfrid Bustanov, "The Bulghar Region as a 'Land of Ignorance': Anti-Colonial Discourse in Khvārazmian Connectivity," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 9 (2016), 188. The gravestone of shaykh Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith b. Ni'matullah al-İstärlibashi (1856-1896) states openly that he was the successor (*khälifä*) of Muhammad Dhakir b. Muhammad Sharif al-Urganchi: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik hätkälläre. Stärebash avyly* (Kazan, 2020), 57-58.

238 *Wasf-i İstärli* or *Manaqib khazrat-i ishan al-İstärli*, an anonymous Tatar poem with an introduction in Arabic, is known today in at least three copies: Kazan University Library, 664 T, fols. 27b-29b; 2006 T, fols. 10a-12b (lacks ending); 5974 T, fols. 15a-24b (a full copy, but without introduction). Ni'matullah al-İstärlibashi possessed a library, the remnants of which al-Qadiri reports existing at the time of writing: "since there was a shortage of printed books, he spent a lot of money to get hold of the literature. One can still find volumes (*majma'lar*) copied in his hand. There are copies on every subject: people say that he traveled far away to copy the *tafsir Qadi* and *tafsir Shaykhzada*. Many manuscripts that he brought from Bukhara the Noble are still in existence" ('Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 152a). The library of the Historical Mosque in Samara now hosts a copy of *Jami' al-rumuz* that belonged to him.

239 Muhammad 'Ali al-Chuqri, *Tadhkirat al-shaykh al-marhum mulla Ni'matullah al-İstärlibashi*. The private archive of 'Abbas Bibarsov (Urta Eluzan village of Penza region), Ms. 1. fols. 3ab (a draft autograph).

Tuqaev dynasty<sup>240</sup> was thus an embodiment of the local ideal of Sufi ethics and piety that was still present when al-Qadiri was young. The charisma of this family was present physically in the village landscape, in the form of a whole complex of religious buildings (Fig. 16), a library, a water system and, of course, a family burial place in the cemetery featuring impressive gravestones with calligraphic inscriptions (Fig. 17). The prestige of the family was so great that al-Qadiri even emphasizes the location of his father's grave close to the spectacular grave complex of the Tuqaev family with its surrounding stone wall. It is not surprising that this was the area where al-Qadiri was reburied in 1990.



Fig. 16 A complex of educational buildings in Istärlibash. (This is a drawing by 'Abd al-Rahim Aydabulov, an imam of Istärlibash, who was asked by co-villagers to reproduce the institutional landscape as he remembered it, since the entire architectural complex had been destroyed in the 1930s. The original drawing is stored in the personal archive of Vladimir Galimov in Istärlibash.)

Al-Qadiri tried to participate in the reproduction of symbols established and represented by the Tuqaev dynasty. Members of this family regularly appear in his memoirs, but personal relations were not always easy: while he refers to Habibullah Tuqaev as his teacher and counts his son 'Abd al-Rahman as

240 More on them: Danielle Ross, *Tatar Empire*, 101-102.

a friend, 'Ubaydullah ishan Tuqaev on the other hand prohibited him from teaching at the village madrasa.<sup>241</sup> This uneasiness notwithstanding, we do not see al-Qadiri being dependent on the patronage of the Tuqaev family, unlike in many similar cases throughout the nineteenth century in which wealthy sponsors exercised great power over Islamic infrastructure and networks of promotion. Al-Qadiri's mobility and flexibility of occupation, be that entrepreneurship or religious service, allowed him to survive beyond the reach of the traditional networks.



Fig. 17 Vener Usmanov indicating the family burial place of the Tuqaevs. (The main plaque in this picture bears a bilingual text with the Arabic title of Ni'matullah al-Istärlibashi and two lines with Persian verses, dated 1260 / 1844. Curiously, in another part of the wall that surrounds the burial complex there is another version of the same plaque, with only Arabic text. The latter version was clearly made as a later copy, which illustrates the disappearance of Persian from active usage in the early twentieth century. Häzrätlär qaberlege or 'the graveyard of imams' is a vernacular term to refer to this complex of graves at the center of the village cemetery, located at the foot of the mountain. Törbä or 'mausoleum' would be another word, but is rarely used nowadays. Reportedly, this architectural complex was visited by Russian Orientalist Vasilii Bartol'd in June 1913, who read the Persian inscriptions that became unintelligible to the villagers, and the mufti Riza Fakhreddinov in 1918. Vener Usmanov, Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre, 5.) Istärlibash, summer 2019. (Photo by the author.)

241 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 75ab, 90a, 99b, 100b.

Although writing just after the death of Stalin, al-Qadiri rarely evokes the system of Soviet administrative divisions. For him, the space is organized in terms of cities and villages belonging to the administrative units of the late imperial era; that is, he prefers to speak of governorates (*guberna*) and districts (*öyaz*). The same goes for the names of Russian cities, but with the important caveat that most of this geographical vocabulary is rendered in an adopted way: for example, *Truiski* for Troitsk and *Chivastapul* for Sevastopol. This practice mirrors a competitive process of claiming and domesticizing the imperial landscape. Russians applied the same process: every Tatar village in the Volga-Urals received an official Russian name that was supposedly derived from the Tatar version, such as making *Chupchugi* out of *Chipchiqlar*. Al-Qadiri's narrative illustrates the conservative character of Muslim mental mapping that preferred the late imperial administrative divisions to the new Soviet geography. As for the native forms of spatial imagination, the Bulghar identity that was crucial for generations of Muslims in the region all but disappears in al-Qadiri's narrative. He never once uses the attributive name al-Bulghari, which had been so popular for centuries. This does not mean, however, that al-Qadiri subscribed to the new Soviet cultural paradigm, which was notoriously national in form and socialist in content. On the contrary, it is impossible to find a trace of the Soviet version of Tatar nationalism in al-Qadiri's writing, simply because he made use of completely different cultural templates that predated the Soviet modernist project and were all religious in nature. In sum, although he called himself a Tatar and did not use the name al-Bulghari, he nonetheless remained in opposition to Soviet models, or rather, developed an alternative self-image.

At Bulghar, al-Qadiri witnessed pilgrims performing unauthorized rituals; for him, however, Bulghar was only a touristic and historical site, devoid of any sacred meaning. Nonetheless, it was full of secular knowledge about the past that could be derived from old inscriptions, architecture, and coins.<sup>242</sup> Thus, given his purposeful visit to the site, we can assume that al-Qadiri must have heard of Bulghar back in his home village, but his perception of the world was not built around that place. Al-Qadiri's memoirs testify that he did not belong to the community that would venerate Bulghar as more than a historical site, and at that time his attitude must have already been the majority view. People like al-Qadiri would instead appreciate the religious topography of the Near East, familiar to them from biographies of the Prophet and histories of his successors. Naturally, al-Qadiri describes that region in much detail, giving all the geographical locations on his way to Mecca and Medina their 'proper' Islamic

242 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 79ab.





Fig. 18 Al-Qadiri (right) with Lutf al-Rahman Galimov, a new owner of his house, in 1954. (From the family album of Vladimir Galimov, the grandson of ‘Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov, Istärlibash. Al-Qadiri mentions this visit on fols. 78b-79a.)

names including the customary attributes. The same can be said of Kazan: he perceived the city as attractive for its many madrasas, but it was far from being central to his self-consciousness.

At the level of the immediate locality, al-Qadiri pays particular attention to individual houses and their surroundings; that is, the material world of Russia’s Muslims, where ordinary people spent most of their lives. He writes about the house of his uncle ‘Abd al-‘Alim agha as follows: “He was prosperous, owned a house covered with tiles and a proper garden in front of it, full of beehives. He lived off agriculture and kept [just] enough horses, cows and sheep. Behind the house he had an abundant garden. Besides that, on the outskirts of the village, he also kept beehives.”<sup>243</sup> These were places of mimetic experience, the recollection or visiting of which generated the corresponding emotions.

Interestingly, the two personas that al-Qadiri instrumentalized to describe himself – *qari* and *mäzlim* – are both spatially and emotionally separate. Everything positive in his life took place in Istärlibash and Medina, which was also the space associated with the study and recitation of the Qur’an. State oppression not only deprived al-Qadiri of the systematic practice of the Holy

<sup>243</sup> ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fols. 72b-73a.

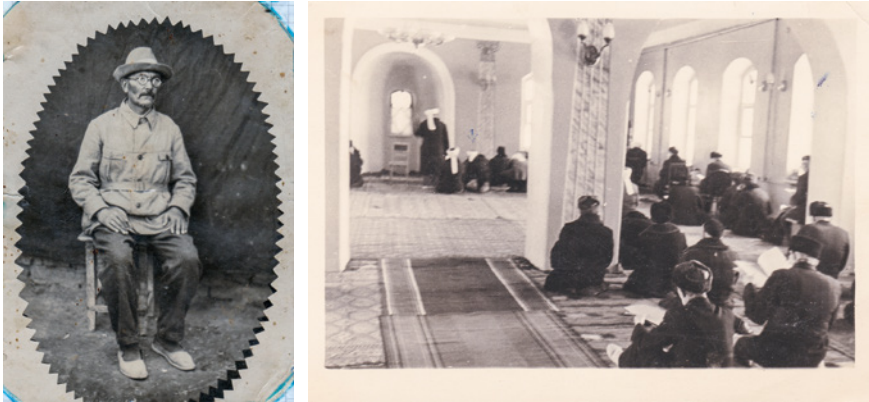
Book, but also uprooted him from his beloved İstärlibash. Even after his final release from labor camps in Uzbekistan, al-Qadiri could not stay in the place of his youth, despite his nostalgia and a brief visit to the village in 1954, which took place either just before or already during the process of compiling his memoirs. This visit, captured in a photograph taken in front of his former house (Fig. 18), must have contributed to al-Qadiri's decision to write his life story.

### Life After Death

The telling of al-Qadiri's story did not end with the last sentence of his memoirs. The manuscript was not linguistically accessible to his heirs, but photographs, oral testimonies, and vivid memories of al-Qadiri prompted a tradition of autobiographical writing among his descendants. At least two autobiographical sources of the late 1990s included al-Qadiri as one of the main actors in their respective life narratives. An entire page was devoted to al-Qadiri in a family photo album composed by Vladimir Galimov (b. 1942), a close relative of al-Qadiri (al-Qadiri's wife was the sister of Galimov's grandfather).<sup>244</sup> Similarly, Maryam Kadyrova, the daughter of al-Qadiri, composed what she called an "autobiographical novel," which began with her reminiscences of her father and gradually evolved into a personal diary with self-reflections covering the last years of her life. Both of Kadyrova's narratives differ significantly from the way al-Qadiri had fashioned himself. Firstly, the later self-representations are characterized by multimodality, i.e. a combination of textual and visual dimensions (Figs. 20-21), while al-Qadiri's book does not contain any illustrations. For al-Qadiri, this must have been a conscious choice: he could have included some photos in his life story, but apparently felt more at home describing himself according to the traditional Tatar book culture, which eschewed images.<sup>245</sup> Secondly, even though they both knew Tatar well, Galimov and Kadyrova used only the Russian language to write about themselves. The usage of Russian goes hand-in-hand with the transformation of sartorial practices. Only elderly people in the photos appear wearing traditional clothes – men in old-fashioned madrasa suits, skullcaps of various shapes on their cleanly shaved heads, usually with long beards and their wives in long dresses.

244 Galimov's photo album, fol. 8b (the private archive of Vladimir Galimov, İstärlibash village, Bashkortostan). This photo album was initially put together by his father Lutf al-Rahman.

245 A rare exception to this rule is the collection of autobiographical poetry by 'Ussam Khanzafarov from the 1930s, illustrated with drawings of individuals: Kazan University Library, Ms. 1849 T, fols. 39a, 68b-69a.



Figs. 19 and 20 Photos featuring al-Qadiri in Maryam Kadyrova's autobiography. (Annotation on the left: "In Alimkent in the Akkurgan region of Uzbekistan. 1936." On the right: "Orenburg mosque during the 'prayer'. Majid qari is the third from the left." Maryam Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fols. 6b, 12b. The private archive of Zuhra Valiullova, Ufa.)

Attached to the cover of al-Qadiri's book is a small piece of paper with the following ownership note in Russian, written by al-Qadiri's daughter: "The diary (*dnevnik*) belongs to Kadyrova Maryam Mazitovna. *Häzrät qari* Kadyrov Mazit composed the diary about his two periods of imprisonment in Stalinist camps: 1930-1935; 1942-1952. Mazit *qari* studied in Mecca between 1911 and 1916." This note misrepresents al-Qadiri's memoirs as a diary by chiefly focusing on his prison experience, leaving aside the whole range of other life events described in the manuscript. Since she was unable to read the script, Maryam apparently developed her own perception of the book. It is likely that this note was added in the wake of Perestroika with its pathos of de-Stalinization: al-Qadiri was rehabilitated only posthumously, in May 1989. Tellingly, the state documentation described him as "an illiterate peasant."<sup>246</sup> In the eyes of Maryam, her father emerged as one of the many victims of the regime; hence she endowed the manuscript with the corresponding emotional value. This is how she described his prison experience: "In fact, he spent most of his mature years in prison without committing a crime. This was the will of our leader I.V. Stalin. Victims of the Stalinist repressions count in the millions. The entire Soviet intelligentsia was destroyed, i.e. the main gene pool of Russia was destroyed."<sup>247</sup>

<sup>246</sup> Al-Qadiri's name appears in the database of the International Memorial: <https://base.memo.ru/person/show/56390> (last accessed on 26.06.2020).

<sup>247</sup> Maryam Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fol. 14a.





Fig. 21  
A photographic portrait of Maryam Kadyrova from her autobiography. (The Russian inscription reads: "A third-year student of Tashkent Medical Institute (1949)." Mari'am Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fol. 36b. The private archive of Zuhra Valiullova, Ufa.)

Unsurprisingly, this is exactly how al-Qadiri's heirs presented him on his grave inscription (see below), contrary to the pious image of a *qari* and *māzliim* that he wished to leave of himself.

Maryam Kadyrova's self-narrative is full of frustration with her family life. She was married twice and apparently with little success: she describes both her husbands as lazy, weak-willed individuals. As a medical worker, Kadyrova (Fig. 21) invested greatly in her career, achieving positions of authority. While al-Qadiri built a self-image of a pious individual, his daughter Maryam did not appeal to any of the strategies of self-description that we find in al-Qadiri's memoirs. Though these two life narratives are the work of closely related individuals, they demonstrate a great cultural rupture in terms of the instruments and outcomes of self-building. Maryam Kadyrova was proud of possessing a critical mind and of achieving a prominent social position. Quite telling in this regard is her reflection on her personal discovery of Islam in 1997 (she certainly did not receive religious teaching from her father): together with another elderly woman called Rahima, she visited a mosque in Ufa for Sunday classes, but confessed to herself that for "a critical mind" many aspects of religion were

simply difficult to accept. Maryam referred to her “critical mind” as a reason for her “doubtfulness” (*dvoistvennost*). She started to read the Qur’an, but in a Russian translation, and did not bring up any memories of her father being a *qari*.<sup>248</sup> Kadyrova’s situation can be seen as a perfect example of subjective fragmentation: exposed to conflicting behavioral models, the subject fails to assimilate them and struggles to meet the expectations. The result is such that an individual loses internal integrity.<sup>249</sup> While al-Qadiri managed to create a narrative that projects a clear vision of his selfhood, Kadyrova clearly encountered difficulties in giving coherence to her life experiences.

Kadyrova’s style of self-narrative marks a radical departure from the kind of subjectivity that al-Qadiri displayed in his book. For him, religious ethics diffused into all aspects of life, while for his daughter a conscious encounter with religion took place only in the wake of post-Soviet religious revival, and posed significant difficulties to her self-conception as a self-made, powerful woman. This shift does not appear to be merely generational, though. The main change took place in the realm of the cultural repertoire that was available to social actors at the moment of writing. Al-Qadiri’s ways of self-fashioning differed significantly from the nineteenth-century Persianate models because he sought more successful patterns of behavior; meanwhile, Maryam Kadyrova conceptualized the life of her father only in terms of his suffering at the hands of the Stalinist regime, and she herself turned to forms of self-narrative completely alien to al-Qadiri, since his modes of subjectivity proved to be marginal and even dangerous in late Socialist society.

Unlike al-Qadiri, Maryam Kadyrova goes into more detail about her mother Fatima and devotes some space to her biography. Due to al-Qadiri’s imprisonment, Maryam did not see her father for many years, and was thus emotionally closer to her mother. Nonetheless, it is the commemorative image of al-Qadiri that functions as the point of departure for Kadyrova’s work.

In the memoirs of al-Qadiri, the reader is only introduced to part of his self-reflections. From interviews conducted with his relatives we know that in his last years, possibly in parallel with writing the book, al-Qadiri used to talk about his life with his friends, who would then retell those stories to their children (Fig. 22). In this way, al-Qadiri’s concept of self traveled far beyond his book. In particular, Maryam Kadyrova was inspired to write the story of her life by her father’s example. The retelling of al-Qadiri’s life stories also inspired his granddaughter Zuhra to claim: “I love him even though I have never seen him. The

248 Maryam Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fols. 89ab, 95b.

249 Anna Strhan, “Christianity and the City: Simmel, Space, and Urban Subjectivities,” *Religion and Society: Advances in Research* 4 (2013), 125-149.

stories of his life entered my consciousness and throughout my life I feel his presence. He is with me and helps me to live.”<sup>250</sup> Interestingly, al-Qadiri does briefly mention the newborn Zuhra, whom he went to see and give a Muslim name: “According to the telegram sent by my son-in-law ‘Abd al-Haqq from Melekes, on August 4, 1958, my daughter Maryam gave birth to Zuhra. That was 7 Safar 1378 of Hijri. May she be a servant of God, a member of the Prophet’s community, and a loving child of her parents. Amen. In September 1958, I went there myself to give her a name, according to the Muslim tradition. This is written by her grandfather, ‘Abd al-Majid Qadīrov, in Orenburg.”<sup>251</sup>



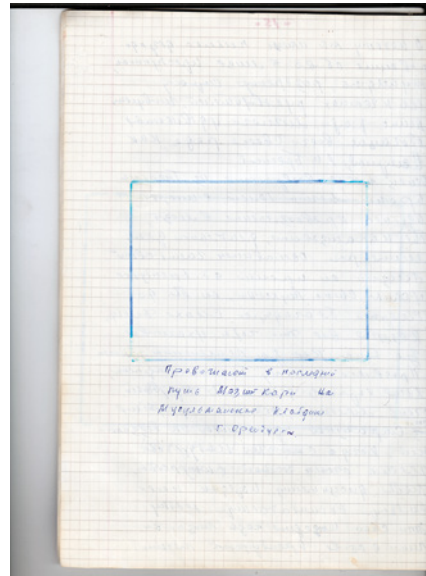
Fig. 22 The family of al-Qadiri in Piskent (Uzbekistan), 1939. (The private archive of Vladimir Galimov, Istārlibash village, Bashkortostan.)

The visual gaps in Maryam’s autobiography are particularly fascinating. Although she constructed a visual narrative, sometimes accompanied by extensive commentaries in Russian, her daughter Zuhra has removed several photographs portraying the funeral of al-Qadiri (Figs. 23–24). This series of photographs must have portrayed the funeral ceremony of al-Qadiri, since the pictures are dated January 4, 1962, the date of al-Qadiri’s death. The first

<sup>250</sup> Interview with Zuhra Valiullova (Ufa, August 24, 2019).

<sup>251</sup> ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri, *Memoirs*, fol. 207b.

missing picture has the following commentary in Russian: “Your worldly wanderings are over now, may your soul rest eternally in paradise. Amen.” Another picture adds the location (Orenburg) and a brief note: “The last goodbye to our father.” The last caption reads as follows: “They follow Mazhit *qari* to his grave at the Muslim cemetery in Orenburg.” Even in the absence of the photographs, it can be noted that these textual remarks made by Maryam Kadyrova contrast with the vocabulary usually employed to describe Muslim funerals. There are no prayers, and the author uses late Soviet clichés such as “the final journey” (*poslednii put'*) instead of turning to the rich commemorative tradition of the Muslim Tatars.



Figs. 23 and 24 The visual gaps in Maryam Kadyrova's autobiography.

This is how Zuhra Valiullova explained her decision to ‘clean up’ her mother’s autobiographical account: “I do not need his dead body. What can I do with it? The only thing I need is his thoughts.”<sup>252</sup> Indeed, it was this desire that moved the daughters of Maryam Kadyrova to seek historians who would be able to decipher the life writings of al-Qadiri.

Officers from the secret police took an interest in photographs of al-Qadiri already during his lifetime. Maryam Kadyrova mentions that when they searched their house in Angren after al-Qadiri’s second arrest in 1942, officers confiscated two pictures of him: one photo with his friend wearing a turban,

<sup>252</sup> Interview with Zuhra Valiullova, Ufa, August 24, 2019.



taken in Saudi Arabia, and another portraying al-Qadiri in a Turkish fez. They used these pictures as evidence to accuse him of espionage for the Turks.<sup>253</sup> It is interesting to note that those photos had therefore not been confiscated when police stormed al-Qadiri's house in Istärlibash back in 1928/29; based on this, we may hypothesize that some fragments of al-Qadiri's pre-revolutionary archive were still in existence at least until 1942 and were even brought to Angren.

A similar desire to expunge the image of a dead body can be found in another family photo album; namely, the album composed by Vladimir Galimov. An obviously staged photograph of relatives gathered around the corpse of Vladimir's grandfather 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov (1880-1972) is missing one significant part: the body of the deceased, probably with face uncovered as was standard for Soviet death photography, has been cut off from the picture, leaving the rest of the photograph intact (Fig. 25).<sup>254</sup>



Fig. 25 The funeral of 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov in 1972. (Galimov's photo album. Maryam Kadyrova is fourth from the left with a scarf only partly covering her head.)

253 Maryam Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fol. 14.

254 Galimov's photo album, fol. 8a (the private archive of Vladimir Galimov, Istärlibash village, Bashkortostan). Compare with Figure 2 above, where the face of the deceased was slightly moved towards the camera to make it recognizable.

The fashion of producing entire series of pictures with all phases of a funeral had been adopted by Muslims already before the Revolution<sup>255</sup> and continued well into the Brezhnev era. In some cases, such scenes were captured not by invited professional photographers, but by members of the community and even relatives of the deceased. One prominent exception among the visual gaps in Maryam Kadyrova's autobiography is the presence of a group photograph taken on the occasion of the reburial of al-Qadiri and his wife Fatima in the historical cemetery in Istärlibash (Fig. 27). There are two possible explanations for this exception. First, that Zuhra Valiullova decided to keep the picture, because there is no dead body present; and second, given the recent date of the event (1990), that Zuhra must have had her own feelings associated with this photograph and the event it represents. What we see here is clearly a shift in the perception of death: while al-Qadiri's generation still placed great value on the epigraphic traditions of Istärlibash cemetery (cf. the gravestone of al-Qadiri's father in Fig. 26), al-Qadiri's daughter preferred to organize his burial place in accordance with late Soviet commemorative practices (Fig. 28), and Zuhra Valiullova wished to avoid the visual representation of death.



Fig. 26  
The gravestone of Shaykh al-Islam, the father of al-Qadiri, in Istärlibash. (Photograph by the author, summer 2019. Note the scratched drawing of a Soviet star on the top.)

255 For example, already in 1913, the funeral of 'Abdullah Tuqay was carefully photographed.



Fig. 27 A group photograph at the new burial place of al-Qadiri and his wife Fatima in Istärlibash (1990). Maryam Kadyrova is first from the left. (Maryam Kadyrova, *An Autobiographical Novel*, fol. 6b.)



Fig. 28 A monument at the grave of al-Qadiri and his wife Fatima. (Photograph by the author, summer 2019.)

### Conclusion: The Fate of the Moral Subject in Soviet Russia

What kind of subject did al-Qadiri ultimately describe in his memoirs? Is it some variation of the modern subject as it emerged in the West? Or is it a subject whose qualities differ substantially from its Western or Soviet counterpart(s)?

In his critique of Western knowledge, Wael Hallaq has argued for the strict analytical distinction between, on the one hand, Muslim societies governed by *shari'a* and therefore producing moral subjects, and on the other hand, the modern state that had its origin in the West and extended its power to regulating the psyche of the modern subject. As a distinctly European invention, the modern state exercised political as well as epistemic sovereignty over its subjects, a situation impossible for Islamic states. According to Hallaq, the moral subject was a product of madrasas and charitable foundations, i.e. institutions created for the sake of God. Extending Foucauldian observations, Hallaq describes the goal of colonialism in the Muslim lands as the production of European-like subjects, echoing the aims of Thomas Babington Macaulay: "a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect."<sup>256</sup>

Despite forced Christianization and the establishment of native schools for European-style education of Muslims, the fruitful engagement with grassroots Islamic tradition and the reproduction of the moral subject in Russia blossomed spectacularly, which makes Hallaq's clear-cut opposition rather problematic. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the rapid burgeoning of madrasas in European Russia as well as the proliferation of charitable foundations, the two strongholds of the moral subject.<sup>257</sup>

European historiography attributes practices of introspection to the birth of the modern subject around 1800.<sup>258</sup> Based on our sources, uncritical acceptance of this paradigm would lead us to adopt the late modernization paradigm, as if Muslim individuals in Russia only discovered their selves by the mid-twentieth century under the pressure of Soviet modernization, and in doing so joined modern trends in self-reflection, comparable to European models of the earlier epochs. I would not support this teleological line of

256 Wael B. Hallaq, *Restating Orientalism: A Critique of Modern Knowledge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 120.

257 Danielle Ross, "Muslim Charity under Russian Rule: *Waqf*, *Sadaqa*, and *Zakat* in Imperial Russia," *Islamic Law and Society* 24.1-2 (2017), 77-111; Paolo Sartori, "Exploring the Islamic Juridical Field in the Russian Empire: An Introduction," *Islamic Law and Society* 24.1-2 (2017), 1-19.

258 Carolyn Chappell Lougee, "Emigration and Memory: After 1685 and After 1789," *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, ed. by Rudolf Dekker (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 102.



reasoning, because even research into European history of the last two centuries reveals significant inner dynamics and indicates multiple turning points to introspection. For example, contrary to the findings of historians studying early modern Europe, Claire Langhamer identifies the years immediately following the Second World War as crucial for sparking introspective narratives in Britain.<sup>259</sup> In my view, the existence of such debates about the exact birth-date of the modern subject suggests that self-reflection is a practice that has been available and accessible to individuals over a considerable period of time. In the case of al-Qadiri, a timely realization that there would be nothing of his life experience to pass on to his children must have prompted him to start writing a book about himself. To do so, he combined a number of genres and literary forms that were familiar to him from his pre-Gulag experience, with the goal of communicating his true identity as he understood it. Soviet models of subjectivity, though possibly known to him, remained absent from his memoirs.<sup>260</sup> He wrote his book using the symbols and language that he found most appropriate and closest to his intimate sense of self. Al-Qadiri portrayed Soviet modernity as a source of personal struggle for himself, but of career success for his children. This ambivalence notwithstanding, the memoirs of al-Qadiri marginalize the colonial language as irrelevant to the portrait of a Muslim moral subject that the author wished to portray.

As a result of the cultural ruptures of the twentieth century, the contents of al-Qadiri's book became inaccessible to his immediate heirs. What he did manage to do, however, was to create a colorful picture of subjectivity, not centered on the repressive state, but rather evolving in creative engagement with a variety of behavioral models and cultural traditions beyond the Soviet canon. Al-Qadiri produced a personal account of a moral subject that prioritized Islamic tradition and the symbolic language associated with it. Al-Qadiri was not the only person in post-war Soviet Russia to hold such values, but, as far as we know, he is the only Muslim survivor of the Gulag who dared to set the dramas of his life down on paper. Now, sixty years after his death, the memoirs of 'Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri can finally find their well-deserved international readership.

259 Claire Langhamer, "Love, Selfhood and Authenticity in Post-War Britain," *Cultural and Social History* 9:2 (2012), 280.

260 In this respect, al-Qadiri's life narrative offers a correction to recent observations on Soviet-era autobiographical writing in Central Asia: "notwithstanding the familiarity of some of these [Soviet Tajik] writers with pre-Soviet genres, the sources, the models, and perhaps even the inspiration for the Central Asian memoirs were those of the Russian intelligentsia, [...] the model was in some ways quite straightforwardly Russian" (Artemy Kalinovsky, Isaac Scarborough, "The Oil Lamp and the Electric Light," 133).



## Translation

/72b/ And now I, humble (*ben fāqir*) and sound of mind, have composed the following from what I experienced and witnessed in my life and education, to describe my genealogy (*nasl wa ansab*) to the best of my ability, with the aim of leaving a memoir (*khatira*) for my descendants. My father Shaykh al-Islam b. 'Abd al-Qadir b. Biktimir was born in Tatar Qaramalī village of the former Aleksandr Qaramalī volost of the Mānzālā district of Ufa governorate, i.e. the present-day Qaramalī village of Sarman district of the Republic of Tatarstan, in 1843.

The Qadirov family starts with our grandfather 'Abd al-Qadir. After he died, my father at his young age was taken into the care (*tārbiya*) of his older brother 'Abd al-'Alim. The latter lived in Qaramalī village and served as a mu'adhdhin. I believe he died in 1896; [he] was buried in Qaramalī cemetery. There was a gravestone with an inscription. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer then overlook his wrongdoings.<sup>261</sup> May God's mercy be upon him. I remember seeing 'Abd al-'Alim agha: he visited us in Istärlibash, when my father was still alive. He was prosperous, owned a house covered with tiles (*taqta*) and with a proper garden in front of it, full of beehives. /73a/ He lived off agriculture and kept [just] enough horses, cows and sheep. Behind the house he had an abundant garden. Besides that, on the outskirts of the village, he also kept beehives. I remember very well that when I was twelve and I went there with my late father to get honey, he gave me a piece of millet bread with honey spread on it.

I must produce a family tree (*shäjärä*) for future generations, if God wills. My father Shaykh al-Islam studied for several years in his twenties at the madrasa of 'Abdullah Gafurov in Olugh Chaqmaq on the banks of the İq River, then he moved to Istärlibash madrasa. He studied for several years at the madrasa of Khalilullah b. Rahmatullah b. Hasan, who came from Bayraka village of Bugulma district, and decided to stay there. The father of my late mother, Waliullah b. Rahmatullah b. Hasan, was a brother of this Khalilullah. Because of harsh poverty, in spring and summer after school he would participate in grain collection, and in winter he would study and live on his provision. Since Waliullah b. Rahmatullah died in Bayraka, Khalilullah brought the family of his brother to Istärlibash and adopted them. After that, around 1875, 'Alimä,

261 اللهم إن كان محسنًا فزد في إحسانه وإن كان مسيئًا فتجاوز عنه] This invocation of God (*du'a*) regularly cited by al-Qadiri stems from a hadith narrated by Abu Hurayra and is present in Imam Malik's *Muwatta'* (*Kitab al-jana'iz*, no. 539).]

the daughter of Waliullah b. Rahmatullah, married my father Shaykh al-Islam b. ‘Abd al-Qadir. Later, around 1877, my parents went to a settlement (*qishlaq*) called Isenbay near Sari Üzän (in Russian: Talovka) near Astrakhan, in the Bukay region of the country (*mämläkät*) of Kazakhstan, and stayed there. Our father taught boys, while my mother taught girls, until 1882 when they returned to Istärlibash. I was born there (in Kazakhstan) in March 1881 and at the age of two we returned to Istärlibash together. My father taught children from humble backgrounds and peasants of Istärlibash for more than forty years, until the end of his life. At two o’clock in the afternoon on Wednesday May 2, 1336 of Hijri and 1918 of Miladi, he entrusted his soul to God. In accordance with the Qur’anic verse “Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing!”<sup>262</sup> may he join the ranks of the forgiven. Amen. /73b/

He was buried next to my mother near the graves of the famous Ni‘matullah, Harith, Harrath and Zayn al-Din in the great cemetery of Istärlibash. “Our Lord, forgive Thou me and my parents, and the believers, upon the day when the reckoning shall come to pass.”<sup>263</sup>

The funeral ceremony was led by the great imam of our community ‘Abdullah b. Muhammad Harith b. Ni‘matullah. At six o’clock in the evening of Friday 6 Sha‘ban, or May 4, he was buried. His gravestone<sup>264</sup> at the cemetery bears the following text: “This is the grave of an excellent and exalted scholar, a teacher of children for forty years, Shaykh al-Islam b. ‘Abd al-Qadir b. Biktimir al-Qaramali al-Mänzäläwi. He followed the command “Return [unto thy Lord]!” on 4 Sha‘ban 1336 of Hijri and May 2, 1918. May God rest him in peace and make paradise his abode.”<sup>265</sup>

Although my father cultivated land, he did not own it, because according to the ancient law (*boringi qanun*) foreign incomers were not given land as the local people were. Still, he either rented one or two *desiatina*<sup>266</sup> of land or sowed crops jointly with the locals. He had only one cow, a goat and sometimes kept a horse for summer work. He would usually buy a horse in spring to prepare wood and hay for winter and then sell it in fall. The buildings of the

262 [إرجعي الى ربك راضية مرضية] Q 89: 28 (here and below I rely on Arberry’s translation).]

263 [ربنا اغفر لي ولوالدين وللمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب] Q 14: 41.]

264 [The first publication of this gravestone inscription: Vener Usmanov, *Tarixhi yadkärür*, 119-120.]

265 [هذه مرقد العالم الفاضل الكامل معلم الصبيان بضع اربعين سنة شيخ الاسلام بن عبد القادر بن بيكتمر القارمالي المنزولي امثل الخطاب ارجعي في سنة الف وثلاث مائة ست وثلاثين من الهجرة (١٣٣٦) ٤ شعبانده و في سنة ١٩١٨ ٢ محي ماي طيب الله ثراه و اجعل الجنة مأواه]

266 [*Desiatina* is an old Russian unit of land measurement, ca. 2.7 acres.]

household were all made of wood. There was a cowshed for cattle. The house where we lived was located near the great mosque on the hill with a view of its back. The madrasa was located between the mosque and our house. My father would split firewood and cut the hay himself. One time he went on horseback to a place where he taught children, in the aforementioned Isenbay village of the Bukay region of Kazakhstan. It is ca. 700 km from İstärlibash. /74b/ In 1889 he also took me there across such a great distance. We traveled via the Tuq river from Sarupinski station to Uralsk and then journeyed 300 km over the Kazakh Steppe. On the way we spent the nights in the open, because it would not be possible to sleep near the houses of Kazakhs watching their cattle, since there would not be grass in that area to feed the horse. We drank *qatiq* and *qumiz*<sup>267</sup> and took water in the houses of stockbreeders, after which we would go 4 to 5 km away to sleep. At this time I was only eight years old. Upon arrival, I would put a copper kettle on the fire to prepare tea. Until the tea was ready, my father would read a newspaper. In the quiet steppe, where only the voices of Kazakh horses were heard, we drank tea joyfully. My father would then put me to sleep and himself stay awake to watch over the horse. At sunrise we would get the horse ready and continue our journey. Since it was very hot in that place, we preferred to move on in the coolness of the early morning and to rest in the afternoon. Creating shade using a map, my father would rest a while, leaving me alone to watch the horse.

Yalpaqtal (Salatin) was the capital of the Kazakhs in the Uralsk region. Here we arrived at the house of 'Ubaydullah b. Zaynullah 'Alikaev, who was born and raised in İstärlibash. He was the son of Zaynullah Ishan from İstärlibash, known as Amir Ishan. This 'Ubaydullah hazrat first studied in İstärlibash madrasa and then went to Bukhara, where he studied sciences (*khatm-i kutub*) and reached the level of Ishan and then returned home. After he came back, the Yalpaqtal people made him an imam. He established a madrasa, educated plenty of Kazakh students and spread the Sufi teaching. He was a hospitable person and kind to other people. May God cover him with His mercy.

We stayed there for a couple of days /74b/ and then continued our journey to Talovka, i.e. Isenbay village. It was 60 km away from that place. On the way we spent a night in the house of my father's students called 'Uthman and Nu'man, in the Kazakh village of Subirgen. The next day we reached Isenbay. This time, in accordance with the local Kazakh traditions, we stayed in a felt house near the lake called Likräm, moved around that lake, drank *qumiz* from the summer camp, ate sheep, shot at ducks on the lake and enjoyed our time.

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267 [ *Qatiq* is a fermented milk product, while *qumiz* refers to a drink made from horse milk. ]

Upon arrival there we came to the house of Muhammad 'Ali Isenbaev. His Kazakh nickname is Kalosh. At a distance of ten meters (*tayaq*) from their house there was a small guesthouse made of felt, where we stayed till our departure. When the old Kazakh women saw me, they cried: "Oh! That is the child born in our hands who came back missing his birthplace!" They hugged and kissed me. One of them said: "They say that a man ate his fill of meat at his birthplace."<sup>268</sup> They stroked my back, asking: "How are you?" I responded to all of their questions. We stayed there for a while and then in September returned safely to İstärİlibash.

How I started my studies: first, at the age of five I studied the alphabet (*alifba*) at home with my father. Then, he started to teach me a book called *İman sharti*. After that we proceeded to some books in Turki. At the age of six I moved on to [reading] *Shurut Kalam sharif*. Ahmad Shah hazrat from Sarlı village on the banks of Qarashlı İq in Belebey district was a follower (*murid*) of the famous Amir hazrat. This distinguished person began teaching me the Holy Qur'an. [From him] I memorized (*khäteremdä*) only half of the book. "You'll give it as alms," said my late father, passing twenty kopeks to me. May God cover them both with His mercy.

/75a/ After that [period], my father brought me to his madrasa. There I started [reading] Arabic books *Shurut al-salat wa ta'lim al-salat* and a book on dogmatics called *Asl al-tawhid*. After studying these books for a while they decided that I was now capable of reading Arabic, and I joined a class on Arabic grammar with khalfa 'Abd al-Kabir b. Din Muhammad, who came from Täter Arslan village, 20 km away from İstärİlibash, together with his son 'Abdullah Shadmanov and 'Abd al-Rahman b. Amirhan İbragimov. We studied together until 1906. In August of that year (1317 of Hijri) our teacher 'Abd al-Kabir khalfa died of a stomach disease. May God bless and forgive him.<sup>269</sup>

After that, Fathullah khalfa b. Fattah al-Din came from Usaq Kichü village, located on the banks of the Dim River. All of us continued our studies with this teacher. Between 1902 and 1904 I attended the Russian-Tatar school in İstärİlibash and received a diploma. Mir Sayyid Baishev from Matar village was our teacher (*uchitel'*).<sup>270</sup> At ten, I started reading books on Arabic grammar

268 [Direct speech of these women is rendered in Kazakh in the original.]

269 [أغفر وأرحم]

270 [Madrasa teachers (*mudarris, ustaz*) and instructors at the state schools (*uchitel'*) are carefully distinguished in the text. İsmä'il Rahmatullin (1891-1967) in his reminiscences relates that even the gravestone inscription for a local school teacher stressed that the deceased was an *uchitel'* and not a *mudarris*. İsmä'il Rahmatullin, *Troitski shähäreneng tarikhi bulgan hällär* (1941), The Kazan Kremlin Museum, Ms. MZKK-154, f. 40b.]

and morphology as well as Islamic law – on grammar, *Sharh mullah* (or *mullah Jami*); on law, books like *Mukhtasar al-wiqaya* and *'Ayn al-'ilm*.

I also followed the classes of Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith Tuqaeu, who was counted as one of the most outstanding teachers in Istärlibash. Here I studied such books as *Sharh mullah*, *Tariqa Muhammadiyya* and *'Ayn al-'ilm*.

At that time, I would study with bearded students much older than me. Khalfa would inspire and praise me in front of many people, by saying: "You are the best student. You are now more knowledgeable than your father." He would always invite me as a good student to iftar gatherings and festivals (*bäyräm ashleri*). I would go there together with older students and then come back to show off at the madrasa. Our teacher Habibullah hazrat went to Istärilitamaq sometime in December and became ill with a fever (*tir awiri*). After several days, in accordance with the Qur'anic verse "Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing!"<sup>271/75b/</sup> he went to the house of eternity. "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return." Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer then overlook his wrongdoings.<sup>272</sup>

It can be said that our teacher was very sincere and modest, a true scholar of the highest caliber; he was a specialist in every science. He received his education at the madrasa of the late 'Abdullah hazrat Gabdulgafurov in Olugh Chaqmaq village on the banks of the İq River in Belebey district. Then he went to study in Bukhara for several years and returned after getting a license (*ijazat*) in Sufism (*'ilm-i tariqat*) from Niyaz Quli al-Turkmani hazrat. Upon his return to Istärlibash, he first decorated the madrasas and mosques, planted trees between the madrasas, and made it all pleasant. After that, he started to teach the great khalfas at the madrasa, concentrating exclusively on exoteric (*zahir*) studies, without pursuing esoteric studies (*'ilm-i batin*). He said that first it is imperative to master the exoteric, and only then is the study of the esoteric allowed, because the exoteric is similar to a bowl: one has to properly clean it before putting the esoteric knowledge inside. For this reason he did not practice Sufism (*ishanliq*) and focused on exoteric studies only. He used to tell his students that he always read the books of our great scholars, especially Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani's *Wafyyat al-aslaf*<sup>273</sup> and *Nazurat al-haqq*. He even respected Pushkin as a great poet.

271 [إرجعي الى ربك راضية مرضية] Q 89:28.]

272 [إنا لله و إنا اليه راجعون اللهم إن كان محسنا فزد في إحسانه و إن كان مسيئا فتجاوز]

273 [Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani's extensive magnum opus *Wafyyat al-aslaf* was never published, except for its *Introduction (Muqaddima)* and an abridged version called *Muntakhab*. However, individual volumes of his work had been copied by al-Mardjani's students and were in circulation. Habibullah Tuqaeu either had access to such copies, or

Now let us come back to my situation. Because my father was poor, sometimes it was difficult for me to get paper, pen, and a proper book for study at the madrasa. Among my fellow students I behaved modestly. In accordance with the old ways, my father used to give alms to the khalfa every week on a Thursday. It would be one or two kopeks, or half a kopek. In total I had up to sixty to seventy kopeks per week on which to live. Therefore, I could not ask for any more. When he sometimes brought one or two dishes from the market, my happiness would reach the sky. I had clothes to stop me from freezing: felt boots on the feet ... I was grateful for this. Being in such conditions, they still strived to educate me. May God cover them with His mercy. Amen. [My father] never allowed me work at home. He watched over the cowshed and cattle himself. I only had to study. /76a/ Since [the madrasa] was close to our house, I would go home to eat and drink tea.

Then I decided to look for a job to buy paper and continue my studies. My aforementioned fellow student 'Abd al-Rahman and I bought paper and pens for eighty kopeks and started to sell them to the students at the madrasa. Since the market was open only once a week, these popular items were not available on other days. We bought eighty kopeks' worth of paper, pens and ink and sold them all week long to amazed students, making ten to fifteen kopeks' profit a week. This is how we covered our needs. One day our khalfa realized this and warned us: "As educated people, you should not do such things in a madrasa." Therefore, we agreed with our khalfa and had to close down our 'market' (*magazin*). One or two [days] later we split the items that were left; each of us got his eighty kopeks back. And that was it.

Still, how to get enough money? Now I was able to write in a good manner, produce book bindings, glasses and pen cases. This way, by copying books and binding old Qur'ans that had seen battlefields, I earned five to ten kopeks. From then on I stopped asking for money from my father to buy paper and pens. This is how I found work (*hünär*) for myself and continued my studies.

When I turned fifteen or sixteen, I slowly started to enter society. Now I wanted to dress like others did, according to the fashion. Of course, my father ordered clothing for me, but that was very old-fashioned, while I wanted to wear something more fancy (*zamanacharaq*) like my fellow students. They wore boots with leather on the bottom. My socks were knitted, which was then a problem as I needed to perform ablutions before the obligatory prayers, and it is cold outside in winter. /76b/ When I came home, I begged my father,

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al-Qadiri simply meant the printed versions of al-Mardjani's work. The only complete set of six volumes of *Wafyyat al-aslafis* preserved today at Kazan University Library and originates from the collection of 'Alimdjani al-Barudi.]



crying, to buy me leather socks. He listened to his poor boy and ordered them for me. May God cover him with His mercy. I was extremely happy, only God knows how happy I was. From then on I did not wash my legs every time and only performed wiping (*mash*) when going to the mosque, as other students did.

In spring, I wanted to work to make enough to support myself at the madrasa in winter. These were my thoughts because I did not like playing too much, as other children did. I decided to take a basket in my hands and go to the neighboring Bashkir villages to buy eggs and then sell them to wholesalers. This would bring me from fifteen to twenty kopeks from each hundred eggs. I collected two [baskets] a day and made some thirty or forty kopeks. My fellow students made some eight to ten kopeks by joining the hay collecting. Obviously I made more profit than they did. In the villages, Bashkir women ordered me to find lemon to drink tea, and promised to collect eggs for me. This is how I opened up a new trade scheme. On Fridays, sellers of lemons and oranges were coming from Ufa and Shafran. I asked them: "Could you please sell me lemons for a price lower than at the market?" They said: "Yes, sure, we will sell it. We can even give you more, if you bring money on the next market day." I bought some forty to fifty lemons, and the next day went to the Bashkir village to exchange lemons for eggs. While I got one or two kopeks for ten eggs, I got one or two kopeks for a single lemon. Now my travel became double. In the morning I set out on foot and came back in the evening, to make a profit of more than one ruble.

My ego (*nafs*) pressed me to make more. I got another idea: /77a/ to rent a horse for a day to travel to distant Russian villages. It is possible to get a horse for fifty kopeks a day. In Russian villages I collected eggs and went back to bring the horse to its owners. "Good fellow, collect more," they said. I replied: "I would collect more, but I do not have enough money." They answered: "If needed, we can give you some money." The next day, I went again on horseback and brought two or three hundred [eggs]. That summer I saved up about ten to fifteen rubles for the madrasa. I became rich. At that time I could buy a cow for this money. Still, my father would send me to help others with agriculture. He said: "Learn to do hired work. I do not need your money." There I made ten to twelve kopeks a day.

Now it was time to study again. Fellow students arrived from other villages and we started our studies. I thought that if I spent this fifteen to twenty rubles during the winter, then in spring I would need money again. I had to do something. I decided to go to a trade fair in İstärilitamaq on October 20. I went there and for my fellow students I bought as much good paper, various inks, nice soap and perfumed handkerchiefs as I could. This way I saved my money till spring. In spring I turned sixteen or seventeen. Studies stopped,

and all the foreign students went to their home villages. Now I needed some work (*kasab*). I wanted to sell lemons at distant markets. I asked a lemon seller from Ufa: "Could you please bring me two or three boxes of lemons to sell?" He agreed and brought three boxes of lemons. I started to sell them, but needed a horse and cart to go to the market. Promising to pay it off by the fall, I bought a horse with a cart. Hence I started to go to the market. I would spend the whole week at markets in the neighboring Russian villages of Artikov, Qaragush and Qachaqan selling lemons. I paid off my debts when the lemon owners (*kha-jain*<sup>274</sup>) came back. /77b/

Now I had a horse and cart. I wanted to sell more lemons and asked the owners: "Can you introduce me to the big merchants in Ufa? Maybe we can make them sell more lemons?" They agreed. When they came to İstärlibash, they stayed at my place. They promised that we would go to Ufa together and I went with them. They introduced me to that rich merchant Fattah al-Din Akhtamov. He said: "Alright. You can take it on a promissory note (*veksel*) and cover it later," then signed the note for ten boxes of lemons for 100 rubles. I took a train to Shafran station and then rented a horse to go another 60 km to İstärlibash. Thus I became acquainted with rich people. I paid the money on time and went to Ufa frequently. After a while they entrusted me with twenty to twenty-five boxes of lemons. I organized what seemed to be a good trade. When study time approached, I sold the horse to pay the rent. I attended the madrasa until 1904. For one or two years I sold fruits in Ufa markets: apples, grapes, watermelons, and melons. The aforementioned Akhtamov invited me to work as an estate manager (*prikazchik*) and I started to work there. Making twelve rubles a month, I stayed at his house. At that time, for twelve rubles one could buy eighty meters of cotton.

After the trade was over, I took my money and went back to the village madrasa, in full dress. This is how I studied. Then from this work I got another idea: to travel abroad to study either in Istanbul, or in Medina. I had to work, since I did not have enough resources to go there. Besides that, the house where we lived became old, we had to renovate it that year, one way or another. My parents, my sister Farhi Sorur – I was the only son in the family. Someone talked to my father and mother saying that reconstruction (*remont*) would be possible by replacing the old beams with new ones. /78a/ I listened to this and said: "What's old is old, we have to put completely new pine beams there." They cried: "Hey boy, how much money would that require? Where will we get it from?" I replied: "I do not want to use old beams. God (*Allahdjan*) will help us anyway. We will do it anew." They said: "Alright, let us do it as you say." I said:

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274 [ *Khajain* must be a Tatar rendering of the Russian word *khoziain*. ]

“Let us do it this way. We will collect money and then ask some acquaintance to help us out [with construction].” They agreed. Then I went to the famous ‘Abd al-Qadir makhdum Tuqaeu of our village, and explained the situation to him. He liked me and told me the following: “I will act as your trustee (*wākil*) for a constructor from Ufa to build a house of pine beams with a condition to pay in fall.” When someone agreed to be a trustee, people were ready to trust even for one thousand. Then I came home inspired and told my father: “Luckily, ‘Abd al-Qadir makhdum has agreed to act as a trustee to order the house construction for us.” They agreed: “Alright, let it be so.”

In February 1904, ‘Abd al-Qadir makhdum and I went to Istärlitamaq. There he saw a person named Najm al-Din who was a beam seller and told him: “Prepare us pine beams according to these dimensions, but we will pay only in the fall. I will give you a paper stating that I am a trustee. You provide the door, floor, roof, and windows; we will find glass and iron sheets ourselves. All the rest you will do on your own. How much will you ask?” He answered: “125 rubles. Twenty-five rubles you pay in advance (*zadatka*) and the rest will be promised (*wägdä*).” We agreed to work with this person. He said: “I will finish in March and will let you know so that you can get the house.”

Then I came home and told everything to my father. He cried: “How will we finish this enterprise?” I said: “Once started, it will be done.” He answered: “But we need to find iron, glass and paint!” I replied: “If God helps, everything will be done. A project, once begun, will not remain unfinished.”

March approached, and on March 15 we received the news that the house was ready and we had to collect it. To bring the house we needed horses. /78b/ It was the time when people were not busy. This way thirty-six horses went to pick up the house and in one day it was already here. Now we needed to put the house on the foundations. We hired ‘Abd al-Rahman agha, a master of woodwork, to put in the door, two levels of windows and the rest for thirty-six rubles, on condition that we provide him with tea and provisions. In May the house was ready, but we still needed to buy the iron sheets for the roof. We put the old beams on the front of the new house in six sides.<sup>275</sup> At that time an office called zemstvo would help villagers to cover their roof with iron by means of a three-year loan. One had to appeal to the volost [administration]. I did that in early July and bought on loan enough iron with a price of two rubles seventy kopeks per *pood*. Salah from Aytugan village helped us to cover

275 [Traditional Tatar houses consist of two parts: the main part with four walls and an additional part with two walls, where food is usually cooked. Al-Qadiri writes that the remnants of the old house were used for erecting this additional part of the construction.]

the house. Then we constructed two heaters and the house was ready. Only the roof remained unpainted.

We lost this house, built with much care, in 1929, with the advent of revolution (*inqilab*). My father was accused of being a kulak. Along with my student (I was not there at that time), six children, two orphan brothers, and my wife were all forced to leave my house, to be taken by another student. In snowy February, all of my family found themselves on the street. The student's name was 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Rafiq Iskandarov, he worked at the volost [administration]. He would have lived there peacefully, but God decided differently. The Arabs say: *الإنسان يدبر والله يقدر* "All people have their plans, but God acts according to His will." After a short while, this poor man was accused of being a public enemy (*khalīq doşmani*), was imprisoned and then disappeared. Our house remained standing. Now it is inhabited by our brother-in-law, Lutf al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-Rahman Galeev, /79a/ veteran of the Patriotic war. Our house is still safe there on the mountain, as we built it. I saw it on my visit in 1954.

Sometime around 1898 it occurred to me that I wanted to travel the world. I had never traveled by train before. I told my parents that I wanted to visit my birthplace in Kazakhstan: Isenbay village, or Talovka. They allowed me to go, and after collecting some money I went on my way. On June 1, I went to Ufa via Shafran station. I saw Ufa and the next day took a steamboat on Aq Idel to Kazan. I stayed for ten days in the historical centers of our ancestors, visited the Süyübikä tower built by the ancient Tatar khans, as well as museums, and took a trip on the Qaban lake. After that I decided to go to Samara (*Kuybishev*<sup>276</sup>). In Kazan I stayed at the madrasa of 'Allam hazrat<sup>277</sup> near the Qaban lake. It was a two-floor madrasa. There were only ten students who studied in summer. At the great cemetery in Kazan I paid a visit (*ziyarat*) to the respected Shihab al-Din b. Baha' al-Din.<sup>278</sup> There was an inscribed gravestone. On the top had been inscribed: "Speak well of the deceased."<sup>279</sup> He passed

276 [Note the anachronistic usage of the city's name: Samara was renamed Kuybishev only in 1935.]

277 ['Abd al-'Allam Salihi (1832-1899) served as an imam of the Apanay mosque from 1880, as well as the director of the neighbouring Qasimiya madrasa, known also as a "madrasa on the banks of a lake" (*kul bue mädräsäse*).]

278 [Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani (1818-1889) was a famous Islamic scholar and historian who resided in Kazan.]

279 [اذكروا موتاكم بالخير] This is only a part of the hadith, of which the full version is usually rendered as اذكروا محاسن موتاكم واذكروا أمواتكم بخير

away in the year 1306 of Hijri. After that I took a Volga (*vulga*<sup>280</sup>) steamboat to Samara. On the way I stopped at the Ispasski zaton station around 150 km from Kazan. Fifteen kilometers from there I saw the ruins of the ancient city of Bulghar. There appeared to be a Russian village in its place. Of the monuments (*athar-i 'atiqa*) there remained only a tower and a big dome (*qubba*). Inside it were gathered human bones from the old cemetery as well as plenty of ruined inscribed gravestones. They bore Arabic inscriptions. I could just about read one of them. On the street Russian children were crying: "We sell old coins. Do you want to buy them?" Some Russians were also crying: "I sell sheep." Some people went to the old Muslim cemetery and offered sacrifices there (*qorban chala torgan bulgannar*). /79b/ This runs counter to Islamic religion, because these ignorant people offered sacrifices to ask the holy spirits (*arwakhlar*) for help. Even today, much like in Uzbekistan, people go there saying that such-and-such place is the grave of Hazrat-i 'Ali. People ask for help from the grave, offering sacrifices. There are many Ishans who reassured the poor ignorant people and women this way.

When I went to the ruins of Bulghar, Shakir hazrat, an imam of the Burnaev mosque in Kazan and other people also made a visit (*ziyarat*) there. We went on a steamboat together and I accompanied them at the ruins. Afterwards they took a steamboat from the station to Kazan, but since there was no steamboat to Samara, I had to spend a night at the station. In the morning I took a steamboat to Samara, spent one or two days there and then went to Saratov on a steamboat. From there I bought a ticket at Azinka station to travel to Pokrovskaya Sloboda across the Volga river on the train going to Uralsk – just a few stations before Uralsk. I heard from my late mother that her brother was living there. Without an exact address I still went there. There were Bashkir villages 15-20 km away. I took a horse and went there.

By the evening I reached a Bashkir village and asked there: "Do you know a person called 'Izzatullah Valiullin?" They answered: "Yes, he lives in our village." I asked them: "I cannot go there at night. May I stay at your house tonight and go there in the morning?" They agreed. I paid the money to the coachman (*izvozchik*) and let him go. When I went in the morning, they said that he [my uncle] was not at home, he had gone to a market 50 km away to help the rich

280 [The usage of the Russian name of the river in place of the Tatar *Idel* is notable, since one would rather expect the separation of these terms in Tatar and Russian national discourses, given the importance attached to the myth of Volga being "the Russian river." Cf.: Dorothy Zeisler-Vralsted, *Rivers, Memory, and Nation-Building: A History of the Volga and Mississippi Rivers* (Berghahn Books, 2015); Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).]

people with the harvest. He would stay there for ten days at least. I felt bad and asked them: "Would it not be possible to let him know?" A good fellow called Yunus told me: "Yes, but you have to wait a bit." He offered for me to stay in a Bashkir felt house. /80a/

I spent some ten days there and on the eleventh day they told me: "Look, your uncle is coming!" This poor guy was making a muslin tent on the outskirts of the village. He does not have a felt house and does not live in *qishlaq* in summer, like Bashkirs do, and moves around on a horse-drawn vehicle (*qataran*). I watched him from my room; this poor man approached me very slowly. He greeted me, but he did not know me well. I told him: "I visit you as my uncle. I am the son of your sister 'Alimä from İstärlibash, 'Abd al-Majid." Once I said this he cried again and again, saying: "I have someone in this world to visit me as a relative!" and praying. He took my luggage and brought it to the tent. Our uncle had two sons: one called 'Abd al-Majid and another called 'Ibadatullah. The next day, he slaughtered a sheep, invited friends, then entertained me as well as other people. Several days later he prepared his horse, brought me to the station, gave me three rubles (*sum*) for my trip and saw me off. May God cover him with His mercy. He was a very quiet (*yuash*) and good person (*adäm*).

From there I bought a ticket to Aleksandrov Gay via Orenburg station. On the way I stopped at the city of Novouzensk. The reason was that in early July the St. Peter's trade fair (*Pitrau iarminkäse*) took place there. I thought that maybe people from Isenbay village where I was going might also be present, because according to my father the people of Isenbay would come there to sell their cattle. In Kazakh they call [the market] *Churtan*. At the cattle market I saw my father's student from our village, Sibgatullah b. 'Ataullah Isenbaev. I greeted him; he stood looking [at me] for a while, and then said: "Oh wow (*oy-boy*)! Are you Majid?" I said: "Yes." Since I was alone, I asked him to take me with him: "Shall we return [to the village] together?" He answered: "Sure, we will spend the night here and tomorrow morning travel until night." It was ninety *chaqrim*<sup>281</sup> to Isenbay village from there. They had not yet finished selling the cattle.

At night we went to sleep in the open (*yalan*), because the cattle needed food. That is the usual reason to sleep in the open. We slept there in the evening. There were many other Kazakhs. When I woke up in the morning, Sibgatullah

281 [In the Tatar texts of the imperial era, *chaqrim* was used as an equivalent of Russian *versta*, roughly corresponding to 1.06 km. Etymologically, the word means a maximum distance in which two persons can hear the voice of the third standing between them. In contemporary usage that must have become current in Soviet times, *chaqrim* is used interchangeably with kilometer.]

told me: "In the morning I found official documents (*menovoi kăgazläre*) in the field." When I looked at them, it turned out to be my passport from my chest pocket. There were other papers, /80b/ and some money. I checked my pocket and realized that it had been split by knife. In another pocket I had fifteen rubles of gold (*15 sumliq ber altinim*). I was happy that these and the passport had remained. The next day we went again to the market, they sold the cattle and in the evening, once the vehicles came back, we departed. We spent another night on the way and then arrived at my home village of Isenbay. Everybody came to me and cried: "Oh wow (*oy-boy*), how did you travel?" They asked me: "Is the mullah alright? Is *abistay*<sup>282</sup> alright?" People who did not know me asked the others: "Who is this *nughay*<sup>283</sup> kid?" They replied: "He is the son of our Sari mullah." The Kazakhs called my father Sari mullah, after the yellow color of his hair. This was my second visit to the village. I spent one or two months there and then for a week visited the famous (*ma'lum*) 'Ubaydullah hazrat [residing] on the mountain in Yalpaqtal, located 60 km away. In early September I returned to Istärlibash. [The Kazakhs] gave me some money for the trip as well as a bit for my father. This way I returned with fifty to sixty rubles in my pocket.

Upon arrival I entered the madrasa, because my fellow students had already started. This is how I studied that winter. Every spring I would continue my old habit of selling lemons with the horse until fall, and collecting eggs from villages. This is how I would do things. In summer 1901 I went again to Kazakhstan, to Isenbay village and Yalpaqtal. In July 1903 I went to Isenbay again. My idea was to go to Istanbul, Mecca and Medina. I wanted to find a way to accomplish this and went to Yalpaqtal again. After spending several days with 'Ubaydullah hazrat I shared my idea with him. I said: "If you help me, I will go to study in Medina. If there are Kazakhs going to hajj and you tell them, I would serve them just to be able to go." Hazrat did not object and only said: "Alright, let us see." For a while I had to stay there. When late September approached, hazrat's son Hidayatullah and several Kazakh students had to go to Qarghali to study. /81a/

I decided to return with them as far as Samara (*Samar*) and then go to Ufa, while they would go to Orenburg. One day hazrat said: "Alright, ask permission from your parents, get an international passport (*zaganichni pashpurt*) and come here by the end of Ramadan (*rüzä*)." After the holiday, the hajjis had to set off [for pilgrimage]. Hence, together with these companions (*iptäshlärem*),

282 [Mullah and *abistay* here refer to al-Qadiri's parents.]

283 [At least during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *nughay* functioned as a common way to refer to Tatars among the Central Asian peoples, including Kazakhs.]

I bought tickets from Aleksandrov Gay to Saratov. From Saratov we bought the second class steamboat tickets to Samara for four rubles and five kopeks. In Samara I told my companions: "Let us go to Kazan together! I will also go to Istanbul, seeing Kazan would be a memorable thing (*ber tarikhi esh*)." They agreed, left the excess luggage in the steamboat offices and the same day went to Kazan on a steamboat. Once in Kazan, over several days we visited the sights, then I saw them off to Samara and took the Kalinski steamboat to Ufa. At Chalmali station (*pristin*) on the Idel River I disembarked to visit Qaramali, the village of my father, 70 km away. The reason was that I had to get my international passport from this Qaramali district (*volos*). I felt at home there. From the district and *stanovoi nachal'nik* police (*militsia*) I took a letter (*spravka*) to obtain an international passport from the governor (*gubernator*) to study abroad. Then I went on to Mänzälä town, because I belonged to that district. The next day, after getting a letter from the official (*ispravnik*) in Mänzälä, I headed back to Ufa. There I submitted my appeal (*ariza*) to the governor and had to pay fifteen rubles. The next day I got a passport valid for six months. It was November 4, 1904.

Then I returned to Istärlibash. There I approached my parents: "With your permission, I would go to study in Medina the Radiant." They replied in one voice: "We agree that you may go to study. May God help us! How will you go there?" I said: "Here, I got an international passport for six months. 'Ubaydullah hazrat from Yalpaqтал told me to get permission from my parents, obtain a passport and then accompany the Kazakh pilgrims, serving them on the way and acting as translator, since they do not know Russian. My intention is to follow this plan." /81b/

I had some money in my pocket. My brothers also helped me by selling a horse for forty-five rubles. This way I began my trip in early December, during the month of Ramadan. My father and his brother-in-law (*zhiznämez*) Niyaz 'Ali arranged for two horses to escort me to Shafran station. We spent a night with Sulayman agha Kireev in Mindän village and in the morning headed to Shafran. From that village it was 6 km away. After getting a ticket to Aleksandrov Gay station I took the train (*poezd*) on the same day. Once the train started to move, my father rushed to me and prayed for me, crying. My God cover him with mercy. Amen. I had fifty-five rubles with me and went with full reliance on God.

Via Penza and Saratov I arrived at Aleksandrov Gay. That year was during the Russo-Japanese war and hence there were many soldiers on the way, it was very crowded. From Aleksandrov Gay I traveled 90 km to Yalpaqтал. It was around 20 Ramadan when I arrived at hazrat's home and explained my situation to him (*häl-ähwal*). He said: "Right. Some time ago, one elderly Kazakh



gave us 300 rubles with a request that someone perform a hajj on his behalf, but no one agreed, because of the small sum. Since you are going to study, I decided to give you this money despite the amount. If we return from hajj safely, you will give these Kazakh children the hajj diploma (*shahadat nama*). This year I will give you 125 rubles, it will be enough for everything. Since you will spend several years there, I will give you the same amount next year. You may lose it on the way, therefore I give you less.”

I became acquainted with the pilgrims I intended to join. They confirmed: “Yes, we will go together. We will set off after the holiday prayer (*rüzä gaet*).” At that time, ‘Abd al-Majid *qari*<sup>284</sup> b. Habibullah mullah Iskhaqov from Qaramali village on the Örsħäqbash [River] performed the recitation of the Qur’an. During the last ten days of Ramadan, mullahs and elderly people would stay in the mosque. Without going home, they would eat, drink and sleep at the mosque. In religious fashion (*din räseme buencha*) this would be considered to be the prophetic tradition called *i’tikaf*.

/82a/

Since we were hazrat’s guests, together with this namesake *qari* we were invited to break our fast with the wealthy of the city, because hazrat could not leave the mosque. The namesake *qari* was very dignified (*abruyli*): he wore an otter fur coat, a downy wrap about his neck, and an extremely white turban (*chalma*); meanwhile I looked like a village fellow: I had bad shoes on and an old hat. We would go together in a good car belonging to one of the wealthy. This *qari* efendi would breathe hard as we went (*posh-posh kilep*) and I would sit next to him. Then the Night of Power (*qadar kichäse*) came on 27 Ramadan, and on that day, *qari* finished reciting the Qur’an. On that night a lot of people would attend the *tarawih* prayer, because of the Qur’an recitation (*khatm*) and the Night of Power. After the prayer, people would give alms to the *qari*, the mullah, the mu’adhdhin, and the invalid elderly. [Hazrat advised me], hoping that I would get some support: “Come to *tarawih* earlier and try to sit closer. I will encourage people to give a bit of help to a student going abroad, that would help you a little.” I got some money.

The next morning, the namesake *qari* was overcome with horror: “What a shameless guy! He does not shy away from sitting together with hazrats!” I had collected some twenty rubles, but when my namesake asked people how much I earned, I spread a rumor to scare him that I got fifty rubles. He became extremely terrified after hearing this.

284 [Qari is an honorific title for a Qur’an specialist who has mastered the recitation of the Qur’an.]

Ramadan had ended and the holiday had passed, and my Kazakh fellow travelers came to celebrate too. We had to go after the holiday. I still had to see hazrat. When I was waiting for money, a small boy approached hazrat with a note (*zapiska*). He read it and his mood became bad. He kept standing up and sitting down again saying angrily [addressing my namesake]: “What is your business, if you do not know who raised you!” Of course, he did not pay attention to [*qar*’s] words, saying: “Do I ask him? Don’t I know who he is?” Then he gave me 125 rubles and we left the house. I also got offended by this jealousy (*hosudlek*) and then prayed, crying: “Oh God, may I safely go to Medina the Radiant, memorize the entire Qur’an and return to perform recitation at this mosque.” /82b/

And it turned out as I envisaged. People say rightly that if you cry, tears drop even from a blind eye. As God says in the Book: “And when My servants question thee concerning Me – I am near to answer the call of the caller, when he calls to Me; so let them respond to Me, and let them believe in Me; haply so they will go aright.”<sup>285</sup>

This way my fellow pilgrims took me with them to the village.

### A Trip to Medina the Radiant

One of the pilgrims’ villages was located on Aq Qul, 8 km from Yalpaqta. That pilgrim’s name was Timerali. We spent that night there. In the evening he slaughtered a sheep and invited the neighboring relatives to join for a party. He made his farewells to them and saw them off. Each of these visitors helped Timerali agha. Next morning we departed from there and went to the village of the second companion. There we spent another night. In the same manner we said goodbye to the relatives and recited Qur’an to the dead at the cemetery, and then departed. This [fellow] was named Kilesh. On the third day, another companion named Batir mullah joined us and we spent a night at my home village of Isenbay. The next day, together with five or six Kazakh pilgrims, we set off for Almalı station or Aleksandrov Gay, which is 45 km from there. Here, some other Kazakh pilgrims joined us. Together we bought third class tickets and went to Sevastopol (*Chivastapul*). Saying “May we have a safe trip,” we arrived in Sevastopol via Saratov and Kharkov. In the carriage (*vagon*), I served

285 وَإِذَا سَأَلَكَ عِبَادِي عَنِّي فَإِنِّي قَرِيبٌ أُجِيبُ دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِ إِذَا دَعَانِ فَلْيَسْتَجِيبُوا لِي وَلْيُؤْمِنُوا  
بِي لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ [Q 2:186.]

these Kazakhs with drinks and *qurut* on a plate. I would wake up early to prepare *qurut*. We were traveling in a special carriage, reserved only for pilgrims. This was in December. The days were cold. We spent five [days] in Sevastopol. My passport went through registration. Once the steamboat became full of pilgrims, it departed. It was a special steamboat for pilgrims that belonged to a Russian society and bore the name *Tsaritsa*. /83a/

The third class tickets from Sevastopol to Jeddah cost 105 rubles; 55 rubles one way. Of course, since we were only intending to study, this caused difficulties. We were not rich hajjis. Therefore, several students appealed to the steamboat office: "We are not hajjis, we are going to study. Can we get a ticket for free?" In those days, students with a document (*shahadat nama*) would get tickets with 50 percent discount. We received the following answer from the office: "You are students and therefore get a 50 percent discount, not for free. You will enter the steamboat only after all the hajjis take their places." This way they gave us the tickets to Jeddah just for twenty-seven rubles. They let us on the steamboat after checking the passports. That was around ten in the evening. There I got acquainted with a fellow named Iskander Mannanov from Băldănke village of Kuznetski district, and he joined me for food. This Mannanov was going to study in Egypt, funded by the Diberdeev merchants (*fabrikant*). He was a Qur'an specialist (*hafiz*). Previously he had studied at 'Alimdjan hazrat's madrasa in Kazan.<sup>286</sup>

We headed to Istanbul by sea from Sevastopol at around 12 p.m. There were some 700 Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Qyrym and Bashkort people. On our steamboat, my fellow Kazakh pilgrims did not leave me in peace. I was on the third deck and they were on the first. They started to make demands every minute: prepare the *qurut*, cook the food, boil the tea. I decided that the only option was to leave them. That was only the first day and it took fifteen days to Jeddah. I thought that in Istanbul they would also not let me see the places that I wanted to, and I told them: "Please let me go and not serve you any longer. If I go to see the city in Istanbul, there will be no one to prepare food and tea for you and you will be offended. This is the holy trip, on hajj one should not offend the other. We will have a long journey. Yours is to eat and drink day and night, mine is to travel the cities. This is why we have to part." They agreed among themselves that I would find my way, and let me go. /83b/

We traveled one day by sea and on the third day entered the Bosphorus, and some of the buildings of Istanbul became visible. All the hajjis went out on the deck and shouted happily: "Look, there is Istanbul!" Our steamboat became

<sup>286</sup> ['Alimdjan al-Barudi (1857-1921) was a prominent religious figure and director of the Muhammadiyya madrasa.]

decorated with different flags and moved slowly, greeting the [Ottoman] authorities and waving a special green flag of hajjis. A tug took our steamboat to the pier, because there was a danger of collision due to the great number of steamboats in the Bosphorus. So our steamboat switched off the engine and followed the tug. In the Bosphorus the Turkish officials (*nachal'nik*) entered the steamboat and, after examining it, allowed it to enter the city. Then we stopped near the city. A lot of people in red fezzes surrounded our steamboat near the sea. Some of them cried: "How many hajjis are there?" while others asked: "Are there any Kazakhs and Uzbeks?" Someone replied that there were 700 hajjis on the boat. After that the boat captain made an announcement for hajjis: "We will stay in Istanbul for five days. Do not take your luggage off. In the morning you can go to the city and come back in the evening to spend the night."

Turkish police near the boat, with a crescent flag, brought the people on the ship directly to the customs office. Here they took our passports and let us go into the city. Everybody started to look for people they knew. Hajjis would be taken by higher ranking people. This is how I parted from my Kazakhs. I went out together with Iskander Mannanov whom I had met at Sevastopol. He asked: "Where shall we go?" And I replied: "My friends (*iptäshlär*) who arrived a month earlier must be here. I have to find them by the address. I also have to find our former village neighbor named 'Abdullah." In our village people gave this 'Abdullah b. Ahmadi a nickname (*laqab*): Pugach. This 'Abdullah hajji resettled (*hijret qilib*) in Istanbul in 1895. His wife Sa'ida b. 'Ubaydullah Sharipov was also our village neighbor. My fellow traveler told me: "I will also look for an acquaintance, because he must receive a transfer of 1,000 rubles from our village." /84a/ We agreed to part there and see each other the next day at a specific time and place. Whoever came first should wait for the other.

I had studied in Istärlibash with Kamal al-Din b. 'Alam al-Din from Kärkäle village near Istärlibash, who [now lived] in the Chenberle tash *mahalla*. 'Ayd Muhammad b. Mir 'Ali Akhmerov was another friend of mine with whom I had studied in Istärlibash in childhood. I found them [in Istanbul] and spent the night at theirs. In the morning we went out to the city; Mannanov also came to the agreed place. Since I was dressed in a Tatar way, poor people on the street asked me for alms: "*Hajji*, give me (*vir*) [alms]." They were everywhere and I was forced to dress as a local. In a shop I dressed in coat (*palto*), boots (*shtiblet*) for my feet, red fez and a tie and left my former clothing with the shop owner till the night. Now I had become a European (*yavrupis*) and no one would ask me: "Hey, *hajji*, give me [alms]."

Now, together with my companions, we went to see the city. First we took a bath. After that we went to see the Hagia Sophia mosque and some other must-see (*tieshle*) places. In the evening we agreed to stay in a small *lokanto*

[hotel]; or, in our language, *gostinitsa*. The next day was Friday and we went to the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid mosque, known as Yulduz Saray, to perform the Friday prayer. We went there and waited for the Friday prayer. Most of the mosque grounds were surrounded by soldiers. We stayed outside the barrier. There were also several thousand hajjis and other people. No one was allowed to enter the mosque before the Sultan had finished the Friday prayer and left the mosque. Once it was time, the Sultan entered the mosque together with his guards and pashas (ministers). After the Friday prayer, they left. The guarding soldiers, division after division, started to leave to the accompaniment of brass music (*dukhavay muziqalari*).

Now we were allowed to enter and perform the prayer. We entered. The Sultan had his own entry with lots of stairs leading up. There, upstairs, he had a separate room where he prayed with his ministers. /84b/ After the Friday prayer we had dinner in an *ashkhana*, then I had to find the aforementioned 'Abdullah hajji, and then I had to see 'Abd al-Rashid efendi who had migrated (*muhajir bulub*) to Istanbul many years ago. This efendi was from Chobar village on the Mällä River in Bugulma district, which is 20 km from Qaramali village, the home village of my father. At times, when coming back to Russia to visit his relatives, he would stay with us in Istärlibash. I wanted to see this person, because he was among the closest contemporaries (*zamandash*) of my deceased father. I agreed with my companions that I would go there and we would see each other in the evening at such-and-such a place. I had to see 'Abdullah efendi, since he was our dear neighbor (*ut kürshese*). Besides that, when we descended from the steamboat the captain announced that we needed to prepare food for the 13-day trip to Jeddah. Since I did not know what to prepare for an overseas journey, I needed to ask 'Abdullah efendi for advice. After the meeting with him I returned to my companions. I told my traveling companion Iskander Mannanov: "This is my brother (*hämshir*), he will prepare the stuff for our journey." He agreed, gave [me] some money and said: "Now you take care of it." Then 'Abdullah efendi and I went to the Bal Qapal market and started to buy all we needed: bread, cheese (*päynir; sir*), crops, dried bread (*sukhari*), a grill to prepare food, coal, and tea. Then we ordered two vehicles to bring it to the boat. We brought everything on board using a wherry. We had to go (*gedecek*) in the morning. My companion 'Ayd Muhammad Akhmerov decided to come along and joined us on the steamboat. Several Tatars going to study also joined us. They had moved to Istanbul in their youth (*burzaq*). One of them, Mir 'Ali Shir, was from Chuqmarli village close to Timitiq village on the İq River in Belebey district. The second, Harith Zahidov from Qaderle village in Sarapul district, studied at the Bubi [madrasa]. The third, Diya' Rahmanqulov, studied with Ahmad Latif hazrat in Orsk; he was from Stavropol district. The

six of us shared food with each other and went together from Istanbul. May our journey be good. Amen.

We entered the Marmara Sea, then passed the Dardanelles and proceeded into the White Sea. After spending several days in the White Sea we arrived at the city of Port Sa'id. From a high place at Port Sa'id, a projector shone light out to a distance of one day's travel. /85a/ Upon the arrival at Port Sa'id our fellow Iskander Mannanov had to go, because he was headed for Egypt. The Captain gave him a wherry and a sailor to disembark. We saw him off to the city of Port Sa'id. From there it took six hours on a train to get to Cairo. Our steamboat went on through the Suez Canal, constructed in Egypt at the time of Sa'id Pasha in 1869, thence the name of Port Sa'id. The Canal was 184 km long, 22-100 m wide and 8 m deep; now it must be even deeper. On the way the steamboat approached the Isma'iliyya lake and stopped there, because that day (*bugen*), December 25, it was the Russian holiday of Rozhdestvo. Here, the captain and sailors celebrated for a day. Since it was very hot, we asked the captain to allow us to swim. He let down a wherry, where we took our clothes off and swam. The next day, we departed and reached the city of Suez. The blessed waters of the Nile River flowed from Egypt to the canal. The steamboat stopped for a couple of hours to collect drinking water. Arabs brought it on wherries and then via a water pump to the steamboat. Once the water was ready, we headed to the Red Sea.

That day on the steamboat I met Sayyid 'Abdullah Jafri, a relative of sharifs in Mecca and a student at Istanbul University, who was on his way home for vacation (*qaniqu*). We traveled together, laughing and joking. Sayyid 'Abdullah was a handsome person with blackish hair, [dressed] in a European way with a tie.

A couple of days later our steamboat approached the Yanbu' port and stopped 100 m (*tayaq*) before it. Yanbu' port leads directly to Medina the Radiant. From there it took five days of travel on camel to Medina. Those hajjis who went to Medina before the [actual] hajj left here, while hajjis traveling to Jeddah, as well as us, went on. In Yanbu', Arab children swam to the steamboat and shouted, asking for alms: "Hey, hajji, give me [alms]!" They gathered like a flock and spent the whole day with their feet in the water, crying: "Hey, hajji, give me [alms]! *Allah salamat! Mämläkät salamat!*" /85b/

The poor hajjis found it entertaining to throw ten- or twenty-kopek coins into the water so that they dropped there and the people would pick them up, show them around and put the money in their mouth. They searched for coins in the water with open eyes! How did their eyes manage that, given that the seawater was salty and bitter, impossible to take into the mouth, yet they searched for coins with their eyes open? Once their mouths became full of money, one by one they got out of the water and returned to their villages.

The next day, we started again for Jeddah. In a day's time, Jeddah started to be visible. At the gates of the city we saw the remnants of the masts of crushed boats. The reason is that the sea has a lot of rocks, covered by water that is only one meter deep. The steamboat navigated carefully, weaving between the rocks, but that could not go on for long. The steamboat stopped at a distance of 5 km from the city, waving its flags. After that, the Arabs approached the boat and the officials checked it and allowed it to enter. They invited the hajjis and started to take our belongings to the wherries. Each wherry had capacity for more than fifteen to twenty people and thus all of us fitted at once. I thought that we were going to Jeddah, but they brought us to an island and ordered: "Hey hajjis, disembark!" The Arabs started to check us. This place turned out to be a quarantine spot. They took off our ihram clothes, sent us for disinfection and then left us undressed in a place surrounded by a metal barrier. Like sheep, we were gathered in groups of 100 in each room, without clothing, watching through the metal curtain. The day was very hot. Once our clothes were returned from the dryer (*paravay*), the same Arabs took us on wherries to the city. This time around four or five o'clock we were standing on our wherries at the doors of the customs house (*tamuzhnä sarayı*). Every nation (*millät*) has its own representative (*dälil*). They took the documents, i.e. passports of all of us, Qazanli, Uzbek, and Kazakh, and had us registered by writing down the name, surname, and the passport number. After that they separated us, the Tatars, and placed us in a four floor house with twenty to thirty people in each room. /86a/ They told us: "Today you stay here. Tomorrow the caravan camels will be ready to go to Mecca and you will also get your passports back." After that we went out to the city and had some tea and coffee at the coffee house; in short, we had something to eat.

Several people close to the Mecca sharifs came to welcome 'Abdullah al-Jafri, whom I met during the journey, with good donkeys. 'Abdullah approached me and said: "If you want, you can take a donkey and we go together." I replied: "Thank you for your kindness. If God allows and I will be safe, I will go with a morning caravan," and then saw him off. God knows it, but our representatives (*dälilläremez*) brought us to the shrine (*ziyarat*) of our mother hazrat-i Hawwa. Jeddah in Arabic means grandmother (*äbi*).

The next morning the caravan camels were already present, making a lot of noise, in front of our apartment. Representatives appeared right there and ordered: "Every person should show their passport, tie their belongings onto a camel and then mount it." They also collected the appropriate travel fee. At around 3 p.m. we departed from Jeddah the Blessed to Mecca. Every one of us had an ihram on, because already in the sea we had performed the intention (*niyat qilib*) for hajj.

It was 60 km from Jeddah to Mecca. We departed from the brick gates.

All along the way the Arab children prepared water and we would go to tea and coffee houses. The day was hot. Between the mountains, from one mountain to another, the Turkish soldiers sent signals following the caravan. Their tents were on the top of the mountain. At the time, these lands were in Turkish possession. Halfway, we spent a night in a place called Bahira. The next day at around six o'clock we arrived at Mecca, all praise to the Lord of the worlds. Here we were welcomed by Kazan representatives (*qazanlı дәлilләр*). I told them: "If possible, I would stay at the house of Najm al-Din efendi." He [the representative] replied: "Very good," and brought me there. It was a three-story stone house. Our rich people from Russia (*Rusiya bayları*) erected it for visiting students and poor hajjis who would stay there for no fee. This Najm al-Din efendi was made a chief (*mudir*) there and hence [the place] was known as the guesthouse (*tekie*) of Najm al-Din efendi Qazanlı.

The six of us ended up in a single room. There was a Qur'an specialist, who stayed there for six or eight years, Farah al-Din efendi. He had been sent to study by the noble Hakimov family of Ufa. He was himself from Turay village in Belebey district. In the 1910s he came back to serve as an imam in Turay village. May God cover him with His mercy. At the time of the Great Russian Revolution (*olugh Rusiya inqilabi*) he was senselessly murdered by the revolutionaries, simply because he was a mullah. May God count him among the forgiven servants of God and among the martyrs of the religion (*din shāhidläre*).

/86b/ We performed the *ikende* and *akhsham* prayers at home and, when the time of *yastu* approached, a representative arrived and took us to the Ka'ba to perform *tawaf*. Inside Haram Sharif, in front of the Ka'ba, hundreds of thousands of people performed the *yastu* prayer. We also prayed following the imam, then performed the *tawaf*, ran between Safa and Marwah and, thus completing all the duties for the day, returned. Since we had arrived early, there was still a month before going up to 'Arafat. Every day, thousands of Muslims were arriving from around the world. We also met with fellow students (*hämshiri shäkertlär*) who arrived from Medina the Radiant.

The days of hajj and going up to 'Arafat approached. Still the month was not wasted: hajjis bought thirteen to twenty meters of white material called *käfenlek* and Zamzam water. They took several hundreds of bottles of Zamzam water. I took this *käfenlek* material and brought the Zamzam water in a bucket and then sold fifteen to twenty pieces of *käfenlek* and several hundred bottles (called *sahra*) of the Zamzam water to Kazakh hajjis. One piece of *käfenlek* costs one-and-a-half rubles and one bottle of Zamzam costs three rubles. This way I made some money to cover the trip expenses.

On the day before going up to 'Arafat I became very ill. People said: "It's because of the weather." Indeed, my temperature was thirty-nine to forty



degrees. My condition was very bad. There was no way to miss the 'Arafat visit, because without it one cannot be considered a hajji. Nobody stays at home. If I stayed, there would be no one to even give me water. Now, what to do. My companions told me: "Let it be. If you die, you die in our hands and we bury you. If God allows, you will get better," and decided to take me to 'Arafat. They said: "Whatever, we cannot leave you anyway. We will take a donkey and in pairs will support you from two sides." Relying on God, we did as my companions suggested.

My condition was very bad. We were supposed to spend a night in Mina with its tents, tea houses and canteens and then go to 'Arafat in the morning. So we went there, I was lying with no clothes on except for ihram. Thanks be to God, in the night I had loose stools, black like tar. After that my temperature went down and I opened my eyes. In the morning with the help of my companions I managed to go up to the 'Arafat mountain. Day after day my condition got better. After staying there in the evening we slept in a place called Muzdalifah. In the morning at sunrise we went to Mina. The movement of several thousands of hajjis and governmental hajj officials was accompanied in several places by music (*dukhavay muziqalari*) from Turkey, Egypt, and Iran. Several minutes afterwards, they shot a cannon. /87a/

We arrived at Mina. On the day of the Sacrifice festival (*qorban 'aydi*) at sunrise we saw a small city between the two high mountains. People say that this is the place where Ibrahim the Prophet intended to slaughter his son Isma'il with the words: "I slaughter you." There was a post office (*puchta*), telegraph office, and shops in the city. With regard to the hajj rituals, there was a place called *hajar 'uqba* for throwing the stones. We threw the stones, slaughtered a sheep, cut our hair, and changed from ihram into our clothes. From this place it was 6 km to Mecca. We obtained a donkey, then performed the obligatory rite of *tawaf* at the Ka'ba and returned to Mina, where we spent the next two nights. At that time, there were very few people in Mecca and the Ka'ba was covered with material (*pärdä*). Since its doors were open, we seized the opportunity, entered the Ka'ba and performed two *raka'at* of supererogatory (*nafl*) prayer. They do not open the doors at other times.

Two days later, all the hajjis returned from Mina to their apartments in Mecca. Now we prepared to leave for Medina the Radiant. This way we had fulfilled the obligation of hajj, praise be to God.

Now was the time for *'umra hajj*, i.e. a supererogatory pilgrimage intended on behalf of our parents and others who could not join us. At a distance of 5 km from Mecca there was a mosque called Tan'im. We went there on a donkey, performed the intention, dressed in ihram, then prayed two *raka'at* of ihram prayer. We prayed for the souls of those on behalf of whom we performed the

hajj, for example our father so-and-so, the son of so-and-so. Then we returned to Mecca, performed the *tawaf* at the Ka'ba seven times, ran between Safa and Marwah seven times, then cut our hair and thus completed the supererogatory pilgrimage called *'umra hajj*. It is possible to do it four or five times a day, a return trip on a donkey costs eighty kopeks or one ruble. To perform this pilgrimage the hajjis take from five to twenty-five rubles, depending on the person. This way we made 100 rubles in a week.

Now we had to go from Mecca to Medina. We decided to take a steamboat via Jeddah to Yanbu' and then to Medina, because it is easier than by caravan, which would take twelve days on a donkey with the need to sleep in the desert. Sometimes it is impossible to find water on the way. Taking that into consideration, we agreed to go that way [on the steamboat]. We loaded our stuff on the camels of our acquaintances (*tanish*) who headed to Jeddah and moved further on foot, since it was expensive for us to take a camel from the city. We thought that we would take cheaper camels outside of the city and thus followed the caravan. Some distance away from the city /87b/ we encountered the available camels. We asked the price and it turned out to be too high. Alright, we thought, there will be more, and continued the journey on foot. We were walking and walking, but no more camels appeared; meanwhile the journey was difficult and the day was hot. The bottoms of our shoes were full of sand that stuck to our feet, and at every step our feet would slip out of our shoes. My companions were mocking me: "You told us before that there would be a lot of cheap camels!" I did not answer them, going on without uttering a word (*kütemne qışip*). This way, hoping to get the cheap camels, we arrived at the overnight stop. My legs were bleeding. People rightly say that sometimes searching for cheap ends up being expensive. That is true: if you have money, save your life.

The next day, we took the camels, reached Jeddah and safely took our belongings from the hajjis. After a day or two we took the steamboat and headed for Yanbu'. That was one day's travel. The next day, we arrived and moved to the apartments. There we had to spend four to five days, waiting for more people to gather in the caravan. Water was quite precious and expensive. In the caravan, we put a camel loaded with around one bucket of water that we bought for one golden coin (*altin*), but even that was collected rainwater.

One day they announced that tomorrow the caravan would depart for Medina. We rushed to the payment office to buy the tickets, then collected our bedding and came to the places where camels stayed. From there it was five days of travel to Medina the Radiant. This way, we five friends (*râfiqläremez*) headed for Medina.

On the fifth day at around 3 p.m., we arrived at Medina the Radiant. Ten *chaqrim* away from there, there is a mountain called Jabal al-Mufrihat. We ran there and saw Quba Sa'ada. Without mounting camels, several of us fellows ran before the caravan. Arriving one hour before the caravan, we went to a tea house and drank there. Then the caravan arrived. The migrant (*muhajir*) Qurban 'Ali efendi from Mindän village near Shafran station, whom we met in Mecca, welcomed us. Our companions also arrived. He [Qurban 'Ali efendi] ordered a porter to take our belongings up and invited 'Ayd Muhammad Akhmerov and myself to his apartment (*fatir*). May God cover him with His mercy. He was a good person. After drinking tea and suchlike, we did our ablutions and moved to the grave (*türbä-yi shäriif*) of the Prophet. Entering through the gates called Bab al-Salam, reciting the blessings and the Qur'anic verse "My Lord, lead me in with a just ingoing, and lead me out with a just outgoing; grant me authority from Thee, to help me,"<sup>287</sup> we stopped at the Muwajja Sa'ada. I nearly lost consciousness (*hushim kitä yazdi*) when I thought where (*qanday yirdä*) I actually stood. Oh God, You have allowed a servant to visit this place! I thanked God many, many times. After praying on my feet with hands uplifted, /88a/ I asked for prophetic intercession on the Day of Judgement (*shafa'at*) for myself, my parents, and all the Muslims. May God accept it. Then I prayed for the souls of hazrat-i Abu Bakr, hazrat-i 'Umar, may God be satisfied with them, and hazrat-i Fatima, may God be satisfied with her. There are four graves (*qaber*) inside of this *hujra sa'ada*. It is located in a corner of the Great mosque of Medina called Haram Sharif. People also call that place Rawza-yi Mutahhara. This Haram Sharif is richly decorated with several hundred stone columns. Every fourth column has a dome (*quba*). From inside, [the building] looks like a boiler (*qazan*). It is anointed inside with the best oil and contains inscriptions of various Qur'anic verses. An entire book praising the Prophet, *Amin tazakkur*,<sup>288</sup> is inscribed in circles inside the domes. The columns bear information on how many times [the building] has been enlarged since the time of the Prophet and during whose reign. Half of Haram Sharif is closed this way, the other half is open. The floors in the closed part are covered in marble, the bases of the columns are plated with copper. The floors in the open side are sand, there is nothing else. There is a spring inside, called the spring of hazrat-i

287 رَبِّ اَدْخِلْنِيْ مُدْخَلَ صِدْقٍ وَّاَخْرِجْنِيْ مَخْرَجَ صِدْقٍ وَّاجْعَلْ لِّيْ مِنْ لَّدُنْكَ سُلْطٰنًا نَّصِيْرًا  
Q 17: 80.]

288 [The book *Qasida al-Burda* is attributed to Muhammad al-Busiri (1213-1295). This work had been in circulation among the Muslims of Inner Russia since at least the early eighteenth century].

Fatima. There are seventy to eighty very expensive lamps of white and red glass in huge candelabras as well as in leaf-like bronze, five in a row. But the best is the Bukharan silk carpets used as the prayer rug, richly decorated and inspiring for people. The chief (*istarshinä*) from Chatirdan village on the banks of the Ashqadar [River], named Almagol, recounted after his visit to Haram Sharif Nabawi during the pilgrimage: "I visited the palace (*dvorets*) of Tsar Nicholas and was deeply impressed (*isem kitkän ide*). That mosque is even more beautiful." Haram Sharif has five doors called Bab al-Salam, Bab al-Rahma, Bab al-Majidi, Bab al-Nisa', and Bab Jibra'il, and five minarets. Women come for five prayers, for festivals, and on Fridays. They were given a room in the mosque separated by a grille. Women enter via Bab al-Nisa' and exit from there. The mosque closes its doors after the *yastu* prayer. Nobody is allowed to stay there, except for the so-called haram seniors (*haram aghalari*), i.e. castrated black Ethiopians who watch over (*qaraul bulip*) the mosque at night. I have a lot to write about Haram Sharif, but let us leave here and move to another topic.

Now it was time to arrange [my] studies. It did not seem like I would find a room ready in the monthly (*ayliqlit*) madrasas. Still, with the hope of getting a [permanent] place in a couple of days, I rented a place at a non-monthly (*ayliqsiz*) madrasa with an intention to find a suitable room with no rush, [as suggested by] the late 'Ubaydullah efendi from Qarghali. /88b/ I rented a *hujra*, i.e. a room, in Thardat madrasa. I thought that it was better to have a room than to miss out on it.

I visited those places in Medina that must be seen, such as the Quba mosque, the shrine of hazrat-i Hamza near the Uhud mountain, and other places. One day, 'Ubaydullah efendi told me: "There was a person from Kazan (*ber qazanli*) called Badr al-Din, the son of Iskhaq mullah from Qarghali, together with whom I studied. Tomorrow at 9 a.m. come to my place, we will try to ask the madrasa's director for his place for you." That was a madrasa located inside Haram Sharif on the left of the Bab al-Salam gates (*qapisi*), called the madrasa of Bashir agha, in front of the Muhammadiyya madrasa. On the left of that gate at the time of the Prophet's companions there was supposedly a house of Marwan the companion. Two centuries ago, the person called Bashir agha served at the palace of Turkish caliphs in Istanbul. For some reason, he was exiled to Medina the Radiant, but then returned to Istanbul and died there. His grave is located near the mosque of Ayyub al-Ansari. There is a stone with an inscription. Due to this person, I benefited from three years of studies. May he be in God's mercy. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good then increase his good fortune.

We went to Bashir agha madrasa and met its director and teacher 'Arif khwaja in his room. I asked: "Can you give me a room at your madrasa?" He replied: "No, we have no room in our madrasa at the moment." I begged his

pardon, kissed his hand, and went out completely disappointed (*bik ma'yus häldä*). The next day, my friend (*hämshir*) 'Ubaydullah efendi told me: "Come tomorrow morning, we will ask the director again," because he knew that there was a room. Next time I went there, 'Arif khwaja was drinking tea in 'Ubaydullah efendi's room. He asked: "What's new, my son? (*ne var, ävldem*)" I asked him: "I came to you again to ask for a room for myself." He started to ask 'Ubaydullah: "Was he a good student in Kazan?" 'Ubaydullah praised me, saying: "A very good person." Then the director asked me: "What did you study in Kazan? Did you study grammar and syntax?" I replied: "Yes (*evet*), I did," and then cited the following: *الكلمة لفظ وضع لمعنى مفرد*.<sup>289</sup> Then he asked further: "What would you say about the difference in a sentence between the article for kind (*jins*) and singularity (*wahdat*)?" I replied: "If we take *wahdiyat jins* from the *jins* of the article and put the *wahdat jins*, even in that case the article will stay in its place." Then he ordered to 'Ubaydullah: "Give him a room and a key. This is not a permanent (*ayliq*) place, you will stay for a while as a candidate waiting for a free room." Not even a month had passed, when one student departed and I moved to a room on the second floor. /89a/

Now it was time to start my studies, relying only on God. In the morning, before the first lesson at the madrasa endowment, we had to commit a prayer of half an hour to the soul of its donor, Bashir agha. This lesson was obligatory for students residing in the madrasa. The aforementioned 'Arif khwaja taught that lesson.

Secondly, we started to study the Maliki madhhab of Maghrib and Tunis with Shaykh 'Umar efendi. All my fellow students know him. We studied al-faqih ibn Malik for grammar,<sup>290</sup> Qur'an commentary by Jalalayn,<sup>291</sup> *Miftah al-'ulum*<sup>292</sup> and other disciplines at his home, because it was very crowded at Haram Sharif and it was more convenient to study at home.

In addition to that, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Trablusi was our teacher. We studied *Sahih al-Bukhari* at his home. Then we studied *Bayan ma'an* with 'Aysa khwaja Shirwani, principles of Islamic law with Shaykh Husayn Hindi, *Dala'il al-khayrat* and books of hadith chains with Shaykh Ridwan, may God cover him with His mercy. With Shaykh Fatih we studied a bit of *Hadith arba'in*. This way we slowly spent a year studying until the month of Rajab, when the so-called Rajabiya started, i.e. the vacation, because at that time the tribal Arabs

289 [This is the first sentence of the grammatical treatise *al-Kafya fi-l-nahw* by Ibn al-Hajib.]

290 [The book meant here is *Alfya* by Ibn Malik.]

291 [The Qur'an commentary by Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli and his student Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti is meant here.]

292 [The book meant here is *Talkhis al-miftah* by al-Taftazani.]

(*qaba'il 'arab*) from regions of Arabia visit the grave of the Prophet. Therefore, the city becomes very crowded and the classes stop for a month during the hajj.

We, the students, also went to hajj for a change of scene and to lighten our spirits. That year we had to go, because the first time one does pilgrimage it is done for others, and now I needed to do it for myself, since it is obligatory for everyone who is in Mecca, even if he is not rich. That year I performed the hajj. May God accept it, amen. All of the students, including my companion 'Ayd Muhammad and others, went to hajj either to perform *badal* hajj,<sup>293</sup> or to serve as translators on the way for rich hajjis. There were ways to cover the expenses. After performing the hajj safely, the second year of studies approached.

I had the idea of learning the Qur'an by heart, and to get guidance I relied only on God and came to the shrine of the Prophet, pronounced the prayers and performed the intention (*niyat qildim*). I started to learn the Qur'an from Muhammad Shukri b. Hafizi, a student of Hasan *qari* from Egypt, on condition that I paid one golden coin (*altin*) a month. Taking a page from each part of the Qur'an (*parä*) I started to memorize thirty pages every thirty days. This way I learned [the entire Qur'an] in eight months. Every day, I came to my teacher to check my recitation and he then recited the next parts for me. Once memorized, I practiced it for nine months. In total, I took seventeen months to complete it. I was surprised by myself, thanking God for His help and saying: "Is this a dream or reality?" At that time I was twenty-two. Besides this memorization, I continued two other classes every day. /89b/

Now the pilgrimage time approached again. We went on to hajj. I took 100 rubles (*sum*) to perform a *badal* hajj and headed together with my companions via Yanbu' and Jeddah and returned after completing the hajj rituals. I intended to recite the entire Qur'an during the *tarawih* prayers in the mosque of the Prophet in the upcoming Ramadan of 1324. Once Ramadan approached, I told the director of the Mosque of the Prophet that I wanted to recite the Qur'an, and he assigned me a place near Bab al-Salam, in the direction of qibla, not far from the Maliki *mihrab*. Starting from 1 Ramadan, for twenty-three days I had to prepare a part (*parä*) for recitation at the *tarawih* prayer. One has to repeat that part of the Qur'an the whole day long. One part of the Qur'an has to be recited for thirty days. Therefore, I was busy learning full time for these twenty-three days without paying attention to anything else. My fellow student Mir Sayyid Muzaffarov, a neighbor in the madrasa, memorized the Qur'an and went to perform the recitation together with me.

293 [Badal hajj refers to the practice of performing pilgrimage on behalf of someone else. Often this was done by young students for remuneration.]

We invited another student to prepare food for *iftar* and *suhur* and gave him the money required. He took care of us until the end of the *khatm* and ate together with us. This way, seven *qaris* started the recitation in the right-hand part (*on taraf*) of the mosque: the two of us, then a Kazakh named 'Ataullah *qari* who studied in Qarghalı with Khayrullah hazrat, then 'Asim efendi, the son of Badr al-Din *qari* from Mastaq village in Khvalin district of Penza governorate, then an Uzbek *qari* and two others whom I do not remember. This way we performed the *khatm*. The place of recitation was decorated in the evening with various lamps and carpets of good quality – that was done by the mosque administration. Our respected teachers, fellow students, and many other Arab and Turkish people came to the recitation evenings. After our teacher performed the *khatm* prayer (*khatm du'asi*), according to Medinan tradition, the people present would be given dates. For that purpose, the students brought several boxes (*kärzinkä*) to the mosque in advance. After the dates were given out and the prayer was performed once again, we left. May God accept it, amen. In Medina there is no tradition of giving alms to the reciters; on the contrary (*bi-l-'aks*), as written above, they give alms themselves. I hope that this recitation should be for the sake of God. I gave a golden coin to an Arab who stayed listening to me for the entire twenty-three *tarawih* prayers. Later, I invited my fellow students for a party. May that be for the sake of God, amen.

Now the time of the fourth hajj approached. Again, together with my companions, /90a/ I went to Mecca. As usual, we went safely via Yanbu' and Jeddah to perform *tawaf* at the Ka'ba. 'Abd al-Rahman efendi, the son of our late teacher Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith Tuqaev from our İstärlibash village, was a student there. We communicated with him as relatives (*tugannarcha*) and there was no end to our conversations. He also felt nostalgic. Unfortunately, cholera (*waba ränjuı*) spread in Mecca that year. We were greatly horrified, but still went there, relying on God's will. One day before going up to 'Arafat I returned from the *öylä* prayer together with 'Abd al-Rahman efendi. On the way, we decided to visit the hostel (*tekie*) of Najm al-Din, mentioned at some point above, to see Farah al-Din. He welcomed us cheerfully, saying: "Please come in, you are being praised [in the city]," and fed us with food that he prepared.

At that time, 'Abd al-Rahman and myself both stayed in Mecca at the house of the famous Shaykh Murad. Once we came back, poor 'Abd al-Rahman said, "I feel pain in my stomach." He became infected with cholera. He had diarrhea and did not know what to do. He cried: "Please take me to a doctor (*dukh-tur*)!" As quickly as possible we took him to visit a doctor, but failed to find one; what to do? People told us to go to a city doctor and we did so. He ordered us to take him to the hospital (*hastahanä*), but foreigners were not allowed there. We asked the doctor: "Please, this is a son of an important person (*ber*

*olugh adäm*), not a pilgrim, he came to study here. If possible, provide him a better place.” The doctor wrote a note to the hospital director. Together with my companion ‘Ayd Muhammad, I lifted him up again and took him to the place, which happened to be near a dump on the outskirts of Mecca. Here we saw hundreds of pilgrims lying in the sand. Many people of Indian, Afghan, Jawa, Uzbek, Kazakh and other nationalities were asking for water in Turkic, Arabic and Hindi. There was nobody to give them water. When someone died there, the Arab gravediggers would simply dig a hole and throw the body in there. We were shocked. There were also four or five tents with beds (*kravat*) inside. There, with the doctor’s note, they placed our brother (*hämshir*) ‘Abd al-Rahman.

He asked for water and we brought him a kettle from the teahouse. It was getting dark and I told my companion ‘Ayd Muhammad: “I am very tired and want to go home. Stay with him this night.” While I was going away, [‘Abd al-Rahman] cried: “Goodbye! Goodbye!” /gob/ These words are still in my ears. I went home and slept. At first light, ‘Ayd Muhammad returned and said: “Go there quickly, he is in a very bad state.” I rushed there and no sooner had I arrived than he passed away. He obeyed the Qur’anic verse “Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return. Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing!”<sup>294</sup> and I prayed for him: Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer then overlook his wrongdoings.

Now he had to be buried, and if he had stayed there, his body would have been thrown in a hole. If so, that would have been a great shame (*yözgü qaraliq*) for us in the future. The public graveyard of Mecca is called Jannat al-Ma’ali. We had to take him there, but since he died of cholera it was not permitted to bury him elsewhere. I saw the doctor and asked him to let me take the corpse to the public graveyard. He did not agree for a while, until I gave him some money (*qullarni sari may belän maylangach*). He said: “Wash him properly. The local Arabs cheat saying that they wash [the body], taking the clothes off and dressing them in a shroud.” The Arabs thus dressed him in a shroud, placed him in a coffin and brought him there. The doctor asked them: *غسلتم يا شيخ* i.e. “Did you wash him?” They replied: *نعم غسلنا* – “Yes, we did.” Then he became angry: “Why do you cheat?! You did not wash him!” Then these Arabs swore: *والله فاغسلنا*, i.e. “I swear to God, we washed him.” After that I recruited two Arabs to bring the coffin to Jannat al-Ma’ali, because there was a public place for washing the corpse. There we saw up to twenty coffins with corpses to be washed. This would take a long time, and I talked to the old shaykh, director of the washbasin (*ghuslkhana*): “Could you please wash the student sooner?”

294 [إرجعي الى ربك راضية مرضية] Q 89:28.]



He said طيب, i.e. "very well." His hands were damaged by water, because he washed a lot of corpses. Once I gave him money (*sarī may belān qullarīn mayl-agach*), the corpse was washed immediately. It turns out that whatever you do, wherever you go, money (*sarī may*) helps to ease your way.

In around 1891, the late 'Abd al-Rahman's father and his older brother 'Abd al-Majid b. Muhammad Harith Tuqae, after spending several years in Bukhara, had come back to Istārlibash for a winter to teach students. Then he had married Mahfuza, the daughter of 'Ubaydullah hajji Kildishev, a merchant from Ilek city on the Jayiq River, left her in Istārlibash and gone to hajj the same year. /91a/ At that time, the brother of 'Abd al-Majid hazrat, 'Abd al-Qadir b. Muhammad Harith Tuqae, had been studying in Medina the Radiant. During the hajj he had stayed with his brother 'Abd al-Qadir and they had gone to 'Arafat together. That year the cholera had spread in Mecca, and 'Abd al-Majid hazrat had died of the disease there. His brother 'Abd al-Qadir had buried him in Jannat al-Ma'ali graveyard in Mecca, and had erected a stone (*tash*) with an inscription. I found that grave and buried the late 'Abd al-Rahman next to it. May God forgive them. He died in 1908 of Miladi. According to his will, the money left after burial and some of his clothes were sent with our fellow villagers to his mother in Istārlibash and she received it in good order.

Cholera started to intensify in Mecca and dead people started to be seen on the streets. I relied on God for whatever would happen to me, but still I wanted to leave as soon as possible. Thanks be to God, unexpectedly the rain started and on the same day the cholera simply stopped, as if washed away by water. From then on, nobody died [of cholera]. I also thanked God, rented the fastest caravan back to Medina, and together with my companions headed for Medina. After this fourth hajj I parted from Mecca.

Arabs call this fast caravan of camels the *rakib hijn*. This caravan reaches Medina from Mecca in just eight days. Only very few foreigners were on that caravan, because it was meant for citizens of Medina and our fellow students. The caravan has 300 places and 100 camels. Six hours' travel and six hours to rest. We moved during the day, starting from twelve at night. The first overnight stop from Medina was in Wadi Fatima, a place full of greenery. One night we had to reach an Arab village called Rabigh on the shore of the Red Sea. On the way, it was raining hard and thunder was rumbling loudly. We could not go on, because the night was dark and our legs became slippery. Only the lightning illuminated the desert between the mountains. We stopped and rested under the camels. Soon the daylight should appear. The caravan leaders said: "We spent too much time waiting and have to depart now; otherwise the rain will overtake us." We slowly moved our camels towards the mountains; there it was getting clearer. /91b/ Since our clothes were extremely wet, we warned

ourselves by building a fire, then we performed the morning prayer and moved on. We were on our feet, leading the camels by a rope. It was some 5 km to Rabigh village. Once we arrived, we found out that the rain had cut off our route onwards. Since in Arabia all the rocks are of black stone, the rainwater flows down, creating a huge basin. Arabs call this *sayl*, by saying *جاء السيل* [، i.e. “the rainwater flew down”]. It was not possible to cross the basin, and we spent three days in this Rabigh village. On the fourth day we crossed the basin under the stomachs of our camels, thanks be to God. People in Medina even started to worry about the caravan, because we had sent a telegram from Mecca when we departed.

In this way, we approached Medina. On the way there was a mountain called Jabal ‘Air. No caravan except our light caravan could cross that mountain, and that was a straight path. We were on our feet leading the camels, because to one side there was a huge chasm. If a camel halts and falls down, there is no way to survive; therefore, we were not allowed to ride the camels. We continued this way for six hours till sunset and then we finally crossed the mountain safely and happily. We spent a night there. After two days we approached the city, thanks be to God, left our caravan in a place called Dhu-l-Khalfa, and then walked into the city. It was 5 km away. I returned safely to the madrasa, went to the bathroom (*muncha*), put on my good clothes, visited the shrine of the Prophet, then in the same clothes I took my camel from the caravan, raised a green flag, recited a *qasida*, i.e. a poem in praise of the Prophet, then stopped at Bab al-Salam of the Prophet’s mosque, recited the prayer to God and His Prophet and great Arabic poems in praise of the Prophet, then visited the shrines of hazrat-i Hamza and the martyrs at the Uhud mountain, went to Quba mosque, visited the appropriate places, then returned my camel to the owner and went back to our madrasa. Praise be to God. May God accept our pilgrimage and forgive our sins, amen. If I lived to do so, I intend to return to our country (*mämläkät*) after the month of Mawlid in 1326 of Hijri. /92a/

Now I had to visit my teachers and ask for their prayer (*du‘a*). It was also necessary to get a diploma (*shahadat nama*) saying that I had memorized the entire Qur’an, performed the tarawih prayers at the mosque of the Prophet, and that my recitation was correct. One day I prepared food and invited our teachers and friends for a party. There I addressed the great teachers: “If you allow me, I intend to return to my country after the month of Mawlid.” Now our respected teacher Muhammad Shukri turned to the teachers and *qaris* present at the gathering: “This ‘Abd al-Majid al-Qadiri efendi has memorized the entire Qur’an in ‘*asim qira‘at* and *riwayat hafz*”<sup>295</sup> and performed the tarawih prayers

295 [‘*Asim qira‘at* and *riwayat hafz* refer to established ways of reading the Qur’anic text.]

at the mosque of the Prophet. Now I want to grant him a diploma (*ijazat nama*) testifying the said above." The people present confirmed: "You can give him a good diploma." Then he wrote and signed (*möherläb*) a diploma with a chain starting from himself, via those with whom he had studied, up to the Prophet. In 1923,<sup>296</sup> while residing in my village, I got other diplomas with the magnificent signatures of mufti 'Alimdjani al-Barudi for teaching Qur'an and hadith. In 1930, all of my diplomas got lost when the government (*hükümet*) threw away all of my books during the severe confiscation.

Now, God permitting, it remained for me to start my return. That year a railway called Hamidiya Mujaar from Damascus to Medina was under construction. I left Medina from a place called Bab al-'Unbar and I spent my vacation (*ta'til*) participating in the construction work, because that was regarded as a holy path. I waited for the necessary travel supplies that had to be brought from Damascus by soldiers on caravan, because the way to Damascus was not secure from robbers. The reason was that England was afraid of this railway construction by the government, and thus sent the Bedouin Arabs to attack the caravans that supported the process. Therefore, the government used the power of weapons (*qoral quwäte*). /92b/ Cursed Britain incited the Bedouins by saying: "If the Turkish government builds the road, your camels will not be needed and you will die of hunger." The British gave them weapons, bullets and suchlike. One day, news spread that the governmental caravan would come on a certain day. Expecting it to be so, I bound and prepared my luggage to go, waiting to depart either today or tomorrow. The caravan arrived in Medina with seventy armed soldiers. On the way, they struggled with Bedouins. Now being afraid of them, the caravan could not depart for a month, and I also had to wait in readiness. After the government made an agreement with the Bedouins, the caravan could go. Hence I went to the shrine of the Prophet, performed prayers and departed, leaving Medina. We departed in the evening, spent the night on the outskirts and at first light we went on. My remaining companions and friends (*hämshir*) saw me off and wished me a safe journey. In three days on camel we had to reach the railway under construction; there would I take a train to Damascus.

On the second day in the evening, our caravan stopped in the open to sleep. I was accompanied by my friends (*räfiqlärem*) Mir Said b. Asfandiyar mullah Muzaffarov from Dändäm village in Cherkes volost of Elabuga district and Khalil Sultanbekov from Bigesh village near Challi in Mänzälä district. There were also shaykh Muhammad Murad Ramzi from among the gatekeepers (*mujawir*) of Mecca; Hasanullah Hamidov, from among the gatekeepers

296 [This must be a mistake, since 'Alimdjani al-Barudi passed away in 1921.]

of Medina, originally from Chistopol'; 'Izz al-Din from Uchili village close to Shafran station, as well as many Arabs of Medina and other people. We were secured by some seventy armed soldiers who prepared for the night. While we were cooking, five or six old Bedouins approached, greeted us and explained the reason for their visit. They said: "If you do not give us such-and-such an amount of money, we will not allow the caravan to pass. We will take money from people of Medina and others." In accordance with their request, everyone gave forty cents (*tien*) and the sum reached several hundred. The old Bedouins got the money and said in satisfaction: "Tomorrow we will come /93a/ to accompany you. Do not depart without us." We spent the night safely. In the morning, we prepared our camels and gathered our luggage, waiting for those old Bedouins. The sun was already high, but nobody appeared. People said: "Let's go," and we departed. After traveling several kilometers, they started shooting at us from mountains on the right side. Bullets arrived, going *wzh*, *wzh*. Nobody was seen. We dismounted our camels and made them run. Still, one or two camels were slightly hit. We went on and nobody shot at us, because these Arab Bedouins have a habit of attacking the caravan if it stops and not following it if it keeps going. We went on safely in high spirits.

We moved on some 4 to 5 km, and they started shooting from the left again. Now they started to hit harder. Our seventy armed soldiers used the camels as a wall and started shooting in response. This only caused more damage to us and our camels. The camel owners went on a distance from the camels to prevent them from being hit. We asked our soldiers to stop fire and waved a white flag, looking at the mountains. The gunfire ceased. Then we sent several Arabs who were among the camel owners to go to the mountain and listen to what they wanted. They found out that every person had to pay a *majidiya*, i.e. one ruble and sixty kopeks, to pass their lands. We answered: "We gave the money yesterday." They replied: "We did not get our share of it, therefore we decided to follow your caravan. Give us what we want, nothing else, and go on your way." We paid them and moved on. On the way, we encountered some twenty Bedouins, they greeted and then followed us for a while and then disappeared at the mountain. We pretended that we had not noticed them, and they did the same.

On the way there was a mountain called Astil 'Untar. We arrived there and around midday we approached the workers on the railway construction. We heard the sounds of a train. All the workers were Turkish soldiers. They were busy putting a [train] car on rails. There was no water and the day was hot. The poor soldiers worked drinking /93b/ salt [water]. I sat in an empty car which brought me to the station called Hidiya. The car was open and the day was hot. We spent several days there, cooking on primus stoves and drinking tea.

After that I bought tickets to Damascus, moved to a good car and departed. On the way at Mada'in Salih station we were taken off for quarantine. Tents were arranged half a kilometer away. They distributed us among these tents. We spent five days in quarantine in that place, and afterwards we were supposed to be brought to Damascus.

This place is known in history and in the Qur'an as the land of Salih the Prophet and his folk. At the top of the mountains there we saw windows and doors. Even though it was pretty close, we were not allowed to go there. The Qur'anic verse "They were hewing the mountains into houses, therein dwelling securely"<sup>297</sup> must be referring to these mountains.

After five days of quarantine we sat in the train again and went on to Damascus. In a day or two, we reached the station called Tabuk; there were ruins of Tabuk at the time of the Prophet. There is also a good mosque. After that we arrived at another station and there they put our train in a siding and removed the railway engine. Without knowing the reason, we were forced to sit there for several days. The passengers started to starve, because their food ran out and there was no place to buy anything. Now we were forced to send a telegram to Nazim Pasha, the railway minister residing in Mina. Soon after, the station chief arrived and said: "Why do you write to Nazim Pasha without letting us know first?" We replied: "You know our condition and the fact that several hundred people are starving here and you do not even come here to listen to us!" Right there, the railway engine was put back and we went on. Then we passed Ma'an station and arrived safely in Damascus, thanks be to God.

We went to the city, leaving the luggage to a porter. The city has a fortress (*krepost*) and an entrance gate. A song that we used to sing came to my mind: "In the city of Damascus // the gate will not close without you at night" (*Sham shārif digān ay shāhārdā // ahsham sezlāy qapqa yabīlmas*). I had a companion named Hamid who encouraged me to pass through this gate singing that song. We sang it, happily passing through the gate and then found a good hotel room, forty cents a day per person. Then we went to the bath house (*muncha*), because we had spent seventeen days en route, so that even /94a/ a layer of skin on my face was gone because of the heat. The bath house was really good, with a warm pool in the main hall, pale with marble. We paid forty cents per person and went inside. In the time we were there, they gave us five different white sheets. We also swam in the pool. It was so great there (*küngelle*). Once we were done, we went out to see the city. It was a city full of gardens, big canals flowed in the streets, trams moved on both sides; there were European-style shops with milk, meat, and oil. The city was surrounded by snowy mountains,

<sup>297</sup> [وَكَاؤُوا يَجْتُونَ مِنَ الْجِبَالِ بُيُوتًا آمِنِينَ] Q 15: 82.]

its outskirts were full of fruit gardens, currants, and apricots. It turned out to be a city resembling the old Tashkent (*Shali Tashkent*).

The teacher of *Sahih al-Bukhari* at the first mosque, Umawiya, shaykh Badr al-Din, was living at his madrasa. He was eighty at that time. He taught Bukhari for an hour after each Friday prayer. There were a lot of people present and we also took the class. Our teacher in Medina the Radiant, shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Trablusi, had sent him a letter with us. This shaykh turned out to be the teacher of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Trablusi. We tried to offer him the Zamzam water, but he declined. He appeared to be a sincere (*khalis*) hadith specialist. May he be in God’s mercy, amen.

As for Jami’ Umawiya, a mosque built in Damascus at the time of the Umayyad caliphs, one of its buildings is called “the white minaret” (*Manari’ bayda*). The old books have it that at the End of Times, hazrat-i ‘Isa will descend to this minaret. We saw that minaret, and then at its foot visited the shrine of the soldier of Islam (*mujahid fi-l-islam*) Salah al-Din Ayyubi. There was an old soldier at the door; we asked his permission to enter the dome. Separated off by a huge railing, [his grave] was covered with green material with a green turban on top. His grave (*astana*) bore a memorable crown left by the German ruler Wilhelm as a sign of respect during his visit to Damascus and Jerusalem. It had a Qur’anic verse on it: “God will not leave to waste the wage of the good-doers.”<sup>298</sup> We asked the old gatekeeper: “What is the crown made of? Gold or silver?” He replied: “Would a non-believer (*kafir*) put gold on it?!”

In another part of the mosque there was the grave of Husayn’s head, may God be satisfied with him. After passing through several rooms, we visited it. When Husayn was beheaded at the battle of Karbala, his head was brought to Yazid, the ruler of Damascus. The head of Husayn was buried in the place where Yazid’s treasury house was located.

Then we went to the Malik al-Zahir library. There used to be nine libraries, but when the Europeans started to steal important books from the libraries, they collected all that remained into one single library called Malik al-Zahir. /94b/ In the library we saw a lot of books, including those written 150 years after the death of the Prophet. Unfortunately, we did not see Muslim readers there. The very few people who were present there were British and French.

After that, we went to the public graveyard and saw a stone with inscriptions that belonged to a companion of the Prophet, hazrat-i Bilal al-Habashi, the mu’adhdhin of the Prophet. Then we visited the grave of ‘Abdullah b. Umm Gulthum, may God be satisfied with her. His gravestone bears an inscription saying that this is the grave of ‘Abdullah b. Umm Gulthum and the Qur’anic

<sup>298</sup> فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ [Q II: 115.]

verse “He frowned and turned away because the blind man came to him”<sup>299</sup> was revealed in his regard. Then I went to the shrine of Muhi al-Din Ibn ‘Arabi, may God’s mercy be upon him, located in the city. His shrine bears the following poetic inscription: “This is Muhi al-Din ‘Arabi. Know the date of his death. Whoever will believe, let them believe; and whoever will disbelieve, let them disbelieve.”<sup>300</sup> From there we went to the shrine of Pamuq Baba who was a saint (*awliyya*) of Kurdish origin. People supposedly doubted it: “Can a Kurd be a saint?” To prove his sainthood, he showed his leg out of the grave; indeed, a black leg was visible from the covered grave. Only God knows the truth. Many people visit the place.

On the outskirts of Damascus we went to the mountain called Jabal Qasiyun. Here the son of Adam, Qabil, killed his brother Habil. There is a tunnel with water dropping from the top. The people serving there for the alms of pilgrims told us the story that once the stone came to speak: “People will cry a short while for the murder of Habil by Qabil, but I will cry until the End of Times.” Even though we saw it there ourselves, we did not believe it, regarding it as superstition (*khurafat*). There was another mountain we could not go to, and were simply told: “There is the shrine of Dahiya al-Kalibi.” There is also a niche (*mihrab*) constructed at this mountain to symbolize a niche of *mahal arba’in*, i.e. forty invisible men. After seeing and visiting (*ziyarat qilib*) the appropriate places, we traveled to Jerusalem. In Damascus we took a train from Baramka railway station to Beirut. It was a distance of nine hours. After passing the Lebanese mountains, we arrived at Beirut. The Lebanese mountains turned out to be populated by Arab Christians, who were engaged in silk weaving and horticulture. In Beirut, we stopped at the Hijaz hotel. We walked around for a couple of days. We saw an American college there and saw the movie theaters. Here I sent five boxes of books /95a/ to my home.

Beirut is a huge city. Its population is diverse, the majority being Arab Christians. Their language is Arabic; their books and newspapers, as well as sermons in churches (*chirkäülär*), are in Arabic. Their scholars have also authored many books in Arabic, such as a book called *Nujum al-furqan*, i.e. “A Guide to Verses of the Qur’an,” accessibly written by Christian Arabs of Beirut. Different nations (*millät*) populate the shores of the White Sea. British, French, Americans, Germans, Jews; all of them have their consulates here, as well as the Russian one.

299 [أَنْ جَاءَهُ الْأَعْمَى عَبَسَ وَتَوَلَّى] [Q 80: 1-2.]

300 [فَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُؤْمِنْ وَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُكْفُرْ وَهَذَا مِجَى الدِّينِ عَرَبِيٌّ أَعْرَفَ وَفْتَهُ] The last part of the inscription is a fragment of Q 18: 29.]

Then, on a steamboat, we went to the city called Hi'a. We arrived at the city of Jaffa and traveled on a train for six hours to Jerusalem (*Qudush Sharif*). Thanks be to God, we arrived safely. Our first goal was to see the al-Aqsa Mosque, then the Dome of the Rock and other places. We prayed inside the al-Aqsa Mosque, then we did the same in the Dome of the Rock, which has a twenty meter rock of black stone inside. The Prophet Muhammad, may God bless him, performed the *mi'raj* after stepping on this stone. It has a foot imprint. People show one side of the stone; there is a cellar like an empty room beneath the stone, where one can go. On three sides, columns of marble were erected, supposedly to make people unafraid, because in previous times the stone used to hang freely in the air. God knows best. When the Prophet arrived in Medina, he first prayed in the direction of this stone. In the second year of *hijra* came the following order: "Turn thy face towards the Holy Mosque."<sup>301</sup> Hence, during either *öylä* or *ikende* prayer, the Prophet changed the direction of prayer to the Ka'ba in Mecca. Medina has a mosque called the Mosque with Two Qiblas: one wall is oriented towards the Ka'ba, while another faces towards the rock in Jerusalem.

The al-Aqsa Mosque has two floors. Its first floor looks like a palace with a small road to it. When we went down, we realized that it was a building from the times of Sulayman the Prophet; this was a stable for his horses. Downstairs there was a cradle-like monument (*yädükär*) made of marble. This cradle was placed here during the journey of the German ruler Wilhelm as a symbol of 'Isa the Prophet's cradle. Then we went to the grave of our mother hazrat-i Maryam. We went down several stairs into a basement. All servants (*ferrash*) there were Christian (*nasara millätlärennän*) clergy. We entered after asking permission. In a huge hall, there is a side room /95b/ with the grave. It has a table-like monument with green material on it and a small cross (*salib*) on the top with a wax candle standing there.

We visited (*ziyarat ittek*) her as prescribed by the Qur'an, which portrays hazrat-i Maryam as a vestal virgin, and then went out. In the hall, tables were present in several places to pray standing. Every school (*madhhab*) of Christians, such as Catholic, Protestant and others, prayed there in their own way at these tables. After that we entered a big church (*kanisa*). The keys of this church are in the hands of the Arabs, and every time the Christians leave after praying there, the Arab guardians close it. We went inside; there, Christians of many schools were praying (*'ibadat qilib*). Some of them were kneeling and praying with lifted hands, saying "amen"; that is similar to what we do. Then we left that place and moved on to see a monastery built by the

<sup>301</sup> [قَوْلٍ وَجْهَكَ شَطْرَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ] Q 2: 144.]



Russian government. It was full of monks and nuns. We asked their chiefs: "We are the Kazan Tatars from Russia (*rusiyali qazan tatarlari*). If you allow us, we would love to get inside and see the monastery." They agreed, brought the keys and showed us around. The crosses on the top of every church were made of gold. Then they took us to a tower (*manara*) on the mountain and showed it [to us]. It was very high. We went up via 170 metal stairs and looked around. There was nothing else there but a huge bell. Supposedly, it was the mountain from which 'Isa, may God bless him, departed to heaven. God knows it best. They have gardens located some distance from the tower. A mosque could be seen there, and they told us that the grave of Musa the Prophet was there. Twenty kilometers from Jerusalem there is [a place called] Khalil al-Rahman. The grave of Ibrahim, may God bless him, is there. Unfortunately, we could not go there. The road is difficult and they ask a lot of money for donkeys and camels. The majority of people in Jerusalem are Jews (*yahudlär*). The elderly Jews wore white caps (*käläpush*) and their beards were very long. They kept beads (*tasbih*) in their hands, thus this habit must have come from them. We thought that our ignorant mullahs (*salqin sufi-mullamiz*) sitting in the mosque niches with rosaries must have taken this habit from the Jews. In Russian, Quds Sharif is called *Ierusalim*.

Now we intended to go to Egypt, but they did not let us go, saying: "Quarantine; people coming from pilgrimage are not yet allowed." Therefore, we returned to Beirut and had to go to Istanbul. I told my friends (*räfiqlarem*) one day: "Let us go to the Russian consulate tomorrow. They /g6a/ might help us." They replied: "Why go there?" I said: "For some business. If God allows, maybe we will get it done." They asked: "What business?" I replied: "You are traveling by ship. According to Russian law, if one does not have means to travel, the consulate must help him to travel for free." We had the money though: I sent 500 rubles in gold to Istanbul in advance. However, thanks to the Russian law, we could still get something out of these pigs (*hinzirdän ber tuk*) by pretending: "We are students, you should help us." My friends agreed: "Alright, let us go tomorrow."

In the morning at first light we went to the consulate. It took us some time to find it. At the gate there was a black gatekeeper who knew Turkish. He asked: "What do you want?" We replied: "We have business with the consul." He went in, then appeared again and let only me in. A secretary was sitting alone in the office. I related our business and he went to the consul. The latter appeared right there and asked: "What do you want?" I said: "Your majesty (*vashe prevoskhoditel'stvo*), we are going from Medina to Istanbul and then planning to return to Russia. We ran out of money. If possible, we ask you, as children ask their father, to give us a free ticket on the steamboat to Istanbul. This is our appeal." He asked: "Where is your passport?" I gave him my passport.

He said: "Look, your passport has expired. Why did you not come to the consulate to renew it?" I replied: "There is no consulate in Medina, we did not know where to get it." He said: "Now I will send you directly back to Russia." Now I got scared; why did I come here with money in my pocket! I was dressed like a cultured European, with a good suit and tie and a red fez on my head. I addressed the consul again: "Your majesty, you know yourself that we spent three years in Medina and wanted to get diplomas in Istanbul. If you send us directly to Russia now, the years that we spent studying will have been for nothing. You are a great man whose manners would not allow him to take such things seriously. Still, we sincerely appeal to you not to reject our plea. We hope that you accept it." My passport was on the table and I watched it with four eyes, afraid that he would write something inside. Fortunately, he did not.

Then he /96b/ asked his secretary to write something and disappeared into his office. The secretary produced a document, then obtained the consul's signature, sealed it and gave it to me together with my passport saying: "You have to give it to the office of the Russian steamboat company." I thanked him and went out. Now I thought, what did he write there; maybe he wrote to take us directly to Russia. If so, that would mean that we have denounced ourselves. Then I decided to open the envelope and make a learned person (*belgän keshe*) read it out before we gave it to the office. It turned out that he had indeed ordered a ticket to Istanbul, in compliance with my plea. We closed the envelope again and submitted it to the office. Even a mangy sheep is good for a little wool (*hinzirdän ber qıl buldı*)! From the third class ticket office we would have had to buy it for forty rubles, but now I could go to Istanbul for free.

Since it was a trade steamboat, it was slow: we stopped at every station to load and offload the cargo. After stopping in the sea for a couple of days at Rhodes and Sakiz islands, we arrived at the city of Izmir in Turkey. Here, a huge German steamboat was moored. We asked: "Where is it going?" They said: "To Istanbul." We asked: "When does it arrive there?" They replied: "It will be there in the morning." We asked further: "Is it possible to buy a ticket to Istanbul?" They said: "Yes. 1.60 for a third class ticket." Our steamboat had to go now to Salonica and then somewhere else, reaching Istanbul only after three days. After that we asked around: "Who is going to Salonica?" and sold off our tickets taken in Beirut for ten rubles each. Then we bought new tickets on that steamboat for 1.60, and in the morning arrived in Istanbul on the German steamboat. We had to stay in Istanbul for three months. We stayed in an apartment opposite the Ministry of War at the Beyazit Square. I went to Sultan Fatih quarter to study mathematics with 'Ismet efendi, paying him one golden coin or 860 cents. 'Abdullah Pateev, with whom I studied in childhood, was also there. As I mentioned above, he studied at the University, the Faculty of Natural Sciences.

He spent a year with me in Medina and then departed for Istanbul. We were together all the time and saw every corner of Istanbul. One day, we traveled by motorboat to /97a/ a place called Beykoz. That was Friday. Since it was the weekend, all the people of the city went there to walk around. That was 2 km from the city. There were many people on the banks of the Bosphorus. Beautiful meadows and flat lands with rare old trees rose there. Everybody played and joked with their compatriots (*üz millätläre belän*). A few kilometers away, in the forest, there was the Karakulak spring, famous in Istanbul. We went there. We sat there in a marble building, drank the spring water, ate bread with olives, and came back. Since this water was free of germs, they would bring it on steamboats to Istanbul and sell it on the streets as the water of Karakulak. Then we went to see the place called Shu'ayb türbesi on the top of the mountain. As people say, there is a shrine to Shu'ayb the Prophet and the spring of holy water (*ab-i hayat chishmäse*). We went there, drank water and came back to the city in the evening.

The next Friday we went to the mosque of Ayyub al-Ansari; there we performed the Friday prayer, visited his tomb and the grave of Bashir agha, the founder of our madrasa in Medina. May God accept it. We went there on a motorboat from Galata bridge. The following Friday we went to Haydar Pasha station near Üsküdar; from there we took a train to Maltepe station and by motorboat reached a place called Büyükada on an island in the Marmara Sea. There was a mountain with private houses (*dacha*) belonging to rich people of the city. It was a picturesque place full of rose gardens. They have very beautiful summer houses and a restaurant on the very top of the hill. When we wanted to enter, the police stopped us: "Entry is forbidden for the Ottomans." We said: "Alright, sir, but we are from Russia (*musqufli*)," and showed them our passports. Then we went in, drank and ate there. We returned to Istanbul only in the evening.

The next time, we went out on foot to see various places in Istanbul: we saw the mosques of Sultan Fatih, Sultan Sulayman, and Sultan Ahmad, as well as the museum of Janissaries. These people raised arms in the name of religion against the Sultan, who wanted to adopt some European rules. Some eighty lifelike individuals stand there in their former dress; these were judges, executioners and many other important people. The government /97b/ punished these people accordingly. Since that is a museum, those were only figures [of the people]. When the German ruler Wilhelm visited Istanbul, he built a fountain near the mosque and therefore people called it a German fountain. There are also tall stone columns called Diklitash with old square letters, hieroglyphics and figures of birds and animals. These columns had been brought from Egypt as historical artifacts (*athar-i 'atiqa*) left from the Pharaohs.

The next time, I took a train from Sirkeci station to Samatya station and went to the Küçük Mustafa Pasha district, to the house of the aforementioned 'Abdullah efendi; there I met his wife, and we spent time together. This poor lady had forgotten the time spent in İstärlibash. When I was a small boy in the village, she grew up in the neighborhood. She was the daughter of 'Ubaydullah Sharipov. Unfortunately, I could not see 'Abdullah, because he had gone to a village for some time. After that, we spent a day looking at the many historical artifacts (*athar-i 'atiqa*) of ancient times preserved at the Hagia Sophia mosque. There were sarcophagi and many other items left from the times of the Pharaohs in Egypt.

The time to go to Russia approached. I had to buy some important books here, and I started to slowly buy them from the bookstores. I bought a lot of books on religion, science, hadith, tafsir, geography, and history, including *Fath al-Qadir*, *Ibn 'Abidin*, *Bukhari Sharif*, *Qamus al-'alam*, and *Shams al-Din Sami Bek*. Most of them were fresh off the press, i.e. not yet bound, so that it would be cheaper for shipping and there would be no taxes. I rolled them in paper. In total it was twelve kilos and thirteen boxes (*pasilkä*). I filled in three forms in French for every box and took it all to the post office (*puchtäkhanä*). I paid sixty-five cents for each box. I sent [them] under the name of our brother-in-law, Sami'ullah 'Abdullin, via Vienna and Paris to Russia, by the great railways to Samara, Zlatoust, and finally Nikifar station on the Siberian railway. Once back home, I received everything in good order. In addition, I bought some clothes for myself and small presents for my parents. I bought a pocket watch produced by Omega Company in Paris for twelve rubles. I also bought a good foreign-made (*zagraničnyi*) leather suitcase, a wrap of good quality, a suit, dress shoes, a jebba for my father, then a jebba, turban and fez for myself as well as some twenty items of jewelry for presents. /98a/

That was around August 1908. I was together with my companions coming from Medina. Now we had to go from Istanbul to Sevastopol (*Chivastapul*). Here we also wanted to take a free ticket as we had done through the consul in Beirut. We talked to a Tatar broker in Istanbul called Suqir Hafiz. We asked him to get three tickets for us from the Russian consul and then let us through the Turkish customs. He said: "Each of you give an *altin*, three *altins* in total (one *altin* is ten *sum*)." We agreed, because this Hafiz was acquainted with the Russian consuls. He stayed true to his promise and brought us free tickets and then he promised to let us through the customs the next morning. The next morning, we got on the steamboat. After we departed, the city newspapers announced that today Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid granted freedom (*hurriya*) to the

people. Unfortunately, we could not return from the steamboat. We departed saying: "Goodbye, Istanbul! Long live the free Turkey!"

The next day, we were already in Sevastopol. On the steamboat we met some Crimean Tatars. We disembarked together and entered the customs office, where our luggage had to be investigated. Then the customs director appeared and told us: "Your passports have expired (*wä'däse ütän*). You have to pay a fee of 105 rubles for three and a half years." We replied: "We have no money to pay. We will pay at home." He said: "Then sign the document (*aktä*)." We signed and passed the customs. Then we met up with the Crimean Tatars again and asked them: "Please show us a proper hotel." They agreed and brought us to a hotel. We thanked them and parted. Barely an hour had passed when these Tatars came back in a cab (*izvozshchik*) and told us: "We have a community (*jam'iyat*) here, they asked us to bring the students for a gathering (*mäjles*). You will have to recite the *mawlid sharif*." After agreeing amongst ourselves, we decided to go. We went there and entered the gathering house, where up to 200 Crimean Tatars gathered. They welcomed us warmly, and after finishing the greetings they asked us: "Dear students, please, /g8b/ recite some *mawlid sharif* to us." We replied that this was a great honor, and started to recite. After the *mawlid* had ended, they treated us with soup and *pilaw*. We asked them: "What kind of meeting is this?" They replied: "Our Tatar community in Sevastopol bought this house to erect a mosque. This was a [mosque] council meeting. If God allows, we will start building soon. The presence of students at our meeting has made us happy." We wished them in reply: "May God allow you to finish the mosque and praise God inside it," and then went out.

Two days later, I bought a ticket to Samara via Moscow, while my companions bought tickets to Kazan via Urazovka. I traveled to Moscow via Kharkov, Oryol and Tula. I arrived at Kharkov railway station in Moscow, then ordered a porter to take my luggage to Kazan railway station, there I put my things in a locker and went out to the city. I stayed on the third floor of the Novovarvar'inskoe courtyard (*podvor'e*) and paid four rubles and fifty kopeks a day. At the hotel, a Kazan Tatar (*ber qazanli*), Muhammadjanov, prepared halal food (*möselmancha ash*) for the travelers and brought it to each room according to the order, because in Moscow it is difficult to find meat slaughtered in the Muslim way. May this Muhammadjan agha be in God's mercy. For a couple of days he treated us to his food and then showed us various places in Moscow; its Kremlin, gardens, and mosques. He did not take money for food, even if we asked him. He accompanied us to Kazan railway station. May God forgive him his sins!

At Urazayevka station, I parted from my companions Muhammad Khalil Sultanbekov and Mir Sayyid Muzaffarov. I arrived in Samara safely, stayed there a day or two, then bought a ticket to Aksyon station. From there I traveled 12 km to Nikifar village, the home of my brother-in-law. There I found out that my father and mother had come there for a visit. Thanks be to God, I was very happy to see my parents. My father told me that our village imams ‘Abdullah b. Muhammad Harith Tuqaeu and his brother Muhammad Shakir b. Muhammad Harith Tuqaeu would depart for Ufa the next day. /99a/ I thought about the fact that I also had business at the Governorate Office in Ufa; maybe if I went together with them, they would help me in my business, and [so] I decided to go to Ufa. I went to Aksyon station and bought a ticket to Ufa. At Shafran station I encountered our imams, and we went to Ufa together. There we stayed at the Sibirskiy hotel. I told them about myself and said: “I have business at the Governorate Office, how can I go there?” They said: “Our acquaintance Ahmad Sultan Teregulov serves there; we will see him tomorrow and talk about it.” Once back, they told me: “He promised to talk to the governor tomorrow morning and will let us know.” The next day, Teregulov came to our hotel: “I brought your *volost* passport, now you should give me your international passport.” I gave it to him and he added: “The governor said the following in regard of your business, i.e. to annul the fines of 105 rubles at the customs: the governor cannot solve this question, only the ministry can do it. If the local government (*nachal'stvo*) approves in writing that this person has no means, we can then give that document to the minister.” We found a solution for this question and the Tuqaeus and I returned to Shafran station. Their car (*troikä pavuskä arbaları*) was waiting there. We traveled together to İstärlibash and arrived safely at the time of *yastu* prayer. Thanks be to God, we came home, saw our parents, praised God and went to sleep.

A week later, a rural police officer came to our house and gave me a notice: “The Sevastopol customs demands a fine of 105 rubles.” I confirmed, signed and took the document. A month later, a district police officer came and said: “It appears that you went abroad (*zagrantsa*), the customs demands a fine of 105 rubles, will you pay it?” I replied: “This is true, but I have just come back. I do not have a house to stay in and I have nothing at the moment to pay the bill. If I move [to a house], then at some point I will pay.” He thought for a while and then said: “If so, bring six elders to testify to your poverty, who will sign a paper saying that this person cannot pay the bill. Then I will take that paper to the governor.” In this way, the six elders signed the paper and he said: “If needed, I will ask you to come.” That’s it (*wa-s-salam*), the question was solved in this manner.

/99b/ It must have been September 14, Ramadan 1908, when I had promised to memorize the Qur’an, come back, and perform the *tarawih* prayer at home,

making my parents listen to my recitation behind me. With this intention to fulfill my promise, I recited the Qur'an from the first to the fifteenth day of Ramadan. Our dear neighbors and relatives joined us in our house. May God accept it as a sincere deed, amen. Imams and *qaris* of our community (*mähäl-lämez*) participated in the recitation ceremony, and then performed the *khatm* prayer (*du'a*).

Now I had to spend the winter at the madrasa among the students. They let me into the madrasa where I had previously studied. At the madrasa, I did my best to teach some subjects to the students and give them information in other possible ways; I ordered various newspapers and journals, explaining to the students the need to learn diligently with an eye on the future, and sharing different thoughts with them. The madrasa administration did not like my work. They denounced me at the appropriate place (*tieshle uringa danus*) for being an atheist reformist (*jädid dähri*) who came from studies abroad, putting forward the arguments that I instigated political ideas among the students and bought newspapers from Turkey, but they failed to harm me.

After the winter, nearly in spring, my parents started to think of my marriage, afraid that if they did not tie me down, I would leave. They agreed on Fatima, the daughter of 'Ali khalfa Aydabulov from Narin division (*qism*) of the Cherkes tribe (*ru'*) in the Bukay Khan region (*il*) of Astrakhan governorate, who was famous in Istärlibash. This 'Ali khalfa was of Kazakh origin (*ta'ifa*); he had come to study in Istärlibash in his twenties, there he had studied [various] subjects (*khatm-i kutub qilib*), then traveled to great madrasas. He married the daughter of Khalilullah khalfa, named Rabi'a, and my [future] wife was born to them. My mother's father, Waliullah, was the brother of Khalilullah; that is, my wife's mother, Rabi'a,<sup>302</sup> and my mother's father were relatives. Our wedding took place on April 29, 1909.

A month after our wedding, I realized that I had to see 'Ubaydullah hazrat 'Alikaev in Yalpaqta, who had helped me to go abroad. Therefore, I went there in June, first to Urazay, then Kazan and Saratov, and then by train to Aleksandrov Gay. There I took a horse, and after 90 km reached Yalpaqta. /100a/ Now I had a plan to go to Makaria (*Niznili*) market. I saw hazrat and repaid him my debts (*ämänät*). After a couple of days I had to go, but since Ramadan was approaching, hazrat told me: "It would be great if you stayed with us for Ramadan and recited the Qur'an." I replied: "I did not come to you with the intention to perform recitation, I only wanted to visit you as my patron (*wäli ni'mät*)."<sup>302</sup> He insisted: "If possible, please do it for one evening." I

302 [Rabi'a passed away in April 1913. Her gravestone was produced by her son 'Abd al-Rahman upon the request of her husband 'Ali khalfa: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 101.]

said: "If this is your true desire, my conscience (*wujdanim*) does not allow me to refuse," and promised to perform the recitation: "If so, starting from today I have to practice the text." A couple of days before Ramadan started, I went to some Kazakhs who asked me to perform hajj [*badal*] and gave me money to go. I presented them with the necessary diploma (*shahadat nama*) for hajj, some Zamzam water, and bead-like presents. I returned after a couple of days.

Upon my return, hazrat brought up an issue: "After your departure, Muhammadjan Manjuqov, a merchant from Ilbishin city located on the Ural River near Uralsk, came to visit us. He said: 'We need a person in Ilbishin city to perform the duties of imam and to teach Muslim children at school in a modern fashion.' I told him: 'I have a person, but he is not at home now. Upon his return I will talk to him and will send you a telegram.' What do you say? Will you go or not? I need to give an answer." I answered: "Hazrat, I am not thinking of being a mullah, I will not manage." Hazrat told him: "That person did not agree." Another telegram came in reply: "He can come to recite the Qur'an on the first of Ramadan. We will cover the travel expenses." Hazrat asked me what I thought, but I replied: "You know better, it is up to you." He said: "In my opinion, you should go. You will see the people and the city and if you find it appropriate, you might choose to stay there as a mullah. You will go there for eleven or twelve days to recite the Qur'an and then on 15 Ramadan return to recite here. I think, first, it will be good for practice; secondly, it will be the market time here and that will disturb your practice." I replied: "Alright, I shall go, but if so, I need to depart today."

Right there, I hired two horses and traveled 150 km for eleven rubles (*sum*). /100b/ Ramadan started on September 2, 1909. I spent a night on the way in the house of a rich Russian. I started fasting that night, and that Russian owner ordered his Kazakh servicemen: "Prepare meat for the fasting mullah." I woke up in the morning, continued the journey fasting, and by night was in Ilbishin. The person who had invited me came to see me on a horse, to take me somewhere to break our fast. I washed myself quickly and joined the rest. There he addressed the people present: "Today, if God allows, we will start the Qur'an recitation. This person is an invited *qari*." We returned from that gathering and asked for a bathroom, since because of the hard wind on the way, my body and clothes were all full of sand. He gave us water and the necessary things and brought me to the bathroom (*muncha*) and said: "While you are taking your bath, I will go to the mosque to inform the people, because many are still unaware." Then he came back, I prepared myself, and we went to the mosque. Relying on God, I performed the recitation of three parts (*parä*) every day, and had it finished in ten days. After that, Muhammad Sharif [sic]<sup>303</sup> Manjuqov

303 [Above, his name is rendered as Muhammadjan.]



brought me to Yalpaqтал on a troika. Here, on 15 Ramadan, relying on God, I started to recite with an intention to finish by the Night of Power (*qadar kichäse*). This was the way I did it. Hazrat gave me a ruble and said: "Thank you, you did not spend your time for nothing." After the recitation he gave me a good silk robe (*chapan*) as a gift. May he be in God's mercy.

Now I had to go home. Hazrat told me: "If possible, come back in the winter to teach. There will be a lot of students and it would be great if you could help my son 'Abd al-'Aziz memorize the Qur'an." I departed by saying: "Alright, let me go back and figure it out. Then I will let you know." I returned safely, asked for advice and decided to go. In Istärlibash, 'Ubaydullah ishan Tuqäev in his capacity as madrasa director did not allow me to teach students. He claimed that he did not want to serve me (*tärlkä totasim kilmäde*). That was not surprising to me: these idiots would gather students at a useless madrasa, relax, and profit from the collection of goose and turkey from students for their teachers. I could not share a classroom with ignorant students, [those who were] unable to give a proper definition for a single sentence of a hadith. I must have become depressed by all this. /101A/

Then I traveled to Yalpaqтал again, started to teach there at the madrasa, and instructed the son of hazrat in the memorizing of the Qur'an. There were many Kazakh students. I spent a winter alone there and then in spring returned to Istärlibash. That year, our brother-in-law Sami'ullah 'Abdullin wrote me a letter inviting me to perform the Qur'an recitation that Ramadan in Nikifar village by the Dim River. I intended to go there and then to Yalpaqтал. In Nikifar, during the recitation, I became ill. With God's help, I finished the recitation and sent a telegram to hazrat saying that I could not go there, and then returned to Istärlibash. There, I received a letter from hazrat: "You could not come for the recitation, so come next winter to teach." I did so next winter and finished teaching the Qur'an to his son. In spring, I returned. After our studies, his son went to the famous Khayrullah hazrat 'Alikaev in Qarghalı, practiced the Qur'an there and became a professional specialist in the Qur'an (*murattib hafiz kalamullah*). That was in 1911.

In 1912 I came back to Istärlibash and, without visiting the madrasa, stayed at home. On May 30, 1915, I brought my wife Fatima to our house. Our late father (*babamiz*) saw us off and gave us lots of presents, fulfilling our most basic needs. May he be in God's mercy.

In 1914 the war with Germany started and continued until 1917. In 1916, I heard that the men born in 1881 would now be recruited. I had to find a way out. To do so, I took a military job at the sewing workshop (*tun tegu zavodı*) of the merchant Muhammad hajji Ayupov in Orenburg. Here we prepared fur for sewing. Every fur was accepted for ten kopeks. This job provided a delay of three months from joining the army. We worked there in a group of five. In 1917,

with the outbreak of the Great Revolution (*olugh inqilab*) in Russia, workers at the factory started to leave, because the power (*vlas*) moved from the hands of the rich (*baylar*) into the hands of the workers. That year I received a letter from my father, saying: "Fire has destroyed all the buildings around the house, as well as the firewood and chaff." Only the house stayed untouched, while the cattle and things were left without shelter. /101b/

I had to see the house somehow and therefore went to Ayupov, asking: "Please give me some vacation." He replied: "I have no power now, ask the council of workers." I waited for the meeting day and asked them. They voted unanimously to provide me with a month of vacation. On March 15, I went home by train. I wanted to see my relatives in Nikifar village, but our brother-in-law Sami'ullah 'Abdullin was on his deathbed. He could speak a little, and asked for news. I said: "Tsar Nicholas lost his throne and a person called Kerensky has taken his place." He laughed, probably happy about the Tsar's downfall. I stayed for a day, but then had to go to Istärlibash, because the melting snow might destroy the road. A day or two after I returned to Istärlibash, we learned that our brother-in-law had passed away. There was no road to go there on the day of his burial, because of the flooding and rain. Therefore I could not go for the funeral.

Several days later I got a letter from my friend 'Abd al-Ra'uf Bilalov, who had stayed at the factory: "A commission of workers, soldiers, and peasants visited our factory for an inspection and ruled that you and I have to go to the army. Try to return quickly, here the workers have disappeared, I am staying here alone with the guard. If possible, try to find a reason for us not to go to the army." This [commission] found out that we were not leatherworkers, but teachers, because we were *uchitel'* in the documents. As I had to find a way out, I asked the elders (*qartlar*) of several villages to produce a statement (*isprafkä*) saying that I had left teaching and was a leatherworker. They agreed and confirmed it (*täsdiqlap*) at the village office (*silsavit*).

After that, with complete reliance on God, I went to Orenburg. I arrived by train, left my luggage in the railway station lockers and marched directly to the factory, even though it was nine o'clock in the evening. At the gate I found an old guard; I knew him, he was from Istärlitamaq. /102a/ I greeted him: "Hello, countryman! (*isänmä, zemiak*)" and asked how things were. He said that all the people had run away and that the factory was not functioning. I continued: "Is there anyone left?" He replied: "Only Battalov<sup>304</sup> remains in the office." I asked: "May I enter?" He said: "Come in." I knocked on the office doors and he asked: "Who is there?" I said: "Me, Qadirov." He replied: "Come in." I greeted

304 [Possibly this is the individual referred to above as Bilalov.]

him and asked about the situation. He said: "No news so far, since they wrote that report and left."

I spent a night there and in the morning went to the city. There I saw many people who I knew and had worked together with. I asked them for news. They said: "Be careful in the city, return to your village. They are checking the army documents of all young people." Others spread rumors: "The Kerensky government released teachers from mobilization." I checked this information and it turned out to be true. Now I needed a statement that I was a teacher, and hence went to the village. I made the statement and came back to see the military officer. He took the statement and ordered the secretary to produce a document (*kägaz*). He had only just started to type it when members of the commission of soldiers and peasantry arrived at the secretariat and explained their reasons, but the secretary continued to type my document. He suddenly stopped and asked: "Wait, are you from Ufa governorate (*razve Ufinski gubernna ishtoli*)?" I said: "Yes." He continued: "No, we cannot issue documents for people from other governorates." He took the document out of the typewriter, ripped it up and returned the rest of my papers. I said "Goodbye," and left.

It was unsafe to walk in the city. I had to flee to my village as soon as possible. Luckily, my fellow villager Fadil Akhmerov was in the city. I asked him: "Will you take me back home?" He answered: "We will depart today, if we can manage it. Let's go." On the same day, he took me out of Orenburg and brought me safely to Istärlibash. Soon after, I went to Istärlitamaq, where the local military officer gave me a document granting me, as a teacher, exemption from military service (*askärlek khezmate*). That was sometime in August 1917. The same year, through the Istärlitamaq branch for education, I was assigned to teach at the school of Mäläkäy village. /102b/ I taught there until 1920 and then moved to Istärlibash school, where I worked until 1922, when I submitted an appeal to be released.

Those were the years of great hunger. People slaughtered and ate their own children and wives. Many people were even eating the dead bodies. So many people died of hunger that there was nobody left to bury them. I saw it myself and helped as far as I could to bury these poor people: we loaded up to sixty corpses onto three sledges, then bound them with a lasso and took them to the cemetery, because no one else could do it. With intention for God's sake I told my friends and companions to come together and dig a huge hole. We covered it with straw and then buried those corpses there, men and women separately. They accepted their destiny from God and submitted their souls to Him with patience. May God forgive all of them, amen. This graveyard is located at the main cemetery (*olugh mäqbarä*) in Istärlibash, in the eastern part, near the mountains.

Another huge grave was dug for some 100 people. This was in the middle of the main cemetery, near a niche for water collection.

That was the year when my daughter Asiya came into the world. I invited some fifty people and arranged a name-giving ceremony. Thanks be to God, I had three children and two brothers in my care (*tärbiya*). We did not experience hunger and did not see a shortage of bread: foreseeing difficulties, I organized some provisions. The government (*hükümät*) also helped me a little, since I was a teacher. Besides that, American society took note of the hunger in Russia and opened dining rooms for children and elderly people in need so that a great many people stayed alive. This dining room was called Ara. Elderly people received a *pood* of corn every month. They provided food for children at the dining room twice a day. The food that they gave out included a white roll, sugar, cocoa, milk, and hot soup. They also provided something to wear. The director of this dining room profited a lot by selling the food of these hungry children, harming them (*zölem qilib*). What shamelessness! /103a/ Dear readers (*uquchilar*), judge for yourself: these children are still alive, while those who ate their food are long in their graves and must answer to God.

This hunger started in fall 1920. That year, first typhus and then cholera spread, and in İstärlibash up to twenty people died a day. This [hunger] continued until the spring of 1922. It was so terrible that no horses, cats, or birds like hawks were left in our village. People even produced flour out of bark and bones and ate it. At the mill, one could see that bones served there as the main material, and there was no seed present whatsoever. Some people even ate the products of calving, called “trash” (*chüp*). They would request: “Do not throw it away before calving.”

In spring 1922, it got much better: people could eat the roots of plants called *itläk*, clover (*qimizliq*), and sorrel (*qulgalaq*) and thus stayed alive. If a human being goes out to eat plants, he will not die of hunger. That spring and summer were so fruitful that we even thought that there had never been a spring like that. Previously unseen flowers blossomed. On the mountain, people made hay. As never before, cows went home having been milked three times. Our community cattle herd was located in a court in front of the graveyard. Women would go there to milk cows. My wife Fatima would go there too, bringing back a bucket of milk every day. I told her that we needed to sow some rye and she agreed, but where to find seeds? I said: “We will find it, if we try hard. If God allows, go out tomorrow morning with the children and collect some ears of corn. I will also try to find something.” I found half a *pood* from someone. In the village by the Kunderäk River there was a mill belonging to ‘Ubaydullah hazrat Tuqaev. His son Sharif Tuqaev lived there. I borrowed from him a *pood* of rye. In this way, in fall 1921, I sowed two and a half *pood* of rye in a field of eighty

*sazhen* in length and forty *sazhen* in width. Relying on God, in summer 1922 I collected ten loads of rye on ten carts that a horse could not move. Without counting expenses, /103b/ I managed to preserve 110 *poods* of rye in my barn. When God gives, He gives it this way. This is what I have seen and done.

From 1923 on, we had a horse and I started to farm. Before the revolution (*inqilab*) we were not given land. Starting from 1918, together with peasant folk we were given land. Since we now had the land, we ought to cultivate it. I took on agricultural work by cultivating four to five acres of land. I had no other source of income but to grow potatoes and other garden plant varieties. My peasantry (*dehqancheqlegem*) was enough for me: until 1928 I kept a horse, two cows, five to six sheep, geese, and four to five beehives.

In 1926 I was invited by imam Fatih Karimov to perform Qur'an recitation during Ramadan at the new Muslim community of Jirgän village on the Aq Idel River. The people of this community were previously Chuvash (*äwwälendä chuwash milläte bulip*) and in 1905 they officially converted to Islam (*räsmi möselmanliq qabul qilib*), built a mosque and organized a community. They found it appropriate to perform a Qur'an recitation to celebrate the 20th anniversary of their prayers, and thus invited me.

During the same Ramadan, Karamatullah Aydarov, an imam from Perm, sent me a telegram inviting me to perform a Qur'an recitation, but due to some reasons (*bä'ze ber säbäplärgä bina'än*) I replied that I could not go.

In 1929, 'Abd al-'Alim Davletshin,<sup>305</sup> a respected imam from Orenburg, sent a telegram inviting me to perform a Qur'an recitation. He had been inviting me over the previous year, but since I had promised to be elsewhere, I could not go. He invited me again that year. I went there and performed the Qur'an recitation at the mosque of Ahmad bay Husaynov in Orenburg. I appointed 'Abd al-Rahim *qari*, one of the teachers at the Husayniyya madrasa in Orenburg, to act as a listener (*sami'*) behind me, and I finished the recitation in fourteen evenings. After that, 'Abd al-Qawi hazrat, an imam of the Caravansaray mosque in Orenburg, came with the trustees of that mosque to my hotel and requested: "Now come to recite at our mosque too." I agreed and performed the second recitation [round] at Caravansaray. Its main imam Ni'matullah Timäshev was a prominent scholar and a good orator, [claiming:] "Dear Muslims, do not follow religious innovations (*dini khurafat*)!"; someone supportive of progress (*täräqqilek*). May he be covered with God's mercy, amen. /104a/ The buildings of these mosques are still present. During the recitation period, I stayed with the mosque's mu'adhdhin. At the Night of Power in Ramadan, the majority of

305 [‘Abd al-‘Alim Davletshin (1843 – ca. 1930) served as director of the Husayniyya madrasa in Orenburg.]

people present were children and many women. I completed the recitation with the appropriate prayers, then the imams addressed the audience on some religious topics, and that was it. All praise goes to God, the Lord of the Universe.

This must have been written above, but I write it here.

Even though I stayed at home between 1912 and 1916, I was not without a job. I participated in social work. First, in 1912 I talked to the village wise people (*angli adämnär*) and we came up with the idea of opening a hitherto rare cooperative for everyday needs (*potrebitel'*). To open this partnership, four people went to the Ufa governorate office to ask for permission. I (*bez*) was an organizer of this enterprise. We soon got permission, and then gathered people to explain to them the benefits of this cooperation, the fact that income will be gathered on this company's account and so on: "Now, if you agree, you can become a member of this company; then you will have to pay membership fees and select three people from all the members." Then we discussed the name of the company and decided it would be *Nur*. The membership fee was fixed at fifty rubles; then we had to elect the director, bookkeeper, three members of the revision committee, and the director's assistant. They elected me and some others as members of the revision committee. This is how our business started. The people were also happy to help, being thankful and saying: "How did you find this out? We benefit by supporting this enterprise."

In 1915 we realized together that we needed to broaden this market and open a second one, and [so] submitted an appeal to Ufa. First, our community imam 'Abdullah hazrat Tuqaev, Sharif Tuqaev and myself signed it as organizers. We got the permission quickly and opened a shop called *Shäfqat* with a 100-ruble fee. We rented a stone shop belonging to 'Abd al-Karim Iskandarov, one of the village merchants, making him a seller, /104b/ and opened a new shop. We started to sell various products at our shop, such as confectionery, for a cheap price. Even though the private entrepreneurs tried to agitate people [on their side], nothing came of it (*numerlari ütmäde*). Our business went well. The number of members grew and our account (*kassa*) strengthened, because people realized that they benefited from the partnership.

Between 1921 and 1922, I worked as a member of Ištärlibash rural council (*silsavit*). In 1922, I acted as a delegate from Talqash volost administration in the district elections of the Volga region. There were ninety delegates in total. That year we also opened a loan cooperative (*burich shirkäte, kreditni tavarishstva*) in Ištärlibash. I was elected a member of the revision committee at this cooperative.

### A Water System in Istärlibash

In 1926, I had the idea of restoring the old watercourse in Istärlibash. This fountain had been erected ninety years previously, through the means of the late ‘Abd al-Khaliq Majidov, an Istärlitamaq merchant. Though it had been functioning up to the 1917 Great Revolution (*olugh inqilab*), since there was no one to repair it, it had ceased to work. This water flows down from a mountain on the graveyard side. To lead this spring towards the mosque and madrasa, they dug the earth and put long pieces of pine wood there, hollowed out with a borer. In my time, this [construction] was called *sukhanä*. The water flowed under pressure to that *sukhanä* through beams of three *arshin* up and then down. Excess water would flow on the big street so that people could use it. This part was called a small spring (*bäläkäy chishmä*). [This water] was present in each house of the Tuqaevs as well as in the house of ‘Ayd khalfa Fazullin.

In this way, the water flowing into the *sukhanä* dwindled. By the time of the Revolution (*inqilab waqitında*), the Tuqaevs who supported the water constructions had either passed away, or fled the village. Hence the people (*khaliq*<sup>306</sup>) suffered from a shortage of water. /105a/

Now I exchanged ideas about it with the officials of our village. They said: “If people help, we will also provide any kind of governmental support, including state credit (*burich, issuda*) as well as technical aid. This year the population has the right to use the collected taxes for common needs (*‘amm fa’idasına*).” I asserted: “Good, if this work is feasible, then we have to explain it to people at a larger meeting.” I became convinced (*küngelem işhandi*) of this project after my fellow agronomist confirmed: “On my side, I can also provide the necessary assistance, explaining and convincing people in Russian.” I thought that his words would help me a lot, and I relied on God.

It was in late April<sup>307</sup> that the whole village population gathered to divide the forest territory. Everybody was present there. For that purpose, they gathered at the part of the forest called *umartaliq*.<sup>308</sup> This part of the forest had been in the hands of the Tuqaevs and they had separated it by ditches.

To start the meeting, I went forward and asked: “Dear friends, let me address an issue relating to everybody.” After they allowed me to do so, I started to talk: “As you know, ninety years ago ‘Abd al-Khaliq Majidov, an Istärlitamaq merchant, erected a fountain for our village, intending it as a life-long donation

306 [He often refers to the people, rather than to *‘ulama* or the educated community.]

307 [Only rarely does he use the Muslim calendar; only when dealing with religious life.]

308 [Since *umarta* has to do with beekeeping, this open part of the forest must have been used as a field for apiculture.]

(*'omerlek sadaqa*). This canalization is nowadays in a broken state, but everyone knows that the village people are in need of good water. Especially when there is a fire, because there is no water at the center of the village, it is difficult to find a drop of water. Dear brothers, here I suggest to you (*mäslähät qılam*), relying on God, that it be repaired. If you donate as much as you can, even if you are poor, you can be sure that it will help this matter of public benefit (*khalıq fa'idasına esh*). We have now achieved free government (*irkenlek hükümäte*), while with the previous government such an enterprise would have been difficult to achieve on our own (*üz ihtiyar belän*). As for the Tuqaevs, given that the water was on their land, /105b/ they would not have been concerned by the general need for water. Now, for us living in this era of progress (*täräqqilek zamanında*), the destruction of a water system provided by someone would be a shameful moment in history (*tarıkhta ber qara bulachaq*). Everybody understands that such shame would never be forgotten in the history of İstärlibash. If we spend our energy on this work sincerely (*chün küngelemez belän*), it would serve as a memorial (*istäleک*) for the next generations and an enduring donation (*sadaqa-yi jariyya*) until the End of Times. That would confirm the Qur'anic verse "and write down what they have forwarded and what they have left behind."<sup>309</sup> This Qur'anic verse has the following meaning: "We will note down the good deeds left before one's death." You know, of course, that millions of people and animals will benefit from this water until the End of Times. They will satisfy their thirst and happily fulfil their needs. For example, on hot days when you are thirsty and then encounter a well, you thank the person who built it. In this case you are alone, but our water service will help millions. If human beings strive, it will succeed. The Qur'an says: لَيْسَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ إِلَّا مَا سَعَى 'People will profit only from their effort.'<sup>310</sup> In accordance with our Qur'an, the leader of the Great Revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, says: 'No work, no pay (*kem eshli, shul teshli*).' The Qur'an says the same."

After I explained it at length, some people (*agaylar*) doubted: "Will we be able to do such a great task?" I told them: "If done sincerely, the strength of men can move mountains (همّة الرجال تقطع الجبال)." Some people said: "We can live without water, why would we need it?" Others say: "I have a well." There were also people saying: "I have water flowing near my house." I replied: "Human beings should not always care only about themselves. Majitov from İstärlitamaq must also have had water or a well in his house. Think – why did he construct the water system for İstärlibash, rather than saying 'I already have a

309 [وَنُكْتُبُ مَا قَدَّمُوا وَآثَارَهُمْ] Q 36: 12.]

310 [Q 53: 39.]



well'? He did not aim for personal profit (*ber shākhsi fa'ida*).” /106a/ [They continued:] “We understand what you say, but how will we find money to arrange the work?” [I said:] “The comrade (*iptāsh*) agronomist will explain that.”

He started to talk: “Dear comrades! I will tell you a bit about the water system. After listening to comrade Qadīrov, I found his words correct, and from my side I only add the following. You ask where to get money for this work. Dear comrades, very soon the government will organize the self-taxation system that allows for the collection of money for public needs such as a bridge or well. This is the first thing. Secondly, if this will not be enough, we will ask the government for credit and technical support. I promise to participate in this work. I only ask that, to accomplish this profitable work, you help us unanimously (*ber tən, ber qul bulip*) with your horses for up to three days, without any harm to them. First, we have to vote whether to repair this water system or not. Second, once we have a decision, we need to elect a committee of five people. This committee will lead the process and take the necessary further steps. Third, we will take on ourselves all the expenses of digging the earth and bringing raw materials from the forest and other places.” He suggested voting on these three issues.

Then I began to speak: “Dear community (*mühtäräm jämä'at*), to feed our children we have no difficulty in working diligently the whole summer, but that is only for ourselves. Next to the fact that it will be usable until our death, there is no doubt that this construction would be a holy deed in this world for the sake of God and eternal reward (*mängelek savapli akhirät*), similar to prayer and fasting. Think of the people among us lying in their beds for months and years, think of people sitting in jail, who think: ‘If only I was strong or free again, I would do all kinds of holy deeds (*yakhshiliqlar*).’ I truly believe that it is a way of appreciating your health, to spend two or three days of your wellbeing /106b/ to help in this endeavor as a pious donation (*sadaqa*). When someone’s horse dies, he says: ‘I would do this and that, if only I had a horse. If not to help the poor, I would accomplish the deeds for God’s sake.’ When time passes, there is nothing to regret. I hope you will consider this and bring the energy of your horses to help, wishing them health. None of this is a difficult matter.” Now we had to vote.

With regard to the first issue, the majority voted for the repair of the water supply. As for the second issue, they asked for a list of candidates in the committee: Majid Qadīrov, Basir Duseinov, Muhammad Hasan Sayf al-Mulukov, Majid Hasanov, Majid Munasipov, Khalilullah Hibatullin. The majority voted for them. One of the six was appointed to replace someone in case of illness. The third issue regarding the supply of resources at our expense was also supported. Now we only had to start working.

On May 20, 1926, when a technical expert arrived, the committee talked to him. He explained what had to be done: "First, you have to compile a list of men in the village capable of work, as well as working horses. After that, select someone for technical support, who will find the necessary materials. The rest of you will stay here to oversee the workers." We appointed Basir Duseinov to carry out the technical support and to bring the appropriate wood to the spot from the forest. The rest of us would oversee different aspects. Khalilullah Haybatullin was appointed to compile the list of workers and horses, and soon it was ready. Now the question was how to supply water, whether to keep the old path or construct a new one. /107a/ We had a discussion on the issue and then decided to abandon the old path and make a new one in a similar way from lumber, so that the pressure becomes stable. In three places on the main street of İstärlibash we had to make huge reservoirs, filled with several thousands of buckets of water. These reservoirs had to be covered with metal on the top, so that the water could be pumped at any time. We needed to dig the source of the spring, insert the borer, cover it with metal and then paint it. The former water system had to be left for laundry.

The first reservoir was placed in front of the mu'adhdhin's house, near the market. The second had to be made at the former 'small spring' place (*bäläkäy chishmä*) and the third was planned to be on the street after the stone bridge that leads to İstärлитamaq. The new system was meant to follow through the old garden of the Tuqaevs to the great mosque, then on to the mu'adhdhin's house; there it had to turn to the first reservoir, then to the second, then to the bridge, to the third reservoir and back to the bridge, where it should flow into the İstärli River. Our first step was to dig at the spring and pad its borders with loam, then we had to bring eighteen loads of loam on each horse from Qizilyar hole; I did it myself too. This way we started our work. May God allow us to finish it, amen.

We managed to dig the lumber road from the spring to the third reservoir. It was one kilometer in length. To accomplish this, every worker had to dig either half a meter, or three meters, or a meter, depending on the depth. I also performed my part of this job at a place near the spring. Now, how much lumber did we need here? They calculated 130 pieces. Hasan Sayf al-Mulukov had to bring them. He went to the mountain at the top of Aq Idel and took this lumber to İstärлитamaq on a raft. From there we brought it to İstärlibash ourselves. I also brought the necessary metal for covering.

This lumber is some nine to ten *arshin* long per piece, and we had to make a hole through it. Since they already had an instrument for that, we invited the carpenters from İstärлитamaq /107b/ and paid them one ruble and fifty cents for each piece. By June, we had the ground ready. As the prices in shops got higher,

it became difficult for people to work. I heard lots of damning talk: “Majid *qari* poisoned us with religion and forced us to do this job.” I accepted all of this calmly (*salqin qan belän*), with patience. Among the majority of people there might be those who experienced a shortage of food, but they completed the digging. May God reward them for this, amen. To connect pieces of lumber to one another, we needed metal binding that we procured from Shahi Ahmad, the blacksmith.

Every time I went out to the market, my fellow villagers would ply me, saying: “The food is expensive. It was you who started this work, now you see that the prices at the market have increased. Go (*davai*) find us the food.” They caused me a lot of headaches and I was even afraid to go out. I was forced to tack up a horse and flee to Orenburg for five to ten days. Even with such difficulties, the work went on. I told my friends: “I will go away for a while. You try to continue work.” Thanks be to God, I had a bit of rest, and came back. The work was still in progress. The lumber had been placed and the reservoirs were ready and full of water as well. Superfluous water was directed away.

Now we had to try and see if water would flow through the lumber. Oh God, now was a moment of life or death for Majid *qari*<sup>311</sup>: if water did not flow, they would immediately bury me in this hole. I said “In the name of God, I rely solely on God,”<sup>312</sup> and let the water flow. Then I ran to the first reservoir and began to wait. At some point I heard the sound of water. /108a/ Soon after, the water arrived. I thanked God, and my concerns (*ükenechem*) had all but disappeared: if I died, it would be without a concern. In my heart (*küngelemnän*)<sup>313</sup> I pronounced the following prayer: “When God asks me: ‘What good have you done for people in the world?’, I will point to this work. In accordance with the hadith “The one who points towards something good gets the same reward as the one who did the good itself,”<sup>314</sup> may the Lord of the Universe count my work as an enduring donation (*sadaqa-yi jariyya*) with reward until the End of Times.” To this day, that water system is still functioning. All the people around said: “Look, look, *qari*, your service was not for nothing.” The whole village drank this water and everyone thanked the constructors after drinking. May that be for the sake of God. This must be the only good that I performed for

311 [This is one of the rare examples when the author takes distance from himself, referring to himself by name.]

312 [In the original: بِسْمِ اللَّهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ عَلَى اللَّهِ]

313 [Here and elsewhere, the heart functions as an internal place of thought and worship.]

314 [In the original: الدال على الخير كفاعله]

Istärlibash. Maybe they will learn the story upon reading this;<sup>315</sup> I ask the readers (*uquchilar*) to pray for me.

In 1953-1954, the government improved this water system by installing pipes and granite tiles at the reservoirs. That was already the third construction of the water system in Istärlibash. The first, created by 'Abd al-Khaliq Majidov, flowed below, closer to the Istärli River, and led away [from the village]. The second, i.e. ours, was made closer to the mountain, flowing near our house, then to the higher part of the village and down to the main street.

Dear readers, I wrote this with an intention to leave a record (*ta'rikh*) of what I know about the Istärlibash water system. However short, maybe in the future those who write the history of the Istärlibash water system will add more to this.

يلوح الخط في القرطاس دهرا      وكتبه رميم في التراب

Meaning: "Letters will stay on paper for eternity, their writer will decay in ashes."

I end here with the brief history of the water system. 'Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam Qadirov known as (*al-mashhur*) Majid *qari*. Istärlibash, 1955.<sup>316</sup> /108b/

### My Imprisonment

To leave a memory (*yädkä*r) for my children and to provide a lesson (*'ibrät*), I decided to describe the events of my imprisonment (*mähbuslek*) as I committed no crime and was innocent, rather I was oppressed (*na-haqq, bälä-gunahsüz mäzlüm*). That happened on December 11, 1928. On a dark night in Istärlibash, a certain 'Izz al-Din 'Alev, a procurator's assistant, struck a stone and accidentally shot himself with his gun.

This 'Alev had earlier come to Istärlibash as a procurator to perform his duties. This 'Alev was from Qaragan village on the Dim River. During my time, he studied in Istärlibash at the religious school (*dini madrasa*). Hence I knew him. After the revolution, he started to work in the justice system. First he assisted judge Husayn Teregulov at the court in Nikifar village. Back then, every time I stayed at the house of my sister I would talk to him. After that, he

315 [Thus it was meant for a readership and the intended audience was local, able to appreciate his contribution to the common good.]

316 [The last line of this sentence was cut off at the edge (as in many other instances, when the owner wanted the book to fit the binding). Presumably, there was a fuller date. This form of colophon shows that the text was produced in stages. At some point, this part of the text was meant to finish the autobiographical narrative on a high, portraying the construction of the water system as his life achievement, not his religious training.]

worked in Qirg'izbikā village; then he started to work as a procurator's assistant in Istārlitamaq. His wife 'A'isha was the daughter of Isma'il mullah Islamqulov from Nikifar village. When my sister Farhi Sorur was a child, she always played at the house of this 'A'isha. Hence we knew each other very well. We always saw each other at the *sabantuy*s in Bashkir villages.

Once, when I came to the *sabantuy* in Naristau (Chab'inli) village, I spent a night as a guest in the house of Dawlat Shah agha. When ['Alev] came to Istārlibash, I wanted to see him and we met. He greeted me: "Hello, Majid *abzi!*" 'A'isha also asked me to greet you, if I see you." I invited him: "Welcome to our house, you will be my guest!" He replied: "I am sorry, Majid *abzi,* I have no time during this trip, but maybe next time, if God allows." I said: "Alright, I am looking forward to welcoming you," and we parted. That evening, 'Alev went to a theater play (*ispiktal*), where he sat together with a woman with whom he had previously worked in Qirg'izbikā. /109a/ This woman lived with Samarin, a Russian postal chief in Istārlibash. He probably told her: "Shall I come to your place after the play?" Then 'Alev went to the volost office for a meeting. Then, around nine or ten, he went to the volost guard and asked: "Bring me my gun. I will go now to the credit society." The volost chief told him: "If so, I can provide someone to accompany you." He refused, gesturing at the gun: "If you have this, you do not need a guard." It was dark at night and the mess on the street had dried up. He went to the post office and saw through the window that in one part of the building the youth had gathered for a party (*aulaq*).

At some point, young men started to come out and he saw Samarin there. He got scared and hurried along the street. There is a water canal near the gates, with huge stones and timber behind it. In the darkness, he struck a stone, accidentally pressed the gun's trigger and fell with his head on the stone. In the same minute there was another gunshot, probably to alert people, because the first shot was quiet, while the second was heard clearly. When people arrived, he uttered: "I have killed myself (*kharap buldim*). Take me home." They took him inside the post office, then he asked for water and they gave him cold water from the canal. He died soon after. Near the place where he fell down, his gun was left behind with two bullets shot. One of the bullets went into his shoes. His whistle also remained there. Another bullet hit his left leg and got stuck in his shoes. They told the inspection (*qan soragan adām*) that they had given him warm water first. That is one lie, and the other: instead of "I have killed myself," they rendered his words as "They have killed me." They said that he was killed for his work.

Now, in the middle of the night, /109b/ they started to arrest decent people in the village. At eleven o'clock, I was in my house writing a document (*ber 'ariza*) with my friend Hasan. The gates were open and we were sitting opposite

one other. The window shutters were also open. Suddenly someone knocked at the door. I went out and asked: "Who is there?" They said: "Us, open the door." I opened [the door] and saw the police, inspector, judge and other people there. They entered, then ordered me: "Hands up!" and started the search (*obysk*). They told me: "You are under arrest." My wife and children were sleeping. After searching me, all the boxes and the entire house, they took me with them. I did not know what the matter was, but they put me in prison. They arrested imams and mu'adhdhins of three mosques, wealthy peasants from other villages, as well as merchants, even those who were in Istärlitamaq at the time. Thirty-six people in total. After that, the volost chief from Qaragush village, Sabir Maqsudov, and the communal inspector 'Inayat Tukhfatullin sent a telegram to Ufa. The message was the following: "All the shooters are under arrest." I was shocked and had no idea what was going on; the same must have been true of the others. For several days the village was blocked by guards who did not let anyone in or out.

In the morning, the authorities from Ufa started to arrive; that is, a military procurator, the secret police director, and all the authorities of Istärlitamaq. The entire village was thrown into chaos and people spread rumors about what had actually happened. At night the guards changed, and I asked the new guards: "What happened?" They replied: "The procurator got killed." I was surprised, because that was an impossible thing, but I was patient and relied on God. I hoped that at some point the truth would be known anyway.

Now the investigation started and they initiated the interrogation (*dapros*). First, they invited and questioned my companions, then they invited me. Since I had not seen such things over the fifty years of my life, I was afraid and confused. In my entire life I had never come before the court, even in the capacity of a witness (*gah*). I had to answer to all of their questions: "Where did you spend the day, what did you do, who did you talk to, did you know 'Alevv?" and so on. /110a/

– "Do you recognize your guilt in this issue?"

– "No."

– "On that day, who did you talk to? Where did you go?"

I replied that I went here and there and talked to so-and-so: in the afternoon my brother-in-law, my wife and myself had guests over.

– "Who was there?"

– "Such-and-such people, and also a poor person who assists me all the time."

– "Who is he?"

– "Khabir Iskhaqov."

Then I added: "Back then, a committee of rights inspection had denied me my rights. All my activities thus revolved around writing appeals to get the rights

back. The committee consisted of Zinnatullin Lutfullah, Muhiddin Hibbatullin, and someone else whose name I do not remember. In 1921, I suggested Majid Hasanov, now the chair of this committee, as a candidate for appointment as a teacher. In former years he was a khalfa who laughed [at me] and called me 'an atheist reformist'. The committee was on my side, but as a chair Hasanov voted against me and denied me my rights. People say: if you do good to someone, wait for evil.<sup>317</sup> That was the case. Day and night I was busy collecting materials from different places to defend myself. I went to 'Alev to explain this. He said: 'Majid *abzi*, I know who you were before the Revolution, bring me the documents showing your work after the Revolution. I will process them, but be quick, since I depart today.' This is why addressed him."

– "Did you know him? He was a Communist, why would you talk to him?"

I replied: "In my youth we studied together, he was my neighbor and friend. On December 11, I spent the whole day working until nine in the evening. At eight, I even sent my small children to get a document from someone. I invited Hasanov to my home to draw up the appeal together according to instructions. He agreed and promised to come. I was thus at home waiting for him. Then the sound of gunshots was heard. First clearly, and then /uob/ another one, hollow. Right away, the sound of whistles and cries was heard. My house is on the hill, I went out on the doorstep and stayed there listening. Then my son and daughter came back and greeted me: 'Daddy, we heard the gunshot and people going along the street with lamps.' I replied: 'The police must have taken a drunk person.' After that, I went back into my house to examine the documents. Soon after, Hasanov arrived: 'There is so much noise in the street. I heard it on my way here, but I do not know what happened.' Then we wrote the appeal. Then someone knocked the door. I opened it. The police entered the house and arrested both of us. My wife and children were asleep."

They invited me for examination several times and performed a search of my house. In a day or two, the procurators from Ufa began to leave. They came to show off in front of the people, but nothing happens without the order of God and the truth will come out anyway. They lacked guards in the village for this terror (*dähshät*) and invited people from neighboring villages. Later, they organized a gathering of the poor, and asked about us. People said: "If the fact is proved, we will ask for execution, but without proof the issue will remain open, because we do not think that these people would commit this crime. Maybe it was an enemy from another village. We know nothing of it. You have a lurcher [dog]. Bring out the people and the prisoners, the dog will identify the criminal."

<sup>317</sup> [This sentence is underlined.]

The next day, they took the people and the dog to the place of the murder. The post officer and Zahir al-Dinov, the policeman, took the dog from the place of the murder back home. They stopped the dog from searching. People asked them: "Let the dog out!" But they took it away.

After that, we were all sent to Istärlitamaq to prison. We spent ten days in the village. Thanks be to God, though I had heard of prisons, God let me enter it without a sin. /۱۱۱۱/

Without hesitation, the volost administration, based on false evidence from other people, unjustly (*na-haqq*) forced me to leave my wife, six children, and two orphan brothers. Since I had committed no crime (*gunahsiz*), I did not feel any sorrow. I had great hope that the government (*hükümät*) would not punish innocent people without knowing the truth.

When compiling the report on 'Alev, they did not mention that his overcoat and trousers were slightly burned. Hence Khayr al-Din Farkshatov, the chair of the village council, said: "Why don't you write it? I ask you to write it. People say that in war the bullet does not burn when it is shot from a short distance." Then they wrote it down. The doctor (*dukhtur*) who examined the body first said that it was difficult to say that he was actually killed, but then he obeyed the word of the local administration and wrote that he had been shot. Then the body was sent to Istärlitamaq, where factory workers greeted it with the sound of horns.

I wrote above that Khabir Iskhaqov was together with us at the party. He had bad luck, since when they searched his house, they found a bloodied fur coat and knife on the top of the oven. The policemen rejoiced, saying: "We have found the murderer." In fact, they did not, because they only found a bloodied fur coat and a knife, while 'Alev was not stabbed, he was shot. In their view, if the fur coat has blood on it, that is the murderer. Then they started questioning Iskhaqov:

- "Was it you who killed 'Alev?"
- "No," he replied. "I had been asleep since the evening, I did not even leave the house."
- "Why are you lying? Do you want to escape?" The policeman wanted to scare him.
- "Feel free to search and investigate."
- "So how did a bloodied fur coat and knife appear in your house?"
- "They did not appear. I brought them myself. If you ask why, I slaughtered a horse for someone and my things got dirty. Once back home, I threw them on the oven. This is the nature of that blood."

They asked the person whose horse was slaughtered and he supported the case. This joy of finding a murderer recalled the saying: "there is no smoke



without fire.”<sup>318</sup> /111b/ The local administration was afraid of being blamed, and therefore sent the fur coat and knife to Moscow for inspection. There it was testified to be the horse’s blood. Their case did not succeed: neither was the dog allowed, nor was the knife of any help. These people started to worry about themselves. It had been easy to send a telegram saying that they had arrested the murderers, but it was now difficult to prove. When we found ourselves in prison, someone shouted via the door viewer (*volchok*<sup>319</sup>): “Ask for a gathering of the medical commission to check the body again.” Since this was all new to us, we were afraid that this would be turned against us. Had we done so back then, maybe we could have escaped, because seventeen professors and doctors in Ufa examined the relevant report and concluded that he must have killed himself. Had the committee been organized in time, things could have gone differently.

We spent three months in Istärli prison and then they moved us to Ufa. We all entered the same cell for investigation. Several days later the secret police (GPU) charged all eleven of us and sent the case to the procurator. After that, they expelled the rest to Siberia for different periods, to Omsk, Narymskii krai and other places. I remained, with the thought “Oh God, let it be,” and was repeatedly invited to the court office for examination. Then they moved us from the communal cell to the four-floor building with separate cells. I was on the second floor in cell no. 19, ‘Alim Tuqaev was in the neighboring cell, Hasanov was on the third floor. The month of Ramadan arrived. May God accept it; we broke our fast with prison bread and cold water. We did not miss the five prayers, thanks be to God. Then my wife and baby daughter, called Maryam, came to visit me. May God reward them greatly for their attentiveness.

In April, we heard rumors that they would let us go. /112a/ [The prison workers] said: “Now your case is on the desk of the high court, there it will be solved.” A certain ‘Uthmanov worked there as inspector for the most important cases. The Russian holiday of Paskha approached. One day, seven of our companions were suddenly let free. The five of us, i.e. ‘Abd al-Rahim b. ‘Ubaydullah Tuqaev, Hasanov, Iskhaqov, Hadi the mu’adhdhin, and myself, had to stay. We thought that now we had been found guilty. ‘Abd al-Rahim b. Lutfullah Tuqaev, ‘Alim Tuqaev, ‘Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov, Basir Duseinov, Ahmad ‘Aleev, and Majid Munasipov left the prison.

One day, Majid Valiullin, my brother-in-law born in Nikifar, came to visit me and brought some presents. He told me: “*Abzi*, do not worry, you will get out.”

318 [The language of the original is rather coarse: *tichmagan kütkä buq yabishmas*, i.e. “If you don’t take a shit, there won’t be shit stuck to your ass.”]

319 [This term is prison jargon.]

I replied: “You are only saying this to calm me down. They would not separate us from those who left.” [He said:] “*Abzi*, it turns that the situation is as follows. He [‘Uthmanov] considered the case of seven people and then got ill. He has not had time to consider your case yet. Once he gets out of the hospital, he will consider your case.” He made me calm by saying: “You will be free very soon, if God allows.”

The May holiday approached, but we were still waiting. On May 5, we were finishing our daily meals, when they cried from the door viewer (*volchok*): “Qadīrov, your case is upheld. Let’s go, you are free (*chist, davai iskoree svobodu*).” I was confused. Once I left the cell, I asked: “What about the others?” He said: “All of you are getting out.” Right there, they joined me with their luggage. [The prison workers] ordered: “At six o’clock you will go to the gate.”

We were leaving the prison gates and saw ‘Abd al-Qadir Tuqaev with a cab driver (*izvushik*) coming to greet us. I (*bez*) told him: “We are finally free!” He laughed: “Oh, are you? You will come to our place. I will now order the cab driver; take us there!” They were waiting for us, to feed us. May God forgive them, amen.

We went to the secret police (GPU) at six o’clock.<sup>320</sup> He [the GPU worker] said: “Once at home, if you hear or learn something about this case, write to us at this address. We will investigate it,” and then let us go. /112b/ This means that the highest court did not find the case appropriate for sentencing. We got out safely without the court procedure. Thanks be to God, of course the truth must have become clear. The government also investigated properly and performed justly (*‘adellek belān*). Long live the government and the just court (*‘adalāt mähkämäse*) that recognize conscience (*wujdan*) and truth (*haqiqat*). There was such terror (*dähshätle eshlär*) about what could have been if the government had followed this line, but they performed only just deeds (*tugriliq*). All the newspapers, all the workers’ conferences called unanimously for the highest sentence (*‘ali jaza*) for us. Russian newspapers published in America and Moscow wrote about it. Such shameless and cruel people!

Without knowing the case, on January 19, 1929, a Bashkir comrade (*iptāsh*), Asan Kildiev, wrote an article in Bashkortostan, called “Traces of Blood” (*qan ezläre*). When I came back, I saw [my name there]: Qur’an hafiz Majid *qari* Qadīrov. I was shocked how one’s conscience (*wujdan*) can allow one to write such an insult (*iftira*) and such a lie. You have to know, dear reader, that there are such shameless oppressors (*wujdansiz zalimnär*) in the world!

<sup>320</sup> [Presumably, he is referring to the following day, although this is not made clear in the original.]

Our case went to Moscow and then was returned to Ufa with written advice (*tanbih*): “Check it properly! Do not consider the case following your personal judgment (*shäkhsiyategezgä birelep*) of mullahs and kulaks.” In December 1928, our case bore the number 520. Thanks be to God, even though all the newspapers were full of calls to sentence us with the highest penalty, due to the justice of the government (*hükümätneng ‘adaläte*), the court did not find any facts for consideration and let us go free. I thanked God ceaselessly.

I rejoined my family on the ‘Arafa night of Qurban bayram, at around eleven o’clock. Thanks be to God, I informed the police station and started to live quietly. For us, those were days of happiness, but for the oppressors (*zalimnär*) and the local authorities that was like the Last Day (*khatim köne*). I thought that they would do everything not to let us stay in the village and would find ways to fabricate another case against me, because they were worried about themselves. They tried to do something evil (*yawizliq*) /113a/ and get rid of me. Sabir Maqsudov, Tukhfatullin and others were among them. At some point, on September 19, a meeting about taxes in the volost took place. Because some of the citizens (*grazhdannar*) were in high spirits, they expressed some criticism. These were the comrades Sharifjan ‘Alev and ‘Ubaydullah. The volost chief Maqsudov said: “You are being denounced by those who have returned [from prison].” On the same evening they arrested Sharifjan, ‘Ubaydullah and myself on the way back [from the meeting]. They sent us directly to Istärlitamaq prison. After several days there, they sent us again to Ufa prison. This time they asked me only once in Istärlitamaq about my life and social origin (*ijtimagiä chügishim*), wrote it down and never asked me anything in Ufa. On the first arrest they gave me article 58: 2-3, on the second, article 58: 11.

I stayed in Ufa from my imprisonment until August 1929 without being asked anything. At that time, all the mullahs, mu’adhdhins and religious people of each village were taken to prison. The prisons became so full that there was no room left. In Ufa there were 3,000 people together with me. In July, they started to send people off to various places. Sharifjan and ‘Ubaydullah Munasipov returned to their houses. One day, ‘Abd al-Rahim b. Lutfullah Tuqaeu and ‘Alim Tuqaeu, an imam from Istärlibash, were moved from our cell to another. One or two days later, a car took them away.

At that time, the secret police had tripartite committees (*troika*). The next day, we learned that according to their decision, ‘Abd al-Rahman Aydayulov, Majid Hasanov and myself had been given ten years, Basir Duseinov, Ahmad ‘Alev, ‘Imad al-Din Tukhfatullin had been given five years, and Khabir Iskhaqov had been given three years [of prison]. This was a rude (*nakhaliy*) gift for me from the Istärlibash volost officials.

On August 2, 1929, 300 people were put on the same train and sent off to Arkhangelsk (*Arkhangel*). I said, "Let us have a safe journey," and joined them. The days were hot; each of the red coaches contained thirty-five people. They gave us very little water. The metal roof radiated heat. In this way we traveled via Samara, Penza, Moscow, Petrozavodsk, Medvezh'ya Gora and Kem and on the eleventh day they brought us to the station called Louhi, on the Murmansk railway. Through the larch forest /113b/ and swamp we moved on from Louhi station to a particular place (*ber punkt*). Near the houses, at the lake, there were several barracks surrounded by a fence. After lining us up and asking our names, the GPU officials pronounced their customary words. At the same time, our luggage was brought on carts and jumbled up. We went there on foot. After that they ordered us into a bath house. In fact, it was just a small building near the lake with several benches inside. We washed ourselves with warm water. They took our clothes for disinfection. We went out [of the bath house] naked, but there were enough clothes prepared waiting for us. They gave us white shirts, trousers, leather shoes, jackets and caps and then took us to a clean barracks. We arrived at night, but when we entered the barracks the sun rose, because nights are very short in that place. Then we slept and rested. After waking up, we ate bread and one kilogram of fish, and drank tea. They took us to the house, examined our things (*paketlarni*), showed us to the doctor and then divided us into categories: strong young people were assigned to the fourth category, sick people to the second category and those in between to the third category.<sup>321</sup> Night approached. We ate things like soup, porridge, and fish and then had some rest. Starting from the third day, they called us for work. Three hundred people who had spent several years in prison, then eleven days en route, arrived terribly hungry and could not satisfy themselves with food. The local people talked to each other in amusement: "Who are these people? A team of gluttons (*obzhornii kamanda*)?" We got 1200 grams of rye bread. There was a lot of fish: no matter how much you ate, the bowl of it was still standing near the kitchen.

Our job was the following. We were near the Finnish border, 56 km away from the station, amongst the swamp, rocks and larch forest. We had to build a road by digging earth and cutting trees. Our job, in the third [category], was to bring sand and clay on horse-drawn carriages. /114a/

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321 [These categories were introduced in 1927 under the management of Naftalii Frenkel, a former prisoner of the Solovki camp; Andrea Gullotta, *Intellectual Life and Literature at Solovki, 1923-1930. The Paris of the Northern Concentration Camps* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2018), 50.]

Later on, after a month of work, they took us to the 19th point which had a single barracks, which was in bad shape. There was a bridge being constructed over the lake. We worked there until November 7. On the holiday they started to take us on the march (*etap*). We were in high spirits hoping to get soup, water and good meat for the holiday, but now they ordered: "Let's go, let's go (*davai da davai*)" and 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov and I started to collect our things. Duseinov and Hasanov stayed: only those sentenced to ten years were not taken. Hasanov had arrived there earlier.

Nobody knew where we were going. They collected our things and took them to one place and forced us to go on foot: "Your luggage will be sent on ships." We were near a huge lake. We departed at night and then marched for 15 km back to the previous settlement. In the middle of the night, the guards told us: "We will rest here for an hour." There was no place to sleep in the forest and swamp, but we slept putting our heads on stumps or timber that was lying there. At sunrise we went on, and arrived by midday. Once there, we realized that our luggage was still missing. We waited until the evening. At some point, we got the news that the ship had sunk. Then suddenly, at around eleven o'clock, people became flustered: the ship had arrived. We ran there; the ship had indeed arrived, but all our belongings were floating inside, full of water. We picked up the stuff with difficulty and brought it to the barracks. Everything was wet: pillows, blankets, fur coats, and felt boots. I stayed awake the whole night until sunrise, trying to dry it, but it helped only a little. No sleep, no food. They started shouting: "Let's go on the march (*davai etapqa*)!" I put the wet stuff around my neck, they gave me one or two salty fish to carry, and we went on 6 km to the former Louhi station. They took us on a train and we did not know where we were going. I was so exhausted that a boil appeared on my shoulder and I could not lift heavy things. Thanks be to God, my brother-in-law (*qaynagam*) Aydabulov helped me, carrying the things for me. There was no water in the train to drink after eating fish, and I did not know what to do. I asked if I could eat snow from the window and they would not even allow that. It was cold in the train. That was November. /114b/

We reached Popov Island on the shores of the White Sea; there we picked up our heavy luggage and marched another 3 km to the barracks. I set down my belongings on the way, but the guards told me: "Take it." I replied: "I cannot (*ne mogu*). My shoulder hurts. You can do whatever you want." Then they left it with a watchman. We entered the barracks, but there was no water to drink and it was impossible to drink the salty sea water. At night, around ten o'clock, they shouted: "Whose luggage was left?" I ran out and took my belongings which had been brought on a horse.

We had to spend ten days there in quarantine. I took this opportunity to dry out all of my belongings. After fourteen days, they took us on the march again and we still did not know where we were going. They put us on a steamboat by the shore of the White Sea. It was five in the evening; a lot of people were going on the steamboat. There were also many delinquents (*shpana*). On the steamboat, they did not let us inside, because it was full of food. We moved into the middle of the sea. It was night when suddenly the wind, snow and storm started. That was a terrible moment (*qiyamat*). The wind on the steamboat was very strong and people were crying terribly, especially the delinquents, because their clothing was very thin. Even though I had a fur coat and felt boots [with me], I was afraid that they would be stolen once I took them out. I started to shudder violently. We did not know where the steamboat was going. It was simply circling in the storm. What to do? I went to a sailors' cabin, they asked me: "What do you want, old guy (*starik*)?" I asked them: "May I warm up a bit?" They said: "Alright, keep guard here while we go to work. Don't let anyone inside." They were cooking pancakes and gave me one or two, as well as a boiled potato. I also drank tea and warmed up in this room that was like a bath house. People outside were suffering, but I had entered a paradise. I was sitting there thanking God. The sailors came back and asked me: "Hey, old guy, is everything alright (*nu istarik, vse paradkümü*)?" I replied: "Yes." They continued the conversation: "The steamboat has lost its way. Nothing can be seen and the waves are strong. I hope we won't sink." Dawn approached and it cleared up. /115a/ Once it was daylight, the steamboat returned to Popov Island.

Again under orders we marched the 3 km back to the barracks. I did not take my belongings; though the guards shouted at me, I left them on the hill, saying: "It's heavy. If it gets lost, you will be responsible." Upon reaching the barracks we drank some tea, ate something and slept. After getting some rest I went to the guards. They had brought my stuff to their place. I saw it was safe and I returned to the barracks. Then we slept, and in the morning they took us on the march again. They lined us up near the watch, but my things were not there any more. I told the guard: "Where is my luggage? If you do not find it, I will not go. You can shoot me." He replied: "No worries, you will get it back," and returned me to the line. Alright, I trusted them and went on. We reached the steamboat and stopped there. I still inquired about my belongings. Nothing came after the first and the second bell. I asked: "Where is my stuff?" The guard replied: "They will bring it now." At the third bell, we were taken on board the steamboat; only then did my things arrive, and I received them in good order. In the afternoon the guard asked me: "Did you get your stuff?" I said: "Yes." The steamboat departed. Now we learned that we were going to the Solovki Islands, 60 km away in the middle of the sea. That was a six-hour journey. We arrived

safely and the steamboat set down its anchor. They started to take us off [the boat]. The landing stage was full of officials and other people. When we disembarked, we met comrade Hasanov:

- “Aydabulov and I are both fine. How come you are here?”
- “After you left, we came here. I live in a barracks and I’m doing well.”
- “Alright. You know, we will take a bath now; please save a place for us next to you, if possible.”
- “I will try.”

We took a bath and around ten at night we went to Hasanov. The huge barracks was made of larch, it was bright and warmed by ovens. There were five people inside. Thankfully, he had prepared a good spot for me. We slept.

In the morning, we woke up and drank tea. /115b/ Then the commander told us that the two of us could stay for a day. After that they shouted again: “On the march!” We all took our things and went out; there were another three people. They checked us and sent us off. Hasanov was sent to another place. The two of us marched 11 km to a point called Muksalma near Solovki. They carried our luggage on a horse, and we went on foot. We went in the evening. The day was cold. They checked us for a long time and then placed us in a dugout barracks. It turned out to be a quarantine barracks. There were many Bashkirs from the Chilabi region, including Sulayman mullah from Tunshaq village, who had worked as a lawyer in the highest court of Bashkortostan, and Nuri A’zam Tahirov, a commander of the Bashkir troops who defended Petersburg<sup>322</sup> from Denikin. It was so hot in the barracks that it was impossible to sleep. One evening, when I went out for a roll call, I became severely ill. I had a temperature of forty degrees. Now they took me to the hospital. Aydabulov remained in the barracks. I spent a month in the hospital and they moved me to the second category, due to the state of my health. When I came back, Aydabulov had been transferred to the Kremlin. In this way I was left alone.

After the hospital, I moved to a barracks made of good wood. It was spacious, full of light, warmed by three ovens. Officials told me: “We cannot assign you to work, because you are an invalid. We have no right to make you work.” They gave me back my things; that is, my winter clothes, felt boots, and mittens. I moved to the fourth category, [meaning that] I got 400 grams of black bread and thirteen grams of sugar a day. They told me: “Just stay in the barracks.” I stayed there.

Summer came. With the intention of getting more bread, I managed to get a job as a gatekeeper at the office. Here, life became better: the office workers

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322 [In the original: Leningrad.]

sometimes gave me their food stamps and leftover bread. I remained well until May. On May 5, they sent me on the march again. I did not know where to.

We went to the Kremlin, Aydarulov was there. We had to sleep in a bath house and in the morning they [would] take us somewhere. We woke up and Aydarov came from the barracks, since he had to go with us. /116a/ We went out and after 20 km reached the cliffs of the White Sea. After traveling 5 km by sea, we landed at an island. At that time, icebergs the size of barracks roamed the sea. We moved among them on a boat and arrived at the point (*punkt*) called Anzer. There were huge churches that had previously made up a monastery. After stopping here for a while for a roll call, some people stayed here, including Aydarulov. 'Abd al-Bari Fattahov, a mullah from Bugulma region, was living here. Right, but we went 4 km further, to a place called the Second Golgotha. Here, the churches were also located on mountains. They put us there. From that place, one could see the movements of all the ships in the White Sea. Once there, I found out that our comrade Hasanov was also there. We met each other. He turned out to be working as an orderly in the hospital. He said: "If you want to work as an orderly, there is a place. Just write an appeal ('*ariza*)." I submitted an appeal right away and they accepted me. We started to work at the hospital together. We did so until August 1931.

In May, even after sundown, it was still bright. At night it was possible to write letters without using a lamp. Then they demolished this hospital and moved us to the central hospital in the Kremlin. We took everything with us and moved there. We started to work at the central hospital, a three-story red-brick building. Azerbaijani Jawdat efendi and others were working there as doctors. Until September 12 we stayed there, but then they called us to go on the march again. We did not know where we were going, but there were rumors that we were going back to Russia. Hasanov was invited, but he decided to stay by saying: "I have no strength to go."

There were famous people of Russia: Hadi Atlasov from Bugulma; Sa'id Sunchalay, a poet; 'Abd al-Wudud Fattahov, an imam of Moscow; and the Kazakh Ahmad Baytursunov as well as Sultan 'Aleev from Ufa. They all stayed there, but 800 people boarded a steamboat and departed. We reached the aforementioned Popov Island, where we took a train. We passed the city of Kem and arrived at the place called Qarymayguba, at the fourth division of Shavan station. There was a single barracks located amongst the larch forest. We stopped there. /116b/ There were some people there. We started to build a bath house. There was a small kitchen, but nothing else. After a day or two people arrived, marching. Every day, people came from Russia. One day, we welcomed our fellow villager 'Izz al-Din b. 'Abdullah, and Sa'idullah b. Sayfullah, a mu'adhdhin from Aydarali village. We were very happy to see each other, as if



it was our relatives that had come. I asked: "What job did they assign to you?" They replied: "First we worked in Syzran. Then they sent us here to construct a canal." Here we learned that we had also come here with the same task.

We started to work on the White Sea Canal on November 12, 1931. We milled the larch forest in the swamp, laid down a bridge and built a road leading to the canal. After that, people started to work on the canal itself. Since I was old, I belonged to the second category and only did easy work. I was in a team of some twenty people that prepared wood for the kitchen. A Ukrainian called Gapon was our foreman. I worked on the White Sea Canal until 1932, at the Mayguba division of Shavan station. Up to 8,000 prisoners worked there in turns, day and night. Thanks be to God, I was only tasked with easy jobs, such as leveling the sand, cleaning up particular areas and sweeping. By November of the same year, the land work at the White Sea Canal was finished. Every day of our work was counted as two [days], and with the end of the construction they also took a year [off my sentence]. In those days, they were asking at the barracks: whoever wants to apply for a medical release can go to a certain barracks. Though I did not have a document, I told Aydabulov: "Let us go there too." We went there; they checked us, but did not say anything.

In February 1933, the days were extremely cold. After cutting trees, I came back terribly tired and fell asleep. In the middle of the night, they called me: "Is Qadırov here? Be quick, you are now free (*irekkä*)."<sup>117a</sup> I was sleeping next to Aydabulov, and was shocked. He stayed. I went out at one o'clock at night and saw that twenty-five people were waiting with their luggage at the gate and were busy loading their things on the sledge. They had already called people in the afternoon and had apparently not been able to find me in the barracks. We left safely on foot. The days were very cold.

We marched 15 km to Mayguba point. There we stayed in barracks for fifteen days for quarantine. /117a/ Fifteen days later they ordered twenty-five people to leave for voluntary exile (*ikhtiyary sürgen*). Some people went to Melekes, others to Pugachev, and I went to the city of Kotlas in Vятka governorate, on the banks of the Dvina River. That turned out to be our freedom (*irekkä chigu*). We had to spend the remaining five years there. They gave me a GPU document no. 4444, saying that Qadırov, sentenced for ten years according to article 58: 11, according to a decision of the GPU committee must spend the remaining term in exile (*bäylänmesh yirdä*). They gave me some food for the trip and a train ticket, and I set off without a convoy. On March 8, I arrived in Kotlas, left my belongings in a luggage room and registered at the local police station.

It was really cold, down to minus fifty degrees, and it was impossible to find a place to sleep. Night approached. Everything was expensive: black bread cost ten rubles per kilo and half a liter of milk cost five rubles. Prisoners like me

died on the streets of hunger and cold. I asked at the police station where to spend the night; they replied: "We have no apartment here. Look, a kilometer from here, there is a place for homeless and delinquents. If you don't go there, there is no other place. Those who go there get 200 grams of bread." I went there and entered the barracks which had no light and was full of smoke. There was a single lamp in one corner. I sat awake by a pallet the whole night, got 200 grams of bread in the morning and then went out. I came to the police station and asked: "Where will you send me?" They replied: "You will find out in Nikolsky region, there they will tell you where to go." I said: "If so, give me a document to find an apartment there." He produced a document asking the village councils to provide me with a place to sleep. I took the paper and agreed with some companions to depart that day. Since everyone had a lot of luggage, we constructed a sledge. Wafa Suleymanov, a mullah of Qunshaq village in Shadrin district, and I put our things on the sledge and dragged it along on the ice of the Dvina River. Oh God, let us have a safe trip. Then we turned onto the great Arkhangelsk road, together with twenty-five others. /117b/ On the way there were huge Russian villages. In the evenings, we asked the village councils for a place to sleep. We had to wait on the cold street for an hour or two, only to be distributed among different houses. In this way we spent several days dragging our sledge.

Nobody knew the place called Nikolsky where we had to go. We were confused. In one village we asked at the police station: "We do not know where this place actually is. Can you show us the route?" The official stood up, examined the map and then told us: "You took the opposite direction by mistake. Now you have to go back and ask on the way, that way you will find the place." We turned back. There was a huge Russian village near Kotlas city; we spent a night there. In the morning we got together to figure out what to do: "Shall we go? If not, then we go back to Kotlas to say that we failed to find the place and ask for instructions." [We went back and] they told us: "We will send you to another place." We took a [new] document. On the street, a foreman of workers living in a barracks invited us: "Our barracks is 2 km from here. We have a job for you. We can take you." I consulted with my companion and we decided to stay.

We returned to the police station and told them: "We want to stay here." They agreed. We went to the barracks right away. After a couple of days, we got a job producing railway ties. If we fulfilled our quota, the two of us would get 900 grams of bread; if not, only 400 grams. They also gave us a ticket for dining, and nothing else. In this way we tried to work. It was impossible to fulfill the quota, and every day we got 400 grams of bread. We continued to work, but even this food would only be received after five days. How should

we survive these five days? If we wanted to buy it, one kilo cost ten rubles. We had no money and I started to sell my clothes. I sold my felt boots, weighing 7 lb, for 500 grams of bread. I also had a foreign-made leather bag that I sold for five loaves of bread. This way I sold off and ate up what I had left. I lost energy and could not work. My legs and face became bloated. My condition was bad. I thought, as I lay down: "This is my end."

My wife Fatima, may God have mercy upon her, despite shortages at home, sent me a package with some money, a bit of butter, pasta, dry toast, and flour. This sustained me for a while. This, too, ended. I received another package. This ran out as well. That was May 1933. Greenery appeared on the banks of the Dvina. I collected clover and sorrel, /118a/ put salt on it and, since there was no other place, cooked it in a bath. I ate it and laid down in joy, covered in sweat. Sometimes I collected flax roots, fried them and then added them to soup. My energy left me day after day, so that I had to crawl to go to the toilet. My face was bloated, my legs were bloated. I sold off everything I had. Only the jacket in which I had left my house was still with me. That was lined with lambswool. People told me: "You are going to die this way. You have to go to a village. They would give you some food and you might get better." I had no strength to go to the village. I replied: "If God helps me, I will go to the village." Now there was nothing left for me but to die. One weekend, my fellow traveler Suleymanov went to the market in Kotlas and died on the way back. He perished in a hollow. I found him there and let the police know. After keeping him for several days, they took him and must have buried him somewhere. May God cover him with His mercy, amen.

Soon after, the doctors invited me for a medical examination. I went there and they registered me. My impression was that I certainly had no hope. I realized that they had filed a report on me and I asked them: "When will the results be known?" They replied: "It's unclear. Maybe tomorrow, maybe in three months. We cannot say exactly." Those were my most difficult days. I thought that I would die if I waited for these results. I had to rely on God, sell my fur jacket, and go somewhere by train. If I died, I would die on the road; but maybe God would help me. I came home and sold the fur jacket for forty-five rubles. I went out in the morning, hanging a bag (*qapchiq*) around my neck. I walked 2 km to Kotlas, bought half a liter of milk there, and half a kilo of bread, then I had a bite to eat and headed to the station, relying on God. I bought a ticket for five rubles to a place five stations away. The train had to depart soon, but at the gates the GPU officers were checking people to prevent escape. Oh God, the train arrived and boarding started. Oh God, I passed through together with the rest /118b/ and entered the train. I climbed up just inside the door and

laid down. It was a berth with a small railing for keeping coal in. Suddenly the GPU officer started to check the car. I was lying there between life and death. Oh God, he did not notice me and passed on.

In the evening I arrived at the place that I had bought the ticket for. While traveling quietly in this way, I decided to get out to see the station. If I had stayed, I would have been in Vyatka by the morning. When I got off, [a police officer] approached, stopped me and asked for my documents. Fortunately I pulled out my documents from the police station in Kotlas, saying that I wanted to go elsewhere. I showed him my documents, but he did not trust them. He took me off the train and brought me into a room at the station. He ordered: "Stay here until I come back." I waited for a while, maybe half an hour, and he came back. He took me among the red trains, where another ten people joined me. They were people like me. After that, a GPU plenipotentiary arrived and examined my documents.

- "Why did you run away?"
- "I did not. You have my documents."
- "No, these are the documents to Kotlas, but you do not have the appropriate documents [for this part of the journey]."
- "I'm going to work in another place. I have no energy and my condition is very bad. I am looking for an easy job."

After that he returned my documents and boarded another ten people on the train. I stayed. There was no one to say "go" or "no, stay." I stayed for a while, then decided that they must have left me, and very slowly disappeared among the trains.

I arrived back at the railway station. It was evening. In June, the nights were very short. I was there alone. I sat there, unable to sleep. In the morning, people started to gather. A Komsomol worker approached me and took me to the police. They asked the chief, but he answered: "Let him go, he was already checked (*puskai iava, ul tiksherelgän*)."

I went back to the station. I had the documents and thirty rubles that I had kept. I bought a ticket to Vyatka for nineteen rubles. The rest of the money /119a/ I spent on bread, and ate it.

The train was to arrive in the evening, since it passed by there only once a day. Now it was time and I went to the train, but the police officer who had taken me the day before saw me on the platform. He asked: "*Babay*, are you leaving?" I replied: "Yes, you let me go, right?" He said: "Right, go (*davai, valai*)."

Oh God, I cried, and went on to Vyatka. Only God knows the future.

In the morning I arrived in Vyatka. I got out at the station and saw that all the travelers were there too. At that moment, I had no bread to eat and no money. I went to people who were eating and asked them to give me a bit of bread. This way I settled my stomach for a while. I asked people: "Is the market

[still open] for long?" They replied: "Not that long." I had a leather shirt and decided to sell it. I went to the market and sold it for ten rubles, and bought a bit of bread and *qatiq* and ate it. Thanks be to God, I met an old Muslim man at the market, greeted him and talked to him. He turned out to be from Bugulma district.

– "*Babay*, is there a mosque here?"

– "Yes, it has been built recently."

The mullah there came originally from Ufa governorate.

– "Can you please show me the mosque?"

– "Yes, sure."

He took me there. After a few blocks he said: "Here, brother, go to the right side of this street. You will come to a mosque there." It was a two-story red-brick building without a minaret. The mullah lived there. I thanked the *babay* and parted with him. I stopped in front of the mosque. Then I saw someone approaching with water in both hands. It turned to be my friend Ahmad Thuban, who was my neighbor at the madrasa in Medina the Radiant. He did not recognize me at first, but then we greeted each other. Saying: "Come in," he invited me [in]. He started to ask me: "Right, how are you?" I replied: "Good, I will tell you later. First I have to ask you: may I stay here for three days?"

– "Sure, such is life now: let us share what we have and not be resentful for what is lacking."

– "Good, thank you. I left a bit of clothing at the station. Let me bring it."

– "Alright."

I brought my things. He prepared tea and I told him my story. He told me that one time mullah Shahar Sharaf<sup>323</sup> had come from Kazan and he had helped him as best he could. /119b/ Before, there were simple folk and some rich people. Now, the number of people had decreased.

He told me that he would do his best to cure me. Poor fellow, he had six children. He made a living by producing bags, while his wife (*abistay*) worked at the market. His condition was also pretty bad. Still, he did not turn his back on me (*qara yöz kürsätmäde*). May God have mercy upon him, amen.

There was no food to feast on; we ate only to survive. I was in terrible need. I went to the market asking people for food. Some would give me *qatiq*, others would share a bit of bread. I went to stay in front of the bread shop so that people could give me at least a small piece. Ahmad efendi came back and told me: "I cannot find a job for you." This Ahmad efendi was a regional imam

323 [This was written in place of "Burhan." Shahar Sharaf (1877-1938) was a historian and Muslim scholar who taught for many years at the Muhammadiyya madrasa in Kazan. Burhan Sharaf (1883-1942) was his brother. Both perished during the Great Terror.]

of Vyatka and a muhtasib with lots of mosques under his supervision. "You know yourself, there is a road. If you follow it, then after 45 km you will reach Nokrat village, which is under my oversight. In previous times it was a rich village with six mosques. I sent Shahar Sharaf there and they helped him a lot. If you decide to go, I will write a personal letter to the mullahs, asking them to help you on behalf of their community. Of course, people there are also in need nowadays, but they will not let you go like that. You would be in luck." I said: "Alright, write it."

I departed the same day. I crossed the Vyatka River on a ferry. It was difficult to walk in the dust and I had no energy to go on. I walked one kilometer slowly, and then on the road I saw a young Russian boy eating bread. I approached him and asked: "May I ask you to give a piece of bread to an old traveler?" He replied: "Sure, here you go," and gave me a piece of bread with butter. Tears fell from my eyes. I was glad, and thanking the boy I moved on. I predicted (*fal qıldim*) that my travel would be successful, because already at the beginning I had got bread and butter. I reached a huge road. On both sides there was a larch forest. Every kilometer (*chaqrım*) was marked. I moved slowly. I passed by the huge Russian villages. On the streets I asked for bread. Thankfully, some of them gave me *qatiq*, others provided with things like kvass or potatoes, but they never left me empty handed. /120a/

Evening was close. In the distance, a big Russian village was visible. I thought that if I managed to arrive before sunset, I would find a room and sleep there; if not, then I would spend the night in the forest, near the road. In June, the nights were very short. By sunset I reached the village. It was very big, but no one took me in. The Russian crones (*qarchiq marjalar*) shouted at me. Since it was hay-making time, all the youth had gone far away, to the river, to cut the hay. In a desperate state I walked through the streets; they did take me in. Then someone told me: "There is a kolkhoz office. Go there, they will give you a place." I found it, and after they had a look at my documents, they allowed me to stay. There was also an old priest (*pop*) like me. We spent a night together and in the morning we took our documents and went on: he in one direction and I in the other.

After some time, another huge village came into view. It was not far; I made it there. Here, Muslims could be seen and it turned out they were working in the shops. There was a huge leather factory called Vakhazushev. The workers had a lot of space there. I entered a shop and, since the workers there were Muslims, I told them my story. Everyone helped me with one or two rubles. They told me: "Now go to the houses, our brothers will help you out." That was true, everybody welcomed me, fed me until I was full, gave me good food, *qatiq*, and milk. The night drew near. I talked to someone, wondering where to spend

the night. He replied: “*Babay*, do not be offended, but it will be difficult to stay here: everyone is a party member living in state apartments. Therefore you will not be able to find a place here. You’d better go to a Russian village 3 km from here. There are two Tatar houses. They are very good people. They will let you in and give you food.” I agreed and went on.

I reached the place and found those people. I asked permission at one of the houses. There was a young lady who invited me [in]: “*Babay*, please come in.” I entered the house and told her my story (*hälem*). The poor girl cried terribly: “Oh, my father must now also be wandering like this!” She fed me and gave [me] five rubles in alms: “*Babay*, forgive me, but you cannot stay here. We are renting this place and we have an agreement (*shart nama*) with the owner not to let people stay overnight. The local Russians /ıı9b/ are afraid of foreigners, especially [foreigners] like us. Probably, someone like that hurt them in the past. *Babay*, there is a new house nearby with two brothers. You can go there. If they do not let you in, then come back, we will find a way.”

I went there: the windows were open and they were drinking tea. They invited me [in]: “Please come in.” I went in to drink tea. They cooked a good *chälpäk*. As I was hungry, I ate my fill and told them my story. I asked: “Is it possible for me to spend the night here?” They made me happy by saying: “The issue of guests is very difficult here: the house owner, an old lady, does not allow guests to sleep [over]. Still, we will find a way, you can stay.” May God have mercy upon them, amen. In the morning we drank tea.

- “With your permission, I will go.”
- “Where will you go?”
- “To Nuqrat, they called it Karino in Russian.”
- “In that case, from here you go to Nikolsky city. A train departs from here at such-and-such an hour. The ticket costs only ninety kopeks,” they said, and gave me the money. “We have a friend there. You can stay for a night at his place.”
- “If possible, write a letter to that person. It will be easier for me to go there.”
- “Alright,” they said, and wrote a letter.

I reached Nikolsky and found those people. The householder was not at home, but I asked permission from his wife. She let me in and I gave her the letter. She gave me food right away: a soup of good meat and *küpäch*. I ate my fill. There were Muslim neighbors too, they also joined us for a chat. I slept there. In the morning, I continued my journey. At 15 km on the way to my destination I encountered a huge river. The kolkhoz people were going home with empty carriages, but nobody took me on to where I was going. They carried hay. I reached the place on foot, saying to myself that even among Muslims there are such people.

I went to mullah Qasimov, mentioned by Ahmad efendi Thuban, and gave him the letter. He welcomed me: "Please come in, you are welcome," and invited me to his house. After the greetings, I briefly explained my situation to him. He told me: "Good, dear guest, please wash yourself and have a rest." Suddenly, a small boy came and invited hazrat to a religious meeting (*ash*). He promised him and let the boy go. He turned to me: "This is a poor family, I do not know how it is with food there, therefore I cannot take you with me right now. Once I learn the situation, I will send the boy after you." He left, /121a/ but the boy soon came and invited me: "*Babay*, please join us." I told him: "Alright," dressed and went out. Despite his poor condition, that person prepared very good meals, as in the former times of rich people. It was the first time that I had seen such food. I was there as a guest. On the way back, hazrat told me: "If God allows, your journey will be successful. The reason is that, over the years, this was the first meal that I have seen. Today was the first time and you got it." This is how the day passed. I was glad. Thanks be to God that I saw and ate this meal.

The next day, I delivered the necessary letters to other mullahs and became acquainted with them. I saw all of them, gave them the greetings of the Vyatka imam, then explained the reasons for my trip and drank tea. They told me: "Stay for some fifteen days, we will try to help you and will ask people at Friday prayers. You can also come." I led Friday prayers in two mosques. Fifteen days passed. Meanwhile, the neighboring women and older people brought things like butter and eggs to the imam, and passed on some food for me, asking: "May *babay* pray for us." I started to get some income and was well fed, thanks be to God. On the day of my departure the community representatives (*mutawali*) gave me sixty rubles of donations. In addition to that I also sold the bread given by neighbors for ten rubles. Now, being thankful for everything, I set out to return to my friend Ahmad Thuban in Vyatka. This Nuqrat village was the reason for my survival. May God forgive the sins of those people who helped me, amen.

I returned safely to Vyatka. My friend greeted me: "Oh, you came back safely, thanks be to God. I am very glad. When you left, my community blamed me: 'Why did you let that person go alone and not accompany him? His condition is very bad. What if he dies on the way?' Therefore, I was waiting for you with four eyes [i.e. waiting anxiously]. Did it help you a bit?" I replied: "Thanks be to God, I got some money for the trip." He said: "Oh that is very good." One or two days later I bought ten pounds of bread at the market for twenty rubles and a ticket to Ufa for forty-nine rubles. The next day I set off on the journey. /121b/

I took a train and went to Perm. For the journey I took a whole piece of white bread and nothing else, except for the ticket. At night, before arriving



in Perm, I put the bread under my head and slept. When I woke up the bread had disappeared. I said, alright, [may God replace it with something] better. Now I had neither money nor bread. It was still two days to reach Ufa. I got off in Perm to take another train to Ufa that was to depart at twelve o'clock at night. I had to spend the whole day at the station. What to do? My stomach was empty. I was shuffling about in front of the station, when a Tatar person came out. I greeted him. We talked for a while and then I asked him: "Do you know Dhakirjan Rahmatullin? His father was a great tradesman here."

– "Yes, I know him."

– "If possible, could you please give me his address?"

– "I do not know the exact house number, but can tell you approximately. You take a tram on Lenin Street, then get off at the second stop, there will be such-and-such a house. If you enter it, there will be a small apartment. He lives there."

I went there and found it. This Rahmatullin was in his twenties when he went to hajj together with 'Abdullah Bubi Ni'matullin. I had met him there and taken his address. That was around 1907. Since I remembered that, I wanted to see him. He did not recognize me. I had become a bit shabby and it had been twenty-five years. He had become gray. Finally we greeted each other, and I told him: "Please forgive me, the reason I came is the following. I was on my way back from prison (*totqin*). I have a ticket to Ufa, but unfortunately, at night my bread for the journey was stolen. I have nothing with me but my ticket. May I ask you to give me a bit of food, enough to get to Ufa?" He replied: "Please come in," and invited me into his house. There, his old, white-bearded father was reciting the Qur'an wearing glasses. We greeted each other and drank tea. They also had a *bälesh* with rice. We ate it, drinking good tea. That was my first food that day. I thanked them and asked for permission to go. He rolled a piece of bread up in a newspaper and gave me ten rubles. May God have mercy upon them, amen. /122a/

This way I traveled via Birdäsh, and the next day arrived in Batar. Thanks be to God, there I knew the road and went to the house of the former imam of the third community, Sabir Hasanov. It was already dark. He had passed away and his wife had sold the house and moved out. I asked the new owners: "May I stay here for the night?" They replied: "No, we have too many people in the house." I asked: "Where does his wife live now?" They told me that she lived on such-and-such a street. The distance was long. There was a mosque nearby. I asked them: "Who lives in the mosque?" They replied: "Only a servant and nobody else." I went to the mosque and asked the servant: "May I sleep at the mosque?" He replied: "No, this is not a hotel." I said: "This is a house of the Creator, where

one can both pray and spend a night, if needed." He insisted: "Someone like you came here and left dirt behind. I will not let you in." I said: "No, Mr. Servant, whatever you do, I will stay here tonight." I went in and slept.

In the morning, I went to the market and ate a bit. Then I started to look for 'Ayd Muhammad Akhmerov, my friend (*shārik*) and fellow villager. I knew that he worked here as a director of the Central Library. I went there, found him and told him my story. He said: "Look, I have to work now. I come home at four o'clock. You are welcome," and left me his address. On the way, I encountered Ghani Khalfin, my friend, in whose wedding I had actively participated and who I had back then accepted as a guest at my house. When I was in the village, he married Mahi Sorur, the daughter (*kārimāse*) of my close friend 'Abd al-Rahim b. Lutfullah Tuqae. Therefore, I participated in the wedding from beginning till end, taking him many times on my horse from Istārlitamaq. I was with him also on other occasions. At this moment, he was working as a member of the Highest Court of Bashkortostan. Alright, I greeted him and told my story. Then I asked: "I have no means of survival. If you can, please help me." He replied: "No, I do not help people like you," /122b/ then turned his back and left. When one becomes needy, even friends talk this way. If you have done something good, wait for evil.

That day was Friday. I decided to go to the mosque where I had slept. I returned, washed myself and entered the praying room. The Friday prayer was conducted by Muti'ullah 'Ata'i, a mufti of Ufa. I (*ma'lumengez*) was in a bad shape; the condition of the person just out of prison is well known: an old hat on my head and wearing a shabby jacket. Still, after the Friday prayer I recited the Qur'an and we performed a prayer (*du'a*). The Muslims started to leave, but the mufti stayed. We greeted each other.

- "Where are you from?"
- "I am from Istārlibash, my name is Majid."
- "Oh, are you Majid *qari*?"
- "Yes."
- "While listening, I thought that your voice sounded familiar to me. Why are you in such [bad] shape?"

I briefly related him my story.

- "Why didn't you tell me before the Friday prayer? I would have asked people to help you a bit."
- "Thank you, hazrat. My conscience (*wujdanīm*) did not allow me to approach you for that matter after getting to this place."

The mufti turned to the servant who had not wanted me to enter: "Give him five rubles from the mosque budget," then said goodbye and left. May God have mercy upon him for his attentiveness.

I took five rubles from the servant and walked to the house of my friend 'Ayd Muhammad. He was alone, his wife was not at home. We cooked together and talked freely. I stayed two nights there and then intended to go. I also found the widow of Sabir hazrat. Her son 'Abd al-Hayy Hasanov studied engineering. He respected me greatly; he gave me five rubles and then saw me off. Thank you. I believe that Sabir hazrat came with his wife to Istärlibash as a guest. He was our relative on the maternal line: my mother's father Waliullah b. Rahmatullah was a grandson of Hasan, who was also a grandfather of Sabir mullah. This is how he was our relative. Then I took a train to Rainka station, got off there and came across the son of Mingullah from Qayraqli village. /123a/

He brought me to Qayraqli village. I spent a night there, then the next morning I went to drink tea with Fakhr al-Din agha. He cried with happiness, saying: "Thanks be to God, you are back," asked me to recite the Qur'an, gave me alms and saw me off. At night, I went to Istärlibash to see my children. It was 10 km from there to Istärlibash. Avoiding the main route, I went directly to the village without taking the road, because people might recognize me. At sunrise, I stopped at the mountain spring. Our house was located at the foot of the mountain. Children played joyfully near the house. I was so happy I did not know what to do! Thanks be to God, I could see my children again! They stoked the stove and I went to see them. I met my wife, who was healthy, and children. Only God knows my happiness. My small daughter Maryam had been just forty days old when I left. She did not even know me. At this time, she was already five years old. Those years were difficult: my wife, together with some of the children, would go far away to collect pieces of wheat from the field to support the family. My older son Mas'ud grazed the village cows. This way they fed themselves without asking people for alms. Thanks be to God. My older daughter Halima, at sixteen years old, served at the building site by bringing clay to the workers.

We had no clothes left. Those who were meant to keep our things for a while sold it all off on the market. We had had a lot of good clothes. Majid 'Ali Akberov, known as (*laqabi*) Manqa Majid, was the biggest cheater. I saved his life during the 1921 hunger, since he was our neighbor. His father died. I provided the burial cloth (*käfen*) and they buried him. This is how that boy paid us back. The prophetic words are right: "beware the danger of a person to whom you performed good."<sup>324</sup> He died too, and others have died. Thanks be to God, today I am alive and my children are alive. In the past, we had a huge house and [plenty of] clothing. My children received education and developed as people (*adäm buldilar*) through the help of the government. We suffered for the sake

324 [إتق شر من أحسنت إليه]

of God. I fully trusted the Qur'anic verse "And whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him."<sup>325</sup>

Once back, /123b/ I had to inform the community officials, but then I started to think about what would happen once I disclosed myself. It was scary. I decided to invite Ya'qub agha to my home to talk; [he was] an older man of our village who grazed cows together with my son. He said: "You have to wait a bit. Let the rest of the people come back, then reveal yourself. 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov returned some time ago, and they kept him in prison for a day or two. Wait for a month or two and then reveal yourself."

I had to go somewhere, and decided to visit my sister Farhi Sorur in Nikifar village by the Dim River; would she be dead or alive? I asked the student of my father, 'Abd al-Rafiq b. 'Abd al-Rahim Iskandarov: "If possible, could you please take me to Qayraqli village early in the morning?" May God bless him, he did not object: "Alright, I have to go there to see the sheaves anyway. I will take you. You can come at sunrise." The next morning, he took me to Qayraqli village. May God forgive his sins, amen. I had no means to go, but my late wife<sup>326</sup> had saved one of my good shirts. Oh God, may God be satisfied with her. With thanks, I took it, with the idea that I could sell it for money. From Qayraqli I went on foot in straw shoes and an old hat. It rained heavily on the way and I stopped at Yangirchi village. There I stayed with Marfuga *abistay*, my foster grandmother. She welcomed me warmly and dried all of my clothing. With great respect she took care of me and allowed to stay a night. The next day, I marched to Mullahgulum village, where I stayed with 'Afifa apa, the wife of Jamal al-Din hazrat. With great respect she hosted me for three days and then saw me off to the road. May God have mercy upon her, amen.

Then I arrived at Nikifar village. It was market day. I asked about my sister and brother-in-law. They replied: "They are not here, we do not know." When I went to their house, there was nothing in its place but old stones. Only the storehouse was there, not the house (*ihatasi*). Back at the market, I encountered my old friend 'Abdullah Maqsudov and told him: "I have no other place to go but your house." /124a/ He replied: "You are welcome. Come to my house." I went there and he offered me tea. The father of his wife was also there, Hafiz from Mannan village. I knew him. As we talked, the police officers came in and asked for our documents. I had an old passport from Istarlibash village office. They said: "This document has expired. It has no value." They investigated my bag (*qapchigim*). He wanted to take me, but I showed him the document from the White Sea Canal. He said: "Why didn't you show this earlier?" and left me.

325 وَمَنْ يَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَهُوَ حَسْبُهُ [Q 65: 3.]

326 [Fatima passed away in 1949.]

Then his wife started to worry: “Majid *abzi*, please leave sooner.” I was forced to take my belongings and leave. ‘Inayatullah, a man who was a neighbor of my friend, pointed at me saying that the murderer of the procurator had escaped from prison and come back. I spent the night with Jihangir agha and asked him about my sister. He replied: “Go to Mengli Ahmad<sup>327</sup> in Īslaq village, he must know.”

I went there and he [Mengli Ahmad] told me that they worked in Belebey. I marched there and, to my joy, found my sister and brother-in-law and greeted them. My sister’s life was thus: they had nothing to eat at home. My poor sister washed my clothes and cooked a pie of beets and rye flour. We ate a bit. If I was hungry, this poor pair were in an even worse condition. Thanks be to God for our life. After one or two days I left for Mänzälä, where Kalimullah, the son of my sister, worked as a teacher. Maryam, the daughter of my older sister, was also working there as a teacher. The aim was to find out if they could help me a bit. From Belebey I traveled from village to village on the banks of the Āsän River.

This way I reached Olugh Chaqmaq village on the Īq River. I stayed there with Majid, the son of Mahi Sorur, the daughter of my father’s brother. They welcomed me. Then I left and reached Shälärmä village on the Mänzälä River via the villages of Väräsh Muslim, Väräsh Qatmish, Tabin, and Saqlaubashi. There I stayed with ‘Arifjan mullah, who was a son of the daughter of my father’s sister. He welcomed me cheerfully and hosted me with great respect. The next day, I traveled to Telänche Tamaq village. /124b/ That was some 20 km away. I managed to walk there and saw my relatives. My original intention was to get some help from my relatives in my situation of need, but the reality turned out to be different. Everything was like this: man proposes, God disposes.<sup>328</sup> They probably hoped to get help from me. On the way back I came to my brother ‘Arif mullah. This poor guy was also in a desperate state: he had five or six children, but still tried to do his best and went with me on foot to Nurkät village. May God have mercy upon him, amen.

From Nurkät village I headed to Qaramali village in Sarman district, where my father grew up. That was thirty *chaqrim* away. There I came to the house

327 [Not only is this narrative full of direct speech and dialogues as well as thoughts and intentions (along with subjective judgements of others’ behavior), but it is also notable for the great number of people who only episodically enter the speech. This style is close to the oral language, hence the regular omission of letters, unstable grammatical forms and general closeness to the vernacular language, rather than the language of ‘*ulama* (note, however, how his language changes when he addresses the Bashkir mufti on fol. 122b).]

328 [In the original: *الانسان يدبر والله يقدر*]

of our relative Habib al-Rahman b. Kashshaf al-Din *abzī*. ‘Abd al-‘Alim agha, a brother of my father, served as a mu’adhdhin in the village. His two children, Ahmad Latif and Nur al-Ghayan, did not come to greet me. I found them myself. Our niece came to me and, calling me an *abzī*, showed much respect. May God reward them. I stayed there for a couple of days, prayed at the graves of my ancestors, and then intended to return to my village.

Salah al-Din, the son of the late Kashshaf al-Din, offered to transport me on a horse to Bugulma, which was 70 km away. A train goes from there to Tuymazī. Salah al-Din took some flour with him to sell there, and took me to Bugulma. May God reward his efforts, amen.

I spent one or two nights there, took a train, and after three or four stations reached Tuymazī village. Belebey was 80 km from there. I went to Belebey and arrived safely at the house of my sister Farhi Sorur. She was happy to see me again, fed me as much as she could and then saw me off to the station. There I traveled to Shafran station, got out [and went] to the market, where I encountered my fellow villager Tahir b. Biktimir, an egg seller. I asked him: “Could you please take me back to the village?” He made me happy by replying: “Sure, *qari abzī*, let our horse feed and let us eat something first, then we can go.” The time came; we tacked up the horse and set off. We arrived in İstärilbash safely at night. He dropped me off near the mountain and [I] went directly to our house, to my children. /125a/

In the village there were many fellows who I used to spend time with. Now nobody wanted to visit me after this terrible journey (*qienchiliq säfär*). When they saw me walking in the street, they even ran away to the other side. Tuqay<sup>329</sup> says: “When you have money, everybody is your friend. When there is no money, everybody runs away from you.” This poor fellow Tahir, maybe he did not even drink a cup of tea in my house in his whole life, but in my hard times he brought me home over 60 km, out of respect. This is a true Muslim. I will never, ever forget it. May God endow his life with blessing, may he live peacefully with his children without depending on other people. Amen. May his deeds be on the path of God, may God forgive his sins, may he leave this world with faith in his heart and enter paradise. Amen.

Now I had to go to the GPU office to reveal myself. After a couple of days I found it appropriate to go there. Only God knows how afraid I was. If only I had been afraid of God before that, maybe I would have not got myself into that situation. I recited all the prayers that I knew, and went in. I showed the documents that I had. He [the officer] examined it. Rashid, the son of old Sulayman from İslaq village, was a chief there. In my youth, I studied with his father

329 [The Tatar poet ‘Abdullah Tuqay (1886-1913) is meant here.]

Fayd al-Rahman at the madrasa of ‘Abd al-Kabir khalfa in Istärlibash. He was a master in shoe production. During the previous few years he had gone to the madrasa of ‘Ubaydullah ‘Alikeev in Yalpaqtal and served as an imam among the Kazakhs of Aleksandrov Gay or Almaliq. The document was issued at the White Sea Canal and bore the number 4444. It was written that I was released early according to the provision of the GPU committee. Then he asked me different questions about the Canal – how I had worked there, and whether it was difficult. In the end he said: “Alright, *babay*, you can register at the police station and stay.” I thanked him and went to the police station to register. Thanks be to God, now I realized that I had truly returned to my children and my village. I could not utter a word except for gratitude to God. I returned to my wife at home. She and the children were so happy that they did not know /125b/ what to do.

Now I started to go out in the streets. Before, I felt like a foreigner in the village, like someone who came from a foreign land. I had a cap on my head, bast shoes on my feet, and wore an old leather jacket. I thought about how, years ago, I used to wear a silk *chapan* and caps of black leather, and that there must be people who were happy to see my desperate state now. I considered this to be the mercy of God and in my heart (*küngelemnän*) I felt nothing but relief. This must have been a test from God. I hoped for the best from God, trusting His promise to balance one difficult thing with two easy things. I was completely convinced of the Qur’anic verse “So truly with hardship comes ease.”<sup>330</sup> Now I had to find a job in sewing, but there was no place to go and no other jobs available. A society of invalids functioned in the village. They were busy producing burlap, braiding the strings and other things. I went to their office, where my acquaintance Mengali b. Zarif Akhmerov was a boss. He knew my situation.

- “If possible, can you give me a job in burlap production?”
- “I can give it to you, Majid *abzi*, but for people like you we need permission from the GPU. I will ask them and if they allow, I will provide you with this job.”

Satisfied by these words, I went home. The next day I went there again [and was told]:

- “Alright, we’ll give you the job.”

Then he measured out several kilos of the material and passed it to me. I took it and went home, without knowing how to produce the burlap. What to do? I took the material and went to a boy named ‘Afur, who was doing the same job:

330 [فَإِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا] Q 94: 5.]

- “Dear brother (*tugan*), can you help me? I do not know how to do it. Can you give a few hours of your time to come to my home, construct a lathe and teach me how to produce the burlap?”
- “Alright, *qari abzī*, I will come.”

He soon arrived, constructed a lathe for me, explained everything, put in the material and even started the burlap production. He told me: “If you have any questions, come and ask me.” I thanked him. May God forgive the sins of this brother ‘Abd al-Ghafur for his help and count him among the true believers. Amen. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings.

For every bag I got forty-five kopeks, and for every 100 bags the government additionally provided half a *pood* of white flour, sunflower oil, sweets, and fish. /126a/ I worked in this way for two years. Still, life was very difficult. Six children, one brother, and the two of us – nine people in total! One spring, my wife and I cultivated ten *sazhen* of land with metal shovels and sowed millet. In fall, we collected ten *pood* of millet. I cut some hay and prepared five to ten stacks.

Then I decided to go to Uzbekistan somehow, but it was difficult to find means for the trip. I wrote letters to my friends in surrounding villages, explaining my situation and asking for help. Mutahhar b. Khayrullah was a local of our village. He made a living by producing rope for the state. In our youth we had studied in the same madrasa. When this poor guy heard about my situation, he took forty rubles out of his pocket, saying: “Return it to me when you can, if not – don’t worry about it.” I thanked him sincerely and went home in high spirits. I agreed with my wife (*rafiqa*) and set off on the journey. I could not repay my debt. Before going to Uzbekistan, I told my children about it. They said that he was not in the village and nobody knew where he was. Once back home, I also tried to find him, but he must have died and nobody knew his children. Until this day, I have not been able to repay this debt. I intend to find his relatives and repay my debt to them and have also instructed my children about it. If he died, May God have mercy upon him and forgive his sins, amen. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. There are poor people like that in the world, and I fail to pray properly for him.<sup>331</sup> My former friends, when encountering me on the same street, would not look at me.

With this much money I intended to go to Uzbekistan, and traveled to Orenburg. May God make it a safe journey. /126b/ I arrived at Orenburg safely and stayed with my fellow villager Majid b. Habibullah Muhammadyarov. He

331 [In the margin: “I entrusted this debt of forty rubles to Khalilullah b. Miftah. The widow of the late Mutahhar must be alive. If God has allowed it, my debt has been repaid.”]



welcomed me warmly (*achiq yöz belän*) and never behaved negatively (*qara yöz birmäde*). I went to the market to sell some clothes. Sometimes I bought old clothes at the market (*talchuk bazarinnan*) and went to Qarghali station to sell them at different collective farms. I went there together with Farid, a waste collector (*util' zhüyuchi*) from Orenburg. He would lead me. This way I started to ...<sup>332</sup> One time, we went to sell old clothes in a marketplace in the Kashin region (today known as Oktiabr region), 70 km from Orenburg. I sold my wares there, bought five or ten kilos of white butter and then sold it in Orenburg. I got a good income and went to the market again to sell the clothes. This time I bought fifteen kilos of butter to take to Tashkent, because there in a place called Qaunchi my daughter Halima lived together with her husband Husnetdinov. I wanted to give them a present. Once the market was over, I was sitting at home intending to depart, but a police officer came to the house. A Russian householder told me: "*Babay*, he is calling you." He checked my documents and started to ask: "What did you buy at the market?" He investigated my bag and added: "Did you buy any butter?" I said: "No." The Russian householder said: "He did," and showed the policeman my butter in the storehouse. The policeman told me: "On the previous market day you also traded. You are a speculator!" Then he took me and my belongings to the police station. The householder was pretty drunk. He had asked me to give him money for drink, but since I had only money for the trip, I did not give him any. So he ratted me out to the policeman, because he was angry at me.

The policeman compiled a report, confiscated my butter, took my passport and let me go, saying: /127a/ "I will send your passport to your region, you will get it there." Then he gave me a temporary document and I left. I returned to Orenburg. I still had some money left. My fellow villager Muhammadyarov said: "Let your passport be there. You must have lost it. Whatever, these are events of the past and we can only pray about them."

What should I do now? I was afraid that if I went to Asia, I would have no passport, but if I went home, they would judge me and might even imprison me for a couple of months. On one of those days when I was walking down Sazhinski street with this headache, I encountered my acquaintance 'Abd al-Azal Badikov. He asked about my situation: "Hey *zhizni*, why are you walking like this?" He took me to a restaurant and entertained me there. In the evening, he took me to his house to spend the night. He had just come back from the Caucasus, Kislovodsk city. I told him my whole story.<sup>333</sup> He told me: "*Zhizni*,

332 [The text here is damaged.]

333 [In different variants he had thus related his life (*ähwalem*) to different audiences, practicing the autobiographical genre in its oral form.]

please do not blame me, that I could not help you earlier." Then he gave me sixty rubles, some clothes and presents for my children. May God reward him, amen.

In this way, with full reliance on God, I decided to go back to Ištärlibash. I said: "Let it be what God has predestined," and came home. After returning safely, I was sitting at home, drinking tea with my children, when someone knocked at the door. I came out and he said: "*Aghay*, be quick. The village administration wants to see you. Your passport has arrived here. You must have been taken somewhere for selling the butter." I said: "Right, that is why I returned. Good, I will go there." He left. I went to the village administration.

– "The policeman wants to see you at six o'clock."

– "Alright."

I left and went to the police officer right on time. I waited until ten in the evening, and only then did the policeman arrive. He said: "Sit down," and started to check certain papers. It turned out that the village administration had provided him with information on my children. Questioning began. /127b/

– "Did you come back after being in prison for murdering 'Alev?"

– "I returned from the prison, but I am not a murderer. You see, someone provided false information about me, as if he was a witness."

– "Your children are trading at the market."

– "Right, I have no means to buy them books and exercise books for study. For collecting waste in the entire village, the government provides them with matches and other things. They sell it on the market. You can ask the waste company (*utilsir'e*) about it, they will tell the truth."

– "Where did you go from here? Why did you go? Tell me."<sup>334</sup>

– "I have a daughter and a son-in-law in Central Asia (*Sredniaia Azia*). I wanted to go there on foot from one village to another. To cover the expenses, I sold off my clothes on the way. When I reached the Kashin region, I sold some little things there. I bought fifteen kilos of butter to give as a present to my daughter. For this, the policeman confiscated my butter and passport, called me a speculator and ordered me to return. I did not even drink tea upon my return and came to see you."

– "Wait, but you bought thirty-five kilos of butter."

– "That is a lie. A Russian bought similar butter and put it next to mine in the same storehouse. When the police came, he ran away, and the police decided this was my butter too. Since that was an acquaintance of a certain

334 [One can compare his ways of dealing with the state officials in the late empire and in Stalinist Russia. He seemed to be quite successful in cheating the tsarist officials, while he seemed completely lost in the face of new instigators and the genre of *dapros*.]

householder, and out of nationalism (*millätchelek*),<sup>335</sup> that householder bore witness against me saying that it was my butter. Then the policeman compiled a report and ordered me to return. He gave me a temporary document.”

The policeman (*nachal'nik*) was a Tatar. He said:

- “I will pass your case to the court.”
- “Do what you want. Give me my passport.”
- “No, you will get it back after the court procedure.”
- “I have to go elsewhere. It is a period of seasonal work, I have to feed my children.”
- “You will work here. If you go elsewhere, they will tell you that you have no passport and will report to me.”

I signed the report and went out. /128a/ Now, what to do? The next day, I went to an acquaintance to ask for advice. That person was well-informed about the law. I told him about my situation in detail. Then he replied: “I have to see your case and then I will make you a recommendation.” I said: “The case is exactly as I have told you.” He thought for a while and told me: “Look, Majid *abzi*. Your neighbor will most probably judge this case. For a long time this person has been causing you trouble. Despite the fact that he is a judge now, his father was a kulak in the village, who oppressed all the peasants and would collect several thousand [pounds] of grain from them. He died before the revolution. Now his son has become a judge and brings kulaks to the court. This is a ruthless and dishonest person (*ber rähimsez wujdansiz adäm*). Nobody can trust him. Secondly, since you are a Qur'an specialist (*qari*), they drove your children out of the house in February in the winter cold. I know, of course, that you were innocent: they harmed you illegally out of personal enmity (*shähksi doshmanliq*). The local elites (*yirle türälär*) must now also realize this. If so, your case is minor. In my view, nothing should happen to you. On August 7, according to the law, they will call for a jail term (*srok*) for you, however short. Were it another judge, he could have even let you go. If possible, get out of here. I have nothing else to say.”

The next day, I talked to my wife (*rafiqam*): “If I go, I will need money; if I stay, it is not easy to go to jail for nothing.” Let it be, I relied on God and decided to go. We had a goat. My wife exchanged it for a shawl and gave it to me, saying: “Take it, you can sell it on the way.” I took the shawl and headed to Central Asia. I had a document (*metrikä*) that I got there after working for several months. I received a three-month passport. /128b/ That was in a place called Sarı Agach in the South Kazakhstan region, close to Tashkent. That was in 1935. After that,

335 [Here al-Qadiri tries to use the strategy of an accusation of nationalism.]

I worked at the wool shop of Almakant village council of the Aq Qurgan region in Tashkent oblast.

In former times there had been a cotton factory belonging to 'Abd al-Wali Yaushev<sup>336</sup> from Troitsk. That factory is still present today. This way I started to work there alone. I prepared wool, eggs, furs and waste and then transported them to Piskent region, 20 km away. I worked there effectively. Not far from there, 19 km away, there was the Aq region, where my son-in-law and my daughter Halima worked. Their 13-year-old daughter was also with them. After several years of work, I approached Umid Haydarov, an Uzbek chief of the village council (*sel'po*): "If possible, may I kindly ask you to give me some money in advance, because I am from Russia and have to bring my wife and children." He agreed and gave me 200 rubles. My salary was 200 rubles. I gave 450 rubles to my daughter to go to our village and bring our family. After fifteen days, my daughter brought my [other] children to Qaunchi station near Tashkent, and from there called my son-in-law in Aq Qurgan asking for a horse. Then my son-in-law Husnetdinov went there on a carriage and brought them home. May God reward him for this, amen. Thus he brought my wife and children from Qaunchi to Aq Qurgan. Thanks [be to him]. After that, my daughter Halima called me in Almakant: "Daddy, our mom and the family have arrived safely." /129a/ Tears fell from my eyes and I was so happy I did not know what to do. I asked my boss: "My children have arrived. May I go to see them?" He agreed and I immediately went to see my family for an evening. I asked my boss for an apartment. Thankfully, he gave me a good one. The next day, my wife and children arrived and cleaned the house inside and outside. I brought my children to the house and fell down, since I so wanted to sleep. I said: "Thanks be to God [that] I saw this day." I was ready to live in a dugout house. That was in June 1936. Until 1937 I worked there and supported my children to study.

In early May of that year I decided to move from that work to Piskent, where my daughter Halima and her husband resided. I rented a horse and coachman to move there. We also had a goat that we brought with us. We spent a night on the way, and the next day we got a house for free from a khan called Guleb. May God have mercy upon him, amen. We stayed there for a month without a job. Then I was invited for a job at Murtali village council, which is 8 km away. For a month I worked there traveling with a horse and carriage, but then resigned, because it was difficult to travel by horse in the hot open areas.

336 [‘Abd al-Wali b. Ahmadjan Yaushev (1839-1906) was a prominent merchant in Troitsk. His gravestone with an extensive inscription is located in the city’s graveyard: Vener Usmanov, Iskandar Shamsutdinov, *Epigraficheskie pamiatniki g. Troitska* (Troitsk, 2012), 25-26.]

A month after returning to Piskent, Ishan 'Alev, a chief of the Buka village council, invited me [to Buka village]. I went there and started to work alone at the supply service (*zagotovka dūkeni*). My children stayed in Piskent. That was August 1937. I worked there until April 1938 and then resigned, because it was difficult to work without seeing my children. Thanks be to God, I did not cause trouble at the workplace, and I returned to Piskent. After staying a while, 'Abd al-Razzaq Sarsatov, a chief of the Kirov village cooperative (*sel'po*) in Piskent, /129b/ invited me to work at the supply service. When I told him that I could not go, he disagreed and insisted. Then I accepted the invitation, and started to work at the store. I worked well there, and had two assistants. They collected wool and waste in *qishlaqs*. One was Muhammad Qul and the other was 'Abd al-Qadir. In 1939, I became a shock worker (*udarnik*) at the supply service, and they hung my picture on the wall of the consumers' association (*potrebsoyuz*). I tried not to cause any trouble and was satisfied in my job. I had no feeling (*fik-erem*) but gratitude to God that I could be together with my children. I worked there until 1942, but in 1941 the Kirov village cooperative ceased to exist and I had to find another job. In May 1942 I resigned. Thanks be to God, in that year I bought my own house for 6,000 rubles. We renovated it a bit and it became a good house. I entered it with my children and thanked God for allowing me to get a house for my children who had been left homeless.

At the Kirov village cooperative, I worked together with my friend 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad Rahim 'Uthmanov. He was a storekeeper who would collect items and from whom I would get my stock (*zagotovka*). We worked together for four years and also became neighbors. We never disagreed or quarreled. However, he sought personal profit (*shākhshi fayda*) by buying the products that I collected for the state supply without including them on the state account. At times when we got good items, he would take them for himself and pay me from the state money. I turned a blind eye to this once or twice, but then stopped it decisively by saying: "These items are meant for the state supply and I am responsible for them. If you continue to take like this and I take it [i.e. the state property] to clothe my small children, then how are we supposed to secure the state supply?" /130a/ If you ask me why I did so, he was selling the items that I had painstakingly collected at the market in Tashkent. Of course, anyone would oppose this.

After that, he started to dislike me. Sometimes he would enter the store and say: "Let's have a drink!" I would not do that, but he said: "Hey Majid *abzī*, your fate is in my hands!" I did not pay attention to this, but in fact he turned out to be a member of the ideological board. All the conversations between us, although there was nothing in them against the state, he would exaggerate and relay to his colleagues. He sought a way to get rid of me from this job, because

I knew his other secrets. One day, at home, he unlawfully slaughtered a horse that belonged to the state. The next day, an Uzbek from Tashkent took the meat to sell at the market under the pretext of transporting the fur. I knew it, but never told anyone. In the end, the government people learned about it anyway, and he thought that I had informed them. Hence he wanted to harm me somehow, even though I was unaware of the situation. Several Tatar policemen came to my store and asked for some items. Since I knew that he had sold that stuff, I did not give it [to them]. Sometimes other authorities would also come to ask for leather or eggs, and I would give them a bit, but more often refused. They also started to dislike me for this.

Khalil Qulmatov from Piskent worked for the waste collection. One day this evil person (*zalim*) approached me and asked: "I have a wedding, can you give us a bit of tea, and other items like shoes?" I agreed as long as the store would allow it, but the store provided very few items and his request remained unfulfilled. To remain true to my promise I gave him some tea and several scarves. He looked at me, became angry and left shouting at me. He also turned out to be a political agent. He went [to the ideological board] /130b/ and slandered me there.

On November 4, 1942 I got arrested. That year I saw off my 19-year-old son Hasan and my son-in-law Husnetdinov to the front. My older son Mas'ud had been in the army since 1939. I stayed with my wife and small daughters. On November 4, they put me in jail. I spent six months in Piskent prison, then I was transferred to an underground cell at the jail for political crimes. After a month and a half they took [me] to Piskent again. They organized an interrogation at the People's Commissariat in Tashkent. The following people bore witness against me: the aforementioned 'Abd al-Rahman 'Uthmanov; an Uzbek, Khalil Qulmatov; a Tatar policeman; and Nuriya, a Russian lady who worked at my store as a cleaner.

On May 21, 1943, a female Tatar procurator and three female Uzbek judges pronounced a sentence upon me at the court of Tashkent oblast. Even though the female procurator asked the court for a death sentence, the judge decided on ten years in the concentration camps. A couple of days later, they took me to Tashkent prison again. After spending several days there, my daughter Asiya brought me some food for two days. Thank you: despite the difficulty of those days, you thought of me. For this I asked God for a good life for my wife and children.

A couple of days later, they transferred me to a labor camp near a *qishlaq* called Zangi Ata at the Urta awil station 18 km from Tashkent. On June 17, 1943, I was transferred to another camp (*lagir*). I was registered as an invalid and assigned an easy job: I collected barley and hay. I spent around two months doing tasks like collecting cucumbers, tomatoes and potatoes in the garden.

Because of the war, the question of food for prisoners was problematic. Every day, several prisoners would pass away. However, I did not experience much hunger, because my wife and children, though they did not have enough themselves, sent money and food with my daughter Asiya once every two or three months. /131a/ I sold off excess clothes, and despite all difficulties did not experience hunger. Then I entered the account department of the labor camp as a servant. I cleaned the office, the floors. It was not difficult. I served there together with an old Crimean man. After several months, they made me a cleaner at the office of the head of the infirmary. I stopped going to work in the field. Several months later, together with Bogdanov, a Russian from Leningrad, I was assigned to clean houses. We received six rubles a month. One could buy 200 grams of black bread at the labor camp market, but Habibullin, a terrible Tatar commandant from Andijan sentenced to ten years of prison, harmed me a lot (*zur zhäbär-zolim qildi*). I continued to work without complaining of his deeds, reminding myself “to be afraid of those who are not afraid of God.”

I worked in this capacity for two years. Thanks be to God, my children returned from the war and, together with my wife and son-in-law, visited me regularly. The guards watched us well and did not behave as violently as Habibullin.

After two years of work there I was transferred to the third point at the labor camp, the one for invalids. On April 8, 1946, some seventy people were transferred to a labor camp 60 km from Tashkent called Tabaqsay, which was also meant for invalids. I asked the prison chief if I could join them, and he agreed: “It must be better there.” This way, sixty people went to Tabaqsay in two cars. There, they accepted only thirty-five people and sent the rest back. I remained in Tabaqsay. For a month they forced me to produce cotton thread, but I could not fulfil the quota and hence they gave me only 400 grams of bread. One day I appealed to the director of hygiene, asking for help due to my old age (*qartligim*). Soon after, a committee inspected me and ordered me to be hospitalized. The next day, /131b/ which must have been May 21, I relied on God and entered the hospital. It was clean there. The hospital had a library and radio. There was a metal bed, bedspread and bed sheet as well as a bedside chest. At ten o'clock they sent us to the bath, after which they replaced our old clothes with fresh ones. As for food, each day they gave us 200 grams of white bread (*nan*)<sup>337</sup> and 400 grams of black bread. They would serve us food at the white tables in the room. We also received twenty to twenty-five grams of sugar a day,

337 [Nan is an Uzbek-Tajik word for bread originally borrowed from Persian. In Tatar it is used only rarely. Therefore, as in the case with Arabic and Turkish loanwords in previous parts of the book, al-Qadiri's usage of the word reflects his situational mood of remembering the time spent in Central Asia.]

sometimes milk, a bit of white and yellow butter, and sausages. They would not allow us to go out, counting us regularly. There were books, newspapers and journals to read. I regularly reserved a Tashkent newspaper *Pravda Vostoka* under my name. To sum up, we received good treatment at the hospital; doctors inspected me regularly and gave me pills. After several months, the government issued a law prescribing the transfer of all prisoners older than sixty to hospitals. All the elderly people were now collected at the hospital. From then on, everybody was sent directly to the hospital.

I stayed in Tabaqsay until 1949. After that, they sent me for a while to the Yalangach labor camp in Lunacharsky city, close to Tashkent. There I also stayed in the hospital. After two months and ten days they returned me to Tabaqsay. When I was in Yalangach, my son Mas'ud lived in Lunacharsky, 4 km away. My son and my daughter-in-law always visited me and brought me food. Thank you; my daughter-in-law Fatima cared for me well.

After several months in Tabaqsay, in September, they transferred us to the Angren labor camp. That was very close to my home. My children Muhsin and Asiya lived there in our house, 3 km from the camp. Here I also stayed at the hospital. /132a/

In February 1951, I got a severe cold and had a high temperature of thirty-nine to forty degrees. My condition was very bad. They lifted me on the stretcher and put me inside a car to take me to another hospital 2 km away. It was raining and snowing. There was nobody to help me. I went to the bathroom and relieved myself. In those days food was abundant, but I could not eat it. I left all my clothes in the bathroom and went out in torn shoes, full of snow. I had no power to move. A hospital servant supported me and helped me to go back to my ward. I asked people there for the sake of God to let my children know about my situation. May God allow them to reach their goals in this world and the afterlife, amen. My daughter Asiya came the next morning. They invited me [out], but the doctor did not allow us to see each other: "Your condition is bad, you cannot go outside." After that they brought my parcel to the ward. There was what I wanted, the *qatiq*. I drank it and now felt better. There were lots of fruits, chicken meat, eggs and many other things. Thank you, my children, for respecting me as your father. I prayed to God, asking [Him] to repay this respect to my children.

I got much better after staying there until early August. Thanks be to God, my children visited me regularly to learn about my condition. The hospital workers were also very attentive. From there I was transferred again to the central hospital in Tashkent, located in Quyluq *qishlaq* of the Ordzhonikidze region. First they thought that I had pneumonia, but then checked me with the X-ray apparatus and told me: "*Babay*, you simply have bronchitis." They



placed me in the second ward. /132a/ This hospital was known as a medical town (*Sangorodok*). After spending two months there I returned to Tabaqsay in September. There I was in a hospital too. Our ward was calm: everybody there was old. In December I had a stroke and lost the ability to speak. That was around three o'clock, when the doctors were still present. I called them and they immediately gave me medication. They took 150 grams of my blood [for inspection]. I did not speak for fifteen days, but they did not let me read books and newspapers. All my excrement was beneath me. Thanks be to God, on the fifteenth day my tongue slowly started to work again. Then I became cold because of the open window and my temperature increased to thirty-nine degrees. Before, I had felt much better, but now my condition got worse again. That was February 1951. It was in the afternoon that they took me by the arms and brought me to a club, where all the windows were open. It was terribly cold. The whole night long I tried to warm up. In the morning we had to go on the march again. I got a letter from Halima saying that they had sent me a parcel, but it never arrived. Then I asked a guard whom I knew: "You see that I am setting off in bad shape. If possible, could you please send my parcel over to me?" He promised to do so.

They brought me to a car and then transported me to the station. I spent the whole day in a train. My condition was simply bad. At night it was terribly cold. We laid down on the floor and I had no strength to stand up and relieve myself. I asked God to help me. Kovalev, an old man with whom I spent years there, helped me as much as he could despite his poor condition. My Uzbek and Tatar companions did not even give me water.

This way, at nine in the evening they brought us to Yuzaq station close to Samarkand. The prisoners hoisted their things around their necks /133a/ and got out, but I could not move. The guards shouted: "Let's go (*davai!*)" I said: "I cannot." They continued shouting: "Let's go!" I was forced to leave without my belongings. Later the guards brought my things to the camp themselves. After a while they took me to a hospital. An Uzbek called Rizaev was a doctor there. He was a good person. He cared for me well; thank you. I had no strength and there was nothing to eat, not even butter, but then the parcel from my daughter Halima arrived. May God give happiness, prosperity, and long life to my children. Amen. May God be satisfied with them. They sent me a lot of stuff: goose meat, white and yellow butter, and sweets. This helped me greatly for a long period. Even the guards were impressed; they had not seen such rich parcels before.

After a month or two spent here I felt much better. Then they transferred all prisoners sentenced for ten years to another camp, called Farahat Stroi Bigavat. We went several stations by train on the Andijan road. We arrived there at night

and they put us in the barracks. The Japanese captives had been there before us. The barracks were clean and good. They placed me in a separate barracks. Since I was sentenced under a political article, I declined the invitation to the hospital. Let it be. I wore my clothing and walked freely on the street; I got tired of lying in the room.

In May 1952, I learned that that year on November 4 my ten-year term would come to an end. I asked for health from God. Around October 20 they invited me to have my photograph taken. /133b/ I was inspired with hope that they would now have to set me free, because fifteen days before the end of imprisonment they would take a photograph for the passport. Still, it was a bit scary, because sometimes they would not let the political prisoners out. The fourth of November arrived. I was waiting, saying to myself: "Oh God, let it be." After dinner I was invited to the office called Urba. There the officer (*nachal'nik*) asked me: "Where will you return to?" I replied: "If possible, to the city called Angren." He said: "Alright, we will send you there." I got excited, because they would allow me to join my family at home. Thanks be to God. In some cases they would not allow people to go home and would send them on a voluntary exile (*ikhhtiyary vīsīlkā*) for three or five years. I was afraid of that, but now I realized that I would be free.

The officer ordered me to obtain stamps on the document from eight offices in the camp. I was therefore busy getting that ready. An old Uzbek fellow told me: "Ata, they say that your son is here." I did not believe him and got confused: "No, that cannot be." I ran to the gate and saw my son Muhsin standing there near his car. I was shocked and did not know what to say. I was moved to tears. I cried to him: "If God allows, I will get out today! Stay there, if possible! I will ask the officer to let you come in." When I approached the officer, he replied: "What meeting? We will set you free in a couple of hours." I said "Alright," and shouted to my son: "I cannot go before five o'clock. Everything is in order. You can go to a tea house to rest." At that moment the officer went out to the place where Muhsin was standing. I cried to him: "Hey, my case is in that person's hands now!" /134a/ My son took the officer and took him away somewhere. I finished all my business and prepared my things to leave. Sometime around one o'clock they invited me [out]: "Let us go outside." I quickly took my luggage, said goodbye to my companions at the barracks and moved to an office near the gate. Here I signed the necessary papers and received a passport. They set me free.

My son Muhsin was standing in front of me with his car. In the car, I asked God on behalf of my friends who were left behind: "May God let you go," and we headed away from the camp. My companions waved me off. Praising God, who allowed me to see these days, we arrived at the station. My destination was

6 km from there. An officer who had let me go wanted to see me off at eleven in the evening. We waited at the station and the officer came on time. He bought me a ticket to Tashkent. We said: "Let us have a safe trip," and set off on the train. Thanks be to God, I completed with patience the ten years of imprisonment, prescribed by God, innocent and oppressed (*bi-gunah mäzlüm*). All good and evil comes from God.<sup>338</sup> I thanked God for these days. Praise be to God, I did not experience difficulties during the imprisonment (*mähbus*) to complain about. Thanks be to my dear wife and children who always helped me.

I spent six of the ten years in the hospital. People older than sixty /134b/<sup>339</sup> were put in the hospital even without evident diseases. Here the government cared about us, servants would bring food and tea before me. Water was boiled ready, doctors cared for me all the time. The food was the following: each day I got 200 grams of white bread, 400 grams of black bread, twenty-five grams of sugar, sometimes also fifty grams of white butter, *qaziliq*, milk and other products. From time to time they would also give us some different fruits, watermelons and melons. There was a radio and a library with various newspapers in the hospital. My clothing and bed were fresh every day, and servants would change it regularly. Elderly people thanked the government for this mercy and asked God for peace in the country (*watan*) and in the government. Inside the camp there was a shop and a canteen, where anyone could cook freely. Those who had money bought food at the canteen. Various flowers grew at the camp; there were also potatoes and tomatoes there. Water was in abundance: irrigation channels were everywhere.

Here I have completed a brief description of what I saw during those ten years in jail. On November 6, 1952, I returned safely with my son to my house in Angren city, to my wife and family. Thanks be to God, the Lord of the Universe. October 29, 1955.<sup>340</sup> I have copied [this]. /135a/

Places in which I was oppressed during fifteen years of imprisonment, as described above, [were as follows]. I spent 1929 in Istärlitamaq and Ufa. In 1930, from Ufa I went towards Murmansk; by railway I reached Louhi station, near the Finnish border, then to the Solovki Islands in the White Sea. After a year, in 1931, [I went] from Solovki back to the construction of the White Sea Canal. I did not do hard labor. I spent up to five years there. Another five years I had to spend in voluntary exile in Kotlas city in Vyatka oblast. A committee

338 [In the original: *ويقدر خيره وشره من الله تعالى*.]

339 [In the margin: "The case number during this imprisonment was 32653."]

340 [This colophon shows that the work progressed in stages: he did not write everything at the same time.]

set me free because of my age. I returned safely to my village, to my children. During the ten years of my second imprisonment in the Tashkent region of the Uzbekistan Republic, I visited ten labor camps. Each of them was not far from Tashkent, between 60-70 and 300 km away. First, between 1943 and 1946 I stayed in Zangi Ata camp, 18 km from Tashkent. Then I went to Tabaqsay camp, 70 km from Tashkent, near Chirchiq. After that I went to Yalangach camp near Lunacharsky for two months, and then returned to Tabaqsay. I spent ten months in Angren camp, close to the city where my family resided. There I got terribly ill and moved to Quyluq hospital near Tashkent. I spent two months there and then came back to Tabaqsay. From there they moved me to Yuzaq camp near Samarkand. After staying there from February to May, they took me to Bigavat camp. There I stayed some six months and was released on November 6, 1952 and came back to Angren. I was at the transit camp in Tashkent two or three times. /135b/

I spent the winter of 1953 with my children in Angren, but in early June my daughter Wasilya, at her own expense, brought me back to Russia to my home village of Istärlibash, to see my sister Farhi Sorur and daughter Halima. In the village I visited my relatives and the graves of my parents. My daughter Wasilya worked as a pharmacy director in Ziab city in Kashkadarya oblast. She showed respect to her father and made it possible. May God bless her, provide her with peace, put her daughter Flura on the right path and let her be a help to her mother. Amen.

/136b/

اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
يا أيها الناس اتقوا ربكم الذي خلقكم من نفس واحدة وخلق منها زوجها وجعل  
منهما رجلا كثيرا ونسباً والتقوا الله الذي تسألون به والارحام إن الله كان عليهم رقيباً

What I have written above was about events that I have seen in my life. If God allows, I intend to write my genealogy (*näsel näsäbem*) to the best of my knowledge. May God, the Lord of the Universe, allow me to do so. Amen. In the future this will be a memoir (*khätirä*) for my children and will not be without benefit for their knowledge about their ancestors.

As I have written above, my father Shaykh al-Islam b. 'Abd al-Qadir b. Biktimir was born in Tatar Qaramalī village of Aleksandr Qaramalī volost in the Mänzälä district in Ufa governorate, according to the old administrative division (*boringi tarikh buencha*). Today it is called Tatar Qaramalī village of the Sarman region of the Republic of Tatarstan. My father was born in 1843 of

Miladi, and died in 1918. I buried him in the old cemetery of İstärlibash, near the grave of the old scholars. There is a gravestone with an inscription.

The children of ‘Abd al-Qadir baba: 1) Shaykh al-Islam, 2) ‘Abd al-‘Alim, 3) Habib al-Rahman, 4) Yözle Bikä, 5) Hubbi Jämäl, 6) Mähbubä.

The children of Shaykh al-Islam: 1) Zuhra, 2) ‘Abd al-Majid, 3) Farhi Sorur. Other children died prematurely. My older sister Zuhra spent her life as a seamstress and died of pneumonia in 1906 of Miladi. A gravestone with an inscription is located in the great cemetery of İstärlibash. She was married to Niyaz ‘Ali, the son of Ahmad ‘Ali khalfa in İstärlibash. They had two children, Ummi Jihan and Maryam, who stayed with me after the death of their parents. /137a/ They both had night-blindness and could not live alone. Ummi Jihan married ‘Abd al-Karim, the son of Baqir Muhammadyarov in İstärlibash. They left a son, but themselves passed away and were buried in the cemetery of İstärlibash. Their son Raim grew up at the orphanage in İstärlibash and works there nowadays. My niece Maryam served as a teacher for ten years, but then lost her eyesight and [now] receives the state pension.

On April 29, 1909, ‘Abd al-Majid married Fatima, daughter of the famous teacher of Kazakh origin ‘Ali khalfa Aydabulov in İstärlibash. She was born in March 1881. The following children are alive:

1) the birth of Halima in 1913 of Miladi was noted in the family register (*‘ailä däftäre*)<sup>341</sup> of İstärlibash. In 1934 she married ‘Ubaydullah b. Tukhfatullah Husnetdinov from Aytugan village of İstärlibash region. She lives now in Belebey city of Bashkortostan. Her children [are]: 1) Amina, 2) Na‘il, 3) Shamil, 4) Määdina, 5) Khalida. My daughter Halima was literate in Tatar and Russian and worked a lot in trade. Today she is a housewife.

2) According to the family register, my son Mas‘ud was born on January 13, 1917. He married Fatima, a girl from the Tuytubä region in the Tashkent region of Uzbekistan. They had a daughter Ra‘isa. For some reason they had disagreements and got divorced. My daughter-in-law now lives with her daughter Ra‘isa

341 [Al-Qadiri refers here to the official family registers carried out by the local imams. The practice of family registers (*‘ailä däftäre*) was introduced by the state in 1828. These registers included annual information on births, deaths, marriages and divorces. Over time, Muslims developed multiple ways of dealing with this official documentation (copying, using quotes in legal matters, etc.) and even used them in autobiographies (cf. the autobiography of Kazan imam ‘Abd al-Khabir Yarullin (1905-1994) stored in the private archive of his grandson Na‘il in Kazan). The question remains: when and where did al-Qadiri have a chance to consult the family registers of İstärlibash? At the time of writing they must have already been placed in the State Archive in Orenburg. It is also possible that he had copied this information before the transfer of registers from the village to the archive.]

in Lunacharsky, a settlement near Tashkent, and works as a teacher. They live on Kalinin street, house no. 55. Then he married Dhakirä, daughter of Sharaf al-Din from the Tuymazı region of the Bashkortostan Republic. They had a daughter called Wasilya. They now live in Tuymazı. /137b/ He [Mas'ud] entered military service prior to the Second World War (*olugh jihan sugıshi*), studied aeromechanics in Leningrad and then participated in the Finnish war. During the Second World War he served at the airport in Moscow and returned as a lieutenant of the second class. He knows how to write and read in Tatar.

3) My daughter Asiya was born in İstärlibash in 1922. Then she entered a school for ten years in Piskent in the Tashkent region, where we arrived first, and graduated with distinction. Later she graduated from a medical college in Tashkent and worked at the hospital in Piskent, where she continues working to this day. Due to her excellent academic work, she traveled to Moscow and Leningrad some time in 1941. She married Rahim, the son of Shakir Mengliwaliev, a citizen of Piskent. They have a son called Farid. He is ten years old now, studying in the second year of school.

4) The family register has it that my son Muhsin was born in İstärlibash in 1924. He graduated from a school in Piskent with distinction and then taught in Dum Qurgan *qışlaq* in the Piskent region. On August 19, 1942, at eighteen years old, he was mobilized to [serve in] the Second World War. There he trained to be a machine gunner, became a lieutenant and returned safely. Still, he spent ten months in a hospital in Krasnodar in the Caucasus and came home only in 1946. His body was full of shards; some of them remain inside. /138a/ On February 12, 1945, he married Dilibär, daughter of Sami'ullah Latifullin from the Brianski mine of the famous Donbass region, born in a coal mine. He brought her from the army. They have the following children:

1) Mahmud Qadırov. Today he is eight years old and is in the first year of school.

2) Münirä, [who] is six years old.

The rest of their children died in infancy. Rawil was buried in Donbass. Mansur was buried in Angren, near his grandmother, the daughter of Fatima. Murad was buried in Kumertau in Bashkortostan in 1954. For over a decade he has been working in trade.

3) Dilyara was born in the Kumertau region of the Bashkortostan Republic on February 13, 1956. She lives now with her parents in Orenburg.

5) The family register has it that my daughter Wasilya was born in 1926 in İstärlibash. She came to Uzbekistan, when she was nine years old, finished a ten-year school in Piskent and graduated with honors from the medical college in Tashkent as a pharmacist. Today she works as a pharmacy director at Qarshı station in Kashkadarya oblast. Before that, she worked in Shahrizabz region.

On December 31, 1953 she married Fida'i Islamov, a local. In 1955 she gave birth to her daughter Flura. I was present at the wedding ceremony (*nikah*) and performed the prayers myself. /138b/

6) The family register of Istärlibash has it that my daughter Maryam was born in 1928. She came to Uzbekistan when she was eight, and graduated with distinction from a Russian ten-year school in Piskent. Then she entered the medical college in Tashkent. She studied there for a while and then entered the Medical Institute in Leningrad. After graduating there with distinction in 1953, she received a diploma (*shahadat nama, diplom*) and continued her studies writing a dissertation in the same place. If everything goes well, she will defend this year, 1956. She has not married yet. May God allow her a proper match, amen. [added later:] She finished her studies in 1956 and received an appointment from the Ministry of Education in Moscow to be a doctor in the Melekes region of Ulyanovsk oblast.

My second sister, Farhi Sorur, was born in Istärlibash in 1883. In the early days she knew Arabic and the Qur'an well. In 1905 or 1906 she married Sami'ullah 'Abdullin in Nikifar village on the Dim River, a famous merchant from Kazan. He was in his sixties. She cried desperately at the wedding. That was a custom (*mädäniyat*) of those days. Even though the religious books have a rule that mutual consent is needed, the mullahs decided (*shäriyat chügargannar*) that it was okay for a rich person to be married without the consent of the bride. They had a son called Kalimullah, born in 1906. In late March 1917 our brother-in-law Sami'ullah passed away and was buried in Nikifar cemetery. Since in 1922, at the time of Great Revolution, all their property was confiscated (*musadara qilu*), my sister Farhi Sorur with her child Kalimullah had only a house. Her foster son took the property of the child. /139a/ Later, a person called Shahgiray claimed the house as his property, and forced them onto the street. God knows everything. My oppressed sister and her son are still living quietly in Belebey city, but all the oppressors are long dead. God's justice has reached you! We believe and have confirmed it.<sup>342</sup>

After my sister was forced to leave her house, her life became difficult. I invited Majid b. 'Izzatullah Valiullin, a brother of my mother who worked at Azkitä station on the Uralsk railway, to take care of her. He went there, and after staying a while married my sister and they began to live together. They had four girls and lived happily. In the end they moved to Belebey. Their children are Amina, Zaytuna, Zuhra, Ra'isa. Amina studied German at a ten-year school in Belebey and now works as a German language teacher in schools in Bashkortostan. She married a Bashkort judge called Sagitov, but they had

342 [In the original: *خدا عدل جاءكم آمنة وصدقنا*]

disagreements and got divorced. They had a son, Banu, and a daughter, Lalä. After teaching in İstärlibash for a couple of days, today she teaches at a school in Ufa. Her daughter is fifteen and her son is ten.

Kalimullah, the son left by Sami'ullah 'Abdullin, studied agronomy and today lives in Belebey together with his mother Farhi Sorur. Zaivoyskiy street, /139b/ a detached house, no. 17. He now works at the local newspapers as a journalist.

Zaytuna graduated from a ten-year school in Belebey and then entered the Medical Institute in Ufa. Today she works as a doctor in Ufa. She married As'at, a person from Safar village in Chishmä region. They had a daughter called Rashidä. Recently, in August 1955, another daughter was born to them.

Zuhra graduated from a ten-year school in Belebey, then she entered the Oriental Faculty in Leningrad. After three years there, she studied for three years at the Academy in Kazan, then she spent two years in Moscow and since 1951 she has been teaching at the Pedagogical Institute in Kazan. In total she studied for twenty years, and this year, 1955, she got married. She has a son, Iskander.

Ra'isa graduated from a ten-year school in Belebey and then from the Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad. She taught at a school in Leningrad and married Gafurov, a Tatar academic. They have a son, Rashid. Today, in 1955, they live in Ekaterinburg and she works as a teacher. /140a/

The second son of 'Abd al-Qadir, 'Abd al-'Alim, served as a mu'adhdhin of the first community in Qaramalī village. His children are Nur Muhammad, Fa'iza, and Hajar. They were born of his first wife Maryam. After she passed away, he married Husni Banu from Nurküy village. She bore Raykhan, Ahmad Latif, and Nur al-'Ayan. I think she was the daughter of a mullah from Burali village. This mullah and the mother of my wife's mother were siblings.

Nur Muhammad first studied at the madrasa of Ahmad Latif hazrat in Tamtiq village on the İq River. Then he came to İstärlibash, studied here for a year or two and afterwards served as a mu'adhdhin in Qaramalī. He passed away, but I do not know when. He was a very good person. May God forgive his sins, amen.

Fa'iza was married to 'Abd al-'Alim, a person from Ilbek village. She died there. I knew them both personally. May God have mercy upon them.

Hajar was married to someone from Chalpī village, not far away from the Mällä River. I saw her in my childhood, but do not know who her husband was.

Of the children of the second wife, Husni Banu, Raykhan was married to someone in Nurküy village.

Ahmad Latif lived in Qaramalī.

Nur al-'Ayan lives in Qaramalī. I do not know if he is still alive. /140b/



The third child of 'Abd al-Qadir was Habib al-Rahman. He had a son Kashshaf al-Din. He lived well in Qaramali and died there at some point. He was a good person. May God have mercy upon him. Every time we visited Qaramali, we enjoyed his hospitality. He had a son Salah al-Din. I do not know if he is still alive, since I have not heard anything from them for a long time. His wife was called Mastura.

The fourth child [of 'Abd al-Qadir *baba*], Yözle Bikä, married someone in Qatmiş village of the Muslim region on the banks of the İq River. We visited her regularly together with my father. She had an only son called Ahmad Hafiz. She was very pious and lived well. After the death of my father, approximately in 1923, she moved to Shälärmä village in the Mänzälä region to live with a person called Sahib Giray. They came together to our house in İstärlibash. May God have mercy upon them.

Farhi Sorur, the daughter of this Yözle Bikä, had a son called 'Arifjan. He was an educated person and served as a mullah in Shälärmä village. He studied with Muhammadjan hazrat in Nurkäy village. In 1933 I visited them. He was an extremely religious and pious person. May God have mercy upon him. Amen. He had six children. I do not know their names.

Mahi Sorur, the third child of Yözle Bikä, was married to someone in Olugh Chaqmaq village on the İq River. She had a son, 'Abd al-Majid. I saw them in the same year, 1933. They were farmers and were of average means. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen. /141a/

The fifth child of our grandfather 'Abd al-Qadir, Hubbi Jämal, married someone in Nurkäy village. Her husband died early. They had a son, 'Arifjan. He had difficulties with hearing. I visited them once together with my father. They earned their livelihood from agriculture.

The sixth child, Mähbubä apay, married someone in Balli Tamaq village near Qaramali. I do not know her husband. They had a single son. Together with my father, I visited them once. They earned their livelihood from agriculture. May God forgive the sins of all of my ancestors and relatives. Amen.

Now I will write the genealogy of my late mother.

My late mother 'Alimä, the daughter of Waliullah, was born in the famous Bayraka village on the banks of the İq River, part of the Chäkän volost of Bugulma district. Waliullah was a son of Rahmatullah, a son of Hasan. Our late grandfather Waliullah had three wives. The mother of my mother, Sharif al-Jamal b. Mustafa, moved there from Kazan. Waliullah must have been doing some trade in Bayraka. One spring he went on a horse to a market in Chäkän and was murdered on the way back, near a mill. According to testimonies, in the evening he

divorced his wife 'Afifā and in the morning he went to the market. People say that this was the reason that she killed him. He had another wife, but I do not remember her name. She was the mother of Farhi Sorur and 'Izzatullah. Farhi Sorur had a daughter called Āsma. They lived in Bashkortostan, on the banks of the Kävämälek River, and died there. 'Izzatullah *abzī* has been mentioned above. My brother-in-law Majid is the son of this 'Izzatullah. Today he lives happily with my sister Farhi Sorur. Above I have written about their children. /141b/

When 'Izzatullah *abzī* was alive, I went to see him at Azfikā station. He was a very poor and harmless person. Since he had a little education, he gave lessons in religion to the Bashkir children there. In summer, he would go to the foreign markets to be hired by the rich people for agricultural work. In his last days he used to transfer travelers from Azfikā station on his horse. One night he was innocently (*bi-gunah mäzlüm*) murdered by a Russian whom he transferred to a village. He was a very good person. May God have mercy upon him and count him among the martyrs (*shāhid*). Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.

My brother-in-law and brother [Majid] got a stomach disease in Belebey and spent several months in Ufa hospital. The doctors decided that he needed an operation and they sent him to a hospital in Leningrad. There he stayed only four hours after the operation and then passed away. "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return."<sup>343</sup> My daughter Maryam, who at that time was studying at the Medical Institute, also participated in the operation. His son-in-law from Leningrad and his daughter Ra'isa took care of him and buried him in accordance with the Muslim rites. May God reward them for taking care of their father at a time of difficulty. Amen. His daughter Zaytuna came from Ufa to participate in the funeral and to construct a metal enclosure on his grave. May God reward my relatives, amen.

After the death of our grandfather Waliullah, his older sibling Khalilullah b. Rahmatullah stayed in Istärlibash, taught there and was engaged in trade. /142a/

Once he heard about the death of his brother Waliullah, he immediately returned to Bayraka village and brought our mother and grandmother Sharif al-Jamal to Istärlibash. The distance between these villages was 180 km. That was the time of my mother's youth (*qiz waqiti*). He raised her and gave her in marriage to Hafiz b. mullah Nasr al-Din from Gayna village, near Istärlibash. After Hafiz passed away, he brought our mother 'Alimä to Istärlibash and then

343 إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ [Q 2: 156.]

gave her in marriage to his student, and my father, Shaykh al-Islam. That must have been in 1870. The late Khalilullah khalfa had hearing problems and this was not without impact on his children.

He had two wives. After his first wife passed away, he married Umm Gulthum from Istärlitamaq. His first wife was the daughter of hajji mullah from Burali village in Mänzälä district on the banks of the Mällä River. They had a daughter called Rabi'a. She married a Kazakh student in Istärlibash, named Dus Muhammad, when she was fourteen. By Umm Gulthum, he [Khalilullah khalfa] had a son named Muhammad Karim. He went to Medina the Radiant to study, but died there and was buried in the Jannat al-Baqi' cemetery. Another son, Muhammad Sharif, went to military service and then returned to Istärlibash, where he occupied himself with agriculture and a bit of leather trade. He was a good, wealthy, pious and kind person. In 1928 he was unlawfully (*na-haqq*) arrested and sent off to Siberia. There, in Omsk, he served as a mosque servant and took his wife and children there. He died in Omsk and was buried in its cemetery (*qabrstan*). May God forgive his sins, amen.

Today his wife Zainap and his son Mahmud remain in Omsk. Zainap is the daughter of Walidov from Istärlibash. For some years, he [Walidov] worked at the mill in Ayt village near Örsähqbash Qaramali. He died there. May God have mercy upon him. He was a scholar (*'alim*), a sincere person who led a pious life. I was present at his funeral and pronounced a couple of words about him there. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen. /143a/

He was buried in ...<sup>344</sup> cemetery. He had a son As'ad, but he died somewhere, probably during the Second World War (*watan sugishinda*). Today his son Mahmud lives in Omsk together with his mother Zainap.

Ahmad agha studied at the madrasa in Istärlibash and then spent several years at the madrasa of 'Ubaydullah b. Zaynullah al-Istärlibashi in Yalpaqta (Salachin) in Uralsk oblast. Then he returned to Istärlibash and taught for years at the madrasa. He spent much of his time in prison. He married Farhi Sorur, the daughter of someone of the ... nasin<sup>345</sup> family in Istärlitamaq. They had a daughter, Urqiya, one son, and another daughter. He died around 1915 and was buried in the cemetery in Istärlibash.

After the death of Dus Muhammad, the aforementioned Rabi'a married 'Ali khalfa b. Asaqay Aydaybulov, a great teacher, who originated from the Narin division of the Cherkes tribe in Bukay ile in Astrakhan governorate. He taught for many years in Istärlibash. The fathers of my mother 'Alimä and Rabi'a were

344 [Here the text is damaged.]

345 [Here the text is damaged.]

cousins. I, 'Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam, married Fatima, the daughter of 'Ali khalfa and Rabi'a, on April 29, 1909. We had a great wedding. Present there were: my brother-in-law from Nikifar, Sami'ullah 'Abdullin; a famous merchant from Istärlitamaq, Habibullah 'Uthmanov; all the scholars ('*ulama*) of our community (*mähällämez*); as well as other respected people. The famous imam of Istärlibash, 'Abdullah hazrat Muhammad Harith Tuqaev, performed our wedding ceremony (*nikah*). We gave presents to our parents and prominent people. Not since then was there such a great wedding of poor people in Istärlibash.

I was given special presents, a silk robe, wool *bishmät*, a turban, /143b/ shoes, cap, shirts, pants, and other clothes. There was no end to the food on offer. As a groom, I was presented a honey *baursaq*, which is a special type of food prepared according to the ancient tradition among us Tatars. This required lots of oil. Two people lifted the *baursaq* to present it to the audience. I write these small details about food, because I want to inform my children about the ancient traditions, because they might not trust that they ever existed. Thanks be to our grandparents who respected us this way. May God grant them paradise, amen.

In June 1915 I managed to bring my wife to our house. The relatives of my wife, 'Abd al-Rahman, 'Abd al-Rahim *baja*, Murtaza Badikov from Batir village, 'A'isha, and 'Abdullah Urmanasov, brought five carriages of presents with them. May God have mercy upon them. Amen. This way I spent forty years with my wife Fatima and she passed away in Angren city of Tashkent oblast in Uzbekistan. "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return." She was buried in the cemetery of Tishektash community in Angren. In 1954, I placed a gravestone with an Arabic inscription and a grave enclosure (*ihata*) there. I also took a picture (*fotografia*) [of the grave] and passed it on to my children as a keepsake (*khätirä*). May God have mercy upon her. /144a/ The gravestone has the following inscription: "This is the grave (*qaber*) of Fatima, daughter of 'Ali. Pray in remembrance of her. This is the grave of Fatima, daughter of 'Ali and wife of Majid *qari*. She died on August 26, 1949. Her elderly brother 'Abd al-Rahman is a [gravestone] scribe (*yazguchi*). Her son Muhsin ordered the inscription."

### The Children of 'Ali khalfa

The daughter of 'Ali khalfa, 'A'isha, was married to Murtaza Badikov from Batir village on the banks of the Ashqadar River. Originally, Murtaza was from Tuysugan village in Bugulma district. The following are the children of 'A'isha:

- 1 Zainap married Shaykh al-Islam Kashaev from the same Batır village. She had a daughter Zubarjad who married a Kazakh, who served as a judge at the Qızıl Qum station of the Sarı Agach region of the Kazakhstan Republic, near Tashkent. Following childbirth she passed away in Sarı Agach in 1935. Her daughter stayed with her grandmother Zainap. I visited them in 1935. Her grave is located in Sarı Agach. [Zainap had] two other children, As'ad and Farid. I do not know where they are at the moment.
- 2 'Abd al-Hayy was born in Batır village, then he moved to Orenburg for a while, then settled in the Tajikistan Republic, where he undertook trade at the village cooperative. Then he perished in the Second World War (*jihan sug'ishinda*). His wife Hajar [was] from Orenburg. They did not have children. He worked in Kuibyshev region, 200 km from Stalinabad. I visited them in 1935. May God count him among the martyrs (*shāhid bāndäläre*). Amen. /144b/
- 3 'Abd al-Azal was also born in Batır village and then worked in commerce in Orenburg. He was wealthy and bought a huge house. After the revolution (*inqilab*) he moved to Tajikistan and worked in commerce at a place called Tugalan in Qurgan Tübä region, 150 km away from Stalinabad. His wife, Hayat, was a sister of 'Ubaydullah Kashaev from Orenburg. They had several children. Their daughter is still alive and resides in Qugalan (Kagunovichabad). ['Abd al-Azal] was mobilized for the Second World War and returned with mental problems, which led to the death of his wife Hayat and his imprisonment for fifteen years. He is still in a labor camp. 'Abd al-Azal was a good and kind person (*bändä*). May God grant him salvation (*najat*) and return [him] to his children. I visited them together with my son Mas'ud in 1935. He took my son to teach him for work.

Hadija b. 'Ali khalfa was married to 'Abd al-'Alim mullah from Bikqol village of Orenburg district. A year later, following childbirth, she passed away and was buried in the cemetery in Bikqol. There is a gravestone with an inscription. May God have mercy upon her.

'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Ali khalfa is still alive. He studied in Istärlibash, then went to Istanbul for a couple of years. After that he taught using a new method (*usul-i jadid*) at the school [madrasa] of Istärlibash. The Tuqaevs, directors of the madrasa, did not like his teaching. He started to trade and became a successful merchant. He was a well-educated and sincere person. Even though the Tuqaevs tried to harm him, he stayed well. /145a/

### The Children of 'Abd al-Rahim Chalaqaev

At some point, I do not remember when, he married Shamsi Kamal, daughter of Qahar al-Din, a mu'adhdhin of Yashargan village near Istärlibash. They had the following children.

Hadija b. 'Abd al-Rahim was born in Istärlibash and married Lutf al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-Rahman 'Alev. After the revolution, the latter went to study aircraft engineering in Kazan. He did a great job in the Second World War, reached the rank of captain, and returned as an invalid. Today he lives in Istärlibash and receives a state pension of 1,600 rubles. They had three sons, who are still studying. I do not remember their names.

Zuhra 'Aleva was also born in Istärlibash. In her youth she married Sa'id Tukhfatullin from Istärlitamaq, but they did not stay [together] long because of his immorality (*akhlaqsizliq*), and divorced. Then she married Daud, a Bashkir from Ufa. They had a daughter and Daud passed away. She went to Uzbekistan with her daughter and married a Tatar there. She got divorced from him too and then died herself. She was buried in Uzbekistan. Oh Allah! If she was a doer of good, then increase her good fortune. And if she was a wrongdoer, then overlook her wrongdoings. Amen. May God have mercy upon her. Her daughter lives with her aunt Maryam and studies at the Railway Institute in Tashkent.

Maryam was born in Istärlibash. After a while she married Dhakir b. Fazlullah Akhmerov from Istärlibash. They lived a proper, peaceful life, full of love. Dhakir worked in the government. /145b/ In 1941 he was mobilized to the front and perished there. May God count him among the sinless martyrs (*shahid bändälär*). He was a very modest (*insaflı*) man. When he was twenty-one or twenty-two, he taught at the primary school in Istärlibash. He was an extremely wise man. His father, Fazlullah Akhmerov, first baked rolls in Istärlibash, then sold eggs and in the end became a wealthy person (*yakhshı däülät iyase*). As a result of the Great Russian Revolution, he died in prison. May God forgive his sins.

Ma'wi 'Aleva was born in Istärlibash, studied there and then went to Uzbekistan, to Namangan, for marriage. She disagreed with her husband and got divorced. Then she received education in law in Kharkov, became a judge and in recent years served as an inspector (*sudyaniņg täftishche*) in Zab city in Kashkadarya oblast. Today she has returned to Istärlibash to work for the government. She serves as an inspector in Fedor region.

'Abd al-Rashid 'Alev was born in Istärlibash, then in his youth he went together with his siblings to Tashkent and graduated from a local medical school in 1942. He had just started to work when he was taken to the front for medical service. He returned safely and worked as a doctor in the Miräkä

region of Kashkadarya oblast.<sup>346</sup> Then he returned to Istärlibash to serve as an eye doctor at the local hospital. He married Mahi Nur, daughter of Sharifjan b. Akhundjan in Istärlibash. Today they have a son and two daughters. In 1954 he received a diploma from a three-month course in ophthalmology. /146a/

Mahirä 'Aleeva was born in Istärlibash and then moved to Uzbekistan. There she graduated from art school and became a painter. She worked as a schoolteacher in Zab city until 1954, when she came back to Istärlibash to work as a teacher and painter. She married Rashid b. 'Abd al-Rahim Dhakir from Qaragush village. They have two daughters at the moment.

All these children were orphaned<sup>347</sup> by the death of their mother Shamsi Kamal, who had breast cancer. After she died, 'Abd al-Rahim Chalaqaev had to take another wife, daughter of someone called Tanau Ahmad from Täter Arslan village. They had a daughter, Rashidä. She also joined her sisters in Uzbekistan and graduated from the medical college. Today she works in a place close to Shahrizabz.

When this second wife also passed away, 'Abd al-Rahim b. Latif married ['A'isha], a daughter of Salqin 'Usman from Istärlibash and then died himself. They had a son 'Abd al-Bari. 'A'isha b. 'Uthman got married again. She is now more than eighty years old and resides in Istärlibash.

The third wife and her son antagonized the rest of children, who had to leave their father and migrate to other places, but in accordance with the saying "Man proposes and God disposes," 'Abd al-Bari perished during the Second World War. May God forgive his sins, amen. /146b/

Above, I mentioned Umm Gulthum, the first daughter of 'A'isha b. 'Ali khalfa. She was born in Batir village. She went to Qizil Urda in Kazakhstan and married Arslan Shakirov, a Tajik. She still lives there. Shakirov is a barber. He is a good person. I visited them a couple of times. Their son Farid now studies at the medical college in Tashkent. The second child has problems with his legs and attends school in Qizil Urda. I do not remember the name of their third son. Their mother, 'A'isha, died in Qizil Urda and her grave is in the local graveyard. There is a gravestone with an inscription. 'Abd al-Rahman Aydayulov made the inscription when he visited the burial place. 'A'isha was a very kind and good lady. May God have mercy upon her. May God forgive her and cover her by His mercy.<sup>348</sup> Amen.

346 [These biographies, including the life of al-Qadiri himself, illustrate the mass migration to Central Asia after the Revolution.]

347 [In Tatar, being orphaned (*yatim qalu*) can refer to losing just one parent (rather than both parents, as the English term would normally imply).]

348 [In the original: اللهم اغفرها وارحمها.]

'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Ali khalfa was born in 1881.<sup>349</sup> In his youth he lived in a place near Uralsk, then grew up in Istärlibash and, until the age of twenty, studied with his father 'Ali khalfa, then went to pursue religious knowledge in Bukhara (*tahsil 'ulum diniya*). He stayed for six years at the Mir-i 'Arab madrasa in Bukhara, and in the seventh year he returned to Istärlibash. He married 'Afifä, daughter of Nur Muhammad Urmanov from Istärlitamaq. Then he taught at the madrasa of Istärlibash until 1921, when another mosque was erected /147a/ and he was elected imam of the third *mahalla* in Istärlibash. He received a diploma (*shahadat nama*) from the Muftiate in Ufa and started to perform his duties as imam until the night of December 11, 1928, when the event described above [i.e. the murder of 'Alev] took place. Due to that event, he was imprisoned together with me. He spent five months in the jail of Ufa, then returned and on September 19, 1929 was taken again to the same prison.

He was there for eleven months and in 1930 he was sentenced for ten years to the White Sea Canal. He was in Solovki, but in 1933<sup>350</sup> he was released (*najat bulup*) and sustained himself through common labor (*qara esh*). In 1939, his enemies slandered him unlawfully (*bik na-haqq danuslar birep*) and he was exiled to Siberia for six years. He returned safely to Istärlibash before the end of his term (*wä'däsennän elek*). He performed his duties faithfully (*khalis hezmät qilib*) at the camp in Novosibirsk and even though he was counted among the political prisoners (*siyasi maghyublar*), the government released him two years early. He came home and began living with his family. When the government allowed the performance of religious rites, [and] an order arrived to erect mosques in every famous community, a mosque was reopened in Istärlibash and, in accordance with the request of the local people, the aforementioned 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Ali khalfa Aydaybulov was allowed to become an imam and received a license from the Muftiate in Ufa. He is still performing the duties of imam at the mosque of Istärlibash. May God grant it continuity. Amen. May God continue [our religion] until the End of Times in accordance with the saying "Oh God, show us truth and falsehood clearly."<sup>351</sup> /147b/ May God make sincere his religious performance and the sermons that he translates into people's hearts in accordance with the hadith "the one who introduces a positive innovation."<sup>352</sup>

349 [In the original: 1981, which must be a mistake.]

350 [In the original added: "after five years," which must be a mistake.]

351 [In the original: اللهم اهدنا الحق حقا وارنا الباطل باطلا]

352 [In the original: من سن سنة حسنة]



### The Children of 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov and his wife 'Afifä

Mukarrama was born in Istärlibash and around 1930 got married, but because of the strikes they divorced. Then she married Salah al-Din from Örhäqbash Qaramali village near Istärlibash whose wife had passed away, but since he was rather dull, they also got divorced. They had a daughter and a son. Her son Anwar graduated from the ten-year state school in Istärlibash and learned to paint very well. Today he works at the Qaramali collective farm as a book-keeper. The daughter is still working at the collective farm (*kolkhoz*).

After the first wife of 'Abd al-Rahman passed away, he married Dilafuz, daughter of Sadiq mu'adhdhin from Qaragush village. Around March 1914, my late wife Fatima and I went to their wedding in Qaragush village. At the time, my oldest daughter Halima was still an infant. The aforementioned 'Afifä b. Nur Muhammad passed away following childbirth. May God count her among the martyrs. Amen. She was a modest and good person. She respected me as a brother-in-law. Oh Allah! If she was a doer of good, then increase her good fortune. And if she was a wrongdoer, then overlook her wrongdoings. Amen. May God have mercy upon her. She was buried in the graveyard in Istärlibash, there is a gravestone with an inscription. /148a/

### The Following are the Children of 'Abd al-Rahman Aydabulov From His Second Wife

Munawwara got married, but after several years her husband left her with her daughter; [the daughter] is still alive, but her mother Munawwara died of breast cancer. She was buried in the graveyard in Istärlibash, there is a gravestone with an inscription. May God have mercy upon her.

Yagmura died in her youth and was buried in Istärlibash.

Khalilullah studied at the state school in Istärlibash and then fought in the Second World War. Today he is studying at the High Governmental School in Moscow. He was an extremely clever boy. May God allow him to finish his studies successfully, return home, [and] become a servant of the fatherland (*watan khädime*) who helps his parents. Amen.

Magfura today takes care of her parents. Even though the time of marriage has approached, she has not married yet. She is a clever and wholesome girl who takes care of her parents and participates in common work (*'umumi eshlär*). May God grant her a good husband.

Urqiya graduated from the ten-year school in Istärlibash and after a year of teaching children at school she went to study at the Pedagogical Institute

in İstärilitamaq. May God make her a wholesome girl who helps her parents. Amen.

In good memory I have done my best to write down the genealogy. If in the future there are those willing to record the genealogy (*nasab*), they can add to this work. I wrote this in October 1955, Rabi' al-Awwal 1375 in Kumertau city. /148b/

Now I have decided to write what I know about my home village İstärlibash.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 رَبِّ يَسِّرْ وَلَا تَعْسِرْ  
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَالَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَخَالَقَ اللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ وَقَدَرًا مَعْشِيَةَ الْإِنْسَانِ  
 فِي الْقَرْيَةِ وَفِي الْبَلَدَانِ  
 وَالصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ عَلَى حَبِيبِ اللَّهِ مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَاصْحَابِهِ الْكِرَامِ

The famous village of İstärlibash is located 150 km from Ufa, 55 km from İstärilitamaq, in the direction of Mecca, 75 km from Shafran station on the Great Siberian Railway, approximately 73° longitude and 53° latitude, 1 km away from the source of the İstärli River. Some people from Qarghalı near Orenburg, [originally] from the Kazan side, arrived in the Bashkir lands and agreed to establish a settlement (*utar*) on the spot where İstärlibash is located. Later on, given the growth of trade, other people also started to come and that was the beginning of the village. Though the exact dates are unknown, it must have been a century after the Pugachev uprising (*waqı'a*) which took place in our lands in 1773. A place called Bosqın choqırı is located northwards from İstärlibash. During the Pugachev war, [the rebels] built dugout houses in the forest. Our ancestors related that this was the reason why this place is called that. /149a/ According to some, the first newcomers initially rented the land from the Bashkirs for fifty years. A certain Abu-l-Na'im b. Muhammad Latif has a document (*kägazläre*) composed on April 25, 1859. His grandfather Yusuf was a merchant; he arrived from Qarghalı to do trade and set up a potash factory. The document mentioned above belongs to him. Apparently, that was the third agreement (*aluları*) with the Bashkirs. Each time he agreed for fifty years. Hence they started to document this practice a century ago, and maybe for another thirty years prior to that they did not write it down. This means that İstärlibash must have been established around 1655. Nobody knows our ancestors of those years or their genealogies. Some twenty-five years ago there were still some elderly people informed about the Pugachev uprising and some people still possess documents from the past containing information on the years of 1774 and 1797.

Istärlibash is a village located on both banks of the Istärli River, with a high mountain in the north. The eastern side and the Qibla side are open with very few forests. The air of Istärlibash is good, there are some fruit gardens there. All the fruits, like apples and melons, ripen on time. Its fields yield plenty of strawberries. Its forests are full of nuts and raspberries. In winter it is usually around minus fifteen degrees and in summer around seventeen degrees [above zero]. The population of Istärlibash is Tatar. The majority of people are involved in agriculture. There are some craftsmen as well, such as a stonemason, shoemaker, blacksmith, and joiner. There are also those who bake bread. /149b/ Among women there are those who do embroidery, produce shawls, and towels. According to the 1897 census (*perepis*), there were 1,572 men and 1,552 women, i.e. 2,124 people in total. One day a week there was a market in Istärlibash which provided people with everything they needed. Many people would come for trade from Istärlitamaq and other places. There were also many people who opened shops in the village. Every day it was possible to buy anything you wanted. Starting from 1910, a trade company was established, which included a lot of members. This company had a shop called *Nur*. In 1915, another shop called *Shäfqat* opened. Each member donated 100 rubles and the shop prospered. Together with other people, I participated in getting state permission to open both shops.

Istärlibash counts among the famous villages; its madrasas functioned as home to several hundred students from different places annually. There were many students from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. From among the inner cities of Russia, numerous students arrived from Saratov, Astrakhan (*Achtrakhan*), Uralsk, Simbirsk, Kazan, Ufa and other governorates. There were also many people pursuing the sacred knowledge of Sufism (*tariqat 'ilm-i batin*) from the shaykhs. Some 200 years ago, knowledge started to spread from here.

Munasib mullah was the first imam in Istärlibash, in approximately 1725. After the establishment of the first mosque, Husayn mullah b. 'Abd al-Rahman initiated teaching at the madrasa. He was the first person to erect a mosque in Istärlibash and performed the first Friday prayer. /150a/ A minbar stick in Istärlibash bears an inscription on one of its sides: "Husayn b. 'Abd al-Rahman." I saw the inscription myself. People said that in 1875 this stick was 150 years old. The grave of this Husayn mullah is located in the old cemetery in the center of the village. The inscription on the gravestone was executed by Muhammad Shah agha. I do not know how he figured out the exact location of the grave. Husayn mullah was the father of the first mufti Muhammadjan Husaynov. He became a mufti according to Catherine the Great's decree of 1789. As noted above, Husayn mullah started to teach around 1725. At that time, mosques and madrasas were built. It is possible to date the history of the Istärlibash madrasa from 1725. It is unknown when Husayn mullah passed away and how long he

taught for, but people say that he was a learned and pious person. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.

The next person who taught in İstärlibash was 'Adl Shah hazrat b. 'Abdullah Bogdanov. He was the father of the famous Dawlat Shah hazrat from Chabınli near Orenburg. 'Abdullah hazrat from Chaqmaq on the İq River related information regarding 'Adl Shah hazrat. Sham'un mullah from Warish Muslim village in Mänzälä district studied at the madrasa of 'Adl Shah hazrat in İstärlibash, became a licensed imam (*ukaznıy imam*) and died in his nineties in 1865. He must have been studying in İstärlibash around 1795. The famous Husn al-Din akhund from Baliqli village, 40 km from İstärlibash, has a book /150b/ that was written at the madrasa of 'Adl Shah hazrat in 1799. Based on this information, was there anyone teaching after Husayn mullah and before 'Adl Shah hazrat, i.e. before 1775? Was Husayn mullah very old when 'Adl Shah hazrat took over his position at the mosque and madrasa? There was nobody who knew exactly.

One can say that, at the time of 'Adl Shah hazrat, prominent scholars grew in İstärlibash and the most distinguished of them started to teach abroad. From approximately 1755, İstärlibash started to produce scholars. 'Adl Shah hazrat died at seventy-five years old in 1812, may God cover him with His mercy.<sup>353</sup> People say that he was a learned and distinguished person. His son Dawlat Shah hazrat studied in İstärlibash, for some time with 'Adl Shah hazrat and then Ni'matullah hazrat, but later moved to Bukhara.

'Adl Shah hazrat was succeeded by Ni'matullah b. Biktimir b. Tuqay, known as Kättä hazrat. He was born around 1773. In 1801 he went to Bukhara the Noble, to study sciences. Some old documents (*bä'ze iske kägazlärdä*) mention that this took place on March 1, 1801. Before going to Bukhara, Ni'matullah hazrat studied at the madrasa of Muhammad al-Rahim akhund in Mächkärä. After the death of 'Adl Shah hazrat, starting from 1812, after receiving a license on August 22, 1813, he became a teacher in esoteric and exoteric sciences and an imam of the mosque. He was a model teacher and a prominent shaykh who strived to stop the heresies (*bid'at*) and religious superstitions (*dini khurafat*) spreading among the simple folk (*'awwam*), and called for following the path of the prophet. For example, he opposed the celebration of *sabantuy* and Nowruz, as well as the gatherings to commemorate the deceased on the third, seventh, and fortieth days following the death. Today, mullahs suggest to the heirs of the deceased /151a/ to perform Qur'an recitation for the souls of their deceased father or mother. Of course, it would be great if they did it solely for

353 [In the original: رحمة الله عليه]

the sake of God, but they do it to take the property of the dead. Clearly, this Qur'an recitation turns out not to be for the sake of God, because it causes disagreement and enmity when done by semi-literate *qaris*, rather than by mullahs or mu'adhdhins. If there was no money involved, they would only try to escape from this duty.

Today, those mullahs who consider the Mawlid celebration as illegal (*bid'at*) and forbid its performance only undermine their own authority (*abruy*) among the people. However, the Mawlid celebrations were performed at mosques in front of large audiences with recitation of prayers to the Prophet and the telling of stories of his morals and qualities. Nobody collected alms and gifts or prepared food. But today those mullahs who reject the Mawlid, when the Mawlid month approaches, [nonetheless] gather women in the mosque and tell them complete nonsense. They preach that those who do not perform Mawlid, commit an error. If only they could recite the Mawlid [poems] in a beautiful voice that would make the women happy! However, they would not say anything about the moral qualities of the Prophet. This kind of Mawlid is, of course, forbidden (*bid'at*). Naturally, in performing Mawlid, especially today, in this time of weakness of religion, there is a dire need to tell the younger generation in their mother tongue in general terms about the personality (*nindi keshe bulgan*) of the Prophet and how he spread Islamic religion all over the world. Nothing can distort this; however, cooking food, collecting alms and /151b/ the rhythmical recitation of Mawlid will have no effect on the souls of those women and other people, while for mullahs it is great to eat *bälesh* and *pilaw* and collect alms the whole month long.

In the times closer to the Prophet's life, the Mawlid was not officially permitted, but five or six centuries later people started to perform this rite. Still, it was not the way described above. It consisted of gathering people at the mosque, reciting the Qur'an, explaining the legacy and ethics of the Prophet, reciting prayers to the Prophet, asking him for intercession on the Day of Judgment. In the times closer to the Prophet's life, people knew his ethics and deeds well, therefore there was no need to perform Mawlid. In accordance with the saying "law differs in different parts of the world,"<sup>354</sup> today the Mawlid ceremonies have to be performed. The aforementioned gatherings on the third, seventh and fortieth days have been ended. That must have been a confirmation of the hadith: "Those who introduce a positive innovation will get their reward, as well as the reward of those who practice it thereafter."<sup>355</sup>

354 [In the original: *الاحكام تختلف باختلاف الارض*]

355 [In the original: *من سن سنة حسنة فله اجرها وأجر من عمل بها*]

People say that among the great people who visited Istärlibash were the Kazakh rulers Jihangir khan and Shir Ghazi khan. One of the students of Jihangir khan studied at Istärlibash madrasa in the 1840s. In my time, one of the madrasas was known as a khan madrasa; maybe he founded it (*waqf idelmesh*). Since, at the time of Ni'matullah hazrat, knowledge prospered in Istärlibash and the number of students increased, there was a pressing need to enlarge the mosques and madrasas and a lot of resources were spent on it. The present-day mosque building was brought some 100 *tayaq* downwards into the center of the village. In 1930, it was restored with funding from the people, and today hosts a club. /152a/

A large hall in the mosque was built with the help of Isenbay b. Khwaja Bek from Isenbay village, in Kazakhstan. The metal roof of the mosque was left as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*) by Qujantay hajji Adbulov from Yalpaqta. May this serve an illustration of the Qur'anic verse: "Save those who believe, and do righteous deeds; they shall have a wage unfailing."<sup>356</sup> May God forgive them and cover them with His mercy. Amen.

At the time of Ni'matullah hazrat, in 1836, a water system (*fantal*) was constructed in Istärlibash. It is still in function today and during its history has been renovated three times. In 1926, I proposed to the community that it be renovated, since the water had stopped flowing, and I became a member of the committee. Between 1954 and 1955 the government renovated it for the fifth time.<sup>357</sup> I wrote about this water system above, you can find it there.<sup>358</sup>

Ni'matullah hazrat taught both exoteric and esoteric sciences. He put more emphasis on the exoteric sciences and, since there was a shortage of printed books, he spent a lot of money to get hold of the literature. One can still find volumes (*majma'lar*) copied in his hand. There are copies on every subject: people say that he traveled far away to copy the *tafsir Qadi* and *tafsir Shaykhzada*. Many manuscripts that he brought from Bukhara the Noble are still in existence. May God bless him and reward him greatly. Amen.

In 1815, Ni'matullah hazrat had a son named Muhammad Harith. His older brother Muhammad Harrath was born in 1814. In 1833, Muhammad Harith received permission no. 1380 from the Orenburg governor to travel to Bukhara the Noble for studies. In 1841, he returned safely. In the same year, when his father was still alive, he started to teach in Istärlibash and a couple of years later gathered students to teach them Sufism. The other son, Muhammad

356 [إِلَّا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ فَلَهُمْ أَجْرٌ غَيْرُ مَمْنُونٍ] Q 95: 6.]

357 [The original states "the fifth time"; however, it must in fact be the third time.]

358 [This indicates that the author considered the contents of this book to comprise a coherent narrative.]

Harrath, went to study in Bukhara in 1844. At that time, Istärlibash was full of people: many students came from different places to study /152b/ exoteric and esoteric sciences, and the classes were progressive. On March 27, 1844, Kättä hazrat (or Ni'matullah b. Biktimir) passed away. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen. He was seventy-three.<sup>359</sup>

After Ni'matullah hazrat's death, his son Muhammad Harith became an imam and teacher in Istärlibash. There is a document given to him by the Orenburg mufti 'Abd al-Wahid Suleymanov on April 4, 1844 that permits him to be an imam and teacher and to solve the problems of the community. The state approval must have arrived the same year. He married Fa'iza, daughter of 'Abdullah b. Dawlat Shah from Chabinli, but originally from Qarghali. She was known then as *tutash abistay*.<sup>360</sup> This 'Abdullah b. Dawlat Shah was a local authority selected by the Bashkirs. One older person from Känjä composed a poem (*bäyt ya'ni munajat*) about him. Today, people sing these verses as an 'Abdullah mullah melody (*köy*). Today, the family of Davletshin are his descendants. Among them, 'Abd al-Gaziz Davletshin was a general and lived in Leningrad. His wife was a Christian. He participated in the committee for the building of the mosque there. May God have mercy upon him. There were many other descendants [of 'Abdullah].

In 1852, Muhammad Harrath, the brother of Muhammad Harith, came back from Bukhara the Noble and started to teach. That was the time of greatness and progress for Istärlibash. Many scholars visited the village and left satisfied. The muftis 'Abd al-Salam and 'Abd al-Wahid visited Istärlibash repeatedly. The mufti Salim Garay Tefkelev intended to live in Istärlibash and built a house there, but it did not happen and his house was donated as a *waqf*. Today this building still exists and hosts a post office. /153a/

Since the students arrived in Istärlibash in large numbers, Muhammad Harith built many madrasas. He constructed a bathroom near the madrasa and classrooms for Muhammad Harrath. In 1888, Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith moved these classrooms to another place. This bathroom was suitable for the [ritual] full-body washing and purification during the winter time; it was warm all the time, because a bath servant heated and cleaned it every day.

359 [Ni'matullah al-Istärlibashi was buried at the main cemetery, inside the shaykh's burial complex with the following epitaph: "This is the noble grave (*thidrba*) of Abu Muhammad Harrath Muhammad Ni'matullah b. Biktimir al-Istärlibashi, the perfect and honorable shaykh and imam, the successor of the Naqshbandi shaykh the great Niyaz Muhammad b. Niyaz Quli al-Turkmani al-Bukhari, may God cover them with His wide mercy."]

360 [According to the gravestone inscription, she passed away in 1321/ 1911: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 75.]

This bathroom was demolished during the time of the Great Revolution and its stones were stolen for other buildings.

Muhammad Harrath was appointed second imam of Istärlibash. On December 24, 1859, Muhammad Harrath received permission from the Orenburg governor to perform hajj. In 1860, he went on pilgrimage. On the way he visited Syria and Medina the Radiant and returned in the same year. Several times he visited the region of Kazan and Talovka village on the Sari Uzen River (in Russian: *Malyi Uzen*) in Astrakhan governorate. The prominent and wealthy Kazakh, Isenbay b. Khwaja Bek, invited him to pay a visit. He traveled 800 km via Uralsk to get there. Isenbay invited him due to his passion for sincere scholarship. Above, I mentioned that he built a large hall in the mosque for 400 people and covered the floor with sheep's wool. May God accept this deed as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*), forgive his sins and allow him to enter the palaces of paradise. Amen. The grave of this Isenbay b. Khwaja Bek is located in Medina the Radiant, in Jannat al-Baqi' graveyard. There is a gravestone which says that he died in 1272 of Hijri. When I was in Medina, I discovered his grave there. I was born in that village of Isenbay and, with my parents, taught children there.

He [Muhammad Harrath] visited [Isenbay village] around 1879. /153b/ In the year after this visit [he] married Hadija, the daughter of Isenbay b. Khwaja Bek. This Hadija arrived in Istärlibash with lots of things. In accordance with the Kazakh tradition, she even brought a decorated tent with her. Everything that was in the house was made of the most expensive materials, such as the Bukharan rug. People say that these materials were produced upon request at the factory. I have seen some of them. She did not live long and passed away after a couple of years. She was buried in Istärlibash graveyard near the graves of great teachers (*olugh hazratlärneng qabere yanında*), there is a gravestone with an inscription.<sup>361</sup> She left a son called Muhammad Zarif, who lived some forty years. For many years he suffered from a mental disease. May God have mercy upon him. He was a good and modest person. May God forgive him and cover him with His mercy. He had two sons, but they died early. Today only his daughter Umm Gulthum is still alive in Istärlibash.

361 [Al-Qadiri provides erroneous information: Hadija was never married to Muhammad Harrath. Hadija's grave inscription contains the following text: "This is the noble grave of the deceased Bibi Hadija b. Isenbay, the daughter of imam-khatib mullah 'Abdullah al-Istärlibashi in the year of 1877." In fact, Muhammad Harrath had a wife called Bibi 'Aziza, the daughter of Iskander Aglaev, who passed away in 1880. See the graphic reproduction of both gravestones Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 30, 36.]



The late mufti Salim Garay came to the wedding in Isenbay. People say that the wedding party lasted up to ten days with several hundred sheep, cows, and camels being slaughtered. There were a lot of people, even the Kazan merchants from Talovka came to trade there for ten days.

Muhammad Harith hazrat was open-minded, friendly to others, regarded everybody as equal and welcomed guests cheerfully. His house was always full of guests. He had a separate house called *utar khanä*, where he organized the care of some forty invalids, orphans, and infirm people. In the year of hunger he distributed 3,000 *pood* of bread to people. At the time of Tsar Alexander II, on August 14, 1869 he received the title of *tarkhan* for helping simple folk. Among his great monuments (*olugh äthärlärennän*) /154a/ is a bridge of white stone that he erected in the center of Istärlibash across the Istärli River. This bridge still stands today, in 1956.

In 1869, Kazakhs of the Orenburg region raised arms against the government, and the Orenburg governor Krzhanovskii asked Muhammad Harith hazrat to advise them and calm them down. A document based on this order, dated March 23, 1869, is still preserved in Istärlibash, saying: "You will perish. Try to calm down anyway. Our Muslim religion always calls for peace." Following this advice (*nasihät*), the Kazakhs calmed down and yielded to the state. The document (*kägaz*) bears his seal and signature.

People say that Muhammad Harith was an educated person and regarded the study of sciences and learning of languages as a necessity. In his time, they bought 4,000 *desiatina* of land from six Bashkir villages located on the banks of the Istärli River. These lands covered the space from the Istärlitamaq road to the other side of the Istärli River, i.e. between the present-day Russian villages of Nikolaevka, Sergeevka and Qunaqbay.

After the death of Muhammad Harith, to cover their debts, his heirs sold off 300 *desiatina* of land for two rubles each. Today the Russian village Sukhadol is located there. The old border was on the hillside above this village. In my youth there was a milestone. People say that the price was very low. They sold it for no more than five or ten rubles. In 1917, at the time of Great Revolution, all of this was confiscated and dedicated to the common needs.

Muhammad Harith hazrat died on November 2, 1870 or Sha'ban 1286, when he was sixty-three. He was buried in the great cemetery of Istärlibash. /154b/ There is a gravestone with an inscription. People say that 300 people were present at the funeral. May God have mercy upon him.

The following were his heirs: 'Abdullah, 'Ubaydullah, Habibullah, Muhammad Shakir, 'Abd al-Majid, 'Abd al-Qadir, and girls: Zubayda and Zuhra.

'Abdullah hazrat served as imam during our time. In 1909 he performed the hajj, visited Medina the Radiant and returned safely. Then he continued his

duties as imam until 1919 and passed away in October that year. Hazrat was not talkative, and as part of performing his duties he delivered impressive sermons. He was an extremely persistent person. May God have mercy upon him. He was buried in Istärlibash cemetery.<sup>362</sup> I took part in the funeral. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen. He was a straightforward person who always told the truth without being afraid of anyone.

'Ubaydullah was an imam and akhund in Istärlibash as well as a director of the madrasa, but he also taught a little. He died in February 1920.<sup>363</sup> May God have mercy upon him. Amen. Even though his morals were good (*güzäl kholiqli keshe*), he often listened to the lies of his children and harmed many people who stayed angry at him. As you know, his rich children remained stupid and ignorant, they slandered people to their father unlawfully and without investigation, and judged them. May God forgive them. In his youth, ['Ubaydullah] studied at the madrasa of 'Abdullah hazrat in Chaqmaq, but his knowledge was weak.

Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith first studied in Istärlibash, then moved to the madrasa of 'Abdullah hazrat in Olugh Chaqmaq in Mänzälä district, and studied in Bukhara the Noble. There he became a true scholar and teacher, then returned to Istärlibash and taught there successfully for years. He renovated the mosques and madrasas in Istärlibash and erected a bathroom made of stone. /155a/ Since there was an abundance of knowledge and students in Istärlibash, that was the time of progress for religious scholarship. Habibullah hazrat<sup>364</sup> loved scholarship; he planted trees in front of the mosques and madrasas and established bathrooms nearby to perform ablutions. He put everything in good order. May these be counted as lasting pious deeds (*baqiyat-i salihat*). Amen. I (*fäqirengöz*) studied with him for two or three years. Even though I was young, he paid more attention to us. May God have mercy upon him, amen. When he died, he was buried in the great cemetery of Istärlibash

362 [The gravestone inscription reads: "He (God) is Eternal, while creatures are temporary. This is the noble grave of the deceased scholar and pilgrim of two holy places 'Abdullah b. shaykh Muhammad Harith in the year of 1337." Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 115.]

363 [The gravestone inscription reads: "This is the grave of the true scholar and perfect shaykh 'Ubaydullah b. shaykh Muhammad Harith, a successor of the famous shaykh Zaynullah b. Husraw Shir. He had been teaching for forty-two years." Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 116.]

364 [In the margin: "He studied in Bukhara at the same time as Mardjani. I was present at his funeral in early October 1896." His gravestone was produced by the calligrapher (*al-munaqqash*) 'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Ali khalfa al-Qazaqi on 7 April 1888: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 57-59.]

at the feet of his grandfather Ni‘matullah hazrat. There is also a gravestone with an inscription. His heirs were ‘Abd al-Rahman, Zaynab, ‘Abd al-‘Alim, and ‘Abdullah. ‘Abd al-Rahman died of cholera in Mecca in 1907 and was buried in the Jannat al-Ma‘ali cemetery on the top of the grave of his brother ‘Abd al-Majid b. Muhammad Harith. Together with my companion (*shārikem*) ‘Ayd Muhammad, I buried him there, when I was still in Mecca. May God forgive his sins, amen. He perished on the path of acquiring knowledge.

Zaynab married ‘Abd al-Rahim, the son of ‘Ubaydullah b. Muhammad Harith. He died early; she went to Tashkent and passed away there. ‘Abd al-‘Alim was an imam of the great mosque in Istārlibash, but due to the Revolution he was arrested and died in prison in 1930. ‘Abdullah studied in Istārlibash in his youth, then went to Muhammadiyya, the madrasa of ‘Alimjan hazrat in Kazan, and afterwards graduated from the medical college in Tashkent. He worked as a doctor, but became paralyzed after a stroke and lost his job. Today he is still alive and has two sons. I visited him in 1954.

Muhammad Shakir b. Muhammad Harith studied in Istārlibash for a while and then moved to Chaqmaq madrasa, then entered the pedagogical school in Orenburg, but interrupted his studies to return to Istārlibash and marry. /155b/ He had some 500 *desiatina* of land that he inherited from his father Muhammad Harith, located on the banks of the Istārlī River near Qunaqbay village. He built a farm there, cultivated some wheat, then opened a shop in the front of his house in Istārlibash and lived off trade. Since he knew a bit of medicine, he helped students who were ill with medication. Since at that time there were no hospitals in the countryside, this help was very important. He never took money for the medicine. May God reward him, amen. Sometimes he undertook temporary jobs for the state. In the wake of the Russian Revolution, in 1905 he was elected three times to be a member of the State Parliament. He came back from St Petersburg when the Parliament was closed down. He was a very modest person, but his morals were not perfect: sometimes he harmed innocent people for no reason. After the Great Revolution of 1917, in 1924 the government forced him to leave Istārlibash ‘voluntarily’ (*ikhtiyary räveshtä*). Nothing was confiscated except for his house; he sold his property and used the money himself. He lived in Orenburg for a couple of years and then was buried in the great cemetery of Orenburg. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen. May God have mercy upon him. Qasim from the Bannuy Ujar community of Orenburg told me that, together with three other people, he took [the body of Muhammad Shakir] on his carriage and buried him.

[Muhammad Shakir’s] first wife had long since passed away. His next wife was from Yumran village on the Aq Idel River. They had a son, Habibullah. I do

not know whether he is still alive. His first wife, Mahitab, was from the Rameev family in Istärlitamaq. She must have been the daughter of ‘Abd al-Haqq. Her daughters are still alive: Maryam, Khurshid and Amina in Istärlitamaq, Halima in Ufa, and Fatima in Samarkand. /156a/

Habibullah b. Muhammad Harith first studied in Istärlibash. He studied with ‘Abdullah b. Ni‘matullah from Bubi village, known as Hajji khalfa. Then he went to the madrasa of ‘Abdullah hazrat b. ‘Abd al-Ghafur in Chaqmaq village, and afterwards finished his studies (*khatm-i kutub qilmish*) in Bukhara the Noble. That must have been in 1881. The late Hajji khalfa taught in Istärlibash for twenty years, striving for the good of education, and in 1883 of Miladi after the month of Ramadan, in August, he went on hajj. After completing the hajj, he fell ill in Medina the Radiant, where he deteriorated and passed away on the day of ‘Ashura (*yaum al-‘ashura*), November 2, 1883 of Miladi. His blessed grave is located in the cemetery of Jannat al-Baqi’ in Medina. May God cover him with His wide mercy.<sup>365</sup> He was a prominent and pious scholar and specifically a master in the field of law (*usul fiqh*). He authored a book on grammar of the Turkic language. ‘Abdullah Bubi, the son of his brother Ni‘matullah in Bubi village, opened a special school for boys and girls to teach [them] according the new method. He was a leading servant of the nation (*berenche millät khädime*) and a foremost teacher of Tatars in Russia (*Rusiya tatarlari*). In 1907 we undertook hajj together and stopped at ‘Arafa and other places. We also visited the Ghar Sharif in Mecca and performed two *raka‘at* of the supererogatory prayer (*nafl*) inside. He delivered a sermon there on the importance of this place for the spread of the Islamic religion. May God have mercy upon him. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.

‘Abd al-Majid b. Muhammad Harith<sup>366</sup> first studied in Istärlibash, then joined the madrasa of ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abd al-Ghafur in Chaqmaq village of Mänzälä district, and in 1886 he began the study of religious subjects in Bukhara the Noble. He returned safely in 1890 and married Mahfuza, daughter of ‘Ubaydullah hajji Kildishev, a well-known merchant from Ilek village on the banks of the Jayiq River. ‘Ubaydullah hajji paid for his return from Bukhara to arrange the marriage. The wedding took place in June, but already in September [‘Abd al-Majid] went back to Bukhara to complete his education. /156b/ He returned to Istärlibash in 1892 and began to teach students. The late ‘Abd al-Majid

365 [In the original: رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةٌ وَأَسْعَةٌ]

366 [In the margin: “A stone wall of one kilometer in length that still exists at the great cemetery in Istärlibash serves as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*) of ‘Abd al-Majid b. Muhammad Harith.”]

makhdum was a hospitable, kind and cordial person. Since he had a good approach to classes, students loved him. I (*fäqirengöz*) knew him personally. At that time, I was only ten. He always talked to my father with affinity. On March 10, 1893, he set off for hajj and first visited Medina the Radiant to see his brother 'Abd al-Qadir who, at that time, studied at Qurrabash madrasa in the city. They undertook the pilgrimage in Mecca together, but he became infected with cholera and died within ten hours. His brother 'Abd al-Qadir buried him at the Jannat al-Ma'ali cemetery on June 14, 1893 of Miladi or 12 Dhu-l-Hijja, and left a gravestone there with an inscription. I also visited his grave and buried his brother 'Abd al-Rahman b. Habibullah next to him, as I have described above. In 1907, many pilgrims died of cholera. I was also among the hajjis who came from Medina. May God forgive his sins, amen.

'Abd al-Qadir b. Muhammad Harith studied in Istärlibash in his youth, but then moved to Medina with intention to pursue religious studies at the Qurrabash madrasa. He returned safely to Istärlibash and instructed students in the recitation of the Qur'an and other subjects for a year or two, but then stopped and occupied himself with a secular job: he irrigated the lands that he inherited from his father, opened a farm in the Russian village called Nikolaevka on the lower bank of the Istärli River, and sustained himself through agriculture and cattle breeding. He became extremely rich. He was a hospitable person who helped poor people financially and spiritually. His first wife was Maftuha, daughter of 'Arif Davletshin from Orenburg. After her death,<sup>367</sup> he married Äsma Bikä, daughter of 'Ilaj al-Din b. Hisam al-Din Bayazidov, a merchant from Istärlitamaq. He spent his last years in Namangan city in Uzbekistan, /157a/ and died there. May God forgive his sins. He was a great helper of scholars and other poor people. For many years he took care of the water system of the madrasas and mosques in Istärlibash. May God count this as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*). Amen. By Maftuha he had a son, 'Abd al-'Aziz, who married Nafisa, daughter of Luqman Hamzin from Oslı village. These days he must still be living in the Karakalpak region. He did not have children with Äsma Bikä. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.<sup>368</sup> He was a good person. He lived in this world justly, without cheating (*tugriliq belän*).

367 [According to her gravestone, she died in 1911 at the age of 38: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 93.]

368 [The gravestone of 'Abd al-Qadir's daughter Fatima was produced in 1913: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 98.]

## The Daughters of Muhammad Harith

Zubayda married 'Abd al-Rahman b. Kemal al-Din hazrat Nugaev from Istärlitamaq. In 1911 she safely undertook the pilgrimage.

Zuhra married 'Abdullah b. Muhammad Zarif Utiamishev, a merchant from Istärlitamaq. They had a son and a daughter. Her son, 'Abd al-Karim, accompanied his aunt Zubayda during the hajj.

These are the members of the famous Tuqaev family [who lived] in Istärlibash during our time. Other members of the family got dispersed after the Revolution.

Muhammad Harrath b. Ni'matullah was born in 1814, then went to study in Bukhara in 1844 and returned safely in 1856. He served as imam in Istärlibash and instructed students. After a long illness he passed away on November 30, 1871.<sup>369</sup> May God forgive him and cover him with His mercy. He behaved according to his knowledge and was a devoted and straightforward person of ardor (*sahib al-ghayrat*). After he died, his son Lutfullah took his place as imam. He did not live long, and passed away in 1878.<sup>370</sup> May God have mercy upon him, amen. He had a daughter, Zaynab, and a son, 'Abd al-Rahim. His wife Hidiya *abistay* raised them and gave Zaynab to marry 'Ismatullah Yenikeev from Ufa Qarghalisi, who worked as an officer at the Ufa railway station. They had a son, Ahmad, who married a Russian girl. I do not know where he is now. /157b/

'Abd al-Rahim b. Lutfullah first studied in Istärlibash and then graduated from the Russian school in the same village. He engaged in public service and worked for more than ten years as an assistant and then as a chief of the local communal office (*zemstvo idaräse*). He was on the righteous path, building schools, hospitals, bridges and suchlike for all the people. He did such a great service for poor people during the difficult years of hunger. He was smart, straightforward, and devoted to his job. He put all his energy into improving the situation of the most ignorant Muslims. He married 'Izza from Istärlitamaq, but due to the absence of love he divorced her in correspondence

369 [The grave inscription reads as follows: "Death is enough as an admonition. This is the noble grave of the honorable perfect shaykh Muhammad Harrath, a successor of shaykh 'Ubaydullah b. Muhammad Niyaz Quli al-Naqshbandi, the son of shaykh Ni'matullah al-Istärlibashi. He died on 3 November 1871 of the Christian calendar. May God cover them with His mercy, make better his eternal reward and place them in paradise. [He was] 62 years old." See the gravestone's graphic reproduction: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 20.]

370 [His gravestone inscription reads: "This is the noble grave of the deceased imam Lutfullah b. shaykh Muhammad Harrath. He obeyed [God's] call to return. He was 32 [and died] in 1877." See the graphic reproduction: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 31.]

with the law (*'ala wajh al-shar'*) and stayed alone for the rest of his life. They had a daughter Mahi Sorur, who, on reaching maturity, married Ghani Khalfin from Istärlitamaq; they lived in Ufa. I think Khalfin was a veterinarian.

'Abd al-Rahim<sup>371</sup> inherited from his ancestors some land in the Russian villages of Nikolaevka and Cherkeevka, as well as a mill on the banks of the Istärlı River. Because of the Great Russian Revolution, he was unlawfully oppressed (*mäzlım na-haqq bälalärgä duchar bulıp*) and I think he died in prison in 1930. May God have mercy upon him. He perished so early. May God count his service to the people as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*) and forgive his sins. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.

### The Famous Teachers (*khalfa*) in Istärlıbash of the Time

Zaynullah b. Husraw Shir 'Alikaev came from Arslan village near Ufa to study at the madrasa in Istärlıbash, and then became a teacher. In summer he never returned to his home village, but stayed on in the service of the great teacher Muhammad Harith b. Ni'matullah. He was at the head of the household and therefore got the nickname "Amir khalfa." /158a/ Subsequently he became a Sufi disciple of Harith hazrat. He was born in 1810 and arrived in Istärlıbash in 1827. After the death of Muhammad Harith, he acquired a Sufi diploma from 'Abd al-Hakim hazrat in Chilabi and then performed Sufi rites (*shaykhliq*) in Istärlıbash. He died when he was ninety-five and was buried in the great cemetery of Istärlıbash. There is a good grave enclosure (*ihata*) of white stone and a gravestone with an inscription.<sup>372</sup> May God cover him with His wide mercy.

371 [In the margins: "The first school, hospital and post office in Istärlıbash were built by 'Abd al-Rahim b. Lutfullah Tuqaev between 1910 and 1911. That required a lot of effort. The imams of the village did not want to support this project that was for the sake of the people, saying that with a hospital and mail [service] there would be more Russians coming."]

372 [His gravestone inscription reads as follows: "God is Eternal, while creatures are temporary. This is the noble grave of Zaynullah b. Husraw Shir, known as Amir khalfa, a true shaykh, [and] the successor of the great shaykhs, including shaykh Ni'matullah b. Biktimer and two shaykhs Muhammad Harrath and Muhammad Harith, the two sons of the abovementioned shaykh. The latter [i.e. Muhammad Harith] received [Sufi knowledge] from 'Abd b. Qurban 'Ali, the successor of shaykh Sharaf al-Din. All of them belonged to the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood via shaykh Niyaz Quli al-Turkmani. May God illuminate their graves and those who follow them. Amen." A graphic reproduction of this huge gravestone is provided in Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik häikälläre*, 80-81. His wife Fatima's gravestone has also survived (Ibid., 103).]

I knew him, he was a true shaykh. He lived as a true person (*chīn keshe*) who sustained himself by doing a sufficient amount of agriculture and cattle breeding. He did not force his Sufi disciples to work for him, but had two assistants. He regarded everybody as equal and did not try to enter into public affairs on every occasion, nor did he talk a lot at gatherings. He did not travel to other villages to enjoy the hospitality of his disciples. Only rarely, if there was a huge wedding, would he go. He did not care about his stomach as other shaykhs did (*nafs khur bulip*). May God have mercy upon him. He gave the impression (*okshiydir*) of a sincere shaykh.

'Ubaydullah, Khayrullah, Lutfullah, and 'Ata'ullah were the heirs of the late Zaynullah hazrat. Husni Jāmal, Umm Gulthum, and Shamsi Jamal were his daughters. These were the children from his first wife. When she died, he married Kamilya from Yuzay village in Orenburg district, who gave birth to Lutfullah, Mukarrama, and Habibullah.

The first son of Amir hazrat, 'Ubaydullah 'Alikaev, studied in his youth with the aforementioned 'Abdullah b. Ni'matullah Bubi, then went to Bukhara for a couple of years and returned around 1880 after completing his studies in esoteric and exoteric subjects. He was appointed to be an imam and teacher in Yalpaqta, a Kazakh village in Uralsk oblast. He lived there for the rest of his life. There were several madrasas, where large numbers of Kazakhs and our fellow Tatars studied. He was a hospitable and kind person. /158b/ He married Munawwara, daughter of the former imam of Yalpaqta 'Ata'ullah mullah Aydulov, who transferred the job of imam to his son-in-law.

The heirs of 'Ubaydullah hazrat are Hidayatullah, Habibullah, 'Abd al-'Aziz, 'Abd al-Hadi, 'Abd al-Basir, 'Abd al-Bari, and a single daughter called 'A'isha. After the death of Munawwara, in 1910 he married Farhi Sorur, daughter of Muhammad 'Ali Isenbaev. 'Abd al-Bari is her son.

In his youth, Hidayatullah studied at the madrasa of Yalpaqta and then graduated from the madrasa of his brother Khayrullah b. Zaynullah hazrat in Orenburg Qarghalisi. Then he became occupied with worldly matters and married Sa'adat, daughter of 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abbas Belousov from Uralsk. They had several children. Of them, 'Abd al-Hamid and 'Abd al-Majid are still alive. They taught at a college in Bukhara and then lived in Nukus city in the Karakalpak Republic. Due to the Great Russian Revolution, Hidayatullah fled to Uzbekistan and worked as a bookkeeper in Nukus. He died of a stomach disease. May God forgive his sins. Amen. We spent a lot of time together, we traveled together and were friends. He was an open-minded person who loved to work for the common good.

Habibullah 'Alikaev went to study in Istanbul in his youth, but died early.



‘A’isha married Muhammadjan, son of Shams al-Din hajji Utyakov who was among the great merchants of Yanga Qala in Kazakhstan. At the time of the Great Revolution, he went to [Central] Asia and passed away. In his last days he was greatly humiliated. I do not know where ‘A’isha is.

‘Abd al-‘Aziz ‘Alikaev studied at the madrasa in Yalpaqтал for a while, then between 1909 and 1910, when I became a teacher, he memorized the Qur’an from me. Then he moved to the madrasa of Khayrullah hazrat in Qarghali, where he practiced the Book, and upon his return to Yalpaqтал he performed the Qur’an recitation. /159a/ In 1921 or 1922 he became a victim of hunger and died in Kuibyshev.

‘Abd al-Sabir and ‘Abd al-Hadi took my classes between 1909 and 1910, but then died sometime in their youth. ‘Abd al-Bari ‘Alikaev graduated from a Soviet school (*shura hükümäte mäktäbendä*) in Moscow and I heard that in the 1950s he lived at Davlekan station in Bashkortostan. I do not know what happened to him after that.

The aforementioned ‘Ubaydullah hazrat helped me to go to Medina the Radiant. With his help, I studied in Medina for four years and became a Qur’an specialist. May God forgive his sins for being my patron (*wali ni’mätemez*) and may He count his benevolence as an enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*) on the Day of Judgement (*yaum al-jaza’*). Amen. ‘Ubaydullah hazrat died in Aleksandrov Gay or Almaliq located 90 km from Yalpaqтал. His grave is there. Around the time of the Great Revolution, he was sent into exile (*näfi qilinip*) and stayed there for a while. That must have been around 1929.<sup>373</sup> His wife Munawwara was the daughter of Muhammad Harith and Rabi’a. She died when I was there in 1910. Her grave is there. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.

The second son of Amir hazrat, Khayrullah, studied in his youth at the madrasa of Hajji khalifa, then he went to Medina and, at the Mahmudiya madrasa of Bab al-Salam, he memorized the entire Qur’an in the *al-sab’a* and *al-‘ashara* styles of recitation. He returned to Istärlibash and became an imam and teacher at the mosque of Amma Bay in Orenburg Qarghalisi. He trained many students, a lot of them being Qur’an specialists, and he devoted his entire life to the instruction of Kazakh, Tatar, and Bashkir students. During my time, there were some 600 or 700 students at the madrasa. May God have mercy

373 [In his narrative, al-Qadiri uses expressions like “because of the Great Revolution” or “at the time of the Great Revolution (*olugh inqilab säbäple / mönasäbäte belän or olugh inqilab waqitinda*) to convey not a date, but a whole period up to the 1930s.]

upon him. He was one of the great scholars. May his efforts serve as an illustration of the Qur'anic verse "and do deeds of righteousness"<sup>374</sup> and be rewarded by God. Due to the Russian Revolution, he was sent into exile (*näfi qilinip*) and after release (*najat*) he passed away in Tashkent, obeying the Qur'anic [verse] "Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing!"<sup>375</sup> Khayrullah hazrat was born in 1853 and died on January 18, 1934. Until his death, Khayrullah hazrat stayed with his son 'Abdullah in Tashkent. /159b/ After he died, 'Abdullah took great care of him and buried [him] in Tashkent. Many scholars gathered there to recite the Qur'an.<sup>376</sup> 'Abdullah worked as a bookkeeper in Bustandiq village near Tashkent. He is still there now. I saw the late Khayrullah hazrat many times at gatherings and talked to him. May God have mercy upon him. His wife was the daughter of 'Abbas Belousov from Uralsk. Khayrullah hazrat rests in the Chaghatay cemetery in Tashkent.<sup>377</sup> There is a brick covering (*ihata*) at his grave.

Lutfullah 'Alikaev did not study much and was overwhelmed by worldly matters, doing agriculture. He had a mill at the Kunderäk River in Shipay village. One night, a local official (*nachal'nik*) passed by and saw that a canal bridge was broken. He woke Lutfullah up and asked him angrily why he didn't care about the bridge. Lutfullah must have said something to him in irritation, and for this reason the official shot him with his revolver. Wounded like this, in a month Lutfullah passed away as an unfortunate victim (*mäzlim*). May God forgive his sins, amen.

'Ata'ullah 'Alikaev studied in Istärlibash in his youth, then went to Bukhara and upon his return was appointed as imam and teacher in Yanga Qala city (*Navay Kazankä*) in Astrakhan governorate. There were many Kazakhs in the community (*mahalla*). He stayed there for many years and became a wealthy person. He died at the time of the Great Russian Revolution. He had a son from his last wife, whose name was also Lutfullah. He studied at the madrasa in Qarghalı and then was involved in trade. Then he went to study in [Central] Asia, but in 1938 he returned to his daughter [who was] living in a small Bashkir village called Dürt ile, near Istärlibash. Later he returned to [Central] Asia and died there.

374 [In the original: وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ Q 18: 107.]

375 [In the original: اِرجع الى ربك راضية مرضية Q 89: 28.]

376 [In the margin: "His brother Habibullah makhdum related that Khayrullah hazrat claimed that in Istärlibash nobody possessed a correct style of recitation (*dörest qira'atli keshe*) except for 'Ali khalfa and Majid *qari*."] ]

377 [This cemetery is located on the former site of the city gates called Chighatay-Darwaza. Subsequently it was a graveyard for the Soviet elite. I am indebted to Prof. Ashirbek Muminov for this clarification.]

A daughter of Amir hazrat, Mukarrama, studied at the madrasa in Qarghali and married Fatih khalfa, son of Fasih of the same city. Fatih was well educated; he served as imam and performed religious rites in Nitbash Musa village and then in Jirgän village in Istärlitamaq district, on the banks of the Aq Idel River. /160a/ The community of Jirgän consisted of Chuvash people (*millät*) who converted to Islam in 1905 and erected an official mosque. They numbered seventy households, and [Fatih] served as their religious mentor until the Great Russian Revolution. Then he was forced to leave (*hijrätkä mäjbür bulip*) for [Central] Asia. Now he lives in Osh city.

Habibullah, the son of Amir hazrat by his second wife, first studied in Qarghali and then became an imam in Timerbay village near Yuzay village. Later, he served as imam of the Graveyard mosque (*ziyarat mähälläse*), but then he voluntarily left his position and lived in Manaut on the banks of the Aq Idel River. In 1960, he became an imam at the local mosque.

[Another] daughter of Khalfa hazrat (or Amir hazrat), Husni Jämal, married Habib al-Rahman mullah Iskhaqov from Örsähqbash Qaramali village. They had a son, 'Abd al-Rahim. During the time of the Great Russian Revolution, [Habib al-Rahman] died in prison. Another son of his, 'Abd al-Majid b. Habib al-Rahman, memorized the Qur'an at the madrasa of Khayrullah hazrat in Qarghali and then served as an imam's assistant. During the Revolution, the government sent him into exile and now he lives in Ufa together with his wife Hidiya, daughter of the aforementioned Lutfullah 'Alikaev. They do not have children.

Another daughter of Amir hazrat, Shamsi Banu, married Sa'di mullah in a Bashkir village on the banks of the Kämäleq River. She died there. I think they had a boy.

A daughter of Amir hazrat, Umm Gulthum, married 'Abd al-Nasr Urmanov in Yuzay village on the banks of the Saylamış River in Orenburg district. She died there. Urmanov had a mill on that river and lived off it. He was a wealthy person. They had sons: 'Abd al-Karim, Habib al-Rahman, and Fayz al-Rahman. [Fayz al-Rahman] became a Qur'an specialist, then studied in Istanbul and must have died there. /160b/

### The Following Were the Famous Teachers of the Former Times

- 1 Hajji khalfa or 'Abdullah b. Ni'matullah came from Sarapul district in Perm governorate to study and then teach in Istärlibash. Later, he went on hajj and died in Medina. His grave is in the Jannat al-Baqi' graveyard.

- 2 Halim khalfa Amirov was born in Buray village in Buray district, then studied and taught in İstärlibash, but returned to his home village and died there. For a while, he served as imam in Tomsk, in Siberia, but went back to Buray, where he was an akhund and imam. May God have mercy upon him. He was an eloquent (*hush süzle*), open and modest person. I had a chance to talk to him, when he was alive. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.
- 3 Muhammadyar khalfa came to study in İstärlibash from Chaqday volost in Belebey district and then taught [there]. He must have been a good scholar of religious subjects and the Arabic language. May God forgive him and cover him with His mercy.
- 4 He had a son, Abu-l-Na'im, who also studied at the madrasa in İstärlibash and was a scholar of law (*fiqh*) and creeds (*'aqa'id*). He trained many mulahs. To make his living, he was engaged in agriculture, stockbreeding and trade. Teaching for his entire life, he was quite wealthy and died in 1925. His grave is in the great cemetery of İstärlibash. May God have mercy upon him.
- 5 'Ayd khalfa b. Fazlullah came to study in İstärlibash from İslaq village in Belebey district. Then he became a teacher and instructed students. He may have been the first to open a shop in İstärlibash and establish trade. He was quite wealthy. As part of his enduring donation (*sadaqa jariyya*), he erected five madrasas in İstärlibash and bequeathed (*waqf itep*) 100 *desiatina* of land to the İstärlibash mosque and water pipe, as well as to the sixth community's mosque in İslaq village. He possessed 400 *desiatina* of land between the İstärlibash and Maqsud villages, from the İstärli River to the Qumbazi River. He did well at agriculture. /161a/ He passed away in 1895 and was buried in the great cemetery of İstärlibash. There is a gravestone with an inscription. I knew this khalfa personally. May God accept the heritage (*mirath*) that he left and count it as a lasting pious deed (*baqiyat al-salihat*). Amen. I studied at his madrasa until 1903. May God forgive his sins, amen. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen. On his land he dug a canal (*ür, kanaw*) of an *arshin* in depth, stretching from Yukalı Qul near İstärlibash to Qumbazi Nughay. This channel is still there.
- 6 Zaynullah hazrat b. Husraw Shir from Arslan village in Ufa district. His biography (*tärjemä-yi hale*) has been written above. He had a nickname (*laqab*): Amir hazrat.

- 7 My father-in-law ‘Ali khalfa Aydabulov, a Kazakh from the Narin division of the Cherkes tribe in Bukay ile in Astrakhan governorate. He came to Istärlibash at twenty years old to seek knowledge, and after completing the study of religious subjects he became one of the great teachers and instructed students for many years. He passed away in 1919, obeying the Qur’anic verse “Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing,”<sup>378</sup> and was buried in the great cemetery of Istärlibash. There is a gravestone with an inscription. He possessed great knowledge of law (*‘ilm fiqh*), Qur’an commentary, hadith, rhetoric, the theory of Islamic law (*usul al-fiqh*), Arabic grammar and syntax. I have written about him above.
- 8 My teacher ‘Abd al-Kabir khalfa b. Din Muhammad Sateev came to Istärlibash from the neighboring village of Arslan, and after completing the study of religious subjects, he became a teacher. He was a master of sciences, such as mathematics, geography and history, and propagated education in the native tongue (*ana telendä*) according to the new method. In my youth I did not know how a newspaper looked, but he bought all the issues of *Tarjuman* published by the late Isma‘il Gasprinsky until his death. In the evenings, after classes, he would /161b/ read them to us and say: “One day, such newspapers will be in abundance. Therefore I teach you to read them.” I began studying grammar with this teacher at seven and continued to the age of sixteen. Until 1896,<sup>379</sup> the young students received literature in the Turkic language in the new method by mail from Bakhchisaray. When I was seven or eight I learned arithmetic operations by memorizing a book with tables. May God have mercy upon him. As I wrote above, he had great books on history and geography, such as Ibn Khaldun, *Tarikh-i Jawdat*, *Tarikh-i Tabari* and many others. He loved sciences to such an extent that, until his death, he collected all the issues of *Tarjuman* and bound them in several huge volumes. He used to leave his comments in the margins of the newspaper articles. May God have mercy upon him.
- 9 ‘Abd al-Rahim khalfa *tabib* Sha‘manov came to study in Istärlibash from Mu‘min (Tamyän) village in Buguruslan district, then instructed students for many years and trained many imams. He was a master of medicine. During our time, he cured many diseases and was the reason for survival for many poor people. He owned many books on medicine. He was reading constantly, and every spring he collected various flowers and herbs

378 [In the original: *إرجعي الى ربك راضية مرضية* Q 89: 28.]

379 [In the margin: “My teacher ‘Abd al-Karim died in 1317 [i.e. 1899/90].”]

in the fields to prepare medicines. He did not socialize much, was always occupied by his job, caring about his rose garden and beautiful flowers. He produced perfumes from aromatic thyme flowers that grew on our mountain. Around 1905, he returned to his home village to be an imam and teacher and was buried there. He had sons: 'Abd al-Rahman and 'Ubaydullah. At the time of the Great Revolution, they perished in prison. May God have mercy upon them. This 'Abd al-Rahim khalfa was an outstanding and pious scholar. May God forgive him and cover him with His mercy. Amen. /162a/

- 10 My teacher Fathullah khalfa b. Fattah al-Din came to study in Istärlibash from Usaq Kichü village in Belebey district and stayed to teach students for many years. He trained many imams and teachers. I also studied with this Fathullah khalfa for six or seven years, and from his madrasa I departed to Medina in 1904. The late Fathullah khalfa was not talkative; he was knowledgeable in various sciences and in later years he carefully investigated the writings of scholars from Egypt and Istanbul. He understood the many superstitions (*khurafat*) present in religion. He spent all of his free time reading books. In the 1920s, he moved to his home village Usaq Kichü and served there in the quest to spread knowledge. He passed away in that place and was buried in the village graveyard. May God cover him with His wide mercy. He had a son, 'Abd al-Majid, and a daughter, Zuhra. Today, his son works as a teacher in the same village. I (*fäqir*) visited the grave [of Fathullah khalfa] in 1955. May God forgive his sins, amen.
- 11 Fakhr al-Din b. Husn al-Din came to study in Istärlibash from Mastaq village in Shayquq volost in Khvalin district. He stayed in the village as a teacher. He was a good master in the art of Qur'an recitation and trained many students and imams. He learned the Qur'an from the famous Badr al-Din *qari* from the same Khvalin district. For many years, this Badr al-Din *qari* performed the Qur'an recitation in Orenburg and other places. Despite his blindness, he sustained himself. During a decade spent in Medina, his son 'Asim memorized the entire Qur'an according to the styles of *sab'a* and *'ashara*. I (*fäqirengöz*) lived with 'Asim efendi at the Bashir agha madrasa in Medina, and we always undertook hajj together. He was a good, gentle and friendly person. We performed the Qur'an recitation during the Ramadan night prayers at the Mosque of the Prophet. May God cover him with His wide mercy. Amen. /162b/
- 12 My late father Shaykh al-Islam b. 'Abd al-Qadir came to study in Istärlibash from Tatar Qaramali village in the Sarman region of the Mänzälä district when he was twenty. In his youth, he studied for a while at the madrasa

of ‘Abdullah hazrat Ghafuri in Olugh Chaqmaq village on the banks of the Īq River. In Istärlibash, he studied at the madrasa of Khalilullah b. Rahmatullah khalfa, then he took over [Khalilullah’s] community, but after marrying my mother he taught children in Isenbay village for a couple of years. That was at the time of the famous Muhammad Harith hazrat. In 1882, he returned to Istärlibash and began to teach the children of workers and the poor at the madrasa of the same Khalilullah khalfa. He continued this work for forty years and passed away in 1918. He was buried in the graveyard of Istärlibash. I placed him in the grave niche (*lahad*) myself. May God forgive his sins. Oh God, forgive me, my parents and all Muslims until the Day of Judgement!<sup>380</sup> My late father was devoted to worship; until his death he never missed the time of each prayer. On his last day, he performed the second prayer (*öylä*), placed his turban on the prayer carpet and passed away in the state of ritual purity. Even when traveling by train, he never missed the time of prayer and performed the obligation. My late mother was similarly devoted to worship. She taught girls in Istärlibash to the best of her ability, and passed away in the same year as my father. She was buried in the great cemetery of Istärlibash. I placed her in the grave niche myself. May God forgive her sins, amen.

- 13 Abu-l-Na‘im khalfa b. Muhammadyar came to study in Istärlibash from Islambek village in Choqadi Tamaq volost in Belebey district, and then stayed as a teacher. He was a scholar of Arabic; for many years, he gave lessons in Istärlibash and trained imams. He engaged in agriculture and other work, and became a wealthy person (*sahib däulät*). In died in 1930 and was buried in the graveyard of Istärlibash. May God forgive him and cover him with His mercy. Amen. /163a/

### The Younger Generation of Istärlibash Teachers in Our Time

Hajji Ahmad b. Khalilullah was a nephew of my grandfather Waliullah b. Rahmatullah. He grew up in Istärlibash, then studied at the madrasa of ‘Ubaydullah hazrat ‘Alikaev in Yalpaqtal and returned as a teacher in 1889. Most of his students came from Munawaz village on the Dim River and from Qirgha Qanbäk village. Most of his life he was the victim of imprisonment and died in Istärlibash in 1916. He was buried next to his father Khalilullah b. Rahmatullah at the great cemetery in Istärlibash. There is a gravestone with an inscription. May God forgive them all, amen.

<sup>380</sup> [In the original: *رب اغفر لي ولوالدي وللمؤمنين يوم الحساب*]

A Kazakh, Ahmad 'Ali khalfa b. Bay Muhammad,<sup>381</sup> came to study in Istärlibash and then taught for many years. In 1925, he occupied the position of imam in Munawaz village on the Dim River and stayed there for several years. During the Revolution, he was arrested and died in the prison of Ufa. May God forgive him. I think he had several daughters, but I do not know where they are.

Tahir b. Ahmadjan Nurimanov came to study in Istärlibash from Äläm village of Mänzälä district and then taught for a couple of years. In 1919, he was appointed as imam of the third community mosque in Istärlibash, but in 1928, due to the great unjust case of 'Aleev, he was exiled to Siberia for three years. He returned safely and served as imam in the neighboring village of Änäch. In 1939,<sup>382</sup> he was arrested again and died a victim in the prison of Ufa.

Among my contemporaries, 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Ali khalfa, Majid Hasanov b. Fakhr al-Din khalfa, and my friend 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Kabir, among others, also acquired the title of teacher and instructed for a while. /163b/

Biktimir khalfa 'Aliakberov was the oldest teacher in Istärlibash. He came from Taymas village in Orenburg governorate. He devoted his entire life to worship at the mosque and passed away at the age of ninety-six, but I do not remember in which year. He was buried in the great cemetery; there is a gravestone with an inscription. May God accept his worship and count him among the true believers. Amen.

### Qur'an Specialists in Istärlibash

First, Shams al-Din sufi from Azak village. 'Abd al-Kabir sufi was his student and must have been his relative (*näbiräse*).<sup>383</sup> Fazl Ahmad *qari* memorized the Qur'an in Qarghalı, from the blind Shakir *qari* b. Mir 'Ali Akhmerov. During our time, he went to Medina the Radiant and returned around 1910 and died in Buray village in Buray district. May God forgive him. Shakir *qari* memorized

381 [The grave of his father Bay Muhammad b. Ahmadjan al-Qazaqi is located in Istärlibash. The text reads as follows: "I testify that there is no God but God, and that Muhammad is the Prophet of God. This is the noble grave of Bay Muhammad b. Ahmadjan al-Qazaqi al-Jaiqi of the Kardaqi division of the Jaba'i tribe, a disciple (*murid*) of shaykh Muhammad Harith. May God cover them with His mercy. In the year of 1288 of the Muslim calendar [i.e. 1871-1872]. The gravestone's graphic reproduction: Vener Usmanov, *Bashkortstan respublikasy tatar epigrafik hääkälläre*, 21]

382 [Because of the way it is written, the date can alternatively be read as 1930.]

383 [In the margin: "In my time, he performed the Qur'an recitation during Ramadan at the mosque of Istärlibash, and died in the village of Azak. He had a good memory and was a completely pious person. May God accept his Qur'an recitations. Amen."]



the Qur'an at the madrasa of 'Ali khalfa in Istärlibash. In his last years, he was an imam of Qanbäk village on the Dim River and died there.

The blind Hasan *qari* memorized the Qur'an at the madrasa of 'Abd al-Rahim khalfa and then performed Qur'an recitation in various villages. He was my close neighbor. May God accept his Qur'an recitation.

'Abd al-Sabir sufi also learned the Qur'an from 'Abd al-Rahim khalfa and performed the Qur'an recitation at Istärlibash mosque in 1923. He taught the rules of recitation for a while in Tamyän village in Buguruslan district. His father was called 'Abd al-Qahir, he was an eminent elder, but only God knows his true merit. He died in 1932 and was buried in the cemetery in Istärlibash. May God forgive him. Amen.

Sami'ullah *qari*, 'Ubaydullah b. 'Abdullah Munasipov, memorized the Qur'an from Tahir mullah in Istärlibash and then performed the Qur'an recitation during the Ramadan, but died young and was buried in the cemetery in Istärlibash.

Even though 'Abd al-Wahid Abu-l-Na'im Munasip was among the good Qur'an specialists, he did not perform the recitation. He died young in 1931 and was buried in the cemetery in Istärlibash. He did not have children. His wife 'A'isha was the daughter of 'Abd al-Rahman Turk Tukhfatullin. She is still alive.  
/164a/

I must have been among the last Qur'an specialists. I (*fäqirengöz*), 'Abd al-Majid *qari* b. Shaykh al-Islam Qadirov, memorized the Qur'an at the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina and performed the Qur'an recitation at the mosque in Istärlibash in 1925. May God accept it and absolve it of insincerity. Amen. In 1926 I performed the recitation in Jirgän village on the Idel River. In 1927, at the invitation of 'Abd al-'Alim Davletshin, an imam of the Husaynovs mosque in Orenburg, I performed the recitation at the Caravansaray mosque. Ni'matullah hazrat Timäshev was imam there.

Those people in Istärlibash who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca during our time [were as follows]: Zaynullah hazrat 'Alikaev, 'Ayd khalfa Fayzullin, Husayn hajji Karimov, 'Abd al-Qadir Tuqaev, 'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Ali khalfa Chalataev, Ghani Muhammadyarov, 'Abd al-Raqib Nazirov, myself 'Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam Qadirov, 'Ayd Muhammad Akhmerov, and 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Kabir Sateev.

### My Students Who Memorized the Qur'an From Me

Firstly, 'Abd al-'Aziz, the son of 'Abdullah b. Zaynullah hazrat. In 1910 he finished the recitation, but died young.

'Abd al-Sabir *qari* memorized the Qur'an and, by practicing it in front of me, corrected many of his mistakes.

The son of Sa'id al-Din mullah Muhammadshin from Ätäch village in Fedor region. In 1921/1922 he memorized the Qur'an in front of me in Istärlibash, and performed his first recitation at the upper community of Istärlibash. I was there as a listener (*sami'*). Today he lives in Orenburg, greatly respected by his community, and continues his recitation (*qariliq*). In 1954/1955 I was present at his recitation. His community was very pleased and showed me great respect. May God accept it, amen. May God give my student a long life and make it my enduring donation. I hope that I will not be asked for the correctness of my Qur'an recitation, if God so wishes. /164b/

### Places in Which I Performed the Qur'an Recitation During the Ramadan Prayers

First, in 1908 of Miladi, at the Grave of the Prophet in Medina I performed the recitation over the course of twenty-three prayers, and on the last evening my fellow students and respected teachers in Medina were present. I finished the recitation with an invocation of God (*du'a*).

Second, in August 1908, I returned safely from Medina to Istärlibash and performed the Qur'an recitation in fourteen days with my parents, neighbors and friends behind me. May God accept it, amen. *Qari* 'Abd al-Sabir sufi was a listener (*sami'*) behind me. On the final night, the community imams and teachers were also present and we completed the recitation with an invocation of God.

Third, in 1909 I performed the recitation at Qazachi village at the invitation of a merchant, Muhammadjan Manjuqov. I went there from Yalpaqтал and finished in ten days. May God accept it, amen.

Fourth, at the request of my patron 'Ubaydullah b. Zaynullah 'Alikaev, I performed a recitation in Yalpaqтал from 15 to 27 Ramadan. May God accept it, amen. The late hazrat and members of the community were satisfied, and hazrat dressed me in a yellow robe. He said: "Thank you, boy; you did not spend your life for nothing," and then prayed for me. /165a/

Fifth, in 1910 my brother-in-law Sami'ullah Abdullin invited me to Nikifar village on the Dim River. I completed the recitation in fourteen nights and returned to Istärlibash. May God accept it, amen.

Sixth, I performed the recitation at home in Istärlibash for the second time. May God accept this.<sup>384</sup>

384 [In the original: **تقبل الله**]

Seventh, in 1926 at the invitation of Fatih Karimov, an imam of the famous Jirgän village, I completed the Qur'an recitation in fourteen nights and returned to Istärlibash. In 1905, this Chuvash community returned to the religion of their ancestors and received a permission from the Tsar to erect a mosque. They invited me on the twentieth anniversary of these events. Seventy households were illuminated by the light of the Islamic religion. I asked God to reward those who return to Islam until the Day of Judgement and let them enter paradise.

Eighth, in 1927 at the invitation of 'Abd al-'Alim b. al-'Allam Davletshin, imam of the Husaynov mosque in Orenburg, I performed the recitation from 1 to 14 Ramadan. Many people of the community were present there. May God accept it and let me die as part of the Qur'an community. Amen. /165b/

[Ninth,] after completing this recitation, on 16 Ramadan, 'Abd al-Qawi b. Fatih, the second imam of the mosque, came to my hotel room to say that Ni'matullah hazrat, imam of the Caravansaray mosque in Orenburg, built in 1842, was inviting me to perform the recitation. I told them that I had to ask 'Abd al-'Alim hazrat Davletshin, who had invited me to the city, for permission. He let me go and when they returned I told them that I agreed. I began the Qur'an recitation the same evening. They ordered me to stay in Caravansaray. The local mu'adhdhin and his wife cared for me for fifteen days, may God have mercy upon them. I completed the recitation on 26 Ramadan, on the Night of Power. On that occasion, imams of all communities in Orenburg, Qur'an specialists, and damullahs exiled from Turkestan were all present at my Qur'an recitation. Our fellow villager the late Muhammad Shakir b. Harith Tuqaeu addressed the audience with a short sermon and we completed the event with an invocation of God (*du'a*). Many women followed the Qur'an recitation on the second floor of the mosque. May God absolve my deed of insincerity and accept [it] for His sake. Amen.<sup>385</sup>

Tenth, in 1925 of Miladi I performed the Qur'an recitation for fifteen days at the great mosque in Istärlibash at the request of the community *mutawallis*, namely my brother Muhammad Sharif b. Khalilullah khalfa, 'Abd al-Jabbar b. 'Ata'ullah Iskandarov and others. The community imam, 'Abd al-'Alim b. Habibullah b. Harith Tuqaeu, and muhtasib Muhammad Shakir b. Harith Tuqaeu were present there. May God accept my Qur'an recitation.

385 [In the margin: "Abd al-Rahim *qari* b. Hasan, one of the teachers of the Husayniyya madrasa, was present as a listener (*sami'*) at both recitations that I performed in Orenburg. He must have been 60 at that time. In his youth, he had studied in Istanbul and was among the best students."]

Having performed the Qur'an recitation ten times, after 1927 I could not continue, because following the Great Russian Revolution I stopped performing the recitation. Many troubles befell me, as I have written above. /166a/

In İstärlibash, imams, teachers, and Qur'an specialists of our times had a habit of secluding themselves in the mosque (*i'tikaf*) for the last ten days of Ramadan. Praying in the mosque for ten days, eating there at night, and reciting the Qur'an during daylight, the teachers would give lessons at the mosque. I was also present at classes of the respected Habibullah hazrat on the biography of the Prophet (*sir al-nabi*) and *Kitab al-Karahiyat* on law. During [the time of] seclusion in the mosque, more than a hundred people were usually present. Every year on the Night of Power, the late 'Abdullah hazrat b. Harith organized an evening meal for those present in the mosque. He continued this practice for the sake of God until his death. May God accept it. Amen. During the days of seclusion, prior to the second prayer, ten teachers would read out the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and then do the invocation of God. Every year, the Qur'an recitation was performed at night prayers. During our time, the Qur'an specialist 'Abd al-Kabir sufi performed the recitation [for many years]. Then Fadl Muhammad *qari*, his student from Azak village, [then] 'Abd al-Sabir *qari* and, for the last time, myself. May God accept it.

When the Sacrifice Festival came in summer, the Tuqaev family would collect all the meat they had slaughtered and invite the village people and neighbors for a party. Some 200 or 300 people were present there, including small boys. They would prepare food in a huge bowl that had a capacity of forty or fifty pails. This party would usually take place at the famous place called Kaliachnik Borini, or sometimes in the mosque forest. Participants were entertained by such games as horse races and running. They would also stick in the earth a slippery piece of timber that was twenty *arshin* long, and ask children to climb on top of it. Those who succeeded got a prize. /166b/ Besides that, they would place another [piece of] timber with a fifteen or twenty kopek coin [on it]. Those who hit it with a gun got a prize. Among the games there was also wrestling between strong men, high jump, and tug-of-war. Whoever won, got a prize. After the games were over, they placed twenty or twenty-five tables for fifteen people each and gave them food. They would also make separate tables for children and feed them in the same manner.

In my youth, it must have been around 1896, when Tsar Alexander, father of Nicholas II, passed away, an enthronement ceremony (*tähetkä ultiru märasime*) took place. On May 6, the famous Tuqaev family, together with people from other villages, organized a celebration in İstärlibash. All the population

of the surrounding villages, including Russians and the state officials, took part in the party, which took place at the top of mountain, down from the cemetery. Tents and benches were placed there. The guests were invited to drink tea in those tents. Old people and other visiting peasants (*dehqanlar*) were offered tea at the tables. Around 2,000 people came to celebrate. They placed a flag at the center of the square with a Russian inscription, "God Save the Tsar! (*Khoda padshahni saqla*).” The Muslims performed the second prayer in a huge community; [they] performed the Qur’an recitation (*Qur’an tilawat*) and an invocation of God. Then the entertainment program started, with games like races, running, wrestling and suchlike. Horses raced from Baim village, located 18 km from Istärlibash. The first horse got a silver watch and a veil. People ran /167a/ from Maqsud village, located more than 2 km away. A Bashkir boy from Murtaza village came first and got the main prize, others received things like towels and veils. This hill is still known as an enthronement hill. Our late teacher Habibullah hazrat departed to Uralsk with his wife and children in the evening of the same day. Once the party was over, people dispersed, content.

Since in 1915 there were many captives of the Russian war with Germany, a society for the support of the captives opened its doors in Istärlibash. Anyone could become a member by making a voluntary donation of three rubles, and I also became a member. In spring, they decided to organize a *sabantuy* for the support of the captives. I do not remember what day in May that was on. An entrance ticket to the *sabantuy* cost fifty kopeks. The party took place at the mill of Hasan Shah agha near Maqsud village, next to Istärlibash. There were many people present and people organized running [races]. Those who came first received prizes. This party raised a decent fund, which went to the captives. Many officials (*nachal'niklar*) from Istärlibash attended the party.

In those years, Turkey fought against Russia on the German side. Battles took place around Batum, in Qars, Ajdarhan, and Sarı Kamış. Especially in the latter, many Turkish soldiers were captured. That was in winter. They were dispersed among the many cities of Russia. Mahi Parwaz Bikä Shaykhgalina, a lady residing in Ufa, asked the government to collect voluntary donations from Muslims for the Turkish captives. Once the permission was granted, donations were collected from everywhere. The husband of this lady was a general from the Caucasus. He was blind and, upon retirement, stayed only at home. That must have been in 1917. In those years I (*fäqir*) taught at the state school in Khälekay village and made donations to the extent that I was able. /167b/ It must have been in January that I traveled to Ufa to find the aforementioned Mahi Parwaz khanım. She received me at home and introduced me to the late Shaykhgalin efendi. I gave them the money that had I collected, and took an

official document [from them]. She would not let me go and insisted that I join them for lunch, and I stayed. When she learned that I had studied in Turkey, she asked me about many things. She showed me the clothes that she had prepared for the captives, and asked if it would be appropriate. I said that this was all very good and thanked her sincerely. She proved the Qur'anic verse: "They give food, for the love of Him, to the needy, the orphan, the captive."<sup>386</sup> I told her: "May your service be counted as an enduring donation." She thanked me. Then I asked her: "Khanım efendi, may I go to the hospital to ask about the condition of the captives?" She said: "Very well," then wrote me a permission document and I walked directly to the hospital. There I asked the captives about their condition. Most of them were very ill, because they had been transported in cold train cars. At the hospital they asked for *qatiq* and received a cold drink. As far as I was able to, I gave them some money. I told them to entrust themselves to God and parted with them. May God consider my visit to these captives as a confirmation (*misdaq*) of the Qur'anic verses "They give food, for the love of Him, to the needy, the orphan, the captive. 'We feed you only for the sake of God; we desire no recompense from you, no thankfulness'"<sup>387</sup> /168a/

### The Following People (*dhatlar*) Were My Teachers, Starting From My Youth

At the age of five I started to learn *Iman sharti* with my father, then I read *Shurut al-salat wa ta'lim al-salat*, *Asl al-tawhid* and similar books in Arabic. After I had started to read a bit of Arabic, my father (*pädäremez*) took me to 'Abd al-Kabir khalfa b. Din Muhammad Sateev to study grammar and syntax. I began the study of the Qur'an from Ahmad Shah hazrat from Sarlı village on the İq River, who was paying a visit to the İstärlibash scholars. My father put half of the Qur'an into my hands, sat in front of the teacher [Ahmad Shah] and asked him to recite al-Fatiha and pray afterwards. Then my late father put twenty kopeks of silver into my hand and asked me to give it to the teacher. I gave it to him and he prayed again.

I shall write here what I remember about some aspects of my teacher's biography (*ahwal-i tärjemäse wä siräte*), ideas, and his zeal for teaching. My late

386 [In the original: *وَيُطْعَمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا* Q 76: 8.]

387 [In the original: *إِنَّمَا نُطْعِمُكُمْ لِوَجْهِ اللَّهِ لَا نُرِيدُ مِنْكُمْ جَزَاءً وَلَا شُكْرًا وَيُطْعَمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا* Q 76: 8-9.]

teacher 'Abd al-Kabir hazrat was of short stature, wore black socks and had a short black beard and black eyes. He was quite devoted to the students. He always cared about the cleanliness of the madrasa and even that of the students' dishes. He was very accurate in his teaching. I never saw him miss a single class. He taught between the morning prayer and the second prayer, then up to the third prayer. He would not leave the madrasa before ten or eleven in the evening, after the fifth prayer. He never went to visit other villages as a guest and always stuck to the classes. I know of only two occasions on which he went out for a visit: first, when he went on Thursday to the funeral of Jihangir hajji in Berenche Qaramali, and second, when he went to the funeral of 'Allam al-Din Rahimqulov in the neighboring Kärkäle village. He never interrupted his studies in winter time to visit his home village of Täter Arslan. He spent his entire life reading books, newspapers, and journals. He had a habit of returning from the madrasa at around twelve o'clock at night. Then he stayed at home until one or two o'clock, reading books. When we were at the madrasa, after the last classes he would invite us to read the *Tarjuman* newspaper. We wanted him to leave sooner, and did not like reading the newspaper, but he would say then: "Children, one day [you will need it], /168b/ learn to read the newspapers beforehand." He tried to introduce order into the teaching process of the madrasa. He would always receive appropriate teaching literature by mail from the editors of *Tarjuman* in Bakhchisaray, and he advised us to get similar books. He had books like *Khwaja Sibyan*, calligraphy books (*marshq däftäre*) and suchlike. He paid much attention to history and geography. He explained the contents of *Tarikh-i-Jawdat*, Ibn Khaldun and other historical books. Twice a week, [he would] gather poorer students and teach them mathematics. He had a habit of leaving his ideas in the margins of each article that he examined, and binding volumes of a full set of *Tarjuman*. Because of his striving (*ijtihad*) on the path of knowledge, he got ill: his stomach could not digest food any more. That became a reason for his death. Such people are known to experience a similar disease. The late Shihab al-Din al-Mardjani in Kazan also died of the same disease. May God cover them with His mercy. Amen. He was buried in the Istärlibash cemetery in 1317 of Hijri.<sup>388</sup>

After starting to read *Mullah Jami*, I went to Habibullah b. Harith, one of the greatest teachers in Istärlibash, to study *Mullah Jami* and take classes on law. I took classes in such books as *Tariqa-yi Muhammadiyya* and *'Ayn al-'ilm*.

388 [The gravestone inscription reads: "Death is enough as an admonition. This is the noble grave of the deceased scholar 'Abd al-Kabir b. Din Muhammad al-Arslani in 1317 of the migration of the one who deserves the highest praise [i.e. the Prophet Muhammad]."]

Sometimes during Ramadan we studied a book on the life of the Prophet, and *Kitab al-Karahiyat* on law. May God have mercy upon my late teacher. He studied in Bukhara and upon his return he erected a mosque, madrasa, and bathroom, and /169a/ put all the madrasas of Istärlibash on the right path. He planted chestnut trees between the madrasas and put up street lights. In spring, he planted many birch trees behind the madrasa and turned it into a garden (*baqcha*). He was a straightforward person and wore only simple clothes. In pursuing the truth he did not pay attention to anyone's status (*hich berüüneng khäterenä qaramas ide*). He knew every corner of Arabic sciences. To the great satisfaction of students, he taught Jazari in Qur'anic reading, Shatibi in Qur'anic exegesis, then books on hadith, *'aqa'id*, and grammar.

Fathullah khalfa b. Fattah al-Din first studied in Istärlibash and then became a teacher himself and taught at the madrasa for many years. I (*fäqirengез*) studied with this respected teacher for quite a few years. He was a very quiet and educated person, not talkative, and he taught kindly. From him, I took classes in *Mishkat sharif* on hadith, *Jalalayn* on tafsir, and *Tawdih* on jurisprudence. He read all kinds of books, did his best to understand the truth and did not fanatically follow any single opinion. He used to say that there were many right ideas in the books by Mardjani and Musa b. Jarullah.<sup>389</sup> Other teachers were fanatically obsessed, but our teacher [Fathullah] would express his own opinion on each of their arguments (*dälil*). May God count him among the forgiven. Amen. He was never greedy towards anyone. He would support himself by sowing wheat. He would spend summers doing agricultural work. He would come to religious gatherings in simple robes, as other peasants did. He owned a single horse and a cow, but nothing else. He was not jealous of anyone and devoted his entire life to teaching, content with what he had. At the end of his life, he returned from Istärlibash to his native village of Usaq Kichü. He died there and was buried in the local cemetery. I visited his grave in 1957. May God have mercy upon him. Amen. Qadïrov.

/207b/ According to the telegram sent by my son-in-law 'Abd al-Haqq from Melekes, on August 4, 1958, my daughter Maryam gave birth to Zuhra. That was 7 Safar 1378 of Hijri. May she be a servant of God, member of the Prophet's community, and a loving child of her parents. Amen. In September 1958, I went there myself to give her a name, according to the Muslim tradition.

This is written by her grandfather, 'Abd al-Majid Qadïrov, in Orenburg.

389 [Musa Bigeev (1875-1949) was a prominent theologian with ideas that caused much controversy among the contemporary *'ulama*.]



My statement to my children [is] to inscribe the following on my grave:

“Speak well of the deceased.<sup>390</sup> ‘Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam al-Qadiri al-Istärlibashi, a pilgrim to the two Sacred Places and a bearer of the Qur’an, is buried here. He was born in 1881 and died on [January 5, 1962].<sup>391</sup> May God forgive him and cover him by His mercy.”<sup>392</sup> /208a/

My lifelong friend ‘Ayd Muhammad b. Mir ‘Ali Akhmerov died in Beloret city in Bashkortostan around 1956. He was a bearer of the Qur’an (*hafiz kalam*) and a scholar. He memorized the Qur’an in Medina the Radiant, and after studying hadith and other subjects, he returned to Buray village in Buray district in 1920 and opened a madrasa. May God forgive his sins. Amen. We studied together from the age of eight, and memorized the Qur’an together at the madrasa of Bashir agha in Medina. He started to do a great service for the nation in Buray village, but because of the Great Russian Revolution he was forced to move to Ufa, where he worked as director of the Central Library, but then migrated (*hijrät itep*) to Siberia and then to Japan. He returned safely to Belebey city in Bashkortostan and stayed there for several years with his wife Maryam. They built a house and lived there. He passed away in Bilared city and was buried there. Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings.

I wrote this in full consciousness in Orenburg in 1961. A fellow traveler (*yul-dash*), ‘Abd al-Majid Qadirov. /208b/

My friend ‘Abdullah b. ‘Abd al-Kabir Sateev, mentioned on page 6 above, died in Kazan in 193?.<sup>393</sup> Oh Allah! If he was a doer of good, then increase his good fortune. And if he was a wrongdoer, then overlook his wrongdoings. Amen.

He passed away in the arms of his wife Sajidä on Friday, July 25. We studied together from the age of seven with his late father at the madrasa in Istärlibash. In 1904, we went to Istanbul and then to Mecca to undertake pilgrimage, then to Medina the Radiant to study, then returned to Istanbul. There, he graduated from the Faculty of Natural Sciences at the University. He taught in many cities in Russia: in Alma-Ata, then at the Husayniyya madrasa in Orenburg, then in Ufa, and at the end of his life in Kazan. He worked in the service of

390 [In the original: اذكروا مؤمناتكم بالخير]

391 [The last date was added later. Another sentence is written below: “He died at 81 years old.”]

392 [A previous version of the text: “Speak well of the deceased. ‘Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam al-Qadiri, a bearer of the Qur’an, who visited Medina the Radiant and the House of God.”]

393 [The paper is damaged here.]

education and science until his death. He left some thirty works on science. I (*fäqirengöz*) went to Kazan at his invitation in 1957, stayed there for five days and came back. That turned out to be my last meeting with my friend (*räfiqim*). On November 16, I received a letter from Sajidä khanim saying that he had passed away. May God have mercy upon him. Amen.

[Added later:] The author of this story (*tarikh*), a bearer of the Qur'an, 'Abd al-Majid b. Shaykh al-Islam al-Qadiri, died on January 5, 1962, and was buried in Orenburg.

اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدى لولداً هدانا الله والصلوة على  
رسوله محمد الداعي للخلق الى الحق باذن الله وعلى آله واصحابه المؤيدين لامر الله  
اما بعد فان الله يقول بلسان الصادق النبي الرسول يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبَّ الَّذِي  
خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالًا كَثِيرًا وَنِسَاءً  
وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ الَّذِي تَسَاءَلُونَ بِهِ وَالْأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيبًا<sup>394</sup>  
اما بعده بن فقير سلامت و قتمده نوز عمر مده بولب هه م كورب و او قوغان  
زمان لارمني بلدكم قدر نسل و انساب لارمني يازب بالالارعه بر خاطره  
بولسون مقصدي ايله توبانده يازماق عه نيت ايتدم. توغلمش آتامز شيخ  
الاسلام بن عبدالقادر بن بيكتمراسكي وقت ده اوف غورناسي منزله اويازي  
اليكساندر قارامالي فولصي تاتار قامالي اولنده ۱۸۴۳ نچي يلنده توغلمش در  
(حاضرگي كونده تاتارستان جمهوريتي سارمان رايوني تاتار قارمالي اولنده)  
قاديرف فامليه سي بابامز عبدالقادر دان باشلانا. عبدالقادر بابامز وفات  
بولغان دان صوك آتامز نيچه ياشده قالغان در بر توغمه آغاسي عبدالعليم تربيه  
سنده قالمش در عبدالعليم شوشي قارامالي اولنده مؤذن بولب عمر كچرمش در  
وفاتي ۱۸۹۶ نچي يلارده بولسه كيره ك قارامالي مقبره سنده مدفون در يازولي  
تاش ده بارايدي اللهم ان كان محسنا فزد في احسانه وان كان مسيئا فتجاوز  
عنه الله نك رحمتده بولسن. بو عبدالعليم آغامزني اوزم سلامت وقتنده  
كورب بلامن هه م آتامز سلامت وقت نده بزم استرليباشنه كيلب قوناق  
بولب كيتمش ايدى. تورمشي ياخشي غنه تاقته بله ن يابلغان بر يورطي هه م  
الدينده ياخشي غنه باقچه سي ده بار باقچه سنده بايتاق اومارطه لارى بار

394 [Q 4:1.]

ایدی مؤذن لک قارامالی ایگنچی چیلک /73a/ بله ن کسب ایتار ایدی حاجاتی نه یته رلک آت و باشقه سییر و سارق لاری ده بار ایدی یورطینک قویوعنه اندری بار ایدی شوشی لارنی بله م اولدان چیت ده راک اومارتالی غی هه م بار ایدی مین ۱۲ یا شمه آتام مرحوم بله ن بارغان وقت مده مینی بال آلورعه اومارطه لق غه آلب بارب آنده آرش ایکه کینه بال یاغب بیرگه نی بیک یاخشی بله من . کیله چه ک بالا [لاری] حاقنده بر شجره یازسام کیره ک خدا عمرمه برکات بیرسه . آتامز شیخ الاسلام ۲۰ یاش لار چاماسنده ثق بوینده الوغ چاقاق قریه سنده مدرس عبد الله غفورف حضرت مدرسه سنده برنیچه یل لار اوقب صوکره استرلباش مدرسه سینه کیلب بوگله اویازینه قاراشلی بیرگه اولندان یکمیش خلیل الله بن رحمة الله بن حسن مدرسه سنده برنیچه یل لار اوقب شونده تورب قالمش در . آتامز مرحومه نک آتاسی ولی الله بن رحمة الله بن حسن مذکور خلیل الله بله ن بر توغان بوله در . فقیر لک حالنده بولوسبیلی اوقولار بتکان صوک یاز و جای کونله رنده اوراق پچن ئشلارنده ئشلاب قش کوننده اوزینه خراجات حاضرلاب اوقشدر . بیره که ده تورمش ولی الله رحمة الله اوغلی وفات بولوسبیلی عائله سنی آغاسی بابامز خلیل الله خلفه بارب استرلباش قه اوز تریه سینه آلب قایتمش در . شوندان ۱۸۷۵ سیکز یوز یتمش بیسنچی ییلارده بولسه کیره ک اوزینک آغاسی ولی الله رحمة الله قزی مینم توغمه سوت آنام بوله علیمه نی آتامز شیخ الاسلام عبدالقادر اوغلینه یکا وگه بیرمش در . موندان صوک آتامز آنامز بله ن برگه شولوق ۱۸۷۷ نچی ییل لارده استرخان غه قاراشلی بوکای ایل دیکان قزاقستان مملکه تینه صاری اوزه ن صوی بوینده - روسچه مالی اوپوریو - تالوفکه دیکان اورنده اسنبای دیکان قشلاق ده تورب قالمش لار . آتامز ایر بالا لار آنامز قز بالا لار اوقتب ۱۸۸۲ نچی ییل عه قدر تورب ینه استرلباش قه کوچب قایتقانلار . فقیر شو یرده مارت آینده ۱۸۸۱ نچی یلنده طوغب ایکی یا شمه باگه استرلباش قه قایتقان دن شوشنده آتامز ۴۰ سنه دان آرتق استرلباشنیک اشپی و فقیر دهقه ن بالا لارنی آخر عمرینه قدر اوقتب ۱۹۱۸ میلادی ۱۳۳۶ هجری یلنده ۲ نچی مای چهارشنبه کونی کوندز ساعت ایکی ده امانت جانتی جناب حق عه تابشر مشدر ارجعی

الى ربك راضية مرضية<sup>395</sup> آية شريفه سينه مصداق اولب ربي مغفور بنده له  
رى جمله سندا اولماقنى جنة لك نصيب ايلاسون آمين اللهم إن كان محسنا فزد  
في إحسانه وإن كان مسيئا فتجاوز عنه /73b/ استرليباش نك الوع مقبره سنده  
نعمة الله حارث وحرث وزين الله المشهور بامير حضرتلارينك قبرلارينه ياقن  
توزم سلامت وقت مده مرحومه آنامزني آياق اچينه بربرينه آياقلى اوچلى  
دفن قيلندلار ربنا اغفرلى ولوالدين وللمؤمنين يوم يقوم الحساب<sup>396</sup> امدى  
كويچيلىك بله ن جنازه سنى محله مزتك الوغ امامى عبدالله بن مجد حارث  
بن نعمة الله اوقب ۴ نچى ماى كوندده ۶ نچى شعبانده جمعه كون كيچ ساعت ۶  
ده گور اياسى بولديلار زياراتينه يازلمش تاشنده اوشبوره وشده هذه مرقد  
العالم الفاضل الكامل معلم الصبيان بضع اربعين سنة شيخ الاسلام بن  
عبدالقادر بن بيكتمر القارمالي المنزولى امثل الخطاب ارجعى في سنة الف  
و ثلاث مائة ست و ثلاثين من الهجرة (۱۳۳۶) ۴ شعبانده و في سنة ۱۹۱۸ ۲  
نچى ماى طيب الله ثراه واجعل الجنة مأواه ۴ شعبانده آتامزتك تورمشى  
استرليباشنده ايگن ايگارلك يرگه خواجه بولماغان سببلى ايسه بورنغى قانون  
بوينجه چيتدان كشى لارگه يرلى خالق بله ن برابر جير بيرلمادى در شولايدده  
بولسه بر ايكى ديساتينه جير اجاره گه ئالب ياكه براو بله ن اورتاق بولب اوزينه  
فدرته رلى ايگن ساچب تورغان. تورمشنه بر صير بر كجه بولور ايدى بعضى  
وقت ده بر آتى ده بولور ايدى. بونى ده جايلك خاجاتنى اوتكارر اچون ياز  
باشندن آلب قشلق اوطن و پچن نى حاضرلاب بولغاچ كوزكوننى ساتار ايدى.  
قارتيسى آتى پوچماق لى براوى بر مونجه بركلات همه سى آعاچدان مال  
لارى اوچون آبزارلارى بار ايدى تورا تورغان ايومزتك يورطمزتك اورنى  
الوغ مسجد توغرسنده تاو بوينده يورطمزتك آرتى تاوغه چغار ايدى مسجد  
بله ن يورط آراسنده مدرسه لار بولور ايدى اوطن نى اوزى كيسب پچن نى  
اوزى چابوب اوزى تاشور ايدى. ايكى يلدده بر مرتبه بورن اوزينك اوقتب  
تورغان يرى نه آت بله ن بارب قايتور ايدى بوكاى ايلي قازاقستان ده طالوفكه

395 [Q 89: 28.]

396 [Q 14: 41.]

دیگان یرده مشهور اسنبای اول در استرلیباش دان یدی یوز یکومتر یراقلغنده در شوشی یدی یوز یکومتر لک یرکه /74a/ ۱۸۸۹ نچی ییل ده ئوزی بله ن مینی هه م آلب باروب ایدی بارغان وقتمزده طوق صووی آشا اوتب ساروچین سکی استانسده سندان اورالسکی گه آندان قزاق صحاراسی بله ن ۳ یوز چاقوم باردق. یلانده قونب بارر ایدک چونکه یولمزده چوپان مال باغوچی قزاق اویلاری بولسه ده آلا ر یاننده کیچ یوقلاغه توغری یکماس ایدی. چونکه ایوتیراسنده آطقه آشاتوغه اولان بولماس ایدی. مال چی لارنک ایولارینده توقتاب قویولارندان بولماسه ایولارونندان یالانده قایناتوراچون صوآلب قاتق و قمرلارن اچب ۴-۵ یکومتر یرلقغه کیتب یاتور ایدک بر وقت ده مین سیکز ۸ یاشمده ئیدم. بارب توقتاومز بله ن مین باقر چاینوک آلب تیزاک بله ن اوط یاغب چای قایناتورغه توتنور ایدم. آتامز ایسه وقت لی غازیتنی اوقورغه توتنب غازیتنی بتوکه چای قایناب طن صحراده هیچ تاوش یوق تیک مالچی قزاق لارنک ات تاوش لاری عنه اشتلمکده ایدی راحت لانوب چای مزنی اچب مینی یوقلابت ئوزی یقلامی تونله آطنی ساقلاب چغار ایدی. تاک بلنو بله ن آطمزنی جیگب ینه یولمزغه کیتار ایدک. بو یزلارده کون لار بیک اسسی بولو سبیلی ایرته کیچ صالحن بله ن یورب کوندزنده یال ایتار ایدک ترته نی کوتارب کوله گه یاساب آتامز برآز یوقلاب آور ایدی. مین بولسام آط قاراب اولترر ایدم. موندان صوک یالپاق طال (سلا محین) دیگان قزاجی خالقلارینک استالیس شهری ایدی (اورالسکی اوبلاس ده). مونده استرلیباشنده طوغب اوسکان عیدالله بن زین الله علیکیف نک یورطینه توشدک استرلیباش زین الله ایشان نک اوغلی در امیر ایشان دیب مشهور در بو عید الله حضرت اولاسترلیباش مدره سه سنده تحصیل قیلب صوکره بخاراغه بارب ختم کتب قیلب ایشان لق درجه سنی آلب قایتمش در قایتوغان نک صوکنده بونی مذکور یالپاق طال اهالیسی امام قیلب المشلاردر مونده بو عید الله حضرت مدرسه لار سالدرب کوب کنه قزاق شاکردلارینه درس یرب هم مشایخ لق یولینی بله در مهمان په رور سخی خالق غه محبتلی آدم ایدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن مونده برنیچه کون قوناق بولب اولر مَعَصَد بولغان

طالوفکه گه اسنبای اولینہ /74b/ سفر ایتدک موندان ۶۰ چاقرم یر ایدی یولده آتامزنک شاکردلاری بولغان عثمان نمان اسملی شولارنک آتالاری سو بیرگه ن دیگان قزاق اولنده قونب ایکنچی کون اسنبای اولینہ بارب جیتدک اول وقت ده بو اولنک آدام لاری قزاق لار عادتجه لیکرم دیگان کول بوینده کیز اوی بله ن آق قوش کبک تزلب کولنی آیلاب جایلاوده قمز اچب قوی آشاب کولدان اورداک آطب کیف صفاده تورالار ایدی مونده کیلو بله محمد علی اسنبایف اولینہ توشدک قزاق چه لقبی (کالوش) در. بز بارو بله ن اوزلارینک ایولاینه بر ۰۱ تایاق چامالی بولور ایدی قوناق خانه بلکاگه کیز اوی ایدی ایکومز کیتکانی شول ایوده تورددق. باروب توشکاچ قزاق قارچیق لاری مینی کورو بلان اوی بای بنا عی اوزمزنک قولمزده توغان بالامز عوی طوغان یرینه ساعت کیلگه ن غوی دیب مینی قوچاقلاب اوبدیلار بر قازچق ایر توغان یرنده ایت تووغان یرنده آیقان لار غوی دیدی. آرقاسون سویب چیچه ک ساو سلامت دیب سوراشا باشلا دیلار مینده ایتکان لارینه جواب بیره باردیم مونده ایکی چاماسی تورب صوکره سنتابر آیالارنده استرلیباشینه قایتب سفر ایتدک سلامت قایتب جیتدک.

اوقوغه باشلاوم برنجی بیش یاشمده و قتمده ایوده آتامز الفبا صوکره ایمان شرطی دیگان کتابی اوقتع باشلادی آندان بعضی تورکی کتابلرغه قوشدی آتی یاشمده کلام شریف اوقتام ایشان حضرتکه) مشهور امیر حضرت (مرید بولب کیلگه ن بلبای اویازینه قاراشلواق بوی ساری اولینک احمد شاه حضرت ایدی تبرک یاخشی حضرت دیب شوکاردان کلام شریف اوقورغه باشلادی خاطرمده یارتی عنه کلام شریف ایدی آنام مرحومه خیرگه بیررسن دیب قوله یگرمه آچه توتدر ب چغاردی. هر قایوسی الله نک رحمت نده بولسون لار آمین. /75a/

ید دیگان عقائد کیتاب لارینه توشدم بوکتابلارنی براز اوقغان صوک عرب چه تانی ایکان دیب ۷ یدی یاشمده عبد الکبیر خلفه دین محمد اوغلی استرلیباشقه ۲۰ چاقرم لق تتر آرسلان اولدان یکمیش در شوشی خلفه دان اوغلی عبد الله شادمان ادلی عبدالرحمن بن امیرخان ابراهیمف اوچامز برگه صرف اوقوغه

باشلادق. شوشی شریک لارمز بلن برابر ۱۸۹۶ میلادیه قدرلی اوقدق شوشی یل لارده استاذ مز عبدالکبیر خلفه آش قازانی بله ن ئاورب آغوست آینه وفات بولدی ۱۳۱۷ هجری ده وفات اللهم اغفره وارحم موندان صوک فتح الله خلفه فتاح الدین اوغلی دیم بوی اوصاق کیچو اولندان یکمیش بارچه شریک لارمز برگه شوشی خلقه زان درس اوقی باشلادق ۱۹۰۴ نیچی میلادیه قدرلی هم ۱۹۰۲ نیچی یلدا باشلاب ۱۹۰۴ نیچی یل غه استریلیاشنده روسسکی تاتار اسکوی اشقولنده اوقب شهاده نامه آلم اوچیتل مز ماقار اولینک میر سید باییشف دیکان کشی ایدی اون یاشمده و قتم ده صرف و نحو فقه کیتاب لارن اوقی باشلادم نحو دان شرح ملا (ملا جامی) فقه دان مختصر الوقایة عین العلم کبی کتاب لارنی اوقب هم ده استریلیاشده الوغ مدرس لاردان سانلامش حبیب الله محمد حارث اوغلی توقایف جناب لارینک درسنه دوام ایته باشلادم بونده اوقغان درس لاروم شرح ملا طریقه محمدیه عین العلم سیر النبی کبک کتابلار ایدی شوشی و قتم یاش کنه بالا بولسام ده ساقالی زور شاکردلار بله ن برابر اوقور ایدم. یاش بولسام ده خلفه بالالرندان برنیچی اوقوچی دیب سین حاضر آتاکردان ملاسز دیب کوب لک آنده ماقتاب میم روحمنی کوته رر ایدی. هر وقت حضرتلارنک افطار مجلس لارینه هم م بیره م آشلارینه یاخشی اوقوچی بالا دیب ایتب آشقه چاقرتدر ای مین فقیر ده ساقالی خلفه لار هم م زور شاکردلار بله ن برگه آشقه بارب قایتور کیف لانب مدرسه گه قایتب ماقتانوب یورر ایدم مرحوم استازمز حبیب الله حضرت دیکابر آخرلارینده بولسه کیره ک استریلتماق باروب صوق تیوب قایتب تیر آورووی بله ن آورب برنیچه کوندان صوک إرجعی الی ربک راضیه مرضیه<sup>397</sup> آیتی بله ن محاض بولب /75b/ اخرت یورطینه یونالیدی إن لله و إنا الیه راجعون اللهم إن کان محسنتاً فزد فی إحسانه و إن کان مسیئاً تجاوز عنه. مرحوم استاذمز بیک خالص تواضع لق لی چن عالم بنده لرنک برنیچی طبقه سنده دیه رگه یاری هر توری فنون دان خبردار اولمش ایدی. اول ده بلبای اویازی اق صوی بوینده الوغ چاماق قریه سنده مرحوم عبدالله حضرت عبدالغفور

397 [Q 89: 28.]



مدرسه سنده اوقمش صوکره بخاراغه بارب نچه یل لار تحصیل لار تحصیل ایدب همه نیاز قلی الترمانی حضرت لارن علم طریقت غه اجازت آلب قایتمش در. استرلیباشینه قایتو بله ن برنجی نوبت ده مدرسه لارنی و مسجد لارنی یاخشی روشده توزاتب مدرسه آرالارینه آغاچ اولترب بیک یاخشی قیلدی. صوکره مدرسه ده الوغ خلفه لارگه درس اوتوغه باشلاب بتون فکرنی علم ظاهرنی رواج لاندرو بولب علم باطن بله ن مشغول بولمادی برنجی علم ظاهرنی یاخشی بلوکیره ک بوتمام بولغاچ علم باطن نی بله ن شغل لانورگه ممکن دیه ایتورایدی. چونکه علم ظاهر سارت تزلنده اولا ساوتتی یاخشی تازالاغاچ علم باطن نی سالورغه ممکن دیه ایردی. شول سببلی ایشان لق برله شغل لانمادی بتون فکرنی علم ظاهرده هر وقت بیوک علماء لرمزنک اثرلارنی بیکره ک شهاب الدین المرجانی حضرتلارینک وافیه الاسلاف ناظوره الحق کبی مطالعه قیلب هر وقت شاکردلارگه سویله راییدی حتی پوشکین جناب لرنی چن شاعر دیب آنی حرمت قیلورایدی. /76a/

چای وقتنده یگروب قایتب قنه آشاب اچب کیتار ایدم. شوندان صوک نیچکده بولسه کاعز قارالق برئش تابوب شونک بله ن اوقومنی دوام ایتدررگه کیره ک یوقاریده یازلمش شریکم عبدالرحمن بله ن ایکاومز شریک بولب ایکاومرگه ۰۸ تین صوم تابب آزماز قلم کاعز کبک نه رسه لار بله ن مدرسه ده صورغان شاکردلارگه ساتار اچون سودا ایته باشلادق آطنه ده برگنه بازار بولو بله ن باشقه کون لارده موندای کیره ک لی نه رسه لارتابلی قالورایدی بازارده ۸۰ تین صوممه غه تیوشنچه کاعز قلم قاره آلب قالا مزده آطنه آرانسده ابدراغان شاکردلارگه ساتامز آتنه ده ۱۵-۲۰ تین فائده قیله مز دیمه ک ئوزبزگه کیره ک قدر کاعز قلم قاره بولا. شوندان برکون خلفه مز مرحوم مونی سیزوب قالب بز لارگه شلته بیردی اوقغان کشی موندای انشنی مدرسه ده قیلماعز دیه شوندان صوک خلفه مز نک شلته پیروینده بوی صنّب مگازین مزنی یابارغه توغری کیلدی بر ایکی اوتکان صوک سرماییه مزنی قالغان تاوارلارمزنی بولشب ئالدق ده هر ایکاومرگه ۸۰ شار تین آچه بولدی والسلاّم. ایندی نیچوک کیره ک لق آچه تابارعه بو وقتده یاخشی غنه یازو یازا ئیدم هم ده کیتاب توبلاو

کوزلک هه م قله م ساوتی کبک فوتلارلار یاسای ایدم شولای ایتب بعضی کتاب لار یازب بورن زمانده بولغان صوعش بیت لارنی یازب توزغان قرآن لارنی توبلاب بش اون تین آچه تابا باشلادم. شوندان صوک آتامزدان کاغز قلم آچه سنی سورامی باشلادم. شولای نیچکده بولسه بر هنرتاب او قومنی دوام ایتدرب باردیم. یاشم ۱۵-۱۶ کیل گه ن وقوم ده آز غنه کشتی آراسینه کره باشلادم ایندی بو وقتده کشتی نکلی کبک کیم و باشقه آیاق غه باش قه زمانه چه راق کیم کیه سم کیله باشلادی. البته آتامزدان بولارنی سراویات آلا ر تکدروب بیرسه لارده بیک اسکی روشده بورونگی کبک تکدره لار نه باشقه شاکردلارنک زمانه چه راق بولوندان میندای شوندای کیه سم کیله ایدی ایداش لار آیاق لارینه چیتک قاتاکیب یوریلار مونده بایلاگه ن ایوق نده بولسن میکا میندان زور /76b/ شادلق بولورغه تیوشلی اولماس کبی قوواندم شادلغمنی بر خدا بله در. مین باشقه شاکردلار کبک آیاق یومی مسخ عنه قیلوب طهارت آلب مسجدکه یوری باشلادم. شولای ایتب او قو وقتنی اوتکاره باشلادم. ایندی یازکونی نی اشلا رگه کیره ک ایگن بیک ساچله یالان اش یوق ینه قش مدرسه ده اوتکاررگه بر چاره کیره ک دیب اویلانه باشلادم چونکه باشقه بالالر کبک کوب اویناب یروگه کوکل م بیک آزتوشه ایدی. شوندان ایولاب آتماز آچه م بله ن بولماسه اتی دان آلب قولعه کارزینکه ئالب جایا ولاب کورشی باشقرد اولرینه بارب آچه کوره کوکه ی آلب قایتب زور راق کوکه ی بله ن سودا قیلو چیلارغه بیر ایدم آلامیکا بر یوز کوکای گه ۱۵-۲۰ تین فائده بیرلار ایدی شولای ایتب کونده ایکی جیب قایتام ۳۰-۴۰ تین ئشلار ایدم باشقه مین کبی لار کونینه ۸-۱۰ تین پین جیارغه کو چای اچرگه لیمون تابدرمای موز بز سینا کوکای ازلاب قویارمز دیانشته سی ۱۰ تین اراق راق روس آلیمون ۵ تین بولار ایدی. بر دیستا کوکه یدان ۱ یا ۲ تین قالسه بر ب سوبله شب میکا بازا حاقدالین کیم رک قیلوب آچه مه یتارلک لیمون بیرسه کز ایکان دیب صورادم یاری بلار ایدی. شولای ایتب میکا ینه بر یک یاخشی بیررمز دیدیلار. کویره ک سودا یولی آچلدی بازار کون لارنده اوفادان شیررکه ده ممکن آچه سنی ایندگی بازار بیرسن دیه رلار

ایدی. بر ۴۰-۵۰ لیمون آچه آلب قالدِم ده ایکنچی کون ینه کورشی باشقرط  
 اولین بار ب لیموننی کوکه که آلشدر ب قایتار ایدم. بوموندان بر تین یاکه ۲ تین  
 اشلار ایدم. شولای ایتب آباروت ایکی یاقلی بولب کیندی. ایرته ن جایاوله  
 ب کیتب کیچ قایتام بر صوم یا آرتغراق اشلی باشلادم. نفس ایندی کوبره ک  
 تابارغه کرشه باشلادی. ینه بر فکر کیله باشلادی /77a/ کون گه فلان یرگه  
 باروب قایتورول لارینه یورره اویلادم کونینه ۵۰ تین که آت تابوب بولا ایدی.  
 روس ئاول لارنده یورب ۵۰۰ یوز یا ش مدرسه ده خراجات قیلسام یازغه  
 تاغن آچه کیره ک بولور دیب نیچکده بولسه بر نه رسه اشلارگه کیره ک توتام.  
 اوکتبر ۲۰ سنده آقای چاق ده بر مک آلب قایتور ایدم قایتام ده ئلکی کشتی  
 لارگه تابشرام. ملادیس کوبره ک جی دیلار ایدی جیار ایدم ده بیت آچه  
 آز بیت دیدم کیره ک بولسه آزاراق آچه بیررمز دیه رلا رایدی یاری آلیسه  
 دیب ایکنچی کون تاغن آت آلب اول لارغه کیتام ده ایکی منک اوچ منک جیب  
 قایتام. شولای ایتب بر جایی اوتکار ب کوز مدرسه گه ۱۰-۱۵ صوم برله ن  
 کردم. حاضر بای بولدم ایندی ۱۵ صوم آچه بولدی اول وقت بوکا بر صیر  
 آلب بولا ایدی و شولایده بولسه قای بر کون آتامز مرحوم کشتی گه پچن  
 جیار غهستر لیتاماق یارمینکه سینده باروغه اولیم قانقول کون بارب قایتورغه  
 بولا در. بارام ده یرمینکه دان شاکردلار که یارارلق کاغزهر توری قاره حوشبوی  
 سابن ایسلی قول یاولق کبک آچه م یتارلک تاوار آلب قایتدم مدرسه ده  
 شاکردلار که ساتار ایدم آلارده یاخشی دیب بیررمز دیب جواب بیرگاچ ۳  
 یاشچک بازارغه یوررگه آت آربا کیره ک بولب قالدی بر حرکت قیلب کوز  
 تولا رگه دیب بر آت آلدم آربا آلدم شولای ایتب بازارلارغه یوری باشلادم  
 یاقن بازارلارغه روس اولی آرتیکوف قراغوش قاچاغان آطنه بوینه بازارلارده  
 یورب تگی لیمون لارنی ساتب بته م ده ایندگی بازارده حاجاین لاریکورگه  
 آچه لارنی تولی ایدم. /77b/ آت ده بولدی آربا ده بولدی ایندی لیموننی  
 کوبره ک آوغه اویلاب معلوم حاجاین لارعه ایتدم مینی اوفاده گی زور بای  
 لارگرغه تانشدرب شولار سزنگ ایتوگز بوینچه کویراک لیمون بیرسه لار ایدی  
 دیه یارار دیدیلار بوکشتی لار استرلیباشقه کیل گه ن ده فاتیرگه اوزمژگه توشا

تورغان بولدیلار. شوندان اوافغه فلان کونده بارآلب بیرمز دیب وعده قیلوکه اشانب اوافغه کیتدم بارب تگی کشی لار مینی زور بای فتاح الدین احتموف کشی گه تانشدر دیلار بای ایتدی یاری فیکسل بیرسن صوکره تولارسنده دیب فیکسل گه قول قویب یوز صوم لق ۱۰ یا شچیک لیمون بیر دیلار پویزد بله ن شافران استانسه نه توشوب آندان ۶۰ چاقرم آت یاللاب استرلیباشقه آلب قایتور ایدم. بای لارغه ده تانشب آلدیم. وعده سینه تیوشلی قرض لنی تولاب هر دایم اوافغه بارب تورر ایدم بار تورر میکا ۲۰-۲۵ یا شچیک بیره تورغان بولدیلار سولای ایتوب کوزگه زور حرکت قیلب یاخشوق صوما یاساب آلور ایدم اوقو وقتی جیتسه آت نی ساتار ایدم ده کوتارگه النغان آت نک آچه سنی تولاب صوکره مدرسه گه کرر ایدم شول روشچه ۱۹۰۴ نیچی یلغه قدر اوتکاردم براییکی یل فروکته وقتنده اوفاده مگازینده آلماینا ویناگراد قاربوز قاون شوندا ی لارنی ساتارغه مینی پریکار شچیک بولوب خدمت ایتارگه چاقردی بارب آنده خدمت قیله باشلادم. آیلق ۱۲ صوم تعیب قیلب اوزمز یورطنده اوزندان آشاب اوزنده تورر ایدم. اول زمانده ۱۲ صومغه ۸۰ سیکسان تین چیتسه آلورغه ممکن ایدی. سودا وقتی اوتکاج حساب منی ئالب آلورغه مدرسه گه قایتور ایدم اسکله باشقه کیپلار ده آلب قایتور ایدم شولای ایتب اوقدم. ایندی بو اشدان ده کوکلم باشقه فکرگه توشدی اولده بولسه چیت که کیتب استانبولده بولماسه مدینه مکه گه بارب اوقو فکری کردی. ئشارگه کیره ک آنده باروغه کوچ بردان یتارلک توکل ایدی. ایکنچی تورر تورغان یورطمز بیک اسکرگه ن ایدی نیچکده بویل اوینی پاکادان سالورغه کیره ک ایدی آتامز آنامز قرداشم فرحی سرور مین برکنه اوغل ایدم. اتی انی بله ن سویلاشه لار اوینک اسکی بورنه لارنی چغارب اورنینه یاکا بوره نه قوشلوب ریمونت قیلساق بولور ایدیلار /78a/ مین طکلاب توردم ده ایسکی ایسکی بولور بوتلای یاکا قارغای بورنه سالورغه کیره ک دیدم هی بالوم موکا نیندی کوچ کیره ک آنی قایدان تابارغه کیره ک دیدیلار مین اسکی دان تزارگه تلامیم الله جان بیررگه جون بیرر دیب نیچکده یاکادان سالامز دیدیم. یاری سین دیگانچه بولسن سالیق دیدیلار. مونه نیچک قیله

مزهمه مزدان جیناساق یوزم صوک قدر آچه چغا تورغان بولدی ینه برر تانش بولغان آغانی دان کشی دان برر یاردم سورارمز دیدم یاری دیدیلار شوندان اولمزده مشهور عبدالقادر مخدوم طوقایف قه باردم ده احوالی سوبله دم. چونکه بوکشی ینه یاخشی کوره ایدی بومیکا جواب بیردی استرلیتاما ق دان قاراغای دان یورط اشلاب بیره تورغان کشی گه کوزگه تولا و شرطی بله ن اوزم وکیل بولب قول قویب بیرمن دیدی بوکشی وکیل بولب قول بیرسه حتی منک صوم غه اشانورلار ایدی. شوندان مین قووانب قایتدم آتامه ایتدم ئش شولای عبدالقادر مخدوم وکیل بولب ئشلاتب بیرمن دیب یاری آلیسه دیب ایتدییلار ۱۹۰۴نجی ییل فیورال آینده عبدالقادر مخدوم بله ن استرلیتاما ق بارمزده اول بورنه بله ن سودا ایتوچیلاردان نجم الدین اسملی کشتی کورب ایتدی مونه شول اولچاوده قاراغای دان بورا اشلاب بیرگز دیه له کین حاقنی کوز تولا و شرطی بله ن دیدی من اوزم وکیل بولب تولا رگه کاغز بیره من دیدی ایشگن ایدان توشام بتون تره زه یاکالارن ایو توباشینه ریشوتکه لار قویب بزگه پیالا توبه تیمرنی اوزمز تابارمز شونندان باشقه سن انشلاتب بیره سز کوبی حاق سوریسز دیدی. بو ایندی بر یوز ۲۵ صوم زادتکه گه ۲۵ صوم حاضر بیرسن قالغانی وعده بولور دیدی. بزده بوکشی بله ن وعده لاشب اشلا رگه بیرلدی. مارط آینده یورطگز اشلاب بولو بله ن کیلب آلورغه خبر بیررمز دیدی. شولای ایتب قایتدم آتامزنک قوطی چقدی نیچک تمام لارمز دیه باشی بولسه باق بولور ئه تی دیدم تیمر کیره ک پیالا قداق بویاو بارنده تابارغه کیره ک بیت دیدی. خدا قوشسه بارده بولور باشلاغان ئش یولده قالماس دیدم. مارط آبی یتدی ۱۵ مارتده خبرده کیلیدی ایونی آلورغه کیلگز تمام بولدی دیه ایندی نیچوک کیتزرگه کیره ک توته مزده اول ده دوست ایش لارگه آغای اینگه بر اوتنامز بر آط یروگزنی دیمه ک اوما ایته مز بوکون لار قارلار ارب یول لار /78b/ یومشاغان وقت همده کشی لارنک اشسز وقتی ایدی آطلاری بوش شولای بر کون ۳۶ آط باروب ایکنچی کوننی یورطنی آلب ده قایتدییلار یورط کیتب بورانی ایوب قویدقمز ایندی قالدی یاکادان ایونی فوتنامیت سالب کوتاررگه آپریل آخزلارنده بالتا استاسی عبدالرحمن آغاغه

(نیمس عبدالرحمن لقبی) اشک ایکی قات تره زه و باشقه لارن بوتلای بتر بیررگه ۳۶ صوم عه سویلاشدک چای شکر آزق تیوشلی و باشقه آشاملق لارن بیروتور شرطی بله ن . مای آینه ایومز تمام بولدی تیک توبا تیمری آلب یابارغه غنه قالدی اسکی ایونک یورنه لارنی آل یاغینه آتی پوچماق ایتوب قوشدق شولای ایتب تیمر یابو ایکی پیچ چغاررغه قالدی . دیمه ک ایو بولدی . تیمر نیچوک تاب ده نیچک آورغه قالدی اول زمانده زمیستوادیگه ن اداره خالق بیگره ک اول یرلارینه اوچ یل وعده بله ن یابوتیمری بیرر ایدی فولصدان کاغز آلب باررغه کیره ک ایدی فولصدان کاغزده آلم استرلیتاما ق بارب ایول باشلاری ایدی یتارلک تیمرنی پوطی ایکی صوم ۷۰ تین حاق بله ن وعده گه ئالب قایتدم ده باشنی ده یابدرب آلدق آیطوغان اولی صلاح دیکان استایاب بیردی . شوندوق پیچ لانی چغارتب همه سی تمام بولدی . تیک توباسی گنه بویالمی قالدی . اوشبو کونده شوشلای طرشب سالغان یورطمرنی ۱۹۲۹نجی یلده انقلاب مناسبتی بله ن بای قولاق دیب آتامزده هه م اوزمده اوقغان شاکرد ایندی مین اول وقت ایوده یوق ایدم ۶ بالانی ایکی یتیم قرداشم جماعت منی یورطدان قوب چاغارب معلوم شاکردگز کرب اولتردی سولای ایتدرب بتون عائله م قشقی فیورال آینه اورام ده یاتب قالدیلار . بو شاکردمز عبدالله عبد الرفیق اوفلی اسکندر ف ایدی فولصده اشلار ایدی . راحت طنچ یاشاسون لاکن خدانک اشنی باشقه ایکان عرب لار یته الانسان یدبر والله یقدر دیلار بتون بنده اولی پلان قورا اما خدا اوزینک قیله در . برنچه اوتمادی بیچاره حکومت طرفندان خالق دشمانی بولب محبوس بولب یوغالب کیندی یورط آکاردان ده تورب قالدی .<sup>398</sup> حاضرگی کونده باجامز تیوشلی لطف الرحمن عبد الرحمن اوغلی علیف

/79a/ پینسوننی کاپیتان بزلوب وطن صوغش ده خدمت ایتکان کشی تورادر (ایومز اوشبو کونده استرلیباشده تاو بوینده بز سالغان روشده سلامت ایدی ۱۹۵۴نجی یلده قایتب کوردم .

398 [Added in the margin: یاخشی راق یورط ... یلده اوزبکستان بارب... یاخشی راق یورط: (the text was damaged during the binding process)].

۱۸۹۸ نجی ییل لارده بولسه کیره ک بر دنیانی سیاحت ایته سم کیلدی بو وقتقه قدر پویزده اولترب یرکانم یوق ایدی. آتا آنامه کیکاش قیلب میم اوزمنک توغان یرمه قزاقستان ده طالوفکه گه بارب (اسنبای اولی) بر یورب قایتاسم کیله دیب آلا ر رحصت بیرگه چ آزماز یول لق آقچه تاب سفر قیلدم بو ایون آیلا رنده ایدی ۱ نجی شافران استانسینه بارب اوفاغه کیتدم پویزگه برنجی اولتروم بولب ایکنچی اوفاشهرن کورم بر نیچه کوندان آق ایدل پراحوط بلان قازان غه کیتدم قزان ده بر اون تورب بتون شهرنی بارینجی بابالارمنک مرکه زی بولغان بورنغی تاتار خان لارینک سویم بیکه ماناراسنی موزه خانه لارن قابان کول لارن ده پراحوط بله ن یورب بارن ده کورب موندان سامارغه (کوبیشف) کیتوگه اویلادم قازانده قابان کولی بوینده علام حضرت مدرسه سنده توردم ایکی قاتلی مدرسه ایدی بر اون لاب قته جای اوقب یاتوچی شاکردلارده بار ایدی ینه فولغه پراحوطی بله ن سامارغه کیتدم بارب توشب سامار شهرنی یورب فولغا بوینده قزان نک الوغ مقبره سنده فاضل محترم شهاب الدین بن بهاء الدین حضرتلارینه زیارت قیلدم یازولی تاشی بار ایدی باشینه اذکروا موتاکم بالخیر دیب ۱۳۰۶ سنه هجریه ده وفات ایتمش در. موندان فولغا پراحوطی بله ن سامارغه یونالدم فولغا بوینده قزان دان ۱۵۰ چاقرم چاماسنده اسپاصکوی زاتون پریستینه توشب موندان ۱۵ چاقرم یرده بورنغی بلغار شهرنیک خرابه لارنی کوردم اورنده بر روس اولی ایکن ن آثار عتیقه لاردان بر ماناره ینه بر زورقه بار ایدی اچنده اسکی قبرستان دان چقمش آدام سویه ک لارنی تولترب یلغان ایدی هم بایتاق قنه زیارتقه قولمش یازولی سنگان تاش لارده بار ایدی عربجه یازلمش ایدی بعضی برسند آزارق اوقوغه بولا ایدی اورام ده روس بالالاری استاریننی دینکه (آقچه) ساتامز آلا سزمو دیب ققرب یوریلار ایدی قایسی روس لار صارق (باراین) ساتامز دیب یوریلار ایدی. بعضی کئی لار کیلب بورنغی مسلمان لار زیارتینه بارب قربان چالا تورغان بولغان لار. بو ایسه اسلام دیننده /79b/ درست بولماغان بولسه ده نادان خالق لار قربان چالب ارواح لاردن یاردم تلی تورغان بولغان لار. حاضر کونده اوزبکستان ده بولغان کبک بولارعه

حضرت علی زیارتی دیب بارب بعضی بر اورن لارده قربان چالب قبردان یاردم تلیلار. بیچاره نادان خالق لارنی خاتن قرلانی سولای اشاندرب صوری قورت لارایشان لار مونده کوب بولادر.

بلغار خرابه لرینه بارغان وقتده قزان نک بورنایف محله سینک امامی شاکر حضرت دیکان کشتی هم باشقه زیارتقه باروچیلار بارایدی پراحوط ده برکه بارب خرابه نی برکه کورب یوردک بولار بله قایتب پراحوط پرستینه کیلدوک آلاقرانغه قایتب کیتدیلار میکا بوکون ساماراغه کیتوکه پراحوط بولماو سبیلی کاتورده یوقلارغه توری کیلدی ایرته سی کون ایرتوک پراحوط بولب کیتدم مونده یتب سامارا شهرینی بر ایکی کون کورب آندان ساراتف شهرینه کیتدم پراحوط بله ن

ایندی موندان پاکراوسکی اسلاباده شهرینه چغب فولغا آشا ساراتف نک قارشوسنده اورالسکی گه بارا تورغان تیمر یول بوینده آزینکه دیکان استانسه بیلیت آلدیم برنیچه استانسه اورالسکی یتمای در. بو استانسه ده آنامز مرحومه بله ن بر توغمه آعامز تورا دیب آنامزدان اشدوب بله ایدم. درست آدریسنی بله سه م ده توکل بارب توشدم تیریاق لارنده ۱۵-۲۰ چاقرم یراقلق ده باشقرط اول لاری بار ایکان توکل کون باتقان وقتدن ات یاللاب کیتدم تون گه قارشی بر باشقورط بارب یتدک بولاردان سورادم عزه الله ویوللین کشتی نی بله سز مودیه. بار بزنگ اولده تورا دیدیلار. ممکن بولسه تونه بارب بولماس یورطینه رحصت ایته گز بوکیچه سزده قونارم ده ایرته لاب بارر ایدم دیدم یارای دیدیلار کیترگه ن ایزفوشچیک که حاقن توله دم ده ازاتدم. ایرته لاب ایونی سوراب بارسام اول حاضر ایوده یوق ۵۰ چاقرم بر بازارغه کیتدی بای لارعه اوراق اوررغه یاللانورغه دیدیلار اون کون سز قایتماس دیدیلار میکا ده قین بولب قالدی خبر یررگه ممکن بولماسی دیب سورادم ممکن براز کوب یا تورغه کیره ک بولور دیب یونس اسملی یاخشی عنه کشتی باشقرطجه کییزدن تکگان ایو بار آزراق بیه ده ساوا قمزده بار شوشی یونس آغا قوناق بزده توررسن /80a/ خبر کیل گه ن چی دیب مونده اون یاتب ۱۱ نچی کون دیگانه آنه آعاگر قایتب توشدی دیدیلار بیچاره یالان غه اول یاینه آق



بوزدان چاطر تگب یاتا. کیز ایو یوق باشقرطلار عاتچه جای کونی قشلاق ده تورمیلار بوده چاطر بولسه ده شولار قاتارانده یوری ئیکه ن فایرمدان قاراب یاتام بیچاره اکرن گنه آتلاب میکاکیله ایدی. کیلب کورشدی مینی اول یاخشی بلهی ده ایدی. سرلارنی آغامز دیب زیارتکه کیلدم استریلیاشدان آپاگز: علمه اوغلی عبدالمجید بولامن دیدم. ایتدم بله ن مسکین یاشن آغزب قوچاقلاب دنیاده مینی ده توغان ایتب کیلب کورشوچی بار ایکان دیب یلی دعاء قیلدی ده مینی چومادان لارمینی کوتارب چاطرینه آلب قایتدی چنگامز هه م ایکی اوغلی براوی عبدالمجید ایکنجسی عبادة الله اسملی ایدی. ایکنچی کون قوی صویب دوست لارن چاقرب مینی قوناق ایتب باشقه کئی لارده قوناق بولب برنچه کوندان اوزینک قول آطنی جبک استانسه غه اولترتب یولمه دیب ۳ صوم آچه بیرب ازاتدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن بیک یوواش بیک یاخشی آدم ایدی.

موندان اوربوح استانسه سی آشا الیکساندر گای گه بیلت ئالب یونالدم یولده ناوا اوزینسکی دیگان قالاغه توشدم. سببی ایسه مونده پیتراو یارمینکه سی ایکان بوایسه ایول باشلارنده ایدی بو یارمینکه گه مینم بارغان اسنبای اولندان یکوچییلار بولماس می دیب اویلادم چونکه بوندان آتامزنک سویلاوینه قاراب اسنبای اول کئی لار مونده مال ساتوغه کیله لار دیب قزاق چه چورطان لی دیب یورته لار ایکان. یارمینکه بارب مال بازارینه توقتام بله ن یارا تورغان اولمزدان آتامزنک شاگردی صبعت الله عطاء الله اوغلی اسانبایف نی اوچراتدم تانور تاماس کیلب سلام بیردم قاراب توردی ده اوی بای مجید ایماس مودیوینه شولای دیدم. مینده برون باروم سببلی بوکشینی آزغنه توسمرلادم. یه مینی آلب قایتوگز دیدم یاخشی بوکون کونامز ایرته ن کیچ لاتب یوررمز دیدی موندان اسنبای اولی توقسان چاقرم ایدی چونکه بولار مال لارنی ساتب بتمگان ایدی.

کیچ بولغاچ یالانغه قونارغه کیتدک چونکه تونله مال لارنی آشارغه کیره ک ایدی شول سببلی یالانده قونالار. کیچن یالانده یوقلادق. باشقه قزاق لارده تیره یاغمزده کوب ایدی. ایرته لاب تورسام صبعة الله ایتدی ایرته

لاب مین دالادان موناوی کاغزلارنی تاب آلم دیدی قاراسام مینم توش کسه مده بولغان پاسپورتلارم و باشقه کاغزلار آزماز /sob/ آچه م ده بار ایدی کسه منی قاراسام پچق بله ن یارب آغانلار حیریت کسه مه تکان ۱۵ صوم لق بر آلتوم بار ایدی شول تورب قالغان بولاری اسان بولغاچ هم م باشپورت قالغان قوواندم. ایکنچی کون ینه یارمینکه گه چغوب آلامال لرنی ساتب کیچ تابا تویه آربا بله ن قایتوغه چغب کیتدک اراده بر کون قونب سلامت توغان آلم اسنبای اولین قایتب کیتدک هر قایسی کیلب کورشب اوی بای قایدان کیلب قالدک دیب ملا اسانی آبصطای اسان می دیب سوراشه باشلادیلر. تانوماغان کشتی لار بو کم نوغای بالا دیب ایته لار ایدی بیاغی اوزمزنک صاری ملا نک بالاسی قاراملا دیه لار ایدی چونکه قزاق لار مینم آتامنی صاری توسلی بولوی بله ن صاری ملا دیب یورتکه ن لار ایکه ن. بومینم بو اول غه کیلوم ایکنچی مرتبه ایدی. مونده بر ایکی آینی قوناق بولب موندان ۶۰ چاقوم یالپاقطال غه برتای منوب بارب معلوم عیدالله حضرت ده بر هفته قوناق بولب قایتدم ده سنتابر باشلارنده استرلیباشقه قایتب کیتدم یوللق آچه بیردیلا ره م آتامزغه ده بر آز بیردیلا شولای ایتب ۵۰-۶۰ صوم آچه بله ن قایتب جیتدم قایتوم بله ن مدرسه گه اوقورغه کردم چونکه شریک لاروم اوقوغه کیل گه ن ایدیلار. شولای ایتب منه بوقش نی اوقب چقدم یاز بولسه بورنغی چه آت آلب لیمون سودا سینه توتنا ایدم کوزکه قدر هم م اول لارغه یورب کوکای ده جیب قایتور ایدم شولای بار ایدم. ۱۹۰۱ نچی ییل ده ینه شول قازغستان غه اسنبای اولین هم ده یالپاقطاب غه بارب حای کونلارده یورب قایتدم ۱۹۰۳ نچی ییل ده ینه ایول آیلارنده شولوق اسنبای اولین باردم مینم فکرم استانبول مکه مدینه گه بارو ایدی شوکارعه بر یول تاجمام مودیب یرو ایدی ینه یالپاقطال غه باردم عیدالله حضرت که برنچه کون قوناق بولب تورغاچ مین حضرت که فکرم نی چیشدم. بزگه بر یاردم قیلسه گزمین مدینه گه اوقورغه بارر ایدم دیدم حج باروچی قزاق لار بولسه شولارغه خدمت ایتب بولسه ده کیتار ایدم اگر ده سز لار قزاق لارغه ایتسه گز دیدم. حضرت ده قارشو ایتادی یاری بر او یلاب کوریک دیدی. مونده

براز توقتلارغه توغری کیلدی. سنتابر آخرلاری یاقلاب قالدی حضرت نک اوغلی هدیه الله هه م برنچه قزاق شاکردلاری قارغالی غه اوقوغه باراچاق لارایدی. /81a/ مین ده شولار بله ن برگه قیتوغه اولادام صامارغه قدرلی آندان مین آیرلب اوفاغه کیتدم آلا ر اورنوخ کیته چه ک لارایدی. یاری برکون حضرت ایتدی یاری آتا آناگز دان رخصت آلب زاگراچی پاشپورت آلب روزه نک آخرلارنیه قدر کیلب جیت دیدی بیرام دان صوک حاجی لار یولغه چغاچاق لار دیدی شوندان مین بوابده شله رم بله ن برگه یولغه چغب الیکساندر گای استانسه دان ساراتف غه بیلت آلب کیتدک ساراتف دان صمارغه پراحوط بله ایکنچی کلاسقه ۴ صوم ۵ تین گه بیلت آلب صامارغه جیتدک. شونده مین ابداش له رمه دیدم ایده گز مینم بله ن قزان غه بارگز مین ده ایندی استانبولغه کیده چک من بر یوروب قرانی کورب بر تاریخی اش بولوب قالور دیدم بولارده مصلحت دیدیلار ده آرتق باگاژلانی پراحوط کاتورینه تابشرب شول کوننی بارمزده پراحوط بله ن قزانغه یونالدک قزان غه بارب برنچه کون کورله چه ک اورن لارنی کورب بولارنی ینه صامارغه ازاتب اوزم کالینسکی پراحوط نه اولترب اوفاغه کیتدم. ایدل بوینده چالی دیکان پرستین گه قوشب موندان ۷۰ چاقم آتامزک اولی قارامالیغه باردم باروم تنک سببی اول وقت مینم پاسپورطم شول قارامالی فولصندان آلب یورر ایدم. اساس مین شول اولزه توغان کورنه ایدم. مینده فولص دان هه م استانواوی اناچالنیک میلیتسه دان اوزمه زکارنیتسکه اوقوغه کیامن گوبرنا توردان زاگراچی پاشپورت آوغه اسپرافقه ئالدم در. شوندان منزله شهرینه باردم چونکه مین منزله اوپازینه قاری ایدم مینزله اسپرافنیکدان اسپرافکه آلب ایکنچی کون پراحوط بله ن اوفاغه یونالدک بار باوفا غوپرناطورنه عریضه منی بیرب باغشقه ۱۵ صوم آچه تولارگه قوشدی تولاب کاپیتانسانی تابشرب ایکنچی کون بارب آتی ایلق پاشپورت آلب چقدم بو ۱۹۰۴ ییل ۴ نچی نویابرده ایدی. موندان استریلیباشینه قایتدم صوکه آتامز هه م آتامز غهه ایتدم مین ایندی رحصت ایتسه گز مین مدینهء منوره گه اوقورغه کیتامن دیب برسوزدان اوقوغه باررغه راضی مز خدا بزگه ده بر یاردم بیرر دیدیلارده

نیچوک کیتنه سن دیدیلار مینم ایتدم مونه آتی ایلق زگرانیچنی پاشبورط آلب قایتدم صوکره یالپاقطال عیدالله حضرت ایتدی آتا آناگز رخصت بیرسه لار پاسپورط آلب کیل ده موندان قزاق حاجی لارینه قوشب بیرمن یولده آلارنک تیوشلی خدمت لارنی قیلورسن ینه آلا ر روسچه بلمی لار ترجمان لق قیلورسن دی شوکا اشانب مین نیت قیلدم دیدم<sup>399</sup> /81b/ قولده آزارق آقچه بار ایدی ۴۵ صوم غه آتم نی صاتب آغای انی قرداشلار آزماز یاردم قیلدیلا ر شولای ایتب مین دیکابر باشلارنده رمضان آینده سفرگه چغارغه بولدم. آتامز رحمت لی معلوم چیزنامز نیاز علی ایکی آت جیگوب مینی ازاتورغه شافران استانسینه آلب کیتدیلا ر. مندان اولنده سلیمان آغا کیرایف دیگان کشیگه کیلب قونب ایرته سی کون شفرانغه باردق بو اولدان شفران آتی چاقرم ایدی الیکساندروگای استانسه سینه بیلت آلب شول کونی پوزدعه اولتردم آتکام وضع پویزد قوزعالغاچ آرتمدان یگروب کیلب یغلاب دعاء قیلب قالدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن آمین یاغم ده ۵۵ صوم ایلی بیش صوم آقچه قالدی توکل خدا دیب یونالدیم<sup>400</sup> پینزا ساراتف آرقلی الیکساندروگای گه بارب توشدم بوسفر روسییه ده یاپون صوعشی وقتی ایدی یولده عسکرکوب بیک طغزلق بولدی الیکساندروگای دان ۹۰ چاقرم یالپاقطالغه یونالدیم. رمضان اینک یکریمی لاری ایدی حضرتکه کیلب توشدم حال احوالی بیان قیلدم یاخشی دیدی. مونه مینده بر قزاق قارتی امانت اوچ یوز صوم آقچه تابشرب ایدی مینم اچون بر رکشی نی بیرب حاج قیلدرسن دیب بایتاق وقت اوتب کیتدی آز آقچه دیب حاجعه باروچی بولمای تورادر. سین اوقوغه باراساک آز بولسه ده شوشی امانت نی مین سیکا بیررگه ایولادم سلامت بارب حاج قیلساک اول قازاق لارنک بالارینه تابشو اچون حاج قیلغان لق شهادت نامه سن بیررسن دیدی. بو ییل غه قولگز غه ۱۲۵ صوم بر یوز یکریمی بیش صوم نی بیره من باروگرغه یتب تورر سین بیت آنده بر ئچ ییل قلاسن

399 [In the margin: مدینه منوره گه باررگه سبچی ولی نعمتم عید الله حضرت در الله رحمتده بولسون آمین]

400 [In the margin: بوایسه استرلیباشدان چغب کیتدم]

کیله سی یل ینه شولای بیررسن دیدی بلکه یولده یوغالتب قالددرسن شونک  
 اچون آزلاب بیررسن دیدی. نصیب بولسه باروچی حاجی لاری بلب قویدم  
 آلا ر برکه برکه آلب باررمز دیدیلار روزه عیدنی اوقوبله ن سفرکه چغاررسن  
 دیدی. بو وقتده ارشاک باش قارامالی اولی حییب الرحمن ملا اوغلی  
 اسحاقف عبدالمجید قاری ختم قیلماق ده ایدی روزه نک آخرغی اون کوننده  
 ملا لار قارتلار مسجد که کروب یاتب شونده اون کون تورلار ایدی ایوکه  
 قایتماس دان مسجد ده آشاب اچب یوقلاب یاتورلار ایدی. دین رسمی  
 بوینجه بو (اعتکاف دیکان) بر سنت عمل لاردان حساب /82a/ قنور ایدی.  
 آداس قاری بله ن بزلا ر حضرت نک قوناغی بولوسبیلی شهرکه بای لارغه  
 اوظارغه بز بارر ایدک چونکه حضرتکه مسجد دان چغب یوررکه یارامی  
 در آداس قاری بیک آبرویلی ایدی اوستده قامالی تیین تون موین ده مامق  
 شارف چالماده بیک آق مین بولسام بر اول مالای اوستده ناچار ایاق ده  
 آلاما بورگی باش ده اسکی گنه قارا بورک بای لارنک یاخشی آت چانالاینه  
 ینه شه اولترب کینه مز قاری افندی پوش پوش کیلب بارا ایدی مینم یاننده  
 اولترب باردیم. شوندان قدر کچه سی دیکان ۲۷ رمضان ده بولادر شول کون  
 قاری ختم نی تمام قیله چه ق در بوکیچ تراویح نمازنده کشی بیک بولادر  
 چونکه بردان ختم ایکنچی دان قدر کیچه سی در. ختم دان صوک جماعت  
 قاری غه هم ملا و مؤذن لارکه غریب قارت لارغه صدقه بیررلار ایدی.  
 بلکه میکا بر یاردم بولور نیتی بله ن ایتسه کیره ک سین تراویح قه آلدان راق  
 بارب آغه راق اولتررغه طرش دیدی مینده خالق غه اشاره قیلورمن آزماز  
 صدقه بیررلار اوقوغه باروچی شاکرد کشیگه آز بولسه ده یاردم بولور دیدی.  
 آزمی کوبی آچه توشدی ایرته سی کون آداس قاریمز خفا بولب قالغان مونه  
 یاتسز نیچک اویمالی حضرت لار یانینه بارب اولترغان حضرتک توغانی  
 منی نیچه کوندان بیرلی یاتا ۰۲ صوم قدر آچه توشکه ن ایدی آداسمز کشی  
 لاردان سورای ایمش کوبی آچه جیدی ئیکه ن دیب مین ده آنی خفا قیلور  
 اچون ۰۵ صوم توشدی دیب خبر تاراتدم مونی اشذب بیک نق خفا بولغان.  
 یاری روزه بتدی عید ده بتدی یولداس قزاق حاجی لارم ده عید که

کیلدیلار عیددان صوک کینه چه ک بولدق. آقتق حضرت بله ن اسان لاشرکه قالدی ایندی آچه کوتوب اولترغانده بر یگت حضرت که بر زاییسکه بیردی مونی اوقدی ده حضرت نک توس لاری بزلب اورنندان تورب کیتب مین ده نه اشئ بار مانقه بوق کم آرقاسنده کئی بولب یورکانئ بله ای دیب شوندای آچو سوزلار بله ن بر اولتره بر تورا البته آنک سوزینه قارامادی مین آندان سوریم منی آنک مین کم ایکان بله منی دیب ۱۲۵ صوم آچه نی میکا بیرویده اسان لاشب ایودان چقدق مینم ده بوندای حسدلک قیلوغه بیک کوکلم دان رنجوب ای خدایم خیرلی سفر نصیب ایت سلامت مدینهء منوره گه باروب اوشبو کلام الله نی حفظ قیلب قایتب شوشی مسجد ده ختم ایتسام ایدی دیب 82b/ یغلاب خداغه تله ک قیلدم. هه م او یلاغانم چه بولب چقدی چن لاب یلا ساک صوقر کوزدان یاش چغا دیلار درست ایمش هه م جناب الله کلام ده ایته وَاِذَا سَأَلَكَ عِبَادِي عَنِّي فَإِنِّي قَرِيبٌ أُجِيبُ دَعْوَةَ الدَّاعِ إِذَا دَعَانِ فَلْيَسْتَجِيبُوا لِي وَلْيُؤْمِنُوا بِي لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْشُدُونَ<sup>401</sup> فی سورة البقرة آمننا وصدقنا شولای ایتب یولداش بوله تورغان حاجی لارم مینی بر گه آلب اول لارینه کیتدک مدینهء منوره سفری

یالپاقطالغه ۸ چاقم آق کول دیکان یرده بو حاجیمز نک اولی ایدی بو یولداشم نک اسمی تیمرالی ایدی بو کیچ ده م،نده قوندق کیچ بله ن قوی صویب کورشی آغا وانی لارنی جیب قوناق ایتدی آلا ر بله ن وداع لاشب ازاتوب بیردی بو کیل گه ن کئی لار هر قایسی بو تیمرالی آغاغه یاردم ایتدی لار ایره سی کون موندان قوزغالب کیتب یولداش بوله تورغان ایکنچی حاجی مز نک اولینه باردق آنده ینه بر کیچ قونب یوقاریداغی چه آغا انی لاری بله ن بحیل لاشب هه م زیارت لارینه بارب اولگان لارغه قرآن اوقب کیتدک بو کیلش اسملی ایدی ینه اوچنچی کون باطر ملا دیگان ینه بر یولداش قوشلب مینم توغان اولم اسنبا ی اولینه بارب قوندق ایکنچی کون بیش آتی قزاق یولداش لارمز ایله ن المالی استانسه سینه یونالدک (ایکساندر وگای)

401 [Q 2:186.]

موندان ۴۵ قرق بیش چاقمدر. ینه برنیچه حاجغه باروچی قزاقلار مونده ینه کیلب قوشلب بارمز برگه اوچنچی کلاسه چیواستاپولغه بیلیت آلوب یونابدک خیرلی سفر بولسن دیب ساراتف حارکوف آرقلی چیواستاپولغه بار یتدک. یولده فاعون ده بوقزاق لارغه قوی قورتی نی تاباق غه ایزب اجارگه حاضرلاب بیره ایدم قارنغی توراشم قورت ایزو مخصوص فاعونده بارر ایدک حاجی لاردان باشقه کشی لار یوق ایدی. بودیکابر آی لارنده ایدی کون لار صووق چیفواستاپولده بر ییشش تورددق مینده پاشپوردلارمزنی ریگستراویت ایتدک پراحوط قه یتارلک حاجی لارغه جیلوسبیلی پراحوط کیتته چه ک بولدی حاجی لارغه مخصوص روسکی اوبشستوانک (ساریتسه) دیکان پراحوط ایدی. 83a/ بیلیت حاق لاری چیفاستاپولدان جدده گه قدر اوچنچی قلاص قه بارب قایتوغه ۱۰۵ صوم یوزده بیش صوم ایدی باروغا غنه ۵۵ صوم ایدی البته بزدا ی اوقوغه باروچیلارغه آورلق قیلور ایدی بزلا ر بای حاجی لار توکل. شوندان صوک برنیچه اوقوغه بارا تورغان شاکردلار پراحوظ کاتتورینه عریضه بیردک بز حاجی توکل اوقوغه باروچیلار بزلا گه بوش بیلت بیرسه ایکان دیه اول وقت لارده اوقوچی شاکردلارگه قولنده شهادت نامه سی بولسه یارطی بیلت بیرلار ایدی دیمه ک ۵۰ پراسینت کیغنه ایدی کاتتور بزگه جواب بیردی سز اوچینیک لار بوش بیرب بولمای اسکدکه بله ن یارطی حاق غه بیره مز دیب جواب بیردی. قاچان گه حاجی لار پراحوظقه قروب بتسون لار سزلار آخرغه قالوگژ شوندان صوک کررسز دیب هم م شولای اشلاب بزلا رگه جدده گه قدرلی ۲۷ صوم ۴ بیلیت بیردی لار پاشپورط لارمز نک بر تالون جز تب آلب قالب پراحوط قه اوتکازدی لار بو وقت کیچ ساعت اون لار ایدی. مونده کوزنیتسکی اویازی بلده نکلی اولینک اسکندر مندائف دیکان ایداش بله ن تانشب برگه تاباق داش بولب اولترب کیتدک بومندائف ایسه مصرغه اوقورغه بارا ایدی فابریکانت دیردیف لار حسابدان اوزی قرآن حافظ ایدی اولا قرانده عالمجان حضرت مدرسه سنده اوقمش در. چیفاستاپولدان تونکی ساعت ۱۲ لارده استانبول غه قاراب دینگرگه کرب کیتدک پراحوظمزرده یدی یوز قدر اوزبک قازاق قرغز قریم هم

م باشه لار بار ایدی پراحوط ده یولداش قزاق لارم برده طنچ لق بیرمی باشلادیلار بز اوچنچی قاتده آلا ر آستاغی قاتقه اولترغان ایدیلار آقوشچی بالا توره ایزمونی ایزب بیرسه م آش پشر آندان صوک چای قاینات دیب بر مینوت بوشلق یوق ایدی مینده اویلان ب بولماسه بونلارنی تاشلارغه کیره ک دیب تاشلارغه اویلادم الی بو پراحوطده ۱۰نچی کون ده آغریق قیلدی جده گه قدر ۱۵ کون باررغه کیره ک استانبولده ده بولار بوشاتماسلار یوری تواغان اورن لارنی کوره آلام دیب بولارغه ایتدم رخصت ایتگز مین سرگه خدمت قیله آلمین استانبولده مین شهرده تاماشا قیلب یورسه م سزلارگه وقتنده آش چای حاضرلاوچی بولماس سزده رنجب قالورسز بوخدای یولی حج سفری ده برای براونی رنجتوگه یارامی ئلی باراسی سفرمز کوب دیدم سزلارده کون توت آشاواچو قایشی میکا شهرلارنی کورب سیاحت قایغسی . شول سببلی سزدان آیرلورغه توغری کیله دیدم . بولار اوز آرا مصلحت قیلشوب اوسی بالا اوزی ترلو کورنه دیب مینی آزاد قیلدیلار /83b/ برکون قارا دینگرده بارب اوچنچی کون ایرته ن یاتورغه بوسفورغه کردک استانبول نک بعضی نبالاری کورنه دیب شادلق بله ن گوژکیله لار ایدی . پراحوطمز باشینه تورلی فلاک لار کوتاردی حکومتکه سلام بیروهه م حاجیلارغه مخصوص یاشل کراتین فلاکلاری جلبرداب کیله پراحوطمز آقرغنه بارر ایدی استانبولدان قارشی بوکسیر پراحوطی کیلب پرسین گه پراحوطنی آلب کره در ایدی چونکه بوسفورده دینگر پراحوطلاری کوب یروسبیلی قارشی برلوا احتمالی بولغان لقدان پراحوط اوزینک یورشن توقتاب فقط بو بوکسیر گنه آلب یورر ایدی . استانبولنک استه سینه پراحوط کیلب توقتادی بوسفورده ماتور بله ن تورک ناچالنیکلاری کیلب پراحوطقه کروب تفتیش قیلوب شهرگه کررگه رخصت کاعدی بیردیلار . شوندان شهرنک اسکالا سینه بارب توقتادق دینگر بوینده پراحوطقه قارشی توشکان بارده قزل فسلی خالق لار کوب ایدی بر اولار قققره حاجیلار کوبی بر اولاری قداق اوزبک لار باری دی پراحوطمزده یدی یوز حاجی بار دیب جواب بیردیلار . شوندان پراحوط کاپیتانی چغب حاجی لارغه



اعلان قیلدی استانبولده بش کون تورامز باغاژلارکرنی آلب توشمه گز ایرته ن چغب شهرده یورب کیچن پراحوط قه قایتب قونارسز دیه. پراحوطنک تیره سنده تورک پولیس لاری (پالیتسه سکی) لاری کیمه لارینک باشقه آی یولدزلی فلاک قاداغان خالق نک توشکانن قاراب کیمه بله ن حاجی لارنی توغری کمرک خانه بیرلارایدی (تاموژنه) کیمه بلان کیلب کمرک خانه توقتاب سرای غه کرتدیلار مونده قولمزدان پاسپوررطلارمزی آلب قالب ئوزمزی شهرگه چغارب بیردیلار هرکم بله گه ن کشیلارنده ازلاب کیتدی حاجی لارنی کوبراک دلیل لار یول باشچیلر آلب کیتدیلار ایندی قازاقلاردان ایرلب کیتدم مین چیفاستاپولده برگه ن اولترغان یولداشم اسکندر مندائف بله ن برگه چغب کیتدک قایده بارامز ایندی مین ایتدم مینم بر آی موندان ئلک کیلگان اییداشلارم بار ئدریس لاری بله ن شولارنی تابوب آلمم کیره ک دیدم. هم اولداشم اولمزده اوط کورشی سی ایدی عبدالله دیگان یاققاش نی تابوم کیره ک دیدم اولده بو عبدالله احمدی اوغلی پرگاچ دیب لقب قیلورلار ایدی بو عبدالله حاجی ۱۸۹۵نجی ییلارده استانبولغه هجرة قیلب کیتکان ایدی حانتی شولایوق اولده کورشمز سعیده عیید الله شریف قزی ایدی. اسکندر یولداشم ایتدی مینده تانش آدام گه ازلاب بارام دیدی چونکه اولدان آنک /84a/ اسمینه ۱۰۰۰ بر مک صوم آچه پراواد قیلغان ایدیلار شونک اچون بوکشینی تابشم کیره ک ایرلشدم ده ایرته گه فلان ساعت فلان یرده اوچراشورمز قایسمز کیل سه ده شونده کوتب توررمز دیب آیرشدرق چنبرلی تاش محله سندان استرلیباشنده برگه اوقغان کمال الدین علام الدین اوغلی رحیم قولف استرلیباشقه یاقن که رکه لی اولندان اینچی یولداشم عید محمد میر علی اوغلی احمر ف استرلیباشنده یاش وقتمزدان باشلاب برگه اوقغان شریکم ایدی. بولارنی تابوب آلب بوکیچ بولارده قوندم. ایرته لاب شهرگه چغب کیتدک هم وعده لاشکان اورنغه مندائف ده یکلمش ایدی. مینم اس باش کیم تاتارچه بولو سبیلی اورام لارده خیرچی لار آرتمدان قالمدی حاجی ویر دیب تله ک قیلور ایدی بولار قایده بارساک ده بروی کوب شول سبیلی مجبور بولدم اس

باشنی مونداغ چه کینورگه مگازین غه کردم ده استامه پالته آیاق غه شیبلیت باشقه قزل فس هه م غالستوق قویب شونده کیندم ده اسکی کیم لارنی مگازین خواجه سینه کیچ قه قدرلی امانت قیلب قالدردم ده چغوب کیندم ایندی یاورپیس بولب آلام اورام لارده حاجی ویر دیب صراوچی لارده یوق بولب قالدی.

ایندی بو یولداش لارمز ایله ن برابر شهرنی کوررگه باشلادق انچی مونچه غه بارب یونب چقدق آندان آیاصوفیه جامع سینه بارب کوردک هه م باشقه تیوشلی اورن لارنی کورب بوکون نی کیچ ایتب کیچنده (اوتیل گه لوقانظه غه) بزنگ چه عاستینسه گه بارب قونارغه سویلاشدک ده کیچن بارب قونب ایرته ن جمعه کون بولو بله ن جمعه نامازینه سلطان عبد الحمید جامع سینه یالدر سرای دیلان شهرنده جمعه غه کیتدک فایتون آلب اوتوردق بارب مسجد یانینه توقتاب شونده جمعه وقتده کوتب توردق کوچیملک مسجد تیره سی عسکر بله ن اوراتلب آغان ایدی ریشوتکه نک طش یاعنده توردق باشقه نیچه مک لار حاجی و باشقه کئی لارده کوب ایدی. مسجد که جمعه نی سلطان اوقب چقمی تورب باشقه لانری مسجد که کرتی لار ایدی. وقت جیتدی بر وقت برنیچه فایتون لار بله هه م آطلی ساچیلر بله ن پاشالار (مینسترلار) هه م بار ایدی سلطان کیلب مسجد که کرب کیتدی جمعه اوقغان دان صوک چغب قایتب کیتدی لار. قاراول عسکر لارده پولک پولک دوحوای موزیقه لاری بله ن قایتو یاغنه یونالدیلار. حاضر بز لارگه کرب نماز اوقورغه رخصت بولدی. کردک مسجد ده سلطان نک ایشکی باشقه بولب شوندا کوب باسقیچ بله ن یوقاریغه چغار ایکان یوقاریده بر بولمه ریشوتکه لی سلطان نمازنی شونده اوزینک مینسترلاری بله ن اوقی ایکان /84b/ جمعه دان قایتب آشخانه ده آشاب چقدق ده میکا حاضر یوقاریده یازلغان عبدالله حاجی نی تاب آشم کیره ک آندان استانبولده کوب ییل لار مهاجر بولوب تروجی عبدالرشید افندی تاب کور شرگه کیره ک ایدی بو افندی بوگمه اویازی ملا صوی بوینده چوبار اولندان ایدی آتامزنگ توغان قارامالی اولینه ۲۰ چاقوم لق یول ایدی بعضی وقت لار روسیه غه آغانی لارینه قوناق بولب قایتغان

وقتده استریلبش قه کیلب بزگه توشار ایدی آتامز مرحوم نک یاقن زامانداش لارندان بولو سبیلی بوکشی نی کوررگه هوسم بار ایدی. ایداش لارم بله ن سویلاشب مین شول یرگه بارامن سزنک بله ن کیچ فلان یزده اچراشورمز دیب کیتدم. عبدالله افندی کوررگه کیره ک چونچه بزنگ اول اولمزده اوت کورشسی ایدی ایکنچی دان پراحوط دان توشکان وقت ده کاپیتان جده گه قدر ۱۳ صودقه اون اوچ کونلک یولمز بار شوگا یتارلک یول آزق لارگرنی آلوگز دیب اعلان قیلغان ایدی دینگر: یولی ده نیندای آزق آلوغه نه رسه لار باشقه کیره ک بزنگ بلهاومز سبیلی عبدالله افندی بزگه تیوشلی آزق و باشقه کیره ک لارنی آلب بیرر دیب او یلاب کروومز مطلوب ایدی آنی تابب ئالب ایداش لار یانینه کیلدم یولداشم اسکندر مندائف قه ایتدم مونه مینم همشیری بو بزگه یولغه کیره ک لی نه رسه لارنی آلب بیرر دیدم اوده مصلحت دیب برنیچه صوم آچه بیردی ده بارن اوزلشقان ایندی دیدی شوندان عبد الله افندی بله ن بال قپال بازارینه بارب کیره ک نه رسه لارنی آلا باشلادق ایکه ک پینز (سیر) مای دگی سوخاری آش پشرگه مانغال (اوجاق) کوک چای شیکرنی کیره ک بارنده آلدق ده ایکی حمال (ناسیلشیک) آلب پراحوط قه آلب کیلکد کیمنخ بله ن بارنده پراحوطقه کرتدک ایرته ن کیده جک بولدق موندان آساس شریک عید محمد احمر ف ده بزنگ بله کوگه ایولاب اولده پراحوطمرگه کردی. ینه برنیچه اوقوغه باروچی اوزمزنک تاتارلاردان ایداشلار کدریلار آلا ر استانبولغه بورنراق کیلگان لار ایکان بولار برسی بلبای اویازی اق بوی تمتق اولینه یاقن میر علی شیر ایکنچی سی حارث زاهدق چوققارلی اولی سراپول اویازی قدرلی اولی بوبی ده اوقغان اچنچی ضیاء الدین رحمانقولف اورسکی ده احمد لطیف حضرت ده اوقغان استاوراپول اویازینکی بارمز آلتی یولداش بررگه قارانداس بولب استانبولدان یونالدک خیرلی یول آمین.

مرمره دینگرینه یتدک هه م داردانیل بوغازن اوتب آق دینگرغه بارب چقدق آق دینگرده (سریدیمینی مور) برنیچه کون یورب پورت سعید شهرینه یتدک برکونلک یولدان پورت سعید دان بیوک اورندان پراژیکتور بله ن دینگرگه یاقتی لق بیرر لار ایدی. /85a/ پورت سعید که کیل گه چ یولداشمز اسکندر

مندائف که پراحوط دان توشارگه بولدی چونکه اول مصرغه بارچاق ایدی کاپتان پراحوطنک بر کیمه سنی بیرب بر ماتروس بله ن چغارب بیردی بزلاز خیرلاشب اسکندریه پورت سعید شهرینه ازاتب بیردک موندان مصر (قاهره) پویزد بله ن ۶ ساعت آتی ساعت لک یول ایدی پراحوط مزکانال بله ن یورب کیندی (یعنی سوايش قنالی بله ن) قانال ئشله نگان ۱۸۶۹ نچی میلادی ده مصرده سعید پاشا زماننده شونک اچون پورت سعید دیب اسم بیرلگان . قانال نک اوزنلغی ۱۸۴ کیلومیتر کیک لگی اوستان (۱۰۰) میتر توبندان (۲۲) میتر باشده تیرانلگی ۸ میتر حاضرده کوبراک در . یولده قانال اچنده اسماعیلیه دیکان کول گه اوچراب شونده پراحوط یکر سالب توقتادی . چونکه بوکون ۲۵ نچی دیکابر روسلارنک رازدیستوا بیراملاری ایدی مونده کاپتان و ماتروسلاز بر کون بیرام ایتدیلاز کونلار بیک اسسی بولو سبیلی کاپتان دان رخصت صورادق صوکرر ایدک دیه پراحوط یانینه بر کیمه توشردیده شول کیمه گه توشب چیشنب صوکررک . ایکنچی کون موندان یونالب سویش شهرینه بارب جیتدک مصدران آغاتورغان نیل مبارک صوی شوشنده کیلب قانال غه قویا ایکان پراحوط برنیچه ساعت لار توقتاب پراحوط قه صوآلدی صونی عربلاز کیمه بله ن کیترلار ایدی آندان ناصوص بله ن پراحوط قه آلالار ایدی . صو آلب تمام بولو بله ن بحر احمر (کراسنی مور) که قراب یونالدک . پراحوطده بوکون مکه مکرمه شریف لارینک یاقنلارندان سید عبدالله جفری اسملی استانبولده دار الفنون ده اووقچی طلبه لار ایکان قانقول غه قایتب بارا ایکان بربرمز ایلان تانشب برگه یولداش بولب اویناب کولب بارامز سید عبدالله ماطور غنه قاراراق توسده ساچی بیورا یاروپاچه کاستوم گالستوک ده ایدی برنیچه کوندان صوک پراحوطمز ینبع پریشتنه یتب یارغه جیتاسدان ۱۰۰ تا یاق قدرلی برگه یه کر تاشلادی ده پراحوط توقتادی بو ینبع مدینهء منوره گه کیتنه تورغان پریشتن ایدی موندان مدینه توه بله ن بیش کونلک یول در . حج دان بورن مدینه بار تورغان حاجی لار مونده توشدیلاز توغری جده گه باروچی حاجی لار هم م بزلاز جده گه کیتدک . ینبع ده پراحوط یانینه عرب بالالاری یوزب کیلب ویر حاجی دیب خیر سورارلار ایدی کؤبکک جیلشوب کیلب

کون بوینه آياقلاری بله ن صوده یوزب تورلار ایدی ویر حاجی الله سلامت مملکت سلامت دیب قققرالار /85b/ بچاره حاجی لار قزق کورب اون تین لک یکریمی تین لک کومش تنکه نی دینگرگه ارغورتورلار ایدی تنکه صوغه یلبر بلبر ایتب توشب بارغان ده حاضر کیلب یتب تنکه نی آوب خالق غه کورساتب آوزلاینه سالورلار ایدی کورلان آچب صوده غی تنکه نی ازلیلار نیچک کوزلاری چدی چونکه دینگر صوی توزلی آچی بولا آوزمه قاب بولی آبولار کوزلارن آچب آچه ازلیلار. آوزلاری آچه بله ن تولغاچ بره م بره م صودان چغب اول لارینه قیتب کینه لار ایدی ایکنچی کون موندان جده گه قاراب یونابدک برکون چاماسنده جده کورنه باشلادی شهر یاقلاشه باشلاغاچ دینگرده باتب یانتان پراحوطلارنک ماچتالارنداغی باولای غنه یلپرداتف تورالار ایدی بو یولارده دینگر آستنده تاشلار کوب بولا ایکان اوستی صوب بولب کورنسه ده بر میتر قدر گنه تاشلی تاوولار بوله ایکان شولارنک آراسندان قورت یرگان کبک پراحوط آقرن غنه کره ایکان کوب یوری آلمادی شهر بیش یکومیتر دای قالغاچ پراحوط یکر صالیدی ده فلاک لار کوتاردی شوندان صوک مارس قورغان کیمه لار بله ن عرب لار چابشوب کم اوزاردان کیله باشلادیلار حکومت مأمورلری ده کیلب پراحوطی تفتیش صوکنده توشارگه بیوردیلار حاجی کل دیب قایولاری باسقیچ دان مینوب یوقاریدان آرقان غه بیلاب یوک لارمزی کیمه گه توشره باشلادیلار هر کیمه گه ۱۵-۲۰ کوبراک ده کشی اولترر ایدی شولای بارمزی بر یولی آلب کیتدیلار بز جده گه چغامز دیب بارساق بر او طراوغه آلب بارب توقتادیلر ده توشگر. یا حاجی دیب عربلار قققره باشلادیلار بو اورن کراتین خانه ایکان بارچه مز نک کیم و پاستیل لارمزی اوستمزدن کیل گه ن احرام مزنی سالدر ب آلب باردن دیزنیفیکسیگه بیردیلار ده همه مز یالانغاچ کوینه تیمر چبق بله ن بولنگان یرگه بیکلاب قویدیلار هر بولمه ده ۰۰۱ لاب کشی یالانغاچ یالغان مال کبی تیمر چلتردان قارب تورامز کون بیک اسسی ایدی کیملارمز پاراوایدان چغو بله ئلگی کیمه چی عرب لارینه بز لارنی ئالب شهرگه آلب کیتدیلار بو وقت ساعت ۴-۵ چاماسنده بولورغه کیره ک کیمه لارمز بله ن تامورنه سرای نک باسقیچی

تویننه توقتاتب تاموژنه سراينه آلب کردیلار ده هربر ملت نک اوزلارینه مخصوص دلیل لاری بوله ایکان قزانلی لارنک اوزبک قازاقلارنک هر قایوسینک دبیللاری پاشپورطلارمزی آلب اوزمز ریگستراویت ایتدییلار اسم فاملیه پاسپورط نومره سنی یازب آلا رایدی. موندان دلیل لار بز تاتارلارنی آیرب آلب دورت قاتلی بر اوینگه کرتدییلار هر بولمه ۲۰ یا اوطنزکشی دان اورنداشدردییلار بوکون /86a/ شوشنده یاتاسز ایرتوک طوگژ مکه باررغه کروان تیه لارنی حاضر بولور هم ده شول وقت باشپورطلارگرنی ده بیررمز دیدیلار. شوندان بازارغه چغب چای خانه قهوه خانه لارگه کرب چای قهوه اچب الحاصل تاماق لارمزی طویدرب ئالذق. یولده تانشقان عبدالله الجفری مکه دان یاخشی ایشاکلار بله ن قارشوآلورغه مکه شریف نک یاقن لارندان برنچه ادام کلمش ایدی عبدالله بزگه کیلب ایتدی مین کینه من تله سه گز ایشاک آلوگژ ده برگه برگه کیتارمز دیدی. بزلا رارحمت التفاتگرغه تشکر قیلدق نصیب بولسه صباکروان بله ن باررمز سلامت بولساق دیب آنی ازاتب قالدق خدا بله در حضرت حواآنامزنک زیارتی دیب آلب بارب دلیل لارمز زیارت قیلدییلار (جده) عرب لغتچچه ابی دیکان سوزدر ایکنچی کون ایرته لاب فاتیمرز آلدینه کروان تویه لاری لغردان تولب باقرب انگراب چوکب یاتالار ایدی موندوق دلیل لار کیلب کرب اسم فاملیه بله ن پاسپورط لارمزی بیرب هر ایکی آدم بر تویه گه یوک لارگرنی بیلاب استینه منگژ دیدیلار تیوشلی یول حاقرن دن جیب آلدیلار. کوندز ساعت ۱۵ لار چاماسنده جدهء مبارگه دان مکه یه سفر ایتدک هر کم بر احرام بلان ایدی چونکه بزلا ر دینگرده اوک احرام بیلاب حجزنی نیت قیلب ایدک مکه مکرمه جده دان ۶۰ کیلومیتیر بیر ایدی کرپیچ قابقاسندان چغب کیتدک یولده هر طرفده عرب بالالاری صوساتب اوتلردلار ایدی هر یرده چای و قهوه خانه توشب اچب کیتار ایدک کون لار اسسی تاو آراسی بر تاودان آکچی تاوغه قدر سیگنال بیرب تورک عسکرلاری کروان نی ازاتب قالورلار ایدی چاتورلاری تاو باشالارنده ایدی بو زمانده بو یرلر تورک قولنده ایدی. یارتی یولده بحیرا دیکان منزل ده قونب ایکنچی کون ساعت ۶ لارده مکه گه بارب کردک الحمد لله رب العالمین.

مونده ده اوزمزنک قازانلی دلیل لار قارشلی آلب بز دیدک نجم الدین افندی نک ایونه ممکن بولسه توشار ایدک دیدم بیک یاخشی دیدی هم ده آلب بارب توشوردی اوچ قاتلی تاش یورت ایدی اوزمزنک روسیه بای لاری طرفنده ن سالنغان کیلگان شاکردلار هم م فقیر حاجی لار حاق سز شونده توشارلار دیب بو نجم الدین افندی مدیر قیلب قالدوغان لار (قزانی نجم الدین افندی تکیه سی بله ن مشهوردر) آلتی یولداشلار رمز بارمزده بر بولمهگه جیره شدک بزنگ بوله مزده ۶-۷ یل مکه اولترغان حافظ کلام الله فراح الدین افندی بار ایدی بو مبارک اوفالق حکیموف لار طرفندان اوقوغه بیرلمش ایکان اوزی بلبای اویازی طورای اولتقی ایدی ۱۵نچی توغز یوز ۱۵نچی ییل لارده قایتب اولی طورایغه امام بولمش ایدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن الوغ روسیه انقلابی وقتنده ملا دیب انقلاب چی لار طرفندان بغیر حق مقتول المشدر الله نک مغفور بنده لاری جمله سندان هم م ده دین شهید لار زمره سندان اولسون آمین. /86b/ ایندی احشام نمازی اومزده اوقب یستو وقتی یاقلاغانده دلیل لار کیلب بز لارنی کعبه الله غه بارب طواف قیلدق حرم شریف ده کعبه الله حضورنده یوز منکلاب خالق یستونمازنی اوقب تورالار ایدی بز لارده امام غه ایوب اوقب نماز نمزنی تمام قیلدق ده صوکره کعبه شریف نی طواف قیلب هم م صفا بلان مروی آراسنده سعی قیلب بو کونلک بورچمزنی تمام لاب قایتدق بز لار ایرته راک یکومز سبیلی عرفاتقه چغارغه بر آی قدر وقتمز بار ایدی ئه لی هر کون هر اطرافدان حجاج مسلمین لار مکارلارب کیلب یاتورلار ایدی. هم م مدینه منوره دان ده همشری شاکردلارده کیلب آلا ر بله ن تانشب آلدق حج کون لاری یاقن لاب قالدی عرفات قه چغو یاقن لاشدی. شولای بولسه ده بر آی بوینه تیک یاتمادم حاجی لار کفن لک دیب آق نه رسه ۱۵-۲۰ میتر آلوب زمزه م صوین مانب آلب کیتارلار ایدی. زمزم صوی بر نیچه یوز ساوآلار آلورلار ایدی مین شول کفن لک ماتیریه لارنی زمزم قیوسندان چپله ک بیه صوآلب قایتب قازاق حاجی لارینه ۱۵ یکرمی دانه کفن لارن نیچه یوز زمزم لارن صاندق آلب (صحرا دیلار) تولترب بیرر ایدم بر کفن مانوغه ۵۰ تین بر صوم زمزم نی صحراغه

تولترغە ۲ صوم ۳ صوم بیرلار ایدی شولای ایتب آزماز یوللق خرج تابو حرکت نده بولور ایدم ایرته گه عرفات قه چغامز دیگان کون بیک قاتی اوروب قالدیم ایته لر هوا توته شوندان دیلار اسسی لک ۳۹-۴۰ بولب قالدی بیک حامل آورغه قالدی عرفات چقامسدان ممکن توکل آندا بولماساک حاج بولی ایکنچی دان یورطلارده هیچ بر آدم قامی یاتب قالسام اولسام اغزغه صوصالوچیده یول ایندی نیشلارگه اییده ش لار ایته نی کورسه کده برگه کوررمز اولساک ده قولزده اوله رسن دفن لارمز خدا قوشسه بلکه سلامت لنورسن دیب مینی عرفات قه آلب چغوغه قرار قیلدیلار هر حالده بولای تاشلاب کیتوگه بولمایه چق بر ایشاک آورمز ده ایکمز ایکی یاقدان توتب آلب باررمز دیدیلار . خداغه تاپشرب اییده شلار ایتکان چه یولغه چقدق حلام بیک آغرایدی یولده (میناده) قونب ایرته لاب عرفات قه بارامز ایکان قوشب قونارغه چاقورلا چای خانه آشخانه لار بار ایکان شونده توشدک ده مین یاتدم استمده احرام دان باشقه کیم یوق الله نک رحمتی بولسون توننه بر اسهال (اچ کیتو) بولای گه قاره دگت کبک شوندان صوک اسسی لکم توشب کوزم آچندی ایرته لاب تورب یولداش لارم نک یاردمی بله ن عرفات تاوینه بارب یتوگه نصیب بولدی کوندان کون حامل یاخشر باردی عرفات ده تورب کیچن ده مزدلفه دیگان اورنغه قونب ایرته لاب تاک بله ن میناغه یونالدک بتون نیچه یوزمنک حاجی باری برگه حکومت نک امیر الحاج لار نیچه اورنده دوحاوی موزیقه لاری تورکیه نک مکه نک مصرتی ایران حکومتی نک اویناب یولده هم کروان قوزلغان وقتلارده اوینارلار ایدی هم برنیچه منوتدان طوب آتالار ایدی /87a/ مینا دیگان اورنغه کیلوب توشدک قربان عیدی کونی قویاش چقغان وقتده ایکی طرفی بیک تاوولار ایکان کچکنه گنه بر شهر اسمنده ایدی مونده ابراهیم پیغمبرمنک اوغلی اسماعیل نی قربان غه سینی سویامن دیگان اورنی دیلار شهرده پوچته تلگراف بار و باشقه دکان لار بار ایدی حج عمل لارندان بو یرده جمره عقبه اسملی تاش آتا دیگان اورنی در هم بو یرده تاش آتاب آندان قربان چالب ساچ لارمزی آلدرب احرام چغب اوزکیم لارمزی کیدک بو یردان مکه مکرمه آتی کیلومیترایدی شونده منادان اشاک یاللاب



قایتب کعبه الله غه فرض بولغان طواف زیارتی قیلدق ده قایتب میناغه کیلب ایکی کیچ قوندق بو وقتده مکهء مکرمه ده بیک آزآم بارایدی هم م شول وقتده کعبه الله نک پر به سنی یابالارایدی اشکسز آچق ایدی بزده فرصت دان فائده لنوب کعبه الله اچینه کرب ایکی رکعت نفل نمازی اوقب چقدق. باشقه وقتده اشکنی اچمیلار در. ایکی کوندان صوک مینادان بارلق حاجیلار برکه مکهء مکرمه گه فاتیرلارمزغه قایتب اورناشدق. ایندی مدینهء منوره کیتو حرکت نده بوله باشلادق دیمه ک بودینمزده فرض بولغان حاج نی تمام لادق الحمد لله. ایندی بر نیچه کون لار عمره حاج یعنی نفل حج قیلالار ایکان آتا آنارمزغه و باشقه قوشقان حاجیلارغه قیلور ایدوک مکه دان بیش یکلومیتر چاماسی یرده مسجد تتعیم دیلار بر مسجد بار شونده بارب قایتبوعه ایشاک آلب بارب شونده نیت لاب احرام کیه مزده ایکی رکعت احرام نمازی اوقب بوجج مزنی نیت لاروم مثلاً آتامز فلان فلان اوغلینک روحینه دعاء قیلامزده مکه گه قایتب کعبه الله غه یدی مرتبه طواف قیلب صفا مروه آراسنده یدی مرتبه یورب صوکره ساچنی آلدراسک ده دیمه ک بر نفل حجز تمام بولدی. بوشوشنی عمره حج دیلار. کونینه دورت بیش مرتبه قیلب بولا بارب قایتبوعه ایشاک حاضر بهاسی ۱ صوم یا سیکسان تورا. بوجج نی قیلو اچون حاجی لار بیش صوم دان باشلاب یکرمی بیش صوم غه چاقلی بیررلار ایدی کشینه قاراب شولای ایتب بر آطنه ده یوز صوم آچقه تاب آلور ایدک. ایندی مکه دان مدینه گه کیتوگه قالدی قرار قیلدق جده آسه پراحوط بله ن ینبع غه آندان مدینه گه باررغه چونکه یول مشقتی ینکل راک توری کروان بله ن بارساک ۱۲ کون توه بله ن هر وقت صحراده قونب باررغه کیره ک در یوللارده بعضی اورنلارده صوره تابهلی قالا. شولارنی اویلاب موندان کیتوگه بولدق. یوک لارمزنی جده گه بارا تورغان تانش حاجی لارنک دیه لارینه سالدق ده اوزمز جایاو چغب کیتدک بزلار اچون شهردان توه آلو قیباچیلق قیلدی شهردان چقغچاق توه که ش لارنک ساقلق توه لاری بولا شولارغه آزان حاق بله ن منوب کیتامز دیب اویلادق ده کروانغه ایارب یولغه چقدق بر آز شهردان چغب /87b/ بوش توه لار کورنه باشلادی حاقلارن سویلاشب قارادق جده

که قدر آزار حاقینه بز کونمادق آده توه لار کوب بولور ئلی دیب جیاو کیته بیردک بارامز بارامز برده توه یوق یول آور کون اسسی آیاق آستی قوم بردان تکان آیاقغه قادالا باساقان ساین آیاق آرتقه کیته اییده ش لارنی مینی قزدره لار سین آده آرزان بولا توه کوب بولب ایتدک دیب مینده بولارغه قارشئی لاسمی کوتمنی قسب قنه بارامن شولای ایتب آده توه آرزان کوب بولا دیب قونا تورغان یرگه ده بارب یتدک آیاق لار یانا بردان تیگانه ک قادالغان قاب چغب تورارنی اچته قای وقت ارزان ازلاب قیمت دان ده قالورسن دیلار ایدی شولای درست ایکان کسه ک ده بولسه جانکنی ساقلا ایکان ایکنچی تویه یاللاب جده که باربی تب حاجی لارمزی تابب آلارداغی نه رسه لارمزی سلامت قولغه ئالب بر ایکی کوندان پراحوطقه اولترب ینبع غه یونالدک بر کونلک یول ایدی. ایکنچی کون باربی یتب پراحوط دان چغب فاتیرلارگه اورناشدک مونده بر دورت بش کون یاتورغه توغری کیله چونکه کروان غه کئی کوپراک جیلون کوته لار صو بیک قدرکا ایدی هم ده قیبات اورتامزغه برتویه یوگی صونی بر آلتون غه آلدق ۱۵ چیلاک قدری اولده یانگردان جیلب ساقلان غان صو ایدی بر کون اعلان قیلدیلار ایرتگه مدینه گه کروان چغا دیب یوگرب بارب کاسسه دان بیلیت آلدق ده کیتوگه یاتاق لارمزی جیب توه لار جیبب یاتقان (مناصه) اورنغه کیلدک موندان مدینه منوره بیش کونلک یول ایدی شولای ایتب بیش رفیق لارمزی ایله ن مدینه قاراب یونالدک. بیشنچی کون مدینه منوره یه ساعت اوچ لار وقتنده کردک ۱۵ چاقرم قالا بر تاو یول بوینده جبل المفرحات دیلار شونده یکرب منب قبه سعادتی کوردک دیالارگه مناسدن برنچه اییداش لار بلان کروان آلداندن جیا یوکردک کرواندان بر ساعت الک بارب منا میدانده توقتاب چای خانه دان چای اچب آلدق کروانده کیلب یتدی مکه ده کورشکان ایدک شفران استانسه سینه یاقن مندان اولینک مهاجر قربان علی افندی بزانی قارشلاب چغب ایدی اییداش لارمزه کیلدی عید محمد احمر ف بله ن مینی نه رسه لارمزی حمال غه کوتارتب اوزینک فاتیرینه آلب باردی الله نک رحمتده بولسن یخشی

آدم ایدی. چای فلان اچکاندان صوک طهارة لب جناب رسول رب العالمین تربه شریفه سینه یونالدک باب السلام دیکان ایشکدان کراب صلاة وسلام بیرب ربِّ اَدْخَلْنِي مُدْخَلَ صِدْقٍ وَأَخْرِجْنِي مُخْرَجَ صِدْقٍ وَاجْعَلْ لِي مِنْ لَدُنْكَ سُلْطَانًا نَصِيرًا<sup>402</sup> ایه کریمه سنی اوقب موجه سعاده که بارب توقنادق ئوزمنک قاندای یرده تورغانمنی ایولاب هوشم کیتنه یازدی ای خدایم بو اورنی بنده که کورب زیارة ایتارکه نصیب ایتدک بیت م کک خداغه شکر قیلدم. آیاق ده تورب قول لارمزنی باغلاب صلاة و سلام صوکره /88a/ اوزمزه هه م آنا آناغه هه م بارچه مؤمن بنده لارکه شفاعتی نی سوراب دعاء قیلدق خدا قبول ایتسون. ینه حضرت ابو بکر و حضرت عمر رضی الله عنهما لار روحینه دعاء قیلب هم حضرت فاطمه رضی الله عنها روحینه دعاء قیلدق دیمک بو حجره سعاده اوی اچنده دورت قبر بار ایکان. حجر سعاده حرم شریف اسمنده مدینه نک الوع مسجدی شونک اچنده مسجدنک بر پوچماق طرفنده بو حجره سعاده درهه م روضه مطهره دیب ده ایته لار حرم شریف ایسه بیک زینت لی بر نیچه یوزلاب تاش باغانا لار بله ن اشلاب هر بر دورت باغانا باشینه بر قبه کبک اشلاب کان اچدان قاراغانده قزان کبک بولوب تورا اوج طرفی یاخشی مای لی بویا ولار بله ن بویالب هر توری آیات لار یازلغان قبه لار اچنه بولنب بولنب امن تذکر دیکان پیغمبرمزی مدح قیلغان کتاب شول بتمامه یازلغان. پیغمبرمزی زمانندان بیبرلی نیچه مرتبه زور ایتلغان هر قایوسینک کم زماننده زور ایتلغانغی یازلغان باغانا باشلارنده بلنب تورا حرم شریف نک یارطسی اوشبو روشده یابلش در یارتی آچق یابلغان یاغنده ایدان لاری مرمر تاشندان جایلغان باغا توب لاری جیز بله ن قرشا ولاب قویلغان آچق طرفی ایده نی قوملق باشقه نه رسه یوق اچنده بر قوی بار حضرت فاطمه قیوسی دیلار بیک قیباتلی ۷۰-۸۰ لامپالق آق قرل پیلا چوقلی زور قندیلار آندان باشقه آعاچ یافراق لی روشده برونزه دان اشلنکان هر صف بوینده بش اردانه بار ایک اعلا بخارانک یفاک کلام

402 [Q 17: 80.]

لاری توشالگان نمازلق اورنینه حاصل کلام عایت زینت لی هم کشیگه روح بیررلک در آشقا دار بوینده چتردان اولینک المغل اسملی بر استارشینه حاج غه بارغان وقت نده حرم شریف نبوی گه کرب چغقاج ایته ایکان مین نیکالای پادشانک دواریسنده ده بولغان ئیدم اسم کیتکان ایدی بو مسجد آندان ده آرتق زینت لی ایکان دیب سویلاگان. حرم شریف نک ۵ بیش ایشگی بار باب السلام باب الرحمة باب المجیدی باب النساء باب الجبرائل اسمنده هم بیش مناره سی بار خاتون لاری بیش وقت نماز عید جمعه لارغه کیله لار مسجدنک بر نویشدان آلا رغه ریشوتکه بله ن بولب قویلغان لار باب النساء دیکان ایشک دان کرب شوندان چغالار. یستونمازندان صوک مسجد نک ایشاک لاری بیکلانه در هیچ برکشی قالدرمیلار فقط حرم آغالاری دیله ر بولار ایزلک لاری آلتغان قاراه حبش نسل لاری شولار تون بوینچه مسجد اچنده قروال بولب یوریلار. حرم شریف حاقدنه یازاچاق نه رسه لارم کوب بولسه حاضرگه شوشی نک بله ن قناعت لانب باشقه مقصودقه کیله مز

ایندی مدرسه گه اورناشو مسئله سی قالدی آقلی مدرسه لارده حاضرگه بولمه (اودا) تابولور کبک کورغادی شولای ده برنیچه کوندان بلکه بولب حاضرگه بر ایلک سز مدرسه دان اورن آلب تور. جایلاب اورن تابارمز دیب قارغالینک مرحوم عیدالله افندی/88b/ شوندان ژده ت اسملی مدرسه دان بر حجره یعنی بولمه آلم اورن سز قالغان چی اورن لی بولب توررمن دیدم. مدینه نک تیوشلی زیارة گاه لینه یورب زیارة قیلدق مسجد قبا احد تاغی یاننده حضرت حمزه زیارتی و باشقه احد شهاده لارینه زیارة فیلب کوردک برکون عید الله افندی ایتدی بزدان بزنک مدرسه مزدان بر قزانلی بدرالدین اسملی قارغالی اسحاق ملا اوغلی بولسه کیره ک ایرته ساعت توقزده مینم یانمه کیل مدرسه مزنک خواجه سندان شونک اورنی سوراب قارارمز دیدی بو مدرسه حرم شریف نک باب السلام قاپوسینک کرگان وقتده اوک طرفنده بشیر آغا مدرسی ایدی محمدیه مدرسه سینه قارشی اول قاپونک صول یانده صحابه لار عصرنده بو مدرسه اورنده مروان صحابه نک یورتی بولغان ایمش

بشیر آغا دیکان کسنه موندان ایکی عصر مقدم استانبولده تورک خلیفه لارینک سراینده خدمت ایتکان ایکان اول بر سبب که بناء مدینهء منوره گه نفی قیلنمش در آخرنده استانبول غه قایتب شونده وفات ایتمش در قبری ایوب الانصاری جامع سینک یاننده در باش اچینده یازلمش تاشی هم م باردر فقیر ایسه بوذات نک<sup>403</sup> ۳یل قدر خیراتی آلب او قدم الله نک رحمتده بولسن اللهم ان کان محسنا فزد فی احسانه وان کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه اوشبو بشیر آغا مدرسه سینه بارب مرده مدیری هم م مدرسی عارف خواجه دیکان کشی ایدی حجره سینه کرب بزگه مدرسه گزدان بر بولمه بیرسه گز ایکان دیه حاضرگه بزنگ مدرسه مزده اورن یوق دیب جواب بیردی ده عفوایدگز دیه قولنی اوب چقدم کیندم بیک مایوس حالده گنه ایکنچی همشهری مز عید الله افندی ایرتکه کیل مین بولمه گه شونده خواجه غه ینه بر رجاء قیلورمز دیدی چونکه بولما بارلغان بو بله در ایکنچی بارب کرسه م عارف خواجه مز عید الله افندینک بولمه سنده چای اچب اولتره ایکان نه واد اولادم دیه سورادی دها جنابگزنگ آلدینه کیلدم ممکن بولسه بزلره بر بولمه گز دیه عیدالله دان صوری باشلادی بو نصل طلبه قرانده یاخشی اوقب کیل گه ن مودیه اول ده بیک یاخشی آدم دیه ماقتاب قویدی ده شوندان خواجه قزان ده نه او قدک صرف نحو او قدکمودیدی اوت او قدم دیدم الکلمة لفظ وضع لمعنی مفرد نه دیگان سوز دیدی جواب بیردم. ینه الکلمة نک الف لام ی جنس اچون تاسی وحدة اچون بونلار آراسنده باشقه لق باردی نه دیورسن دیدی بنده جوابمده دیه م الف لام نک جنس دان وحدیت جنس آلامزده وحدة جنسی قویب شول وقتده تا ده الف لام ده برابر بوله چق دیدم. شوندان عیدالله افندیکه ملازم اوداسن (بولمه سن) بیرسن فراش اچقیچنی بیرسن دیدی ملازم بولمه سی شوندای آیلق کیلوی یوق وقت چه غنه توراساک کاندیدات بولب قچان آیلغی بار بولمه بوشاب قالسه شونددق مینی شول آیلق لی بولمه گه چغارالار. بر آی ده اوتمادی بر شاکرد

403 [There is a note in the margin that was lost during the binding. The only remaining part of the margin reads: ... و قتمده ۱۹۰۸ نک یلده ۵]

کیتب قالدی مینده مدرسه نک اینچی قاتنده بر بولمه گه کوچدم خداغه شکر مدرسه دان جان طنچلانندی. /89a/ بر خداغه تابشرب درس باشلارغه قالدی انچی درس مدرسه نک اوزینه واقف طرفندان قولغان ایرته لاب بر یارتی ساعت قدر اوقب واقف بشیر آغانک روحینه دعاء قیلماق در بو درس مدرسه ده اولترغان شاکردکه مجبور ایدی مدرسی ده یوقاریده یازلمش عارف خواجه ایدی. اینچی مغربی تونس لک مالک المذهب الشیخ عمر افندیدان درس باشلادق بارچه شریک لار رمز بله. نخودان الفیه ابن مالک تفسیر جلالین مفتاح العلوم باشقه برنچه فن لاردان اوزینک یورطینه بارب اوقور بولدق چونکه حرم شریف ده بیک کوچیبیک تشویش کوب بوله شول سببلی ایوغه بارر ایدک آندان الشیخ عبد القادر الطربلسی موندای ایدی بو شیخ دان صحیح البخاری بونک یورطینه بارب اوقور ایدک آندان عیسی خواجه شیروانی موندان بیان معان الشیخ حسین هندی اصول فقه الشیخ رضوان رحمة الله علیه دان دلائل الخیرت و باشقه حدیث مسلس لار اوقدق الشیخ فالخ دیکان محدث دان برآز حدیث اربعین اوقدق. شولای آقرنلق بله ن کنه اوقب سلامت لکده بر سنه نی اوتکاردک رجب آینه قدر آندان صوک رجییه دیلار بو وقتده برآز تعطیل بوله چونکه عربستان نلکه سندان قبائل عرب لار روضه مطهره گه زیارة که کیله لار شول سببلی مشهور بیک مشعول بوله آندن حاج وقتده برآی تعطیل بولسه درس لار بولی. شونده بزدا ی شاکردلار حج غه بارب کولک آجب هوا الشدرب قایتار میکا بویل حج بارومز مجبور ایدی چونکه اولگی حج نی کشی اچون قیلدم ایندی اوزمه قلا ریمه کیره ک چونکه بای بولماسه ده بر کشتی مکهء مکرمه نی کورسه حج فرض بولادر. بو یل شول حج نی ادا قیلدم خدا قبول ایتسه ایدی آمین. جمیع شاکردلار هم م یولداشم عید مجد و باشقه لار بارمزه باردق قایسی لاری حاجی لاردان بدل حج آلدی قایسی لاری بای حاجی لاریمه یولغه ترجمان لق قیلب خدمت ایتب باردیلار هرنیچکده بارب قایتو راسحوط تابلادر. حج مزدان سلامت کیلب اینچی یل درس باشلار وقتی یاقنلاب قالدی فقیرگه بر فکر توشدی کلام الله نی حفظ قیلسام دیکان بر خداغه اشانب یاردم استاب روضهء

مطهره گه بارب جناب پیغمبره خداغه صلاة سلام بیرب نیت قیلدم  
 حفظ غه توتنزغه مصرلی حسن قاری شاکردلارندان محمد شکرلی بن حفطی  
 مأمور الدخان شول شیخ دان آیغه بر آلتون بیرمک شرط بله ن کلام الله نی  
 شونک تعلیمی بونچه باشلادم هر پاره ننک باشندان برکاعز یادلاب اوطنز  
 کون ده اوطنز کاعد یادلی باشلادم شول ترتیبده سیکر آی ده یادلاب چقدم  
 هرکون استاذمنک آلدینه بارب طلا توب کیله جه ک کونکه بیکره ک اوزی  
 اوقب بیرر ایدی. بر مرتبه یا اولاب چقغاج طوقز آی تکرار ایتدم جمععی  
 اون یدی آیده مرتب یادلاب بولدم جناب حق نک یاردم بیروینه شکرانه  
 لار قیلب اوزمه اوزم خیران بولب قالدیم انم می توشم می بو حال دیه بو  
 وقتده یاشمر یکرمی ایکی ده ایدی. بو حفظ بلان برابر هرکون ایکی /89b/  
 درس نی دوام ایتدرب کیلدم. شولای ایتب ینه حج وقتی یتب قالدی حج غه  
 باررغه بولدق بر اودان بر یوز صوم لق قنه بدل حج قیلورغه ئالدم ده شولوق  
 ایداش لارمز ایلان حاج غه کیتدک ینبع جده آشا بارب تیوشلی حج مزنی ادا  
 قیلب قایتدق. ۱۳۲۴ هجریه ده کیله چک رمضان شریف ده حرم شریف  
 نبوی روضهء مطهرده تراویح بله ن ختم ایته رگه نیت قیلدم رمضان شریف  
 دیه کیلب یتدی خداغه تابشرب ئوزمه مخصوص حرم شریف نبوی دان  
 ختم ایتمان دیب حرم نک مدیرندان سوراب باب السلام دان کرگاچ ازاق  
 توگل قبله یاغنه استیاء محراب مالکی دان یراق توکل اورنده اورن تعیین  
 قیلدی برنجی رمضان دان باشلاب ۲۳ یکرمی اوچ تراویح ده ختم ایتوگه هرکون  
 بر پاره بر چرک دان اووقوغه توغری کیلدی شول بر تراویح ده اوقی تورغان  
 قرآن نی کون بوی تکرار قیلورغه کیره ک بر پاره چرک قرآنی هرکون اوطنز کره  
 اووقورغه کیره ک شولای ایتب هرکون بر بنون اووقورغه توغری کیلدی ۳۲  
 یکرمی اوچ کونده باشقه هیچ بر نه رسه گه قاراماسدان اشمز شول بولدی  
 میر سید مظفر دیکان ایداشم بر مدرسه ده کورشی بولمه ده تورا ایدی  
 اوده میم بله ن برگه قرآن یادلاب ایدی اوله ختم ایتارگه بولدی ایکنز بر  
 اوزباک شاکردنی افطار سحر مزگه حاضر لارگه قوشب تیوشلی آقه مزغه بیرب  
 قویدق ختم بتکانچی شولای بزنی تربیه لادی اوزی هم م برگه آشار ایدی.

شولای ایتب مسجدنک آن طرفنده یدی قاری برکه ختم باشلادق بز  
ایکاوینه عطاء الله اسملی قزاق قاری بورندر قاراغالی اوقغان خیرالله  
حضرت ده پینزا کورناسی حوالین اویازی ماستاق اولی بدر الدین قارینک  
اوغلی عاصم افندی ایدی ینه بر اوزباک قاری ایدی ایکسی حاطرمده یوق  
در شولای ایتب بارمزده ختم ایتدک. ختم کیچه سنده اوقی تورغان اورنمزی  
تورلی فانارلار بله ن یاخشی کلام نمازلق لار جاییب قویدیلار بولارنی حرم  
شریف نک فراش لاری اشلی در. ختم کیچه سنده اوزمزنک اوقی تورغان  
استاذ کرام لارمز هه م باشقه همشهری شاکردلار و باشقه عرب و تورک  
لاردان کوب کشی لار جیلش ایدی. استاذمز طرفندان ختم عاء سی قلب  
صوکره مدینهء منوره رسمنچه جیلغان خالق حورمه ماپناسی لار اولاشندی  
کچن قدرلی ئبداش لارم ایتب آلدان حاضرلانو ب مسجدکه کارزینکه بله ن  
ئالب کیلب قویغان ایدیلار بولغان کشی لارگه اولاشب ینه بر دعاء قیلب  
تارالدق خدا قبول ایتسون آمین مدینهء منوره ده رسم ختم ایتکان قاری غه  
صدقه بیرو عادتق یوق بالعکس قاری اوزی صدقه اولاشا یوقاریده یازلدی  
بوختم خدارضالغی اچون بولغان ختم بولا دردیب اولادام یکرمی اوچ تراویج  
ده آرمده سامع بولب تورغان بر عرب یگیتینه بر آلتون بیردم. صوکندان  
همشهری اییداشلارومز چاقرب بر آش قیلب قوناق ایتدم خدا اچون بولسون  
آمین. شوندان صوک دورتنچی حج وقت مز یتدی ینه اییداشلارمز /goa/بله  
ن مکهء مکرمه گه حج غه کیتدک بورنغی دای ینبع جدہ آرقلی سلامت بارب  
یتب کعبه الله غه طواف مرزی قیلدق مونده اوقوچی اوزمزنک استرلیباشدان  
کیتمش مرحوم استاذمز حبیب الله بن محمد حارث توفایف حضرتلارینی محدومی  
عبد الرحمن افندی ایدی بونک بله ن بربرمز توغانلارچه سویلاشب سوزمز  
بتماس ایدی اولده ساغغان مع التأسف یویل ده مکه ده وبارنجوی چغا  
باشلادی بیک قورقشب قالدق خدانک تقدیری نه چاره دیه رک یوردک  
برکون عرفات دان اول ایدی حرم شریف که اولیه نمازینه بارب عبدالرحمن  
افندی بله ن برکه قایتدق یول اوکغاینده یوقاریده بر یازلغان ایدی نجم الدین  
افندی تکیه سنه کرب فراح الدین نی کورب چغیق دیب کردک کرساک اول  
پچاره یاخشی قارشلی آب رحیم ایتگر ماقتاب یورسز ایکان دیب پشرب



تورغان آشنی بزنی اولترب قوناق ایتدی اول وقتده عبدالرحمن ده مین ده مکه ده مشهور شیخ مراد یوطينده تورا ایدک قایتب ده کردک بو پچاره عبد الرحمن الله اچم آرته دی باشلادی بوگا مشهور رنجوالککان ایکان اچی یوری کوزان جیرا نیشلارگه بلمی تیز دوخترگه آلب بارگز دیب اوتنه باشلادی. شوندان تیزلک بله ن دوخترغه لاجین گه بله ن کوتارب آلب باردق دوخترنی تابا المادق ایندی نیشلارگه کیره ک ایتدیلا ر شهر دوخترینه آلب بارغز ديه آنده آلب باردق اول خسته خانه گه آلب باررغه قوشدی بر حتسه خانه مخصوص وبا آوری بله ن آورچیلارغه قیلنغان ایکان دیمه کران تین خانه مونده باشقه گشیلانری کرتیلار ایدی بر دختردان اوتندک بو بر الوغ آدمک بالاسی حاجی دکل بوراده اوقواچون کمش آدم ديه ممکن بولسه یاخراق اورن غه قویسه گز ایکان ديه بیله دیب بالنتسه طشنده بر چوب توگه تورغان اورنده ایکان کورسه ک نیچه یوز حاجی لار قم ده اوناب یاته ایدیلار هند افغان و اوزباک قزاق و باشقه مللت لار دان کوب قایوسی صودی قویوسی ماء دی عرب چه قایوسی پانارده هندچه بو پچاره لارغه صوبیره تورغان کئی یوق ایدی شونده اولب قالسه لار چقر قازلغان خدمت چی عرب لار کوتاره لار ده ایتب چقرغه تاشیلار ایدی. خیران قالدق بر بیش آلتی دانه چاقترده قورب قویغان لار ایدی مونک اچنده بر نیچه کراوات لارده بار ایدی دوخترنک کاغزی بو نیچه بزنگ عبد الرحمن همشری مزنی بر چاطرغه کراوات غه صالدیلا ر. اچارگه صوادی چای خانه دان چاینوک بله ن چای آلب کیلدک کون باتوغه یا قن قالدی عید مه یولداشمه ایتدم مین بیک آردم قایتب یال ایتیم ایندی تونله سن یاننده ترونگر ديه میکا قایتورغه بولدی شوندان اسان لاشب کیتکان وقتم ده بحیل بحیل بول دیب /qob/چقرغانی حاضدره قتلانغمده تورادر قایتب یوقلادم تاك بلنوگه عید مه قایتب کیلدی تیز بار بیک ناچار لانب قالدی ديه شونودوق آشغب یگر ب بارب جیتسام مرحوم حاضرگه جان تسلیم قیلنغان ایدی انا لله وانا الیه راجعون إرجعی الی ربك راضیه مرضیه<sup>404</sup> آیه شریفه سینه بوی صندی اللهم إن کان محسنا فرد

فی إحسانه وإن كان مسیئاً فتجاوز عنه دیب دعاء قیلدیق ده تمام اندی قالدی گورلارگه مونده اولسه حاضر قازلمش چقرغه تاشلیلار بو بزگه بیک کیله چه ک وقتمزده یوزمرگه قارالق اولاچاق در مکه مکرمه نك عمومی زیارتی جنت المعلی دیلار شونده توشیز کیره ک ایدی چونکه وبا آروی بولو سببلی موندان باشقه زیارتقه چیقمیلار نیچکده بولسه دوخترنی کورب التماس ایتدک بیرگز میت نی اوزمز آل عمومی زیارتقه قویامز دیه دوختر افندی برار رخصت ایتی تورساده قول لارنی صاری مای بله ن مایلاغاچ رخصت بیردی تیک اوزگز یاخشیلاب یوارسز مونداغی عرب سانپتارلار یودق دیب آلداب کیمیلارن آل قالب کفن لاب کیتزه لار دیدی. عرب لار میت نی کفن لاب تابوت قه صالب آل کیلیدیلار ده دوختور افندی بولاردان سورادی غسلتم یا شیخ دیب نعم غسلنا دیب ایتدی لار (یعنی یودغزمودیب سراوغه قارشلی شولای یودق دیب جواب بیردیلار) شوندان دوختور آچولان ب نیک آلدی سز یومادغز بیت دیدی شوندان بو عرب لار والله فاغسلنا دیدیلار (یعنی خدا بله ن قسم قیلامن یودق دیب ایتدیلار. شوندان ایکی عرب نی یاللاب تابوتی بله ن آل کیتدیلار ده آل باردق جنت المعلی گه چونکه عمومی اولک یوا تورغان یورط شونده در بارساق یکریمی قدر اولک تابوت بله ن تزلب یولورغه کررگه تورالار ایدی کوازاق قه بارا تورغان بولای نیچکده غسل خانه باشلغی آق ساقالی شیخ نی کورب اوتندک ممکن بولسه بزطلبه نی تیزراک یووب بیرسه گز ایکان دیه طیب بیک خوش دیگان سوز شولای ایتب بو شیخ نك ده اولک کوب یوو سببلی قول لاری یارلسه کیره ک ینه صاری مای بله ن قول لارن مایلاغاچ شوندوق بز نك میت نی آل کیتب یووب چقاردیلار قایده بارما قایدایورما شول صاری مای اشنی یومشاتا ایکان. بر منك سیکز یوز توقسان برنجی یل لارده بولسه کیره ک عبد الرحمن مرحوم آتاسی بله ن بر توغمه آزاسی عبد المجید بن محمد حارث توقایف نیچه یل لاردر بخاراده اوقب قایتب بر قش استرلیباشنده شاکردلارگه درس ایتوب توردی صو کثره جاق صوی بوینده ایلاک دیکان شهردان عیدالله حاجی یکلیدیشف دیکان سوداگر نك قزی محفوظه نی نکاح لاب استرلیباشقه توشرب صو کثره شول یلنوق حج سفرینه

کیتدی /g1a/ بو وقتده عبد المجید حضرت نڭ بر توغمه برادری عبدالقادر محمد حارث اوغلی توقایف مدینهء منوره ده او قوده ایدی حج غه بارب برادری عبد القادر غه قوشلب حج ده عرفات ده بر گه بولمش لار بویل مکه ده وبأ خسته لغی پیدا بولب شول رنجو بله ن عبد المجید حضرت مکه ده اولب برادری عبد القادر مکه مکر مه نڭ جنت المعلی مقبره سینه دفن فیلب باشینه تاش یازدرب قویدرغان ایکان بر لارده بو قبرنی تابب آلب شونڭ یانینه عبد الرحمن مرحوم نی جیرلادک الله مغفرة ایتسون بونڭ وفاتی ۱۹۰۸ نجی میلادیه ده ایدی مرحوم نڭ وصیتی بوینجه تکفین تجهزدان قالغان آچه سنی بعضی بر کیم لارنی یاقداش حاجی لار بله ن استرلیباشینه آناسینه یوللادق هم سلامت آغان لار ایکان. مکه ده وبأ آرووی بیک کوچه یه باشلادی حتی اورام لارده اولب یاتوچی لار بوله باشلادی اوزمگه ده نه بوله ایندی خدادان تلاب یوریمز شولایده مکه دان تیزراک چغب کیته سی کیله ایدی خدانڭ رحمتی بر کون اوایلا ماغاندان بر یغمور یادی شول کون اوک وبأ رنجوی صو سییکان کبک بتدی بر اولوچی بولمادی بز لارده الحمد لله دیب مدینه گه توغری تیز یوری تورغان کروان دان تویه لار تابب آلب یاللادق ده اییداش لارمز ایله بارمز بر گه مکه دان مدینه قاراب سفر ایتدک. بوایسه مکهء مکر مه دان دورتنچی حج مز صو گره ودع لاشوب آیرلقدق. بوتیز یوری تورغان کروانی عرب لار (راکب هجن توه لری دیب ایته لار) بو کروان مکه دان مدینه گه سیگز کونده بارب جیته در. بو کروان ده چیت حاجی لار بیک آز بوله فقط مدینه اهلینه و باشقه بز دای طلبه لار کبک کنه کشیلار یورر امیر یلار مکه دان مدینه گه یارب قایتوغه دیب یاللاب چغالار. کروان ده اوچ یوز دورت یوز قدر تیوه بولادر یولده آلتی ساعت یوری آلتی ساعت یال ایته شولار روشده یوری کون اورتاسنده اسسی وقت لارده یورمی تونله ساعت اون ایکی لارده قوز غالب کیته شول روشچه مدینه گه سفرده بارمز مکه دان انچی قونش وادی فاطمه اسملی اورن ایدی صولی یاشلچه اولان لی اورن ایدی.

بر کیچه کون دان صوڭ یولمز بحر احمر بوینده رابغ دیکان عرب قریه سنه یتوشمز کیره ک ایدی. رابع غه باراچاق کیچه ده تونله بیک قاتی کوک کوکراب

ياشن ياشنلاب يغمور ياغدى تيه لار بارا آلماس بولدى لار آياق لارى تايا تون قرانغى ايدى صحرا ده تاو آراسنده ياش كنه ياقتى كورسه تب قويار ايدى. توقتاب تيه لارمزا سنده اولتر ب توردق تلگ ده ياقتاب قالسه كيره ك كروان باشلارى بزلار چوقر اورنده توقتاغان مز ايكه ن حاضر كوچب قاليق يوقسه يغمور تاشوى كيلب باسچاق ديديلار. بزلار ده آقر غنه تيه لرمزنى يتكلب تاو بوپنه راق بارب توقتادق ده شونده ياقترا ده باشلادى اوطلار ياغب /gɪb/ است باشمز بيك صو بولوسببلى برآز يلندق ده ايرته نمازن اوقب قوزغالب كيندى. ئوزمز جاي او حالده تيه لارمزا رقن غه آتلاب بارر ايدى رابغ ديكان قريه مز بر بيش كيلوميتر قالسه كيره ك شونده بارب يتدك نى كوز بله ن كوراسن يغمورنك صوى تاشب كيلب يولمزنى بايلا ب قويغان ايدى چونكه عربستان ده تاو لار بارده قارا تاش اسكلا بولوسببلى بتون صوتاودان توشب بر يول تابب بر دريا حاصل بوله در عرب بونى سيل ديب ايته لار جاء السيل ديلار. صودان اوتوكه ممكن توكل ايدى شوشى رابغ ده اوچ كون ياتب دورنچى كون تيه لارمزا نك قورصاق اسندان صودان اوتب كيتدك خداغه شكر ديب حتى مدينه آهاليسى كروان وفتنده كيلماو سببلى يولده بر حال بولغاندر ديب قورقش ب تورغان لار چونكه كروان مكه دان چغو بله ن فلان كون چقدق ديب تيلگرام بيره لاردر.

شولاي سلامت مدينه ياقن لاب قالدق جبل عائر ديكان بر بيوك تاو يولمزه بارايكان بوتاو دان باشقه كروان لار اوته آلميلاردر فقط مذكور بزنك ركب ديكان يكل كروان كنه اوتادر چونكه بوتوغرى يول در تاونك ايته كنده توشلاب تاوغه يونالديك اوزمز بارمزه جياو تيه لار قيه زور تاشلار آراسندان آرقن بارالار ايدى تيك بر سوقاق قنه ايدى بر طرفى تاونك كوز يماس لك تياران چوقر ايدى اگر ده تيه يغلوب كيتسه تمام شول سببلى برلارنى تيه لارمزه مند رما ديلار شول روشده 6 ساعت وقت ده كون بايوغه تاونك اوستينه سلامت چغب شاولق فلان شول كيچ شونده يوقلادق. موندان ايكي كون صو كره مدينهء منوره كه كچه كمر الله شكر مدينهء منوره كه يتوب ذو الخليفه ديكان يرده توقتاب جاو كروان لارمزا نى قالدرب جياو شهر كه كيتدك

بوندان بیش کیتومیترا مسافه ایدی سلامت مدرسه مزگه قایتب کرب مونچه غه بارب یونب یاقشی کیم لرمزنی کیب روضهء مطهرغه زیارت قیلب شول کیم لارمزایله ن قایتب کروان لامز یانینه بارب یتولارمزگه منب یاشل فلاک لارکوتارب قصیده یعنی شعرلار اوقب صلوات سلام بله ن حرم نبوی ننگ باب السلامینه توقتاب رسول خداغه تکرار صلوات و سلام بیرب بیک یاخشی عرب چه مدح النبی حقنده بولغان قصیده لارنی اوقب شوندان احد تاغینه حضرت حمزه واحد شهیدلارینه زیارت قیلب مسجد قباغه بارب تیوشلی اورن زیارت لارمزنی تمام لاب تیه لارمزنی خواجه لارینه تابشرپ مدرسه مزگه کرب اورناشوق الحمد لله رب العالمین خدامزنی قبول ایدب گناه لارمزنی مغفرت قیلسون آمین ایندی سلامت بولسام ۱۳۲۶ هجری ده مولود آین اوتکارب مملکت مزگه قایتو نیتنده ایدک. /92a/

ایندی بو اوستاذ لارمزنی ضیافت قیلب بر دعاء لارن آلب کیتدوم کیره ک ایدی هم ده کلام الله نی حفظ قیلب حضرت رسولمز مسجدنده تراویح بلان ختم قیلومزغه هه م قرأة ننگ درست بولوینه بر شهادت نامه آولازم ایدی. برکون اش قیلب همه مدرس لارمزنی هه م اییداشلارمزنی ضیافت قه چاقردم الوغ استاذ لارمزغه مراجعت قیلدم سزلار رخصت بیرسه گز بزلار مولود آیندان صوننگ مملکت مزگه قایتوغه نیت قیلب ایدوک دیدم. صوکره محترم استاذ مزجد شگری افندی مجلسده بولغان مدرس و باشقه قرألارغه مراجعت قیلب بو عبد المجید القدیری افندی بزم حضورمزده قرأة عاصم روایة حفص بله ن کلام الله نی بتمامه حفظ قیلب هه م حرم حضرت نبوی ده تراویح بله ن ختم اوتکاردی ایندی سزلار بو افندی ننگ کلام الله نی یوقاریده ایتمش روشچه اجازت نامه بیره سم ایکان دیدی بولارده شول مجلسده بر مقرأ کلام الله نی میندان اوقتب یاخشی اجازة بیروگز ممکن دیدیلار. صوکره اوزندان باشلاب اول کم دان اوقغان پیغمبر خداغه بارب توتاشقان غه قدر یازب مهرلاب اجازة نامه بیردی. باشقه اجازة نامه لرم اولغه یاتقاچ ۱۹۲۳ نی یللق مفتی اهل الاسلام عالم جان البارودی حضرتلری مفتی الاسلام بولوصفتی بله ن کلام الله نی هم حدیث نبوی نی اوقتورغه اجازة نامه بیرر ایدی کندی

نځ مبارک امضاسی بله ن بارلق اجازة نامه لرم ۱۹۳۰نچی میلادیه ده حکومت طرفندان یورطلار و ملکمزنی جبرا مصادره ایتکان وقتنده بولغان کابلا رمنی چغارب تاشلاب شول وقتده غائب اولمشدر. ایندی خدا نصیب ایتسه قایتو یاغنه یول حرکت نی قیلورغه قالدی لو یل ده حمیدیه حجاز تیمر یولی اسمنده شام شریف دان مدینهء منوره گه یول اشله نمکده ایدی مدینهء منوره نځ باب العنبر دیکان اورنینه چغوب بزلارده تعطیل کونلارمزمده کیرکی تاجکه بله ن یول خدمتینه اشتراک ایتار ایوک چونکه بویول بر مقدس یول حساب قیلنورایدی. بزلار ایسه شول تیمر یولی اچون شام طرفندان عسکر حمایه سنده کروان بله ن تیوشلی یول اسباب لری کیترا ایدی شولارنځ یکلونی کوتب تورماق ده ایدوک چونکه شام غه بامش یولی ده اشقیالار طرغندان قورقچلی ایدی. سببی ایسه حکومت نځ یول سالوینه آنکلیه نځ دعواسی بله ن بدوی عرب لار یولنی اشله تماو حقنده اولب اسباب کیتره تورغان کروان لارنی اوتکارماس لار ایدی شوکا بنا حکومت قورال قوتی بله ن کیتور /92b/ بد بخت آنکلیه بو بدوی لارنی شولای قوتورته نه گرده تورکیه حکومتی یول اشلاتسه سزلرنځ تیه لارگزگه ئش بولی قالا آندان سزلار آچقه اولسزلار شولای ایتب بولا رغه ملطق و پاترون کبک نهرسه لارنی تاراتب یاتا. شولای ایتب حکومت کروانی فلان کون کیله ایکان دیگه ن خبر چقدی شولار یکلوگه دیب بزلارده حاضرلاب بتون یول نه رسه لارمزمی جیلاب قویدق. مونه بو کون ایرته گه کیته مز دیب تورامد شولای ایتب بزیتمش دانه قوراللی عسکر لبه ن کر،ان مدینه گه کیلدی یولده ده بدوی لار بله ن صوغشه صوغشه یکلمش لار ایندی قایتوغه شولاردان قورقب بو کروان بر آی کیته آلی یاتدی بزلارگه ده حاضرلان کاچ بر آی توررغه توغری کیلدی. حکومت بدوی لار بله ن یکیشب کروان کیتارگه بولدی شولای ایتب روضهء مطهرغه بارب حضرت نبوی افندمزگه صلاة سلام ویرب وداع لاشب مدینه دان سفر ایتدک شهردان کیچ چغب شهرنځ چیتده قوندق ده ایرته لاب قویاش چغو بله ن یورب کیتدک قالغان همشهری ایداش لارمز کیلب وداع لاشب ازاتوب قالدیلار خیرلی سفر آمین.

ایندی بزلا ر لراوچ کون تیه بله ن بارب اشله نب یاتا تورغان یولینه چیق ب شوندان پویزد بله ن شام شریف کینه رگه ایدی. ایکنچی کون کیچ بولب کروان یالان غه قونارغه بولدی مینم رفیق لارم میر سید اسفندیار ملا اوغلی مظرف یلا بوغه او یازی چرکه س فولصی دلد م اولنتی ایکنچی رفیق م محمد خلیل سلطان بیکف منزله او یازی چالی غه یاقن بیکش اولنتی ایدی مکه مکر مه مجاورلارندان شیخ محمد مراد رمزی مدینه منوره مجاورلارندان حسن الله حمیدف چیستای شهری دان عز الدین شفران استانسینه یاقن و اچیلی اولندان بولاردان باشقه مدینه لک عرب لاردان ده بایتاق کشتی لار کوب ایدی یتمش لاب قورالی عسکر شولای ایتب قونارغه توشب آش چای حاضر لاب یاتقان وقتمزده بیش آلتی قارت بدوی عرب لار کیلب اولتر دیلار ده سلام بیرب اسان لاشب نی اچون یکولارنی سویله دیلار. بزلا رگه فلان قدرلی آچه بیرمه سگز کروانی یولمزدان اوتکارمی موز دیب اهل مدینه دان باشقه کشتی لاردان آلامز دیدیلار بولارنک سوراوی بو نچه کشتی باشنه ۰۴ تین ایکان حاضر جیب آلدق ده نچه یوز صوم غه یتکان در بارونده بر بدوی قارت لارنک قولینه بیردک ده بولار ده راضی بولب ایرته لاب اوزمز کیلب / 93b ازاتب بیرمز بز یکیمی کیتمه گز دیدیلار اسان سلامت یوقلادق ایرته لاب تورب تیه لارمزی بایلاب یوک لارمزی سالب کونب تورامز تگی قارت بدوی لارنک یکونی قویاش ده بایتاق یوقاریلاب قالدی یوق خالق لار ایده یوریمز دیب قوز غالب کیتدک بر نچه یکومیتر باردقدان صوک اوک طرفمزدان تاودان بزلا رگه آتا باشلا دیلار وژ وژ ایتب پول لار کیله باشلادی کشتی لاری کورنی بزلا رده همه مز تیه لارمزدان توشب تیه گه اشقلان تویه لارمزه قوالی باشلادق شولایده بر ایکی تویه گه ضرر سز غنه پول تیدی شوندان بو توغریدان کراوغز اوتب کیتدی یاکادان آتی باشلا دیلار چونکه بو بدوی عرب لارنک رسمی بو نچه آرتقان توریده کروان نی توقاتا آلسه کیلب هجوم ایته لار توقاتا آلماسه آرتدان قومیلار بزلا رنی توقاتا آماغاچ بزگه ده آتی باشلا دیلار یاری سلامت اوتک قووانشب کیتدک ینه بر ۴-۵ دورت بیش یکومیتر بارغان ایدک ینه صول طرفمزدان آتا باشلا دیلار بو وقت کوب کنه آتولار

بوله باشلادی بزننگ یتمش قورالی عسکرلارمز تیه نی چوکردب تیه اشقندان قارشی آتا باشلادیلار ینه کوبراک بزننگ هم تیه لار اوستینه پول لاردی کیله باشلادی تیه خواجه لاری تیه دان چیت که راک چغب یالان اوست کویگه آتا باشلادیلار چونکه اوزلارینه تسیه ده تیه لاری سلامت قالسون اچون بزلرده همه قارشی آتماغز دیب بولارنی آتودان توقتاب آق فلاک کورستدک تاو یاغینه قاراب شوندان آتش توقتالیدی صوکره تیه خواجه لارندان برنیچه عربنی بیردک تاوغه نه وار نه تلاک لاری بار ایکان دیه بولارده بارب کورب قایتب کیلیدیلار ده هر کشتی باشندان بر مجیدیه (بر صوم التمش تین) آچه سوریلار جیرلارندان اوتار اچون بز ایتدک کچه قونغان یرده بزلار آچه جیب بیردوک بیت دیب آلا رایتکان بزلارگه اول آچه دان بولب بیرمادیلار شوننگ اچون بز اوزمز کروانی توقتاب آورمز دیب کیتدک باشقه نه رسه یوق بز سوراغان نی بیرگزه یول لارگه کیته بیرگز دیمشلار. تیزگنه همه کشتی توزب قویدق ده هر کم دان بر مجیدیه دان آلب بولغان آچه ینه شول عرب لرمگه بارب بیرب کیل گز دیه آلارده تابشروب قایتدییلارده یول آچق ایده یوریمز دیب قوزغالب ده کیتدک یولده قارشومزغه یکرمی لاب تیه لی بدوی عرب لار کیلب سلام بیرب برآز بزننگ بله ن باردیلارده بورلب تاو آراسینه کروب کیتدی آلارنی بز کورمه گه ن بز آلارنی کورمه گه ن بک بولب قالدق. یولمزه اصطلبل عنتر دیکان بر تاو بار ایکان شونده بارب یتدک شول کوننی اوپله وقت لارنده تیمر یول ئشلی اشچی لار یانینه کیلب یتدک پویزد تاوشلاری اشته باشلادی اشچی لار بارده تورک عسکرلاری ایدی یوک واگونی بله ن ریلسه لارنی کیترب یولغه سالار ایدی صو یوق کون اسسی بچاره عسکرلار /93b/ توزلی اچب ئشلی ایدییلار شول یردان بوش آچق واگون لارغه اوترب پراوزگیری اتدرب اسنانسه غه قدر آلب کیتدییلار هدیه اسملی استانسه غه کیلب توقتادق واگون لار آچق کون لار اسسی پرموس بلان واگون اچنده چای قایناتب آش بشرب آشاب برنیچه کون یادتق شوندان صوک قدم شریفکه (شام غه) بیلت آلب یاخشی واگون لارغه اولترب کیتدک یولد مره مدائن صالح دیکان استانسه غه توقتاب بزلارنی کراتین غه توشردیلار یولدان یارطی کیلومیتراونده چاقرلار



قورلغان ایدی هربر چادرغه بولب بزلا رنی اونا شدیلار دیمه گ بو یرده بیش کون کراتتین ساقلاب آندان بزلا رنی شامغه بیره چک لار ایکان بو بیر تاریخ ده هم قرآن ده معلوم صالح پیغمبرنک خالقی تورغان بیر ایکان کبان کوکک توغه ره ک تاو لار بار ایدی بوتاولارنک یوقاریدا ایشک تره زه تیوش لاری کورنب تورا ایدی یاقن بولسه ده بزگه بارب یوررگه رخصت ایتمادی لار کلام الله ده وَكَانُوا يَحْتَوْنَ مِنَ الْجَبَالِ يَبُوتًا آمِنِينَ<sup>405</sup> دیکان آیه کریمه سی شوشی تاو لار حقنده بولسه کیره ک بیش کون کراتتین مزنی سلامت اوتکارب پوزدکه اولترب شام غه سفر قیلدق بر ایکی کون کیتکمز صوکنده تبوک دیکان استانسه غه کیلب یتدک بو اورنده پیغمبر زماننده تبوک محاربه سی بولمش در هم یاخشی مسجده بار شوندان صوک بر استانسه غه یتکاچ بزنگ شالون نی بر یولغه توپق غه کرتب قویدیلار ده بر اوزمزی آلب کیتدیلار. نی اچون ایکانن بلهاس دان برنچه کون یاترغه توغری کیلدی یولچی لار قینا باشلادی قایسی سی نک آزق لار بتکان ایدی ساتب آورغه یوق شوندان بزلا ر مجبور بولدق حیفاده تورا تورغان یول مینستری ناظم پاشا غه تیلگرام بیررگه تلگرام بیردک کوبده وقت ایتمادی استانسه دان ناچالنیک لار کیلب نی اچون بزگه ایتماسدان ناظم پاشا غه خبر بیرمش سرویه بزلا ر دیدک سز اوزگز بله سز بز نچه یوز کشتی مونده قینالب یاتقان نی نه اچون کیلب حاملزنی بلهادرگز دیدک. تیزدان پاروزده کیلب یتدی بزلا رنی ازاتب ده بیردیلا. شوندان معان دیکان استانسه نی اوتب شام شریف که بارب سلامت یتدک الحمد لله. باغازلارمزنی ناسیل شیک کوتارتب شهرگه کیتدک شهرنک کریموستی هه م کره تورغان قابقه سی بار ایکان بزلا رده جری تورغان ایدیلار شام شریف دیگان آی شهرده احشام سز لای قابقه یابلهاس دیب شول حاطرمه کیلب توشدی ده حمید دیکان بر ایداشمز بار ایدی جرغه استاغنه ایدی یه ئیبداش شوشی قابقا تونده بر شام شریف جیرلاب بیار ئه لی دیب هم جیرلاب ده بیاردی خدا غه شکر بو جرنی شهرنک قابقاسی تونده جیرلادق دیب قابقاداتن کرب کیتب بر یاخشی غنه اوتیل گه (نومیرغه) توشدک کشتی باشینه تولک که ۴۰ تین

405 [Q 15:82.]

تولاب تورددق شونندان مونچه غه بارب يوندق چونكه اون جيدى كون يولده كيمش ايدك حقي اسسى دان بيت لارمزنك /94a/ برقات تيرسى كويب توشكان ايدى. مونچه غه باردق غايت ياخشى ايكان اچنده زالنده بلي كول لاردى ده بار ايدى مرمر تاشندان ياسالغان اطرفى كشي باشينه قرق تين توله ب كردك مونچه دان يونب چقغان غه قدر بيش تورلى آق پراستينه لار بيرديلار كولنده يوزب يوردك شونداى كوكل لى ايدى يونب قايتب شهرنى تاماشا غه چقدك شهر بيك كوكل لى باچه لق اورام لارده زور غنه صولار آغب تورا ايكي ياغنده ترامواى يورب تورا مگازين لار كوب ياوروپسكى فورماسنده قات سوت ايت ماي كوب شهرنك اطرافى قارلى تاو لار تيره ياغى ميوه باچاسى اورك يوزم شالى تاشكندگه اوخشاغان شهر ايكان. پنچى جامع امويه ده صحيح البخارى اوقته تورغان الشيخ بدر الدين ارزى مدرسه ده تورا ايكان ياشى سكسان ده ايدى جماعت آماغان هر جمعه كون جمعه دان صوك بر ساعت قدر بخارى دان درس بيره ايكان خالق كوب بز لارده درس نده بولدق آندان مدينه منوره ده استاذمز شيخ عبدالقادر الطربلسى حضرتلارى بوكشيگه مكتوب بز نك بله ن يازغان ايدى بوشيوخ عبدالقادر الطربلسى نك استاذى بولا ايكان. بز لارده زمزم حرمه هديه ايتب بيرسه ك ده قبول قيلمادى خالص بر محدث ايكان الله نك رحمتنده بولسن آمين. صوكره جامع امويه (شام شريف ده اموى خليفه لارى زماننده سالنغان مسجد در) بو مسجدنك بر مناره سى ده منارنى بيضا ديب اسم بيرله در آخر زمانده حضرت عيسى شول مناره غه توشار ايمش ديب اسكى كتاب لارده بار در شونى كوردك ينه شول مناره توينده مجاهد فى الاسلام صلاح الدين ايوبى نك تر به سينه كرب زيارت قيلدق اشكنده بر عسكرى قارت تورا ايكان رخصت سوراب قبه نك اچينه كردك زور ريشونكه بله ن اوراتلغان ئوستينه ياشل پوستاو يالغان باش اچوسنده زور ياشلى چالما اورايت قويلغان ايدى. استانه سنده بر يادكار فينوك قويلغان آلمانيا پادشاهى ويلهيلم طرفندان حرمت ايتلوب قويلش در چچانده شام و قدس شريف كه سياحتى وقتنده وينوك آستينه

ایلا ندرب فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ<sup>406</sup> دیه آیه کریمه یازلمشدر. قاراولچی قارتدان صورادق بابا نصل بو قویلهش وینوک آتون مو یوقسه کمش مودیه کافر سیکا آتون دان قویارمودیه جواب بیردی. صوکره مسجد نک بر طرفنده حضرت حسین رضی الله عنه نک باشی نیک قبری بارایکان برنیچه بولمه لار آشاکرب زیارت قیلدق. چقان کربلا صوعشنده رضی الله عنه ک باشی کیسلب شام باشلغی یزید ملعون گه کیترگه ن لار ایکان شول حضرت حسین رضی الله عنه نک باشی شوشنده کوملگان ایکه ن اول زمانده بو اورن یزیدنک خزینه شرای اولمشدر. موندان چغب ملک الظاهرگنا بجانیه سینه کردک شام توقز کتب خانه بولغان ایکان یاورپالیلار کتب خانه قدرلی کتاب لارنی اوغرلی باشلا عاج قالغان کتاب لارنی بر شوشی ملک الظاهر کتب خانه سنه جیب برکتب خانه قلمش لاردر. /94b/ کتب خانه نک اچینه کرساک کتاب بیک کوب رسول الله زمانندان بر یوز ایلی یل صوگ یازلغان کتاب لارنی کوردک مع التأسف کتب اقوچی اسلام آدم لارن کورمادک بر آنچه کشی لار بولسه ده انگلیز فرانسوزلار ایدی. موندان صوگ شام شریف نک عمومی مقبره سینه بارب آنده صحابه لاردان حضرت بلال الحبشی مؤذن رسول الله دیب یازلمش تاشی بار ایدی آندان عبدالله بن ام مکتوم رضی الله عنه گه زیارت ایتدک بونک قبرتاشینه یازلمش قبری عبدالله ابن مکتوم دیه آنک حقنده قرآن ده عَبَسَ وَتَوَلَّى أَنْ جَاءَهُ الْأَعْمَى<sup>407</sup> آیتی نازل اولمشدر دیه یازلمشدر. شهر اچنده محی الدین ابن عربی رحمة الله علیه گه بارب قبه سینک اچینه کرب زیارت ایتدم احاطه سینه یازلمش بو روشده بر شعر وهذا محی الدین عربی أعرف وفته فَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُؤْمِنْ وَمَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيُكْفُرْ<sup>408</sup> دیه یازلمشدر. بوندان پاموق بابا دیکان بر زیارت غه باردق بو پاموق بابا کرد میلتندان بر اولیاء اولمش ایمش کشی لار کرد میللت ندان اولیاء بولامو دیب طغن ایکان لار ایمش صوکره

406 [Q 11: 115.]

407 [Q 80: 1-2.]

408 [Q 18: 29.]

اولدکدان صوک قبرندان آياغنی چغارب کوستکه ن ايمش اوليالغنی بلدرمک اچون قبرنک اوستی يابولی با طرفندان ایکه ک پچی شیلکلی تورنده پاموق اچندان بر قاره غنه آياق کوتارلب تورا ایدی حقیقت نی بر خدا بله در آدم لارکوب زیارت قیله لارایکان. شامنک اطرافنده جبل قاسیون دیکان تاوغه مندوک مونده یعنی بوتاوده آدمنک ایکی اوغلی قابل هابل نی اولترگان ايمش شونده بر تاوئیشگی بار توباسندان تاچی تاموب تورادر شونداغی خدمت ایتب حاجی لاردان صدقه آلوب کروچی لار ایته در تاو ایتکان ايمش قابل هابل نی اولتروی اچون آدم لار آز وقت قنه یلار لار مین یسه قیامت که قدر پلي مون ديه تل که کیلب تاش سویله که ن ايمش. منوب کورسه ک ده بز دینی حرافات ديب اولیلاب قایتدوق اشامادق. ینه بر تاوده بز بارا آلمادق دهیه الکلبی رحمة الله علیه نك زیارتی آنا ديب کورساتدیلار. تاغن بوتاوده محل اربعین عائب قرق ایرلارنک محرابی ديب قرق محراب یاساب قویغان لار. تیوشلی اورن لارنی کورب هه م زیارت قیلب قدس شریفکه سفر قیلدق شام شریف ده (دمشق) ده بیرامکه اسملی واگزول دان اولترب پویزد بله ن بیروت شهرینه سفر قیلدق بو یردان بیروت طوقز ساعت لک یول ایدی جبل لبنان تاغ لارنی اوتب بیروت شهرینه بارب توشدک جبل لبنان تاغ لارنده نصاری عرب لار یاشیلر ایکان معشیت لاری یفاک چیلک هم پاخته ومیوه لک بله ن ایکان بیروت ده هجاز اوتیلی دیکان نومیره که توشدک مونده برنیچه کون کورب یوردک آمریکان طرفندان سالنمش مکتب کلیه نی کوردک کینا وتیاترلارنی تاماشا قیلب بوندان بیس پاسیلکه /95a/ کتاب بیردم ایومزگه. بیروت شهری الوغ دراهالیسی توری کوبرک نصاری عرب لاری در تل لاری عرب کتاب و غزیه لاری هم چیرکاولارنده ده عربچه اوقیلار بولارنک عالم لاری ده کوبدر عربچه کوب کتاب لار یازغان لار جرجی زیدان (?). کبی لار نجوم الفرقان دیکان بر کتاب یعنی آیات لارنی تابواچون یکل روشده یازغان شوشی بیروت ده عرب نصارا عالم لاری طرفندان یازلمش در آق دینگز بوننده (سردی زمینی مور) هر توری ملت کوب در انگلیز فرانسوز امیرکان نیمس اسرائیل لار هر ملت دان کوبدر هر حکومت نک

سفارة خانه سی یعنی قونصل لاری بار بزنگ ریسیه نک بار اییدی. موندان پراحوط بلان حیا دیکان شهرگه کیتدک آندان یافا دیکان شهرکه بارب توشب پویزد بله ن آتی ساعت لک یول ایکان قدس شریفکه کیتدک سلامت کیلوب یتدک خداغه شکر. مونده برنجی مقصد مز مسجد اقصی نی کورو ایکنچی ضحرة الله نی کورو هم باشقه زیارة اورن لارنی کورو اییدی. مسجد اقصی غه بارب اچینه کرب نماز قیلدق صوکره ضحرة الله مسجده کرب نماز او قدق ضحرة الله مسجده نک اچنده یکر میتر بلکه آرتق بولور توبه راک بر قارا تاش اسکاله در بوتاشقه باسب پیغمبر محمد علیه السلام معراج غه کیلکان وقتده کوتارلگان ایمش هم بوتاشده آیاق اثری دیه تاش نک بر یری کورسته لار تاش نک آستی پادوال کبک طشدان چغب ایلاب آستینه کره سن بوش بر بوله کبک اوچ طرفنده مرمر تاشی بله ن تراوقولغان در ایته لار اول ده بوضحرة الله بوش هواده آسلب تورغان ایمش دیلار آستینه کرگه ن وقتده کئی لار قورقاس دیب تروالار قولغان ایمش و الله اعلم بالصواب پیغمبر مز مدینه کیل گه چ شوشی ضحرة الله غه قاراب نماز اوقغان در هجرتدان ایکنچی یلده خدادان امر کیلکان قَوْلٍ وَجْهَكَ شَطْرَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ<sup>409</sup> دیه شوندان پیغمبر مز اوله می ایکندی مومناننده مکهء مکرمه گه کعبه الله غه قاراب نمازنی تمام قیلغان بو اورن ده مدینهء منوره ده شهردان طشده راق مسجد القبلتین دیکان مسجد باردرد قبله سی ایکی یاق ده بر استانسی کعبه الله طرفنده برسی ضحرة الله طرفنده ده مسجد اقصی ایکی قات لی در آستی زور سرای کبک بر چیتدان قیو قابچاچی کبک کنه توشه تورغان یولی بار آستینه توشب کوردک بو سلیمان علیه السلام زماننده بولغان بنا مونده آت سرای لاری بولغان ایمش دیلار توشکاچده بر اورن ده مرمر تاشندان نُشله نگه ن بیشک کبک بر یادکار باردرد بو بیشکنی آلمانیا ایمپراتوری ویلهلم بونده سیاحت وقتنده عیسی پیغمبر نک توغان اورنی دیه بو یادکاری قویب کیتمشدر موندان صوک حضرت مریم آنامزنگ قبرینه باردق یر آستنده بر پادوال اچنده برنچه باسقیچ دان توشب کردک فراشلاری بار ده نصاری ملت لارندان روحانی لار اییدی

409 [Q 2:144.]

رخصت سوراب کردک زور بر زال بر طرفنده بر بومه بار /95b/ بومه نک  
 اچنده قبری استینه اوستال کبک قیلوب قابلانغان انک اوستینه یاشل  
 پوستاو یابلغان باشنک اوستنده کچکنه گنه صلیب قویلغان هم ده بالاوز  
 شه م یانوب تورادر ایدی بزلا ده حضرت مریم نی گناه سز بر خاتون  
 بولونی کلام الله نک کورسه توی بوینچه زیارت قیلباق تیوشلی مزیدیب زیارت  
 ایتدک ده چقدک زال یاغنده برنیچه اورنده آیاق غه تورب اوقی تورغان  
 اوستال لار بار ایدی نصاری لارنک هر بر مذهبی اوزلارنچه شول استالکه  
 باسب اوقی لار ایش کاتولیک پراتستان و باشقه مذهب لار موندان صوک  
 زور بر کنیسه که کردک بو کنیسه نک آچقچی عرب لار قولنده توا ایکنه ن نصاری  
 لار کرب عبادة قیلغاچ بو عرب قاراول بیکلاب آلا ایکان اچینه کردک اچنده  
 نیچه تورلی مذهب ده بولغان نصاری لار عبادة لار قیلب یاتالار ایدی.  
 قایسی براولاری تزلان اولتر بزنک کبک قول کوتارب دعاء قیلا لار ایدی  
 هم آمین دیب ده ایته لار ایدی. موندان چغب باردق روسیه حکومتی  
 طرفندان صالحنمش مناستیر که بارب کرب کوردک مناح و مناشکه لار بیک  
 کوب ایدی باشلق لارندان سورادق بزلا روسیه لی قزان تاتارلاری  
 رخصت ایته گز، بز مناستیرنی کرب کورر ایدک دیب ممنونیت بله ن آچقچ  
 لارنی کوتارب آلب چغب آچب کورساتدی کنیسه لارنک باشنده صلیب  
 لار بارده آلتون ایدیلا. شونندان بر تاو باشنده بر مناره غه آلب بارب  
 کورساتدی بیک بیوک ایدی بر یوز یتمش باسقچی بار تیمردان ایلان  
 منک باشینه چقدق بر زور قالا قول بار ایدی باشقه نه رسه یوق بو  
 شونندان مناره ایکان بوتاو دان حضرت عیسی علیه السلام کوک که کوتارلکان  
 ایش قبری دیه کورساتدیلا. قدس شریف دان یکرمی یکومتر یراق لقدمه  
 خلیل الرحمن دیلا ابراهیم علیه السلام نک قبر شریفی شونده ایکان مه  
 التأسف بارا آلمادق یولی مشقت ایشاک تیه بیک قیبات آلا لار ایکان. قدس  
 شریف نک اهالیسی کوچکلک یهودلار ایکان قارتلاری آق کلا پوش کیب چیکه  
 ساقال لاری بیک ازون بولا ایکان قول لارینه تسبیح تارتب اوقرلار ایدی دیمه  
 ک بو تسبیح یهودلارنکی بولغان ایکان بزنک صالحان صوفی ملالرمزده

محرابلارده چات چوت ایتب اوترالار بیت ابونی شولاردان آلمان لاریکان دیب ایولادق. روسجه بو قدس شریف یورسالیم دیه لار. ایندی موندان مصرغه بارو نیتمز ایدی کراتین مصرغه حاضرغه حج دان کیلکان کشتی لار اچون یول یوق دیب پارمادیلار.

شوندان کیدی بیروت قه قایتب کیلک. ایندی موندان استانبولغه کیته رگه کیره ک ایدی. برکون رفیق لارمه ایته م ایده گز ایرته گه روسیه سفارتخانه سینه برامز برنه رسه /96a/اشلاب بولماسمودیدم نیگه آنده بارامز دیدیلار بر اش بار خدا قوشسه بلکه شول ئش بولماسمودیدم. اول نه رسه دیدیلار سز بیت صایدان یوزاسز روسیه نک قانونی بوئجه اوزینک تبعه سنی یول خراجتی بولماسه کونسول یاردم ایتب بوش اوزاتورغه تیوش دیدم آچه مز یوق ایماس آتون حساینه بیش یوز صوم آچه مزنی آلدان استانبولغه پرواد قیلغان مز شولای بولسه حکومت نک قانونی بولغاچ بز لار شاکردلار مز اوقوچی لارمز بزگه یاردم ایتارگه تیوش دیب حنیزدان بر توک قیلندان بولور. یاری باریق ایرته گه دیدیلار ایرته بولدی کون چغشی بله ن سفارتخانه گه یونالدک بیک ازاق یلان بارب تابدق ایشکنده قاراول تورا ایکان آفریقاق قاره بر کشتی فورماده کینکان زبانی کبک قارارغه قوتک قالماس شوندای قاراهه م الوغ گاودالی تورکجه بله ن ایکان نی کیره ک دیدی بز ایتدک کونسول غه کیلکک اشمز بار ایدی دیدک کرب کیتدی ده برآزدان صوک کرکز دیب بزنی کرتب بپردی بارب اداره سینه کردک اداره ده سرکاتبی کنه اولتره ایکان یومشمزنی ایتدک اول کرب کونسول غه ایتدی ده شوندوق کونسول کیلب چقدی ده نه خدمت گز بار دیدی بز ایتدک واش پرافاسجادیتلستوا دیب سویلادک. بز لار مدینه دان کیله مز استانبولغه باراچاق مز آندان راسیه گه قاتامز بز نک یول حرجمز بتدی ممکن بولسه بز سز لار نک بالا گز بولساق سز لار بز لار نک حکمی آتامز دیب اوتنه مز بز لار گه استانبولغه قدر بوش پراحوط قه بیلیت بیرسه گز ایکان اوتتچمز شول دیدک قایا پاسپورتلار گز دیب سورا دی بز لارده پاسپورتمزنی بپردک قارادی ده نو سز لار نک پاسپورتلار گز نک وعده سی اوتکان نی اچون وعده سی تولغاچ کونسولدان پاسپورط آلامدیگز دیدی بز

ایتدک مدینه ده کونسل یوق باشقه یردان آلونی بهادک دیدک. ایندی سزلارنی مین توغری یاتاب بله ن روسیه غه ازاتامن دیدی. مونه ایندی خفاغه قالدق قولمزده آقچه مز بوله تورب مونده یکلورگه نیک کیره ک ایدی ئوزمز کولتورنی یاورپیس لار کبک یاخشی کاستوم کالستوک باشنده قزل فس میق قالن ساچ لار یتوایدی. بز قونسل دان اوتدک فاش پراوسحادیتیلستوا سز ئوزنگز بله سزلار بز مدینه ده اوچ قدر اوقب استانبولغه بارب دیپلوم آلومز کیرک اگرده سزلار بز لارنی توغری روسیه گه اوزاتا تورغان بولسه گز بز لارنک نیچه ییل اوقب یوریمز یوقغه چغاچق البته سزلار الوغ کشی سنکز الوغ لارنک عاداتی موندان ئشلارنی عفواتمک درالبته سزلار بز لارنک بو احوالمنی اوتتیچ مزنی یرگه سالماس سز دیه چن کوکلهز ایله صوریمز دیدم بز نک اوتتیچ مزنی قبول ایتار سز دیب اشانامز دیدم. پاسپورتلار استالی اوستنده یاتالار ایدی ایندی دورت کوز بله ن قاراب تورامز پاسپورطقه برر نه رسه یازماسه یارار ایدی دیه خیریت برر نه رسه ده یازمادی صوکره باش کاتبی نه /96b/ برر نه رسه یازارغه قوشدی ده کابینته کرب کیتدی. کاتب یازدیده آلب کرب قونسلدان قول قویدرب چقدی ده کابینت که سالب پچات لاب قولمزغه بیردی هم م پاسپورتلار مزنی ده بیردی آلب بارب روسکی اوبشیتستوا پراحوطنیک کاتورینه بیر سز دیب رحمت اوقب چغب کیتدک. ایندی اویلبیز بو کاغز که نه رسه یازدی ایکان بلکه بز لارنی یاتاب یولی بله ن آلب کیتکر دیب یازغاندر اگرده بولای بولسه اوزمزنی اوزمز بارب تابشرغان بولامز. نی بولسه ده کانبرت نی اچب بر بلکان کشی دان اوقتورغه کیره ک بولای توغری کاتورغه ایتب بیرمیک دیه کشی تاب اوقتدق درست بز نک اوتتیچمز بو نیچه استانبولغه بیلیت یازغان ایکان کانبرت نی یاکادان بوزماسدان یابشدرب ایتب تابشر دق بوده حنیزدان بر قل بولدی. موندان استانبولغه اوچنیچ کاس ده بیلیت قرق صوم تورا ایدی دیمه ک بز لار بوش کیتدک. بو پراحوطمز سودا پراحوطی بولوسبیلی ازاق یوری تورغان بولدی هر بر پرستن که ترقاب یوک آلا و بوشاته ایدی دینکرده رادوس اوطراوینه هم ساقز اوطراوینه توقتاب بر نیچه کون دان تورکیه نک از میر شهریه یتدک. مونده بر



زور گرمانیه پراحوطی توقتاب تورا ایدی بز سوراقدق بو قایده بارا دیب ایتدیلا ر استانبولغه بارا دیه نه وقت استانبول غه یته ایکان دیگاچ ایرته ن کون چغوغه یته در دیدیلار . صوکره ممکن استانبوله بیلیت آورغه دیدک ممکن دیدلار اوچنچی کلاس قه بر صوم آلتمش تورا دیدیلار ئه بزنگ پراحوط موندان سلانیک شهرنه بارب آندان قایدادر یورب اوچ کوندان صوک استانبولغه باراچاق ایدی شوندان صوک سلانیک که باروچی کم بار دیه اعلان قیلوب اوزمزنک پیروتدان آغان بیلیت لارمز ۱۵ صوم دان ساتدق ده بو پراحوطقه بر صوم ۶۰ تیندان بیلیت آلب گرمانیه پراحوطینه اولتر ب ایرته لاب استانبولغه کیلب یتدک . اتسانبولده بر اوچ آی قدر توررغه توغری کیلدی مونده بایازید میدانان حربیه نظارینه قارشوفاتیر آلب کردک . بر ایکی قدر سلطان فاتح محله سنه یورب عصمت افندی دیکان حساب معلم ندان آیغه بر آلتون ۸۶۰ تین تولاب حساب اوقدق مونده اوزمنک بالا وقتنده برکه اوقغان عبدالله ساتیف یوقاریده یازلوب اوتکان ایدی دار الفنون نک طبیعیت شعبه سنده اوقی ایدی مینم بله ن مدینه ده بر یل تورب صوکره استانبولغه کیلکان ایدی . مونک بله ن هر وقت برکه یورب استانبولنک هر بلارنی کوردک بر کون ماتورنی پراحوط بله ن /97a/ جمعه کون ایدی یقوز دیکان اورنغه باردق بو کون یال کونی بولب سبیلی بتون شهرنک کشی لاری مونده یورب تاماشا قیلب قایتورلار ایدی شهردان ۲ کیلومیتر بوسفور بوینده خالق کوب یاخشی توغایلق تیکز جیر سیارک کینه بیک قارت طویل آغاچ لار ده اوسب اولترا ایدی هر کم اوزملیت لاری بله ن اویناب کولب یوررلار ایدی موندان برنچه کیلومیتر بولور اورمان اچی بله ن استانبولده مشهور قارا قولاق چیشمه سی بار ایکان شول چیشمه نک چقغان اورینه باردق بر مرمر تاشندان اولاق یاساب قویغان اولتر ب ایکنه ک بله ن زیتون جمشی آشاب صونی اچب قایتدق بو صومیکروسز صو بولب موندان پراحوط بله ن استانبولغه کیتر ب قاره قولاق صووی دیب اوراملارده قققر ب ساتب یوریلار آندان شعیب تر به سی دیکان اورنغه تاو باشندا ایکان مونی بارب کوردک ایتولارینه بناء بو اورنده شعیب پیغمبرنک زیاراتی بار ایمش آندان آب

حیات چیشمه سی بار ایکان آندا بارب صودن اچب کیچ بله ن شهرگه قایتدق ایکنچی جمعه کون ایوب الانصاری مسجدنه بارب جمعه اوقب ایوب الانصاری حضرتلارینه ینه مدینهء منوره ده تورغان مدرسه مزنگ خواجه سی بشیر آغاغه زیارت قیلدم خدا قبول ایتسون مونده غلط کوپری یانندان ماتورغه اولترب باردق اوچنچی جمعه ده حیدر پاشا دیکه ن استانسه غه بارب اسکدار طرفنده آندان پویزد بله ن مال تیه دیکان استانسه غه توشب ینه ماتور بله ن مرمره دیکرینک اوطاونده بیوک آط دیگان یرکه باردقق اوطاراده بر تاو ایکان مونده شهرنک بیوک آدملارنک ذاجه سی ایکان کوز بر منظره در بتون تاونک اطرافی کول ساچکه لاری بله ن زینتدنگان ماطور ماطور جای کونینک ایولاری بار تق تاونک باشنده زور ریستاران بار ایکان کررگه دیب بارساق پالتسیه تورا ایکان مونده عثمان لی لار غه کروگه ممنوعدر دیدی خیر افندم بز لار مسکوف لیمز دیب پاسپورتلارمزی کورستب کرب آشاب چقدق کیچ که قدر یورب استانبولغه قایتدق ایکنچی وقتده بوش چاغمرزه استانبول اچنده تورلی اورن لارنی کورب یوردک سلطان فاتح سلطان سلیمان جامع لارینه هم سلطان احمد جامع سینه بارب مونده یکچری لار دیکان موزه خانه نی کرب کوردک بولار دین اسمندان سلطان نک بعضی بر یاوروپا قانون لارنی قبول اتوینه قارشب حکومتکه قارشی چقغان کشی لار ایکان سکسان کوب کشی بارسیده بورنغی اوزلارینک کیم لارنده آیاق اورا باسب تورالار ترک کشی لار کبک قاضی لاری جلادلاری باشقه بیوک آدم لاردر بونلارنی حکومت /97b/ تیوشلی جزالرون بیرکان در تیک یولار موزی خانه ده صورت لاری کنه تورادر جامع یاننده آلمانیه پادشاهی ویلهلم استانبولغه کیلکان وقتده بر چیشمه یاساتب کیتکان ایکه ن شول سببلی آلمانیه چشمه سی دیب یورته لار . ینه بومیدانده دیکلی تاش اسمنده بیوک تاش باغانالاردورت پوچماق لی هر طرفینه تورلی بورنغی حرفلار بیه ن یازولاری بار هیلوکرف حرفی هم تورلی قش ده جن لک صورتی اشلنکان در بو باغانی مصدران کیترگان لار ایکان فرعون لار قالمش آثار عتیقه لاردان در ینه برکون سرکه چی دیکان استانسه دان اولترب صمانیه استانسه سینه توشب کچوک مصطفی پاشا

محله سینه بارب یوقاریده یازلمش عبدالله افندی نک یورطینه بارب همشیرمز سعید خانم نی کورب تانشب سویلاشب اولتردق بو بیچاره استرلی باشنده بولغان زمانلارن اوتتب بتمش درمین آولده یاش وقتده کورشومزده اوسکان قز ایدی عیبده الله شریف دبان کشینک قزی ایدی مع التأسف عبدالله فندی نی کوره آلمادق اول ایسه وقت چه اول لارغه کیتکان ایدی. موندان صوک برکون آیا صوفیه موزا خانه سینه بارب بورنغی زمان ننک کوب آثار عتیقه لارون کوردک شولایوق مصدران فرعون لار زمانندان قالمش آثارلار چون کروب لار و باشقه لار کوب ایدی. وقت لار راسیه گه کیتوگه یاقن لاب کیله در برآز موندان کیره ک لی کتاب لار آلورغه کیره ک کتاب دکان لارندان آزلاب آزلاب کتاب لار آلا باشلادم دینی و فنی حدیث تفسیر جغرافیای تاریخ کتاب لاردان هر قایوسنی آلمدم فتح القدر ابن عابدین بخاری شریف قاموس الاعلام شمس الدین سامی بک نک بایتاق کتابلار آلمدم کوبسنی مطبعه دان چقمش حالنده کزیت کبک یعنی توبلانماگان ایدی پوچته غه سالورغه آرزان بوله دیب هه م تامورنه حاقی بولی دیب کاعز روسنده سالمدم جمععی ۱۲ قداق دان ۱۳ اون اوچ پاسلکه بولدی هر بر پاسیلکه گه اوچه ر بلانکه فرانسوز تلنده یازدرب آفستریا پوچته خانه سینه تابسردم هر پاسیلکه گه ۶۵ تین تولدوم ویانا پاریر آرقلی روسیه ده الوغ تیمر بولی سامارازالاتاوست سیر یولنده آکسون استانسه نیکفارده کیامز اولغان سمیع الله عبداللین اسمنه سالمدم بارنده قایتقاچ سلامت آلمدم. موندان صوک اوستمه کیم لار آتا و آنا غه آزاراق بولاک لار آلمدم آماگه دیکان پاریر فابریکانده اشلانگه ن کسه ساعاتی آلمدم ۱۲ صوم غه یاخشی زاکرانچی کون چومادان یخشی جون آدیال کاستوم آیاق کیم لاری آتامرغه بر جبه اوزمه یاخشی دیکنال دان جبه چالمه فس بربر یکریمی دانه مرجان آحاق کبی بولاک نه رسه لار ئالدم /98a بو ۱۹۰۸ بر منک توقز یوزسکرچی یلده آغوست آیلارنده ایدی. مدینه دان برگه چغقان اییداش لار رمز برگه ایدی ایندی ستانبولدان چواستاپولغه باررغه کیره ک تاغن بیروت ده قونسلدان بوش بیلت المغان کبک مونده ده قونسلدان بوش بیلت آلورغه کیره ک ایدی استانبولده صوقر حافظ دیکان بر تاتار ماکلیرنی

کورب سویلا شدک بزلا رگه روسیه قونسلدان روچ بیلیت آلب بیر هم تورکیه نک تاموژنه سندان بزلا رنی اوتکارب ازاتب بیر دیدک اول ایتدی اوچ گزگه بر آلتون دان اوچ آلتون بیررسن (آلتون ۱۰ صوم) یاری دیدک چونکه بو حافظ روسیه قونسل لاری بله ن تانش ایکان بو حافظ آغا وعده سنده تورب بزلا رگه بوش بیلیت آلب کیتردی ده ایرته لاب پراحوط قه توشارسز مینده بارب تاموژنادان اوتکرب بیررمن دیدی ایرته لاب توشب تاموژنادان اوتب پراخوطقه اولتردق بزنگ اوتمزدان اوق شهردان عزیته کردی بوکون سلطان عبدالحمید اهالیگه حریت اعلان قیلدی دیه مع التأسف بزلا رگه کیری پراحوطدان قایتورغه بولمدی خوش استانبول یاشاسون تورکیه نک حریتی دیب وداع لاشب ایدک برگه پراحوط دان چغب تاموژنه سراینه کردک ده چومادان لارمزی تفتیش قیلب اوتدی لار شوندان صوک تاموژنه ناچانلیکی چغب سز لانک پاسپورتلار کز تک وعده سی اوتکان دیب اوچ یارمغه بیر یوز بیش ص،م اشتراف تولیسز دیدی بزلا ر آچه مز یوق حاملز بولسه قایتقاچ تولارمز دیدک آلیسه آگه غه قول قویگز: دیدی قول قویدق ده بزلا رنی چغارب بیردی شوندان تانش قریم تاتار لاری بله ن برگه چغب بزلا رنی بر یاخشی عنه نومیره غه آلب بارگز دیه اوتندک یاری دیب بر نومیره غه کیترب قویدیلار رحمت دیب آیرلشددق. بر ساعت ده اوتمادی معلوم تاتارمز ایزفوشچک بله ن کیل گانده بزنگ مونده بر جمعیت مز بار ایکان سز کاشردلارنی مجلسکه آلب یکلورگه اوتدی لار هم م مولود شریف اوقی چاق سز دیدی ایبداشلارمز ایلان مصلحت قیلشوب باررغه بولدق کیتدک بو مجلس یورطنه بارب کردک بر ایکی یوز قدر قریم لی تاتار جیلهمش در بزلا رنی خوش صفا یکلدگز: دیه قاشولاب آلدیلار اسانلا شوب بتکاندان صوک شاکردلار بر مولود شریف /98b/ اوقوگزنی اوتتامز دیدیلار بزلا ده بیک اعلا دیب اوقورغه باشلادق مولود تمام بولغان دان صوک آش پلا و بیرب بزلا رنی قوناق ایتدی لار . بزلا ر سورا دق بو مجلس گز: نیندای مجلس بولدی دیب دیدیلار مونه بزلا ر چواستاپولده تورغوچی تاتار لار بو اورنی مسجد قالورغه ساتب آلدق شونک برکیکاشی ینه جیولمش ایدک نصیب بولسه ده یاقنده عمارتینه باشلا یاقق مز

دیدیلار سز شاکردلار نک بو مجلسمزگه کیلوب بزلا نی ممنون قیلدگر: بزلا رده مسجدگزی تمام قیلب اچینه کروب خداغه عبادة گزی نصیب ایتسون سلامت لاشب قایتب کیتدک. بر ایکی کوندان مسکوا آرقلی سامارغه ییلت آلدق اییده ش لرمز اورازایوفکه آرقلی قزان غه ییلت آلدیلار مسکواغه سفر ایتدک حارقوف آر یول تولا شهری آشا مسکواغه یتب حارقوفسکی واکراغه توشب آندان ایزفوشچیک بلان باگاژلارمز ئالب قزانسکی فواکراغه بارب باغاژلارمزی کامیرا خرائینه گه تابشرب اوزمز شهرگه کیتدک لیوپیسکی پلاشادقه توقتاب ناوای واروارسکی پادفویه غه توشدک سودقه سینه دورت صوم ایلی تین تولادک اوچنچی قاتندا ایدی. مونده بر قزانلی محمد جانف دیکان کشی شول نومیره ده کیل گه ن مسافلارغه مسلمانچه آش لار پیشرب هر نومیرلارغه زکاز بوئجه آش تاراتا ایکان چونکه مسکواده مسلمان سویغان ایت لارنی تابو مشکل در. بو محمد جان آغا الله نک رحمتده بولسن برینچه کون لار بزلا رنی اوز آشلاری بلان قوناق ایتب هم ده مسکوا نک تورلی اورن لارن قریمل و باقچه لارنی مسجدلارن اوزی کورسه توب یوردی فقط نومیره حاقن آلدی باشقه آشلارینه حاق بیرسه ک ده آمادی برلارنی اوزی کیلب قزانکی واکراغه اولترتب بیردی الله گناه سنی عغو ایتسون شوندان صوک یولداش مز محمد خلیل سلطان بیکوف میر سید مظفر لار بلهن اورازیفکه دان آیرلشب کیتدک سلامت سامارغه کیلب توشب بر ایکی کون تورب آکسیون استانسه سینه ییلت آلب کیلب توشدم موندان اون ایکی یکومیتز نیکفار اولینه توشب توغان کیاومز سمیع الله عبداللین یورطینه کیلدم کیلب کره م بله ن مرحوم آتامز هه م انکامز مونده قوناق غه یکمیش لار ایکان الحمد لله محترم آتامزنی هه م آنامزنی کورب شاد بولب قالدیم. آتامزنک ایتوینه بناء اولمزنک حضرتی عبدالله محمد حارث اوغلی توقایف هه م برادری محمد شاکر محمد حارث اوغلی توقایفلار اوفاعه ایرته سی کون باراچاق لار دیب ایتدیلار شوندان /99a/ اویلادم میخ ده اوفاده گورنسکی اوپراولینه غه کرچه ک اشم بار ایدی بولارغه اوچاب بوگه بارسام بکله میخ اشم توغرسنده برر یاردم قیلورلار دیب اویلاب اوفاعه باررغه ایلادم هه م آکسیون استانسه سینه بارب اوفاعه ییلت آلدیم

شفران استانسه سینه کیلب یتسام مذکور حضرتلارمزگه یولقب کورشب برگه اوافاغه کیتدک اوافاغه بارب سیبیرسکی غاستینه غه نومرغه توشدک. مینده احوالنی بیان قیلدم میم غورناتور ادارسنده شوندان اشم بارایدی نیچک کورب سویلاشه مز دیه الایسه بزنگ تانشمز احمد سلطان تیرغولف آنده خدمت ایته مین کورب سویله شرمن دیدیلار صونکدان قایتب میکا حواب بیردیلا و عده قلدی ایرتن غورناتور بله ن کورب سویلا شورمز ده خبر ایتارمن دیب ایتدی دیب ایکنچی کون تیرغولف نومرزمغه کیلیدی مونه آنداغی فولص پاسپورطگرنی آلب کیلدم بو زگرانچی پاسپورطگرنی میکا بیره سز دیدی پاسپورط منی تابشرب صوکره ایتری سزنگ اشگز حقنده غورناتور بویله جواب بیردی. مسئله مز تاموژناده پاسپورط اچون بر یوز بیش صوم اشتراف صلدیلا شونی غورناتوردان عفو ایتدروایدی. غورناتور بواش حقنده اوزم عفو ایته المیم فقط مینسترستوا غنه عفو ایته در دیب نه گرده اورنداغی ناچالنیک لار درست بوکشی فقیر تولارلک حالی یوق دیب کاغز بیرسه شول وقتده مین بوکاغزنی مینسترگه بیررمن دیب ایتدی دی. یارار بو اشمز حاقنده بر یول تاب ینه شول توقایف لار بلان برگه شفران غه قایتدق آنده ترویکه پاوسکه آربالار کوتب تورا ایکان بولار بلان برگه اولترب استرلی باشقه سفر ایتدک سلامت کیچ یتونمازی وقتنده قایتب یتدک الحمد لله یورطرمزغه قایتب آتا آنامه کورشب خدا شکر قیلب یوقلادم. بربر آتته دان صوک ادارات نیک کیلب میکا ایزویشنیه بیردی مونه بزدن چواستا پولسکی تاموژنه بر یوز بیش آچه سوراب بیرگه ن دیدی توغری دیب قول قویب ایزویشنیه نی آلب قالدیم. ینه بر آیدان استانواوی پریتف کیلب مینی چاقرتدی ده مونه سزلار گرانیتسه دن بارغان ایکان سز تاموژنه سزگه ۱۰۵ صوم اشتراف سالغان شونی بیره سز مودیددی. درست لکن مینم یاکا غنه قایتدم توررغه یورطم یوق حاضر هیچ برنه رسه بیرگه قولمدان کیلی ایدم اگر ده کوچب بر وقت یتسه تولارمن دیدم اوایلاب توریدده آلیسه فقیرلک اچون آتی قارت نی آلب کیل ده آلا ر بوکشی اول صومانی تولارلک دیب قول قویسه لار بوکاغزنی غورناتورغه قایتارمن دیدی. شولای ایتب آتی قارت

قول قویب بیردیلارده میکا بار کا عزییره ک بولسه ک ایکنچی وقتده چاقرتور من دیب چغارب بیردی والسلام شونک بله ن بومسئله حال قیلندی . /99b/ ۱۹۰۸ نجی یلده رمضان آی سنتابر ۱۴ لارنده بولسه کیره ک سلامت کلام الله نی حفظ قیلب قایتسام تراویح نمازنده ایومزده آتا آنامزنی آرتمه قویب کلام الله نی ختم قیلب بیرسه م ایکان وعده م بارایدی شول وعده منی اوتو نیتی بله ۱۸نجی رمضانده باشلاب ۱۵نجی رمضان غه قدرلی اوقب تمام قیلدم ایومزگه سیغان قدرلی کورشه آغانی لار هر قایوسی کیلب نمازده اشتراک ایتدیلار خدارضالعی اچون بولب خدا نیتمزنی قبول ایتسون آمین . ختم کچه سنده محله مزنک امام لاری وهم قاری لار ختم مجلسنده قاتنشوب ختم دعالارنی قیلب تمام قیلدق . ایندی قش لقدم مدرسه گه کرب شاکردلار آراسنده اوتکاررگه کیره ک بولدی بردن اوقغان مدرسه مزنک بر بولمه سنی رخصت ایتدیلار شوندان مدرسه گه کرب شاکردلار بله ن بعضی درسارنی اوگراتب باشقه چه معارف یولنده تورلی معلومات لار بیرب هر تورلی عزیته و محله لار آلدرب شاکردلاگه استقبال نک باسنه قاراب اوقوغه ترشگر دیه تورلی فکرلار سویلاب قولمدان کیلکان قدرلی اجتهاد ایتدم . محله لی مدرسه مدیرلارینه بواش لارم اوخشاماس بولدی جدید دهری بولب قایتقان ایکان شاکردلارگه سیاسی فکرلار ساللا تورکیه دان عزیته لار آلدرا دیب تیوشلی اورنغه دانوس هه م بیردیلار . لکن بر فائده قیله آلمادیلار . شولای ایتوب قشنی اوتکارب یازغه یاقنلاشب قالغانن آتا آنالرن بزلا رنی اویله ندررگه اویلی باشلاسه لار کیره ک . تیزره ک مونک باشنی بیله مه سه ک کیتب قالور دیب اویلاب استرلی باشنده مشهور خلفه لاردان استرخان گوبرناسنده بوکای خان ایلنده چرکه س روعی نارن قسمی علی خلفه آیدابولف نک کریمه سی فاطمه وعده قیلشقان لار بوعلی خلفه قزاق طائفه سندان بولوب یکریمی یاشلارنده استرلی باشینه اوقوغه کیلب شونده ختم کتب قیلب صوکره الوغ مدرس لاردان بولوب کیتکان خلیل الله خلفه رابعه اسملی قزنی طول لانه نکاح لانب شوکاردان رفیقه مز فاطمه توغمش در . آنامزنک آتاسی ولی الله خلیل الله برلان بر توغمه در دیمه ک رفیقه مز فاطمه نک آناسی رابعه بلن مینم آنام نک

آتاسی بر توغمه در. شوتدات صوک ۱۹۰۹ بر منک طوقز یوز طوقزنجی یدله آپریل اینک ۲۹ نده فاطمه بله ن زفاف مز بولدی. بو زفاف مزدان برر آی اوتب مین اوزمنی او قوغه یاردم قیلب بیرگه ن یالپاقطالده عیدالله علیکایف حضرتلارینه بارب کورشومز تیوشلی ایدی شوندان مین ایون آیلا رنده آندا باردم اورازای غه آندان قزان غه آندان سراتوف قه آندان پویزد بله ن الیکساندر گای /100a/ بو وقتده مین نیتیم ماقاریه (نیژنی) یارمینکه سینه بارب ایلاب قایماق ایدی. حضرت بله ن کورشب تیوشلی امانات لارنی بیردم برنچه کون لاردان صوک کیتو ایدی رمضان آی یاقن بولو مناسبتی بله ن حضرت میکا ایدی رمضاننی مونده اوتکارب ختم قیلب کیتسه گز یخشی بولور ایدی دیدی. مین ایتدم مین مونده سرلارگه ختم ایتو نیتی بله ن یکمه گه ن ایدم فقط سرلارنی ولی نعمت مز بولو سببلی زیارتقه کیلب ایدم دیدم. ممکن بولسه بر ختم ایتوگزی اوتته م دیب ایتکاندان صوک مینده چن دان مقصودکز بولسه یاخشی سوزنکرنی یرگه سالوغه وجدانم قبول ایتمی ختم قیلورغه قرار بیردم ده دیدم اول وقتده بوکوندان باشلاب میکا تکرار قیلورغه کرشورگه کیره ک دیه تکرارغه توتندم. روزه غه برنچه گنه قالغان ده مین اوزمه حاج قیلورغه قوشب یول حرجلارمزی بیرب یرگه ن قزاق لارنک اولینه بارب تیوشلی شهادت نامه نی حج قیلوم اچون ینه آزراق زمزم حرمه تسبیح کبک بولاک لارنی تابشرغه کیندم. برنچه کوندان صوک ایلاب قایتدم. قایتسام حضرت بر مسئله قویدی سیندان صوک بزگه اورالسکی شهرینه یاقن اورال صوی بوینده البشین دیکان شهردان محمدجان ماتروقف دیکان بر سوداگر آدم کیلدی اول دیمش بزنگ البشین قالا سینه بر امام کیره ک ایدی امام لق ده قیلسون هه م مکتب لارگه کرب مسلمان بالارن زمانغه موافیق راق اوقورلق ده بولسن دیمش. حضرت ایتکان مینده بر آدم بار حاضر ده اویده یوق قایتقاچ سویلاشب جواب تیلگرامن بیرمن دیکان. نی مصلحت کوره سن باراسن یوقی بزگه جواب بیرگه کیره ک ایدی. مین ایتدم حضرت مینم ملا بولورغه فکرم یوقدر بولدرآلمیم دیه جواب بیردم حضرتده بوکشی قبول قیلما دی دیه جواب بیردی. ینه قارشی تیلگرام کیلدی



انچی رمضان غه بزگه ختم گه یکسون ديه کيلو مصارفی اوزمدان ديمش. شوندان حضرت ايته سن دیدی مینم ایتدم سزلار اوزکز: بله سز سزلار نیچک مصلحت قيله سز دیدم. حضرت ایتدی مینم چه باروک مصلحت بردان شهرنی هه م کشتی لارن کورب سویلا شورسز مصلحت اورن بولسه ملا بولب ده قالورسن دیدی. ینه آنده بارب ۱۱-۱۲ کونده ختم ایتارسن ده ۱۵نچی رمضان غه منده قایتب یکلورسن آندان صوک بزده ختم قیلورسن بردان تکرار ایتوگه ده یاخشی بولور ایکنچی دان مونده یارمینکه وقتی بولای بیک کیلم کیم کوب بولا سینک تکرار ایتوکز تشویش بولور دیب اوپلیم دیدی. یاخشی آلايسه بد بارب کورب قایتیم ديب اول وقتده بوکوندان یولغه چقوم کره ک ایدی. شوندوق ایکی آت یاللاب ۱۵۰ یکلومیتیر برکه ۱۱ صوم تولاب سفر ایتدم /100b/ ۱۹۰۹نچی ییل سنتابرنک ایکنچی کونده روزه باشلاندى یولده بر روس بایلارنیک حوطرینه کرب قوندق شول کیچده سحر آشادق حوطر خواجه سی بای ملارغه سحر آشارغه ایت پیشرگز ديب قزاق خدمت چی لارینه ایتب چقدی ایرته لاب تورب روزه بولب شول قویاش بایوینه البشین غه بارب کردک بز چاقرغان کشتی آطقه اولترب برارگه افطارغه باررغه ديب چغب کیله ایکان بزلار قارشى بولدق بزلاردن تیز تیزکنه یوندق ده بزلارنی ده افطارغه آلب کیتدی شونده بولغان کشتی لارگه ایتدی بوکون نصیب بولسه ختم باشلای مز بوکشتی قوناق قاری لولادر دیدی. افطاردان قایتدق ده مین بر یونب است باش شورغه توغری کیلدی چونکه یولده بیک توزان کوچلی بولوسبیلی بتون است باشمز توزان بولب قالدی بزگه صوهم کیره ک لی کولماک ئستان لرمزنی کیترب مونچه سینه ایتدی ده سز یونغاچی مین بارب مسجدکه خالق لارغه اعلان قیلب قایتیم چونکه کوب خالق نک بوندان خبرلاری یوق ایدی اولده قایتدی مین حاضرلاب مسجدکه کیتدم خداغه تابشرب هرکون اوچ پاره اوقب اون کونده ختم تمام لارغه بولدی. ختم مز تمام بولغاندان صوک محمد شریف مانجوقف مینی پاوسکه ترویکی آت جیگب اوزی یالپاقطال غه کیتدی. مونده ۱۵نچی رمضانده ختم باشلاب قدر کیچه سی کونده تمام قیلورغه ديب خداغه تابشرب باشلاب شول روشده ختم مزنی تمام قیلدق

حضرت ۱ صوم ده رحمت بالام عمرکزنی بوشقه اوتکارمه که ن سز ایکان ختم دان صوک بر یاخشی یفاک چپان کیدردی الله نک رحمتده بولسون آمین ایندی اولغه قالدی حضرت ایتدی ممکن بولسه بوقش بزگه معلم بولب کبلگز شاکردلارده یاخشی غنه جیولور هم بر اوغلم نی عبد الغریز اسملی سزدان قرآن حفظ قیلدرر ایدم دیه قایتب یاکادان یکورسز دیدی یاری اولغه قایتب مصلحت قیلوشرمن آندان جواب بیررمن دیه کیتدم سلامت قایتب کیکاش قیلدقم صوکره باروغه اویلادم ده جواب بیردم استرلیباشنده عییدالله ایشان توقایف مدرسه مدیری بولو صفتی بلان میکا مونده شاکرد اووقورغه یول بیرمادی مین ترلیکه توتاسم یکمه دی موندای نادان آحمق لارغه فائده سز مدرسه که شاکردلار جیب خلفه لار اسمندان فائده لانوب مریدلاردان قازکورکه جیب کیف لانب یاتوچیلارغه اسم کیتادی هم بر جمله حدیث که یاخشی معنی بیره آلی تورغان جاهل لارگه درسکه اولترمادم شوگا ده کیفی بولسه کیره ک. /ioia/ شوندان ینه دان یالپاقطال غه کیتدم ده بارب مدرسه ده معلم لک قیله باشلادم هم حضرتتک مخدومنی ده حفظ قلدره باشلادم بایتاق قنه قزاق شاکردلاری ده بار ایدی قش نی مونده یالغزم اوتکارب یازنده استرلی باشینه قایتب کیتدم بو سنه ینه رمضان غه ختم که چاقرب حات یازب بو رمضان ده دیم بوی نیکفار اولنده ختم ایتارگه دیب کیاومز سمیع الله عبداللین چاقرب ایتدی اول مونده آندان یالپاقطالغه باررمن دیب نیت لاب چقدم نیکفارده ختم وقتنده سلامت لکم کیتب قالدی خدانک یاردمی بله ن ختم منی تمام لادم ده سرگه بار المیمن دیب حضرتکه تیلگرام بیردم قش ده معلم بولب کیلگز دیه ینه قشنده آنده بارب معلم لک ایتدم هم مخدومنی ده حفظ نی تمام لاتب یازنده قایتب کیتدم. میندان صوک بو مخدوم برادرلاری قارغالیده مشهور خیرالله علیکایف حضرتلارینه بارب آنده یاخشی تکرار قیلب مرتب حافظ کلام الله بولب چقدی. بو ۱۹۱۱نجی یلده ایدی.

۱۹۱۲ده استرلیباشقه قایتب مدرسه که کرمای یورطمزده توردم. ۱۹۱۵نجی یلده جماعتمز فاطمه نی ۳۰نجی مایده یورطمزغه کوچرب آلام بابامز مرحوم بیک کوب

بولاک لار بله ن ازاتدی حاجت اصلیه مزنی تامامی بله یتکرلاب اوزاتدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن. ۱۹۱۴نچی یلده گرمانیه محاربه سی باشلاب صوغش ۱۷نچی یل غه قدر دوام ایتدی میکاده ۱۶نچی یلده صوغش قه آنورغه دیب یعنی بزنگ ترلغان یل لارغه ۱۸۸۱نچی یلغی لارغه خبر بولدی. نیچکده بر چارسینه کررگه کیره ک بولدی مین بو چاره نی ارنبورغ شهرینه آرمیهه گه طون نگه تورغان ارنبورغ لق سوداگرلاردن مجد حاجی ایوپف دیگان کشتی نک زاوآده تیری اشینه کردم مونده طون اچون دوینی گه اشلنگان تیری لارنی بوشاتب بیررایدک هر تیری باشینه ۰۱تین تولا رلارایدی هر اوج آیغه سروک بیررلار ایدی (آتسروچکه) بییش لاب کشتی اشلارایدک ۱۹۱۷نچی یلده روسیه نک الوع انقلابی باشلاب زاوآده اشلی تورغان کشتی لار کیته باشلاب دیلار چونکه ولاس بای لار قولندان چغب اشچی لار قولینه کوچدی بو یلده آوده یورطمزده اوت چغوب ایودان باشقه قارالتیلار اوطن پچن کبک نه رسه لارمز یانب یالغز ایومز قالب مال طوارلارمز قار اوستنده قالمشلار دیب آتامز دان حات کیلیدی /101b/

نیچکده بولسه اولغه قایتب یورطمزنک حالن بلورگه کیره ک زاوود خواجه سی ایوپف نک آلدینه بارب میکا اوتپوسکه بیرسه گر قایتب کیلور ایدم دیدم. اول ایتدی حاضر خواجه لق بزده یوق اشچی لار قولنده آلارنک مجلسلارندان سورا دیب. میندا اشچی لار جیولشنی کوبت جیولش کونتی مجلسدان سورا دم بزگه اوتپوسکه بیرسه گر قایتب کیلور ایدم دیه یولارده بر تاوشدان بر آیغه رخصت بیردیلار مارطنک ۱۵نچی کون لارنده پوزد بله ن ایوگه کیتدم نیکفار آولنده توغانم قرداشم نک یورطینه توشب ایدم فقط کیامز سمیع الله عبداللین اولم اورنده یاتا ایدی ازراق سویلشه ایدی نی خبرلار دنیاده دیب سورادی مین ایتدم نکولای پادشانی اورندان توشرب اورنینه کیرنسکی دیگان کشتی اولتردی دیدم پادشانک توشوینه قووانب بولسه کیرک کولدی لر کون تورب استرلیباشقه کیتارگه کیره ک ایدی چونکه قار بتوب یول بولی قالو احتمالی بار ایدی. استرلیباشقه قایتب بر ایکی کوندان صوک خبر کیلیدی کیاومز وفات دیه کومو کونینه بارب یتارگه یول بولمادی بردان صو و یاغمورلار بولب کیتدی.

شول سبیلی جنازه سینه بارا آمادم قایتب بر نیچه کونلاردان صوک زاونده قالغان ایداشمز عبدالرؤف بلالف دان حات آلم. یازا زادودغه رابوچی سالدات کرسیتیان لار طرفندان کامیسیه کیلب تفتیش قیلدی دیب سزنی هم بزنی آرمیه گه آورغه دیب یازب کیتدی لاردر. آراق تورمه تیزراک یکورگه طرش بونده اشچی لار تارالب بتدی قاراول بله ن مین گنه حاضرکه قالب تورام دی ممکن بولسه آرمیه گه باررغه یارامی دیب نیچکده بر سبب قیلوب کبل دی بزلارنی بولار تیرچیلار توکل بولار معلم لار چونکه دوکامینت لار ده اوچیتل دیب یازلغان دیب بزلارنی او غه آورغه قرار قیلب کیتکان لار دیه یازدی مین ده بر چاره قلورغه تیوش بولب نیچه اولنک قارتلارنی کورب اوتندم احولنی سویله دم میکا بوکشی تیری ایلار ئشنی بله صوکنی وقت لارغنه معلم لک قیلدی دیب بر اسپرافکه بیرگز دیدم اوتومه بناء قارت لارده یاخشی دیه سیل ساویت دان تصدیق لاب اسپرافکه بیردیلار صوکره توکل خدا دیب ینه ارنبورغ کیتدم پویزد بله ن بارب یتدم ده واگزالغه کامر حرانینه گه باغاژلارمنی بیردم ده کیچ ساعت لار ایدی توغری ئشله گه ن زاوودقه یونالدم قابقه سینه بارب جیتسام قاراولچی تورا ایدی بوتانش کشی استرلیتاماقنی ایدی اسان موزیمله ک دیب /102a/ ایسان لاشدم ده نی حال لار بار دیدم. مونده کشی لار بارده تارلاب بتدی زاواد ده اشلامی حاضرده بروده یوق مونی دیدم. تیک یالغز بطالف قنه کاتتورده یاتا دیدی ممکن موکررگه دیدم کرگز دیدی بارب کاتتورنک ایشکنی قاقدم کم اول دیدی مین قدیرف دیدم آچوب کرگز دیدی اسان لاشدم احوال سورا شدم حاضر کم هیچ بر خبر یوق شولای یازب کیتکه ن ایدیلار ده بر نرسه ده یوق ئلی دیدی شونده یوقلاب ایرته لاب شهرگه کیتدم شهرده بایتاق بزنگ بلان ئشله گه ن تانش بلش لار اچراب قالدی نی خبرلار بار دیب سورا شدم آلار ایتدیلار ساق بول شهرده اولامه بارا یاشاراک هرکنکک واینوی دوکامینت لاری تیکشره لار دیدیلار براولاری ایتدی کیرنسکی حکومتی معلم لارنی موبلیزاستیه دان عفوایته دیکان خبرنی سویلادیلار سورا شب بلدم درست ایکان ایندی اورمنک معلم بولومه اسپرافقه کیره ک بولدی تیزگنه اولغه کیتدم

قایتب اسپرافکه آلب کیلدم ده وایننوی ناچالنیک که کردم دوکامینت لارمنی آلدی ده سیکراتارینه کاغز یازب بیررکه قوشدی ماشینه ده باسا باشلاغان ایدی شول وقتده صالادات کرسٹیانسکی اداره سندان کامیسیسه بولب بر ایکی کرب سیک تاراینه اولتردیلارده اوزلاری نی اچون کیلولارن بلدردیلا ر سیکرتار همان میم کاغزمنی باسب یاتا ایدی توقتادی رازوی اوفیمسکی غوبرنا اشتولی دیب سورادی ده شولای دیدم یوق بزلا رچیت غوبرنا کشتی سنه کاغز بیره آلمیز دیه ماشینه دان کاغزنی آلب یرتب تاشلادی ده باشقه دوکامینت لارمنی قایتارب بیردی خوش چغب ده کیتدم. اورامده یورولار قورقنچ ایدی نیچکده بولسه تیزگنه اولغه اچقنورغه کیرک بخت قه قارشی اولدش لاردان فضل احمرف دیکان کشتی کیلگه ن ایکان منی اولترتب آلب قایتاسون مو دیدم بز بوکون کیته مزاولگسه ک ایدی دیدیلار شول کوندوک ارنبورغ دان چغب کیتب سلامت استریلیباشقه قایتب جیتدم ده تیزدان استریلیتاما ق غه بارب وایاننوی ناچالنیک دان معلم بولوم سبیلی وایننوی اشتاب نک شوندای پریکارینه بناء بوکشتی عسکرلک خدمتدان قوتلش در دیه قولمه کاغز بیرب چغاردی اون یدنچی یل آغوست آیلا رنده بولسه کیره ک شولوق یلده استریلیتاما ق معارف بولکنندان ملکای آولی مکتبته معلم بولب بیلگلا ندیم. /100b/ یگرمنچی یلغه قدرلی مه لکه ی اولنده اوقتب استریلیباش مکتبته کوچدم ۲۲ نچی یلغه قدرلی استریلیباشنده اوقتب اوزمنک عزیزه م سبیلی معلم لک دان آزاد ایتدم بو یل لارده قاتی آچلق لار بولدی آدم لار بالارنی خاتون لارنی سویب اشادیلار حتی اولگان کشتی لارنک اولکلارنی آشاوچیلار ده کوب بولدی. آدم لار آچلق دان بیک کوب اولب حتی قبر قازرغه کشتی بولی قالدی ئوزم کوزم بله ن کوردم هم قولمدان کیل که ن قدرلی شول پیماره لارنک جنازه سینه قاتشب جیلغان آتمش قدر اولکنی اوچ چاناغه تویاب آرقان بله ن بیلاب زیارت قه آلب باردق چونکه آلب باررغه کشتی تابلمی قالدی خدا رضالغی نیتی بله ن دوست ایشلارگه آیتب اغانه جیب بر زور یام قازتب قویدق استون صالام بله ن یابب بر اورندان غنه آچق قالدرب قویدق شول بازغه یوقاری ده یازلغان اولک لارنی بر

یاق غه ایرلار بر یاغنه خاتونلارنی قویب دفن قیلدق خدانک یازمیشنه راضی بولب صبرلق قیلب آمانت جان لارنی تابشرمش لاردر الله بارچه سن مغفرت قیلسون آمین بو زیارت استرلیباشنک الوغ مقبره سنده کون چغش طرفنده تاو یاغنده تاش ائینه بوینده در. ینه ده ایکنچی بر الوغ باز قازتوب آنده ده بر یوزلاب آدم قویلسه کیره ک بو الوغ مقبره نک اورتالغنده صو یولی یولغان چوقر بوینده در بو یلده قزم آسییه دیناغه کیلدی ایلمکی قدرکشی چاقرب اسم طوبینی قیلدم خدانک بیرگه نینه شکر اوچ بالام ایکی قرداشم تربیه مده ایدی آچلق آفرلقنی کورمه دک آزاراق بولسه ده ایگمه ک دان اوزلمه دک آلدانراک یلنک آور بوله چاقن اوایلاب برآز صاقلق ایگن مز بار ایدی. حکومت ده اوقوچی بولوم سبیلی آزاراق یاردم قیلدی ینه امیریکا جمعیتی طرفندان عمومی راسییه نک آچلق ده قالون حسابقه آلب بالالارغه محتاج قارت و قارچق لارغه ده آشخانه آچب زور غنه آدام لارنک سلامت قالو ینه یاردم ایتدی بو آشخانه (آرا) اسمنده ایدی الوغ کشی لارگه آینه بر پوط دان کوکورز بیردی بالالانی آشخانه غه جیب کونینه ایکی مرتبه آش بیردیلا. بیرگان آشلاری آق کومه چ شیکر قاقاوا سوت اسی اش ایدی هم آزلاب است باش آیاق کیم لاریده بیردیلا شول آچ بالالارنک ردقینه ظلم قیلب آشخانه مدیرلاری کوب رزقلارن ساتب فایده لاندیلار بو نیندای وجدانسزلق /io3a/ اوقوچیلار اوزرگه اوایلاب کورگن بالالار سلامت قالدیلار آلارنک رزقلارن آشاوچیلار کوبدان یر قونینه کردیلار خداغه نی جواب بیرلار. بو آچلق یکرمنچی یلنک کورندان باشلانندی بو یکرمنچی یلده تیف آرووی آندان وبأ آرووی باشلانب استرلیباشده کونینه یکرمی آدم اولگان کونلاری بولدی یکرمی ایکنچی یلنک یازینه قدر دوام ایتدی شول درجه ده قورقنچلی بولدی که اولده ات پسی قارغه چوکه کبک قشلا قالمادی حتی آدم لار آغاچ قایرسنی اون قیلب هم سویاک لارنی اون قیلب آشادیلار تکرمانگه بارساک کوره سن تارتورغه بارغان قایری سویاک بولور ایدی باشقه اورلق نک اسمیده بولمادی حتی بعضی آدام لار سیرنک بز او صوکنده توشه تورغان چوب دیلا رشونی آشادیلار کشینک سیرلاری بز اولاماسدان بورن آدان بروک چوبنی

تاشلی کورمه گز ديب ايتب قویارلار ایدی ۱۹۲۲نجی توقز یکر می ایکنچی یل نک یازنده افراط درچه یل لار یاخشی بولدی یازغه چغو بله ن خالق اولان تامرلاری اتلک دیلار شونک تامرون قمرلق قورغالاق دیکان اولان لارنی آشاب بولسه ده سلامت قالدیلار. آدم بالاسی اولانکه چقسه آچق اولمه س ایکان یاز جای کونلاری شول درجه ده فردان چیلق بولدی بلکه موندای یازنی کشی کورمه گندر ديب اویلادق هیچ کورمه گه ن چاچکه لار کوندی تاو بویارنده پچن لار چاپدیلار عمرده بولماغان سییلارنی اولغه قایتارب کونینه اوچ مرتبه ساودیلاز بزنک محله نک کونی زیارت قارشینه اندرغه یابارلار ایدی خاتونلار شونده بارب ساوارلار ایدی اوزنک جماعتم فاتمه ده کونده بارب ساوب بر چیلک آلب قایتور ایدی جماعتم بله ن سویلاشب نیچکده بولسه کوزگه آزغنه بولسه ده آرش ساچب قالورغه کیره ک ایدی دیه رفیقه م بیک یاخشی بولور ایدی ده بیت ارق قایدان تاباماز صوک دیدی طرش ساق تابارمز دیدم ده خدا نصیب ایته ایرته گه بالالار بله ن یورب کیلک آرش باشاقلاری بولور تابله آرماز جیب قایتوگز دیدم شولای ایتب بولار برنیچه کون یورب بر پوط آرش تابدیلازمین تاغن بر حرکت قیلب آرماز تابارمن دیه براودان یارطی پوط تابلدی اولنده کوندره ک صوونده عییدالله حضرت توقایف نک تکرمانی بار ایدی اوغلی شریف توقایف شونده تورر ایدی بارب آگاردان قرض فیلب بر پوط آرش آلب قایتدم دیمه ک ایکی پوط یاروم آرشنی یکر می برنجی یل نک کوزنده بوی سیکسان آرقلی ۴۰ ساژین یرگه ساچدم خداغه تابشرب شول یردان ۲۲نجی یل جاینده آت تارتمی اون یوک اون آربا کولته کیترب باسدرب راسحوط دان /103b/ صاف بر یوز اون پوط آرشنی کلامه صوغب سالدم خدا بیرسه شولای بیره ایکه ن بوکورگان قلغان نشارم در.

۱۹۲۳ یلدان باشلاب آتامز بار آرزاق ایکنچیلک اشینه کرشدم. انقلابه قدر بزلا رگه اولده جیر برماس ایدی اون سیگزنجی یل دان باشلاب عمومی خالق بله ن برابر جیر بیردیلاز جیرمز بولغاچ ایگن ساچارگه کیره ک ۳-۵ دیسه نیمه آسلق ساچب ترک چیلک قیله باشلادم باشقه کسم بولمادی بره نگی و

باشقه باقچه یاشل چه اوستره باشلادم ئوزمنک دهقان چق لغم اوزمه تیه تورغان بولدی ارآت ایکی سیر ۵-۶ صارق قازقوش دورت بیش اومارطه شولای ایتب ۲۸ بر منک توقز یوز یکریمی سیکرگه قدرلی کیلدم ۲۶-۲۷ نچی یللارده ۲۶ نچی یل آق ایدل بوینده جیرگه ن اولنده یاکی مسلمان لار محله سنده امام لاری فاتح کریمف نک چاقروی بوینچه رمضان ده ختم گه باردیم بو محله اهالیسی اولنده چواش ملتی بولب ۱۹۰۵ ده رسمی مسلمان لق بقول قیلب مسجد سالب جماعت بولب نماز اووقولارینه یکریمی یل بولو مناسبتی بلان بر ختم قرآن قیلورونی مصلحت قلغان لارایکان شوکار بزنی چاقدیلارینه شولوق رمضان ده پیرم شهرنده امام کرامت الله آیدارف ده ختم که چاقرب تیلگرام بیرکان ایدی بعضی بر سبب لارگه بناء بارا آلیم دیب جواب قایتاردیم ینه توقز یوز یکریمی یدنچی یلده ارنبورغ شهرنده امام عبد العلیم دولتشین حناب لاری رمضان شریف ده ختم قرآنغه چاقرب تیلگرام بیردی اولکی بیده ده چاقرب ایدی جیرگه ن ده ختم قیلوغه سوز بیرلو سببلی بار آلیم جوانی بیرب ایدیم بو ییل ینه چاقردی بو ییل بارب مشهور ارنبورغ شهرنده احمد بای حسینف مسجدنده ختم باشلادم سامع بولب تورر اوچون ارنبورغ ده معلم مدرسهء حسینیه معلم لارندان عبد الرحیم قارینی تعیین لاب اون دورت تراویح ده ختم قیلدم. صوکره ارنبورغده کروان سرای مسجد ندان متولی لاری امامی عبد القوی حضرت یاتقان نومیرمه کیلب ایندی بزنگ مسجدده ده ختم بیلوگز دیب التماس قیلدی لار التماس لارینه بناء خوش دیب ینه ایکنچی ختم نی کروان سرایده قیلدم الوغ امامی نعمت الله تیموشف ایدی بیک عالم فاضل خوش وعظلی خالق دینی حرافات لارگه اشانب یورمه گز خالص ترقی لک طرفنده ایدی الله رحمتده غریق اولسون آمین. /104a/

بو مسجدلارنک حاضر کونده ده بنالاری سلامت ختم وقتنده مسجدنک مؤذن نده تربیه لنوب توردم رمضان اینک قدر کیچه تونده کوب چیلک بله هم خاتن قزلارده کوب ایدی ختمزنی تمام لاب تیوشلی دعاءلارنی قلب اماملار طرفندان بعضی بر دینی نطق لارده سولانب تمام ایتدم الحمد لله رب العالمین



یوقاریده یازلورغه تیوش ایدی بو اورنده یازارغه توغری کیله ایندی اون ایکنچی ییل دان ۱۶ نچی ییل غه قدرلی یورطده تورسام ده ئش سز یا تمامد خالق ئشلارینه قاتشب ئشلادم برنجی اون ایکنچی ییلده اولنک آکلی آدم لاری بله سویلاشب موکا قدرلی سیره ک یرلرده بولمش بر پاتریبتل کیتی آچوغه اویلادق. بر دورت کئی بو ایشمانی بارلق غه چفار اچون اوفانک گوپرنسکی اداره سینه رخصت سوراب عزیزه بیردک بزلار بو ئشنک آرغانیزاتورلاری بولدق. صوکره رخصت جوابی کیلدی آندان صوک خالقنی جیب مجلس یاصاب سویلادک پاتریبتلنک خالق غه فائده سی حقنده هم کیل گه ن فائده شوشی ایشمانک اوز کاسسینه جیلا هم باشقه لارنی. ایندی مصلحت کورسه گز شوشی ایشماغه اعضا بولب یازلوگرنی صوریمز هم ده اعضاق سالومی نیندای قدر بولورینه شوشی اعضالار اچندان بر اوچ کئی سایلارغه ینه بو شیرکه تنک اسمی نی نیچوک قویامز دیب آکلاشقاننک صوکنده شرکه تنک اسمی نور بولوغه قرار بولدی اعضاق سالومی ایلی صوم بر رئیس بر حیسابچی بر اوچ کئی لک تفتیش کامسیه سی رئیس که یاردم چی سایلارغه قرار بولب تفتیش کامیسه سینه مینی سایلادیلار هم باشقه لارنی. شولای ایتب بو ئشنی بارلق غه چغارب ئشلارمز یورب کیتدی خالق لارده بیک راضی بولشب بونی قایدان اویلاب تابدگزر دیب مونده بیرگه ن فائده مز اوزمرگه بولا ایکان دیب رحمت لار ایتدیلار.

۱۵ نچی ییل لارده ینه دان بو شرکت نی زورایتورغه کیره ک دیب مصلحت قیلشب یاکادان ایکنچی مکتب آچوغه سوراب اوفاغه عزیزه بیردک باشده بو اشکه آرغانیزاتور بولب محله مزنک امامی عبدالله حضرت توقایف شریف توقایف هم ئوزم قول قویب بیردک تیزدان رخصت جوابی کیلب یوز صوم سالم بله ن سفعت اسمنده برکیت آچدق اولمزنک سودکیرلارندان عبدالکریم اسکندر ف نک تاش کیتنی اجاره ئالب اوزنی ساتوچی قلب شیرکترنی /104b/ آچدق حکومت تورلی کستیان لارغه کیره کلی نه رسه بیرب توردی کیت لارده هر تورلی آشاملق کندیتربکبک نرسه لار بولب آرزان بها بلان ساتلا باشلادی چاستنی سوداگیرلار تورلی چه خالق غه آکیتات سیه لار تاراتسالار

ده نومیرلاری اوتمادی اشمز یاخشی یورب کیتدی اعضالارده کوندان کون آرتب کاسسه مزده کوچلانندی چونکه خالق پاتریپتل نک فائده سنی آکلی باشلادیلار.

۲۱-۲۲نجی ییل لارده اولمز سیلساویتنده اعضا بولب ئشلادم ۲۲نجی ییلده قالقاش فولصی ادارسندان ایول بوی مناوزینه کانطون سیلاوغه وکیل بولب سایلاندم باریسی طوقز وکیل ینه بویل ده استریلباشینه بورچ شیرکه تی آچلدی (کریدیتنی تاوارشستوا) بو شیرکه تده تفتیش کامیسیسه نه اعضا بولب سایلاندم.

استریلباش فانتالی

۱۹۲۶نجی ییلده استریلباش بورنغی صو یولن یولغه یالو فکری کیلب توشدی بو فانتال ایسه موندان توقسان ییل ئلک استریلتاماق سوداگیرلارندان مرحوم عبدالحق مجیدف اغانه سی بلان ئشلانلگان شوشی ۱۷ ییل الوغ انقلاب قدر اشلاب یکسه ده توزاتوچی لار بولماو سبیلی ئشلای قالدی. بو صونک کیلوی استریلباشنک زیارت یاغنده غی تاودان چغادر. شول چشمه نی مسجد مدرسه لارنک آلدنده بولسون دیب یر آستنه قازب اوزن قاراغای بوره نه لارنک اورتاسندان براو بله ن تیشب سالب کیترتکان بزنگ و قتمزده صو خانه اسمی بله ن یورر ایدی صو کوچ بله ن یعنی اوپور بله ن کیلب صوخانه اچینه باغانادان ۳ آرشین یوقاری منوب آندان توبانگه توشار ایدی آرتق صوی زور اورام چغب اولاق دان آغب تورر ایدی موندان ده خالق لار فائده لانا ایدیلار بونسنی بلکه ی چشمه دیب یورتورلار ایدی توقایف لارنده هر قایوسینک یورطنه عید خلفه فضلولین یورتنده ده بار ایدی. شولای بولب اصل اساسی تعیین قیلنغان صوخانه گه صو کیلو آزاب قالدی انقلاب وقتنده بو صو یولنی عمارت قیلوده تورغان توقایف لار قایسی وفات قایولاری اولدان کیتب قالدیلار شول سبیلی خالق صوغه محتاج بولب قالدی. /105a/ ایندی مین بو حقدده اولمزنگ مأمورلاری بله ن صحبت قیلب فکرلارن آلشدم. هم دیدیلار خالق یاردم بیرسه بز لارده هر توری حکومت طرفندان تیوشلی یاردمدان کیری تورماس مز دیب حکومت دان بورچ قه اسسودا آلب بیرو کبک همه ده تجنیجکی یاردملار کبک حاجت لارگنی اوتارمز دیب مصلحت

بیردیلار. بویل حکومت طرفندان خالق غه اوز آرا سالم سالناچاق سالم بوله شول سالوم آچه سنی خالق اوزلارینک عام فائده سینه توتارغه حاقلی دیدیلار.

یاری بوئشنی بلکه اشلارگه ممکن بولسه ایکان بو حقده بر زور راق جیولشده خالق غه آکلاتورغه قرار بیردم. اگرانوم ئبده ش ده مینده اوز طرفندان تیوشلی یاردم بیرونی خالق غه روسچه سویلاب توشندررمن دیب میکا بونک سوزی زور یاردم بیرردیب او ایلاب خداغه تابشرب بوئشنک یولغه سالنوغه ینه کوکلم اشاندی. آپریل آخرلارنده ایدی بتون اولنک خالق اورمان بولو چون اورمانغه جیلورغه بولدی اورمان یر بولو مجلسنده بر ده آدم قالمیدر شول جیلش قه آلزینک اومارتالق دیکان بر آیرم اورمان اچینه جیولدیلار. بو اومارتالق توقایف لار اوزلارینه تیوشلی اورمان لارنی آیرب آلوب اوزلارینه میلک قیلب اطرافنی قاناو بله ن قازب قویغان لار ایکنه ن. مجلس باشلانودن اورتاغه چغب محترم قرداشلار رخصت ایتسه گز مینم کوب چیلک که بر کیکاشم بار ایدی دیب سورادم ده رحیم ایتوگز ایدکلارندان صوک سویلارگه باشلادم مونه جماعت اوزرگه معلوم موندان توقسان یل بورن استرلیتاما ق سوداگرلارندان عبدالخالق مجیدف دیکان اولمزغه بر عمرلک صدقه مز بولسن نیتی بله ن صو یعنی فانتال کیترکندر شول صو یولمز بوکونده بوزلب یاتماق ده اولمز یاخشی صوغه محتاج لغن هر قایسگز بله سز دیدم بیکرداوت یاغزن وقت لارنده اولنک اورتاسنده صو یوق بولسه ده بیک آز آلو قیین در. مونه محترم آغا وانی لار توکل خدا شوشنی ئشلاتب یول غه سالیق دیب مین سز لارگه مصلحت قیلام سز لار قولگرذان کیل گه ن قدرلی یاردم ده بولسه گز بوندای خالق فائده سینه ئشلنه تورغان ئشلارکه شیکسز یاردم بیره چک در موندان طنچ بولوگزدیدم. ایکنچی بزلار حاضرگی کونده ایرکن لک حکومه تینه چقدق ئلکی حکومت وقت نده اوزا احتیاری بله ن بوندای ئشلار اشلاتو آغراق ایدی. توقایف لار بولسه صو اوزلارنک یورطلارنده /105b/ بولو سبیلی کوب چیلک صوغه محتاج بولسه لار ده کوب اعتبار قهاس لار ایدی. ایندی بزلار شوشی ترقی لک زماننده تورب ده براونک کیترگان صوینی یوق

قیلب قالدرساق تاریخ ده بر قاره بوله چاق منی هر قایسگر آکلاسه کیره ک بو عمر لک استرلیباشینه تاریخ ده موندای تاریخ قالدر و عفو ایتلماس لک بر یات یوله چاق. اگر ده بز لار بوئشکه چن کوکمز بله ن کچومزنی سالساق صوکنی عصر لارده بولا چاق بنده لارگه بر ایسته لک بولا چاق قیامت که قدر اوزمرگه بر صدقهء جاریه بوله چق در قرآن نک و نکتب ما قدموا و آثارهم<sup>410</sup> آیه کریمه سینه مصداق بوله چق مز. آیه نک معناسی بودر.

بز یازارمز اولمه سدان تلک آرت لارینه نشلاب قالدرغان یخشی لق لارنی دیمه کدر.

البته بله سز لار قیامت قه قدرلی بو صومزدان نیچه ملیون آدام لار هم بولغان حیوان لار اچه چک هر قایوسی صوصا و لارندان راحت بولب کیته چه ک لار شولارنی محتاج بولغان صولاردن راحتلانو ب قووانب کیته چک لاردر. مثال اچون اسسی کونلارده بیک صوصاب صوتابالی یرگه ن وقتگرده آلدگرده ده بر قیونی اوچر اتب قالسه گر رحمت بو قیونی یاساغان کشی گه دیب کیته سز. بو وقتده سین بر گنه کشی سن بز نک یاصاغان فاتالمزدان ملیون لار اچه چک در اورام بالالاری اجتهاد قیله بوله چاق در قرآن ایته لیسَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ إِلَّا مَا سَعَى<sup>411</sup> دیه اوراملارگه یوق بولا اوزلاری حرکت قیلسه لار غنه باشقه یوق. بز نک قرآنمزه موافق الوغ انقلاب نک باش لغی فلا دیمیر ایلیچ لینین ایته در کم نئشلی شول تشلی دیه بونی قرآن ده شولای دی بوتوریده بایتاق سویلاب توشندرگه ن صوک بعضی آغای لار موندای زور نشلارنی بارب قولمزدان کیلور میکان دیوچیلارده بولدی اخلاص بله ن اشلانسه ایرلارنک کوچی تاوولارنی کوچره در همه الرجال تقطع الجبال در دیدیم. بعضی بر اولار نلی موس تورمبزی بیت بز که اول فانتال نیک کیره ک براوی ایته مینم قویم بار براوی مینم یاغمدان صوآغب یاتا دیوچیلارده بولدی اورام بالاسی اوزینک اچون گنه اویلاب قارارغه یارامی استرلیتاماق مجدف نک ده اوینده صوی یا قیوسی بولسه کیره ک نی اچون مینم قویم بار دیه استرلیباشقه قاتال اشله تکان

410 [Q 36:12.]

411 [Q 53:39.]

بر او یلاب قارگز مونده هیچ بر شخصی فائده بولسه کیره ک /io6a/ سز ایتہ سز بوکا بزلا ر یاخشی توشندک مونی ئشلارگہ آچہ نیچک تابارمز بو حاقده ئبداش اگرانوم سویلاب بیررآندان سورآگز بو حقدہ اگرانوم سوزگہ کرشب ایتہ باشلادی.

اییداشلار بو فانتال حاقنده مین آز غنه سولاب اوتام مین بوکون ایداش قادیرف نک سویله گہ ن سوزینه بیک درست دیب بلدکم صونکده اور طرفندان شولارنی غنه ئیتہ چه ک من. سزلا ر بونی ئشله تورگہ آچہ قایدان تابارمز دیه ئبداشلار تیزدان حکومت طرفندان خالق غه اوز آرا سالم سالنه چق (ساماولاژینه) مونه شول سالم دان جیلغان آچہ نی خالق اوزلارینک عمومی کیره ک اورنلارینه کوپر قوبونی قازتوکبی و باشقه لارتوتارغہ رحضت ایتہ چک بولر ایکنچی بو غنه یتاسه حکومت دان قرض (اسسودا) آلا رمز هه م کورساتب اشلاتورگہ تخنیک سورارمز. بوئش لار غه نوزم یولاب ئالب سزگہ یاردم قیلورغہ وعده قیلام. فقط سزلاردان سوریم بو بر فائده لی بولغان ئشنی اشلا رگہ بر ایکی اوچ کون اوزگزنک آت لارگزنک کوچ لارن جبرلانمی گنه سالب برتن بر قول بولب یاردم ایتوگزی سوریم. مینم سوزم تمام. ایندی بو حاقده انچی بو فانتال نی ئشلاتوگہ مو یوقمو تاوشقه قویارغہ کیره ک. ایکنچی ئشلارگہ قرار بولغاندان صوک بیش کشیلک بر کامیسیسه سایلا رغہ کیره ک شول کمیسیسه مز تیوشلی تدبیرلارنی کورب قاراب ئشلانور. اوچنچی جیر قازو اورماندان هم باشقه اورن لاردان ماتیریال کیترتومزنی اوزمز استمرگہ ئالامز دیه تاوشقه قویب قرار چغارغہ کیره ک. شونندان مین سوز ئالب محترم جماعت بو ئش حاقنده برده آورسنی غنه ئوزگزنک بالارگزی ردقلاندرو اوچون جای بوی جیرلار سورب اورب باسدرب هم باشقه لار نیچک تورشب ئشلیمز بو فقط اوزمزنک اوچون گنه اما بو فانتال عمرمرگہ قدرلی فائده لانوب هم خدا قاشنده مکلوک ثواب لی آخرتده خدا قاشنده دنیاده قیلغان یاخشی عمل لارمزگہ حساب قیلنه چه غنده شبهه یوقدر نماز روزه کبی در. مونه او یلاب قارآگز آرمزده برولار نیچه آی لار هم یل لار بو نیچه توشاک ده آورب یاتا. براولار نیچه یل لار تورمه لارده یاتالار آس سلامت لنسام تورمه دان

چقسام ایدی ئلله نیندای یاخشلیق لار قیلور ایدم ده مونه بولارنی اسکە آلب سلامتکمنک قدرنی بلب بر ایکی اوچ کون سلامت لک نک /106b/ صدقه سی بولور دیب او یلاب بو خدمت گردان شادلانوب یاردم بیررسز دیب چن کوکلم دان اشانامن. ینه براونک بربر آی اولب قالا آی آتم بولسه فلان ئشلارنی ئشلار ایدم دی. فقیرلارگه بو خدا اوچون بولغان ئشلارگه یاردم قیلور ایدم دی ئش اوتدی حاضر اوکنب سوپلاوده فائده یوق اولده راک ایدی شولارنی حساب لاب بر ایکی کون آت لارگرتک سلامت لکنی تلاب آتلا رگرتک کوچنی ده یاردمگه قوشارسز دیب امید ایدم بولار بارده آور ئشلار ایماس در. ایندی تاوشقه قویارغه قالدی برنجی فانتال نی اشلاتورگه مو یوقمودیه کوپچیلک بله ن ئشلارگه بولدی ایکنچی کامیسیه سایلا رغه بیش کئی کاندیدات لار کورسه تکز دیه مجید قدیرف بصیر دصینف محمد حسن سیف الملوکف مجید حسنف مجید مناسیف خلیل الله هبة اللین شولارنی تاوشقه قویب کوپچیلک بلان قرار بولدی آتی دان برسنی معاون قیلب بررسی آورب قالسه آنک اورنینه لار دیب توررغه قرار بولدی. اوچنچی جیر قازو ئشلارن فانتال اچون کیره کلی نرسه لارنی تاوشغه اوزاوسترگه آلامز دیه تاوشقه قویب بوده اوتدی. ایندی قالدی ئش باشلارغه.

۱۹۲۶ نچی یلنک مای ۲۰ سنده تخنیک کیلول کامیسیه بلان تانشب ئش باشلاو حقنده سوپلاشدک نیشلارگه کیره ک دیدی برنجی اولده بولغان ایر جانن اشلارلک کئی لارنک هم رابوچی آت لارنک اسپیسکه سن آلوگز دیدی آندان خواجه لق ئشلاری برگزنی سایلاگز کیره کلی ماتیریال لارنی تابن ئالور سزلار قالغانکز مونده ئشلاوچیلارنی قاراب تورر. خواجه لق نرسه لارنی باشقه ررغه حسن سیف الملوکف اورماندان یارارلق آغاچ لارنی تابن شولارنی تیوسلی اورنینه کیترو اچون بصیر دصینف نی تعیین لادک. قالغان لارمز هر ئشده کوراتب ئشلارلار دیدی رابوچی لارنک هم آت لارنک حسابنی هم تیوشلی روشده نارات ئشکه هم آتقه خلیل الله هبة اللین تعیین قیلندی اسپسکه لار تمام بولدی.

ایندی صونی قایدان کیتره مزنی روشلی بورنغی یولندان مو یوقسه یاکا/107a/ یاسارغه مو بو حقدده مذاکره لارمز بولب اسکى یولنی تاشلاب یاکا یول بله ن کیتررکه بولدی بورنغی دای یاکا بوره نه دان سالنوب صونک یکیشنی نارامالنی روشده بولورغه بورن کوچ بلان (ادپور) بلان کیلور ایدی. استرلی باش نک الوغ ئورامینه اوچ اورنغه زور شاک ئشلانب نیچه نک جیلاک صوتوررغه تیوش اچنده بوشال لارنی استون تیمر بلان یابدرب هر وقت آت آربا میچکه سی بلان بوتان آوچیلار شول شاک دان کاچه ایت ایترب الورق بولسن. چشمه نک چقغان یرن قازتب اورنینه بورا توشرب توبه سن تیمر بلان یابب بو یاتوب قویارغه. بورن آغا تورغان اولاقتنی هم کر یو و اچون اورنلار قلا رغه انچی شاک مؤذن یورطنه قارشى بازار یاننده ایکنجیسی بورنغی بلکه ی چشمه آتالغان اورن غه اوچنچسی تاش کوپرنی اوتکه رب استرلی تاماق غه کیته تورغان اورام چاتینه بیلکی لاندی. یولی بورنغی توقایف لار باقچه سی آرقلی الوغ مسجد یانندان اوتب مؤذن یورطینه یتب شونندان بولرب انچی شاک غه آندان ایکنچی که آندان کوپر آشا چغوب اوچنچی که آندان قایتب کیری تاش کوپر توبینه استرلی صوینه توشه چک در. انچی ئوبتده صو باشن قازب تیره سنی مه تی بالچق گلین بلان ترامفایت ایتارگه بولوب قزل یار چوقرندان هر آت باشینه ۱۸ یوق بالچق کیتررگه هم اوزم ده تاشدم. شولای ایتب برنچی اشمز باشلاندى الله تمام لارغه نصیب ایتسون آمین

بوره نه یولنی قازرغه بولدی دیمه ک صونک باشندان اوچنچی شاک غه قدر بر یکلومیترو اوزن لغنده تیوش بولدی. مونک اچون میترو حسابی بلان هربر رابوچیغه کوبی میترو قازرغه تیران لگی نه قاراب براوگه اوچ میترو براوگه بر میترو توشدی ئوزم ده صو باشینه یاقن اورنده تیوشلی وظیفه منی ئشلادم.

ایندی مونده سالو اچون کوبی بوره نه کیرک ۱۳۰ دانه کیره ک تابلدی بو بوره نه لارنی آلب کیلواچون حسن سیف الملوکف نی بیردک آق ایدل باش طرفینه تاوغه بارب شول بوره نه لارنی سال بلان استرلی تماق غه کیتررگه. استرلی طاماق دان ئوزمز بارب ئالب استرلیباشقه کیتردک ئوزم ده بارب کیره کلی یابو تیمری هم توبکه قورشواو اچون بولغان تیمرلارنی آلب قایتدم. ایندی بو

بورنه لارنك اوزن لغی ۹-۱۰ آرشین چاماسنده شونی اوزه گندن گنه بروب تیشارگه کیره ک ایدی بورندان مونی بورا تورغان براو اوزمزه بار ایدی شونک بلان بوررغه استرلیتاما ق دن /107b/ استالار کیترب هر بورنه باشینه بر صوم ایلی تین بیرب تیشدر دک. ایندی یرلارنی قازرغه بولدی بو ایون آیلا ری ایدی بازارلارده رزق لار قیبات بولب خالق لار قازوغه آورسنه باشلادیلار بوئشکه مجید قاری دین بلان بزلا رنی بو آغولاب توشردی دیه میکا بیک کوب قارغش لار ایشتورگه ده توغری کیلدی مینده سالقن قان بلان گنه صبرلق قیلب یوردم. کوب چیلک آراسنده بوله تورغان ممکن براولارنک رزق لاری ده کیم بولوی قازوب بتردیلار الله بولارغه ثواب لارن نصیب ایتسون آمین. ایندی بوره نه لارنی سالغانده هر بورنه نک ایکی باشینه تیمر قرشاونه ایکی بوره نه نی توتاشدر اچون تولکه قاغاررغه کیره ک بولدی یتارلک تولکه قورشاولارنی شاهی احمد دیکان تینرچی دان اشلاتدک. بازارغه چقسام اون قیبات بعضی آغانی لار هر وقت میکا قیلا باشلادیلار بوئشنی سین قوزعاتب چغاردک مونه کوره سک بازار حاقلا رنی داوای ئون تابب بیر شوندی سوزلار بلان کوب باشمنی واتدیلار حتی خالق آراسینه چغوغه قورقه باشلادم مجبور بولدم آطمنی جیگب بر بش اون کون ارنبورغ بارب قایتدم دیب چغب کیتارگه شولای بولسه ده ئشلار آورلق بلان بولسه ده بارا ایدی اییده شلارگه ده ایتدم مین آزرارق یوریم قایتیم ئه لی سزلار هر نیچکده ئشنی آلب باررغه ترشگر دیه کیتدم خداغه شکر برآزطن آلب سلامت قایتدم اش لار اشلاب بارواستنده ایدی. بولغان یوره نه لارنی تیوشلی روشده سالب تمام لادق شاک لارده ئشلان تمام بولدی. چشمه باشنده ئشلان گن بورامزغه ده صوتولدی آرتق صوتی شونداغی اولاق غه بیرب تورامز. ایندی بورنه یونجه صوتی بیرب کوررگه بولدی یا الله مونده یتدی مجید قاریغه یا تروک یا اولم وقتی اگر ده صو یورمی قالسه شول وقتده مینی خالق اوزمز قازتقان چوررغه سالاچاق لار ایدی. بسم الله توکلت علی الله دیب صوتی آچب بیردک ئوزم یکرب بارب برنچی شاک نک اچینه توشب تشیک که قولاغم قویب با بلگانم نی اوقب یاتدم طکلاب یاتام یاتام



بر وقت چک ایتکان تاوش لار /108a/ قولانغه اشتله باشلادی کوب ده وقت اوتمادی صوکیلب توشب باشم قویب بیردی ده مینده الحمد لله دیب شکرانه قیلب ایندی اوکنچک بتدی والسلاام ده ایندی اوکنچم یوق دیه قواندم خدا دنیاده خالق اچون نیندای یاخشلق قیلدک دیب سوراو بولسه شوشی ئشمنی قویاچاق من دیب الدال علی الخیر کفاعله دیکان سوزگه بناء جناب رب العالمین مینی ده بوئشمنی صدقهء جاریه دان حساب قیلب قیامت غه قدر بوئشمنک اجرمنی نصیب ایتسه ایدی دیب کوکلم دان دعاء قیلدم. اوشبو کونگه قدرلی بوصول و اتمک ده در. صوکره بتون اطرف خالقمرزده مونه مونه قاری سزلارنک خدمت گز بوشقه کیتادی اول راحتلاب صواچه کیلکان آدم لارده صواچب هر قایولاری رحمت بونی اشلا توجیلارگه دیب کیتارلار ایدی. خدا اچون بولسن. مینم استرلیباشینه قیلغان یاخشی لغم شوشی بولسه کیره ک در. بلکه اوقب بوتاریخنی بالالار هم اوقوچلاردان اوتچم شول در بزگه ده بر دعاء قیلولارنی.

۱۹۵۳-۱۹۵۴ نیچی ییل ده بو فانتال نی حکومت اوزی ینه دان یاخشی راق قیلب بزگیترگه ن یولدان آز غنه یوقاری راق قازب چوین توربه سالدرم بز قویغان شاک لار یانینه ینه بر نیچه اورن غه گرانت قویب ئشلاتدی. بو ایندی باشندان بیرلی استرلیلاش فانتالینک اوچنچی اشلانوی در برنیجی عبد الخالق مجیدف کیترگه ن فانتال استاراق استرلی صوینه یاقن راق یار بویلاب کیلب یوقاریده کورسه تلگه ن صوغارغه کیلب کرمش در. ایکنچی بزلا ر ئشلتکان یولی تاوغه تاباراق ئشلاتولدی. اوچنچی سی بزنگ یولدان بعضی یرلارنده ینه ده تاوغه تاباراق قازلب بز تورغان یورطمز آلدنران اوتب اولنک یوقاری یاعندراق اوتب آندان بورلب الوغ اورام غه چقمش در. محترم اوقوچیلار مونه مینم بو استرلی باش فانتالی حاقدنه آز غنه بولغان بلومنی تاریخ بولب قالسون نیتی بله ن یازدم. قسقه غنه بولسه ده موندان صوک قالغان استرلیباش فانتالی حقدنه تاریخ یازوچیلار بولسه بوکا قوشب بلکه یازارلار.

یلوح الخط فی القرطاس دهرا      وکاتبه رمیم فی التراب

معنی سی یازو قالور کاغزلارده زمان لار بونجه یازوچی سی توفراق ده چرگه  
ن بولور

بوفاتال حقنده قسقه غنه بلولارمنی یازب سوزمنی تمام قیلدم. استریلیاش  
ده عبدالمجید بن شیخ الاسلام قدیرف المشهور بمجید قاری ۱۹۵۵... 412.  
/108b/

نه حق بلاگناه سز مظلوم بولب محبوس لک ده یوروم حاقدنه آزغنه یازب  
کیله چه ک ده بالالارمه بر یادکار هم عبرت بولواچون بو واقعه نی یازب  
قالدرونی اویلادم بو ۱۹۲۸نچی ییل ده ۱۱نچی دیکابر واقعه سی در استریلیاشینه  
پرکارور معاونی عزالدین علییف دیکان کمسنه خطالق بلان قارانغی تونده الوغ  
اورام ده قولنده ئوزینک قورالی بلان یعنی ناگانی بلان آیاغی تاشقه به رلب  
اوز اوزنی هلاک قیلش در.

یوقاریده سویلانمش علییف برنچی مرتبه پرکارور بولوصفتی ایله استریلیاشینه یکلمش  
در ئوزینه تیوشلی ئشلار حاقدنه. بو علییف دیم بوی قرغان اولندان در اولده  
میم زمانمده استرلی باش دینی مدرسه سنده ده اوقومش ایدی. شول سببلی  
میکا تانش اییداش ایدی. انقلاب دان صوک اوقب یوردچسکی اشلارده  
ئشلی باشلامش در. برنچی دیم بوی نیکفار اولنده صودییه حسین تیرغولف  
بلان صوت ئشلارنده ئشلار ایدی بو وقتده نیکفارده توغان قرانداشم  
نک فاتیرنده ترو سببلی هر بارغان وقتده سویلاشب اوترر ایدک. آندان  
صوک قرغز میکه اولنده ئشلامش در. صوکه استرلیتاما ق کیلب پرکارور  
یاردچسی بولب اشلی باشلاغان حاتونی نیکفار اولینک اسماعیل ملا اسلام  
قولف قزی عائشه ایدی. بو عائشه ده بالا وقتندان میم قرداشم فرخی سرور  
یورطنده هر وقت اویناب یورر ایدی. شول سببلی مین آنی اول مینی بیک  
یاخشی بله ر ایدی. هر وقت ده علییف بلان باشقرط اول لارنده سبان  
طویلارنده اوچراشه ایدک. دیم بوی نارس تاو (چنبلی) اولنده سبان توینه  
کیل گه ن وقتم ده شول اولنک دولت شاه آغا یورطنده بر قونب قوناق بولب  
ایدم. استرلی باشینه یکومی بلب مونی کوررگه تلام. اچراتدم اسان مو مجید

412 [The rest of this line is lost.]

آبزی ديه بيك اسانلاشب عائشه ده ايتوب ايدى آنده مجيد آبيده بار كورسه ك سلام ايتورسن ديب ايتكان ايدى. رحيم ايتوگز بزنك ايوگه قوناق بولگز. ديومه قارشى عفو ايدر سز مجيد آبزی بو سفرده برده باررغه و قتم يوق ديب نصيب بولسه ايكنچى سفرده كيلورمن ديدى. يارى رحيم ايتوگزنى اوتنب قلام ديب آيرلش ب كيتدك. بوكيچه ده علييف اسپكتال گه آنده بورن قرغز ميكه ده ئشلا گه نده ليسنيك تانش خاتون نى اوچراشب اسپكتال ده /109a/ برگه اولترغانلار بو خاتون استرليباشنده پوچته ناچالنكي سامارين ديكان روس بله ن تورا ايكان بله اسپكتاكل دان صوك فاتيرگرغه باررمن ديسه كيره ك. شوندان صوك علييف فولص يورطينه بارب ساویشانيه قورغان. صوكره ساعت توقز اون چامالارنده چغب فولس نك استروژينه بارب مينم ناگام دى آلب كيل ديب ايتكان. مين حاضر كريديتنى اوبشستواغه بارام ديب. فولص پريدسيداتىلى ايتكان آلايسه مين سزگه ازاتوب باررغه كشى بيريم ديب ناگان كورسه تب بو بولغاچ كشى كيره كى ديمش. تون لار قارانغى اورام لار قاتقان پچراق شول وقتده بو چغب پوچته يورطنه بارب كرب تشندان ته رزه دان قارسا كيره ك. يورطنك ايكنچى ياغنده بر آولاق ابوده مالای لار قزلار جيلشب اوين قورالار ايمش. بردان يورطده مالای لار چقا باشلاغانلار هم ابودان سامارين ده چغه باشلاسه كيره ك. بوشوندان قورقب آشغب اورام غه چغب كيته قابقاغا قارشوغه فانتال بارآنك اطرافنده زورتاش لار بورنه لار ياتب قالغان. بوقارانغى ده آشغب بارغان كشى بردان تاشقه آنب كيته ده بهاسدان قولنداغى ناگانندان يانغلس آتلب يغلا ده باشى تاشقه برله. شولوق مينوتده ايكنچى مرتبه آتو بوله مونسى خالق غه خبر بيروا وچن بولسه كيره ك. چونكه ناگان نك اول اتلوى ده طماننى تاوش بولب ايكنچى مرتبه ده آچق تاوش بولا. كشى لار كيلب يتب حراب بولدم. يورطقه كرتگرديمش ده شوندوق آلب كرب پوچته ايويه سالغان لار صوسوراب فانتال دان آلب كيلب صووق صواچرگه نلارده شول ساعتده جان بيرمش در. يغلغان اورنده ناگانى ياتب قالغان ايكى پول قالغان اچنده ايكى يگلسى يوق. بر پول اوزنك پماسينك اچندان چقغان. شول وقتده سويستوك هم بيگه ن بوسويستوق ده ياننده ياتب

قالغان. يول پالته سينك صول ياق چابون كيدر ب هم بروكه سن تيدر ب سول ياق بوتينه تيبب يوراك تاري آشه چغوب پياسينده تورب قالغان. قان سراغان آدم گه بردان سووق اچرب لي صواچردك ديب ايتكان لار بو بر ايكنچي حراب بولدم ايتكان سوزني حراب ايتديلار ديب اورنداغي توره لار آلداب ايتكان لار اوزلارن خدمت كورستكان كشي كورساتوب آتقان لار ديب جواب بيركان لار ايدى تون بوينجه اولدان /10gb/ نينداى آروراق كشي لار بولسه شولارنى قولغه آلا باشلاديلار. ساعت ۱۱ لارده ايوم ده ايداش حسنف بله ن بر عريزه يازب اولتره ايدم قابقه آچق استال ده قار قارشي اولترامز تره زه قابچاچ لرده آچق بردان ايشكنى قاغا باشلاديلار چقدوم كم بار ديه بز آچ ديدى آچدم كورسه م ميليتسيه اسليدواتيل صوديه هم باشقه لار كرديلار ده قولگزنى كوتارگز ديه كامندا بيرديلار ده اوبسكه گه باشلاديلار سز لار ارستاونى ديديلار بو جماعتم هم بالالار يوقلى ايدى. اوزمى بتون ساندق لارنى ايو توبه لارن بارن قاراغاندان صوك بز لارنى ئالب چغب كيتديلار. بز ايسه نى حال نى ئش بولغان نون بله ييز آلب بارب بيكلاب قويديلار. اوچ مسجدنك ملالارنى مؤذن لارنى باشقه اولده بولغان حال لراك كرستيان وسوداگرلار حتى شول كونى استرليتاما ق ده بولغان كشي لارنى خبر بيرب بارنده قولغه آلديلار. جمعسى او طز آلتى كشي ايدى. شونندان صوك فولص پريدسداتيلي قاراغوش اولينك صابر مقصودف نارودنى اسليدواتيل عنيت تحفة اللين لار اوافاغه تيلگرام بيرمش لار مسئله شونندان. آتقان كشي لار بار ده آرستاونى ديب. مين ياتام نى اش بولدى ايكان ديب اسم كيتب هيچ بر نرسه بله يم هم باشقه لارده سولاي بولسه كيره ك. بتون اول چيت لارينه قارا اول لار قويب هيچ بر آدم نى كرتما دى لار و چغار ماديلار نيچه كون لار گه قدرلى. ايرته لاب اوفادان ناچالستوالار كيله باشلا دى واينوى پركارور ناچالنيك گپو هم استرليتاما ق دان بولغان ناچالنيك لار كيلدى بتون استرلى باش بر قيامت حالينه كيلدى چژده پژ خالق سويلي هر تورلى سوز نينداى ئش بولدى ايكان توننه قارا اول غه اسمينه بولدى ايكنچي قارا اول كيل گه چ سورادم نى بار ديه اول ايتدى پركارورنى آتقان لار ديه اسم كيتب قالب كوكل گه كيمه گه ن بر ئش صبرلق قيلم خداغه تابشردم. بركون خاقلق معلوم بولور ديه اميد ايتب ياتدم.

ایندی تیکشرو باشلانندی داپروس آلا باشلادیلار. بریچه اییداش لارنی چاقرب جواب آغاچ مینی هم چاقردیلار. مین ایلی یاشمه قدرلی موندای احوال نی کورمه وم سبیلی برآز قورقب قاوشاب قالد م چونکه مین اوز عمرمه حاکم آلدینه کیلوب گواه صقتی بله ن ده جواب بیرگه نم یوق اییدی. شول کونئی ایرته دان کیچ که قدر قاید بولدک نیله ر ئشلادک کم لار بله ن سویلاشب یوردک علیف سیکا تانش اییدی بو باشقه لار کوب نرسه لارنی سوراب بارسینه ده جواب بیروم تیوشلی بولدی /noa/ بوئش حقنده اوزکنی عیب لی دیب بله سون مو؟ یوق. بوکونده کم لار بله ن سویلاشدک قایالارده بولدک جواب شونده شونده شونک بلان سویله شم قوردیم. کوندزنده قاین آغامز جماعتم بلان برگه هم باشقه آغانی لار نیده کورشولارنی قوناققه چاقرب اییدی شونده بولد م کم لار بار اییدی بارنده ایتب بیرم فلان فلان لار اوزمنک هر وقت اشلاشب یورگه ن بر فقیر آدم ده بار اییدی. اول کم خبیر اسحاقف دیدم. آندان صوک ایتدم مینی شول کونلارده کنه حقوق تیکشرو کامیسه سی حق سز اوله راق مینی حقوقدان محروم قیلغان اییدی لار بتون یورشم شول حقوقنی توغری بولما وسبیلی محروم قیلولاری اچون عزیزه بیرب یوللاماق اییدی. کامیسه ده زینولین لطف الله محی الدین هبت اللین ینه کم در اسمی خاترمده یوق کامیسه رئسی اوزم کاندیتاراسن کورستب ۲۱نجی یلده معلم لک که قویدرغان ایدم مجید حسنف بورندای بز لارنی جدید دهری دیب کولب یورگام بر خلفه اییدی کامیسه ده مینم طرفده بر تاوش کیم بولغان رئیس صفاتی ایله حسنف ضررمه تاوش بیرب مینی حقوقدان محروم قیلغان لار. بروگه یاخشلیق قیلساک یامان لق کوت دیمش لار بوشوندای بولدی. کون تون اوزمنی آق لارغه هربر اورندان اسپرافکه آلب ماتریال جیو اییدی. بو حقهده علیف که کرب ئشمنی سویله مش ایدم. اول ایتدی مجید آبری مین سینی انقلاب قدرلی کم آکانک بله م انقلاب دان صوک نیندای ئش لار ئشلادک شول حاقد اسپرافکه لار ئالب میکا عزیزه بیرسن مین تیکشرمن دیدی لکن تیزره ک ئشله مین بر کوندان کیته م دیدی. شول حقهده علیف یاننده بولد م دیدم. اول سیکا تانش مواول کامونیست نیشلاب آنک بله ن سویله شه سن دیه اول مینم یاش وقتنده برگه اوقغان هر وقت کورشم یورگه ن اییداشم

ایدی دیدم. ۱۱ نچی دیکابر کوننی کون بونچه نُشم بله ن ساعت کیچ توقرغه قدر یورددم. حتی سکز اون یاشلی بالالار منی بیروب فلان کشیگه بارب مین سوراغان کاغزنی سوراب آلب قایتگز دیه بیردم. ساعت سکرده کیچ کیل ئلی برگه لاب انستروکسیه قاراب عزیزه یازارمز دیه یازار باررمن دیب وعده شونی ایوم ده کتب اولتره ایدم بر مطلق تاوشی ایشتلدی آچق تاوش بله ن صوکره /uob/ ایکنچی مرتبه ینه مطلق تاوشی طماننی ایدی شونودوق سویستوک تاوشی آی وای دیگان تاوش لار ایشته باشلادی میم یورطم یوقاریده ایدی یکلدورگه چغب باسقچ دان مگلاب توره ایدم شول اوغلم بلان قزم یوکرب قوقشب قایتب کیلدیلار اقی ئله نیندای مطلق تاوش لاری اورام دن کشتی لار فانارلار بلان یوری لار دیب مین دیدم برر ایسرک نی اورام ده ملیتسه لار آلب کیتکان در دیه. شوندان اویمه کرب نُشلارمه قاراب اولترر ایدم کوب ده اوتمادی حسنف کیلب کردی ئله نیندای اورام ده شاوشولار ایشته مینده مونده یکورغه چغب اشتب توردم نه بولغاندر بهادم. صوکره عزیزه لارمزی یازب اولتره ایدک بردان اشکتی قاغب چاقراب چغاردیلار آچدم ملتسیه لار کردیلار ده ایکننی ده آریستاوایت ایتدی جماعتم بالالار یوقلی ایدیلار دیدم. ینه نیچه مرتبه لار چاقرب داپروس قیلدیلار. نیچه مرتبه یورت لارنی اوبسکه قیلغان لار. بر ایکی اوچ کوندان صوک اوفادان کیلکان پرکارورلار قایتب کیتنه باشلادیلار. خالق آلدنده آتامز دیب کیلکه ن لار ایکان خدا قوشماغان نُش بولی حاق لق چغار ئلی دیب یاتامز شول درجه ده بر دهشت که قاراول غه اولدان کشتی یتشمدای کورشی اول لردان قارول کیتردیلار. شوندان صوک فقیرلار صوبرانیه سی جیب بز لارنی صراغان لار خالق ایتکان فاکتیچسکی راستلانه در بز بوکوندان آتوگرنی سوریمز لکن راست لی تورب بو نُش بولای بولور دیب اشانمیز<sup>413</sup> بلکه باشقه اولدان کیلب برر دوشمانی آتقان در بزکه هیچ برسی معلوم ایماس. سز لارده سیسکوننی ات لار بار هم خالق نی هم محبوس لار نیده چغارگز ده اگر ده ات براونی توتسه شولار عیب لی بولور

چونکه بوکشتی لار اندای نُش قیلورلار دیب بهیمز: [Added in pencil in the margin: 413 [دیمش]

دیب ایتکان لار. ایکنچی کون خالق نی جیب هم ات نی اولگه ن اورنینه ئالب کیلب قاراغان لار ایکان پوچته ناچالنیکگی بلان ظهر الدینف دیکان میلنسه سنی توتقان بولار توتقات غان لار خالق بیرگزارات نی دیه سوراسه ده بیرماس دان ات نی آلب کیتکان لار شوندان صوک بزلارنی بارمز نیده استرلیتاماق غه تورمه گه اوزاتدیلا ر آولده اون کون یاتدک خداغه شکر تورمه نی اشتب بلسه ک ده گناه سز بولب اچقه کررگه ده /IIIa/ خدا نصسب ایتدی بر خفالانمی ناحق فولصی نک رئیس لاری و باشقه کشی لارنک یالغان کورسه تولاری بلان جماعتم آتی بالام ایکی یتیم قرداشم شولارنی قالدر ب کیتدم گناه سز بولوم سبیلی برده قایغرمادم حکومت حقلقنی تیکشرب بلهاسدان گناه سز بنده نی جزاء قلماس دیب امید ضور ایدی. علیف نک آکته سنی یازغان وقتده پالته سی بلان بر یوکه سنیک یانغان یازماغانلار شول وقتده سیل ساویت پرسیداتیلی خیرالدین فرحشاتف دیکان نی اچون پالته بلان بر یوکه نک کیگانن یازمیسز مینم چه مین مونی یازارغه صوریم دیمش بز صوغشده وقتده یاقن دان کیلگان پول یاندره یراقدان یکسه یاندرمی دیب ایته لار ایدی دیب. شوندان یازمش لار. اولکنی قارغان دوختر باشده ایتکان ایتوقین ممکن ینه شه کیلب آتوغه اورنلی ناچالنیک لارنک سوزینه بوی صن ب آتقان لار دیه اوزینک فکرنی یازمش در. شوندان صوک اولکنی استرلیتاماق غه اراتقان لار آنده زاوه لارگه ده تلار ققترت قارشنی آغان لار. یازب اوتمش ایدم بزنگ بلان خبیر اسحاقف ده آشده بولدی دیه. بو پچاره نک بخت سز لگینه قارشنی ایون بارب تیکشرسه لار قان لی تون قانلی پچاق میچ باشنده یاتا ایکان میلنسه لار تابدق اولترکان کشی دیب شادلق بلان پرکارردان سونچنی آغان لار یاری. درست اوترگان کشی نی تابماغان لار تیک قانلی تون بله ن پچاق تابقان لار آنی بیت سویمغانلار پچاق بلان آتماغانلار پول بلان آلا رچه آگرده تون اولتروچی بولسه اول عیبلی بولور ایدی. شوندان صوک اسحاقف دان سوأل باشلانه. سین مو عییف نی اولتروچی دیه بوجواب بیره یوق اخشامدان یوقلادم ایشکه ده چقغانک یوق دیمش نیک آلدی سن آلودان ئولیسنک دیه عیب لاوچی قورقته تیکشگرگ درستلارگز آتارسز دیمش. آلا ی بولغاچ فانلی

تون بلان پچاق قایدان سرگه بارب کرگان جواب اول میکاکیلب کرمادی اول تون بلان پچاق نی من ئوزم آلب کردم نیکه دیسه گزکیچدان مین فلان کشتی گه آت سویشرغه بارغان ئیدم شونده قانغه بویالغان مین قایتدم پیچ باشینه تاشلادم مونه قایدان اول قان دیمش هم ات سویدرغان کشتی نی چاقرب سوراسه لار اول درست دیمش مونه اولتروچنی تابوغه شادلانوتچماغان کوتکه بوق یابشمس ایمش دیلار اورنداغی ناچالنیک لار /imb/ نیچکده بولسه اونداغی ناچالنیک سوزمزی درست که چغارمز اشانماسدان بوتون پچاق نی مسکاوغه بیرب تیکشتروب قایتاردیلار مسکاودان آت قانی بولون راستلاب قایتارغان لار. ئش لار بارب چقمی ات نی ده بیرمه دیلار تون بلان پچاق ده دان ده بولمادی. بوکشتی لار بیک خفاده قالدیلار اوزلارندان ئوزلاری قورقه باشلادیلار آتقان کشتی لارنی آرستاویت ایتدک دیب تیلگرام بیردی یکل بولسه ده اثبات ایتوی بیک آورغه قالدی. شوندان استرلیتاماقه تورمه کرو بلان بزگه برکشتی والچوک دان قچقردی اولکنی آلدرب دوختلار کامیسینی سوراب یاکادان تیکشترسون لار دیه. بزلاز موندای اشنی قلمامز وکورمامز سبیلی قورقدق بلکه تیوشسز روشده بزنگ ضررغه أشلار لار دیه. اگر ده شول وقتده بو اشنی قلغان بولساق بدلار بلکه قوتلغان بولور ایدک. چونکه اوفاده پرافیسورلار دوختلار اون یدی کشتی بو حاقده آتیه بوینجه و باشقه ئوز فکرلارنی یورتب اوزندان آتلورغه تیوش دیب تابقان لار اگر ده وقتنده کامیسیه قارغان بولسه شوندوق مسئله آچلغان بولور ایدی دیمشلار و اوچ آی استرلی تورمه سنده یاتب بزلازنی اوفاقه ازاندیلار بارمزیده اوفاقه بارب اسلید ستونی کورپس قه همه مزنی برکامرگه کرتدیلار برنیچه کوندان صوک بزلازگه گپو طرفندان اون برکشتی غیب لی قیلب پرکارتورغه ئشگز بیرلدی دیه. صوکره موندان باشقه لارنی هر تورلی سروک بلان سییرا طرفنده فیسلکه که بیردیلار اومسکی گه ناریمسکی کرایغه و باشقه جیرلارگه. بزلاز یا خدای نی بول ادیب یاتامز عالی صود اداره لارینه برنیچه کره سؤال غه چاقردیلار. شوندان صوک بزلازنی اویش کورپس دان دورت قاتلی استالین کورپسینه تورلی کارملارغه قویدیلار. مین ایکنچی قاتده ۱۹نجی کامیراده اولتردم علیم



توقایف میکا کورشی کامرده ایدی حسنف اوچنچی قات ده ایدی روزه آی کیلب یتدی خدا قبول ایتسون تورمه نک ایکه کی بلان صالغن صو اچب رمضان روزه مز توتدق بیش وقت نماز قالمادی خداغه شکر. شول وقتده مرحومه جماعتم کوکره ک بالاسی مریم اسملی قزم بلان کیلوب کورشب یویله شب کیتدی بو احترام لاری اوچون جناب حق الوغ اجرلار بیرسن آمین.

شوندان صوک آپریل ایلاری ایدی مش مش خبرلار جغاباشلادی بز لارنی قوتقارالار ایمش /muza/ حاضر اشلا رگز عالی صود آنده زور ئشلارنی تیکشره تورغان استال گه چقغان مسئله نک آخری شوشنده آچلا دیدیلار بو اداره اسلیدواتیل پا واژنیم دیلام دیلار مونده عثمانف دیکان کشی اشلی ایدی. روس لارنک پاسحه بیرام لاری یتب قالدی. بردان برکون بزنگ اییداش لاردان جیدی کشمزی چغارب بیردیلار. تیک قالدق بز لار بش کشی مین عبدالرحیم عید الله اوغلی توقایف حسنف اسحاقف هادی مؤذن. ایندی اویلادق بز لارنی عیبلی قلدیلار آخری اویلان قالدق. قوتلب کیتوچیلار عبد الرحیم لطف الله اوغلی توقایف علیم توقایف عبد الرحمن آیدابولف بصیر دصینف احمد علیف مجید مناسیوف. کونلار برنده نیکفارده توغان کیاوم مجید ویولین کیلب کورشدی هم کوچته نه چ لار کیتردی اول ایتدی آبزی قورقه گر چغاچاق سز دیدی مین ایتدم سین مینی یواتور اچون گنه ایته سن باشقه لار کیتب بز لارنی آیرب قالدرماس لار ایدی دیدم مونه آبزی ئش موندان ایکان جیدی کشینک ئشنی قارغان شوندان صوک اورب کیتکان سزنگ ئش گزگه نوبت یتمی قالغان بالنیسته دان سلامت چقسه سزنگ ئشنی قاری یاچق در دیدی. مونه مونه چقاسز خدا قوشسه دیب یواتب قوواندرب کیتدی مای بایرامی ده یتب قالدی یاتامز کوبت بشنچی مای کونی کوندزگی آشنی آشاب قنه بترب تورا ایدک والچوک دان قچردیلار قادیرف چیست داوای اسکریه سویاوادو دیب قاوشاب قالدیم ایشکدان چقغاچ سوزم باشقه ئبداش لارده بار مودیه بارغزده چغاسز دیدی شونداق آلارده باگاژلاری بلان کیلب قوشلب برگه چغب ده کیتدک کانتورغه کرب قولزغه کاغز الب چغب کیتدک تیک ایتدیلار ساعت آلتی ده گوغه باررسز

دیدیلار تورمه قابقاسندان چغب بار ایدک مرحوم عبدالقادر توقایف ایزوشچیک بلان بزگه قارشى کيله ایدی بزلا چقدق بیت قووانب ایتدک کولب گنه شولای منى ديب بزگه باررسز دیدى. مین حاضر ایزووشیک پیرمن ديب کیلب یندى بزلا رنى آلب باردی بزنى کوتب آش لار پشرب تورغان ایکان الله رحمت ایتسون آمین گوغه باردق ساعت آلتی ده دیدی بزلا رسنلارنى قایتقاچ بو حقده برر نرسه ایشتسه گز با بلسه گز بزنگ شوشى آدریسمز بلان یازارسز تیکشرب بلورگه ترشگر ديه چقاردی. /112b/ دیمه ک ویرحاونی صود حکم گه پیررلک ئش تا بمادی دیمه ک صودسز سلامت قوتلقدق خداغه شکرلار اولسون البته حق لق اوستن بولورغه تیوش ایدی حکومت ده بیک یاخشی تیکشرب عدل لک بلان ئش قلدی مونداغی وجدان بلان حقیقت نی بلب بزلا رنى آزاد ایتونی یاشاسن حکومت هم عدالت محکمه سی. شوندای دهشتلی ئشلار بولدی که حتی اول ئشلارگه قاراب حکومت ئشلاسه نه چاره بونی اشلامادی فقط توغریلق نی ئشلادی بتون عزیزته لار بتون رابوچی لار سا برانیه سی بردان آقردیلار بولارغه عالی جزاء پیرلسن ديه حتی آمریکاده باشلا تورغان روس عزیزته سی ده یازدی. مسکاوا عزیزته لارنده هم بولدی. ینندای وجدانسز ظالم کشى لار بار ایکان. ۲۹نجی ییل ۱۹نجی غنوارده باشقردستان اسان یکدیف دیکان بر باشقرد ئییده ش مسئله نی بله سدان مینی قان ازلا ری ديه بر مقاله یازدی قرآن حافظ مجید قاری قدیرف ديه قایتقاچ ئوزم کوزم بلان او قدم.

شوندای افترا شوندای یالغان نی نی وجدان برلان یازوینه خیران قالدیم مونی او قوچی لار دنیاده شوندای وجدانسز ظالم بار ایکان. بزنگ اشمز مسکاواغه بارب آنده کورلب اوفاغه کیری قایتاردیلار یاخشی تیکشرب کورگز. ملالار فولاق لار ديه شخصی یه تگرغه پیرلب ئش قلمگز ديه هم تنبیه قیلب یازمشلار در. ۱۹۲۸نجی ییل دیکابرنده اینده اشمزنگ نومیره سی ۵۲۰ ایدی. خدانک رحمتی بتون عزیزته لار عالی جزاء پیراون ديب طلب قیلب باقرسه لار ده صودنک عدالت بلان تیکشروی آرقاسنده بزلا رنى صودقه پیررلک فاکته تا بماد قلا رندان صودسز چغارب پیردیلار خداغه تشکر دان

عاجز قالدق. سلامت قربان پیرامینک عرفه کیچه سنده ساعت اون برده قایتب عائله لرمزغه قوشلدق خداغه شکر بارب میلیتسیه اداره سنده معلوم بولب طنچ قنه تورا باشلادق. بوکونلار بزلارگه زور شادلق بولسه ظالم لار اورنداغی ناچالنیکلایمه حاتم کونی بولدی. ایندی بولار نیچکده بولسه یلان کبی بر یاوزلق ایتونیت لاری بولسه کیره ک بز آلارنی مونده یاشاتاچه ک توکل مزدییه بر فرصت تابب بزلارنی یاکادان بر سبب تابب برئش قیلاچاق لارینه اوایلاب یوردک چونکه بولار اوزلارندان قورقه باشلادیلار بولارنی بزگه بر یاوزلق قیلورلار دیب بز نیچکده بولسه /и3a/ مونده توتارغه یارامی دیه میندان بر سبب ازلارگه ترشقان لار. بیگره ک ده صابر مقصودف صبر تحفت لین هم باشقه لار. شوندان صوک سینتابرنک ۱۹نجی کوننده فولص ده نالوگ حقنده سابرانیه بولب شونده بعضی بر گراژدانلار کیف لارنده بولو سببلی قارشو سوز سویله گه نلار شریف جان علییف عیدالله دیکان ابداشلار. فولص پرسیداتلی مقصودف سزلارنی قایتقان لار قورته دیب شول کیچه ده بزلارنی هم شریف جان عیدالله ابداش لارنی قوشب قایتادان قولغه آلب شولوق کیچه ده استرلی تاماق تورمه سینه ازاتدیلار استرلیتاماقده برنیچه کون لار یاتب ینه دان اوفاتورمه سینه ازاتدیلار. بوآلنوخه استرلیتاماق ده بر چاقرب تورمشم اجتماعی چغشم حقنده صوراب یازدیلار ده اوفاغه بارغاچ باشقه نرسه سورامادیلار. اول آلغان ده 25 3/2 ایکنچی سنده 85.11 مادیسی بیردیلار.

شول اوفاغه بارغان دان بیرلی ۱۹۲۹نجی یلنک آغوست آینه قدر بر سوال سز یاتا بیردک. بو وقتده هر اولدان رایوندان مؤذن و حاللی آدم لارنی همه سن تورمه گه کیترب تورمه نی تولترب قویدیلار حتی اورن بولی قالدی اوفاتورمه سنده بز بار وقتنده اوچ منک آدم یاتدک ایبول آی لارنده کشی لارنی هر بر طرفقه ازتا باشلادیلار بزدان شریفجان عیدالله مناسیف لارنی یورطلارینه بیردیلار قالغان لارمزدان بر کوننی عبد الرحیم لطف الله اوغلی توقایف هم استرلیباش امامی علیم توقایف نی بزنگ یاندان آلب ایکنچی کامرگه قویدیلار بر ایکی کوندان صوک بولارنی ده ماشینه بلان آلب چغب کیندیلار

ایکنچی کون بزلا رکه اعلان قیلدی یار اول وقتده گواداره سنده اوچ کشتی لک (ترویکه) کامیسیه بار ایدی شولارنک قرارلاری بوینجه اون یلدا ن میکا عبد الرحمن آیدابولف مجید حسنف قه بیش یلدا ن بصیر دصینف احمد علیف عماد الدین تحفت اللین که خیر اسحاق قه اوچ یل استرلی باش فولص نک بزلا ره ناحالی بولا ک لاری شوشی بولدی. ۱۹۲۹ یل ۲۱نجی آغوست کونده اوچ یوز کشتی بر شالون قیلب از اتدی یار آر خانیکل طرفینه خیرلی سی دیب یونالدک کون لار اسسی قزل واگون لارده هر واغونده ۳۵ کشتی صو بیک آزیبرلار توبادان تیمر قزدره در شول روشده صمار پینزا مسکوا و پیترا زاواد میدویژی غاراکیم شهرلارن اوتب ۱۱نجی کونده مورمان تیمر یولی بوینده لا اوخی دیکان استانسسه غه ایلتب توشدی یار قاراغای اورمان /пзб/ سازلق لا واحی استانسسه ندان آتی یکلومیتیر بر پونکت که باردق یورطلار تیره سنده اچنده برنیچه بارک لار بارکول بوینده کیرته بلان اوراتلب آلتغان. بزلا رنی تزوب قویدی یار ده اسم قاملیه مز بلان سوراب تفتیش قیلب بتدی یار گوناچالینک لاری اوزلارینک ایته تورغان سوزلارن ایتدی یار شول وقتده برنیچه آریالار بلان بزلا رنک باغازلارمزی کیترب اویدی یار. ئوزمزم کامندا بلان جایا وکیلدک. شوندا ن موینجه غه قویدی یار اسسی موینجه بولسه ده کول بوینده کچکنه بر او ی اچنده برنیچه اسکامیکه لار اسسی صو بیروب یوندق است باش کیم لارمزی دیزنیفیکسی گه آدی یار. یالان غاچ روشده چقدق ده چغو بلان بتون کشتی لارگه یتارلک است باش آیاق کیوملارن کیترب ایوب قویغان ایدی یار آپاپاق کولمه ک استان کیمنلار یتورگه کون باتینکه بوشلاق (سوکونی پیتراک) بورک بارسنده بیردی یار ده یووب قویغان تازا بر باراک که کرتدی یار کون باتوده کیلب ایدک بارک کرگنده کون یاقرغان ایدی چونکه بو یرلارده تون بیک قسقه بولادر. شوندا ن صوک یوقلاب یال ایتدک. تورومرغه ایگمه ک بر کیله دان بالق آشادق ده چای اچب بتکاچ یورتقه چغارب پاکیت لارنی کورب تفتیش قیلب دوختر غه کورن کاتیگوری یار تعین قیلدی یار ده بیک سلامت یاشلارنی دورتنچی اورتاراق کشتی لارنی اوچنچی آوروراق بوسرلی بولغان لاری ایکنچی که تیگوریه غه قویدی یار. توش یتدی آش بوتقه بالق کبی

پورسه لارمزی آشاب بوکون یال ایتدک. اوچنچی کوندان باشلاب ئشکه چغاردیلار اوچ یوز آدم بارده نیچو بر یل تورمه ده ۱۱ کون یولده آچلی توق لی کبل گه ن آدم لار آشاب توپ بولی مونداغی کشی لار ایته لار بولار نیندای خالق اوپورونی کامانده می نلله دیه ایدراب سویلشه لار ایدی.

شوندان برکیله ایکی یوز غرام آرش ایکه گی بیره باشلاب دیلار بالق کوب کوبی آشاساک ده کوخته یاننده میچکخ سی بلان تورا ایدی. مونده ئش لاری شوندان ایدی سازلق تاش لق قاراغای اورمان آراسنده استانسه دان ۵۶ کیلومیتر فینلانديه گرانیتسه سینه ساشایول یاساوایدی قازوب آغاچ لارنی کیسب یوللارنی تیگرلامه ک ایدی. بزنگ اوچنچی لارات آربالار بله ن قم بالچق تاشو ایدی تیاوچی بوشاتوچی حاضر آلب بارب بوشاتب /114a/ شوندان صوک بره رای ئشلاب آغه راق ۱۹ نچی پونکتینه اوزاتدیلار برگه باراق اولده ناچار شونده برکول آشا کوپر سالالار ایکان نویابر جیدسینه قدر شونده کشلارنی شوشی نویابر بیرامی کونی ئشدان قایتورمزغه بز لارنی یاتابقه چاقرا باشلاب دیلار بز لار ایندی بوکون بیرام کون آش صو یاخشی ایت ده بولور دیب قووانب قایتب ایدک مونه سیکا داوای ده داوای دیب پاستیل لارمزی جییارغه توندق عبدالرحمن آیدابولف بلان ایکومز دمیف بلان حسنف قالدیلار مونده اون یلقلارنی غنه بیردیلار حسنف بورنوقه کیتکان ایدی. قایده بارومزی هیچ کم ییلمیدر. نرسه لارمزی چغارب بر یرگه ایوب قویدیلارده اوزمزی جایاو بیردیلار باگاژلارگزی کیمه بلان آلب باررلار دیدیلار بر زور کول بوینده ایدک اوزمز کون باتقان ده چغب کیتدک ۱۵ کیلومیتر ایکان بورن تورغان پونکت قه بارمز ایکان تون اورتالارنده نادزورلار مونده بر ساعت یال ایته سز دیدیلار اورمان اراسی سازلق یاتورغه اورن یوق قایدا آغاچ توبی قایدا باتقان بورنه لارگه باشمزی تراب یوقلادق یاقترا باشلا غاچ قوزغالب کیتدک ده کون چغوغه بارب یتدک یکسه ک باگاژلارمز یوق کوته مز کیچ بولب بارا بر وقت خبر چقدی کیمه باتقان دیه بر وقت کیچ ساعت اون برلارده کیمه کیلدی دیب خالق شوایته باشلادی. یوکرب باردق کیمه کیلب توقاغان بتون نرسه لارمز صوده کیمه اچنده یوزب یاتالار

ایدی آلب کوچ که کوتارب باراک غه کرتدک بتون نرسه صومندر یورغان تون پمالار آزق شیکر مافه رگه بولغان نرسه جیب بتکان ایدی. شوندان تون یوقلامی قویاش چقغانغه قدرلی الب یلاب برآزغنه قوردی. یقو یوق تاماق غه آشاغانمز یوق داوای یاتاب قه دیب آقرا باشلادیلار. ایده جوش کیم لارمزی آقره غه آسب قولغه بر ایکی توزلی بالق بیردیلار ده آلب چغب ده کیتدیلار آتی یکومیتز بون توشکان استانسه مز (لاوخی غه) پویزده اولتردیلار ده قایده بارومزنی بلیمز. شول درجه ده قینالدم قول باشمه چوبای چقغان ایدی آور نرسه لارنی کوتارب بولی رحمت لار بولسن قاینغام آیدابولف یاردم قیلب کوته رشب باردی. توزلی بالق آشاب فواغونده صوق یوق نی اشلا رگه بلیمز ته ره زه دان قار سوراب آلب آشادق آنی ده بیرمیلار فاغونلار صووق نویابر آینده ایدی. /ii4b/ بارب پاپوف اوسترف دیگان بیلامور دیگرگی بوینده شونده توشرب آغز باگاژ لارمزی کوتارب ۳ یکومیتز باراق غه آلب کیتدیلار. مجبور بولدیم نرسه لارمزی یولده تاشلاب کیتارگه نادزورلار آل نرسه لارگی دیه نی ماگو مینم قول باشم آورته دیدیم. نی تله سه گز شونی اشلا گز نی جواب بیبرسز دیدیم. شوندان بر تاقته لار قاراولچی سنه قالدرب کیچ بولدی ساعت اون لارده ایدی بر وقت کم نک باغاژی قالغان دیب قیچقردیلار یوکرب چقدم مینم نرسه لارمزی آت بلان کیترکانلار سلامت آلدیم. بو یرده اون ایکی کون کراتتین ده تورامز ایکان. بوندان فائده لانب یوش کیم لارمزی بارنده کیدرب آلدق. اون دورت کوندان صوک ینه بز لارنی یاتاب قه آلب چقدیلار قایده بارومزنی بلیمز بیلامور دیگرگی بوینده پراحوطقه تو یاب ازاتدیلار کیچ ساعت بیشلار ایدی خالق کوب پراحوطنک اوستنده بارامز شپانه دیکان مخلوق لار ده کوب ایدی. پراحوطنک آستینه توشردیلار چونکه آندان تاوار آزق بکب نرسه لار کوب ایدی. دیگر اورتاسینه کرب کیتدک تون له بولدی مونه بر وقت جیل قار بوران چغب کیندی بر قیامت بولدی پراحوط اوستنده جیل بیک کوچلی خالق بیک قققرا بیکره ک ده شپانه لار کم لاری بیک یوقه بز لارده تون پمالارمز بولسه ده باغاژمزی چیشمه دک قورق دک آلورلار دیه مین بیک

قالتري باشلادم پراحوطنک قایده باردی بیلیمز تیک بورانده ایلاب یوری بیره تیشلارگه ایندی بارام ده ماتروس لارنک بوله سن آجب کردم ده چاوا استاریک دیب مین اوتندم ممکن بولسه آزغنه یلنب چغار ایدم دیه یارار یلن ده بزلاز حاضر اشکه چغامز سین مونده قارول بولب توررسن هیچ براونی کرتمه دیه اول آراده اوزلاری قیماق پشره لار ایدی میگابریکی نی بیردیلاز هم پشکان به رنگی بیردیلاز چای ده اچدم یلندم راحت مونچه کبک بوله ده بار بیره م طشده غی خالق پراحوط اوستنده تاپانب یوریلار مین مونده اوجماخ غه کرب آلام. خداغه شکر دیب اولترا ایدم. ماتروس لار قایتب کردیلار نواستاریک فسو پارده که مودیب سورا دیلاز ده پارادکه دیدم قارشى پراحوط آدشکان دیب هیچ کورب بولی بوران تولقن کیچلی باتب کیتمه سه لار یارار ایدی دیب سویله شه باشلادیلاز. تاک ده یاقن لاب قالدی. /115a/ یاقتدری کون چقغانده ایلاب کیری پاپوف اوستف قه قایتدق. پراحوط چغار دیلاز تاغن کامانده بلان کیچه گی اوچ یکومیترب باراق غه آلب کیتدیلاز ینه ده باغاژلامنی آلامد. نادزورلار آقرسا ده مین آور دیه یار باشینه تاشلادم ده کیتدم یوغالسه سز جواب بیررسز دیدم ده کیتدم. بارب باراق غه کردک ئرلی بیرلی چای اچب تاماقلان یوقلاب یال ایتب فاحته یانینه کیتدم قابقه توبنده کانطورنک ایوئالندنه مینم نرسه لارمنی کیترب قویغان ایدیلاز سلامت ایکان کوردم ده باراق غه قایتدم. بوکون یقلادق ده ایرته لاب ینه یاتاب قه آلب چقدیلار فاحته یانینه تزدیلار مینم ئش باغاژده ده تدان چقدم ده کچه گی اورننده یوق نادزورغه مینم باغاژلارم قایده کیترب بیرمه سه گز مین کیتمیم تلاسه گز آت گز دیدم. باغاژنک تابلور قورقه ایده ره تکه کردیدیلار. یاری اشانب چغب کیتدم پراحوط یانینه بارب توقتادق مین هامان نره لارمنی تابدرام انچی گودوک بولدی یوق ایکنچی بولدی یوق قایدانرسه لارم دیب نادزولاردان سرویم حاضر کیله دیلاز اوچنچی گودوک بولدی بزلازنی پراحوطقه کرتدیلاز شول وقتده مینم نرسه لارمنی جان غه سالب کیترب کرتدیلاز سلامت الدم توشدان نادزورلار پاوچیل فسه دیب سورا دیلاز آلم دیدم. پراحوط قوزغالب ده کیتدی ایندی بلدک موندان آلتمش

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ئشم یاخشی دیدی. یاری بله سز حاضر بز مونچه غه بارامز بزگه اورن آلب  
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زور قاراغای دان ئشلان گه ن یاقتی میچ لاری یاغلب تورابیش یوزکشی بار  
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اوزمز جاوای کون باتقانده باردق تون صووق بیک ازاق تیکشرب بز لارنی  
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عالی صودنده آدواکت بولب اشلاگان دینیکین دان لینین غرادنی ساقلاب  
قالوچی باشقرط پولکینک کاماندیری بولب اشله گه ن نوری اعظم تاهرف ده  
بار یدی. باراق لار بیک اسسی قانداالارده یوقلاب بولی برکون کیچکی  
پاویرکه گه چقغانده صووق تیدرب بیک قای آورب قالدیم ۴۰ درجه اسی لک  
بولدی. شوندوق مینی شفا خانه گه آلدیلار آیدابولف باراق ده قالدی. شفا  
خانه برآی یاتب سلامت لکمی ایکنچی کاتیکوریه توشب چقاردیلار بو وقت  
ده آیدابولف نی قایتادان کریمل غه اوزاتدیلار کیل که ن یرمز. شولای ایتب  
مین یاغز قالدیم شنا خانه دان چقغاچ یاخشی آغاچ باراق غه قویدیلار



باراق زور یاقتی یلی اوچ اورنده پیچ لاری بار ئشکه قوشمی لار سزلار ایتوالید سزگز سزلارنی اشکه توشرغه حقمز یوق دیه ناچالنیکلار جواب قایتارالار ایدی. است باشقه قسقه کیم پمابه له ی بکک نرسه لارنی بیردیلا کونینه دورت یوز قارا ایکمک اون اوچ غرام شیکر دورنچی کاتیگوریه دان حسابلاب کونینه اوچ مرتبه اسی آش بیره لار ایدی. باراق ده تیک یاتا بیرگز دیدیلار. یاتامز جای لار یتدی آز غنه ایکه ک کوب راک بولور ایدی دیه کانظوراده استروژ بولب کره ئالدم. مونده یاخشی غنه بوله باشلادی کاتور آدم لاری اوزلارینک آش کاتچکه لارنی ده قای وقتده قالغان ایکه کلارن ده بیره لار. مای غه قدر شولای یاخشی غنه تورب ئیدم بشنچی مای ده ینه یاتلب قه اوزاتدیلا قایده ایکانن بلیمز. باردق کریمل غه آنده آیدابولف ایدی بز لارنی کیچ مونجه ده یوقلاب ایرته ن قیدادر آب کتیه لار. ایرته ن تورددق باراقدان آیدابولف ده کیلب چقدی اولاه بزنگ بلان برکه باراچاق/116a/ ایدی. کیتدک ۲۰ کیلومتر قدر بیلامورنک یاینه بارب توقتادق بیش کیلومتر قدر دینگزدان او طراوغه اوتدک بو وقت دینگزده بیباراق زور لغنده بوز آغا ایدی شول بوز آلا رسندان کیم بلان اوتب ئنزردیکان پونکت قه باردق بو یرده زور چرکاولار بورن مناستیر بولغان ایکان. مونده توقتاب برآز پاوریکه قیلغاندان صوک برآزکنشی مونده قالدی هم آیدابولف ده مونده قالدی بوگمه رایونی عبدالباری فتاحف دیکان ملا ده مونده تورا ایکان یاری ئه بز لارنی دورت کیلومتر آغه ایکنچی کالغوفه دیکان پونکت قه اوزاتدیلا ر. مونده ده چیرکاولار تاو باشنده شول تاو باشنده غی چیرکاوگه بز لارنی قویدیلار بتون بیلامور دینگزنده پراحوطلارنک یوروی کورن ب تورر ایدی. یکسه م بزنگ ایداش حسنف مونده ایکان اوچراشب کورشدک اول شفا خانه ده سانیتیر بولب ئشلی ایکان سینده سانیتیر بولساک اورن بار عزیزه بیرر دیدی شونودوق عزیزه بیردم ده قبلول ایتدیلا ر ایکومز شفا خانه ده ئشلی باشلدق ۱۹۳۱نجی ییل آغوست باشینه قدرلی. ما آیلا رنده کون باتسه ده یاقتیلق بوتمی ایدی تونده حات یازب بولسه ایدی اوتسز. موندان صوک بو بالئیتسه نی یوق قیلدیلا ر ده بز لارنی مرکز کریمل شفاخانه سینه کوچردیلار بتون

اورولانب آلب باردق مرکز شفا خانه سنه بارب آنده ئش باشلادق شفا خانه اوچ قات لی کریست اچنده دوختلار آزریمان لی جودت افندی هم باشقه لار ایدی برگه قدر مونده ئشلاب صوکره بزلا رنی ینه دان یاتاب قه چاقر دیلار قایده ایکانن بلهیسز شولایده راسییه گه دیب مش مشلار بار ایدی حسنف نی چاقرسه لارده اول قالدی اوزی تله ب آنده کانال ئشلارغه بارر حال یوق ئلی دیب. مونده روسییه نک مشهور آدم لارندان بوگمه هادی آطلاسف شاعر سعید سوچنه لی مسکاو امام عبد الودود فتاحف قزاق لاردان یوریست احمد بایتورسونف لار بار ایدی هم سلطان علیف افانقی آلا ر قیلدی لار. بزلا ر پرا حوطقه اولتر ب ۸ یوز کشتی چغب کیتدک اولده کیلب کیتکان پاپوف اوسترفقه کیلب آندان پویزد بلان کیتردیلار کیم شهرن اوتب شاوین دیکان استانسه غه دورتنچی آندیلینیه گه قاری مای غوبه دیکان یرده. کیلب توشدک برگنه باراق تازلق قارغای اورمان آراسی شونده توقنادق /116b/ آرماز عنه کشیلار بار ایدی موچنه یاسی باشلادق کچکنه کوخنه سی بار ایکان باشقه نرسه یوق ایدی بر ایکی کوندان صوک یاتاب کیله باشلادی راسییه دان هر کون کیلو استندن بر کوننی یاتاب ده اولداشمز عز الدین عبدالله اوغلی سعید الله سیف الله اوغلی آیدارالی اولینک مؤذن نی قارشی لاب آلدق بیک قواندق توغان لار رمز کیله گه ن کبک بولدی خوش نی ئشکه بیردی لار دیدک بز نیسز راک ده ئشلی ایدک مونده کانال یاسارغه دیب بیردی لار آیدبلار شونده بلدک بز لارده مونده کانال غه بکومزنی ۱۹۳۱نجی ییل نویابر ۱۲ سنده بیلامور کانالی ئشلارگه باشلادق سازلق قاراغای اورمان نی کیسب کوپر سالب قانال ئشلی تورغان یرگه قدرلی یول یاسادق شوندان کانال قازی باشلادی لار. بزلا ر قارت ایکنچی کاتیگوریه بولو سبیلی یکل اشد بولدی کوخنه غه اوطن کیسو و باشقه لار یرگی لاب کشتی بر بریگاد بولب یوردک گاپون دیکان اوکراینلی ایدی بریگادر ۱۹۳۲نجی یلغه قدرلی شوشی مایغویه بولکی شاوین استانسه سنده بیلامور کانالینک باشندان باشلاب ئشلادک سکر منک قدرلی محبوس لار بولب اسمینه بلان کونن تونن ئشلادک بزلا ر خداغه شکر یکل ئشلارده کنه یوردک توکاگه ن قم نی لارنی تیکرلاب

تیوشلی اورن لارنی تازارتب سبرب شونداي ئشلارده بولدق شوشی یلنک نویابرینه قدرلی کانال نک پیر ئشلاری تمام بولدی هم ئش وقتدن ایکی کونگه برکون ئتکوت بیردی یلار. آندان کانال بتو مناسبتی برلان اشینه قاراب میکاده بریل بیردی یلار. بوکونلارنی باراقلارغه باراسن دیه. مینم عزیزه م بولماسه ده آیدابولف قه ایتدم. ئیده بزده باریق کامیسیه گه دیدم ده توکل باردق کورندک یازدی یلار برنرسه ده ایتمادی یلار. فیورال آی لارنده ۳۳نجی یلده بیک صووق کون ایدی یراق غه بارب بوره نه کیسب قایتب بیک آرب یوقلاغان ایدک تون اورتالارنده قدیرف بارمودیه قققر ب چاقردی یلار تیز بول ئیرک که کیتنه سن دیدی یلار آیدابولف بلان ینه شه یوقلاب یاتا ئیدک آبدراب قالدق اول قالدی. مین توننه ساعت برنجی ده چغب کیتدم چقسام قابقه توبنده ۲۵ کشی لار باغازلاری بلان توقاغانلار هم یوکلارن چاناغه تویاب یاتا ایدی یلار آلارنی کوندزوک چاقرغانلا مینی باراک لاردان تابا آلمی یورگه نلار ایکان. سلامت چغب کیتدک ئوزمز جایلاو حالنده تون بیک صووق ایدی. ۵۱ کیلومیترمای غوبه دیکان پونکت که باردق ده یتدک مونده ۱۵ کون کراتتین ساقلار ایمش. شونداق کراتتین نی باراق غه کرتدی یلار. /117a/ مونده اون بیش کون تورت بزلا رگه یگرمی بیش کشیگه اختیاری سورگن گه کیتارگه براولار مه له که سکه براولار پوگاچف قه بزلا رنی فیاتکه غوبرناسنده کوتلوس دیکان شهرگه دفینه صوی بوینده شونده باررغه قوشدی یلار. دیمه ک بزنگ ئیرک که چغومز شوشی بولدی بزلا رنی قالغان بیش یلهزنی شوشنده توررغه تیوشلیمز ایکان قولزغه گپو طرفندان یازلغان دوکامینت نی بیردی یلار ۴۴۰ نومیری یازلغان شولای اون یل غه سیاسی ماده 58.11 بلان قولغه آلتغان قدیرف گونک کاللیگیه سی قاراوی بوینچه (ساگلاسنی قاراری بلان) قالغان وعده سنی بیله لنمش بیرده تمام لارغه دیه یولزغه آزق بوش پویزد بیتلی بیرب قاراولسز پویزدگه اواترب یونالدک. ۸نجی مارت کونینه کوتلسقه بارب توشب نرسه لارمزی کارما خرائینه گه تابشرب میلیتسیه اداره سینه ریکیستراوایت اتیلدک. کون بیک صووق ۵۰ گرادوس قونارغه اورن تاب بولمی کیچ بولدی بیک قیبات چیلق قاره ایکنخ ک نک کیله سی ۱۰ صوم سوت یارتی

لیتر ۵ صوم بزداى محبوسلار اچلقدان سووق دان اوراملارده اولوچیلار بار ایدی. قایدا قونارغه میلیتسه گه بارساق مونده فاتیر یوق آنا بر یکلومیتیر بولور شونده بر بیزپریزورلار شپانه لار یاتالار شونده بارب قونماسه گز باشقه یرده اورن بولماس دیب ایتدی. آنده قونساک ایکی یوز غرام ایگمه ک ده بیره لار دیدی. شونده کیتدک بارب کردک نه در بر باراق کوز کورمی اچی توتون پوچماق ده غنه بر صوقر لامپی یانب تورا ایدی. سکی قرنده اولتر ب قنه یوقلامی چقدق ده ایرته بولغاچ تیوشلی ایکی یوز غرام ایگمه ک نی آلدق ده چغب کیتدک. میلیتسه گه بارب بز لار نی قایده بیره سز دیب سورامق نیکولسکی رایوننه بارب معلوم بولور سز آنده ایتورلار قایده توررغه دیب. آلسه بزگه کاغز بیرگز یولده کوراتیرغه کررگه دیب کاغز هر سیل ساویت که یازدی بولارغه کفارتیر بیلسن قونب کیتارگه دیه. قولمزرغه کاغز نی آلب چقدق ده ایداشلار بلان جیلوب سولاسدک بوکون کیتنه مز دیه هر بر کشتی نرسه لاری کوب بولغان لار تاقته دان قاداقلاب بلکه ی چانه یاساب آلدق. شادرین او یازیقونشاق اولی نک ملا سی وفا سلیمانف بلان ایکاومز بر چاناغه تویاب برگه تارتب دوینه صوندان بوزاوستان چغب کیتدک یا الله خیرلی سفر دیه شوندان الوغ آر خانگیل یولینه توشب کیتدک یگرمی بیش کشتی برگه /h7b/ یول بوینده زور دور روس اول لاری کیچ بولسه سیل ساویت که بارب ایتب فاتیر سوراب آلامز شولای ده صووق ده اورامده بار ایکی ساعت توررغه توغری کیله هر ایوگه بولب تاراتالار ایدی. شولای ایتب برنچه کونلار چانا تارتب باردق بزنگ بارا تورغان نیکولسکی دیکان یرنی هیچ کم بلهی ابدرادق بر اولده میلیتسه اداره سینه کرب سورادق بز لار بارغان یرمرنی بلهیمز سز بلوب بز لار نی یولغه سالسه گز دیب ناچالنیک توراب کارته نی قاراب ایتدی سز لار یکغشل کیریگه کیتکان سز دیدی حاضر یول گردان کیری قایتب آندان یول لارده سوراشب بارا تورغان اوزنغزنی تابارسز دیه بز لار بورلدق ده ایلانب قایتدق. کوتلس قالا سینک قارشوسنده بر زور روس اولی بار کیلب شونده قوناق ایرته لاب تورب بر اورن غه جیلشوب مصلحت قیلوشدق یه نیشلی بز بارامز موشول اورن غه بولماسه کیری کوتلس قه قایتب بز سز لارنک بیرگه

ن اورنی تامباق نیشلا سز. ایکنچی بیرگه بیره من دیدی. قولزغه کاغز آلب ایدک اورام ده بر باراق ده تورغان رابوچی لازنک بریکادیری ایکان باراق موندان ایکی یکلومیتزر بزه اش بار آلورمز دیب بزنی چاقردی ابداش بلان سویلا شب باررغه بولدق ینه دان میلیتسه گه کرب ایتدک بزلا ر مونده قالابز ایندی دیب یارار دیدی. شوندوق کوتارلب باراق غه باردق برینچه کوندان صوک بزلا رگه اش بیردیلا ر اشیال کیسارگه نومانی تولترساق ایکنزگه ۹ یوز غرام ایگمه ک تولماسه ایگمه ک دورت یوز غرام استالاولغه ساتب آلورغه تالون بیره لار باشقه یوق. شولای ایتب اشلاب قارادق نورمانی تولترب بولی هرکون ایکاومزگه دورت یوز ایگمه ک اشلی اول زمانیده بیش کوندان صوک بیره لار بیش کون نچوک توررغه کیره ک آچه غه آلورغه ۰۱ صوم کیله سی آچقاده یوق کیم لارنی ساتا باشلادم یدی قاداق جون باشقان پمانی بیش یوز غرام ایگمه ک بیردم یاخشی کون چومادغم بار ایدی زگرانیچنی آنی هم بیش ایگمه ک که بیردم شولای ایتب آرتق نرسه نی بارنده ساتب اشاب بتدم اوزم حال سزلابن اشدان قالدیم آیاق بیت لار ششب کیتدی حال مشکلگه قالدی اجلم شوشنده ایکان دیب او یلاب یاتدم. الله نک رحمتده بولسن جماعتم فاطمه اوزلارینه بوماسه ده بارن تاب بر پاسیلکه صالیدی بر آز آچه آزراق مای توقاچ صوخاری اون شونک بلان بر آزغه سوزلدم. بوده بتدی ینه بر پاسلکه آلدیم بوهم تمام بولدی. بو وقت او طرز اوچنچی ییل مای آیلارنده ایدی. اولان لار چقدی دوینه توغینده کوبشه قمرلق قوزغالاق /u8a/ جیب قایتام ده توز سالام پشزرگه اون یوق مونچه غه بارب قنه پشره م شونی آشیم ده تیرله ب راحت لانب یاتام قای وقت ده جیتن اورلغی آلام براتکانی هم شونی قردرب قویب آشقه سالام کوندان کون حال بته ایدی حتی حاجات مه اورمالاب بارا تورغان بولب قالدیم بیت شیش آیاق شیش نرسه نی ساتب بتدم تیک ایودان چققان بر تونم قالدی یاخشی بره ن اچلی ایدی کئی لار ایته لار سین بیت اوله سک اولارغه چغب کیتارگه کیره ک آزماز رزق بیررلار شولای ایتب بلکه سلامت لکنی قوتقارب قالوسن دیدیلار. ئه مینم اولغه باررلق حامل یوق ایدی خدا بر یاردم بیرسه نی بولسه ده اولغه کیته ر

ئیدم دیدم. ایندی اولودان باشقه اش قلمادی. مینم بلان برکه کیل گان یولداشم سلیمانف یال کوننی کوتلس بازارینه کیتب ایدی قایتقاندی یولده اولب قالغان. بر چوقرا چنده اولگن بارب تاب میلتهسه گه بارب معلوم قیلدم برینجه کون یاتقان صوک قایدی در آلب کیتب کومسه لار کیره ک الله نک رحمتده بولسن آمین. کوبده اوتمادی دوختلار کامیسنیه چاقر دیلار. بارب کورندم اسپیکه گه یاز دیلار یوز پراتسینتی یوغاتلقن دیه آکلادم مینی آکته قیله لار دیب شوندان سورادم بو کامیسیه نک ریزولتاتی قاچان بولورایکان دیه دیدیلار معلوم توگل بلکه ایرته گه بلکه اوچ آیان بز درستتی ایه آمیمز دیدیلار. مینم ایک آغر کونلارم ایدی بو کون لار بولارنک جوابنی کوتسه م اولب قالارمن بولماسه خداغه تابسرب توننی ساتیم ده پویزد بلان قایدی بولسه ده کینارمن دیب ایلام اولسام یولده اولب قالارمن بلکه خدا بر یاردم بیرر دیه قایتدم ده توننی ساتدم ۴۵ صوم غه ایرتوک آرقه غه قایچقنی آسدم ده کیندم کوتلس قه بزکه ایکی یکلومتر بیر دی باردمدی یارتی لیتر سوت آلدیم یارم کیله ایکه ک تاماقنی آزارق قویدردم ده کیندم استانسسه غه توکل خداکاسسه دان بر بیش استانسسه لقی برکه بیلیت آلدیم ۵ صوم تولادم. ایندی از قلامی پویزد کیتته چه ک لاکن پویزدکه کرکه نده گونک کشتی لاری قاراب تورالار بزدا ی کشتی لار کیتاس دیه یا خدای پویزد کیلدی پاسادکه بوله باشلادی مینده یا الله دیه کوب چیلک حاخول مارچه لاری آراسینه ئشقلانب /118b/ پویزدغه کردم ده ئشک باشنده غنه یوقاری منب سوزلب قته یاتدم اوطن قویارغه پولکه نک بر جهتده آز غنه ریشوتکه ده بار ایدی بر وقت گونک کشتی کرب فاگون بوینجه تیکشیره باشلادی مینده حیات بلان اولم حالنده یاتام یا خدای دیب کورمه دیلار اوتب کیندیلار. شوندان بیلیت آغان استانده غه کون باتوغه بارب یتدم طنچ قته کیل گه ن وقتمده کوریم ئلی دیب استانسسه غه توسدم اگرده توشرگه ن بولسام ایرته لاب واتکه شهرینه بارب یته ایدم. توشم بلان کیلدی ده توقتادی ده دوکامینت سوری باشلادی یاری بیلامورکانلاندان آغان دوکامینت نی کوتلس ده وقت میلتهسه دان باشقه کیتام دیب سوراب آغان ایدم. کورسه تدم اشانمادی پویزدان آلب قالدی ده استانسسه غه آلب کیتوب بر اورنغه

قویدی مین کیل که نچی شونده تور دیدی. برآز کوب توردم بر یارتی ساعت قدرلی کیلب یتدی ده دینی مینی قزل فاکونلار اراسنده بر یول بوینه توقاتدی ده ینه مینم یاغه اون کشتی آلب کیلدی آلارده مینم بک کشتی لاریکان شوندان گونک وکیلی پولاموچنه ی کیلدی دکامینت که قاراب سورادی نیک قاچدک دیب مین دیدم قاچقانم یوق دوکامینت قولگرده بیت دیدم یوق آنداغی ئه موندان کوتلس دان دوکامینت یوق بیت دیدی. مین ایتدم مونه مین اینچی اورنغه بارب لار که دیب کیله م ئوزم حال سزلاندم انه مینم ئشلار بیک آور ایندی یکل راک ئشکه بارامن دیدم. شوندان صوک مینم دوکامینت نی قولمه ده بیردی ده تکه اون کشتی نی فاگونغه کرتدی مین قالدیم کیت دیکان کشتی ده یوق تور دیکان کشتی ده یوق قاراب توردم بلکه مینی قالدیرغاندر دیب آقرن آقرن غنه فاگون لار آرسینه کرب کیندم. باردیم فاگونغه کردم تون باتقان وقت ایدی. بوایون آیلاری تون نک بیک قسقه وقتی ایدی فگزال ده کشتی یوق بر اوزم یوقلامی اولترب چقدم ایرته بولدی کشتی لار جیوله باشلادی بر کامسامول کیلدی ده ینه میلینسه که آلب کیندی. بارب ناچالینیک که ایتکاج ناجالینیک پوسکای یاوا اول تیکشرلکه ن دیب مینی بیردی. قایتدم فاگونغه دوکامینت قولمه او طرز صوم قدر آچه بار یانیده توتام ده ۱۹ صوم بیرب فیاتکه که بیلیت آلدیم قالغان آچه م /ига/ ایکه ک آلدیم ده آشادم پویز کون باتوغه کیله ایدی مونده کونینه برگنه یوری در وقت یتدی پویزده که چقدم ده پویزد قارشیلاب کیچه مینی توتقان میلینسه کوردی ده بابای کیته سن منی دیدی کیته م شول بیردگر بیت دیدم ئه یده والای دیدی ده مین یا الله دیب قیاتکه که قاراب یول توتدم توکل کیله چه کنی بولار خدا بلا در.

ئیرته سی کون ئیرته لاب فاتکه که کیلب یتدم استانسه آلدینه چقدم ده قاراسام بتون یولچی لار طشده ده یاتالار ایدی مینم بو وقتده بر آشارلق ایکه ک ده بر تین آچه ده یوق ایدی قایده کشتی لار اشاب اولترسه لار شولار آلدینه بارب آز غنه ئکه ک بیرگز دیه سوراب آزماز یورک یالغام. سورادم بازار اوزاق مودیه آنچه اوزاق توکل دیدیلار بر کولمه گم لار ایدی کاجوننی شونی آلب بازارغه کیندم بارب کردم ده اون صوم غه صاتم آز غنه ایکه ک

قاتق آلب آشادم خداغه شکر شولای بازار آراسنده یورگه نده بر مسلمان قارت نی اوچراتب سلام بیرب سوراشدم بوگله اوپازندان ایکان. بابای مونده مسجد بارمودیه دیدی بارکوبدان توکل بولغان ایدیم ملاسی اوفای اوپازی دان کیلگه ن ایکان. ممکن بولماسی میکا مسجدنی کورساتورگه ممکن دیدی شوندان مینی آلب کیتدی برنیچه کوارتال لار اوتکاچ مونه قرداشم شوشی اورام بلان توغری اوک یاغی بلان بار شونده مسجد که آلدینه بارب چغارسن ایکی یه تاژلی مناره سی یوقا قزل کیرپچ دان سالنغان ملاسی مسجدنک اوزنده تورا دیدی یاری رحمت بابای دیب اوزاتب آیرلب کیتدم. مسجدنک آلدینه توقتاب تورا ایدم براو ایکی قولینه صوکوتارب قایتب کیله قاراسام ئوزم نک مدینهء منوره ده بر مدرسه ده کورشنی بوله ده نیچه ییل برگه تورغان ایداشم احمد شویان ایدی اول مینی تانی توردی ده برآز صوک تانشب ایده رحیم ایتکز دیه مینی آلب کردی. خوش حال لر نیچوک دیب سوراشه باشلادی یاری صوکندان سویلارسن دیدم ده اول سزدان بر التاسم بار ممکن موسزده بر اوچ توررغه ممکن تورمش زمانه چه باررن آشارمز رحیم ایتکز دیه یوق نی عیب ایتماس سز دیدی یاری رحمت میم فاگزله ده آزغنه اسکئی موسکی کیم لارم بلان تابچغم قالغان ایدی شونی بارب آلب یکلیم دیدی یاری دیدی شوندان بارب آلب قایتدم چای حاضرلادی احوالی سویلادم شولای بر وقت قراندان شهر شرف ملا دی کیلب چقغان ایدی قدر الحال یاردم قیلب بیرگان ایدی /119b/ اول وقتده خالق بار ایدی بای لارده آزرارق بار ایدی حاضرکشی بیک آز قالدی. قدر الحال تورشب قارارمن دیدی. بیچاره آتی بالاسی بار اوزی چومادان یاساب آبصطای بازارده یورب کونلک رزق تابالار ایدی حالی بونک ده بیک اور ایدی شولای بولسه قاره یوز مورسه تمه دی الله نک رحمتده بولسن امین ایندی تاماق یویارلق آش یوق نیک جان ساقلارلق غنه ایدی میم بولسه بیک آخر درجه ده یونجب کیلگه من بازارغه چغام بارکشی لاردان آزرارق سوریم قایسی قاتق قایوسی بر قابم ایکه ک بیرورلار ایدی ایکه ک ساتا تورغان مگازین آلدینه بارب توردم بعضی بر اولاری بر کیرک بولسه ده بیرب کیتارلار



ایدی. احمد افندی قایتاده ایداش برده اش چقارب بولی دیدی. بو احمد افندی فیاتکه نک رایوننی امامی هم محتسب ایدی قاراماغنده کوب مسجدار بار ایدی اورکز. بله سز بر یول بار آگرده بارسه گز موندان ۴۵ قرق بیش یکومیترا مسافه ده مینم قاراماغنده نوقرات دیکان بر اول بار بورن بیک بای اول ایدی آتی دانه مسجدار ی بار. شهر شرف نی ده شونده بیرب ایدم یاخشی یاردم بیرب بیرگه ن ایدیلار. باروغه ایلاسه گز مونه اوزاسم دان ملالارینه حات یازب بیره من سزنگ حاقده ممکن بولسه محله گز دان یاردم قیلدرگز دیه. البته آنده ده خالق حاضر کونده یونجو بولسه کیره ک شولایده بوش ایتماس لار دیدی ایندی بخت گز بلور. یاری یاز دیدم شول کوندوک سفر ایدم فیاتکه صونی پاروم بلان اوتب کیتدم جایاولار توغان قملق یروگه اور اوزم ده حال سزمن توغای ده بر یکومیترا بولور اور غنه آتلاب بارام یول بوینده یاش کنه روس یکتی ایگه ک آشاب اوترا ایدی یانینه بارب اسان لاشدم ده ممکن یولچی قارت قه آز غنه ایگه ک سندرب بیرسه گز ایگه ن دیدم رحیم ایتوگز: دیب بر صنق ایگه ک که مای ده یاغب بیردی کوزم دان یاش لار کیلب قالدی بیک ممنون بولب رحمت اوقب یولمه یونالدم شولایده انشاء الله سفرم خیرلی بولور برنجی سفر دوک ایگه ک بلان مای آغزه تیدی دیب خیرلی فال قیلدم بارب الوغ شوسه یولینه چقدم ایکی طرفی قارغای اورمان ایدی چاقوم باغانالاری یازلغان آقرن غنه آتلاب بارم زور زور غنه روس اول لارندان اوته م اورام بوینجه روس لاردان ایگه ک صوریم رحمت قایولاری قاتق قایولاری قواس برنگی کبک نرسه لار بیره ایدیلار لکن محروم قیلیلار ایدی /120a/ کیچ یاقلاب آله ده بر زور غنه روس اولی کورنه کون باتوغه بار یتسام فاتیر تابسام بلکه شونده قونارمن بولماسه یول بوینده اورمان آراسنده یوقلارمن دیب کیله م ایون آیلاری تون بیک قسقه وقت ایدی. تون باتوغه اول غه یته م اول بیک زور لکن برده فاتیرگه کرتیلار قارچق مارجه لار چارلدا ب تورالار. پچن وقتی بولو سبیلی یاشلاری بارده یراق غه توغای غه کیتکان لار شونده قونب یاتب پچن ئشلارگه. مین بیک یچو روشده من کشی قورقورلق یوریم اورام بوینه کرتیلار

شوندان براو ایتدی آنده کالخور اداره سی بار شونده قوندرلار دیه بارب تاب دوکامینت نی کورساتب قونارغه رحصت ایتدیلا رینه مینم کبک بر قارت پوپ ده بار ایدی ایکومز یوقلاب ایرته ن تورب دوکامینت لارمز آلب چغب کیتدک اول بر یاق قه مین بوته ن یاق غه. بار تورغاچ یینه بیک زور اول کورنه ایدی یراق توگل بارب یتدم بونده مسلمان لار کورنه باشلادی هم مگازین لارده مسلمان لار ئشلی ایکان. بو بر زور کون زافودی فاخاروشف اسمنده رابوچی نک کوب یری ایکان. مگازین غه کرب کئی لاری مسلمان بولو سببلی برآز حالمنی سویله رگه مجبور بولدم هر قایوسی بر صوم ایکی صوم یاردم قیلدیلا ر ایندی مسافر بابای مونده ایولارگه بارب یورر مونده آغانی موب آز بولسه ده یاردم قیلورلار دیدیلار. درست هر قایوسی تماق نی طویدرب یاخشی آش لار قاتق سوت آشاتب چغاره ایدیلار کیچ بوله باشلادی ایندی قایده یوقلارمن دیب ایولاب برکئی بلان سویله شدم بابای عیب ایتمه گز مونده قونوگر قین بولور کازوننی یورطده تورا باردا پارتنی خالق لار شول سببلی فاتیر تابا آلماس سن دیدی آلدگرده اوچ کنه چاقرم بر روس اولی بار شونده ایکی یورط تاتارلار تورا بیک کئی لار سین شونده بار سینی قوندرلار هم آشاتورلار دیدی. یاری دیدم ده چغب کیتدم. بارب یتدم بوکئی لارنی ازلاب تابدم. برسینه کرب رحصت سورادم بر یاش کنه خاتن ایکان ایده کر بابای دیب کردم حالمنی سویله دم. پچاره خاتن قققرب یغلاب ده بیردی ای مینم ده آتام ده شولای یوریدر ایندی دیه تاماق آشاتدی ۵ صوم صدقه بیردی بابای عفوایده سز بزده قونوغه بولی سببی ایسه بز فاتیرده تورامز خواجه بلان شرطنامه مز بار باشقه کئی قوندرماغز دیه مونداغی روس لار /12ob/ چیت کئی لاردان قورقه رایمش بیکره کده بزدا ی لاردان بعضی شوندا ی کئی لار ضرر قیلب کیتسه لار کیره ک بابای یراق توگل انای یورطده بر آغانی کئی بار سز ایندی شوکا بارکز دیدی اگرده اولده قوندرماسه قایتب یکورسن برر چاره قیلورمن دیدی. باردم تره زه سی آچق چای اچب اولتره ایکان ایده رحیم ایتوگر دیه چاقردی کردم چای یاینه بیک یاخشی چه بله ک پشرب قویغان من بله سز آچ کئی بردان تانسق آش

بولو اچون یاخشی غنه آشادم احوالمنی سویلادم ممکن بولسه بوکون سزده قونسام ایکان دیدم. مسافر بو بیک یو بیرده آور مسئله ایندی فاتیر خواجه سی برقارت چق مارجه ایکان اول برده کشتی قوندررغه قوشمی شولای بولسه ده برچاره تابارمن یاخشی قونارسن دیه بزنی شادلاندردی الله نک رحمتده بولسن آمین ایکنچی کون تورب چای اچدک بزگه رخصت بیرگز دیدم قایده باراسز توقرات غه روسچه کارینه دیلار آلیسه موندان نیکولسکی قالاسنه باررسز نوندان فلان ساعت پویزد کیته بیلیت حاقی ۹۰ تین کته تورا دیدی هم آچه ده بیردی آندان بزنگ تانش کشیمز بار شونده کررسن دیدی ممکت بولسه سز برکاغز یازب بیرگز اول کشیکه میم اچون بارب کرو یکل بولور ایدی دیدیم یاری دیب حات یازب بیردی. نیکولسکی گه جیتدم تکی کشنی ازلاب تابدم خواجه ایوده یوق ایکان خاتونی غنه ایکان رخصت سورادم کرتدی حاتی بیردم شوندوق آشارغه کیتردی قالغان یاخشی ایت شورپاسی کومه چ قویدی شولای ایتب قاماق آشاب کورشی لارنده ده مسلمان لار بار ایکان آلارده کیلب سولاشب اوتر دیلار یوقلادق ایرته لاب تورب یولغه چقدم ۱۵ کیلومیتر یولم قالغان ایکان زور یولغه توشدم کالخورلار بوش آت آربه بلان قایتالار مین بارا تورغان یرگه برسی ده اولترمای لار آلار مونده پچن تاشی لار ایکان مسلمان لاردان شوندای کشتی لارده بار ایکان دیه جایاو خالم ده بار یتدم احمد افندی شوبان ایتکان قاسیمف دیکان ملاغه باردیم حاتی بیردم خوش یکلدر رحیم ایته سز دیب آلب ایونه کرتدی اسان ساولق دان صوک احوالمنی قسقه چه غنه سویله ب بیردم یاخشی مسافرسز یونگز ده یال ایتوگز دیدی شول وقت بر بالا یکروب کیلب حضرتتی آشقه چاقردی یاری باررمن دیب بیردی ده میکا ایتدی بو فقیر کشتی آش صوی نی حالده در شونک بلان سزنی بردان آلب باررغه توغری یکهای بارغاچ حالنی کورب سزگه بالانی یاکادان بیررمن دیب کیتدی. /121a/ بالا کیلوب ده یتدی ئیده بابای بزگه دیب یاری کیندم کیتدم بارسام فقیر بولسه ده پچاره آدم بیک یاخشی آش حاضر له گه ن بورنغی بای لار آشی کبک میم بو آشنی کوروم برنجی مرتبه بولدی قوناق بولب قایتدق حضرت یولده میکا ایته ایدی انشاء

الله سفرگز اوگار سببی ایسه بوآشنی مین بو ییل لارده برکشیده ده کورمادم بو کون مونده کوردم بوسزلارگه هم نصیب بولدی. بوکون شولای اوتدی مین ده بیک کیف له نب کیتدم بوآشلارنی کوروب آشومه الحمد لله ایرته سی کون تیوشلی حات لارنی باشقه ملالرغه تابشرب تانشب قایتوغه کیتدک بارب هر قایوسنی کورب فیاتکه امامی نک سلامن سویلاب هم ئوزنک کیلومقصدنی سویلاب چای لار اچب اولتردق یاری بر ۱۵ کون لار توررسز قولدان کیل گه ن تل یاردمی قیلب جمعه خالق غه ایتورمن ئوزگرده یکورسز دیدی. ایکی مسجده بر جمعه اوقدم ۱۵ کون بولدی بونک آراسنده کورسی حاتن لارابی لار ملاغه مای کوکه ی جیله ک بکک نرسه لار کرته ایدیلار هم میکا ایکمه ک هم شوندای آشارق نرسه لار کر تور ایدی لار بابای دعاء قیلسون دیب آزمازکره باشلادی تاماق ده تویه باشلادی خداغه شکر کیته سی کونده محله اسمندان متولی لار کیلب آتمش صوم آچه تابشرب یاردم ایتب کیتدیلا ر براز کورشی لار فلان بیرگه ایکمه ک نی ساتب ده بیش اون صوم جیدم بارینه راضی بولب کیری فیاتکه گه احمد شوبان ایداشکه قایتارغه بولدم. مینم اجل دان قالوم شوشی نقرات اولی سبب بولدی میکا یاردم قیلغان بنده لارنک خدا گناه لارنی یارلقاسن امین. الله ایمان لارن یولداش ایتسون سلامت بولغان لارینه خیرلی عمر بیرب حسن خاتمه نصیب ایتسون آمین بجرمة سید المرسلین سلامت ایله نب فیاتکه گه قایتدم اشلارنی حالده ایداش سلامت قایتوگز دیب احمد افندی اسان لاشب خداغه شکر سلامت قایتوگرغه بیک شاد بولدم سزدان صوک جماعت مز شول کشتی یالغز بیردک اوزک آلب بارمادک حای بیک ضعیف بیت یولده قالمسه یارار ایدی مینی بیک خفاغه سالدی شول سببلی سزلارنک سلامت قایتوگرنی دورت کوز بلان کوته ایدم. آزارق یاردم بولدیمی دیب سورادی الله غه شکر یوللق حرج تابدم دیدم بیک یاخشی بولغان ایکان دیدی. بر ایکی کون تورب بازاردان بر اون قداق لی بر ایکمه ک ئالدم یکریمی صوم غه اوفاغه پویزدکه ۴۹ صومغه بیلیت ئالوب ینه سی کون سفرگه /121b/ ایکی نچی کون پویزدکه اولترب پیرم شهرینه یونالدم یولمه بر بتون آرش ایکمه کی ئالدم باشقه بر نرسه ده بیلیم بار شوشی ایکمه کم بار ایکنچی

ایرته لاب پیرم که یتارکه تیوشلی مز توننه پویزده ایمه ک نی باش ئاسم قویب یوقلادم ایرته ده تورشام ایکه ک دان یل لار اسکان یاری خیرلی بولسون دیدک ایندی آچه ده یوق ایکه ک ده یوق اوافغه یتارکه ایکی کون لک یول بار پیرم که کیلب توشدم مونده پیرساده بوله اوافغه توننه ساعت اون ایکی ده کینه چه ک درکون بوی استانسه ده کوتارکه توغری کیلدی قورساق آچ نیشله رگه کیره ک فاکزال ئالندنده تایانب یوریم بر تاتار آغا انی کیلب چقدی سلام بیردم کورشدیم برآز سویله شب اوتکاج بوکشی دان سورادم سز بلهیسز می مونده ذاکرجان رحمت لاین دیکان کشتی آنک آتاسی مونده زور سوداگیر بولغان دیدم بلان دیدی ممکن بولسه میکانه دریسنی ایسته گز ایکان دیدم درست یورط نومیرنی بلهیم شولای ده تحمینا ایتوکه ممکن لینین اورامی بلان تراموای غه اولترب ایکنچی توقتاوغه توشده شونده فلان روشلی یورط بولور شول یورطقه کرساک یورط اچنده بله کی گنه ایو بولور اول شونده تورا دیدی بارب تابدم. بو رحمتولین یکر می یاش لارنده ایدی مینم وقتمده بوبی عبد الله نعمت لاین بلان حاجغه بارغان ایدی شونده مین آنک بلان تانشب برگه یورب آدریسنی آلب ایدم توقز یوز ۷ نچی یلده بوسله کیره ک شول کشتی نک ئه ردیس حاترمده با ایکان شول سبیلی بارب کورشورگه تلادم تابوب کورشب مینی تانمادی مین آزاراق توسمز لدم آراده یکر می بیش یل اوتکان ایدی ساچ لاری ئاغاریب کیتکان نهایت تانشدق عفوایت مینم سرگه کیلونک سببی شوشی مین توتقندان قایتب کیله ئیدم مونه اوافغه بیلتم بارمع التأسف توننده پویزده بولاک ایکه کمنی اوغرلا دیلار یانمده بیلیت دان باشقه بر نرسه ده یوق ممکن بولسه بزگه اوافغه یتارلک رزق لق یارزم ایتسه گز ایکان دیدم. ایداکز ایوکه کرگز دیدی آلب کردی کرسه م ایونده آپاق ساقاللی بر قارت آتاسی کوزلک کیکه ن قرآن اوقب اولترا ایدی کورشدک چای حاضرلادی دوگی دان بشرگه ن بلش ده بار ایکان آش قویدی یاخشی چای مینم اچون بو کوننی بو برنچی آشم حساب لانه ایدی. ایندی رحمت اوتب رخصت سورادم بر ایکه ک غزیته گه تورب ۱۰ صوم آچه بیردی الله نک رحمتده بولسونلار شولای ایتب 122a/ بیرده ش آشا ایکنچی کون کون باتارده کیلب

توشدم الحمد لله ياقده باررغه آبدراب توردم اوچنچی محله بورنغی امام بولب تورغان صابر حسنف یورطنه یاردم قارانغی توشکان ایدی برکشی وفات آبصطای بولماسی دیه ممکن توکل بزده قاتیر تروچیلار کوب دیب جواب بیردیلار آبصطای قایده تورا دیب سورادم فلان اورام ده تورا دیدیلار باروغه یراق بولدی کورشی ده مسجد بارایکان مسجد ده کم تورا دیدم فراش تورا باشقه کشی یوق دیدیلار ده بردان مسجد که بارب فراش دان سورادم مسجد ده تونب چغو ممکن بولماسمودیه یوق بوکشی قوندر تورا یورط توکل دیب جواب بیردی مین دیدم بوخالق هم الله یورطی مونده نمازده او قورغه مجبور بولغان مسافرار ده قونارغه ممکن دیومه قارشی سزدا ی براو قونب پچارتب چغب کیتکان ایدی بولماس دیب جوابنه قارشی یوق فراش افندی مین قونام نی قیلساک ده قیل دیدم ده کردم ده قوندم ئیرته ن تورب بازارغه چقدم ده آزغنه تاماق آشادم شوندان صوک ئوزم شریک هم آلوداشم عید مجد احمر ف دیکان ابداشم نی ازلاب کیتدم آنک مونده سینترالی کتبخانه مدیر بولب تورغاندان خبرم بار ایدی بارب تابدم احوالی سویله دم باری ایداش حاضر مین ئشکه کیلب باشلادم ساعت دورت ده قایتام دیب رحیم ایتوگز دیه ئدریسنی بیردی ده مین چغب کیتدم یولده اوزم طوینده بولب قانتشب یورطمه چاقرب قوناق ایتب برکه یورگان تانشم غنی خلفین دیکان ایداش اوچراب قالدی بو اولمزده وقت ده عبدالرحیم لطف الله اوغلی توقایف دیکان یاقن کشی لارمزدان کریمه سی ماهی سرورنی آلب ایدی شول سببلی بتون باشندان آخرینه قدر طوی لارن اوتکارب نیچه مرتبه استرلیتاماقدان آطمه اولترب آلب قایتقان ئیدم هم باشقه وقت لرده کوب بولدق اول بوکون ده باشقردستان عالی صودنده اعضا ایدی. یاری سلام بیردم احوالی سویله دم برده خرجمز یوق ممکن بولسه آزراق یاردم بیرسه گزایکان دیومه قارشی یوق سزدا ی لارگه بزدا ن یاردم /122b/ یوق دیدی ده بورلب کیتدی مونه دنیا ده محتاج حالگه توشب قالساک دوست لارنک ده شولای ایته لارایکان کشی گه یاخشلیق قیلغان بولساک یمانلق کوب دیمش لار.

بوکون جمعه کون ایکان ئوزم یوقلاغان مسجدکه جمعه عه باررغه اویلادم قایتب بونب جمعه نمازینه کردم بونده کیلب اوفامفتیسی مطیع الله عطائی جمعه اوقی ایکان معلوم گز اوزم بیک توبان حالده حبس دان قایتقان کشتی نیک حالی معلوم باشم ده اسکی کیبکه اوزتمده آلاماکه ژان شول حالده بولسام جمعه دان صوک کلام الله اوقدم دعاء قیلدق تمام بولدی جماعت چغه باشلادی مفتیسی ایسه آخرغه قالدی بارب کورشدم سزقایدان دیه سوراب مین استرلی باش مجید دیکان کشتی بولام بیدم نه له سز مجید قاری مودیدی شولای دیدم تاوشگردان برایشکان کشتی نک اوقوی دیب اویلاب ایدم نیشلاب بو حالده سز دیه سوراب قسقه غنه حالنی سویله دم نیک جمعه دان اول ایتمه دگز مین سزگه خالق غه ایتب آزارق یاردم قیلدرغان بولور ایدیم دیدی رحمت حضرت بو یرگه قایتب یتکاج موندای یاردم صوراب سزگه مراجعت ایتوگه وجدانم قبول ایتمه دی دیدم شولای ده بولسه تلگی مینی قوندررغه کرمه گه ن فراش قه ایتدی بوکشتی گه مسجد آچه سندان بیش صوم بیر دیدی ده اسان لاشب چغب کیتدی الله رحمت ایتسون التفاتینه فراش دان بیش صوم نی ئالدم ده ایداشم عید مجد که بارب کردم اوزیگنه ایکان ایداش جماعتی ایوده یوق ایکان برگه لاب آش پشرب راحتلاب سویله شب اولتردق ایکی کیچ تورب قایتوغه نیت قیلدم یوقاریده ایتکان صابر حضرتک آبصطای ده تاب تانشب کورشم اوغلی عبد الحی حسنف ایترنیرلکه اوقب یوری ایکان بیک حرمت قیلب عبد الحی بیش آچه بیرب مینی اوزاتدی رحمت صابر حضرت بو آبصطای بلکه بزنگ استرلی باشینه قوناق بولب بارغان ایدی آنامز طرفندان قرداش ایدی آنام نک آتاسی ولی الله رحمت الله اوغلی بو حسن اوغلی صابر ملانک ده باباسی حسن شول یاقدان قرداش ایدی شوندان پوزدکه بیلیت آلام رایفکه استانسه سینه آنده بارب توشب کورشنی قایراتلی آولی میکوللا دیکان کشتی اوغلی نک /123a/ اوچراب اول مینی قایراقلی اولینه آلب قایتدی مونده برکیچ یوقلاب ایکنچی کون ایرته لاب فخرالدین آغا چایگه چاقوب یغلی یغلی قوناب خداغه

شکر سلامت قایتوگز دیب قرآن اوقتب صدقه بیرب ازاتدی کیچ که قارشنی استرلی باش قه بالالارم یاینه یونالدم موندان استرلی باش ۱۰ چاقرم ایدی زور یولدان قایتمی یولسز توغری اولغه قاراب سفر قیلدم چونکه زور یولده کشی لار اوچراب تانورلار دیه یولسز قایتدم کون بایوغان چیشمه باشی تاوینه کیلب اولتردم شول تاونک ایته کنده آلمابرتاش ایوده تورالار ایدی بالالار قچقرشب یورط تیره سنده اوینیلار مینم فی اشلار که بلهی خداغه شکر بالالارم کورم بیت دیب قوانچم دان نیشلار که ییلی ایدم اوط یاق تان نلار بارب کوردم سلامت جماعتم برله کورشب بالالار منی کوردم بر شادلق خدا غنه بله کچکنه قزم مریم میندان قرق کونلک بالا بولب قالغان ایدی اول مینی بلهی ده ایدی بو وقتده اول بیش یاش ده بولسه کیره ک یل لار بیک آور جماعتم بعضی بالالار بلان یراق یالانلارغه یورب باشاق جیب قایتب بالالارنی تربیه قیلا ایدی الوغ اوغلم مسعود استرلی باش صیرکوتونی کوته ایدی شولای ایتب نیچک بولسه ده ازق تاب کشی دان خیر سورامی اوز تاماق لارن تویدرب تورغان لار خداغه شکر الوغ قزم حه لیمه ۱۶ یاشنده تاش بناءلار سالوچیلارغه بالچق تاش تاشب خدمت ایتوب یوری ایدی اسکه باشقه هیچ نرسه مز قالغان بولسه ده امانت قیلوب قویغان کشی لار تابقان بیرمه که نلار بارنده تورلی بازارلارغه آلب بارب ساتقان لار بتون یاخشی کیم لارمز کبی نرسه لارمز کوب ایدی. ایک زور خیانت قیلوچی مجید علی اکبرف لقبی مانقه مجید دیلار ۲۱ نچی یل آچلق نده آچلقدان تویدرب چغارغان ایدم کوشومز بولو سبیلی آناسی اولدی اوزم کفن لک بیرب دفن ایتدیلار مونه شوشی بالادان بزگه شول ایزگی لک قایتدی ایتق شر من أحسنت الیه دیکان پیغمبرمنک سوزی حق در اولده اولدی باشقه لار اولدی خداغه شکر بوکونکه قدر سلامت مز هم بالالارم ده سلامت بورنغی آرتق یورط هم کیم لارمز بولدی بالالارم اوقدی آدم بولدی لار حکومت نک یاردمی آرقه سنده خداغه صبرلق قیلدق وَمَنْ يَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَهُوَ حَسْبُهُ<sup>414</sup> آیتنه اعتقادمز کامل ایدی. قایتقاچ بارب محلی ناچالنیک لارغه /123b/ قایتومزنی

414 [Q 65:3.]



بلدرو تیوش ایدی برآز اویلاب معلوم بولسه نه بولور ایکان دیب قورقوده راق توردم. شولای ده بولسه اول نک قارتلارندان اوغلم بلا برکه کموکوته تورغان یعقوب آغا توقایف دیکان کشیگه خبر ایتدرب چاقرتب مصلحت ایتدم. اول ایتدی آزغنه صبر قیلوب تور خالق لار قایتقالا سونلار شوندان صوک معلوم بولورسن دیدی عبدالرحمن آیدابولف سزدان بورن قایتب ایدی ار ایکی کون حبس قیلب توتدیلار ایدی. آنده مونده یورب ار ایکی آس اوتسون شوندان صوک معلوم بولورسن دیدی. بر یاق غه سفر ایتوگه توغری کیلدی توغان قرداشم فرجی سرور دیم بوی نیکفار اولنده ایدی شونی بارب اسان مو یوقمو ایکان بلب کورشوگه نیت لادم آتامزک شاکرد عبدالرفیق عبدالرحیم اوغلی اسکندر ف آغاغه چاقرب اوتندم مینی ممکن بولسه ایرته لاب کته قایراقلی اولینه ایلتوب قوی دیه الله رحمت ایتسون برسوزسز بیک یاخشی مینم شول یاق غه کولته گه ده بارسم بار آلب باررمن تاک بلان یکلورسن دیدی ئیرته سن کون مینی قایرق لی غه ایلتوب قویدی الله مغفرت قیلسون الله یولغه برده خرجم یوق سبیلی جماعتم مرحوم بر یاخشی کیم منی صاقلان ایکان شونی چغارب بیردی الله بو جماعتم دان راضی بولسون رحمت بلکه برر یرده ساتب آچه غه ایلاندرمن دیه آلب چقدم.

قایراقلی دان جیاولاب آیاق ده چاباتا باشقه اسکی کیبکی آماکاژان یولده یغمور یاوا بارب یانفرجی اولنده یتدم آنده اوگی اییمز مرفوغه آبصطایغه کرب کردم است باشم یوش بیک یاخشی قارشی آلب است باشمنی چغارب کیبارگه قویب یاری بلان ضرور خرمت قیلب تربیه لاب توندرب ایکنچی کون ملا گولوم اولینه بارب جمال الدین ملانک آبصطای عقیفه آپاغه توشدم بیک حرمتلاب اوچ کون قوناق ایتب یولغه قدر چغب ازاتوب بیردی الله نک رحتنده بولسن آمین. شوندان نیکفار اولینه بارب یتدم بازار کون ایدی سوراشدم قرداشمنی هم یکاومنی آلا ر مونده یوق بلیمز دیدیلار یورطلارنه بارسام یورطنک اسمی ده یوق تیک بورنغی تاش آبنالار کلاداوا ی لارغنه بار احاطه سیده یوق بازارغه چغوم بلان بورنغی تاشمز عبد الله مقصودف اچراب قالدی بارر یرم یوق سزکه بارام ایندی دیدم /124a/ رحیم ایتکز کیلگز

اویده دیدی. یورطینه بارب کردم ده چای اچرگه اولترتدی کیلن ننک آتاسی  
 مندان آولی حافظ دیکان کشتی ده بار ایدی تانش کشتی ایدی سویلاشب  
 اولترغانده میلیتسیه کیلوب کردی ده بزدان داکومینت سوری باشلادی.  
 مینم کیتاس دان برون استرلی باش سیل ساوتی دان آغان کاغزم بار ایدی  
 بو اسکی دوکامینت بو یارامی دیدی قابچغم نی تفتیش قیلا باشلادی.  
 مینی آلب کیتارکه اولیادی شوندان مین بیلامور کانالدان بیرگه ن دوکامینت  
 نی کورساتدم شوندان نی اچون باشدوق مونی کورسه تمه دک دیدی مینی  
 قالدردی. شوندان کیلن ده قورقب قالدی مجید آبری تیزره ک کیت ایندی  
 دیدی مجبور بولدم قابچغم نی آلب چغب کیتارگه. قرداشمزگه اوت کورشی سی  
 بولب تورغان عنیت الله دیکان بر یگت مینی کورستکان فلان یلنی پرکارورنی  
 اولترب تورمه دان قاجب قایتقان کشتی دیه. بوکیچ نی جهانگیر آغا دیکان  
 کشتی قونب هم اولده سوراشب قرداشم نک قایدیه ایکانی اسلاق اولنده مکی  
 احمد دیکان کشتی بلورسین شونده بار دیدی اسلاق غه بار تنکی کشتی تاب  
 اول ایتدی بلبایدیه تیری اشنده ئشلی دیدی ینه جیوا بلبای کیتب بارب  
 قرداشمنی تاب هم کیاومز مجیدنی کورب قووانشدق. قرداشم نک تورمشی  
 شوندای ایدی اوینده بر اشارلق ایگمه ک ده یوق ایدی بیچاره یوندرب  
 اس باشمز آلتشدرب چوکدردان آرش اونی بلان پیروک پشرب آزرلق تماق  
 قویدردی مین آچ بولسام اول بیچاره لار میندان آچلار ایدی خداغه شکر بو  
 کوننی کوره مزگه ده دیب بر ایکی گوندان صوک چغوب کیتدم منزله طرفینه آنده  
 قرداشم نک اوغلی کلیم الله معلم بولب ئشلی ایکان هم آپام نک قزی مریم  
 قرداشم ده شونده معلم بولب ئشلی ایکان مقصد آزرلق یاردم ایتماس لار مو  
 دیه باررغه چقدم بلبای دان اسان صووی بوی بلان اولدان اولغه قونب اق  
 بوینده الوغ چاق ماق اولینه یتدم مونده آتام نک بر توغان قرداشنک قزی  
 ماهی سرور اوغلی مجید شولارنی قونب بارچنده قوناق ایتدی لار موندان کیتب  
 وره ش مسلم وره ش قاتمش تابن صاقلاو باشی اول لاری بلان منزله صووی  
 بوینده شه رله رمه اولینه بارب یتب مونده آتامزک بر توغان آپاسینک  
 قزینک اوغلی عارف جان ملاغه بارب توشدم تانشب قارشی آلب باری

بلان زور حرمت قیلب ایکنچی کون تلنچی تاماق غه /124b/ سفر ایتدم یکرمی چاقرم مسافه بولسه کیره ک جایه و حامل ده باری تب قرداش لارنی کوردم مینم تلاک شوندای محتاج حاملده قرداش لک حرمتینه برآز یاردم ایتماس لارمیکه دیب یارر ایدم ئشلار مین اوپلاغانچه بولمادی الانسان یدبر والله یقدر مصداقنچه بولدی بلکه میندان امید ایته تورغان بولب کورندیلار . موندان آیلاب ینه برادرم عارف جان ملاغه کیلب اول پیماره اوزی یتم حالنده تورا ایکان بیش آئی بالاسی بار شول احوال ده قوندان کیل گه ن بار حرمتنی قیلب جه یه ولاب چغب بر قدر مینی نورکان اولینه اوزتدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن آمین نورکه ی اولندان آتامزنگ بالالارمزنک توغان اوسکان اول لاری سارمان رایوننده قارمالی اولینه سفر ایتدم اوظز چاقرم یول ایدی باری تب آتامز بلان بر توغان حبیب الرحمن اوغلی کشف الدین آبزی یورطینه توشدم آتامز بلان بر توغمه آغامز عبدالعلیم قارامالی ده مؤذن ایدی شونک ایکی اوغلی احمد لطیف نور العیان اسهلارنده کیلب کورشه بهمادی لار ئوزم بارب ازلاب کورشدم قز قرداشلارمز کیلب کورشب آبزی دیب قدر الحال حرمت لارن ایتدیلار خدادان قایتسون جزاسی . مونده برنیچه کون تورب بابالارمزنک قبرلارینه دعاء قیلب اول طرفینه قایتارغه نیت ایتدم مرحوم کشف الدین آبزی اوغلی صلاح الدین نی مینی آت بلان بوگمه ایلتورگه قوشدی بوگمه موندان یتمش چاقرم یول ایدی آندان تیمازغه پویزد یوری در صلاح الدین برآزون تویاب آنده ساتار اچون مینه آلب بارب بوگمه گه یتکردی الله قیلغان مشقتنی ثواب قه یازسون آمین . مونده بر ایکی کیچ قونب پویزده اوچ دورت استانسه یول تویمازی اولینه کیلدم موندان بلبای سکسان چاقرم یول ایدی بلبای کیتدم سلامت بارب قرداشم فرحی سرورغه کردم سلامت قایتوم غه بیک قووانب قولندان یگاگه ن قدرلی تاماقمزنی تویدرب منی استانسه غه ازاتدی موندان اولترب شافران استانسه سینه قوشدم ده بازارغه چقدم بازارده کوکه ی بلان سودا قیلوچی طاهر بیکتمر اوغلی دیکان اولدش قه اوچراب کورشب ممکن بولسه مین اولغه آلب قایت ایندی دیب اوتومه قارشی بیک یاخشی قاری آبدی برآز آت مز آشاسون تاماق

تویدیرب آلیق ده آندان کیتارمز دیب مینی بیک شادلاندردی وقت یتدی آت نی جگب چیغوب کیتدک آخشام قارانغی سنده سلامت استرلی باش قه یتب بیکتمرقاری نه جتکچ توشدم ده تاوباشی بلان توغری یورطمه بالالارم /125a/ قایتب کردم اولده نیدای برکه آشاب اچب قوناق بولشب یورگه ن اییداشلارمزکوب ایدی شوندا ی قین چیلق سفردان قایتدی دیب نه براوی کیلب کورشسون حتی اورام نک بر یاغندان بارغانم نی کورسه لار آلا ر ایکنچی یاغینه قاچار ایدیلار. سینده آچه بار وقتده بارده آشنا بارده دوست ایندی آچه یوغن توپسه بارده یانکدان تایار دی توقای ایته بو بیچاره طاهر اییداش بلکه عمرنده مینم یورطمه کرب چای ده اچمه گه ندر مینی شول آور وقتده ۶۰ چاقرم یولدان حرمت لاب اولترتیب آلب قایتدی مونه چن مسلمان کشتی شولای بولسه کیره ک عمرم بوپنجه خاطرمدان چغاراچق توکل من الله عمریته برکات بیرب کشتی گا محتاج بولی بالالاری بلان طنچ و راحت یاشانت آمین قلغان یارزمی خداراضی لغی اوچون بولب شول یاخشی لغی اچون الله بولغان گناه لاری عفو قیلب آخر کونلارده الله نک ایمانی بلان دنیادان اوتب جنت سرای لارنده راحت یاشاسن آمین.

ایندی قالدی باروب تیوشلی گپواداره سینه معلوم بولورغه برنچه کون لاردان صوک وقتنی تاب کررگه بولدم شول وقتده قورقغانم نی بر خدا بله در ایدی باشقه وقتده خدادن شولای قورقغان بولسه م بلکه بو حال لارگه توشمه گه ن بولور ایدم بار بلگان نی اوقب کردم قولده بولغان دوکامینت منی کورساتدم اوقب کوردی بو ناچالنیک اسلاق اولی سلیمان قارت اوغلی رشید اسملی ایدی مونک آتاسی فیض الرحمن بزم یاش وقتمزده استرلیباسنده عبدالکبیر خلقه مدرسه سنده اوقور ایدی آیاق کیومی تکوکه استا ایدی. صوکنی وقتده یالپاطال غه عیید الله علیکایف مدرسه سینه بارب شونده تورب المالق الیکساندر گای استانسه سنه قزاق آراسنده امام بولب تورر ایدی. دوکامینت بیلامور کنالدان آنگان ایدی ۴۴۴ نومیرده پسانا ولینه کاللیگیه گپودا سروچنی بوشاتلدی دیب یازلغان ایدی شوندا آنداغی کانال حقنده نیچوک ئشلادگز قین بولمادیودیب تورلی نزه لار سوراشب بر آزا اولترتیب یاری بابای میلتهسه

که کرب یازلا توررسن دیدی رحمت دیب چغوب کیتب میلیتسه اداره سنه کرب یازلدم خداغه شکر شوشی وقتده اوزمنی بالالارمه اولمه قایتدم دیب اشاندیم قووانچم دان نی دیرگه بلهی خداغه شکرانه دان عاجز قالدیم. آیاغم برکه یتیمی جماعتیم یاینه ایوگه قایتدم اول ده پچاره هم بالالارده /125b/ نیشلارگه بلهی لارایدی. ایندی اورام غه چغوب یوری باشلادم اوزمنی بوآولنک کشتی سی توگل کبک کوره ایم بوتتلای برچیت ایلدان کیلکان کبی کورنه ایدم. باش ده آلمه کیکی آیاق ده چاباتا اوسته اسکی کاژان. بورن جغه ک چابان قاره کون بورک لارکیب یورگان لارمنی اولاب بلکه بو حالمه شادلانویچی لارده بولغاندر مین بو حالنی اوزم خدانک بر رحمتی دیب ایولاب کوکلم دان شاد بولودان باشقه نرسه بلان اسم یوق. بومیکا بلکه خدانک سناوی بولغاندر بر آورلق غه ایکی یکل لق بیررمن دیه وعده اشانب خدادان بر یکل لگی بولور ئلی دیب امید ایتب یوری ئیدم فَإِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا<sup>415</sup> ایة کریمه سینه ایمانم کامل ایدی. ایندی بر ئشلار چاره سینده تکرارگه نی ئشکه کررگه ده بلهیم چاسام بیر یوق باشقه هنرهم یوق اولده اینوالیدلار شرکتی دیکان اداره بار ایکان آلا ر حکومت که قاب صوغب بیروآرقان ایشو کبک ئشلار ئشلاته لار ایکان. باردم اداره که رئیس منکغلی ظریف اوغلی احمر ف دیکان تانش ایکان حالنی بلا ایندی دیدم ممکن بولسه میکا قاب صوغارغه بیرر ایدگز دیدم. بیررگه ممکن مجید آبری لکن سزدای کشتی لارگه گپو رخصتندان باشقه بیره آلمیمز مونه گپودان سورارمن رخصت ایتسه بیررمن دی. بوسوزینه قوانب قایتدم ایکنچی کون یاری بیره مز دیه تیوشلی برنچه کیله یوکه سالاباش اولچاب بیردی ده آلب قایتب کیتدم اوزم بولسه قابنی نیچک صوغارغه استانوک نیچک بوله بر نرسه ده بلهیم نیشلارگه ایندی توتام ده بارام عفور دیکان یکت که اول قاب صوغه ایکان توغان بر یاردم قیلوگز میکا بار برنچه ساعت وقتگرنی بیررگز ده ایومه استانوک یاصاب هم قاب صوغو روشنی ئیره تب بیررگز دیدم یاری قاری آبری باررمن دیب قالدی هم تیزدان کیلب ده یتدی استانوک ده یاصادی بارسن تیوشلی ئشلارنی اوگراتب یوکه نی ازاتب قابنی

415 [Q 94:5.]

صوغه ده باشلادی بله گه ن یرک بولسه کیلب سورارسز دیدی رحمت اوقب قالدیم بو عبدالغفور قرداشنک موندای یاردم قیلوینه الله گناه سنی عفو قیلب ایمان لی بنده لر جمله سندان بولسون ایدی آمین. اللهم إن کان محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئاً فتجاوز عنه

قابنک ئشلاو حاقی بر دانه سینه ۴۵ تین بیره حکومت هر یوز قاب باشینه یارطی پوط آرش اونی ازراق غونباش مای کانفیت باق شولارنی بیره دی ایدی. /126a/ شول روشده ایکی ییل ئشلادم شولای ده بولسه تورمش بیک آور ایدی آلتی بالا هم بر قرداشم اوزمز ایکاو طوقز کشتی مز بر یازنده جماعتم فاطمه بلان اون ساژین یرنی تیمر کوره ک بلان قازب تاری ساچدک کوزنده ۱۰ پوط تاری آلدق آزماز پچده چابب بر بش اون یوک پچن یاسادم. او ییلام بولماس آخری نیچک ده بولسه بر چاره تاب اوزبکستان که بارو فکرینه توشدم لکن یول خرج یاسدم بیک قین ایدی بعضی بر کورشی آولمز لارده یاشرغان اولی مطهر خیر الله اوغلی بولسه کیره ک بو کشتی بزنگ استرلیباشنده حکومت گه آرقان ایشب ترک چیلک قیله در ایدی یاش وقتنده مدرسه ده بر زمانده یاتمش ایدک بو بیچاره احوالنی سوبله گه چک بر سوزسز قرق صوم آچه چغارب بیردی ممکن لک بولسه وقتی بلان تابشررسز بولماسه بونک اچون خفا بولمه گز دیدی چن کولم دان رحمتنی اوقوب شاولق بلان ایومه قایتدم رفیقہ مزکه مصلحت قیلب سفرگه چغارغه او ییلام. بو مطهر اییداش که بو قرضم نی تابشرده آلامد اوزبکستان بارو بلان بالالارمه ایتب یرگه ن یتدم اولده یوق قایده ایکانن بلوچی لار بولمادی دیب قایتدی لار. وزمده ایلان ب اولغه قایتق وقتنده سوراشب قارادم وفات بولسه کیره ک بالالارن ده بلوچی بولمادی شوشی قرضمنی بو کونگه قدر تابشررغه ممکن لک بولمادی. خدا برکات بیرب برر نسل نسبنی تابسام تابشرو نیت من هم بالالارمه ده ایتب قویدم.<sup>416</sup> وفات بولغان بولسه الله نک رحمتینه یولقسن خدا گناه سن عفو قیلسن آمین اللهم إن کان محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان

416 [Added later in pencil in the margin: ۴۰ صوم قرضمنی استرلی باشنده خلیل الله منهاج]

[اوغلینه تابشردم مرحوم مطهرنک جماعتی اسان ایکان ان شاء الله قرضم بیرلدی]

مسیئا فتجاوز عنہ دنیادہ فقیر حالندہ شوندا۱ کشتی لار با ایکان بوکا نیچک  
قیلب دعاءدان عاجزمن بورنغی زمانم ده برگه آشاب اجب یورگه ن  
ایداشلارم اورامده قارشئی یکلسه لار ایکنچی یاقغه قاراب کیتہ ایدیلار .  
شوشی آزماز آچقه بلان اوزبکستان غه نیت قیلب ارنبورغ غه سفر ایتدم  
خیرلی سفر بولسن آمین . /126b/ استرلیباشندان ارنبورغ غه چغب کیتدم  
سلامت ارنبورغ غه یتب اولداشمز مجید حبیب الله اوغلی محمد یار فقه توشدم  
آچق یوز بلان قبول ایتدی . بونک ایوده بر آئی قدر یاتدم بر ده قاره یوز  
بیرمادی بازارغه چغب آزماز اسکی کیم لار آلب ساتقالاب یوردم بعضی  
وقت لرده تالچوک بازارندان اسکی کیم لار جیب آلب قاراغالقه استانسه  
سینه بارب توشب تورلی کالجوز و ساخوزلارغه یورب آغان نسرہ لارمنی  
ساتب قایتور ایدم یولداشم ارنبورغ لق اوتیل جیوچی فرید اسملی کشتی ایدی  
شول آلب یورر ایدی شولای ایتب سرمایاسی باشلادم کونلاردان برکون  
ارنبورغه ۷۰ چاقم یرده کاشیرن (اوتکابر) دیکان رایونغه اسکی نرسه لار بلان  
بازارغه کیتدم (حاضرگی کونده اوتکابر اسمنده یوری) شونده بارب بازارنده  
نرسه لارمنی ساتب بش اون کیله آق مای آلب قایتب ارنبورغ ده ساتار  
ایدم . یاخشئی غنه فائده لانب ایکنچی بازارینه باردم ده نرسه لارمنی ساتب  
۱۵ کیله مای آلدیم بومایینی تاشکندکه آلب بارونیتی بلان چونکه قاونچی دیکان  
یرده قزم حه لیمه کیاومز حسن الدینف لار تورا ایدی شولارغه کوچته نیچ  
ایتب آلب ئیدم . بازار تمام بولب ایندی کیتام دیب فاتیرده طماق آشاب اولتره  
ئیدم شونده بر میلیتسه کیلب کردی ده فاتیر خواجه سی روس ایدی طشقه  
چغب میکا بابای سینی چاقره دیدی کردم مینی سوراشورغه کرشب  
بازاردان نی آلدک دیب سوراشه باشلادی پاشپورنی آلب قارادی قاجیق  
لارنی تیکشردی صوکره مای ئالدکمودیه سورادی مین آغانم یوق دیدم فاتیر  
ایه سی روس آلدی دیه ایتدی ده کلاداوا۱ دان مایینی کورسه تدی . سین  
اوتکان بازاردا ده کیلب سودا قیلدک دیب سین اسپکولنت دیب مالنی هم  
اوزمنی آلب کیتدی میلیتسیه اداره سینه فاتیر خواجه سی روس یاخشئی عنہ  
اسرک ایدی میندان اچارگه آچقه سوراغان ایدی یوللق آچقم قالو سبیلی بیرہ

المادم شول سبلی بینی آچو ایتب کورسه تکان. میلته آکته یازدی مالمنی آلدی ده هم پاسورطمنی آلب مینی بیردی رایونگرغه/127a/ بیره م پاسورطگرنی آنده آورسن دیب قوله وقتلی بر یازو بیردی ده چغب کیتدم شوندان ایلانرب ارنبورغ غه قایتدم مینم آزماز غنه آچه م قالغان ایدی اولداشم محمدیارف ایته سینکا پاشورطکنی آلب یورمیسن دیدی قالدرب کیتو کیره ک ایدی بو حال نی کم بلا نی بولسه بودی ایندی اوتدی اوتکان اشکه صلوات دیلار. ایندی نیشلارگه قالدی آریاغه کیتسه م پاشورط یوق قایتسام صود قیلورلار بلکه برنیچه یل تورمه گه اولتورلار دیب قورقام. شولای باشم قاتب یورگه ن کون لارمده شهرده سازنسیکی اورام دان کیله ایدم قارشمه قاینشم عبدالله الازل بدیکف اوچراب قالدی ای جزنه ی نیشلاب بولای یورسک دیب اسان ساولق سوراشدی ده مینی ریستارانغه آلب کرب قوناق ایتدی کیچ فاتیرینه قونارغه آلب کیتدی بوکافکازدان کیسلاوادسکی دان قایتب کیله ایکان. بتون احوالنی سویلاب بیردم. قولم قسقه راق قالغان ایدی جزنای عیب ایتمه گز دیه میکا آتمش صوم آچه بیره باشقه کیم لار هم بالالارغه کوچته نه چ لار آلب بیردی الله اجرن بیرسن آمین. شولای ایتب توکل خدا استرلیباشقه قایتوغه اولاددم. خدانی یازسه شونی کوررمن دیدم ده قایتب ده کتدوم. سلامت اولغه قایتب کرب ایومزده بالالار بلان چای اچب اولترا ایدم براوکیلب ایشک قاقدی چقسام آغا اینیک برسی قاری آبزی سینی سیل ساویت چاقرا دیدی ده سینک پاشورطنک مونده کیلگان ایکان سز بر یرده مای آلب قولغه توشسه گز کیره ک دیدی درست مین شونک اچون قایتدم دیدم ده یارار باررمن دیدم ده اول کیتدی. سیل ساویت که باردم سینی ساعت آتی ده میلیتسیه چاقرا دیدی یارار دیب چغب کیتدم وقتنده میلیتسیه ادارهسینه باردم کیچ که ساعت اون غه قدرلی کوب اولتردم صوکره ناچالنیکی کیلدی کردم. اولتر دیدی برکاعزلار قاری باشلادی شونک سیل ساویت مینم بالالارم حقنده معلومات تابشرغان ایکان. صوراولار باشلانندی. /127b/ سین علیف نی اولترب یاتب قایتقان سنک دیدی یاتب قایتدم تیک کئی اولتروچی توکل من دیب کورکز کورگان کئی کبک وجدانسز



شوندای یالغان معلومات بیرگان. بالالارنک بازارلارده سودا قیله لاریکان دیدی درست میم آلا رغه اوقوا چون کتاب دفتر آلب بیررلک قوتم یوق آلا ربتون استرلیباشنک اوتیلنی جیب حکومت آلا رغه شرپی و باشقه یارارلق نرسه لار بیره شونی آلب بازارغه چغار ب ساتالار دیدم ممکن سزگه بو حقدده اوتیل سیری کاتورتورندان صورارغه. بو حقدده اول سزگه درست جواب بیرر دیدم. موندان قایدده چغب کیتدک نیگه کیتدک میکا سویلاب بیر دیدی سیردی آزیا ده قزم کیا بار ایدی شونده بارامن دیب جایا و حاملده اولدان اول غه کیتدم یول راسخو طینه آرتق کیم لارنی ساتا باردیم. شوندان کاشیرین رایونینه یتیب آنده واق تویاک نرسه لارمنی ساتدم ده قزم غه کوچته نه چ آلب بارر ا چون ۱۵ کیله مای آلب ایدم شونی میلیتسه مینی سین اسپکولانت دیب مایمنی هم پاشپورطنی آلدی ده نوزمنی مونده قایتوغه قوشدی مین بو کون قایتب چای ده اچمه دم آلدگرغه کیلدم دیدم. سین بیت ۳۵ کیله مای آغان سن دیدی یالغان آرتق مای مینم کبی فاتیرده بر روس آلب مینم مایم یانینه فاتیرنک کیلا تینه کرتب قویب ایدی میلیتسیه کیلب کرو بلان اول یورطدان چغب قاچدی شول ماینی ده مینکی دیب او یلا دیلارده فاتیر خواجه سینک تانش کشی سی بولو سبلی هم مللت چیلک قیلک اول ماینی ده مینکی دیب گواه لقی بیره شوندان میلیتسیه اگر قیلک مینی مونده قایتوغه قوشدی قولمه اسپرافکه بیردی. شوندان ناچالنیک تاتار ایدی اشگرنی صودقه بیره م دیدی بلکه نگرنی ئشلا دگر دیدم پاشپورط منی سورادم بیرلمی صوددان صوک الورسز دیدی میکا ازلاب چیتکه چغارغه کیره ک حاضر اشنک وقتلی چاغی میکا بالالارنی آشاتورغه کیره ک بیت دیدم مونده ئشلارسز چیت ئشلا سه ک پاشپورطک یوق دیب سینی ئشکه آلماس لار میکا یازارلار آکته غه قول قویب سلامت چغب کیتدم /128a/ ایندی ایکنچی کون ئشلارگه کیره ک باردیم ده بر آغانی که یککاش ایتدم ابوکشی یوردیچسکی ئشندان خبردار ایدی یه توغان مینم ئشلاری موندای بولدی بارنده سویلادم ده صوکره بو ایتدی دیلگنی کوررگه کیره ک آندان بر یککاش بیرمن دی. مین دیدم ئش بار ده مین سویلاگان روشده دیدم. او یلاب توردی ده مونه نرسه مجید آبری صودی

بولسه معلوم کور شگر: بورنغی زماندان بییری آش صویگرنی آشغان اچکه ن کشی نه قدر اوزی صودیہ بولب یوره ده آتاسی بر اولنک کولاککی ایدی بتون کراستیان لارنی یاللاب آشلق لارن اوردرب باسدرتوب نیچه شه رمنک لار آشلق آلور ایدی یاری انقلاب قه قدر وفات بولب قالدی. شونک بالاسی بوکون صودیہ بولب خالق لارغه کولاکلارغه صود ایتب یاتا بوکشی بر رحیم سز وجدانسز آدم موکا اشانچ یوق ایکنچی دان سین بیت مجید قاری بولوک سببلی یورطنکدان تیوش سز روشده قووب چغارب بتون بالالارکی فیورال صوغنده قار اوستینه چغارب تاشلادیلار مین بلام البته سز بو زاکونگه کرمی ایدگز شخصی دشمان لق بلان سینی حقسز جبر قیلدیلار البته بو وقتده بولغان بییری توره لار مونی بولسه لار کیره ک ایندی شولای بولغاچ بوئش بر کچکنخ ئش بونک اچون بر نرسه ده بولورغه تیوشلی توگل مینم چه یدنجی آغوست ماده سینه قوشب آز بولسه ده صروک بییرلار. باشقه کشی بولسه بر نرسه ده بولماس ایدی. سین ممکن لک بولسه موندان یوغال باشقه سوز یوق دیدی. ایکنچی کوندوک رقیقه مزغه مصلحت ایتدم ده نیشلار بیز کیتسه م یولغه آچه کیره ک. کیتنه سه م یوق اچون محبوس بولوده یکل توگل بیت نی بولسه ده خداغه تابشرب کیتامن. بر کجه مز بار ایکان رقیقه م شونی بروکه براوگه بر مامق شال گه ئالشب میکا شونی بیردی ده مونه یولده ساتب یولغه آچه قیلورسن دیدی. مین ده شوشی شال نی ئالب سریدنی آزیاکه سفر ایتدم دوکامینت یوق توگل آنده بارب بر اورنغه ئشکه کرب برنیچه آیلا ر ئشلاب میتریکه م بار ایدی شوشی یردان اسپرافقه ئالب اوچ ایلق /128b/ پاسپورذ آلدیم یورثنی قازقستان رایونی صاری آغاچ دیکان یرده ایدی تاشکنده یاقن بو ۱۹۳۵نجی یلده ایدی. شوندان تاشکنده اوبلصی المکت دیکان پونکت ده (آق قورغان رایونی) سیل پا اداره سینه تیری جون و باشقه نرسه لار حاضرلار اچون کیتکه کردم. بو بییرده بورن زمانده تویسکی عبدالولی یاوشف لارنک مامق زاوودی بولغان حاضرده ده شول زاوود اشلاب تورادر. شولای ایتب یالغز اوزم گنه تورب ئشلی باشلادم. جون تیری تاوق کوکه ی پوشینه وا اوتیل بارنی حاضرلاب یکریمی کیلومیتزلق پسکند دیکان رایونغه تابشرب ایدم،

شولاب ایتب یاخشی ئشلاب تورا باشلادم. مونده یراق توگل اق رایونی ۱۹ کیلومتریده ایدی مونده کیاوم بلان قزم حلیمه ئشلار ایدی هم ۱۳ یاشلک قزم ده بولار یاننده ایدی. برنجه آیلا ر اشلاکه ندان صوک سیل پانک رئیسی مؤمن حیدرف دیکان اوزبک ایدی سوردام ممکن لک بولسه سزلا ر یاردم ایتب برآز آوانسه قیلب آچه بیرسه گز الوغ مرحمت گزدان بولور ایدی دیدم چونکه مین راسیه دان خاتون بالالار منی کترسم کیره ک ایدی دیدم. یاخشی دیب ایکی یوز صوم آچه بیردی ئوزنک ئش حاقم ایکی یوزدان آرتق بولب دورت یوز ایلی صوم آچه بلان سیه گه ن قزمنی کور شو اولمزغه بر خاتون قایتا ایکان شوکا قوشب قزمز اولغه اوزاتدم بار آناکئی هم بالالار نی آلب کیل دیب بیردم ۱۵ کون دیکه نده قزم بالالار نی تاشکنده که یاقن قاوونجی دیکان استانسه غه آنب توشکان ده آندان صوک آق قورغان غه یکومرگه تیلفون بیرب آط سوراغان آندان کیاومز حسن الدینف ایکی گیب بریچکه بلان بارب آلب کیلگان الله ثواب قه یازسون آمین کیاومز جماعتهم هم بالالار منی قاوونجی دان آق قورغان غه آلب کیلگان رحمت شوندان صوک قزم حه لیمه المکنت که تیلفون بلان ایندی ئئی ئئی لار سلامت کیلدیلار دیب /129a/ کوزمدان یاش چغوب قووانب نیشلارگه بلهی قالدیم رئیس دان صورادم بالالار کیلب قالغان ئیکان بارب قایتسام ئیکان دیه یاخشی دیدی شونددق بالالار م بلان کورشب کیچن ایلانب قایتدم. رئیس دان فاتیر صورادم بر یاخشی غنه بیردی رحمت ایکنچی کون رفیقه هم بالالار کیلب یورطنی قازالاب اچن طشن آقلاب قویدیلار. بالالار نی کوچرب ئالب کیلدم ده فاتیرگه کرب یقلادم موگا قایدده بولسه شونده یوقلاب یوررئیدم. خداغه شکر بوکونئی کوردم دیدم بر زیمله نکه ده بولسه ده توررغه راضی ایدم. ۳۶ نچی ییل ایون آینده ایدی اوطز یدینچی یلغه قدر مونده ئشلادم بالالار نی اوقوغه بیردم. شولای ایتب شوشی یلنک باشنده بوئشمزدان چغب پسکند دیکان رایونغه کوچمه ک بولدم بو وقتده کیاوم بلان قزم حه لیمه پسکند ده ایدیلار. مای باشی کون بر آت آرب یاللاب قویانب کیتدک بر کجه مزده بار ایدی آنی جیته کلادک پسکند که بر کیچ یوقلاب ایکنچی کون غولب اسملی برخان بر ایونی بوشقه

فاتیرگه بیردی الله نک رحمتده بولسن آمین. بر آی قدر مونده ئشیز یاتدم صوکره مورطالی سیلپاسینه مخصوص اشکه چاقر دیلار بو پسکند دان ۸ کیلومیتیر یرده ایدی آنده بارب آت آربا بلان بر آی قدر ئشلادم ده سحاب ئالب قایتدم آت بلان اسی یرلارده دالاده یرو قینلیق قیلدی. ینه پسکندکه قایتب بر آی تورغان دان صوکره ینه مینی بوکه سیل ساویتینه شوشی سیلپا رئیس نیشان علییف دیکان چاقردی بارب مونده زگاتوفکه دوکانون آلب اوزم گنه ئشلی باشلادم بالالر پسکندده قالدیلار بو اوطز ینچی یل آغوست اینده ایدی شولای ایتب مونده اوطز سکزنجی یل نک آپریل آینه قدر ئشلاب حساب آدم چونکه بالالارنی تاشلاب آنده توردم قیین بولدی ئشلاکان اورنمده هیچ بر کیم چیلیک قلهادم خداغه شکر پسکندکه قایتب بر آز تورغاچ پسکندده ده کیرف سیلپاسینک رئیسی عبد الرزاق سارساتف دیکان کئی مینی /129b/ پسکندده کیرف سیلپاسینه زگاتاویل گه کیلب چاقردی مین ئشلی آلمیم دیسه م قویمادی بزگه باراسنک دیب یاری آلیسه دیب قبول کورب بارب دکانتی قبول ایتدم ده ئشکه کرشدم یاخشی غنه ئشلاب یوردم ایکی کئی یاردچی مز بولدی قشلاق لاردان جیب جون قیری اوتیل شوندای نرسه لارنی تابشرلار ایدی برسی مجد قل ایکان برسی عبدالقادر ایکان ایدی لار ۳۹ نچی یلده زگاتوفکه اشنده برنجی اودارنیک بولب صوره تمنی پاتریب سایوز دیوارینه آسب قویدیلار ممکن قدر دکاننده کیمچیلیک قلهادم بارینه رضا بولب ئشمنی اوسدرمادم بو کونلارنی کورب بالالارمنی یانمه جیب اولتردم منک منک خداغه شکرانه قیلودان باشقه فکرم بولمادی توقز یوز ۴۲ نچی بلدغه قدر بونده ئشلاب ۴۱ نچی یلده کیرف سیلپاسنی سکرایشایت ایتدیلار شوندان میکا بوئش دان قالورغه توغری کیلدی ۴۲ نچی یلنک مای آینه قدر ئشلاب حساب منی تمام لاب ئشمنی تابشر چقدم خداغه شکر شوشی یلده اورمه مخصوص یورط آدم آتی منک صوم غه بر آز بو یورطنی توزاتب یاخشی غنه ایو بولدی سلامت بالالارم بلان اچینه کرب اولتردم خداغه شکر یورطسز قالغان بالالارمه یورت قیلب بیردم دیب خداغه شکرانه قیلب خداغه شکر بو کونتی کوردم دیب یاتدم کیرف سیلپاسینه برگه ئشلی

تورغان ایداشم عبد الرحمن محمد رحیم اوغلی عثمانف دیکان کئی ایدی اول اسکلا د مدیری بولب جیلغان مال لارنی آکا تابشرب زگاتوفکه غه تیوشلی مانفاکور کون تاوارلارنی آنک قولندان آلور ئیدم. دیمه ک دورت یل برکه ئشلادک یورطی هم ینه شه کورشمزده ایدی هیچ بر ققرشب تالاشوب تورمادم. شولایده بولسه شخصی فائده سنی کوزله ب مینم جیغان کوکه ی تاوق کبک نرسه لاردان حکومت حساینه یازمی میکا حکومت بهاسی بلان آچه بیرر ایدی. قای وقت لارده یاخشی تاوارلارن حردم کون لاوزتن مینم اسممه فاکور یازب تاوارنی اوزینه آلب میکا آچه لارنی حکومت حاقنه اسبلاب بیرر ایدی شولای ایتب بر ایکی مرتبه بواشکه کون سه م ده صوکره مونی بیرمی باشلادم. دیدم بومال لار زگاتوفکه فه بیرسه بونک اچون حکومتکه جواب بیروم کیره ک شولای سینده آلب قالساک مین بالا چاغالی آدم بالالارینک است باشلارینه ده آلسام مین نیچوک حکومتکه زگاتوفکه قیلور کیره ک ده قطعی روشده /130a/ توقتادم. فی اچون دیساک مینم جان ته ن بلان ترشب جیغان زگاتوفکه فی اول اوز قائده سینه تاشکنده که بازارغه ساتدرر ایدی البته بوکا هر کم نک آچغسی کیله چه ک. شوندان صوک ناچار قاری باشلادی بعضی وقت لارده دکانغه کرب قایا آزارق اچارکه آل ئلی دیه ر ایدک مین بونی اشلاماز ایدم ای مجید ابزی نیک لوک ترلوک مینم قولمده بیت دیه ایدی بوکا مین هیچ التفات ایتاسدان یورر ایدم. چندان ده اول سیاسی اداره نک وکیل بولمش ایکان. بتون مینم اوزآرا سویله شکه ن سوزلارنی حکومت که خلاف بولسه ده بیش بلان آرتدروب آنده بارب تابشرا ایکان یاری. نیچکده بولسه مونک تله گی مینی ئشدان چغارب نیندای بولسه ده بر فرصت تابو بولب مینی موندان ییروکه حرکت قیلغان چونکه موندان باشقه بعضی بر یاشرن ئشلارن مین بلور ایدم بر کوننی فی زاکوننی حکومت نک بر آطنی یورطنده اورلاب صویب ایکنچی کون تاشکندان بر اوزبک کیلب تیری تویه که ن بولب بوآط ایتنی فاتیری آستینه بارب تاشکنده بازارغه اوزاتدی مین بونی بلام بلسه م ده هیچ کم که ایتکانم یوق ایدی. آخرنده بو مسئله حکومت کشیلارینه ئشتب بونی مین ایتکان دیب اوایلاب میکا نیچکده بر یاوزلق قیلو

فکرنده بولغان حقیقت بواشدان مینم خبرم یوق. ایکنچی دکانه بعضی برتاتار میلیتسیه لاری کیلب تاوار صورارلاری ایدی بولارنک بازارغه چغارب ساتو اچون بولغان بلب بیرماس ایدم. بعضی وقت علی باشقه ناچالنیک لارده میندان ایتلک کون و باشقه قاون کوکه کبک نرسه لار سورار ایدیلار آزماز بیرسه م کوب وقت بیرماس ایدم آلارده بونک اچون میکا ناچار قارارلار ایدی. ینه پسکندلک حلیل قولماتق دیکان بر اوغری اوتیلده بر دکانه ئشلاب یورر ایدی بر ظالم بو برکون میندان کیلب طوی قیلا ایدم بزگه آزارق چای تاوار کالوش کبک نرسه لار سورادی یاری اسکلا د چغارسه ممکن لک بولسه آزماز بیرمن دیدم. اسکلا دان مال بیک آز بیردی لار شول سببلی بونک تلاکئی اوتاب بولمادی. شولایده بولسه وعده خلافتق بولماسن دیه آزارق چای برنیچه یالوق بیردم قارب توردی ده آچولانب ارغتب چغب کیندی. بوکشی ده سیاسی اداره نک آگنتی بولغان ایکان برده آنده بارب /130b/ سوزلارنی بارب یالغان سویله گه ن شولای ایتب ۱۹۴۲ نچی یلده ۴ نچی نویابرده مینی قولغه آلدیلار بو یلده اوغلم موحسن نی ۱۹ یاشنده ایندی صوعشقه اوزاتم هم کیاومز حسن الدینف نی شولایوق ازاتم الوغ مصعود ۳۹ نچی یلدا بیری عسکرلک ده ایدی جماعتم یاشکنه قزلارم بلان قالوب ایدم هم مینی ۴ ناویابرده حبسکه آلدیلار آلتی آی پسکند تورمه سنده اولترب تاشکنده ازاتب سیاسی معیوب لار تورمه سی یر آستنده بولغان کاملارگه اولترب بر آی یارم دان ینه پسکندگه قایتاردیلار. تاشکنک نارکومینه کرتب داپروس آلدیلار کورسه توچی آدم لار یوق دی یازلمش عبد الرحمن عثمانف خلیل قورماتف اوزبک برتاتار میلیتسه سی اوزمنک دکانده او برشیتسه بولب اشلاگان نوریه اسملی بر فرقه وی روس حاتتی ایدی. ۴۳ نچی یل نک یکریمی برنچی مای کیچه سنده تونله ساعت ۵۱۲ پرکارور برتاتار حاتتی صودییه لار اوچ اوزبک حاتتی تاشکنددان اوبلص صود کیلب میکا حکم چغاردیلار صود قاشنده پرکارور خاتن عالی جزا بیرونی صوددان طلب قیلسه ده صود ئسه اون یل حکومت تک کونس لاگیرلارنده توررغه دیب حکم چغاردی. برنیچه کوندان صوک مینی تاشکند تورمه سینه ینه ازاندیلار آنده بارب برنیچه

کون اولترغان دان صوک شولوق قزم آسییه کیلب ایکی کون آزق تابشرب کیتدی رحمت وقتلارنک آورلیغینه قاراماسدان آتا دیب مینی اسکە آوغه جماعتهم هم بالالارمه خیرلی تورمش بیرسن دیب دعاء قیلب قالدیم برنیچه کوندان صوک مینی تاشکنددان ۱۸ کیلومتر اورتا اول استانسه سی زانگی آتا دیکان قشلاق باننده اوبشنوی لاگیرگه اوزاتدیلا ر قرق اوچنچی یل ۱۷نچی ایون کوننده بارب لاگیرنک ایکنچی پونکتی ده قویدیلار. بزلا رنی اینوالید حسابلاب یکل ئشکه تعیین ایتدیلا ر برنیچه کون آریا اوردق پچن ده جیدق آگاروددان قییار جیوبکک ئشلارده هم پامیدور جیو چوگندر رادقا و به رنگی آیروب کبک ئش لارده بر ایکی آی قدر یوردیم صوغش وقتی بولوسبیلی بمجوس لارگه آشاو اچو مسئله سی بیک آور ایدی محبوسلار هر کون کوب برنیچه آدام تگی دنیاغه سفر ایته ایدیلا ر شولای بولسه اوزم آرتق آچلق کورمادم جماعتهم بالالارم اوزلارینه بولمسه ده ایکی آی اوچ بر بولسه ده آقچه و آزق قزم آسیه کیترب /131a/ تابشرب تورا ایدی آرتق کییلارنی ده ساتب نیچک بولسه زور آچلق قین لغی نه توشمادم شوندان صوک لاگیر اچنده بوخالتیریه اداره سینه فراش بولب کردم کاتورنی تازالیم ایده نئی یوام ئش آغر توکل ایدی قرملی بر آغا بلان ایکاومز برگه خدمت قیلور ایدوک مونده برنیچه آی صوکره ناچالنیک سان چاس نک کابینته فراش قیلب تعیین قیلدیلا ر. یالان ئشیننه چغب یورمی باشلادم. برنیچه آیدان صوک موندان الب یورطقه یورط سبروچی ایتب اشتاننی قیلب بر لنین غرادلق باغدائف بله ایکاومزنی تعیین قیلدیلا ر آیلق ۶ صوم ایدی موکا لاگیر بازارنده ایکی یوز غرام قارا ایکمه ک آلب بولسه ایدی لاکن یورطنک کامنداتی حیب اللین دیکان بر تاتار آندجان غه یاقن براون یللق محبوس ایدی شول بیک زور جبر ظلم قیلدی مین ایسه آنک ظلم لرنی شکایت ایتماسدان صبر ایتب ئشلاب یوردیم الله دان قورقاغاندان قورقا دیلا ر شولای ایتب صبر قیلدم. بوئشده ایکی یل ئشلادم خداغه شکر بالالارم آرمیه دان کیلب یوزدان جماعتهم هم کیاوم کیلب کوشب توردیلا ر نادزورلار یاخشی قارادیلا ر حیب اللین کبک هیچ ظلم جبر قیلما دیلا ر. مونده ایکی یل ئشلاب مینی لاگیرنک اوچنچی پونکتی بولغان اینوالیدلار لاگیرنه

اوزاتدیلار مونده برآی تورب ۴۶ نچی ییل ۸ نچی آپریل کوننده مینی هم ۷۰ لاب کشتی تاشکنددان ۶۰ یکومیترا اینوالیدلار لاگری تاباقسای دیکان لاگیرکه اوزاتدیلار بوده اینوالیدلار لاگیری ایدی. بارمیم دیب طرشب قاراسام ناچالنیک دوخترقارونی مصلحت ایتدی آنده یاخشی بولور دیدی. شولای ایتب ۷۰ کشتی یتدک ایکی ماشینه بلان ۴۶ نچی ییل ۸ اپریلده تاباقسای غه یونالدک ۳۵ کشتی آلب قالدیلار ده قالغان کیری قایتاردیلار. شولای ایتب تاباقسای ده قالدیم برآی قدر مامق دان جب ئشلارگه قوشدیلار برآی قدر ئشلادم لکن بیرکه ن نورمنی توترب بولی نورمی تولماوسبیلی ایکه ک نی دورت یوز غرام غنه بیره لار ایدی. بوکون ناچالنیک سان چاست قه عریضه بیردم مینم قارتلغم نی ایولاب بر یاردم قیلسه گزیه آزاقلای مامیسیه کیلب قاراب مینی بالنیسه گه آورغه قوشب کیتدی. ایکنچی کون /131b/ مای نک ۲۱ لارنده بولسه کیره ک خداغه تابشرب بالنیسه گه کردم بالنیسه بیک تازا اچنده کبخانه سی رادیو تیتول قایناب ... خانه سی ده اچنده ایدی. یاتوغه تیمر کاراوات آدیالی پراستینه لار هم تشن تاسمال یاغمده بر چکنه گنه تومبچکه بار ایدی. اون ده بر مونچه بیاره لار آندان تازا کولنه ک اشتهان یتو بتون یا قافتنی تازه لارنی بیرب اسکی لارنی آلالار ایدی آشاوا چون کونینه ایکی یوز غرام آق نان دورت یوز غرام قاره نان بیره لار پالاته نک اچنده آق نرسه لار یابلغان آشنی شونده کیترب بیره لار کونینه یگرمی یگرمی بیش غرام شیکر بعضی وقت سوت آزراق آق مای ساری مای قالباسه کبک نرسه لار بیرلار ایدی. یورطقه پاپریکه چغار میلار شونده کرب سانی لار ایدی. اوقورغه کتاب و غزیده ژورنالار بولور ایدی. هر وقت تاشکند نک پراودا واسته ک غزیده نی اوز اسممه آلدرب اوقور ایدم الحاصل بالنیسه نک تربیه سی یاخشی دوخترلار هرکون قاراب دارو بیرب تورالار ایدی. برنچه آیدان صوک حکومت نک قراری بوینچه ۶۰ یاشدان یوقاری بولغان قارتلارنی هیچ برسن قالدیرماسدان بالنیسه گه کالوغه قرار بولدی. شوندان بولغان قارتلارنی بالنیسه گه جیب تربیه قیلا باشلادیلار. شول کوندان بیرلی قایده بیرسه لار ده توغری قابقه دانوق بالنیسه که بیرلار ایدی. شوشی تاباقسای ده قرق



توغرنچی ییل غه قدر توردم. موندان صوک تاشکند که یاقن لوناچارسکی ده یالانغاچ دیکان لاگیرگه وقتلی قیلوب بیردیلار. مونده ده بالنیتسه گه الیدیلار ایکی آیده اون کون تورب ینه تاباقسای غه قایتاردیلار یالانغاچ ده تورغان و قتمده اوغلم مسعود لوناچارسکی ده تورا ایدی یکنم بلان ۴ کیلومیتیر یرده ایدی هر وقت اوغلم کیلب آزق پلي آشلار تابشرب کیتار ایدی رحمت فاطمه یکنمه بیک یاخشی آشلار بیرر ایدی. تاباقسای غه قایتب بر نیچه آی تورغاچ سنتابر آی لارنده بولسه کیره ک ینه دان بزنی آنگران دیکان لاگیرگه بیردیلار بو آنگران اوزم نک یورطم در بالالارم موحسن آسیه اوزمنک یورطمده تورالار ایدی. یورطمز لاگردان ۳ کیلومیتیر ایدی. مونده شفاخانه گه 132a/ مونده ایلی برنجی یلنک فیوال آینه بیک نق صووق تیب ۳۹-۴۰ درجه ده حرارت بولب لازریت الیدیلار بر کون ده حامل بیک آور ایدی ناسیلکه بلان کوتارب آرباغه صالدیلار ایکی کیلومیتیر لازریتگه بارب یتدم قار یاغمور یاوار ایدی باتقاچ یاردچی یوق جانم بوغازیمه کیلب مونچه غه بارب کردم بوک م بیک کوب شول کونلارده ایلی توری آشاملق بار ایدی تیک اشاب بولی مونچه غه بتون کیم لارنی سالب بتون آزقنی شونده تاشلاب چغب کیتدم یالان آباق غه یرتق کالوش اچینه قار تولا بارغه حامل یوق لازریتیک بر خادمی یته کلاب آلب بارب پالاتاغه صالدی باراکدان خبر ایتارگه بر آغا اینکه اوتب کیم ممکن بولسه فولنی چغوب بررکشی بولسه شوشی ادریس بلان مینم بالالارمه خبر ایته کورگز دیه ایتکان خدمتلاری الله رضالغی اچون بولب دنیا و آخرت مقصودلارینه ایرشسون لار ایدی آمین. ایرتوک آسیه قزم کیلب کیتکان پیرداچه بار دیب چاقردیلار چغوب کورشوکه ناچالنیک دوختر رخصت بیرمه دی حال گز آور چغارغه یارامی دیدی شوندان صوک پیرداچنی پالاتاغه کرتدیلار منم تلاگه ن نرسه م قاتق ایدی بارایکان کورو بلان قاتق نی آلب قابدم آزارق کوزم اچلب قالدی قایماق هر توری فروکته تاوق ایتی کوکه ی و باشقه نرسه لار کوب ایدی رحمت ایندی بالالارم آتا دیب حرمت ایتولارینه بو حرمتلاری بالالارندان قایتسون دیب دعاء قیلب قالدیم آنده آغوست باشلارینه قدر مونده یاتب یاخشی سلامت

لندم خداغه شکر هر وقت بالالارم کیلب حلمنی بلب توردیلار رحمت تولشسن نادظورلار ده بیک رعایه قیلب توردیلار ینه ده مینی موندان تاشکند که مرکزی شفاخانه که اوزاتدیلار بو ایسه تاشکندک آردژنیکیدز رایوننه قویله دیکان قشلاق ده ایدی مونده کیلب شفاخانه که سالدلار مین اوبکه اوروی دیب شوندان کارگه قویدیلار برنچه کون رینگین دان اوتب بابای سینده اوبکه اوروی یوق برانخیت دیکان اوروی بار باشقه نرسه یوق دیب مینی ایکنچی پالاناغه /132b/ بو بالنیتسه نی سان گرادوک دیب یورته لار ایدی مونده ایکی آی تورب ینه دان بزلا رنی تاباقسای غه قایتدق سنتابر آیلارنده ایدی بونده ینه ساتسیارغه کردم پالات طنچ بار ده قارتلار ایدی دیکابر آیلارنده مینی فالیچ رنجوی صوغب بردان تلسز قالدق کوندز ساعت اوچ لار ایدی ثله دو قتر کیتمه که ن ایدی بردان بلادردم شوندق دارواچرب بر یوز ایلی گرام تامردان قان آلدیلار اون یدی کون بر سوز سویله دم کشی بلان سویلا شوکه عزیمه کرب اوقوغه رخصت ایتمادی. بتون حاجتم آستمه اولدی اون یدنچی کون آزغنه تلم ئه یله نه باشلادی خداغه شکر قیلب قوونب آقرنلق بلان تلم یخشی آچلدی. موندان برآز آرو لانب ایدم تره زه دان صووق تییب ینه ۳۹درجه ده حرارتم بولدی اون بیش کونلاردان صوک یاخشی غنه بولب کیله ایدم ینه برکون یاتبغه چاقردیلار بو ۵۱نچی ییل فیورال آینه حامل بیک آور ایدی ایکندی وقتنده قولتق لاب آلب چقدیلار ده کلوبکه قویدیلار بیش تره زه آچق بیک صووق بولدی تونه بوی یورغان آستندان چقمقدق ایرته لاب توردق ینه چاقردیلار یاتاب قه شول وقتده حات آلدق حه لبمه دان پاسیلکه سالدق دیگان کیلب یتمای قالدی بیک زور و قتم ایدی شولایده تانش نادزورلارغه اوتنب کیتدم کوره سز بیت آورو حاملده کیتب بارم ممکن بولسه کیلو بلان مینم آرتمدان شول پاسیلکه نی تیزلک بلان بیرسه گز ایکان دیدم یاری دیب سوز بیردیلار کوتارب ماشینه غه توشدیلار ده استانسه غه آلب باردیلار آنده کون بوی تیکشرب فاکونلارغه کرتدیلار حامل بیک آور ایدی الله غه تابشرب یورب کیتدک تونله ینه فاکون صووق ایده نده یاتامز تورب حاجات اوتارگه حامل یول یا الله یاردم اوزگدان دیه بارام قاونچی ده

نچه یل برکه یاتب یورگه ن ایداشم کفالیوف قارت بولینه هم ده آور بولینه قاراماسدان قولندان کیل گه ن قدرلی یاردم بیرب کیلور ایدی اوزبک تاتار قرداشلار برسی ده آوزمه صوصالمادیلار. شولای ایتب سمرقندکه یاقن یوزاق دیکان استانسه غه کیچ ساعت توقزده توشردیلار. خالق آرقاسینه نرسه لارنی /133a/ کوتارب کیتدیلا مین بارا المیم نادزورلار داوای دیه مینی قستدیلا ر ایدی مین ایتدم حامل یوق دیب هامان قچقرالار داوای دیه مین مجبور بولدم نرسه لارمنی یولنده تاشلاب کیته رگه صوکره نادزورلار اوزلاری کوتارب آلب بارب لاگیرگه کرتدیلا ر مونده برنچه یاتقان ننک صوک ده مینی شفاخانه آلدیلار دوختر اوزبک ریزایف دیکان کشی ایدی یاخشی آدم ایدی مینی یاخشی قارای رحمت. برده حامل یوق آشارغه ده مای کبک نرسه لار یوق ایدی رحمتلی قزم حه لیمه نک معلوم پاسیلکه سی کیلب چقدی حق سبخانه و تعالی بالالارینه توفیق بخت بیرب اوزینه خیرلی اوزن عمر نصیب ایتسون آمین الله راضی بولسون بیک نرسه بیرگه ن قازایت آق مای ساری مای چای کانفیت بیک اوزک و قتم ده بیک زور فائده سی بولدی حتی نادزورلار عجب ایتب توردیلا ر موندای یاخشی پاسیلکه براوگه ده کیلگه نی یوق ایدی دیلا ر ایدی. یاری مونده بر ایکی آی قدرلی یاتب یاخشی غنه یوری باشلادم شوندان صوک بزلا رنی ۱۰ یللق محبوسلارنی همه سن بیردیلا ر فوحت استروی بیگاواد دیکان لاگیرگه اورساتسکی استانسه سندان بر استانسه اوتب آندژان یولینده شونده کیلب توشدک. مونده تونله کیلب بزلا رنی لاگیرنک باراکلارینه اورناشدردیلا ر مونده بزدان ٹلک یاپون اسیرلاری تورب کیتکان ایکان باراکلار بیک یاخشی تازا بزلا رنی آیرم بر باراک گه قویدیلا ر سیاسی استاتیه لار بولومز سبیلی چاقرسه لارده مونده شفاخانه گه کرمادم نی بولسه ده بولور اوزکیم لارمنی کینب بیرگه هواده یوریم دیه آیته م شفاخانه یاتقان آدم بالنیتسه دان بیک زیرگب قالدوم بو وقت مای آی ایدی ۱۹۵۲ نچی یل نصیب بولسه بو یل ۴ نچی نو یابرکون ۱۰ یللق محبوس لک کونم تولوغ تیوشلی دردیب خدا دان سلامت لک سوراب یاتدم اوکتابر یکرمنچی لاری جیتب ایدی مینی چاقرب فوتوکار تچکه م آلدیلار ان شاء الله /133b/ بیرسه لار کیره ک دیب

برآز امید لانب قالدِم. محبوس لارنک وعده سی تولا باشلاسه ۱۵ کون آلدان رسم لارنی آلالر پاسپورطمزغه قویار اچون. شولای ده بولسه برآز قورقوده توردم چونکه بزداى سیاسى استاتیه لارنک قای برولارن یرمیده قویالار ایدی دورتنچی نویابرکونی ده جیتب قالدی یا الله نه بولور ایکان دیه کوتب یاتدم تیزدن آشمزنی آشاب چغب یتدک مینی اوربا اسملی اداره گه چاقرب کیلدیلار باردِم نچالنیک قایده قایتیه سک دیب سورادی مین دیدم ممکن بولسه آنگران دیکان شهرگه قایتامن دیدم باش اوستی آنده بیره مز دیدی بیک طینب خداغه شکر ایومه بالالارم یانینه بیره لار ایکان دیب چونکه بعضی کشتی لارکه ایونه بارمای ینه اوچ یا بیش یل غه اختیاری ویسلکه بیره لار ایدی شولارنی ایولاب قورقوده ایدم. ایندی چت قوتلب کیتوم اشاندم شوندان میکا برسیکز اورندان برکاعزگه قول قویدررغه قوشدی ناچالنیک ام ف ده باشقه کیم اسکلا دندان کتب خانه شونداى اداره لاردان شولای ایتب بیک آشغب لاگیر اچنده یوگرگه لاب یوری ایدم اوزبه ک ایداش قارت قادیر آتا اوغلکز کیلگه ن دیب ایتیه لار دیدی اسم کیتب قالدِم قاوشاب کیتدم قوی بولماس دیه قابقا تویننه یوگرگ بارسام اوغلم موحسن لوحکاواى ماشینه بلان تورا خیران قالدِم نی ایتورگه بلمی یغلاب یردم موندان چققدرم بوکون چغامز خدا نصیب ایتسه دیدم ده سین شونده کون ممکن بولسه ناچالنیک دان کورصورگه رخصت آلیم آندان صوک کرر سز دیدم. ناچالنیک که بارسام اول دیدی نیندی کورشو اول دیدی برنچه ساعت دان سزنی چعارمز دیدی یاری آلیسه دیدم ده کیلب اوغلمه چققدرم ساعت بیشسز چغب بولی بتون ئشلارم ترتیننده دیدم سین بارب چای خانه بر قایده بر یرده یال ایت دیدم. شوندوق بز لارنی چغارپ بیره تورغان ناچالنیک طشقه موحسن تورغان یرگه چغب کیتدی مین چققدرم آنا شونک قولنده ایندی /134a/ بزنگ اشمز دیدم شوندان اوغلم ناچالنیک انی اولترتب قایده بر آلب کیتدی مین ده مونده بتون اشلامنی بترب نرسه لارمنی بیلاب قویعان ایدم بو وقت ساعت برلارده بولسه کیره ک کیلب ده چاقردیلار ایده چغارغه دیب مینده تیزگنه باگاژمنی کوته ردِم ده باراک دان قالغان ایداش

لارم بلان اسان لاشب قابقه توینده گی کانطورغه چقدم مونده تیوشلی کاغزلارغه قول قویب قولمه عمرلک پاسپورط بیرب چغاردیلار اوغلم موحسن قارشنده ماشینه بلان تورا ایدی شوندوق اولترددق ده لاگیر اچنده قالغان اییداش لار بلان سزده فوتلوگز دیب دعاء قیلدم ده بورلب کیتدک اییداش لارم قول بولغاب قالدیلار الحمد لله حق تعالی بوکونلارنی نصیب ایتدی دیب خدامه شکرانه قیلب استانسه غه سفر ایتدک موندان آتی یکلومیترده ایدی. مینی چغارب بیرگه ن ناچالینیک کیچ ساعت ۱۱ده پویزده کیته اوزم بارب اولترتب بیرمن دیب قالدی بز بارب استانسه غه توقتادق ایتکه ن وقتده ناچالینیک کیلب تاشکنده که بیلیت آلب بیردی بزلارده خیرلی سفر دیب اولترتب کیتدک الحمد لله رب العالمین بی گناه مظلوم بولو صقتی الیه محکوم بولغان اون یللق حکم مزنی خدانک قوشووی بوینجه صبرلق بلان تمام قیلب اوزدردک خیره وشره من الله تعالی دیب بوکومزگه خداغه شکرانه قیلب یونالدک خداغه مک مک شکرلار اولسون محبوس وقت لارم ده شکایت ایته رلک زور آغرقلار کورمه دم رحمتلی جماعتم عزیز بالالارم هر وقت یاردم ده بولب آشاو اچو توغرسنده برده قین لق کورمه دم اون یلنک اچنده آتی یل یارم شفاخانه ده (بالنیتسه) ۶۰ یا شدان یوقاری قارتلارنی آچق /134b/ آروی بولماسه ده شفاخانه قویدیلار مونده ده حکومت اوررلار آش بلات تربیه قیلدی آلمزغه آش و چایی یکلترب بیره لار صوقاینب توره هر وقت هرکون طیب لار کوره لار آشاو شوندای بولدی کونینه ایکی یوز غرام آق ایگمه ک دورت یوز غرام قاره ۲۵ غرام شیکر قای وقتده آق مای ۵۰ غرام قازلیق سوت باشقه لارنی بیرب تور دیلار. فروکته وقتده هر توری فروکته لار دان هم قارپوز قاون قیار کبک نسه لارنی کوب بولماسه ده بیره لار ایدی. یاتقان شفاخانه مز اچنده رادیو کتبخانه هر توری غزیته لار هرکون کیلب تورا ایدی او قواچون هر توری کتاب لار بار کونده بر مونچه آق کولمه ک اشتان پروژینی کاراوات ماتراس آدیبال مندر تاسمات آق مندر تاشی همه سن هر مونچه ده آلشدرب تورا ایدیلار حکومت نک بو مرجه تینه هر بر قارتلار دعاء لار قیلب حکومتزگه طنچ لق وطن غه طنچلق بیرسون خدا دیب دعاء

قیلب یاتدق هم یاتالار ایدی لاگیرنک اچنده دکان هم آشخانه چای خانه اختیاری اوز آشمزنی پشزرگه مخصوص آشخانه سی بار ایدی آچه سی بولغان کشی لار هر وقت ده ساتلق آشخانه لار دان اشاب تورالار ایدی خداغه شکر اوزمزده کوب وقت اوزمزنک پشرب هم آچه لی آش دان اشاب تورددق. لاگیرنک یورطنده صوخانه هم هر توری گل لار توری ساچکه لار بلان تولودر باشقه چه پامیدور به رنکی کبک نرسه لارده اوستره لار صولار فانتال بلان بعضی یرده قیین بعضی یرده آرق صولاری بلان سوغاره لار ایدی اون محبوس لک ده یورگه ن لارم قسقه چه یازب اوشبواورنده تمام قیلدم. ۱۹۵۲ نچی ییل ۴ نچی نویابرده ناجات بولب ۶ نچی نویالر کوننده ساو سلامت اوز یورطم هم جماعتم و بالالار تورغان شهرمز آنگران غه اوغلم موحسن آلب قایتدی. الحمد لله رب العالمین بجزمة سید المرسلین آمین. ۱۹۵۵ سنه ۹ نچی اوکتابر یازلدی کوچردم<sup>417/135a</sup>

یازلمش اوتمش اون بییش یللق مظلوم بولب محبوسلک ده یورب تورغان بییرلارم سترلیتاماقده افاده ۱۹۲۹ نچی یلده افادان مورمون طرفینه ۳۰ نچی یلده مورمون تیمر یولنده برنچی لاوحی دیکان استانسه غه توشب فینلانديه چیکلارنده تاش یول اشنده آندان بیلامور او طراوی صالافکی دیکان اوسترفده بر ییل آندان ۱۹۳۱ نچی ییل قدر و قتم اوتدی وعده قدرلی قوتقارب بییش ییل قالغانی سروکی اختیاری سورکن قیلب فاتکه اوبلص قوتلس دیکان شهرده بولب قارت لق سبیلی کامیسیه قوتقاردی. سلامت اولمه بالالار یانینه قایتدم. ۱۹۴۲ ییل ده محبوس لک ده اوزبکستان جمهوریتی تاشکند اوبلصی نک اطرافنده اون ییل اچنده اون لاگیرده بولدم هر قایسی تاشکندان یراق توکل ۶۰-۷۰ یراغی ۲۰۰ یوز یکومیتیر یرده بولدم ۱ نچی تاشکند که ۱۸ یکومیتیر زنی آتا لاگیرنده ۴۳-۴۶ نچی یلغه قدر آندان تاشکندان ۷۰ یکومیتیر چیرچیق استروی یاننده تاباقسای دیکان لاگیرده آندان تاشکند که یاقن لوناچارسکی یاننده یالان غاچ دیکان لاگیره ایکی آی اون آندان ینه تاباقسای غه قایتب اوزمنک تورغان شهرم هم یورطم بالالارم یاننده آنگران دیکان لاگیرده ۱۰ آی بولب آنده بیک آورو بولب

[بو محبوس بولغان وقتده اش نومیره سی ۳۲۲۶۵۳ ایدی؛ 417]

۱۰ آیدان صوک تاشکند که یاقن قویلق دیکان شفاخانه بیردیلا ر مونده ایکی آی یاتب قایتب ینه بورنغی تاباقسای غه قایتار دیلا ر آندان سمرقند دان بیرری یراق توکل یوزاق دیکان لاگیر که آنده فیورال مارت آپریل مای آیلارنده بولب آندان بیکاوا دیکان لاگیر که بیردیلا ر مونده آتی آیدان آرتق تورب شوندان قوتلب ۱۹۵۲ نچی ییل ۶ نچی نوپا برده آنکر ن که قایتدم ایکی اوچ مرتبه پرسیلنی پونکت ده تاشکنده بولدم /135b/ بالالارم یانینه قایتب ۵۲-۵۳ ییل نک قشنده شوشی آنکران شهرنده اوتکارب یازنده ایون آی باشلارنده قزم وه سیله کیلب اول مینی اوز خراجاتی بلان راسییه که تووب اوسکان اولم استریلیباشقه هم توغانم فرحی سرور غه قزم حلیمه لار که بارب صیله و رحم قیلب اولمزده قرداش روع لار غه آتا و آنالار مرغه زیارت ایله مشرف بولدم. قزم وه سیله بو وقتده قاشقا دریا اوبلصی شهری زیاب دیکان شهرده شفاخانه ده آپتیکا مدیری بولب ئشلی ایدی بزلا رنی آتا دیب حرمت ایتوب مین اون یللق محبوس لکده اوتکه رگه ن آناسنی حرمت قیلب مینی قرداش و توغانلارم هم آتا و انا مز نک قبرلارینه زیارت قیلور غه نصیب بولدی. حق سبحانه و تعالی عمرینه برکات و طنچ لق قزم فلوحه که توفیق هدایت بخت سعادت بیرب آناسینه یاردم چی بولور غه نصیب ایتسه ایدی آمین. /136b/

اعوذ بالله من الشیطان الرجیم بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم  
یا ایها الناس اتقوا ربکم الذی خلقکم من نفس واحدة وخلق منها زوجها  
وجعل منهما رجلا کثیرا ونسیا والتقوا الله الذی تسألون به والارحام إن الله  
کان علیهم رقیبا<sup>418</sup>

اوتکان یازلمش نر سه لارم عمر مده کورب اوتکان و طرمش لارم حقنده ایدی خدا نصیب ایتسه اوزم نک بلدکم قدر نسل سنبنی یازماغه نیت قیلدم جناب رب العالمین موفق ایتسون آمین. کیله چه کده بالالارمه بر خا طره بولوب هم اوزلارینک آتا بابالارن بلو بر فائده دان بوش بولماسه کیره ک.  
یوقاریده یازلمش ایدی توغمه آتام شیخ الاسلام بن عبد القادر بن بیکتمر بورنغی تاریخ بوینچه اوفای غورناسی منزله اویازی الیکساندر قارامالی فولصی

تاتار قار مالی اولنده توغمش در<sup>419</sup> حاضرگی کونده تاتارستان جمهوریتی قازان  
 غه قاراغان سارمان رایونی قار مالیسی دیب یورتلادر  
 عبد القادر بابامزدان توغمش ۱ نچی شیخ الاسلام ۲ عبد العلیم ۳ حبیب  
 الرحمن ۴ یوزلی بیکه ۵ نچی حبیب جمال ۶ نچی محبوبه درلار  
 ۱) آتامز شیخ الاسلام دان توغمش ۱ نچی زهره ۲ نچی عبد المجید ۳ نچی فرح  
 سرور

زهره آپامز عمرنی تگواشی بلان اوتکارب آخرنده اوبکه آورووی بلان ۱۹۰۶ نچی  
 میلادیه ده وفات در قبری استرلیلاش الوغ مقبرسنده باش طرفنده یالمش  
 تاش باردر زهره استرلیباشنده احمد علی خلفه دیکان کسنه نک نیاز علی  
 اسمنده اوغلینه تورمش قه چغب آپامز هم جزنامز وفاتی صوکنده قالمش  
 قزلاری بری ام جهان ایکنچی مریم اسمنده بولب نیچه یل لار میم تریبه مده  
 ایدی /137a/ کوزلاری تاوق کوزی دیکان رنجو بلان مبتلا بولب تورمش کوره  
 المادیلار اولچار استرلیباشنده باقر محمد یارف نک اوغلی عبد الکریم دیکان کشتی  
 کا نکاح لانب آندان بر اوغل بالا قالب اوزلاری وفات ایتدیلا ر استرلیباش  
 مقبره سنده کوملش در موندان راییم اسملی بر بالا بوکونده استرلیباش  
 بالالار یورطنده تریبه لنوب حاضرگی کونده شونده خدمت قیلادر  
 مریم قرداشم ۰۱ یل قدر معلم لک ایتوب آخرنده کوزدان ضعیف قالبوب  
 حکومت یاردمی بلان تورمشدر

۲ نچی عبد المجید ۱۹۰۹ نچی سنه ۱۹۱۸ میلادیه ده ۲۹ نچی آپریلده استرلیباش ده  
 مشهور قازان طائفه سندان مدرس علی خلفه آیدابولف نک قزی فاطمه بلان  
 نکاحمز بولب ایکومز توغمش دنیاده سلامت بولغان بالارم توبانده گی  
 لادرر. یوقاریده یازلمش ایدی عبد المجید ۱۸۸۱ نچی یل مارط آینده توغان

419 [In the margin: آتامز مرحوم توغان ۱۸۴۳ نچی میلادی ده وفات ۱۹۱۸ نچی یلده مین اوزم: ایترباش مقبرسنده بورنغی حضرتلارگه یاقن اوز قولم بلان دفن قیلدم]



۱ نچی حایمه ۱۹۱۳ میلادیه ده توغمش استریلیاش عائله دقترینه یازلمش در ۱۹۳۴ استرلی باش راونی آیطوغان اولی عباد الله تحفة الله اوغلی حسنتدینف دیکان کشیگه ۱۹۳۴ میلادیه ده تورمش قه چغب حاضرکونده باشقردستان جمهوریتی بلبای شهرنده یاشامکده در

حه لیمه دان توغمش بالالار ۱ نچی امینه ۲ نچی نائل ۳ نچی شامل ۴ نچی مدینه ۵ نچی خالده اسم لارنده درلار. قزم حه لیمه روسچه تاتارچه اوقو یازو بلان کوب مگازین لارده سودا شننده اشلادی حاضرکونده یورط حواجه سی بولب یاشامکده در

۲ نچی اوغلم مسعود توغان ۱۹۱۷ نچی ۱۳ نچی عنوارده استریلیاش عائله (میتریکه) دقترنده یازلمش در اوزبکستان ده تاشکنند اوبلصی طوی توبه دیکان رایوندان فاطمه دیکان برقرنی نکاح لانب آندان رئیسه اسملی برقرز بالا بولب ایدی نه سبدر آرالارنده کیلش ماوچیلک بولب فرقت قیلمش بو یکنم حاضرده قزم رئیسه بلان تاشکنند شهرینه یاقن لوناچارسکی پاسیولکه ده اوقوتوچی بولب یاشی اوز یورطی کالینین اورام ۵۵ نچی نومرده

موندان صوک باشقردستان جمهوریتی تیمازی دیکان رایونده شرف الدینف دیکان کمنه نک زاگیره اسملی قرنی نکاح لانب وسیله اسملی برقرنی بولدی حاضرکونده تیمازی رایونده تورادر. /137b/ الوغ جهان صوغشی وقتندان اول عسکرلک که آلب لینین غراد مکتبنده آویاتینیک که اوقب برنی فیلانده صوعشندن اشتراک قیلب هم ده الوغ جهان صوغشی وقتنده مسکاواده آیداروم ده خدمت ایتب لیتینات ایکنچی درجه سنی آلب سلامت قایتدی. تاتارچه اوقو یازو بله.

۳ نچی قزم آسیه ۱۹۲۲ نچی یلنده ۱۰ استریلیاشنده توغب صوکره اوزبکستان غه قیلب برنی تورغان یرمز تاشکنند اوبلصی پسکنند مکتبنده اون یللق اوقونی اعلاچی بولب تمام لاب صوکره تاشکنند ده طبییه مکتب نک تیخنیکومده اوقب اعلاچی بولب تمام لاب قایتب پسکنند شفاخانه سنده ئشلی باشلاب بو کونکه قدر شول ئشده ئشلاب تورادر. ۱۹۴۱ نچی یل لار بولسه کیره ک

مکتبه اعلاچی بولو سبیلی بر آی مسکاو لینین غراد قه سیاحت که یورتب قایتاردیلار. پسکندده تورچی شاکر دیکان کشتی نک اوغلی رحیم مکی ولیف دیکان کشتی که تورمشقه چغب فرید اسملی بر اوغلی بار بوکونده مکتب نک ایکنچی صنف دا اوقی در ۱۹ یاشنده

۴ نچی اوغلم موحسن ۱۹۲۴ نچی یلنده توغدی استرلیباش عائله دقترنده یازلمش در اوزبکستان پسکند رایوننده اعلاچی بولب اون یللق مکتب تمام لاب صوکره پسکند رایونی دوم قورغان قشلا غنده معلم لک قیلب ۱۹۴۲ نچی ییل ۱۹ آغوست ده ۱۸ یاشنده ایدی الوغ جهان صوغسنه عسکرلک که آنب عسکرلک وقتنده پولامیت لک که او قوب صوغش وقتنده برنچی لیتینات لک اسم فی آب سلامت صغوشده بولب سلامت قالدی شولای ده بولسه ۱۰ آی قدر قافقازده قراسنی دار شفاخانه سنده یاتب سلامت ۱۹۴۶ یلنده قایتدی کوب اورنده تننده راسکول لار کرب بر آزی ئلی ده قالغان مشهور دانباس/138a/۵ نچی دیکان کومر شاخته سنده توغان فارشیلگراد اوبلصی کیرفسکی رایون برینسکی رودنیک ده سمیع الله مطیغوللین دیکان نک دیلبه راسملی قزینی نکاح لانب<sup>420</sup> آرمیه وقتنده آب قایتدی اوغلم موحسن بلان یکنم دیلبار آراسنده توپانده گی سلامت بولغان بالالاری در

۱ نچی محمود قدیرف بوکونده ۸ یاشنده اولب ۱ نچی صنف ده مکتب ده اوقی در ۲ نچی منیره اسملی بوکونده ۶ یاشنده در. مندان باشقه تووب اولکان لاری راویل اسملی اوغل منصور اسملی مراد اسملی لاری ایدی راویل دانباس ده مدفون منصور آنگران ده ابی سی فاطمه نک قبری یاننده مراد باشقردستان کومرتاوده مدفون ۵۴ نچی یلده موحسن حاضرگی وقتده اون یلدا بیبرلی سود اشنده خدمت قیلا در.

۳ نچی قزم دیلارا باشقردستان جمهوریتی کومرتاو دیکان رایونده کومر شاخته ۱۹۵۶ نچی یلده ۱۳ نچی فیورالده توغمش در حاضر کونی آتا و اناسی بلان ارنبورغ شهرنده تورمش قیلب در.

[۱۲ فیورالنده ۱۹۴۵: In the margin: 420]

۵نچی قزم وه سیله ۱۹۲۶ میلادی ده استرلیباشنده توغب استرلیباش عائله دقترینه یازلمشدر طوقز یاشلارنده اوزبکستان غه کیلب پسکند رایوننده ۱۰ یللق مکتب تمام لاب صوکره تاشکند شهرنده طیب مکتبینک فارماتسیب بولیکی اعلاچی بولب تمام لاب بوکونده قاشقاداریا اوبلصی قارشنی دیکان استانسه ده اوبلصنی آپتیکه ده مدیر بولب ئشلی موندان ئلک شهری زاب رایوننده ئشلی ایدی ۱۹۵۳نچی یل ۳۱دیکابرده شول یرده تورلوق قیلوچی فیدائی اسلام اوف دیکان کشی که تورمش قه چغب حاضرگی کونده ۱۹۵۵یل ده فلوره اسملی قز بالا دنیاغه کیلیدی. نکاح طوینده اوزم بولب اوزم نکاحن اوقب تابشردم. /138b/ ۶نچی قزم مریم ۱۹۲۸یلده استرلیباشنده توغدی استرلیباش عائله دقترینه یازلمش در ۸ یاش وقتنده اوزبکستان غه کیلب پسکند ده ۱۹ یللق روسچه مکتب نی اعلاچی بولب تمام لار صوکره تاشکند طیبیه مکتبته کردی آنده برنچه اوقب لینین غراد طیبی مکتبی اینستیتوتیتته عریضه بیرب کردی آنده اوقب ۱۹۵۳ میلادیده مکتب نی تمام لاب اعلاچی بولب شهاده نامه آلب ینه شولوق مکتبده اوچ اوقوغه کرشب (آسپراتورغه) کردی سلامت بولسه بویل ۱۹۵۶یلده تمام ایته چه ک. تورمشقه چقغانی یوق ئلی خدا توفیق اوزینه اییداش بولورلق بنده نصیب ایتسه ایدی آمین<sup>421</sup>

۳نچی توغمه قرداشم فرحسرور ۱۸۸۳یلده استرلیباشنده توغمش در اولکی وقت اوقووی بلان یاخشی عربچه اوقو یازو کلام الله نی اوقونی بیک یاخشی بله در ۱۹۰۵-۶نچی یل لارده دیم بوی نیکفار اولنده قزان سوداگیرلارندان مشهور سمیع الله عبدالین دیکان کشی که یاشی ۶۰لارده بولسه کیره ک شوکا تورمشقه چقغان یغلی یغلی بیرگه نلار اولکی وقت نک مدنیتی شوندا ی بولغان ایکان دینی کتابلارده کفولک کیره ک اوتنسه لارده بای بولسه کفوا بولمسه ده یاری

۴۲۱ [Added later: ۵۶ اولیانف طرفندان اولیانف ۵۶] ۴۲۱ نچی یلده مکتبنی تمام قیلوب مسکاوانک معارف مینستری طرفندان اولیانف ۵۶ اوبلص نه تعیین قیلنب ملکه س رایوننده اوشبوکوندان بیرلی طیبیه لک وظیفه سنی اوتاب توردد ده حازرگی کونده باشقوردستان جمهوریتی صلاوت شهرنده طیبیه بولوب خدمت ایتکده در. زهره اسملی برقری اسم شریفنی اوزم قویدم. نائله اسملی دنیاغه یکلوی ۱۶۹۱نچی [یلده فیورال ده بولسه کیره ک

دیب زمانه ملالاری شریعت چقارغانلار بویکامزدان ۱۹۰۶ نچی یل ده بر اوغل بالا تووب اسمی کلیم الله بولغان دی ۱۹۱۷ نچی یل نک مارت اینک آخرلارنده سمیع الله کیاومز وفات بولب نیکفار مقبرسنه دفن قیلنمش در ۱۹۲۲ الوغ انقلاب وقتنده بتون مال و ملکلا رنی مصادره قیلو سبیلی قرداشم فرحی سرور صبی اوغلی کلیم الله بلان تیک اوکاووی یورطن قالدیردیلار باشقه اوگای اوغلی صبی نک مالنی حقنی /139a/ بولوگه کرتمی یا شرب آلب قالغان ایدیلار آلا رغه نصیب بولمادی بتون اوزلارینک مال لارنی آلب صوکره شاهگرای دیکاننی اوزینک ایونه آتب چغب کیتدیلار خداغه هر اشنی بلاه اما تیز ایتمی مظلوم بولب قالغان قرداشم هم اونچا بوکونده سلامت بلبای شهرنده یاش لار ظالم لار بار دا اولب بتدیلار خدا عدل جا کم آمانا و صدقنا صوکره قرداشمه تورمشلار آور بوله باشلادی چیتنده اورالسکی تیمر یولی بوینده آزکنه استانسه سنده آنامز بلان بر توغمه آعامز عزت الله ولی لیلین نک اوغلی مجید ویلولین مونده کیلب تور قرداش گزینک یورتون قاراب توررسن دیه چاقرب ایدم اول پچاره کیلب بر ایکی تورب صوکره قرداشمز موکا نکاح قیلب برکه تورا باشلادیلار بولارنک اورتاسنده دورت قز بالا بولب یاخشی غنه تورمش قیلب یا شادیلار آخر عمرلارنده بلبای کوچب کیتدیلار بالالاری ۱ نچی سی امینه ۲ زیتونه ۳ نچی زهره ۴ نچی رئیسسه اسملارنده در امینه بلبای ۰۱ یللق مکتب ده نیمس تلنده اوقب چغوب حاضرگی کونده باشقردستان مکتب لارنده نیمس تل نده اوقوتوچی بولب یا شیدر بر باشقورط یکتی صودییه غه سعیدف فاملیه سنده ایدی آراسنده یکلوشموچیلک بولو سبیلی آیرلشدیلار آرالارنده بر اوغل بالا قالدی بانوا سمنده بری قز لابه اسمنده در برنیچه یل لار استریلیاشنده اوقتب بوکونگی کونده اوفاده چیرینکوفکه یاقن بر مکتب ده اوقته در . قزی ۱۵ یاشنده اوغلی ۱۰ یاشنده

کلیم الله سمیع الله عبد اللین دان قالغان یتیم حالده اوقب آگرانوم لق مکتبنی تماملاب حاضرگی کونده بلبای ده آناسی فرحی سرور بلان برکه تورالار زاوادسکی اورام /139b/ ۱۷ نچی نومیرده اوز یورطلارنده تورالار حاضرگی کونده بلبای ده غزیده اداره سنده مخبر (کاریسپاندیت) بولب خدمت ایته .

زیتونه بلبای شهرنده ۱۰ یللق مکتب تمام قیلب صوکره افاده طیبی مکتب تماملاب بوکونگی کونده افاده چیرنیکه ف که ده دو قتر بولب خدمت ایته در چشمه رایونی صفر اولینک اسعد اسملی کشیگه تورمشقه چقدی رشیده اسملی بر قزی بار ایکنچی ینه بر قزی ۱۹۵۵ نچی یلده آغوست آینده توغدی در.

زهره برنچی بلبای ده ۱۰ یللق مکتب تمام لاب صوکره لینین غراد ده شرق تل لاری اینستیتوتنده اوچ یل اوقب صوکره قزان شهرنک آکادیمیه نک بر شعبه سنده اوچ یل اوقب ینه مسکاواغه بارب ایکی یل اوقب ۱۹۵۴ نچی یلده قرانده پیدایگیچسکی اینستیتوده اوقوتوچی بولب خدمت ایته در بارسای یگرمی یل اوقشده بولب بو یل قرانده تورمشقه چغب ۱۹۵۵ یلده اسکندر اسملی بر اوغلی بار

رئیسه بلبای ده اون یللق مکتب تمام لاب صوکره لینین غراده پیدایگیچسکی انستیتوت تمام لاب لینین غراد مکتبنده اوقوتوچی بولب شونده آکادیمیک عفورف اسملی بر تاتار یگیتینه تورمشقه چغب رشید اسملی بر اوغل بالا بولدی بوکونگی کونده ۱۹۵۵ نچی یلده اسفیردلاوسکی شهرنده (یکاتیرنبورغ) اییداشی بلان برابر اوقوتوچی بولب خدمت ایته لار. مونه ایکمزنک آراده ده بولغان بالالارمز یوقاریده یازلغان لاردر. /140a/

۲ نچی عبد العلیم بن عبد القادر قارامالی اولینک برنچی محله سنده مؤذن بولب خدمت ایتکام. بالالاری نور محمد فائز هاجر برنچی خاتونی مریم دان بولغان لار مریم جنکمزنگ وفاتی صوکنده ایکنچی خاتونی نورکه ی اولندان آلمش حسن بانواسملی در بو جنکایدان ریجان احمد لطیف نور الغیان اسه لارنده بولشلار مریم جنکای بورالی اولدا حاجی ملانک قزی بولسه کیره ک بو حاجی ملا بلان جماعتم فاطمه نک آنکه سی ربیعه نک آناسی بلان بر توغمه لاردر.

نور محمد برنچی آق بوینده تمتق مدرسه سنده احمد لطیف حضرت ده اوقب صوکره استرلی باشینه کیلب بر ایکی یل اوقب شولوق قارامالی اولینده مؤذن

بولب خدمت ایتب وفات بولدی قایسی یلده در معلوم بولمادی مرحوم بیک  
یاخشی کشی ایدی الله مغفرت آیلاسون آمین  
فائزه ایلک آولی عبد العلیم اسملی کشیکه تورمشقه چغب شونده وفات  
اولشلاردر هر ایکولارنی کورب بلام الله نک رحمتده بولسن لار  
هاجر ملا صوی بوینده یراق توکل چالپی اولینده بر آدمگه ترمشقه چقمشدر  
بونو یاش وقتنده کورب بلام کیاوی کم در معلوما تم یوق  
ایکنچی خاتونی حسن بانودان

ریحان نورکای اولینه تورمشقه چغقان کیاوی معلوم توکل  
احمد لطیف قارامالی اولینده تورمش قیلادر  
نور العیان شولوق قارامالی ده تورمش قیلادر حاضرگی کونده کنه سلامت  
لار مو بلهیم /140b/

عبد القادیر دان توغان

۳نچی حبیب الرحمن موندان کشف الدین اسملی بر آغامز بارایدی قارامالیده  
یاخشی غنه تورمشده بولب قایو یلده در وفاتی قارامالی ده بولسه کیره ک  
یاخشی کشی ایدی. الله نک رحمتده بولسون نیچه مرتبه قارامالیغه قایتقانم  
انتکامز شوشی کشف الدین آبزیده قوناق بولب تورا ایدک صلاح الدین اسملی  
بر اوغلی بارایدی سلامت در یوقمی کوب یلدان خبرم یوق جماعتی مستوره  
اسملی ایدی

۴نچی یوزلی بیکه آپامز اق بوی مسلم رایونی قاتمش اولنده تورمشده ایدی  
آتامز مرحوم بلان هر وقت بارب کورشه ایدوک احمد حافظ اسملی برگنه  
اوغلی بارایدی بیک دیندار یاخشی تورمشده بولب آتامز نک وفاتی صوکنده  
قایسی یللارده بولسه کیره ک تحمینا ۱۹۲۴نچی ییل لرده منزله بوینده شوله رمه  
اولنده تورمشده صاحب گرای اسملی کشیده ایدی شونک بلان کیلب بزنگ  
استرلیباشنده اوزده قوناق بولب کیتکه ن ایدیلار الله رحمتده بولسونلار آمین.  
شوشی یولزی بیکه آپامز نک قزی فرحی سروردان عارفجان اسملی بر اوغلی  
بارایدی یاخشی اوقمشلی شول شه له رمه اولنده ملا ایدی نورکای اولنده  
محمد جان حضرتدان اوغغان ۱۹۳۳نچی یلده بارب کورشب قوناق بولب کیتدم

غایت دیاتلی تقوا آدم ایدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن آمین ۶ بالاسی بار ایدی  
کم لاردر اسم لارنی بلیم

یوزلی بیکه آپامز نک اوچنچی قزی ماهی سرور اق بوی الوغ چاقاق اولنده  
تورمشده ایدی عبد المجید اسملی بر اوغلی بار ایدی شولوق ۱۹۳۳ یلده  
بارب کورشدم ایگن چیلک بلان کون کوره ایدی اورتا تورمشده ایدی اللهم  
إن کان محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه /141a

عبد القادر بابامز نک ۵ نچی بالاسی حب جمال اسمنده نورکای اولنده  
تورمشده ایدی ایرنی بلیم یاشلی وقات بولسه کیره ک عارف جان اسملی  
اوغلی بار ایدی برآز قلاغی کیم ایشته ایدی بر وقت ده آتامز مرحوم بلان  
بارب کورشب آلام ایگن چیلک بلان کون کوره ایدی لار .

۶ نچی قزی محبوبه آپای قارامالی غه یاقن باللی قاماق اولنده تورمشده  
ایدی ایرنی بلیم بر اوغلی بار ایدی آتام مرحوم بلان بارب کورشب ایدم  
ایگنچیلک بلان کون کوره لار ایدی . جمیع اتاو بابالارمز بارچه توغان قرداش  
روغ لارم خدا مغفرت ایلاسن آمین

مرحومه آنام نک نسل ونسبلاری یازامن  
مرحومه آنامز علیمه ولی الله قزی اق بوینه یاقن مشهور بیرکه اولنده توغمشدر  
بوگله او یازی چکن فولصنده ولی الله رحمت الله اوغلی رحمت الله حسن  
اوغلی در . ولی الله بابامز مرحوم نک اوچ خاتنی بولمش در آنامز نک آناسی  
شریف الجمال مصطفی قزی قزاندان کوچب یکمش بز نک آنامز شوشی شریف  
الجمال دان توغمش در . ولی الله بابای بیرکه اولنده آزر اق سودا اشنی بلان  
کسب ایتسه کیره ک یاز کوننده صوق وقتنده چکه ن بازارینه آت منوب بارغان  
ایکان قایتقان وقتنده بر تکرمان یاننده یولده اولترمشلار و الله اعلم ایتولارینه  
کوره کیچن عففه اسملی خاتنی آیرب ایرتن بازارغه کیتسه کیره ک شول خاتن  
تم اولتر وینه سبب بولغان ایمش دیلار . ینه بر خاتنی بولغان اسمی خاطر مدده  
یوق آندان فرحی سرور عزة الله توغان فرحی سرور دان اسن اسملی بر قز  
بولغان فرحی سرور بلان اسحاق قزی کومه لک صوی بوینده باشقرد آراسنده  
تورب شونده وفات بولغان لار

عزة الله أبزی یوقاریده یازلمش ایدی شول عزة الله دان قلمش کیاومز هم انمز مجید که حاضرگی کونده سلامت قرداشم فرحی سرور تورمشقه چغب شوندان توغان قز بالالاری /141b/ یوقاریده یازب اوتدم عزة الله أبظی سلامت وقتنده آزیکه استانسنه بارب کورشمش ایدم بیچاره فقیرگنه بیک یواش آدم ایدی برآز اوقمش ده بولو سبیلی شول یرده باشقرط بالالارینه دین سباغی اوقتب تورمش جای کونلاره چیت بازارلارغه بارب اوراق قه یاللانب بایلارنک اشلقنی اورب یورگه ن هم مال لرنک یلقی لارنده قاراب کون کیچرگه ن آخرغی وقتدن شون آزنکه استانسه دان پویزدان توشکه ن کئی لارنی برآتی بولو سبیلی شولارنی تاشب ده یورگه ن. بر اولغه پاساژیرلارنی ایلتب قایتب کیلگه نده تونله بر روس طرفندان بی گناه مظلوم بولب اولترلگان مرحوم بیک یاخشی آدم ایدی الله نک رحمتنده بولب شهید بنده لار جمله سندان بولب اللهم ان کان محسنا فزد فی احسانه وان کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه آمین. بوکیاومز هم برادرم بلبای ده آش قازانی آورووی بلان اورب اوفاشفا خانه سنده برنیچه آیلاز یاتقان صوکره اوفادوخترلاری آپراتسیه کیره ک لینین غراد شفا خانه سینه بیرگه ن لار آندا بارب آپراتسیه دان صوک دورت کنه شاعت تورب امانت جاننی تابشرغان انا لله وانا الیه راجعون آپراتسیه وقتنده لینین غراد طیب لک وقتنده اوقوچی قزم مریم ده اشتراک ایتمکان. لینین غرادده توغان کیاوی آکادیمییه اوقوچی هم رئیس اسملی قزی بیک یاخشی تربیه لاب اسلام دینی رسمی بلان دفن ایتمکان لار فقیر حالده اوقتب آتالارنی تربیه لاب کومولاری اچون جناب الله کوب اجرلار نصیب ایتمسون آمین بوکونده اوفاده چیرنیگوفکه ئشلاب تورغان قزی زایتونه ده اوفادان بارب جیتب دفن مراسمه اشتراک قیلغان هم مرحوم آتاسی حرمتلاب قبرینه تیمردان ریشوتکه یاساتب قویغان رحمت بوتوغانلارم اجرنی خدادان قایتسون آمین.

مرحوم ولی الله بابامز وفاتی صوکنده بر توغان آغاسی خلیل الله رحمت الله اوغلی استرلیباشنده تورمش قیلغان استرلیباشنده دین درس اوقتب همده ایولده /142a/ ازراق سودا بلان ده شغلنکان بولغان بر توغان برادری ولی الله نک وفات... ایشتب شوندوق بیره که اولینه قایتب انامز بولغان قرداشنی



هم ابی مز... یف الجمال فی استرلیباشینه آلب قایتقان. استرلیباشدان بیرکه  
 اولی ۱۸۰ چاقرم یول در اول وقت ده بزنگ آنامز نک قز وقتی بولغان.  
 صوکره اوز تربیه سینه آلب... استرلیباشقه یاقن گینه اسملی اولنک حافظ نصر  
 الدین ملانک اوغلینه نکاح لندرمش در حافظ وفات بولب آنامز علیمه نی  
 استرلیباشقه آلب قایتقان. صوکره اوزینک شاکردی... آتامز شیخ الاسلام غه  
 بیرگه ن ۱۸۷۰ نچی یل لرده بولسه کیره ک. مرحوم خلیل الله خلفه قلاق غه...  
 راق کئی بولغان شول نسبی قلاق غه قانی بولوی بعضی بر بالالارینه تأثرسز  
 قالمغان. خلیل الله خلفه نک ایکی حاتی بولسه کیره ک برنچی حاتی وفات بولو  
 سببلی ایکنچی خانوغه استرلیتاما... ندان ام گلثوم دیکان خاتنی آغان. اولگی  
 حاتی منزله او یازی مله صوی بوینده بورالی... علی اولده حاجی ملا دیکان  
 کئی نک قزی بولسه کیره ک. شوکاردان بر ربیعہ اسملی قز توغان ربیغہ نی  
 استرلیباشنده قزاق طائفه سندان بولغان بر شاکردکه ویرمش در ۱۴ یاشلارنده  
 ... ربیعہ شول شاکردکه دوس مجد اسملی خلفه نامنده بولمشدر. استرلیتاما  
 دان آلمش ام گلثوم اسملی حاتندان مجد کریم اسملی بر اوغلی مدینهء منوره  
 گه او قوغه بارب شونده وفات بولب... زیارتی مدینه ده جنت البقیع ده  
 در. مجد شریف ایکنچی اوغلی عسکری خدمت یورب قایتب استرلیباشده  
 ... ایکنچی لک هم آزاراق کون سوداسی بلان سودا ایتب ترکلک قیلش در  
 یاخشی غنه دولت لی... دیندار و جومار کئی بولب یا شادی ۱۹۲۸ نچی یل ده  
 استرلیباشنده ناحاق بر بلا حاق نده قولغه آلب سبیری گه بیرلدی آنده  
 اومسکی شهرنده مسجد فراش بولب خاتن و بالالارن شونده... تورمش  
 قیلب اومسکی اومسکی شهرنده وفات بولب اومسکی قبرستان ننده مدفون  
 در الله مغفرت ایلاسون... اوغلی نک قزدر بوکئی صوکنی کونده امرشاک باش  
 قارامالی غه یاقن آیط اسملی... تکرمان چیلک بلان کسب ایدب شولوق  
 آیط اولنده وفات بولدی. الله نک رحمتده بولسن. بیک عالم و علماء مخلص  
 آدام بولب دیانات بلان عمر ایتدی جنازه ده بولب حقنده بر آرز سوز سویله  
 ب... اللهم إن کان محسناً فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئاً فتجاوز عنه 422/143a

...لی مقبرسندہ مدفون در  
 ... آغامز دان اسعد اسملی بر او علم بار ایدی اول قایو وقتده یاقده در  
 وفات ایتمش در احتمال وطن صوغشده بولو کیرک ... کونده محمود اسملی بر  
 اوغلی آناسی زینب بلان اومسکی شهرنده تورالاردر .  
 ... آغامز استرلیباش مدرسه سنده اوقب برنیچه ییل لار اورالسکی اوبلص  
 یالپاقطال (سلاچین) ... عید الله بن زین الله الاسترلیباشی نک مدرسه نده  
 اوقشدر صوکره استرلیباشقه قایتب استرلیباش مدرسه سنده ... بولب برنیچه  
 ییل درس اوقتب توردی عمر بوینه حبس بولو بلان مبتلا بولب یاشادی  
 استرلیتاماق دا ... فامیلیه سنده براونک قزی بلان نکاح لانب فرحی سرور  
 اسمنده آارنده ارقیه ینه بر اوغلی و بر قز بالاسی بار ایدی ۱۹۱۵نجی ییل  
 لارده بولسه کیره ک وفات بولب استرلیباش مقبرسندہ مدفون اللهم ان کان  
 محسنا فرد فی احسانه وان کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه الله مغفرت ایلاسون آمین .  
 ... یوقاریده یازلمش ربیعه نی دوس محمد خلفه وفات بولب ینه قزاق طائفه  
 سی بوکای ایلی آسترخان ... چیرکه ی روغی تادون قسمی دیکان یردان کیلب  
 استرلیباشنده کوب ییل لار درس اوقب ... استرلیباشنده الوغ مدرس لاردان  
 حساب لانب درس اوقغان علی خلفه بن آصافالی آیدابولف ... کشیگه نکاح  
 قیلشدر . مذکور رایعه بلان آنامز علیمه نک آتالاری بر توغمه ایدیلار ...  
 اوشبو علی خلفه بلان رایعه دان توغمش رفیقه م فاطمه نی مین عبد المجید  
 شیخ الاسلام هم ... ۱۹۰۸نجی میلادی ده ۲۹نجی آپریلده نکاح مز بولمش  
 در . نکاح طوی لارمز بیک ... بولب اوقمش در طوی مجلسینه نیکفاردان  
 کیامز سمیع الله عبدالین هم استرلیتاماق دان مشهور سوداگیر لاردان حبیب  
 الله عثمانف و باشقه محله مز نک بتون علماسی و باشقه اول ده محترم کشتی  
 لار بارده حاضر اولمش لار . نکاحمزی استرلیباشده مشهور امامی عبدالله  
 حضرت محمد حارث اوغلی توقایف جناب لاری اوقمش در . قدا بولب  
 کیلکان هم آتا آنامزغه و باشقه حضرت ... ویرلش در بو وقتقه قدر  
 استرلیباشنده بزدا ی توبان تورمش لی کشتی لارده موندای طوی بولماسه کیره  
 ک . کیاوگه مخصوص هدیه لار یفاک چاپان بیثمت چالما /143b/

چیتک و باشقه پولوش کلا پوشلار و باشقه کومه ک اشتانلارنک هر تورلی سندا... ایدی آشاو یعنی طوی آشلارینک حسابی ده بولمادی قسقه غنه ایتسام کیاو... پشراگان باللی باورصاق بو بزنگ تاتارلارنک بورنغی دان قالمش عادتق بویچه ئشلانه تورغان بر مخصوص آشدر شول باورصاق غه ۱۲۰ کوکه ی بر پوط آق اون بر قاون... مای خراجات قیلنمش در مجلسکه بو باورصاقنی ایکی کشتی چاق کوته رب آلب آشلار. بوندان واق نرسه آش مسئله لرن یازوغه سبب بالارغه بورنغی عادت لارنی... ایتوب یازارغه اوایلادم. بلکه اشانماسلار شولای بولمه غاندر ایندی دیب الله رحمت ایلاسون ابی و بابالرنک بولای حرمت قیلولارین خدا آخره ده الوغ جتتلارنی آل لارنده نصیب ایسون آمین. 1915نجی ییل ایون آینده مرحوم رفیقه م نی یورطمرزغه کوچرب آلدیم. اوزاتب آرتقان کیلگه ن قوناق لار قایناغم عبد الرحمن هم عبد الرحیم باجامز باطر اولندان مرتضی بدیکوف قایناغم عائشه بلان عبد الرحمن قایناعلنک قایناعاسی عبدالله اورمانسف ئوزم بلان بیش پائوسکه ده کیلدک ینه بر آربا یوک طوی غه مخصوص آشلار بر یوک بابامز طرفندان جهازلار (پریدان) اشکاف ساعت میبل لار تگو ماشنه سی ۳ قومغان تاس چیز بتون پاسوده همه سی بر توشده کله م کییز و باشقه یاصدق مندر کبک یورطقه نی کیره ک بارینده آلب کیلدی سولگس آشیارلق کبک نرسه لارده کوب ایدی.

الله رحمتنده بولب بابا و ایمرگه دعاء قیلب آخترده آچرولارن نصیب ایتسه ایدی آمین.

شولای ایتب بر جماعتیم فاطمه بلان ۴۰ قرق ییل عمر کیچرب ۴۹نجی یلده اوزبکستان تاشکند اوبلصی انگران دیگان شهرده آخرغی نفس لارنی تمام لاب آخرت سفرینه کوچدی انا لله وانا الیه راجعون انگران ده تیشک تاش محله سنده بولغان مقبره ده دفن ایدلب باشی اوچینه عربچه تاش یازلب 1954نجی یلده تیمر بلان اخاطه قیلدرب قایتدم هم فوتوغرافییه بلان رسم نده آلدب بالالارمه تابشردم خاطره اچون الله ننگ رحمتنده بولسن آمین. /144a/

زیارة تاشینه اوشبو روشده یازلمش در

بو قبرده قویلهش فاطمه علی قزی

ایسکه ئالب دعاء قیلوکوز

بو قبرده فاطمه علی قزی مجید قاری جماعتی

وفات 1949نجی یلده یازو کوچی آغاسی عبد الرحمن

آغوست 26نده یازدروچی اوغلی موحسن دیه یازلدی

علی خلفه دان توغمش

عایشه در آشقادر بوی باطر اولنده امام مرتضی بدیکوف دیکان کشتی گه

طورمشقه چقمش در اصل ده مرتضی بوگولمه او یازی طیسوغان اولندان در

عائشه دان توغان بالالار توبانده گی لاردر

زینب بو شول باطر اولنده شیخ الاسلام کاشایف دیکان کشتی گه طورمشقه

چغب موندان توغان بالالار زبرجد بو قازاقستان جمهوریه تی ساری آغاچ

رایونی (قرزل دلو) ستانسه سنده تاشکنده که یاقن خالق حاکمی بولب تورغان

قازاق جومابای یکتیننه تورمشقه چغب موندان بر بالا توغب 1935نجی یلده

ساری آغاچده وفات بولب آندان بر قز بالا قالغان ایدی صوکره بالاسی

زینب قولنده قالدی. 1935نجی یلده کورشدم قبری ساری آغاچ مقبرسند

در ینه اسعد فرید اسمنده ایکی اوغل بالا بولمشدر بو کونده قایده در معلوم

توگل.

ایکی نچی عبد الحی باطر اولنده توغب صوکره ارنبورغده بر آز وقت تورغان

صونکده تاجکستان جمهوریتینه کوچب آنده سیلپاده سودا اشنده ئشلاب

صوکره جهان صوغشنده بولب شونده وفات بولدی جماعتی ارنبورغ شهرندان

هاجر اسملی ایدی آلارنده بالا بولمادی

استالین آباد شهرندان یوز یکومیترو کیشف رایوننده ئشلادی. 35نجی یلده

بارب کورشب ایدم الله نک شهید بنده لازدی جمله لارنده بولسون آمین

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اوچنچی عبد الازل بوده باطر اولنده توغب صوکره ارنبورغ شهرنده سودا

اشنده ئشلاب یاخشی غنه دولت صاحبی بولب یاخشی یورطلارن آلمش

ایدی صوکره انقلاب مناسبتی بلان تاجکستان غه کوچب استالین آباددان بر

یوز ایلی کیلومیترده قورغان توبه دیکان رایوندان اوتب توغالان (فاگانوپیچ آباد) دیکان یرده سودا ئشلاب توردی خاتونی ارنبورغ شهرندان عید الله کشایف دیگان قرداشنی ئلمش حیات اسمنده ایدی بولاردان برنیچه بالا بولب برقزی بولب حاضرگی کونده سلامت تورمشده بولب شول توغالان ده یاشیدر. جهان صوغشی وقتنده عسکرلک که ئالب آندان برآز عقلی منه ضعیف لک بولغان عاقلی کیم بولوسبیلی جماعتی حیاتنک اولوینه سبب بولب 15یل غه حکم ایدلمش در حاضرده محبوسلکده حکومت لاگیرلارنده اشلی در. عبدالازل بیک دولتی هم جومارد بنده ایدی خدا خیرلی نجات بیرب بالالارینه قایتب قاوشوغه نصیب ایتسون آمین. بزده 1935نچی یلده اوغلم مسعود بلان بارب کورمش ایدوک اوغلمنی ئشکه اوکراتامن دیه آلب قالمش ایدی.

حدیچه بنت علی خلفه

اورنبورغ اویازی بیکقل اولنده عبدالعلیم اسملی ملاغه چقمش ایدی کوب تورمادی بر یلدان صوک بالادان وفات بولب بیکقل اول مقبرسنده کوملمش در باشنده یازولی تاشی بار ایدی الله نک رحمتنده بولسون آمین.

عبد الرحیم علی خلفه اوغلی

بوکونده سلامت استرلیباشنده اوقب صوکره استانبولغه بارب آنده برنیچه یل اوقغان صوکنده استرلی باشنده مکتب ده اصول جدید بلان اوقتا باشلاسه ده محلی مدرسه سی مدیرلادی توقایف لار بونک اوقوغه یول بیرمادیلار بو ده آکا بویصنادی توتریه سودا یولینه کرشب یاخشی تجاردان بولب یاشادی آچق معلوماتی خالص آدم ایدی. توقایف لارکوب جفالارغه حرکت قیلسه لارده اور فکرنده قالب حرلک بلان یاشادی. /145a/

عبد الرحیم چالاقایف دان توغان بالالار

نیچه نچی یل لارده در خاطر م یوق استرلیباش قه یاقن یاشرغان اولنده قمر الدین مؤذن ننگ قزی شمس کمال نی نکاح لانوب بوندان توغمش بالالار توبانده گی لاردر

حدیچه عبد الرحیم قزی

استرلیباشنده توغب استرلیباشنده لطف الرحمن عبدالرحمن اوغلی علیف دیگان که چغب لطف الرحمن انقلابدان صوک او قوغه کوب قازان ده آفیا تیحنیک مکتبن تما ملاب الوغ جهان صوغشده زور خدمت کورستب کاپیتان ردجه سنده بولب اینوالید حاضرگی کونده استرلیباشنده 1609 پینسه آلب یاشاماک در. بو ایکاوارالارنده اوچ اوغل بار حاضر کونده اوغل لاری او قوده اسملاری حاطر مده یوق.

زهره علیفا

بوهم استرلیباشنده توغمشدر قز وقتنده استرلیتاما ق کشتی سینه تحفت للین که تورمشقه چغب کوب تورمادی تحفت اللین نک اخلاقسزلق بولودن سبیلی آرالارینده آیرلشو بولدی صوکره او فاده داود دیکان باشقرد یکتینه تورمشقه چغب آندان براسکرینه اسمنده قز بالا بولب داود وفات بولب قالدی. بو قز بالاسی بلان اوزبکستانغه بارب ینه برتاتارغه چغب ایدی آندان ده آیرلب یاش لکده عزیز امانت جانی الله غه تابشرب اوزبکستانده نمگان ده مدفون بولب قالدی اللهم إن کانت محسنا فزد فی إحسانها وإن کانت مسیئا فتجاوز عنها آمین الله نک رحتمده بولسن. قزی اسکرینه نی بر توغمه قرداشی مریم تربیه لی بوکونگی کونده تاشکند شهرنده تیمر یول مکتبنک اینسیتونده او قحق ده در.

مریم

استرلیباشنده توغمش در برآز اوقب صوکره استرلیباشنک ذاکر فضل الله اوغلی احمر ف دیکان یگتکه چغب یاخشی محبتلی طنچ تورمش ایته لاری ایدی. ذاکر حکومت ئشلارنده اشلاب/145b/ 1491 نجی یلنده الوغ جهان صوغشده عسکرلک که آلوب امانت جانی صوغش صفنده جناب حق غه تابشردی الله گناه سنی یارلقاب شهید بنده لاردن آیلاسن آمین. بیک انصافی بالا ایدی یاش وقتنده استرلیباشنده 21-22 یل لارده ابتدائی مکتب که او قور ایدی عایت اوتکن ذهنلی بالا ایدی آتاسی فضل الله احمر ف استرلیباشنده باشده کومه چ پشرب صوکره یومر قه سوداسنده بولب آخر کونلارنده یاخشی دولت ایاسی بولب

روسیه نک الوغ انقلابی مناسبتی بلان حبس ده وفات ایتمشدر. الله مغفرت ایلاسون آمین.

ماوی علیفا<sup>423</sup>

شولوق استرلیباشنده توغب استرلیباشده اوقب صوکره اوزبکستان غه کیتوب نمگان شهرنده تورمشقه چغب ئبده ش بلان یکشمچلیک بولوسبیلی آیرلوب صونکی کونلارده یوردیچسکی ده حارقف ده اوقب خالق حاکی بولب صوکره قاشقادریا اوبلصی شهری زاب دیکان شهرده خالق صودینک تفتیش چی بئلب اشلاب صوکنی کونده استرلیباشقه قایتب حکومت اشنده اشلی باشلادی فیدر رایوننده اینسپیکتور بولب اشلاب تومه قاده در

عبد الرشید علیفا

شولوق استرلیباشنده توغب یاش وقتندان اوزبسگانغه توغان آپالاری بارب تاشکند ده طیبی مکتبئی تماملاب قرق ایکنچی یلده تمام لاب برنجی اشکه کرشب الوغ جهان صوغشنده طیب لق اشنده خدمت ایتب سلامت قایتب صوکره اوزبکستان قاشقادریا اوبلصی میره که رایوننده طیب بولب اشلاب صوکره استرلیباشقه قایتب استرلیباش شفاخانه سنده کوز طیبی بولب خدمت ایتب باشلادی. استرلیباشنده شریف جان آخون جان اوغلینیک ماهی نوراسملی قزنی نکاح لانب بوکونده بر اوغل ایکی قز بالاسی بارکوز دوخترلقنه 54 نچی یلده تاشکندن میدیسینسکی اینستیتنده اوچ آیلق کورسن اوقب شهادت آلدی

/146a/

ماهره علیفا

بوهم استرلیباشنده توغب صونکده اوزبکستان غه کیتب آنده خودوژستوا مکتبنده اوقب خودوژنیک بولب اوقوتوچی بولب اشلادی 1954 نچی یلده اشلاب تورغان اورنی شهری زاب دان استرلیباشقه قایتب حاطرکونده استرلیباشده اوقته هم خودوژنیک بولب اشلی ابداشی قراغوش اولی عبد الرحیم ذاکر اوغلی رشید دیکان کشیگه تورمشقه چغب حاضرکونده ایکی قز بالاسی بار. بو بالالار آنالاری شمس کمال کوکره ک آوری بلان آورب یتیم قالدیلار.

423 [Added later: صوکنی کونده تاشکند اوشکره اوقب حاضرگی کونده قاشقادریا اوبلصی ...] شهر زاب شهرنده

یوقاریده یازلمش بالالارنک توغمه آنالاری وفات بولوسبیلی آنالاری عبد الرحیم چالاقایف ایکنچی خاتن الوغه مجبور بولب صوکره تتر آرسالن اولنران تاناواحمد ریکان براونک قرنی نکاح قیلب آندان رشیده اسملی بر قز بالاغه دنیاغه کیلب بوهم یاش وقتنده آپالاری یاینه اوزبکستانغه بارب مید تیخنوم مکتنبی تماملار حاضر کون شهری زابقه یاقن بر اورنده اشلامکده در.

بو ایکنچی خاتن ده یینه وفات بولب اوچنچی خاتون لق غه استریلیاشنک سالقن اوصمان دیلار شونک قزی عبدالرحیم لطیف اوغلی مه تورمشقه چغب عبدالرحیم وفات بولدی آندان بر عبدالباری اسملی اوغل بالا بلان قالغان عائشه عثمان قرنی اوغلی عبد الباری بلان فی اوستینه آلب نکاح لانب آلب حاضر کونده یاشی 80دان آرتق استریلیاشنده سلامت یاشامه کده در

بو اوچنچی خاتونی بالاسنی ایرتیب کیلوسبیلی بالالار آراسنده کوکل سزلیک بولب البته اوگای آنا اوز بالاسنی آرتق کورب مجبور بولغان الانسان یدبر والله یقدر ریکان سوزنیچه عبدالباری الوغ جهان صوغشده وفات بولدی گناه سنی عفو ایتسون آمین. /146b/

یوقاریده یازلورغه تیوش عائشه علی خلفه قزینک ایکنچی قزی ام گشوم باطر اولنده توغمش صوکی کونده آغالاری بلان قازاقستانغه بارب شونده قزل اوردا دیکان شهرده آرسالن شاکرف دیکان تاجیک یکتینه تورمشقه چغب حاضرگی کونده قزل اورده ده یاشی در شاکرف ایسه ساچ تراش بولب اشلی در یاخشی غنه کشی برنیچه مرتبه بولب کیتدم توغان بالالار فرید بوکونی تاشکننده طیبی مکتبده اوقیدر ایکنچی آیاق غه ضعیف قزل اورده مکتبده اوقی اوچنچسی بر اوغل اسمی خاطرمده یوق.

آنالاری عائشه شولوق قزل اوردا ده وفات بولب قبری قزل اورده ده مقبرسده در هم باشنده یازلمش تاش بار عائشه قایللی که چ بیک یومارد یاخشی خاتون ازماز خوان ایدی. الله نک رحمتده بولسن. اللهم اغفرها وارحمها آمین.

عبد الرحمن علی خلفه اوغلی



1881نچی یلده توغمش در یاش وقتنده اورالسکی یاقن قوسبه دیکان یرده صوکره استرلیباشنده اوسب 20 یاشنه قدر آتاسی مرحوم علی خلفه ده اوقب صوکره بخاراغه تحصیل علوم دینیه اچون بخاراده میر عرب مدرسه سنده آتی تورب یدنچی یلنده استرلیباشقه قایتمش در استرلیباشده ایکان استرلیتاماق شهرنده نور مجد اورمانصف دیکان کشی نک عقیفه اسملی قرنی نکاح لانب صوکره یل استرلیباش مدرسه سنده اوقو اوقو چلق بولب 1921نچی یل لارغه قدر دوام ایتمشدر صوکره استرلیباشنه ایکنچی محله آرتدرلب مسجد صالنب /147a/ استرلیباشنک توبان اوچ محله سنده 1920نچی یل لارده تمام بولب سایلا دق اوقا دینیه نظارتندان شهادت نامه آلب رسمی امام لق وظیفه سنی اوقی باشلادی 1928نچی یلغه قدر بو یلنک 11نچی دیکابر کیچه سنده بر واقعه بولوب یوقاریده یازلمشدر شول واقعه مناسبتی بلان مظلوم اولاراق حبسکه آلوب فقیرنکر ده شولارنک اچنده بولوب اوفاده حبس خانه سنده بش اولترب قایتب 1929نچی یلده 19نچی سنتا برده قایتان آلب ینه اوقا تورمه سنده 11 آی اولترب 1930نچی یلده ینه اون یل مدت بلان مورمون طرفینه بیلامور کنالی نده بولوب هم آق دیگر اوطراوی صلا فکی دیکان یرده بولب سلامت 1933یلده بیش یلدان نجات بولب قایتب استرلیباشنده قاره ئش بولب ترکچلک قیلا باشلادی. صوکره 1939نچی یلده اعدالاری نک ناحق دانوس لاریب ینه آتی یل غه سیرایه که سورگکه بیرلب وعده سندان الک سلامت قوتلب استرلیباشنه قایتدی. ناوای سیبیرسکی لاگیرنده بیک خالص خدمت قیلوب سیاسی مغیوب لاردان حساب قیلنسه ده حکومت توغری خالص خدمتینه بناء وعده سندان ئلک ایکی سنه سنی عفوا یدب نجات قیلشدر. سلامت عائله لرینه قایتب قاوشب استرلیباشنده بالالاری یاننده ترکلک قیلا باشلاب صوکره حکومت نک دینی مراسم لارنی اجراء قیلوغه رخصت فرمانی چغارب هر مشهورراق محله لارکه مسجدلار بناء قیلوب بیودق بولب بزم استرلیباشده مسجد آچوغه رخصت بولب مذکور عبد الرحمن علی خلفه اوغلی آیدابولف نی یرلی خالق نک طلبی بوینچه حکومت شولوق مسجد که امام بولونیه رخصت

قیلب هم ده اوفادینیه نظارتی طرفندان ده شهادت نامه بیرلب حاضرگی کونده استرلیباش مسجدنده امام لق وظیفن اوتاب تورمقدردالله استقامت بلان دوامی مصیب ایتسون آمین اللهم اهدنا الحق حقا وارنا الباطل باطلا موجب نجه قایمته قدر دوامن نصیب ایتسون آمین. وقتجه دین رسم لارنی اجراء قیلولار نیچکه رگان وقتنده موندای دینی وعظلالر سویلاب اهالی نک کوکلاارینه سالورلاری ریادن /147b/ اولماسن خالصا لله بولب من سن سنة حسنة حدیثنه مصداق بولسه ایدی. آمین.

عبدالرحمن آیدابولف بلان جماعتی عقیفه آراسنده توغان بالالار مکره استرلیباشنده توغب اوسب 1930نچی ییل لارده بولسه کیره ک تورمشقه چغب بین لارنده ناراضیق بولو سببلی آیرلمشلاردر. صوکره استرلیباشینه یاقن اورشاک باش قارامالی اولنده صلاح الدین دیکان حاتی وفات بولغان کشیکه تورمیشقه چغب بوصلاح الدین نک کیم عقللی بولوی سببلی آندان ینه آیرلب موندان بر ایر بر قز بالا بوبی قالمشدر. اوغلی انور اسملی بولب استرلیباشده اون یللق حکومت مکتبئی تماملاب یاخشی عنه رسام لق غه اوگرامشدر حاضر کونده قارامالی اولنده کالجوز ادارسنده حساچی بولب نْشلاب تورمه قده در. قزی ایسه کالجوز خدمتده نْشلاب یورمکده. صوکره عبدالرحمن آیدابولف مک برنچی رفیقه سی وفات بولو سببلی ایکنچی جماعتنی قراغوش آدلی صدیق مؤذن دیکه نک کسنه نک قزی نکاحلنمش در دیلفروز اسملی. بولارنک طوی مجلس لارینه مرحوم رفیقه م فاطمه بلان قراغوش اولینه بارمش ایدی 4191نچی ییل لارده بولسه کیره ک اول وقتده الوغ قزم حه لیمه ایچماک بالاسی ایدی مارط آیلارنده بولسه کیره ک. یوقاریده یازلمش مرحومه عقیفه نور محمد قزی بالا تودرا قینچیلیق کورب جناب حق غه امانت جاننی تابشرمشدر الله نک شهیده بنده لارندن بولسه ایدی آمین مرحوم انصافی یاخشی بنده ایدی بزلا رکیاو بولب یورگه ن وقت لارمزه کوب حرمت لار ایدی اللهم إن کانت محسنا فزد فی إحسانها وإن کانت مسیئا فتجاوز عنها آمین الله مغفرت ایلاب رحمتینه موفق اولسه ایدی آمین. استرلیباش مقبرسنده مدفونه اولب باشنده یازلمش تاش باردرد. /148a/

عبد الرحمن آیدابولف نک ایکنچی رفیقہ سی بلان آرالارندہ توغمش بالالار  
توباندہ

منورہ تورمشقہ چغب برنیچہ یل توغان صوکنده ایری فرقت قیلب بر قز  
بالا قالمش در بوکونده سلامت در . منورہ ایسه کوکرہ ک آوروی بلان وفات  
بولب یاشلکده استریلیاش مقبرسندہ کوملمش در باشنده یازولی تاش بار . الله  
مغفرت ایلاسون آمین .

یغمورہ اسملی بر قز بولب یاشلکده وفات بولمش در استریلیاشده مدفون  
بر اوغلی خلیل الله استریلیاشنده حکومت مکتبنده اوقب الوغ جهان صوعشده  
بولب حاضرگی کونده مسکاوا شهرنده حکومت نک عالی مکتبنده اوقده در  
بر اوتکر ذهنلی بالا ایدی سلامت لک بلان اوقونی تمام لاب وطن خادامی  
بولب آتا و آناسینه یاردچی بولسه ایدی آمین .

مغفورہ اسملی بر قزی حاضرگی کونده آتا و آناسنی تربیه لاب تورمق ده در  
تورمش قہ چغو وقتی ایرشسه ده چقغانی یوق ئلی بر عاقلی توفیقی بالا بولب  
آتا و آناسی تربیه لاب ہم عمومی اشنده اشلاب یورمک ده در الله توفیق بخت  
بیرب خیرلی توفیقی بنده ایده شلک کہ نصیب ایتسون آمین .

ارقیه حاضر کونده استریلیاشده اون یللق مکتب نی تماملاب بر یل مکتب  
بالالارن تربیه لاب ہم اوقغان صوکنده حاضرگی کون استریلیتاما ق معلم لک  
عالی مکتبنده اوقمق ده در خدا توفیق بیرب آتا و آناسینه یاردچی بولورغہ  
نصیب ایتسون آمین .

سلامت و قتم قدر بلدکم قدرلی نسل و نسبنی یازدم آلداغی کونده قرداش و  
نسبن بلوگہ تلہ وچی بولسه شوشی یازومه قوشب یازسه لار ممکن  
یازدم 1955 یل میلادی اوکتابر آینده 1375 نچی هجری ده ربیع الاول آینده  
کومتاوشهرنده

148b/اوسب اوقغان استریلیاش قریہ سینک بلدکم قدر تاریخن یازوغہ اویلادم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

رب یسر ولا تغسر

الحمد لله الذي خالق السموات والأرض وخالق الليل والنهار وقدرنا معشيه  
الانسان في القرى وفي البلدان  
والصلاة والسلام على حبيب الله محمد رسول الله عليه السلام وعلى آله واصحابه  
الكرام

مونک صوکنده مشهور استرلیباش اولی اوفاکویرناسی اوفاشهرندان 150  
یکومیترده استرلی تاماق شهرندان 55 یکومیتر قبله طرفنده بولب الوغ  
سیبیریہ تیمر یولندان بولغان شافران استانسہ سندان 75 یکومیترده تقریباً  
73 درجه طولده 52 درجه عرض ده استرلی صوی نک باشندان بریکومیتر  
اورنده قورلمش قریه در اول زمانده باشقورتلار یرینه قزان آطرفندان  
ارنوبرع قارغالیسندان بعضی کشتی لار صلح و مصلحت لاری ایلان سودا و  
کسب ایله شغل لنمک اوچون اوشو استرلیباش اورنینه اوتار سالب اولترغان  
لار. صوکره سودا و کسبلاری آغہ بارولادنی اعتبار قیلب باشقه آدم لارده  
کیله باشلاغانلار شونندان اول باشلانب کیتکه ن. بوتاریخ نک قایو یل لردہ  
بولوی بیک معلوم بولماسه ده پوگاچف واقعہ سندان یوز یللار اولده بولسه  
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یرلار اورمانلق بولوسبیلی پوگاچ صوعشی وقتنده اورمان اچلارینه چوقرلارده  
زیمله نکه یاساب یاشنرب قالغان لار ایمش شول سببیلی بوسقن اسمی قالغان  
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گه آغان لار اجاره لاری ایلی یلغه بولغان ایمش. 1850 یلده 25 نچی آپریلده  
یازشقان کاغزلاری ابوالنعیم محمد لطیف دیکان کسنه نک قولنده بار. آنک  
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ایمش در نقل ایته لاردر. شوکا بناء باشقورتلاردان کاغدلاشب یر آلو  
1859 نچی یلدان یوز یل تلک آلا باشلاغانلار کاغد یازشمای اوطز یل تورغان

بولسه لار استرلیباش 1655 نیچی ییل لار چاماسنده بولا باشلاغای بولودغه کیره ک. اوشبو زمانده غنی کشتی لارنک نسلی و بابالاری اولدق کورلمای و بلنمای در. پوگاچ واقعه سندان صوکرآق بولغان ئشلاری بلوچی ابا بابای لار بو یکریمی بیش مقدم زمانلارده بارایدی و بعضی کشتی لارده اسکی ران ساقلانغان یازولار آراسنده 1774 نیچی 1797 نیچی ییل لارده بعض معلومات کاغدلری بار. استرلیباش اول تون طرفندان بیوک تاو بوینده استرلی یلغه سینک ایکی طرفینه اولترمش اولدر. قبله وکون چغش یاقلارنده آحق آزرآق اورمان لاری بار. استرلیباش نک هواسی یاخشی هم میوه فروکته باقچه لاری آزلاب بارددر هر قایو میوه لر وقتنده یتشسه لار آلمه ارمود کبی لارددر. یالان لارنده بیر جیله گی قاین جیله گی کبی یمش لار کوب بوله. اورمان لارنده چیقلاوک شمراط بالان قورا جیله گی بورلگه ن صوی بویلارنده قارلغان کبک یمشلار یتشه در. اورتاچه قشلارده صوقلق 12درجه گه توغری بولب جای کونلارنده اورتاچه 17درجه گه حدادت کوتارله در. استرلیباش خالقی تاتارددر. کوبچیلک خالقلار ایکن ساچب کسب قیلا لار. واق راق بولسه ده برآز هنر ایالری ده بارددر طاشچی پچنیک آیاق کیم لاری تگوچی پچقچی بالطه اوستالار استالارنی کبکلار کومه چ پشرو /149b/ چیلار هم بارددر خاتن قزلاردان چیگش ئشلاوشال بیله وکجه مامقندان پالاس سولگی آش یاووق کبک نرسه لارنی اشلاوچیلار بارددر. استرلیباشنده 1897 نیچی ییلنک پرپیس بوینچه 1572 ایر جانی 1552 خاتن جانی بولب جمعی 2124 نفوس کورندی. استرلیباشده آطنه ده برکون بازار بولب هر توری خالق غه کیره ک نرسه لار ساتلماقده در. استرلیتاما ق دان و باشقه اطرافدان بازار کونی سودا اچون کلوچی لار کوب بوله استرلیباش اوزنده بایتاق غنه دکان آچب هر توری سودا ایتوچیلار ده بارددر هر کون کم نی تلاسه ساتب آلورغه ممکن در. 1910 نیچی ییلدان باشلاب بر سودا شیرکتی تأسیس ایدلب بایتاق غنه اعضاسی بولب (نور) اسمنده شرکت دکانی آجدیلار ینه 1915 نیچی ییل لارده ینه بر شرکت مکازینی آچلدی شفقت اسمنده بولب هر اعضاغه یوز صوم دان جیب بیک یاخشی سودا ایته باشلادی. مذکور ایکی شرکتک ده اوزم برنچه کشتی

حکومت دان رخصت یوللاب آچدق. استرلیباش قریه سی مشهور قریه لاردان حساب قیلنب مدرسه لارنده هر یلده نیچه شه ر یوز شاکرد هر آ طرفندان کیلب علم تحصیل قیلنب کیتار ایدیلار قازاقستان قرغیزستان طرفندان کیلب او قوچی شاکرد لار کوب بولود ایدی روسیه نک اچکی شهر لارندان ساراتف آچتراخان اورالسکی سیر قزان اوفا و باشقه گوبرنالاردان کیلب او قوچیلار کوب بولمش. شولایوق طریقت علم باطن درس لاریده شیخ لارغه کیلب مرید بولوب یوروچی کشتی لار کوب بولمش در. موندان ایکی یوز یلار مقدم استرلیباشنده اوقب چغب علم تارالا باشلاغان.

استرلیباش اولنده برنجی مرتبه امام بولب خدمت ایتکان کشتی مناسب ملا دیکان کشتی بولمش در 1725نجی ییل لارده بولسه کیره ک 1725نجی ییلدان صوک استرلیباشده مسجد صالنب اول مدرسه لار سالب درس اوقته باشلاغان کشتی حسین ملا عبدالرحمن اوغلی مرحوم برنجی مرتبه استرلیباشقه مسجد بناء قیلنب جمعه اوق باشلاغان. /150a/

استرلیباشنده بولغان منبر تایاغی نک بر طرفینه یازلغان در حسین بن عبد الرحمن دیب یازلغان در فقیر شول تایاق وقت نده بولوم سبیلی بو یازونی اوزم اوقغان ایدم. 1875نجی ییل لارده بوتایاق غه یور ایلی بار دیب ایته لار ایدی بو مرحوم حسین ملانک زیارتی استرلیباش اولینک اورتاسنده بورنغی اسکی زیارت اورنده یازولی تاشی هم استرلیباشنده محمد شاه آغا (بوری محمد شاه لقبی) یازدرب قومیش ایدی. آنک زیارتی ایکاننی قایدان بلگه ن در بزگه بلده لی توکل. حسین ملا اول مرتبه مفتی الوغ یکتایرینه ایکنچی زماننده مفتی بولب کیلگان فرمان همایونی بو نیچه 1789نجی ییلده مفتی بولب کیلگه ن یوقاریده مذکور بو نیچه حسین ملا 1725نجی ییل لارده استرلیباشنده درس باشلاغان. شول وقت لارده مسجد و مدرسه لار بناء قیلنغان در. استرلیباش نک تاریخی 1725نجی ییل لاردان حساب لارغه یاری. مذکور حسین ملانک قایو ییل لارده وفات بولوی معلوم بولمادی هم نیچه ییل لار درس او قوی ده معلوم بولمادی لکن عالم صالح کشتی دیونقل ایته لار ایدی اللهم إن کان محسناً فردنی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئاً فتجاوز عنه اللهم اغفر وارحم آمین.

استرلیا شده ایکنچی مرتبه درس اوقتقان کشتی عدل شاه حضرت بن عبدالله بغدادف بولغان. اوشبو عدل شاه حضرت ارنبورغ غه یاقن مشهور چنبلی اولغان دولتشاه حضرتک آتاسی در. معلوم عدل شاه حضرت حقتده معلوم بولغان خیرلاردان چاقاق اق بوینده عبدالله حضرت عفورف ایته ایدی منزله او یازی ورش مسلم اولنده شمعون ملا دیکان کشتی استرلیا شده عدل شاه حضرت مدرسه سنده اوقب قایتب اوکازنوی امام بولب تورب 90 یاشلاری چاماسنده 1865 نچی یلده وفات بولغان. مرحوم شمعون ملانک استرلیا شده تورغان وقت لاری 1795 نچی یل لارده بولسه کیره ک. و بالقلی قریه سنده استرلیا شقه قرق چاقوم بیره مشهور حسم الدین آخون حضرت عدل شاه حضرت /150b/ مرحوم نک عدل شاه حضرت مدرسه سنده 1799 میلادی یازلغان کتابی بار. اوشبو مذکورلارگه بناء عدل شاه حضرت 1775 یل لارده بلکه مقدم راک بولسه کیره ک حسین ملادان صوک استرلیا شده عدل شاه حضرت که قدر یعنی آلارنک ایکی آراسنده مدرس بولدیمو یوقمو؟ اگر حسین ملا بیک قارت بولب عدل شاه حضرت آکاردان صوک مسجد و مدرسه گه خلیفه بولب قالدیمو تعیین بلکه ن کشتی بولمادی.

عدل شاه حضرت زمانه سنده استرلیا شدان متفنن عالم لار چغوب آرالارنده معتبرلاری چیت یرلارده درس ایته باشلاغانلار. شول زماندان تحمینا 1755 نچی یل لارده استرلیا شده عالم کشتی لار چغا باشلاغان در دیب حساب قیلورغه ممکن. عدلش شاه حضرت 85 یاشنده 1812 نچی یلده وفات بولغان رحمة الله علیه. عالم فاضل کشتی ایدی دیه لار ایدی.

عدل شاه حضرت زماننده و برقدر نعمة الله حضرت زماننده اوغلی دولت شاه حضرت استرلیا شده درس ایتکان و صوکره بخاراغه کیتکان دیلار. عدل شاه حضرتدان صوک استرلیا شده نعمة الله بن بیکتمر بن طوقای اولمش درکته حضرت دیب مشهوردر. نعمة الله حضرت 1773 نچی یل لرده توغمشدر. 1801 نچی یل لرده بخارای شریفکه تحصیل علم اچون کیتمش در. شوشی 1801 نچی یل ده برنچی مارط چقب کیتکه نی بعض اسکی کاغذ لرده یازلغانی کورنه. نعمة الله حضرت مرحوم بخاراغه بارماسدان بورن مچکه ره

ده محمد الرحيم آخون مدرسه سنده درس اوقب تورغان. عدل شاه حضرت وفاتندان صوك 1812 نچي يلدان باشلاب 1813 نچي يله 22 آغوست ده اوكان نالب استرلباش مدرسه سنده مدرس و مسجده امام بولب علوم ظاهر و باطن دان درس بيره باشلاغان مرشد كامل شيخ فاضل اولب بقدر الامكان عوام آراسنده بولغان تيوشسز بدعت ئش لارني بترب رسول الله يولينه اونده كه ن پيغمبري خدای نك يولي بلان يوروني بيرب ديني خرافات لارني بتروكه اجتهاد قيلغان. مثلاً اول لارده جيبن (صابان توي) ناوروزكون لارنده طوي لار قيبك كشي اولگاچ اوج سي يدسي قرق نچي كونلارنده آش قلب ميت لارني اسكه تشرولارني تيوش توكل ديمش. حاضرگي كونده ملالارنك وارث لارينه تقديم قيلالار /151a/ ميتكه يعنى آتاسي و آناسي و باشقه يقين لاري اولسه شولارنك روچينه قرآن ختم ايتدروني. البته بواشلار خدا رضالغي اچون گنه اوقلسه بيك ياخشي لكن بولار ميت نك كيمن توشه ك ياصدقن اله كرونيقي بلان اوقله در. شوندان معلوم كه ملا بلان مؤذن بولماسه آزماز قرآن اوق بلگه ن محله قارتي آرالارنده تالاش و بربرينه عداوة بولولاري كونچلك قيلولاري بو ختم خدای اچون بولغان بولوني كورسه تب تورادر. بو ختم اچون ميت نك وارثلاري بر نرسه ده بيرماسه لار ايدى بولارده ختم ديب تالاشماسلار ايديلار. بلكه ميكا ختم ايتارگه قوشمه سه يارار ايدى ديب قاچا باشلار لار ايدى. حاضرگي وقتده ملالر مولود اوقو بدعة ديب اوقغان كشي لارني بدعة قيلالار چونكه بدعة بولغان نرسه حرام ريب اول كشي لارني خالق اراسنده آبرويلارن يوغالترغه حركت قيلورلار ايدى. لكن اول وقتده مولود النبي مسجد ده كونچيلىك حضورنده اوقب كونچيلىك بلان صلوات شريفه هم پيغمبرمزنك نسل نسين اخلاق و انصافن سويله لار ايدى هيچ بر كشي دان خير و صدقه لار آلب آشلار حاضرلاب قيلماسلار ايدى. ايندى حاضر شولوق مولود اوقو بدعة ديگان ملالر مولود آي ياقنلاب قالسه خاتن لارني مسجده كه جيب ئله نيندای بولماغان سفسطه لارني سويلاب بر كم بو مولودني اوقماسه شوندان كيمنچيلىك قلغان بولور ديب و عطلار سويلي باشلاديلار. ماتورراق تاوش بلان اوقسه لار پچاره خاتن قزلارنك بيك



کیف لاری کیلور ایدی. لکن پیغمبر خدانک اخلاق و انصاف یا خشیلاب سویله مس لار ایدی البته موندای مولودلار بدعة در.

البته مولود النبی نی اوقب خصوصا بو زمانده دین نک ضعیف وقتنده مطلقا سویلاب یاش بوون لارغه پیغمبرنک نیندای کشتی بولغان اول اسلام دینی نیچوک بتون بیر یوزینه تاراتقان شولارنی آنا تلنده بیک نق سویلارگه تیوشلی در موکا هیچ انکار قیلما س. لکن آش لاد قیلب صدقه لار آلب مولود اوقولار رمز ماتور /151b/ کویلاب اوقب حاتن قزو باشقه خالق لارنک روحینه هیچ بر فائده برماسه کیرک اما ملالارغه یاخشی بر آی بوینه بلش پلا و آشاب گسه که ساتب قایتولاد بیک کوکل در مولود بورنغی پیغمبرمزگه یاقن زمانلارده اوقو رسمی بولماغان صوکرآق بیس آتی عصرلاردان صوک اوقی باشلاغانلار اوقسه لارده یوقاریده یازلمش روشلی بولماغان مسجد جامع ده خالق جیبب قرآن ختم قلب پیغمبرمنک یولنی اخلاق و افعالی بولغان سنتنی خالق غه آکلاتودان هم صلوات شریفه لار اوقب پیغمبرنک یولی بلان یوررگه دیب وعظ سویلاب قیامت کونده پیغمبرمنک الوغ شفاعتی نی سوراب دعاء قیلنسه مونه مولود شولای بولادر. پیغمبری خداغه یاقن عصرلارده سنه رسول و آنک اخلاق و افعالی هر کم که معلوم بولغان هر کم بلب و آکلاب یاشاگه نلاردر شول سببلی مولود اوقب آنک حقنده سویلا و بولماغان. حاضرگی وقتنده عکس نچه الاحکام مختلف باختلاف الارض موجوینچه حاضرگی کونده کولود النبی نی اوقو تیوشلی در. یوقاریده یازلمش حقنده میت نک اوچن یدسن قرقن جینلارنی بترو بولمش در من سن سنّه حسنة فله اجرها وأجر من عمل بها حدیث شریفی نه مصداق بولسه کیره ک.

استرلیباشینه کیلگان الوغ کشتی لاردان مرحوم قزاق خان لارندان جهانگیر خان و شیرعازی خان ایدی دیه نقل ایده لار. جهانگیر خان نک اوغل لارندن براو 1840 نیچی ییل لارده استرلیباش مدرسه سنده اوقب یاتمش در. بزم زمانمزه خان مدرسه سی دیه آتالمش بر مدرسه بار ایدی بلکه شوشندان وقف ایدلمشدر. نعمة الله حضرت زماننده استرلیباشنده علم ترقی تابوب اوقوچی شاکردلار کوبه یه باشلاوندان مسجد و مدرسه لارنی زورایتورغه

حاجت توشب مذکور مسجد و مدرسه لارا چون کوب خراجات و همت صرف قیلغان حاضرگی مسجد ایسه اولگی اورندان یوز تایاق قدرلی توبازنه ک اولنک اورتاسنه کوچرب سالنغان بوکونده اوکتابر انقلابندان صوک 1930 نچی یل لرده خالق طرفندان مصادره قیلنب حاضرگی کونده کلوب بولب تورماق ده در. /152a/ بو مسجدنک آلداغی الوغ بولمه سنی قازاقستان طالوفکه قسمنده تورمش قیلغان اسنبای اولنده اسنبای خواجه بک اوغلی نک یاردمی بلان بناء قیلنمش در مسجد نک توباسنی تیمر بلان یالیا قاطال قوجانطای حاجی آبدولف دیکان ذات نک صدقهء جاریه سیدر اِلا اللّٰدینَ اَمْنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصّٰلِحٰتِ فَلَهُمْ اَجْرٌ غَيْرٌ مَّمْنُونٍ<sup>424</sup> آیه کریمه سینه مصداق اولسه لارا ایدی آمین اللهم اغفرهما وارحمهما

1836 نچی یلده نعمة الله حضرت زماننده استریلباشینه فانتال کیتورلگان شول فانتال حاضرده نثلاب تورماقده در. اشلانگان دان بیرلی اوچ مرتبه تعمیر قیلنمشدر بزم زمانده 1926 نچی یلده اوزم اهالی گه تشویق قیلوم بلان کامیسنده اوزم حرکت قیلب ینه صوتوقتالب قالوب ایدی تعمیر قیلدوق ینه 1955 - 55 یلنده حکومت طرفندان بشنچی مرتبه تعمیر قیلندی.

بو فانتال حقنده یوقاریده یازلب اوتدی. شوندان قارارسز. نعمة الله حضرت علم ظاهر و باطندان تعلیم ویرمشدر کوبره ک علم ظاهرگه اجتهادنی صرف قیلب زماننده مطبعه لارا آز بولوسبیلی کوب خراجات لارا قیلب کتاب لارا تابوا چون زور اجتهاد قیلمش در اوزقولی بلان یازمش مجمع لاری بارکورنه در هر فندان نقل لاری بار تفسیر قاضی و تفسیر شیخ زاده کوچرب آلو چون یراق یرلارگه بارب قایتوین سوپلی لارا ایدی. شوشی کونلاردنه بخارای شریف دان آلدوغان کوب یازمه کتاب لری باردر. الله رحمة قیلسون الوغ اجر ثوابلارنی نصیب ایتسون آمین. نعمة الله حضرتدان 1815 نچی یلده مجد حارث اسملی بر اوغلی وجوده یکمش در 1814 نچی یلده مجد حارث اسملی بر اوغلی وجوده کلمش در. 1833 نچی یلده اوغلی مجد حارث ارنبورغ کوبرنا توری طرفندان 1833 نچی یلده 23 نچی سنتابرده 1380 نومیری رخصت نامه

424 [Q 95:6.]

بیرلب بخارای شریفکه او قوغه سفر قیلدی 1841نجی یلده سلامت قایتدی آتاسی نعمة الله حضرت زماننده شولوق یلده استرلیباشنده درس ایته باشلاب هم بر ایکی یلده صوک شیخ لک بلان مرید تریه ایتارگه باشلادی دیلار. ایکنچی اوغلی محمد حراث 1844نجی یلده بخاراغه تحصیل علوم گه سفر ایتدی. بو یللارده استرلیباشنده جمعیت کوب ایدی هر طرفدان علم تحصیل قیلور اچون علم /152b/ ظاهر و باطن درس لاری بیک ترقی ایدب تورغان وقتی بولغاندر. 1844نجی یلده 1260هجریه ده کته حضرت نعمة الله بن بیکتر رحمهم الله حضرتلاری 27نجی مارطده دار البقایه کوچدی اللهم ان کان محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه اللهم اغفر وارحم آمین یتمش اوچ یاشنده وفات. 425

نعمة الله حضرتدان صوک اوغلی محمد حراث حضرت استرلیباشنده امام و مدرس اولمشدر. قانونی اوقاز آغانغه قدر آرنبورغ مفتیسی عبدالواحد سلیمانف طرفندان 1844نجی یل 4نجی آپریلده استرلی باش اولنده امام بولب هم مدرسه لارنده درس اوقوتورغه محله خالق نک ئش لادنی تدبیر قیلون اچون دیب بیرگان کاغدی باردر. شولوق یلده رسمی حکومت دان رخصت کاغدی بولسه کیره ک. قارغالیده تورمش عبدالله بن دولت شاه نک چنبلی قریه سندان فائزه اسملی قرنی نکاح لنمش در وقتنده توتاش آبصطای دیب یورته لار ایدی.

بو عبدالله دولت شاه اوغلی باشقر دلار طرفندن کاتون بولب صایلانب توره لک ایتمش در بونک کاتونی بولوی حاقنده قیرغازی بوینده کجه (عبدالله اولی نک) برقارت یازمش بیته ده باردر (یعنی مناجات) حاضرگی وقتنده عبدالله ملا کوینه دیب جیریلاردر. صوکی وقتلارده دولت شین فاملیه سنده یورگان کشی لار شونک نسبنداندر جمله دان لینین غراده عبدالعزیز دولت شین<sup>426</sup> غینرال بولب یاشادی هم لینین غراد سالنمش مسجد جامع نک سالنوی

425 [In the margin: نعمة الله حضرت زمانندان قالغان استرلی باش مسجدینه جماعت صیمی]   
 [نجی یلده بناء قیلهش لار دورت یوزکشی نی صیدره در 1858 باشلا غاچ آنداغی الوغ بولمه نی

426 [In the margin: خاتونی نصاریه دان اولمش]

تورسندہ کامیسیہ ده بولب خدمت قیلدی اللہ رحمة ایلاسون و باشقه اوغل لاری کوبدر. 1852نجی یلده حارث حضرتک توغمه برادری حراث بخارای شریفدان سلامت قایتب درس اوقورغه باشلادی. بو وقت استرلیباشنده کامل شهرة و ترقی ایتکان وقتی در. استرلیباشینه کوب عالم و علماء لرکیلب ممنون بولب کیتمش لار. هم وقتنده عبد السلام و عبد الواحد مفتی لار استرلیباشقه تکرار یکمشلارددر. هم مفتی سلیم گرای تفکیلف حضرتلاری استرلیباشقه کیلب تورو نیتی بلان بر ایو صالدرب ایدی کلیب ترو نصیب بولمادی صوکره بویونی وقف ادب قالدردغان. حاضرگی وقتده بویوسلامت پوچته اداره سی/153a/بولب تورمقده دراسترلیباشنده اوقورغه یکلوچی شاکردلار کوب بولو سبیلی مجد حارث حضرت زماننده کوب مدرسه لار بناء قیلنمش در. مدرسه یاننده صوخانه (فاتال) طاشدان بناء قیلب اوستینه درسخانه مجد حراث حضرت اچون بناء قیلنمشدر ۱۸۸۸نجی یلده بو صوخانه حبیب اللہ بن مجد حارث حضرت اوغلی زماننده ینه دان یاشرغان تاشندان بناء قیلنمش اوستنده گی درسخانه آنب ایکنچی اورنغه کوچرلب سالندی صوخانه اچنده غسل خانه بولب قشلق اوچون غسل طهارت الواچون هر وقت اسسی بولب توررایدی صوخانه نک فراش هرکون پچنی یاغب تازه لاب توررایدی. بو صوخانه الوغ انقلاب وقتنده بزلب تاشنی تورلی عمارتلارگه سوتب آلدیلار. مجد حراث حضرت استرلیباشینه ایکنچی امام لقغه تعیین قیلندی موندان صوک مجد حارث حضرت ۱۸۵۹مچی یلده حج سفرینه نیت قیلب ۱۸۵۹نجی یلده ۲۴نجی دیکابرده آرنبورغ نک گینارال کورناتوری طرفندان رخصت بیرلب ۱۸۶۰نجی یلده حج سفرینه کیتدی. سفرنده شام شریف و مدینهء منوره بارب ۱۸۶۰نجی یلده سلامت قایتدیلار مجد حارث حضرت قوناغعه ایکی اوچ مرتبه قازان طرفلارینه بارغان ینه آسترخان کورناسی طالوفکه دیگان صاری اوزن بوینده روسچه مالی اوزان آتالار. قازاق نک معتبر بایلارندان اسنبایف خواجه بک اوغلی قوناغعه چاقرب بارمشدر استرلیباشندان سیکز یوز چاقرم مسافده اورالسکی شهرندان اوتب باردیلار. بو مرحوم اسنبای دیکان آدم خالص علماءگه اخلاسلی بولو سبیلی چاقرسه کیره ک یوقاریده یازلدی استرلیباشینه

آلداغی زور بولمه نی شول آدم سالدرمشدر هم مسجد که غازلق ایتب قوی جوینندان باسلغان کیز دورت یوزکشی سیارلق بولمه که غازلق قیلب بیرکان مرحوم نک صدقهء جاریه سندان محسوب بولب خدا آخرتده بوکشی مغفور بنده لری جمله سندان ایلاب جنت سرایلارنده بولورغه نصیب ایتسون آمین. مذکور اسنبای خواجه بک اوغلی نک زیارتی مدینهء منوره ده جنت البقیع ده مدفون در باشنده تاشی بار اسنبای خواجه بک اوغلی وفات ۱۲۷۲ نیچی سنهء هجریه ده یازلمش در مدینهء منوره ده وقتده بارب تابب زیارت قیلدم بن فقیر ایسه مذکور اسنبای اولنده وجودکه یکمیش من آتام آنام بلان شول اولده ایر قز بالالارن اوقتب تورمشدر ۱۸۷۹ نیچی ییل لارده بولغان لاردر. /153b/ شول اسنبای اولینه بارودان ایکنچی یلنی اسنبای بن خواجه بک قزی حدیچه نی نکاح قیلمش بو حدیچه مرحومه استرلیباشقه کیلن بولب کوب جهاز آلب یکمیشدر حتی قزاق رسمنچه بیک زینتلی قیلب کییزدان ایو آلب هم یکمیش در بتون ایواچنده بولغان یاخشی قیمتی بخاراکله ملاری بتون چارشاوچیلدق کبک ایوگه آنه تورغان نرسه لارنی انک قیمت لی حتیفه دان اشلانمشدر ایتولارینه قاراغانده بوحتیفه لارنی فابریک که مخصوص زکاز قیلب آلدوغان دیلار بو جهازنی بزلارده بعضی بر اولارنک کورب اوتدک. مرحومه کوب توماغان برنیچه یلدان صوکره وفات بولب استرلیباش مقبره سینه دفن ایدلمش در یازولی تاش بار الوغ حضرتلارنک قبری یاننده در. بو حدیچه آپادان محمد ظریف اسملی بر اوغلی بالا قالمشدر قرق یاشلار چاماسنده وفات ایتدی پیچاره کوب وقت لار عقلی ضعیف لنب مجنون لک بلان مبتلا بولدی الله نک رحمتنده بولسن یاخشی انصافی آدم ایدی اللهم اغفر وارحم بو محمد ظریف مخدومدان ایکی اوغل بالا قالب یاش لک وفات ایتدی لار حاضر کونده استرلیباشنده ام گشوم اسمنده بر قزی موجود در. شول وقتده اسنبای اولینه قدا بولب مرحوم سلیم گرای مفتی ده بارمش در ایتولارینه قاراغانده طوی ۱۰ کون دوام ایتب نیچه یوزلاب قوی و نیچه صغر و نیچه یلقتی هم تیه لار سویلمش در جمعیت بیک بولب حتی طالوفکه دان قران سوداگیرلاری شونده کیلب اون کون بونه سودا قیلمشلار. محمد حارث حضرت بیک کیک خلقلی

بولب خالق غه محبتلی بولب یاشاگان هر کم گه تیگز قاراب کیلگان قوناقلارغه آچق یوز بلان قارشو آلمشدر هر وقت یورطنده کوب کشیلار مهمان بولب آش آشغان لار. اوزینک اوتارخانه دیکان یورطنزه قرق قدرلی غریب یتیم و عاجزلارنی طویدرواچون بر آشخانه قیلدرب هرکون شولارنی آشاتمشدر. بر آچلق یلنده برده ایگن اوسماوسبیلی خالق غه ۳ منک پوط ایگن تاراتمشدر. الیکساندر ایکنچی زماننده خالق غه بو یاردم لاری بولوی قلاغینه اشتلب پادشاه طرفندان ۱۸۶۹ نچی یلده ۱۲ نچی آغوستده تارخان لق درجه سی بیرلب مکافاتلانمشدر. مجد حارث حضرتک الوغ اثرلارندان /154a/ بتون خالق غه عام بولغان بناء قیلنمش استرلیباشنک اورتالغنده استرلی صووی آرقلی آق تاش دان اسپوتلاب بر تاش کوپر بناء قیلهشدر بو کونگی کونده بو کوپری باردر. ۱۹۵۶ نچی یلده سلامت ایدی. ۱۸۶۹ نچی یلده آرنبورغ آطرفنده قزاق لار حکومت که قارشی تاوش چغارب شولارنی طنچ لاندردر اوچون آرنبورغ گورناتوری کرژانوفسکی مجد حارث حضرت نی چاقرب اوکت نصیحت قیلولارنی بیورمشدر هم اوتتمشدر شوشی بیورق غه بناء ۱۸۶۹ نچی یل ۲۳ نچی مارط یازغان کاغدنی نسخه سی استرلیباشده بار ایدی. اوزگر هلاک بولورسز نیچکده بولسه طنچ بولورغه ترشگز بزم اسلام دینی هر وقت طنچ لقه چاقردر دیب یازمش در شوشی نصیحتی بوینجه قزاقلار طنچلاب حکومت که بوی صنبل قالغانلار. یازغان کاغنده مهری و قولی باردر. مجد حارث حضرت دنیادان خبردار کشتی اولب فن لار اوگرتمه ک هر توری تلار بلهک ضرور و کیره ک اش دیه ایته در دیدی دیلار. اوشبو مجد حارث حضرت وقتنده استرلی صوی بوینده یاشاگان آتی اول باشقردلارندان ۴ مک دیساتینه مقدارنده مکلولک که بیر ساتب آلمش در. آغان ییری استرلی طماق یولی بوینده استرلی صونی آشا چغبل استرلی صوینک ایکی طرفنده حاضرگی کونده نیکلایفکه سیرگی یف گه دیگان روس اولی بلان قوناق بای آراسنده در مجد حارث وفاتندان صوک وارثلاری مرحوم حضرتک قرض اوچون اوچ یوز دیساتینه یرلارنی هر دیسه تینه سن ایلی صوم دان ساتمش لاردر حاضر کونده (سوخادول) اسمنده روس اولی یاشی در بورنغی چیکره لی شوشی

اولینک یوقاری یاغنده ایدی بزم زمانده گران باغانه سی بارایدی ایتولارینه قاراغانده شول بیرلارنی دیساتینه سنی بیک آزان حاق بلان آلمش لاردر بش اون صوم دان آرتق بولماسه کیره ک ۱۹۱۷نجی ییل الوغ انقلاب وقتندن مصادره قیلنب خالق فائده سینه تابشردی.

محمد حارث حضرت ۱۸۷۰نجی یلده ۲نجی نوایارده ۱۲۸۶نجی هجری شعبان آینه آلتمش اوچ یاشنده وفات ایتمش در<sup>427</sup> استرلیباشنک الوغ مقبره سنده مدفون در یازولی /154b/ تاش باردر. جنازه کوب جمعیت بولب ایکی اوچ منک دیه نقل ایده لار الله نک رحمتنده بولسن. آمین.

محمد حارث حضرتدان وارث بولب قالمش بالالری عبدالله بعیدالله حبیب الله محمد شاکر عبد المجید عبد القادر قزلاردان زبیده زهره اوشبولار قالمش در عبدالله حضرت بزم عصرمزده استرلیباشنده امام بولب ۱۹۰۹نجی یلده حج سفرینه بارب هم مدینه منوره ده زیارت قیلب سلام قایتدی صوکره ۱۹۱۹نجی یلغه قدر امام لق نی ادا ایتب اوکتابر آینه دار البقایه کوچدی. مرحوم حضرت آسوزلی اوزینک وظیفه سنده بیک یاخشی وعظ نصیحت قیلب عایت استقامت لی کشی ایدی الله نک رحمتنده بولسن.

استرلیباش مقبرسنده مدفوندر. دفن نده بزلار اشتراک قیلدق اللهم إن کان محسنًا فزد فی إحسانه و إن کان مسیئًا تجاوز عنه آمین بیک توغری سوزلی هیچ کم دان قورقای حاقلق نی ایتورایدی.

عیید الله استرلیباشنره امام بولب هم آخون مدرسه لار مدیری بولب آزارق درس بلان ده شغلان ۱۸۹۲نجی ییل فیورال آینره وفات ایتدی الله مغفرت ایتسون آمین گوزل خلق لی کشی بولسه ده کوبره ک وقت بالالرنک یاغان سوزلارینه اشانب بعضی آدملا رکه کینه توتب بایتاق خالقنی ناراضی قیلدی.

427 [In the margin: محمد حارث حضرت نک جماعتی ایمانغل اولنک ارنبورخ اوپازی نک: عبدالله کانطون دولتشین نک قزی فائزه اسملی. بوفائزه ابصطایی توتاش ابصطای دیه یورتورلار ایدی ۱۹۱۱نجی ییل لارده وفات بولب استرلیباشده // مقبرسنده دفن قیلش در نعمه الله حضرت اوغلی حارث حضرت قبرلاری یاننده در باشنده یازلمش تاشی باردر مرحومه نک صدقه جاریه سندن حارث حضرتدان... ورثه لر بولب [آلتمش برندان استرلیباش مسجد ادارسنده

معلوم گز در بای بالالاری ایشان مخدوم لارای بارده شولای بولب آحمق نادانلق ده قالدیلار کشیلارنی نه حاق سوزلار بلان آتالب ینه سویلاب تیکشمراسدان شول کشی لارگه حکم قیلورلار ایدی. الله مغفرت ایلاسون. یاش وقتنده چاقاق عبد الله حضرت مدرسه سنده بولب اوقومش در عالم لکی کیم ایدی.

حبيب الله بن محمد حارث اولاً استرلیباشنده اوقب صوکره منزله اویازی الوغ چاقاق عبد الله حضرت مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره بخارای شریقه بارب یاخشی عالم و مدرس بولب قایتب استرلیباشده بیک یاخشی نیچه ییل لاردرس اوقتب استرلیباشنک مسجد و مدرسه لارن بیک یاخشی عمارت قیلدرب هم تاشدان /155a/ صوخانه سالدرب استرلیباشنک علم و باشقه درس و شاکردلار کوب بولب صوکنی وقتنده علوم دینیه ترقی ایتکان وقت بولدی. مذکور حیب الله حضرت علم سویوچی<sup>428</sup> همده بتون مسجد و مدرسه لار آلدینه آعاج لار اولترتب هر مدرسه نک آلدینه فانار یاقتدرب صوخانه لراچینه غسل و طهارت اچون صولار یتدرب بارنده یاخشی کورکه م یولغه سالغان ایدی مرحونک باقیات صالحاتلارنده ن بولسه ایدی. آمین. فقیرنگزده بر ایکی اوچ ییل لار آنده درس اوقدم یاش بولسام ده خلفه بالالاری نادان قالا دیب کوبره ک اهمیتنی بزلاره یونالدرا ایدی الله نک رحمتده بولسن آمین. مرحوم استرلیباشنده موعود اجلنی تمام لاب استرلیباش نک الوغ مقبرسنده بابالاری نعمة الله حضرتک آیاق اوچنده دفن قیلنمش در اوستنده یازلمش تاشی هم باردر. وارث لارندان عبد الرحمن و زینب و عبد العلیم و عبد الله اسمنده در. عبد الرحمن مکه مکرمه ده ۱۹۰۸ نیچی میلادیده وباخسته لکی بلان وفات بولب مکه مکرمه نک جنت المعلی سنده برادری عبد المجید بن محمد حارث قبری اوستینه دفن قیلندی مکه مکرمه ده وقتنده اوزم هم شریکم عید محمد احمر ف بلان برگه تکفین تجهیز قیلب دفن لادک الله نک مغفور بنده لارندان اولسن آمین عجم تحصیل یولنده امانت جانی تسلیم قیلدی.

428 [In the margin: در بخارای شریف ده مرجانی حضرتلاری بلان بر عصرده اوقمش در

[۶۹۸۱ نیچی میلادیده اوکتابرا آخرنده بولسه کیره ک جنازه سنده حاضر بولدم



زینب عیید الله مخدوم حارث اوغلی عبد الرحیم که تورمشقه چغب عبد الرحیم یاش لکده وفات بولب زینب تاشکنده که بارب آنده وفات بولب قالدی. عبد العلیم صوکنی استرلیباش نک الوغ مسجدنده امام بولب انقلاب مناسبتی ایله محبوس بولب ۱۹۳۰نجی یلده اوقا حبس خانه سنده وفات بولدی عبد الله یاش وقتنده استرلیباشنده اوقب صوکره قزان ده عالمجان حضرت مدرسه سنده مهديه ده اوقب صوکره تاشکنده شهرینک عالی طیه مکتبئی تمام لاب طیب لک وظیفه سنی اشلاب تورب صوکره فارلچ زحمتینه اشدان قالدی بوکونئی سلامت ایکی اوغلی باردر. ۱۹۵۴نجی یلده یورطنده بولدم.

مهد شاکر مهد حارث اوغلی استرلیباشنده برآز اوقغاندان صوکره برآز چاقماق مدرسنده اوقب صوکره اورنبورغ اوچیلتسکی اشقولا سنده (مکتبنده) اوقب تمام قیلماسدان استرلیباشینه قیتب جماعت آلوب تورمش قیله باشلامشدر.

155b/ اتاسی مهد حارث دان میراث بولمش بیش یوز دیساتینه قدر طوپراقی بولب استرلی صووی بوینده قوناقبای اولنده یاقن یرده ایدی شونده اوطار قیلب برآز ایگن ساچدرب ینه استرلیباشنده یورطی آلدنده برکیقتی بولب برآز سوداشی بلان ده شغب لنب یاشادی طیب لقدان برآز خیردار بولوسبیلی رنجورلرکه دوأ بیرب شولایوق شاکردلارکه کوب یاردامی بار ایدی چونکه اول زمان لارده اول یرلارنده شفاخانه و طیبیلار بولماوسبیلی بوخالق اچون زور یاردم بولور ایدی هیچ کم دان دوأ اچون حاق آلماسدان بیرر ایدی الله اجرئی نصیب ایتسون آمین. بعضی وقت لارده حکومت ئشلارنده کامیتت لارده وقت لی خدمت ده بولور ایدی ۱۹۰۵نجی یلنک روسیه نک انقلاب باشلان غان یلارنده عصور دستوونئی دوماده اوچ مرتبه سایلانوده اعضا بولب پیتربورغده ئشلادی دوما یابلو بلان آندان قایتدی. مرحوم بیک یومارد آدم ایدی شولایده اخلاقی کیم ایدی بعض وقتلارده عیب سز بولوسبیلی آدام لارنی رنجو کبک حال لاری بولب اوتدی الله عفو ایتسن. ۱۹۱۷نجی یل نک الوغ انقلاب تولقن سبیلی ۱۹۲۴نجی یلنده حکومت طرفندان بیورق بولب اختیاری روشده استرلیباشندان کیتوکه مجبور بولدی یورط بیرندان باشقه ایو اسباب لاری آلمادی اوزی ساتب فایدلانندی. صوکره ارنبورغ شهرنده تورب

برنجه یل لاردان صوک امانت جاننی تابشرب اورنبورغ نک الوغ مقبرسندہ دفن قیلنمشدر. اللهم إن کان محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه الله نک رحمتده بولسن ارنبور شهرنده باننوی اوجر محله سنده قاسم دیکان آدم اوزم ینه اوچ کشی برابرآت آریام بلان آلب بارب دفن قیلدم دیه سویلادی. بورنغی جماعتی وفات بولب ایکنچی جماعتی آق ایدل بوی یومران قریه سندان بولب آندان حبیب الله اسملی اوغلی قالغان ایدی سلامت یوقوم معلوم توکل. بورنغی جماعتی استرلیتاماق رامییف فامیلیه سنده ماهتاب اسملی ایدی عبد الخالق قزی بولسه کیره ک آندان قالغان سلامت بوکونده استرلیتاماق ده مریم خورشید آمینه اوفاده حلیمه سمرقنده فاطمه اسملی قزلاری بار در. /156a/ حبیب الله محمد حارث اوغلی اولده استرلیباشنده اوقب (بوی قریه سندان یکلمش عبد الله نعمة الله حضرت اوغلی) حاجی خلفه دیه مشهوردر) دیکان کشی دان اوقشدر صوکره چاقاق قریه سنده عبد الله حضرت عبد الغفور مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره بخارای شریفکه بارب ختم کتب قیلش در ۱۸۸۱ نچی یل لارده بولسه کیره ک. مرحوم حاجی خلفه نعمة الله اوغلی استرلیباشنده یکرمی یل قدر درس اوقتب کامل اجتهاد برلا تعلیم قیلب ۱۸۸۳ نچی میلادی ده رمضان شریف دان صوک آغوست آینه حج سفینه کیتب حج نی تمام لاب رنجواولارق مدینه منوره گه سفر ایتشدر یولده رنجوی آرتب ۱۸۸۳ میلادی یوم العاشوره ده ۲ نچی نویابر مدینه منوره ده وفات ایدب قبر شریفی مدینه ده جنت البقیع ده رحمة الله علیه رحمة واسعة

مرحوم عالم فاضل و متقی خصوصا علم اصول فقه ده ماهر اولب شول وقتلارنده تورکی تلنده صرف کتابی یازمشدر. مشهور بوی قریه سنده برادری نعمة الله حضرتنده مخدومی عبد الله بوی بزم روسیه ده علوم جدیده ایرلارگه هم قزلارغه مخصوص اصول جدیده برلا مدرسه لار آجب برنچی ملت خادمی بولب خدمت ایتب اوز عصرنده روسیه تاتارلارینک یاخشی غنه ربی سی بولدی. ۱۹۰۷ میلادی ده برابر حج بیت الله غه کیلب برابر وقوف عرفه و باشقه یرلرده خصوصا مخصوص مکه مکرمه ده غار شریفکه بارب زیارة ایتدک. غار شریف نک اچینه کرو بلان ایکی رکعت

نقل عازی قیلب صوکره شوشی اورنده اسلام دینی نک دنیاغه تارالوینه سبب بولشدردیه نقط یویله دی. الله نک رحمتده بولسن. اللهم إن کان محسنا فرد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئاً فتجاوز عنه

عبد المجید محمد حارث اوغلی اولاستریباشنده اوقب صوکره منزله اویازی چاقاق قریه سنده عبد الله عبد الغفور حضرت مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره ۱۸۸۶ نجی میلادی ده بخاراغه بارب علوم دینیه فینه اوقورغه توتندی ۱۸۹۰ نجی یلده سلامت قایتب جایاق صوی بوینده ایلاک قریه سنده معتبر سوداگیرلاردان عبد الله حاجی یکدیشف دیکان کمسنه نک محفوظه اسملی قزنی نکاح لندی. عیید الله حاجی اوزینک خراجاتی بلان بخارادان قایتارب قزنی بیرمش درایون آینده طوی لاری بولب سنتابر آینده شول یلنی ینه تکمیل علوم یعنی اوقولارنی تمام اوچون ینه بخارای شریف /156b/ بارب ۱۸۹۲ نجی یلده استریباشینه قایتب شاکردلارگه درس ایته باشلادی. مرحوم عبد المجید مخدوم آچق یوزلی یومارد طبیعتلی خوش مجلس آدم ایدی درس یولنده یاخشی تقریری بولب شاکردلار محبت قیلارلار ایدی مذکور عبد المجید مخدوم نی بن فقیرده کورب بلان اول وقتده مین ۰۱ یا شنده ایدم آتامز مرحوم بلان هر وقت الفت قیلب سویله شور ایدی.

مرحوم ۱۸۹۳ نجی سنه مارط اونن ده حج سفرینه یونالب اولا مدینهء منوره گه بارب برادری عبد القادر بلان کورشب (بو وقتده عبد القادر مدینهء منوره ده اوقوده قراباش مدرسه سنده تورر ایدی) صوکره برادری بلان مکه مکرمه یه بارب محجنی تمام قیلب ۱۸۹۳ نجی میلادی ۱۴ نجی ایونده ۱۲ نجی ذو الحجه آینده وبا رنجوی بلان ۱۰ ساعت اچنده امانت جانی تسلیم قیلب مکه مکرمه ده جنت المعلی دیکان مقبره سنه برادری عبد القادر دفن قیلب باشینه تاش یازدرب قویمش در بن فقیرده قبرینه بارب زیارت قیلب شونک قبری یاینه برادری عبد الرحمن حبیب الله اوغلنی دفن ایتدک یوقاریده یازلمش ایدی ۱۹۰۷ نجی یلده شولایوق وبا رنجو بولب کوب حاجی لار مرحوم بولب قالدیلار فقیرده بو وقتده مکه مکرمه حاج نیتی بلان مدینهء منوره دان یکلمش ئیدم. الله نک مغفرت ایلاسون. آمین.

عبد القادر محمد حارث اوغلی یاش وقتنده استرلیباشده اوقب صوکره مدینهء منورهده تحصیل علوم قیلونیتی بلان بارب قُره باش مدرسه سنده تورمشدر سلامت استرلیباشقه قایتب بر ایکی یل شاکردلارگه علم قرأت تعلیم هم هم آز وقت باشقه درسکه شروع قیلسه ده بولارنی قویب دنیا اشی بلان مشغول بولب کیتدی آتالارندان میراث قالمش یرلارنی ئشلاتب استرلی صوی بوینده مشهور نیکلایفکه دیکان روس اولینک توبان یاعنده اوتار قورب ایگنچیلک و مال چیلق بلان معیشت ایتدی. زور عنه دولت ایاسی بولدی مهمان پرور کشتی ایدی بیک محتاج لارغه یاردم بیرر ایدی مادی و معنوی یاردم ایتار ایدی برنجی جماعتی ارنبورغ ده عارف دولتشین قزی مفتوحه ایدی مونده وفاتندان صوک استرلیتاماق سوداگری علاج الدین بن حسام الدین بایازیدف دیکان کشتی نک اسماء بیکه اسملی قزن نکاح لنب آخر عمرنده اوزبکستان ده نمنگان شهرنده بولب /157a/ امانت جانی شونده جناب حق غه تابشردی الله مغفرة ایلاسن عالم علماء و باشقه فقراء لارغه یاردامچی ایدی همده استرلیباشده نیچه ییل لار مسجد و مدرسه و صوی یللارنی قاراب بارچه عمارت لارنی قیلدی خدا صدقه جاریه سندان نصیب ایتسون آمین. مفتوحه دیکان جماعتندان بر عبد العزیز اسملی اوغلی بار ایدی اوصلی قریه سی حمزین فاملیه سندان لقمان اسملی کشتی نینک نفیسه اسملی قزنی نکاح لانش ایدی بوکونده سلامت قاراقالباق اولبصنده تورسه کیره ک. اسماء بیکه دان بالا بولمادی اللهم إن کان محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه یاخشی کشتی ایدی اقتصاد بلان بیک توغریلق بلان دنیاده ترکک قیلدی.

حارث حضرتدان قالغان قزلار زییده استارلی تاماق عبد الرحمن کمال الدین حضرت اوغلی نکایف نکاحنده بولدی زییده ۱۹۱۱نجی میلادیه ده حج سفینه بارب سلامت قایتدی.

زهره استرلیتاماق سوداگری عبد الله محمد ظریف اوغلی اوتامیشف نکاح نده بولب برابر بر قز بالاسی بولدی عبد الکریم اسملی اوغلی آپاسی زییده بلان حج سفینه بارب قایتدی بزنگ عصر مزده استرلیباش نک مشهور توقایف لار

اوشبو یازلمش لار بولوب ینه باشقه بالالاری بولسه ده انقلاب دان صوک توری طرفقه تارالب کیتدی لار

محمد حراث نعمة الله اوغلی ۱۸۱۴ نجی ییل میلادی ده توغب ۱۸۴۴ نجی یلده بخاراغه تحصیل علوم دینه اچون بارب ۱۸۵۶ نجی ییل سلامت قایتب استرلی باشنده امام بولب هم درس ایتو بلان مشغول بولدی. کوب وقت رنجو بولب ۱۸۷۱ نجی ییل ۳۰ نجی نویابرده دارالبقایه رحلت ایلان ده اللهم اغفره وارحم. مرحوم عالم و عامل بیک استقامتلی توغری سوزلی بولب هم صاحب غیره بولمشدر. وفاتندان صوکره اورنینه لطف الله اسملی اوغلی امام بولمشدر کوب عمر ایتاسدان ۱۸۷۸ نجی یلده وفات ایتمش در الله رحمت ایلاسون مرحومدان بر قز زینب اسمنده بر اوغلی عبد الرحیم اسمنده قالمش در آنالاری هدیه آبصطای صبی لقدان قاراب اوسترب زینب اوف قارغالی عصمة الله ینکایف دیکان کشی که تورمشقه چقدی (اوفاتیمر یولنده ناچالنیک استانسه بولب اشلار ایدی) امیر احمد اسملی بر اوغلی بار ایدی روس قزن نکاح لانمش ایدی بوکونده قایدده در /157b/ عبد الرحیم لطف الله اوغلی اوقو وقینه یتو بلان استرلیباش مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره استرلیباش روس مکتبنده اوقب تمام لاب خالق ئشلارینه قاتشب صوکنی وقتنده استرلیتاما ق زیمستوا ادارسینه رئیس معاونی اولب صوکره رئیس اولب ۰۱ ییل دان آرتق خدمت ایتدی. مرحوم نینک توغری یولده بولب بتون خالق غه مکتب لار آچدرب بالنیسه کبی و باشقه کوپرلار کبک هم آغزلق ییل لارنک آچلق ییل لارنده فقرالار اچون شوندای الوغ خدمت کورستدی بیک عاقلی توغری سوزلی اشنده بیک محکم ایدی بتون کوچنی آرتقه قالغان مسلمان لارنی آغارتو یولنده خدمت ایتدی. استرلیتاماقدان عزه اسملی بر جماعت آلب تورسه ده کوب تورماسدان محبتی بولماو سبیلی علی وجه الشرع ایرب آخر وقینه قدر یالغز توردی آرالارنده بزقز قالب ماه سرور اسملی بلاغت که یتشو سبیلی استرلی تاماق شهری غنی حلفین دیکان کشی که تورمشقه چغب صوک وقتده اوف شهرنده تورادر خلفین مال دوختری بولب خدمت قیلسه کیره

ک. مرحوم عبد الرحیم نک آتالارندان میراث بولب قالمش بر قدریری هم نیکالایفکه چیرکیسوفکه دیکان روس اول لارنده اس یاعنده استرلی صووی بوینده تکرمانی بارایدی. مرحوم روسیه نک الوغ انقلابی سینندان مظلوم ناحاق بلارغه دوچار بولب ۱۹۳۰نجی میلادیه ده محبوس حالنده مرحوم بولسه کیره ک الله نک رحمتده بولسن وقتسز یوغالدی عمرنده خالق اچون طرشب ایتکان خدمت لارنی خدا صدقه جاریه دان ایلاب گناه لارنی کفارت بولسه ایدی آمین بولمادی اللهم إن کان محسناً فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئاً فنجاوز عنه<sup>429</sup>

استرلیباش وقتنده مشهور خلفه لاری توبانده

زین الله حسرو شیر اوغلی علیکیف اوفایاننده آرسلان اولندان کیلب استرلی باش مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره خلفه اولب درس اوقتمش در شاکرد وقتنده یازکون لارنده اولینه قایتمی الوغ حضرت لاری حارث نعمة الله اوغلی نک دائم خدمتده بولب بتون خواجه لق نُشارینه باش بولب یعنی امیر بولب یورمشدر شونندان امیر خلفه لقبی آلب /158a/ قالمشدر. صوکره حارث حضرت که مرید بولب علم باطن یولینه کُرشب حارث حضرت هم حراث نعمة الله حضرتلار زماننده بولب ۱۸۱۰نجی یلده توغمش در ۱۸۲۷نجی یلده استرلیباشقه یکمش در صوکره مجد حارث وفاقی صوکنده چیلبای عبد الحکیم حضرت دان شیخ لق غه رخصت آلب استرلیباشنده شیخلق قیلشدر یاشی توقسان بیش ده ۱۹۰۵یل لارده دارالبقایه رحلت ایدب استرلیباش نک الوغ مقبرسینده دفن قیلنب یاخشی آق تاشدان احاطه سی هم یازولی تاش باردرد. رحمة الله علیه رحمةً واسعةً بزَنک عصر مزده بولب مرحوم حقیقی شیخ بولغان کئی ایدی دنیانی اوزینه یته ر قدر ایگن ساجب ترجیلک ده قدر الکفایه مال لاری بولب چن کئی بولب یاشادی مریدلارنی قوشب خدمت ایتدیرمادی یاردم بر ایکی یاردچی توتارایدی. هر کم نی بر تیگز کورب آندای

۱۱نجی یل لارده برنجی مکتب هم بالنیتسه سالدرچی-استرلیباشینه ۰۱۹۱ [In the margin: 429 هم پوچته خانه کیرتوچی عبد الرحیم لطف الله اوغلی توقایف بولدی کوب قین لق بلان سالدردی محله لی حضرتلاری خالق غه اغدا بیرب سالدرماو طرفنده [بولدیلار بالنیتسه کرسه پوچته کرسه روس کره دیب

موندای خالق آراسینه کوب قاتشب یورمادی مجلس لارده آرتق سوز سویله س ایدی اولغه یورب مرید لارده قوناق بولب یورمادی بعض وقت لارده غنه زورراق طوی کبی مجلس لارگه چاقرسه لار بیک سیره ک وقتده غنه بارور ایدی باشقه شیخ لار کبک نفس خور بولب قورصق سیرتب یورمادی الله نک رحمتده بولسن بلکه خالص شیخ لقه او حشایدرایدی

مرحوم زین الله حضرت نک وارثلارندان قالمش عید الله خیر الله لطف الله عطاء الله اسملی اوغل لاری در. قزلاردان حسن جمال ام گلثوم ینه شمس جمال بورلار برنچی جماعتدان بولدی اول وفات صوکنده یوزای اولی آرنبورغ او یازای دان کامیله اسملی ایکنچی جماعت آلب بوندان لطف الله مکرمه حبیب الله آتلی وارث لار قالمش در. امیر حضرت نک (خلفه حضرت دیب ایته لار) انچی اوغلی عید الله علیکایف یاش وقتنده استرلیباشنده حاجی خلفه یوقاری یازلمش عبد الله نعمة الله اوغلی بوبی دان درس اوقب صوکره بخاراغه بارب برنچه ییل لاردان صوک علم ظاهر و باطن نی تحصیل قیلب قایتب ۱۸۸۰ انچی ییل لارده بولسه کیره ک اورال اوبلصی یالپاقطال (سلاچین) دیکان قزاجی اولنده امام و مدرس که تعیین قیلنب آخر عمرینه قدر شونده استقامت قیلدی برنچه مدرسه لاری بولب کوبراک قزاق طائفه سندن هم بزم تاتارلاردان کوب کشی لار درس اوقب چقدیلار مرحوم آچق یوزلی مهمان سویوچی سخی آدم ایدی شولوق یالپاقطالده بورنچی امام /158b/ عطاء الله آبدولن دیکان ملانک منوره اسملی قرنی نکاحلاب عمر ایتمشدر مذکور عطاء الله ملا اوزینک اماملق وظیفه نی تاشلاب اورنی بو عید الله حضرت که تابشمرشدر عید الله حضرتک وارثلار انچی اوغلی هدیه الله و حبیب الله و عبد العزیز و عبد الهادی و عبد البصیر و عبد الباری اسمنده برگنه قزی عائشه اسمنده در. منوره نک وفاتی صوکنده اسنبای اولینک محمد علی اسنبایف دیکان کسنه نک قزی فرجی سرورنی طول لاته نکاح قیلب عبد الباری شوشی فرجی سروردان توغمش در بونکاحی ۱۹۱۰ انچی ییل لارده ایدی.

هدیه الله یاش وقتنده شولوق یالپاقطال مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره ارنبورغ قارغالیسی اوزینک برادری خیر الله بن زین الله حضرت مدرسه سنده اوقب چقدی صوکره دنیا اشری بلان مشغول بولب اورالسکی شهرنده عباس

بیلاوسف نک اوغلی عیید الله دیکان کئی نک سعادت اسملی قرنی نکاح لانب بولار آراسنده برنیچه بالالار بولب صوکی وقتده ترک لار عبد الحمید عبد المجید اسمنده ایکی سی بخاراده تیخنکوم مکتبنده اوقوچی بولب صوکه قاراقالباق جمهوریتنده نوقس شهرنده درلار. هدیه الله روسیه نک الوغ انقلاب مناسبتی بلان اوزبکستان طرفینه کوچب حکومت ئشلارنده بوخالتیرییه اشلارنده ئشلاب صوکنی وقتده قاراقالباق نوقس رایوننده آقازانی رنجوی بلان امانت جاننی خدا تابشمرشدرا الله مغفرت ایلاسن آمین مرحوم فقیرگز ایله کوب وقت لار بربرگه یروب هم سفرلارده بولب دوست دانه بولب یاشادک بیک آچق یوزلی خالق قه خدمت سیوچی ایدی.

حبیب الله علیکیف یاش وقتنده اوقوغه استانبولغه بارب یاشلای وفات بولدی

عائشه قزاقستان رایوننده یاکا قالا (ناوای قزانغه) شهرنده الوغ سوداگرلارندان شمس الدین حاجی اوتاکنده اوغلی محمد جان غه تورمشقه چغب الوغ انقلاب وقتنده آریاغه بارب وفات بولدی صوکی وقتده کوب خورلق لارغه دوچار بولب وفات ایتدی. عائشه قایدادر. عبد العزیز علیکیف یاش وقتنده یالپاقطال مدرسه سنده برآز اوقب ۱۹۰۹-۱۰ نچی ییل لارده مین معلم بولب تورغان وقتنده بزندان قرآن الکریم حفظ قیلب صوکه قارغالی خیرالله حضرت مدرسه سنه بارب آنده ینه تکرار قیلب قایتب یالپاقطالده ختم قیلب /159a/ ۱۹۲۱-۲۲ نچی ییل لارده آچلق قه دوچار بولب صامارا کوبیشیف شهرنده وفات ایتمش در.

عبد الصیر عبد الهادی ۱۹۰۹-۱۰ نچی ییل لارده مینم آلمده لر نچی صنف ده اوقب صوکه قایدده در یاشلای وفات بولشلار. عبد الباری علیکیف شورا حکومتی مکتبنده مسکاواده اوقب ۱۹۵۰ نچی ییل لارده باشقردستان جمهوریتی داویلیکان استانسده تورادر دیب اشدتم آخری معلوم توگل. یوقاریده یازلمش عیید الله حضرت مین فقیرنی یاردم قیلب مدینهء منوره بیاردی شوشی مرحومنک یاردمی بلان دورت ییل مدینهء منوره ده اوقب قرآن الکریم حفظ قیلب سلامت قایتدم بزنگ ولی نعمتمز بولب موندای خیرخواه بولونه



جناب حق رحمت و مغفرت قیلب قلغان صدقهء جاریه لرنی یوم الجزاده خدا آلدنده قیلسون آمین. عید الله حضرت یالپاقطال غه ۹۰ کیلومیت مسافه ده الیکساندروگای (آمالق) شهرنده وفات بولب قبری شونده در تحمینا الوغ انقلاب وقتنده شول اورنغه نفی قیلب شونده برآز وقت طورمش در ۱۹۲۹ نیچی یل لارده بولسه کیره ک. 430 جماعاتی منوره استرلیباش حراث حضرت نک ربیعه اسملی جماعتندان توعمش در بزم عصرمزده یالپاقطالده وفات ایدب قبری شونده در ۱۹۱۰ نیچی یل ده اللهم إن کانت محسنا فزد فی إحسانها وإن کانت مسیئا فتجاوز عنها

امیر حضرت نک ایکنیچی اوغلی خیرالله یاش وقتنده استرلیباشنده حاجی خلفه مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره مدینهء منوره گه بارب باب السلام ده محمودیه مدرسه سنده نیچه یل لار اوقب قرأة سبعة وعشرة بلان قرآن الکریم نی حفظ قیلب سلامت استرلیباشقه قایتب ارینبورغ قارغالیسی امه بای مسجدنده امام و مدرس بولب کوب شاکرد تربیه لاب بیک کوب قرآن حافظ لار یتشدرب عمر بوینچه قازاق و تاتار و باشقرد شاکردلارینه علم اوگراتو یولنده بولدی بزم عصرده مدرسه لارنده ۶-۷ یوز شاکرد اوقور ایدی الله نک رحمتنده بولسن الوغ علماء لاردان ایدی قلغان اجتهادلارینی وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ 431 آیتینه مصداق ایتب آخرنده خدا قاشوسنده ثواب بولسن آمین. روسیه نک انقلابی مناسیتی بلان نفی قیلب نجات صوکنده تاشکند شهرنده امانت جاننی تابشرب إرجعی الی ربک راضیه مرضیه 432 بوی صندی وفاتینه قدر تاشکند ده عبد الله اسملی اوغلی تربیه سنده بولب خیرالله خضرت توغان ۱۸۵۳ یلده ۱۹۳۴ یلده ۱۸ غنوارده وفات. /159b/ شونک تربیه سنده ایدی بعد الموت آتاسنی یخشی تربیه قیلب تاشکند شهرنده دفن قیلندی کوب علماء لرجیولب مرحوم گه ختم قیلب دعاء لرقیلمش لار عبد الله تاشکند گه یاقن بوستاندق ده بوخالتیر بولب نُشَلار ایدی حاضرگی کونده

430 [In the margin: روسیه انقلابی وقتنده آمالق الیکساندروگای دیکان یرگه نفی ایدلب شونده وفات بولشدر اللهم اغفر وارحم]

431 [Q 18: 107]

432 [Q 89: 28]

بوستاندق ده سلامت در. خیرالله حضرت استرلیباشنده علی خلفه مجید قاری دان باشقه درست قرأت لی کشی یوق دیب ایته ایکان برادری حبیب الله مخدوم شولای دیب نقل ایتدی. مرحوم خیرالله حضرت بلان عصرمزده کوب مجلسلارده بولب صحبت لارده بولدق. الله نک رحمتده بولسن. جماعتی اورالسکی شهرندان عباس بیلاوصف قزی ایدی. خیرالله حضرت مدفون تاشکند جغتای زیارتنده قبرنده کیریچ احاطه بار.

لطف الله علیکیف اقولشنده آز بولب دنیاغه بیرلب ایگن چیلک و تکرمان کبک ئش لار بلان مشغول اولمشدر. کوندراک صوی بوی شیپای دیکان اولده تکرمانی بولغان شونده تورغانده توننه بلان نچالنیک استانوای کیلب آرقنک کوپری ناچار بولسه کیره ک بوناچالنیک یوقلاغان لطف الله علیکیف نی اویتاب نیک کوپری یونات مدک دیب آچولانسه کیره ک بومرحوم برآز قارشی ایتسه کیره ک شونک اچون بردان لطف الله نی لیوارویر بلان آتمش در شوندان مجروح بولب قالب برآز صوکره جان تسلیم قیلمش مظلوم بولب وفات الله رحمت و مغفرت قیلسون آمین.

عطاء الله علیکیف یاش وقتنده استرلیباشنده اوقب صوکره بخاراغه بارب تحصیل قیلب قایتب استرخان غوبرناسی یاکاقالا (ناوای کازانکه) شهرنده امام و مدرس بولب تعیین قیلنمش در محله سنده اطرفنده قزاق خالق قوب بولب شونده نیچه یل لاراستقامت قیلب زور غنه دولت که مالک بولب روسیه نک الوغ انقلاب نده وفات اولمشدر. صوکره جماعتندان بولغان اوغلی هم لطف الله اسمنده بولب قارغالی مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره سودا بلان مشغول بولب انقلاب وقتنده آزیا طرفنده جیعبرب قایتب ۱۹۳۸ نیچ یل لارده استرلیباشقه یاقن دورت ایلی دیکان کچکنه باشقرد اولنده یاشاگان قرینه قایتوعینه آزیانیه کیتب شونده وفات امیر حضرت نک قزی کرمه قالدغالی مدرسه سنده اوقوغان شولوق شهرنک فاتح خلفه فصیح اوغلینه تورمشقه چقمش فاتح یاخشی غنه اوقمشلی بولب اربورغ اویازی نیط باشی موسی اولینه امام بولب صوکره آق ایدل بوینده استرلیتاما ق اویازی جیرگه ن اولنده امام /160a/ بولب

دینی مراسم لارنی باشقارب توردی چیرگه نده بومحله چواشن ملت ندان بولب ۱۹۰۵نچی ییل لارده اسلامیت نی قبول قیلب رسمی مسجد صالمش لار یتمش خواجه لق بولب شونلارغه دین مربی سی بولب روسیه نک الوغ انقلابینه قدر خدمت ایدب صوکره هجرت که مجبور بولب آزیاغه هجرت قیلب اوش شهرنده اقامت ایتمکده در .

امیر حضرت نک ایکنچی آبصطایندان حیب الله بوهم قارغالی مدرسه سنده اوقب یوزای اولینه یاقن تیم ربای اولنده امام بولب صوکره اوفاده زیارت محله سنده امام بولب تورب برنیچه ییل دان صوک امام لقدان یوشانب اوزینک اختیاری بلان آق ایدل بوینده مناوت دیکان رایونده عمر ایتب ۱۹۶۰نچی یلده مناوز مسجдинه امام بولوغه خلفه حضرت (امیر حضرت) قزی حسنی جمال اورشاک باش قارامالی اولنده حیب الرحمن اسحاقف دیکان ملاغه تورمشده بولب موندن عبد الرحیم اسملی اوغلی بولب صوکئی کون شولوق قارامالی ده امام بولب روسیه نک الوغ انقلابی وقتنده حبس خانه وفات بولمشدر .

ینه ایکنچی اوغلی عبد المجید بن حیب الرحمن قارغالی خیرالله حضرت مدرسه سنده قرآن حفظ قیلب صوکنده شولوق قارغالیده برادری خیرالله حضرت که معاون امام بولب توردی انقلاب وقتنده حکومت طرفندان نفی قیلنب صوکئی کونده اوا شهرنده تورمش قیلادر جماعتی ایسه یوقاریده مذکور لطف الله علیکایف دان قالمش هدیه اسملی قزنی نکاح لانب بوکونکه قدر سلامت لاردر بالالاری یوق . امیر حضرتک بر قزی شمس بانو اسمنده که مه لک بوینده بر باشقرد اولنده سعدی اسملی ملاغه تورمشقه چغب شونده وفات بولمشدر بر اوغل بالاسی بولسه کیره ک

امیر حضرت نک گلشوم اسملی قزی آرنبورغ اویازی سالیهش بوینده یوزای دیکان اولده عبد الناصر اورمانف دیکان کئی که تورمشقه چغب شونده وفات اولمش در اورمانف نک بوزای اولنده سالیهش صونده تکرمه نی بولب شونک بلان عمر کچرمشدر یاخشی غنه دولت ایاسی بولغان در . عبد

الکریم حبیب الرحمن هم فیض الرحمن اسمنده اوغل لاری بار ایدی.  
فیض الرحمن حافظ کلام الله بولب صوکره استانبولده اوقب شونده وفات  
بولب قالسه کیره ک /16ob/

استرلیباش نک بزنگ عصرمزه هم بورغراق لاری زماننده بولب اوتکان  
مشهور خلفه لاردان (درس ایتوچی معلم لار) توبانده گی ذاتلار

۱ نچی حاجی خلفه رسمی عبد الله نعمة الله اوغلی پیرم کورناسی ساراپول  
اویازیندان کیلب استرلیباشده اوقب درس ایتمش در صوکره حاج سفرینه  
کیدب مدینهء منوره ده وفات بولب قالمش زیارتی جنت البقیع ده

۲ حلیم خلفه امیرف بوری اویازی بورای اولنده تووب استرلیباشده اوقب  
درس ایتکان قایتب بورای قریه سنده وفات بولمش در بر وقت لار سیریه  
ده تومسکی شهرنده امام بولب توردی صوکره آندان کوچب بورای غه قایتب  
آخون امام بولب شونده وفات ایتدی الله نک رحمتنده بولسن خوش سوزلی  
آچق یوماردکشی لاردان ایدی سلامت وقتنده کورب صحبت ایتدم اللهم إن  
کان محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئاً فتجاوز عنه

۳ مهدیار خلفه بلبای اویازی چقدای فولصندان کیلب استرلیباشده اوقب  
صوکره درس ایتشدر علوم دینیه و عربیات ده یاخشی عالم بولسه کیره ک اللهم  
اغفر وارحم.

مهدیار خلفه دان ابوالنعیم اسمنده بر اوغل قالب اول هم شولوق استرلیباش  
مدرسه سنده اوقب علوم نجوم و عقائد فن لارندان یاخشی عالم بولب درس  
ایتب کوبکنه ملالر چقاردی عمرنده ایگنچیلک و مالکیلق بلان هم سودا  
یولنده کسب ایدب عمر بوینده درس اوقتب هم صاحب دولت بولب ۱۹۲۵  
نچی ییل لارده وفات بولب استرلیباش نک الوغ مقبرسنده دفن ایدلمش در الله  
نک رحمتنده بولسن.

۵ عید خلفه بن فضل الله بلبای اویازی اسلاق اولندان کیلب استرلیباشده  
اوقب صوکره خلفه بولب درس ایتشدر بلکه ۱ نچی مرتبه بولسه کیره ک  
استرلیباشنده کیتب آچب سودا قیله باشلاغان یاخشی دولت ایاسی بولب  
صدقهء جاریه سندان استرلیباشنه بیش مدرسه بناء قیلب وفاتی صوکنده

۰۰۱ دیساتینه توپراق (بیر) استرلیباش نک مسجد هم صوخانه ینه اسلاق  
 آورنده ۶ محله مسجدنده فائده لانو اچون وقف ایتب قالدی. ملک نده  
 استرلیباش بلان مقصود اولی اورتاسنده دورت یوز دیسه تینه بیر بار ایدی  
 استرلی صووی آشا قومبازی صووینه قدر ایدی وقتنده یاخشی اوتارلار  
 قورب ایگنچیلک بلان معیش ایدب /161a/ ۱۸۹۵ نچی یل لرده وفات بولب  
 استرلیباش نک الوغ مقبرسندده دفن قیلنمش باشنده یازولی تاش بار بو خلفه  
 نک سلامت وقتنده کورب بله م قالرمش خیرات نی خدا قبول قیلب باقیات  
 الصالحات لارنده ایلاسن. آمین بن فقیرده بوخلفه نک مدرسه سنده ۱۹۰۳  
 نچی یلغه قدر اوقب یاتدم الله مغفرت ایلاسون. آمین. اللهم إن کان محسنا  
 فزد فی احسانه وإن کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه آمین اوزینک ملک بولغان بیرنی  
 استرلیباش یاغندان یوکالی قول دیکان چقوردان باشلاب استرلی صووی آشا  
 قومبازی توغاینه قدرلی بر آرشین تیره ن لکنده اور (کاناو) قازب چیکیلاب  
 قویدی حاضرده کاناوی معلوم بولب تورادر.

۶ نچی خلفه زین الله حضرت حسروشیر اوغلی اویاوی آرسلان اولندان  
 ترجمهء حالی یوقاریده یازلب اوتدی. لقبی امیر خضرت.

۷ نچی بزنگ آتامز علی خلفه اسان آلی اوغلی آیدابولف قزاق طائفه سی  
 استرخان کورناسینه قارغان بوکه ی خان ایلندان چرکس روغی نارون  
 قسمندان یکرمی یاش لارنده استرلیباشینه علم استار اچون کیلب علوم دینیه  
 درس لارن تمام لاب صوکره استرلیباش نک الوغ خلفه لارندان بولب کوب یل  
 لار درس بلان مشغول بولب ۱۹۱۹ نچی میلادیه إرجعی الی ربك راضیه مرضیه<sup>433</sup>  
 آیتینه بوی سنب امانت جانی جناب حق غه تاپشرب استرلیباش نک الوغ  
 مقبرسندده مدفوندر یازولی تاشی هم باردر علم فقه تفسیر و حدیث بیان  
 معانی اصول فقه نحو و صرفدان زور معلوماتی بار ایدی بو هم یوقاریده  
 یازلب اوتدی

۸ نچی بزم اوستادمز عبد الکبیر خلفه دین مجد اوغلی ارسایف (ساتیف)  
 استرلیباشقه یاقن تتر آرسلان اولندان کیلب دینی علوم عربیه نی تمام لاب

433 [Q 89: 28.]

صوکره استرلیا شده درس اوقوچی خلفه بولب قالمش مرحوم یاخشی معلوماتلی علوم رضائیه (فن علمی) بیک اشنا بولب حساب جغرافیه و تاریخ دان هم شاکردلارنی اصول جدیده ترتیب لی یکل آنا تلنده اوقونوی بیک تیوشلی دیب سویله راییدی بزم عصرمزمده عزیزته لارنک نه ایدکنی بزم استرلیا شنده بهاس لار اول مرحوم شول وقتده باچه سراییده مرحوم اسماعیل عصرنسکی طرفندان نشر ایدلمش ترجمان عزیزته سن ۱۸۹۶ نیچ یلدان باشلاب آخر عمرینه قدر آلب اوقدی هم بز شاکردلارگه کیچ درسدان /161b/ صوک بز لارنی چاقرب اوقب کورسه تورایدی هم ایتورایدی بر زمان کلور بوندای عزیزته لارکوب بولور شونک اچون سرلارنی اوقوغه اوگرانب قالسون لار دیب اوققدم دیورایدی مین فقیریدی یا شمدان باشلاب بو مرحوم خلفه نک قولنده صرف دان باشلاب اون آتی یاشمه قدر سبق اوقدم ۱۸۹۶ نیچ یلارغه قدر باچه سرایدان اصول جدیده بلان اوقولا تورغان کتابلارنی بوچته بلان آلدرب یاش شاکردلارگه تورکی تلنده شونی اوقوایدی مین اوزمه شول ۷-۸ یا شلارنده حساب دان جدول بیر ییونی (؟) یا تلاب دورت عمل حساب نی اوگر اتدی الله رحمتده بولسن یوقاریده یازلب اوقمشر تاریخی جغرافیه زور کتاب لاری وارایدی ابن خلدون تاریخ جودت تاریخ طبری و باشقه لاردان کوب ایدی شول درجه ده علم سویوچی بولدی که ترجمان عزیزته سین آخر عمرینه قدر چقغان عزیزته نی کتاب روشده جلدلاب الوغ نیچه جلدلار ساقلاب قالدردی عزیزته ده بعض بر مقاله لارنی تیکشرب اوزینک فکرنی چیت لارینه یازب قویار ایدی الله رحمتده بولسن<sup>434</sup>

۹ نیچ عبد الرحیم خلفه طیب شعائف بو عرسلان اویازی مؤمن آولی (طایمان) ندان کیلب استرلیا شنده اوقب خلفه بولب کوب یل لار درس اوقتب بایتاق غنه امام لار چقار مشدر هم علم طیب ده یاخشی عالم بولب بزم عصرمزمده کوب رنجولارگه دوأ قیلب بیچاره لارنک حیاتینه سبب بولدی علم طیب ده کوب کتاب لاری بارایدی هرکون کتاب قاراب یاز بولسه یالاندان طبیعت

434 [In the margin: استاذمز عبد الکرم خلفه ۱۳۱۷ نیچ سنه هجریه ده وفات بولب استرلی باش] الوغ مقبره سنده مدفون در یازولی تاش باردر

نک هر توری ساچکه و اولانلاری جیب اوزی داور قیلور ایدی خالق قانتب یورمادی هر وقت ئش بلان مشغول بولب گل باقچه لاری ایگب یک یاخشی ساچه کلار اوسدرر ایدی بزم تاو بویلارنده اوسه تورغان خوش اسلی چابر اولان هم تملک اولان لارندان حوش اسلی مای لار اوزی چغارر ایدی ۱۹۰۵نجی ییل لارنده بولسه کیره ک استریباشندان کوچب توغان اولین قایتب امام بولب درس ایتب شول مؤمن آوله مدفوندر عبد الرحمن اسلی هم عید الله اسلی اوغل لاری بولب الوغ انقلاب زماننده محبوس لک یورب وفات ایتمش لاردر الله نک رحمتنده بولسنلار مذکور عبد الرحیم خلفه یک فاضل تقوی علم اهلی ایدی اللهم اغفر وارحم آمین /162a/

۱۰نجی استاذمز فتح الله خلفه فتاح الدین اوغلی بلبای اویازی اوصاق کیچو اولندان کیلب استریباشنده درس اوقب هم شونده خلفه بولب قالمشدر مرحوم نیچه ییل لار استریباشنده درس اوقتب کوبکنه امام و مدرس لار نشر ایتدی فقیرده بو رحمتلوفتح الله خلفه دان آتی یدی ییل درس اوقب صوکره آنک مدرسه سندان ۱۹۰۴نجی ییلدن مدینهء منوره یه سفر ایتدم مرحوم فتح الله خلفه یک آز سوزلی هر توری علم دان خبردار اولب صوکنی کونلارده کوب مصر و استانبول علماء لاری طرفندان یازلمش اثرلارنی یک نق محاکمه قیلب اوقور ایدی دینده بولغان کوب حرافات لارنی آکلار ایدی بتون عمری کتاب قاراب شونک برله مشغول بولدی ۱۹۲۰نجی ییل لارده توغان اولی اوصاق کیچو قریه سنه کوچب قایتب آنده برنیچه ییل لار علم یولنده خدمت ایتب شول قریه ده آخر نفسنی جناب حق غه تابشرب اوصاق کیچو اولنده مقبره سنده دفن قیلنمش در رحمة الله علیه رحمة واسعة عبد المجید اسمنده بر اوغلی زهره اسلی بر قزی قالوب اشبو کونده اوغلی شولوق قریه ده معلم بولب تورماقده در یاخشی انصافی معلم لاردان محسوب بولب خدمت ایتکن ده زهره کم معلمه بولب خدمت ایتمکده فقیر ۱۹۵۵نجی ییلده بارب قبرینه زیارت قیلدم الله مغفرت ایتسون آمین.

۱۱نجی فخر الدین بن حسن الدین حوالین اویازی شیقوق فولصی ماستاک اولندان استری باشینه کیلب درس اوقب صوکنی کونلارده استریباشنده خلفه بولب قالمش

در علم قرأت یاخشی ماهر بولب کوب شاکردلارگه علم قرأت اوقتور ایدی بایتاق قنه امام لار چقارمش در قرأت نی شولوق حوالین اویازنده مشهور بدرالدین قاری دان آلمش در بو بدرالدین قاری کوب ییل لار ارنبورغ شهرنده و باشقه اورن لار ده قرآن ختم قیلب صوقر بولوینه قاراماستان آولنده اوزی ترکیلک قیلب یاشامش در اوغلی عاصم اسمنده مدینهء منوره ده ۰۱ ییل لار علم قرآن قرأت سبعة وعشرة بلان کلام الله نی حفظ ایتمش در . فقیرگز بو عاصم افندی بلان مدینه منورهده بشیر آغا مدرسه سنده برابر تورب هروقت حج سفرلارنده برابر یوررایدک مرحوم یاخشی حلیم آچق یوزلی بنده ایدی حرم شریف نبوی ده احصان شریف ده تراویح نمازنده برابر ختم ایتدک رحمة الله علیه رحمة واسعة /162b/

۱۲نجی مرحوم والدمز شیخ الاسلام عبد القادیر اوغلی منزله اویازی سارمان رایونی تاتار قارامالی آولندان یکرمی یاش لارنده استریباشقه کیلب اوقشدر یاش وقتنده آق بوی الوغ چاماق قریه سنده عبد الله حضرت غفورف مدرسه سنده برآز اوقب آندان استریباشینه کیلب خلیل الله بن رحمة الله خلفه مدرسه سنده اوقب صوکره خلیل الله خلفه جماعت آلب بیرب صوکره قزاقستان بوکای ایل تالوفکه دیکان رایون ده اسنبای آولنده آنامز بلان برابر بالالار اوقتب برنیچه ییل لار تورغان بوایسه استریباشده مشهور مجد حارث حضرت عصرنده بولمش در . شوندان ۱۸۸۲نجی یلده استریباشقه کوچب قایتب شولوق خلیل الله خلفه مدرسه سنده استریباش اولینک اشچی و فقیر لار بالالارن اوقوغه تعیین قیلب قرق ییل اوشبو اوقتوده دوام ایتب ۱۹۱۸نجی یلده دار البقایه کوچب استریباش مقبره سنده دفن قیلندی اوز قولم بلان لحدکه سالدم الله مغفرت ایلاسون رب اغفر لی ولوالدی وللمؤمنین یوم یقوم الحساب مرحوم آتامز بیک اهل عبادة اولب اوز عمرنده بر وقت نمازنی وقتندان قالدرمای آخرغی کوننده اولیه نمازنی اوقب چالماسن نمازغینه قویب شول طهارتی بلان امانت جانبی تابشردی حتی پویزدلارده یورگه ن وقت لارنده ده بر وقت نمازنی وقت ندان قالدرمای اوقور ایدی آنامز مرحومه شولایوق اهل عبادة اولب قدر الحال عمر بوینچه استریباش قز بالالارنی



اوقتب امانت جانی آتامز بلان برابر 1918نچی یلده تابشرب استرلیباش الوغ مقبره سنده دفن قیلندی اوزم قولم برلان لحد قوینینه سالدم الله مغفرت ایلاسن آمین.

۱۳ ابو النعیم خلفه محمدیار اوغلی بلبای اویازی چقادی تاماق فولسندان اسلام بیک اولندان کیلب استرلیباشده اوقب خلفه بولب قالمشدر یاخشی علوم عربیه ده عالم کئی هم کوب یل لار استرلیباشده درس ایتب امام لار چغاردی هم ایگینچیلک بلان و باشقه کسب لارده بولب صاحب دولت بولب یاشادی 1930نچی یل لارده وفات بولب استرلیباش مقبرسنده مدفون در اللهم اغفر وارحم آمین /163a

استرلیباشنده بزنگ عصرمزده بولغان یاشراک خلفه لردان حاجی احمد خلیل الله اوغلی بابامز ولی الله رحمة الله اوغلی بلان بر توغمه آغامز استرلیباشده توغب اوسب آخرنده اورالسکی اوبلصی یالپاقطال (سلاچین) کازاچی پاسیولکه سنده عبدالله حضرت علکایف مدرسه سنده اوقب 1889نچی یل لرده قایتب خلفه بولب درس اوقودن کوبراک شاکردلاری دیم بوی مناوز اولندا هم قرغا قنیک اول لاردان بولور ایدی بیچاره عمر بوی حبس یول بلان منبلا بولب استرلیباشنده 1916نچی یل لارده وفات بولدی استرلیباش الوغ مقبره سنده آتاسی خلیل الله رحمة الله اوغلی قبری یاینه مدفوندر یازولی تاش لاری بار الله جمله سنی مغفرة قیلسون آمین احمد قلی خلفه قزاق طائفه سندان بای محمد اوغلی استرلیباشده اوقب صوکره خلفه بولب بایتاق یل لار درس اوقتدی 1925نچی یل لارده دیم بوی مناوز قریه سنه اماملق بارب شونده برنیچه یلار صوکره انقلاب وقتنده محبوس بولب اوقا حبس خانه سنده وفات بولمشدر الله عفو ایتسون برآز قز بالالاری بولسه کیره ک قایدده تارالوب بتکان لار در معلوم ایماس.

طاهر احمد جان اوغلی نوریمانف منزله اویازی ألم اولندان کیلب استرلیباشده اوقب برنیچه یل لار خلفه بولب صوکره 1919نچی یلنده استرلیباش نک اوچنچی محله مسجدینه امام بولب تعیین لانب خدمت ایتب 1928نچی یلنده استرلیباشده الوغ نا حق علیف نک واقعه سی مناسبتی بلان 3 یل غه

سپریه نفی قیلب سلامت قایتب استرلیباشقه یاقن آنچ آولنده امام بولب تورغان وقتنده ایکنچی مرتبه 1939ده ینه محبوس بولب اوفاتورمه سنده مظلوما وفات بولمشدر .

باشقه بزم عصرداش لرمزدان آز وقت بولسه خلفه نامنی آلب اوقته باشلاوچی لاردان عبد الرحمن علی خلفه اوغلی مجید حسنف فخرالدین خلفه اوغلی هم مینم شریکم عبد الله عبد الکبیر اوغلاری و باشقه لار بولب اوتدی . /163b/ استرلیباشده ایک قارة خلفه لار اسمنده یورگه ن بیکتیمر خلفه علی اکبرف اربنورغ کوبرناسی تایماس اولندان یکلمش در بتون عمر بوینچه مسجده عبادة ایلان مشهور بولب نیچه نی یل لارده در حاترمده یوق ازول عمرگه ایرشب 96 یاشنده استرلیباشنده وفات بولب الوغ مقبره ده مدفون در یازولی تاش باردرد الله قیلغان عبادة لرنی قبول ایلان ایمان برله مشرف بولغان بنده لاری جمله سندان آیلاسون آمین

استرلیباشده بولب اوتکان حافظ الله لردان

برنجی شمس الدین صوفی ازاک اولندان آنک شاکردی عبد الکبیر صوفی آندان ازاک اولندان مذکور شمس الدین قارینک نبیره سی بولسه کیره ک فضل احمد قاری صوقر<sup>435</sup> شاکر قاری میر علی اوغلی احمرق قارغالیدا حفظ قیلب صوکئی کونده بزنگ عصرمزده مدینهء منوره ده بولب سلامت قایتب 1910 نیچی یل لارده بولسه بری اویازی بورای اولنده وفات بولمشدر الله مغفرت ایلاسون ینه شاکر قاری یاشرغان اولندان استرلیباشنده علی خلفه مدرسه سنده حفظ قیلب صوکئی وقت ده دیم بوی قنباک اولینه امام بولب شونده وفات بولمشدر

حسن قاری صوقر عبد الرحیم خلفه مدرسه سنده اوقب حفظ قیلب بعض بر اولغه چغب رمضانده ختم قیلور ایدی مینم اوت کورشم ایدی . قلغان ختم لارنی خدا قبول ایلاسون آمین .

435 [Added in the margin: بز عصرمز استرلیباش مسجده ند هب عصرمز استرلیباش مسجده ده 10 یل: یاخشی حفظی کامل لار قدر رمضانده ختم قیلب آ طرفنده ازاک اولنده وفات بولب قالمشدر . یاخشی حفظی کامل [متقی بنده لاردان ایدی قلغان ختم لارنی الله قبول ایلاسون آمین]

عبد الصابر صوفی دیلار بوهم عبد الرحیم خلفه ده اوقب قاری بولب  
 استرلیباش مسجدنده 1923 ییل لارده ختم قیلب اوتدی بوغرسلان اویازی  
 طامیان (مؤمن) اولندان مینم آلدنده ده برآز قرآن تجوید اوگراندی آتاسی  
 عبد القاهر اسملی ایدی بیک یاخشی بابای ایدی عند الله کم در خدا بلی  
 بوده 1932 نیچی ییل لرده وفات بولب استرلیباش مقبره سنده مدفون الله مغفرة  
 ایلاسن آمین

سمیع الله قاری استرلیباش نیک عبید الله عبد الله اوغلی مناسیف استرلیباشنده  
 طاهر ملاده حفظ قیلب رمضان ده ختم قیلب یاش وقتنده وفات بولب  
 استرلیباش مقبرسنده مدفوندر

عبد الواحد ابو النعیم اوغلی مناسیف یاخشی حافظ لاردان بولسه ده ختم  
 قیلهادی یاش وقتنده 1921 ییلده وفات بولب استرلیباش مقبرسنده مدفوندر  
 بالاسی یوق جماعتی عائشه عبد الرحمن تورک قزی تحفة اللین ایدی حاضرده  
 سلامت. /164a/

آخرغی قاری لردان بولسام کیره ک فقیرگز عبد المجید قاری بن شیخ الاسلام  
 قدیرف مدینهء منوره ده حرم شریف نبوی کلام الله نی حفظ قیلب قایتب  
 استرلیباش مسجدنده 1925 ییلده برکره ختم قیلدم قیلغان ختم مزنی خدا قبول  
 ایلاب ریاءدان آخر صولومدا خدا ایلام مشرف ایتسه ایدی آمین 1926  
 ییلنده ایدل بوی جیرگه ن اولنده ختم قیلب 1927 نیچی میلادیه آرنبورغ شهرنده  
 حسینف لار مسجدنده امام عبدالعلیم دولتشین چاقروینه بناء شولوق ییلده  
 کروان سرای مسجدنده ختم ایتدم امامی نعمة الله حضرت تیموشف ایدی  
 استرلیباشده مکهء مکرمه یه وارب حاج قیلغان کشتی لار بزم عصرمزده زین  
 الله حضرت علیکایف عید خلفه فیضوللین حسین حاجی کریمف عبد القادر  
 محذوم توقایف عبد الرحیم علی خلفه اوغلی چالاتایف بخت غنی محذیاریف  
 عبد الرقیب ناظر ف فقیرگز عبد المجید بن شیخ الاسلام قدیرف عید مجد  
 احمر ف عبد الله بن عبد الکبیر ساتیف لاردر

زمانم ده فقیرگز طرفندان قرأت هم کلام الله نی حفظ قیلدرغان شاکردلارم  
 دان برنیچی عبد الله بن زین الله حضرت نک اوغلی عبد العزیز 1910 نیچی ییلده

حفظ نی تمام لاب یاشلکده وفات بولدی عبد الصابر قاری کلام الله نی تکرار قیلب آلمزده بایتاق خطالرنی توزتدی حازرگی کونده سلامت فیدر رایونی اُتچ آولی کلام الله نی حفظ قیلب برنجی مرتبه ختمی استرلیباشنده یوقاری محله ده ختم قیلدی ختم نده اوزم سامع بولب توردم حازرگی کونده ارنبورغ (چقالف) شهرنده یاشی در محله اهالیسی قارشونده بیک محترم بولب استقامت بلان قاری بغنده دوام ایته در 1954-55نجی ییل لارده ختم نده بولدم اهالی محله بیک راضی بولب فقیرگزگه ده احترام بلان دعاء قیلمق ده لار الله قبول ایتسون آمین بوشاکردم نک خدا عمرنده برکات بیروب بزلازنک صدقهء جاریه مز بولب قالسه ایدی کلام الله نی درست اوقوینه خدا حضورنده ان شاء الله مسئول بولماسام کیره ک دیب امیدمز بیک زور در . /164b/

اوزم قاری بولومدان باشلاب رمضان شریف لارده تراویح ده ختم قیلغان اورنلارمز

برنجی 1326 سنهء هجریه ده 1908نجی میلادیه مدینهء منوره ده حرم شریف نبوی نک روضهء مطهره سنده 23ده تراویح ده ختم ایدب ختم کیچه سنده زمانداش رفیق لارم هم مدینهء منوره محترم استاذلارمز حاضر اولب ختم دعاسنی قیلب تمام ایتدم.

ایکینچی مدینهء منوره دان 1908نجی میلادیه آغوست آینده سلامت استرلیباشینه قایتوب شولوق یلده رمضانده ایومزده آتا و آنامزنی آرتدمزده قویب و باشقه کورشی و دوست ایشلارنی تراویح ده حاضر بولب 14نجی رمضانده ختم ایتدم الله قبول ایتسه ایدی آمین آرتمزده قاری عبد الصابر صوفی سامع بولب ختم کیچه سنده محله نک حضرت و خلفه لاری حاضر بولب کوچکلک بلان ختم دعاسنی قیلب تمام بولدی.

اوچنچی 1909نجی میلادیه ده اورال اوبلصی جایه ق صوی بوینده البشن دیکان قزچی اولنده شونداغی سوداگیرلاردان محمدجان مانجوقف دیکان کئی نک چاقروی بوینجه یالپاقطال دان کیلب 1نجی رمضان دان باشلاب 10نجی رمضانده ختم منی تمام لادم خدا قبول ایلاسون آمین

دورتنچی مذکور اورال اوبلصی یالپاقطال (صلا مچین) دیکان کازاچی پاچولکه سنده مرحوم ولی نعمتمز عبید الله بن زین الله علیکایف نک التماسی بونجه 15 نچی رمضان باشلاب 27 نچی رمضان ختم منی تمام لادم خداريادن قیلهای قبول عمل لاردن قیلسه ایدی آمین مرحوم حضرت و باشقه محله نک آهای لاری ممنون بولب حضرت اوستمژگه بر صاری توسده پاناراس چاپان کیه ردی رحمت بالام عمرگزنی ضایع قله غانسز ایکان دیب دعاء قیلب رحمت ایتدی /165a/

بیش نچی دیم بوینده نیکفار دیکان اولده 1910 نچی سنه ده کیاومز سمیع الله آبدولین چاقروی بونجه 14 کونده ختم نی تمام لاب استریباشقه قایتدم خدا قبول ایلاسون آمین آلتنچی استریباشنده ایکنچی مرتبه ایومزده ختم ایتدم رمضان شریف ده تقبل الله

جیدنچی 1896 میلادی ده آق ایدل بوینده مشهور جرگان دیکان قریه ده محله امامی فاتح کریمف نک چاقروینه بناء 14 کونده ختم ایدب استریباشقه قایتب بو محله نک اهاالیسی 1905 نچی میلادیه مکروه چواش اسمنده یورب آخرنده پادشاه حکومتدان کوب یل لار اوزلارینک آتا بابالارندان مسلمان بولب کیلگان لک اثبات قیلب پادشاه حکومتده اسلامیة که کیرو قایتولارینه رخصت بولب شول 1905 نچی میلادیه ده مسجد صالبا یکرمی یل تولو مناسبتی بلان بزلا رنی رمضان ده ختم که چاقردیلا ر مسلمان بولغان یتمش خواجه لق بولب اسلامیت لرنده بیک محکم بولب اسلام نوری بلان منور بولب طنچ و راحت یاشامکده لاردن الی یوم القیامة اسلام دیننده بتون ذریات لاری قالب اسلامیت که قایتوغه طرشب یورگان بنده لارنک خدا خیر جزاسن نصیب ایتب اجماح اهل لارندان بولولارنی تلاب قلام.

سیگرنجی 1927 نچی میلادیه ارنبورغ شهرنده (چقالف)<sup>436</sup> حسینف لار مسجد نک امامی مرحوم عبد العلیم بن العلام دولتشین حضرتنک چاقروینه بناء 1

436 [In the margin: ارنبورغ ده بو ایکی ختم مزده مدرسهء حسینیه مدرسارندن عبد الرحیم: قاری بن حسن سامع بولب توردی اول وقتده 60 یاش لارنده بولسه کیره ک یاش وقتده |استانبولده اوقوب اعلی طلبه لارندان اولمش

نچی رمضان دان باشلاب 14نچی رمضانده ختم نی تمام قیلب شهرنده بالغوی اوزد محله سندن ده کوب کشتی لار تراویج ده حاضر بولدیلار الله قیلغان عمل لارمزی قبول ایدب قرآن اهلندان بولب خداغه امانت جانمزی تابشرونی نصیب ایتسون آمین /165b/ بو ختم تمام بولغاچ ارنبورغ شهرنده مشهور 1842 میلادیه ده بناء قیلنمش کروان سارای مسجدنه محتسب هم امام نعمة الله حضرة نک مصلحتی بوینجه 16نچی رمضانده هم متولیلردان ایکنچی امامی عبد القوی بن فاتح نومره مرغه کیلب بز لارنک مسجد مزده ختم قیلسه گز ایکان کیلب التماس قیلدیلار یاخشی بز لارنی دولتشین عبد العلیم حضرة چاقرتب یکترمش ایدی آگارغه مصلحت قیلایم مصلحت بارگز دیسه باررمن کیلب جواب آلورسز دیه قایتاردم ینه دان یکلورینه یاخشی باررمن دیب جواب بیردم شولوق 16نچی رمضان کچه سنده بارب ختم باشلادم اوزمزی کروان سارای اوزننده توررغه قوشدیلار الله رحمة ایتسون مؤذن افندی هم رفیقه سی 15 کون بوینجه تربیه لاب حرمت ایتدیلار 26نچی رمضان قدر کیچه سی کون ختم تمام بولدی. قدر کیچه سی بولو مناسبتی بلان ارنبورغ نک هر محله امام لاری وقاری لاری تورکستان دان منفی بولب یکمیش دامالار ختم مزده اشتراک قیلدیلار اولداشمز مرحوم محمد شاکر بن حارث طوقایف حضرتلاریده ختم مزدر اهالیکه برآز نطقلار سویلاب دعاء قیلب چقدق خاتون قز قرداشمز لاردان کوبکنه کشتی لار ختم کوننده مسجدنک یوقاری اورننده تورب اوقدیلار. ریاء دان بولمای عملز خدا رضالغی اچون بولسه ایدی آمین

اونچی 1925نچی میلادی ده استرلیباش الوغ مسجدننده 15 کونده ختم ایتدم محله امامی عبد العلیم بن حبیب الله بن حارث توقایف ایدی محتسب محمد شاکر بن حارث توقایف ایدی محله نک متولی لری کیلب التماس قیلولارنه موافق ختم گه شروع قیلدم متولی لاردان برادر مز محمد شریف بن خلیل الله خلفه عبد الجبار بن عطاء الله اسکندر ف هم باشقه لار ایدی الله تبارک ختم لارمزی قبول ایله گای ایدی عمر مده اول مرتبه ختم بولب شوندان 1927 سنه دان صوک ختم قیلا المادم سببی روسیه الوغ انقلاب بولوسبیلی ختم دان

توقتالب قالدیم باشمزغه تورلی بلالرده واقع بولدی یوقاریده یازلوب اوتدی.

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بزم عصرمزده استرلیباشده رمضان شریف ده آخرغی اوننده حضرتلار و خلفه لار قارة لار اعتکافکه کرلار ایدی اون کون بوینجه مسجدده عبادة قیلب شونده سخر و افطار قیلب کون بوینجه عبادة و قرآن او قومدرس و خلفه شول کون لارده مسجد ده درس بیرلار ایدی فقیرگز ده محترم حبیب الله حضرت نک درس نده بولب سیر النبی فقه دان کتاب الکراهاتدان تدریسنده بولدم اعتکاف وقتنده مسجدده یوزدان آرتق آدم یاتور ایدیلار هر یلنی قدر کیچه سی اخشامنده مرحوم عبد الله حضرة بن حارث مسجدکه یاتقان آدم لارکه افطار قیلدر ایدی بو خدا رضالغه اچون بولغان عادتی آخر وقتینه قدر دوام ایتدردی الله عمل لارن قبول قیلب آخرته آلدنده نصیب ایتسون آمین. ینه اوشبو اعتکاف کون لارنده هر کون اون خلفه او یله ران مقدم صحیح البخاری کتابی اوقب تامام لار آخرغی کونده دعاً مجلسی بولور ایدی کیچه سنده هر سنه تراویح نمازنده ختم قرآن قیلنور ایدی بزنگ عصرمزده ایک ختم قیلغان قاری عبد الکبیر صوفی بولدی آندان صوک آنک شاکردی ازاک اولی فضل مهد قاری عبد الصابر قاری ایک آخرغی وقت ده فقیرگز ختم قلدی خدا قبول ایلاسون

عید قربان جای کونلارنده کیلکان وقت لارده طوقایف حضرتلاری بارچه آرالارنده چالمش قربان ایتنی برکه حبیب یالانغه چاقرب بتون استرلیباش و باشقه کورشلی لاردان خالقلار چاقرب شونده اهالی که اشاتورلار ایدی ایکی یوز اوچ یوز قدر کشتی بولور ایدی حتی بار آغان ایر صبی بالالاردان برسی ده قالماس ایدی قرق ایلی چیلک صیوشلی زور قازان لار آشب پشرلار ایدی بو مجلس لار استرلیباشده مشهور کالچنیک بورنی ریکان اورنده بعضی وقت مسجد اورمانی بوینده بولور ایدی بو جیلشده تورلی بیگه آت چابدر آدم یوگرشدر و کبک اوین لار بولود ایدی یکریمی آرشین اوزنلغنده اوصاق کیرته قایرسن آرب یوشلی حالنده بیرگه قازب اولترب شوکک باشینه بالالارنی

اورمه لاب منارگه قوشالار ایدی کم منب یتسه آکار کانات مکانات بیرلار ایدی ینه بر کیرته اولترت شونک اوچینه آرقلی یارطی آرشن اوزنلغنده بر آغاچ /166b/ قاداقلاب شول آعاچ قه 15-20 تین لک کش تتکه نی برکنه قل بلان اسب قویارلار ایدی کده کم ملطق بلان شول تتکه آتوب تورسه آکا مکافات بیرلار ایدی ینه باشقه اوین لاردان باطرلار کوره شدرو بویغه یوقاریغه سیکرتو بدی برلان مویچه سینه آرقان کیب تاتور ترشرلار ایدی کم آغه چقسه شول مکافات لار

شولای ایتب اوین تمام بولغاچ 15 شه رکنی دان حساب لار یکرمی - یکرمی بیش تابون قیلب یتارلک ایکم همه سینه قاشق آش یاوق تارتب بولغاچ هرککه برر تاباق آش بیرلار ایدی یاش بالالارنی اوزن لارن آیرب نیچه تابن یاسب الارغه ده شولوق آش بیرلار ایدی

بزم عصر مزده 1896 نیچ میلادیه ده بولسه کیره ک نیکولای ایکنچی الیکساندر اوغلی آتاسی اولغاندان صوک تحت که اولترو مراسمی بولدی. مای نک 6 نیچ کوننده شول مناسبت برلان بزم استریلیاشده مشهور توقایف حضرتلاری و باشقه قریه اها لیسنده اتفای بلان (کارناوانیه) پادشاه نک حلوس کومی دیب بر بیرم کونی قیلدی لار بتون اول تیره یاق کورشی روس اول لار باشقه حکومت توره لاری اشتراک ایتدی لار بو جیتلش استریلیاشنک توبان طرفده زیارتدان توبه نرک سازقارشی دیکان تاع باشنده بولدی تاع باشنده چاطورلار (پالاتکه) قورب بیک اسکانبیکه لار اشلانندی کیل کان قوناق لارغه چاطرده چای بیرلدی الوغ راق کئی لارگه و باشقه یکمش دهقانلارغه اسکانبیکه قارشوسنه اوستال لار قویب شونده چای بیردی لار تحمینا بر ایکی مک کئی بولسه کیره ک میدان اورتاسینه خدا پادشاه نی صاقلادیه روسچه فلاک یازلوب یوقاری بر قاپقه غه النکه ن ایدی توش وقتی یتدی بتون مسلمان لار اولیه نمازی زور جماعت برله اوقب صوکره قرآن تلاوة قیلب دعاء قیلندی. صوکره بجاک به یگی کرسی باشلانندی آت چابدرو کئی لار یوکر توکره شو و باشقه ایون لار بولدی. آت استریلیاشقه 18 چاقرم بایم اولندان باشدان بیردی لار آلداغی آتقه کومش ساعت بر شال بیردی لار. یوگرگان کئی لارگه /167a/ استریلیاشقه



ایکی چاقمدان آرتغرراق مقصود اولندان باشلاب یوگر دیلار مرتضی اولنیک بر باشقرط یکتی آلدن بولب بر چاپان مکافات بیرلدی باشقه لارینه سولکی و یاولق کبک بوله کلار بیرلدی حاضرده بوتاونی کارناوانیه تاوی دیب اسم بیرمه کده لار. مرحوم استاذمز حبیب الله حضرت شول کون کیچ که قارشی جماعت و بالالاری بلان اورالسکی گه سفرگه کیتدی. مجلس تمام بولب کیچن خالق شاد بولب تارالدیلار.

1915نجی میلادی ده گیرمانیه صوعشی وقتنده روسیه کوب اسیرلار کیلو سبیلی شولارغه استرلیباشنده بر یاردم قیلو جمعیتی آپلادی هر کم اختیاری 3 صوم آچه تولاب اعضا بولدیلار بن فقیر ده اعضالاردان بولب یاز کوننده اسیرلار فائده سینہ بر صبان طوی یاساوغه قرار قیلندی. حا طرمده یوق مای آینک نیچه نچی کونی ایدی صبان طوینہ 50 تین بیلیت بلان کررگه بولدی طوی بولدی استرلیباشقه کور شومقصد اولی توباننده حسن شاه آغانک تکر مه نی یورطنده بولدی بیک کوب جمعیت بولب آطلار یکر تب کشی لار یوکر تب آداغی لارغه مکافاة لار بیرلدی. بو طومیز کوبکنه کیلور بولب پچاره اسیرلارگه یاردم قیلندی بو مجلسده استرلیتاماقدان کوبکنه ناچالک لارده حاضر بولدیلار.

مذکور یلده گرمانیه طرفندان روسیه قارشی تورکیه حکومتی ده محاربه قیلدی باتوم شهرنی طرفنده تورکیه نک قارص آژدرهان صاری کامش دیکان شهرلارنده محاربه بولب بیکراکده صاری قامش کوبکنه ترکیه عسکرلاری اسیرگه توشدیلار قش وقتی ایدی بولارنی روسیه نک بایتاق شهرلینه تاراتدیلار شول وقتنده اوفاده تروچی ماهی په روه ز بیکه شیخ علینا دیکان خانم حکومت دان رخصت آلب تورک اسیرلارینه مسلمان لاردان اختیاری اغانه جیب یاردم قیلورغه هم حکومت رخصت بیرو مناسبتی بلان هر آ طرفندان اعانه جیب بیردیلار بو خانم نک ایری قافقازلی بر غنرال ایدی کوزی صوقرایدی قارةلق غه یتو بلان یورتنده عنه تربیه لانب یاتور ایدی. بو یل 1917نجی یلده بولورغه کیره ک فقیر ده اول یل لارنی حلکای اولنده حکومت مکتبنده معلم لک قیلور ایدم قولمدان کیلگان قدر مین آزمازا اعانه 167b/ غنوار آیلا رنده بولسه کیره ک اوزم اوفاعه بارب یوقاریده یازلمش ماهی

پروز خانم نی تابب ایونه قبول ایتدی مرحوم شیخ علییف افندی بلان ده تاشدردی قولده جیلغان اغانه لارمنی تابشرب رسمی کاپیته نسه آلب صوکره رخصت بیرمه دی بزده آش آشارسز دیه تکرار ایتونه بناء آشفه تورب قالدیم صوکره بنم تورکیه ده اووقغان لغمنی بلب میندان بایتاق نرسه لار حقتده مصلحت صورادی ایونده کویکنه اسپرلارکه حاضرلنکان کیم لارنی وکوله ک اشتان تاسمال باش وایاق کیم لادنی کورسه تب شوشی لارنی یاتورلار میکان دیب شوکرشب بیک رحمت اوقب بیک یاخشی اسپرلارکه ضرور کیم لارنی حاضرلمشسزدر دیه چن کوکلم دان تشکر قیلدم *وَيُطْعَمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا*<sup>437</sup> آیه کریمه سنده مصداق بولمش خدا سز لارنک صدقه جاریه لارگردن بولسه ایدی دیدم رحمت دیدی. صوکره فقیر ده خانم افندی ممکن بولسه شفاخانه که بارب شول اسپرلارنی بارب خاطرلارن سوراسم ایکان دیدم بیک خوش دیب رخصت کاعزی یازب قولمه بیردی ده توغری شفاخانه یه یونالدیم بارب کرب شول پیچاره نک احوالی صوراشدم کوبسی آوروایتولار تماق لار قارلق غان چونکه قش کوننده صالحون و آگونلارده کیلو سبیلی صوق آدرغانلار آندان قاتق سراولاری سبیلی شفاخانه ده صالحن قاتق کیترب بیرکان لار شونک تأثری بولسه کیره ک قولمدان کیلکان قدری آزماز صدقه منی بیرب الله غه امانت اولوگر دیه خیرله شب چغب کیتدم شوشی اسپرلارنه زیارة منی *وَيُطْعَمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَىٰ حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا إِنَّمَا نُطْعِمُكُمْ لِوَجْهِ اللَّهِ لَا نُزِيدُ مِنْكُمْ جَزَاءً وَلَا نُكُورًا*<sup>438</sup> آیه کریمه سینه مصداق بولب خدا بو زیارتنی درگاه عزتنده قبول ایلکای ایدی. آمین /168a/ اوزمزنک عصرمزده صبی وقتدان باشلاب اووقغان استاذلارم توبانده گی ذات لاردر

بیش یاشمده و قتمده مرحوم آتامزدان ایمان شرطی اوقی باشلاب صوکره عریچه شروط الصلاة و تعلیم الصلاة اصل التوحید و باشقه شوندا ی کتاب لار اوقدم برآز عریچه اوقی باشلاغان صوکنده پدرمز صرف نحو اوقورغه عبد

437 [Q 76: 8.]

438 [Q 76: 8-9.]

الکبیر بن دین محمد صائیف خلفه گه تابشردی کلام شریفنی باشلاب او قدم استرلیباشقه حضرتلارغه زیارة اچون یکیش اق بوی نده صارلی قریه سی احمد شاه حضرتدان آتامز مرحوم قوله یارقی کلام شریف توتدر ب حضرتنک آلدینه اولترب سورهء فاتحه نی اوقتدی هم دعاء قیلدی. صوکره آنامز مرحوم قوله یکرمی تین لک کش آچه بیرب بار حضرتکه بیر دیدی قولم بلان بیردم ده ینه دعاء قیلدی.

یوقاریده مذکور استاذمنک بعضی بر احوال ترجمه سی و سیرتی و فکری درس که اجتهادی حقنده حاطرمده بولغانلارنی یازام. جنت مکان استاذمز عبد الکبیر حضرت قسقه بویلی قارا توسده ایاک اوچنده آزغنه قارا صقالی قارا کوزلی ایدی. شاکردلارکه بیک قزو ایدی. هر وقت مدرسه لارنک تازالغن حتی شاکردلارنک آشاو اسبب لارینه قدر کوز سالب قاراب یورر ایدی درسکه بیک اجتهادلی برده درسدان قالغان وقتنی کورمه دم ایرته نمازدان باشلاب اوله گه قدر آندان ایکندی گه قدر اوقتور ایدی کیچن یتودان صوک ساعت 10-11 گه قدر مدرسه دان کیتاس ایدی. چیت اول لارغه قوناق بارب یورمادی هر وقت درسنده دوام ایتدی اوز عمرده ایکی مرتبه قوناق غه بارغان بلام اولده آطنه کیچ برنجی قارامالی غه جهانگیر حاجی جنازه سینه کیلب آوی سببلی ایکنچی کورشی که رکه لی اولینه علام الدین رحیم قولف جناز سینه بارغانده بلام یکرمی بیش چاقرم توغان تتر آرسلان اولینه بر وقت ده قش درس تاشلاب بارماغان. بتون عمری کتاب عزیته و ژورنال لاد قاراو بلان اوتدی مدرسه دان کیچ ساعت 11 - 12 لرده کیته ر ایدی ایونه قایتب ساعت بر ایکی که قدر مطالعه بلان مشغول بولور ایدی مدرسه ده وقتمزده کیچ درسدان صوکره چاقرب بزلا رگه ترجمان عزیته سنی اوقتور ایدی بزلا ر خلفه تیزره ک کیتور ایدی کتب اوقر ایدک عزیته که کوکل سالماس ایدک شول وقتده ایتور ایدی بالالار بر وقت /168b/ کیلور شول وقتقه قدر عزیته لرنی اوقب ایرانگردیه ر ایدی هم یاکا اوقولارغه مدرسه ده درس ترتیب لار قویارغه طر شور ایدی هر وقت پوچته بلان باقچه سر ایدان ترجمان اداره سینه یازب یاکانی اوقوغه موافق کتابلار آلدروب تورر ایدی

هم بزلا رکه ده شونداي کتاب لارني آلدرب اوقورغه نصيحت قيلور ايدى خواجه صبيان مشق دفتري و باشقه کتابلار بولور ايدى تاريخ و جغرافيه گه کوب اهميت بير ايدى تاريخ جودت ابن خلدون و باشقه تاريخ کتاب لارني سويلا ب بزلا رکه توشندر ايدى

آطنه غه ايکي کون توبان ره ک شاکردلارني جيب حساب رسچوط علم لارني اوکراتور ايدى. ترجمان عزيته سي برنجي يلندان باشلاب آلوب عزيته ده يازلمش مقاله لارني تفتيش قيلوب اوز فکرلارني چيتمه يازب قويار ايدى حتى مرتب نومرلارني يلق عزيته ني کتاب روشنده توبلاب قويار ايدى. وفاتي علم يولنده کوب اجتهادى سببلى سلامت لکينه خسته لک پيدا بولدى آش قازاني آغرب هضمى طعام قيلا آماس بولب اجلينه شوني سبب بولدى. موندای کشي لارکوبراک شونداي خسته لک لرگه اوچراب قالولارى معلوم قرانده مرحوم شهاب الدين المرجاني حضرتلارى ده شوشى خسته لک بلان وفات ايتمش در الله نک رحمتده غريق بولسنلار ايدى آمين. 1317 نجي هجريه ده استرليباش مقبرسنده مدفون در<sup>439</sup>

ملا حاجي اوقورغه باشلا غاچ استرليباش نک الوغ مدرس لارندان مرحوم حبيب الله بن حارث حضرتلرينه ملا حاجي هم فقه درسلا دینه بارب يورى باشلادم طريقهء محمدیه عين العلم کي کتاب لاردان درس آلم بعضى وقت رمضان شريف لارده سيرالنبي کتابي هم فقه دان کتاب الکراهيت ني اوقور ايدى رحمتلو استاذمز غفران رحمتده بولسن بخارادان اوقب قايتب مسجد و مدرسه و صوخانه لارني عمارت قيب بون استرليباش /169a/ نک مدرسه لارني بيک ياخشى يولغه سالدی. مدرسه آرالرينه تاشدان يوللار هم کيچ نده هر اورنغه فانارلار ياقدرب قويدى ياقدرب قويدى يازنک هر مدرسه نک آرتينه بيک قاين آغاچ لارى اولتر ب بر باقچه حالينه کيتردى مرحوم غايت توغرى سوزلى عادى گنه کيم لارکيار ايدى حلقق توغرسنده هيچ براونک حاطرينه قاراماس ايدى علوم عربيه دان هر قايفون لارني مطلع ايدى علم

1317 نجي هجريه ده آغوست آينده وفات خدا جانى جنت ده [Added in the margin: 439 قيلور]

القرأت دان جزری و شاطبی تفسیر و حدیث و عقائد و نحو کتابلارنی کامل شاکردلارنی قناعت لانرلک درس بیررایدی.

فتح الله خلفه فتاح الدین اوغلی استرلیباشنده اوقب صوکره خلفه عنوان نی آلوب استرلیباش مدرسه سنده کوب یل لار درس اوقندی فقیرگر ایسه بو محترم خلفه مزدان بایتاق یل لار درس اوقدق بیک یواش طبیعت لی هم عالم کشی ایدی آز سوزلی ملایم آقرغنه درس بیررایدی حدیث دان مشکاة شریف تفسیردان جلالین اصول فقه دان توضیح درسلاارنی اوقدم هر توری کتاب لارنی مطالعه قیلب حقیقت نی آکلارغه اجتهاد قیلور ایدی حق نرسه لارکه برده تعصب قیلهاس ایدی مرجانی حضرت و موسی بن جارالله حضرتلارنک کتاب لارنی مطالعه قیلب کوب وقت درس فکده بولمش لار دیب سویله لار ایدی باشقه خلفه لار کوب تعصب لق بلان مفتون بولسه لارده بو مرحوم استاذ مزآنلاره هر توری دلیل لار بوینجه اوز فکرنی سویلار ایدی الله نک غفران رحمة بنده لاری جمله سنده بولسه ایدی آمین. هیچ برکشی دان طمع قیلهاس اوز کوچی بلان اوزینه حاجت قدرلی ایکن ساچب اوزی تاشب اوزی صوعب جای کونلارنده عمرنی اوتکارر ایدی اش وقتلارنده چاباتا کیب باشقه دهقان لار کبک یورر ایدی تورمشنده برآت بر صیری باشقه نرسه بولماس هیچ کمگه حسد لک ایماز بادینه قناعت قیلب عمرنی درس یولنده اوتکاردی.

صوکی عمرنده استرلیباشدان توغان اولی اوصاق کیچوگه قایتب شونده قرارلایوب اوصاق کیچو مقبرسنده مدفون در 57 نیچی یلده بارب زیارة ایتدم الله مغفرة ایتسون آمین قدیرف

/207b/ میلکه سدان کیاومز عبد الحق نک تیلگرام خبرینه بناء 1958 نیچی یلده آغوست 4 نده قزم مریم نک قزی زهره دنیاغه کیلدی اولیان اوبلصی ملکه س رابوننده شهرنده آتاسی عبد الحق 1378 نیچی هجریه ده 7 نیچی صفر آینده خداغه قل پیغمبرکه امت آتا و آناسینه شفقتلی بالا بولب خیری عمر توفیق محبتلی بالا بولسون آمین

1958نجی یلده سنتابرآینده اوزم بارب اسلام ستی بلان اسمنی قویدم. خدا توفیق بالا ایتسون آمین.

باباسی عبد المجید قدیرف یازم ارنبورغ شهرنده  
خدا تعالی وتبارك حسن فاتحه نصیب ایلاسه مینم قبرم اوستینه شولای تاش  
یازارسز بالالارم سزرلرگه وصیتم شوشی در.  
اذکروا موتکم بالخير

بوقبرده مدفون حاج الحرمین وحافظ کلام الله عبد المجید بن شیخ الاسلام  
القدیری الاسترلی باشی 1881 میلادیه توغان 1962نجی یلده 5 غنوارده وفات  
اللهم اغفر وارحم  
له الفاتحه<sup>440</sup> /208a/

عمرلک یولداشم وشریکم عید محمد بن میر علی احمر ف نک وفاتی باشقردستان  
جمهوریتنده بیلارید شهرنده وفات بولدی 1956یل لارده بولسه کیره ک حافظ  
کلام وعالم مدینهء منوره ده حفظ قیلوب هم و باشقه حدیث شریف و  
باشقه فن لاردان تحصیل قیلوب 1920نجی میلادیه ده بوری اویازی بورای  
اولی نه قایتب مدرسه آجب درس اوقتدی برنیچه یل لار الله مغفرة ایلاسون  
آمین 8 یا شمدان آخری عمرینه برابر اوقب هم حفظ ایدب مدینهء منوره دن  
باب السلام بشیر آغا اسملی مدرسه ده تور دق بورای قریه سنده یاخشی  
ملت خدمتینه کرشب بیک اجتهاد بلان باشلا عان ایدی مع التأسف روسیه  
نک الوغ انقلابی تولقونی چیت بروب چغار ب برآز وقت اوفاده مرکز کتبخانه  
سنده مدیر بولب اسلام تورغان وقتنده سیریه طرفینه هجرة ایدوب آندان  
یاپونیه طرفلارنده بولب سلامت قایتب بلبای شهرنده باشقردستان قاراشلی  
برنیچه یل جماعتی مریم برلان اوزلاری یورط سالب ترلیکچیلک ایتب آخر  
عمرنده بیلارید سنده مقسوم عمرنه خاتمه قیلوب دفن ایتلدی. اللهم إن کان  
محسنا فزد فی إحسانه وإن کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه

81 یه شده وفات [Dates of death were added by another hand. Here was also added: وفات  
بولغان]

عقلم سلامت و قتمده یازدم 1961نچی یل ارنبور شهرنده یولد اش عبد المجید  
قدیرف /208b/

یوقاریده 6نچی بیت ده یازلمش شریکم عبد الله عبد الکبیر اوغلی ساتیف 19  
نچی میلادیه ده قزان شهرنده امانت جانی تابشرمشدر اللهم ان کان محسنا  
فزد فی احسانه وان کان مسیئا فتجاوز عنه اللهم ارحم واغفر ذنوبه آمین  
25نچی ایولده جمعه کون کوندز رفیقه سی ساجده خانم قولنده جان تسلیم  
ایتشدر یدی یاشم دان باشلاب استرلیباش مدرسه سنده مرحوم نک آتاسی  
قولنده درس اوقدق صوکره 1904نچی میلادیه استانبول شهرینه بارب صوکره  
مکهء مکرمه یه حج قیلب صوکره مدینهء منوره ده بر سنه تورب ینه دان  
استانبول شهرینه کیلب دار الفنون طبیعت بولکنی تمام لاب قایتب روسیه ده  
کوب شهرلارده معلم لک بلان مشغول بولدی الما آتاده صوکره ارنبورع ده  
مدرسهء حسینیه ده صوکره اوفاده ایک آخری قزان ده بولب آخر وقتنه قدر  
علوم و معارف یولنده خدمت ایتدی. اوزینک اوطز قدر قم و طبیعت  
حقنده یازلمش اثرلاری قالمشدر فقیرنگز مرحوم شریکم 1957ده چاقروینه بناء  
قزان غه بارب کورشب بیش کون تورب قایتدم مرحوم رفیقم بلان آخرغی  
آیرلشومز بولغان ایکان بوکون 16نچی نویارده رفیقه سی ساجده خانم نک  
مکتوبی بوینجه وفاتی ایشتدم الله نک رحمتنده بولسن آمین<sup>441</sup>

441 [Added here later: شوشی تاریخ نی یازوچی حافظ کلام 1962نچی یلده 5نچی عنوارده وفات: بولدی عبد المجید شیخ الاسلام القدری دنیادن کوچتی باقایا یورتنه ارنبورغ شهرنده دفن  
[قیلندی]





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