

Literary and Historical Foundations of the Zullisanayn Tradition

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Abstract. *The phenomenon of bilingualism is also manifested in various forms in Sufi literature, which is considered the literary and historical foundation of the Zullisonayn tradition. In the early centuries of Islam, creativity in local languages ceased, and the Ajam peoples also engaged in science and creativity in Arabic. At the same time, they tried to save the spiritual heritage created in their native language from extinction by translating it into Arabic. In this sense, the cultural heritage created in Arabic is considered the common spiritual heritage of all Muslim peoples. The majority of Ajam poets and scholars who created in Arabic aimed to instill in their works the spiritual heritage left by their pre-Islamic thinkers. This article analyzes the data on the existence of scribes and scholars who were equally creative in two languages, and the existence of the Zullisonayn tradition not only among translators, but also among scribes and linguists.*

Key words: *Zullisonayn tradition, literary-historical basis, Sufi literature, creativity.*

In the early centuries of Islam, two powerful empires, the Persian and Roman empires, dominated the world. After the Persian Empire fell to the Islamic conquerors after the Battle of Qadisiyah, the number of peoples and ethnic groups in the caliphate increased. According to the customs of that time, this population was divided into two large groups - Arabs and non-Muslims [1; P.19.]. During the Umayyad Caliphate, the procedure for collecting the *juz'* tax from non-Muslims who converted to Islam (this category included Persians, Turks, and representatives of other peoples and tribes) remained. The arrogance of the Arabs and their failure to adhere to the strict rule stated in the holy books of Islam that "A Muslim is a brother to a Muslim" gave rise to a movement called "Shu'ubiyya" among the non-Muslim peoples [1; P.67]. While the moderate stream of Shu'ubis emphasized that the local population who converted to Islam would have the same rights, responsibilities and obligations as the Arabs, some representatives who went to the extreme began to deny the religion they brought along with the Arabs. Therefore, there is no consensus on Shu'ubiyya and its nature.

Shu'ubiyya had many positive aspects for the culture and literature of the Muslim East. In particular, under the influence of this movement, the peoples living in the lands of Khorasan and Transoxiana managed to preserve their customs, language and national characteristics. In the lands that were ancient centers of culture, such as Iraq, Syria and Egypt, the process of Arabization was carried out continuously, and the languages of the local peoples were gradually forgotten. National pride, a sense of pride in one's past and present, and self-sacrifice in the path of self-awareness are initially reflected in the works of novice poets and artists, scholars, and scribes who write in the Arabic language. The poems of famous Arab poets such as Ismail bin Yasar Nasavi (from the city of Nisa, between the cities of present-day Bukhara and Toshavuz), Khuraimi, Bashshar bin Burd Tokharistani (from the present-day Afghan region near the city of Termez), and Ibrahim bin Mimshad Isfahani contain a

number of poems that promote patriotism, rebellion against the fanaticism and ignorance of the Arabs, pure Islamic teachings and tolerance, and mutual harmony [2; P.212.].

Sa'id ibn Hamid Bakhtgan, originally from Transoxiana, in his works such as "Intisaf ul-Ajam wal-Arab" ("A Fair Comparison Between the Non-Arab and Arab Peoples") and "Fazl ul-Ajam 'ala-arab wa iftikhar-uho" ("The Virtues and Pride of Non-Arab Peoples in Relation to the Arabs"), presented the glorious past, beautiful behavior, qualities and distinctive aspects of non-Arab peoples (mainly Persians and Turks) with the basis [3; P.112.].

This situation continued not only during the Umayyad era, but also in later periods - in the early stages of the Abbasid Caliphate. If in the works of the Umayyad era, geographical territory was mainly taken as a basis, in the later period, national affiliation moved to the field of open discussion and debate. Caliph Ma'mun's contemporary, the famous scholar and head of the "Baytul-hikma" - Sahl bin Harun wrote about the "Masalib" (customs and traditions adopted from the Persians) of the Arabs, while Abu Ubayda Muammar bin Musni created the book "Faz'il ul-furs". The famous Arab writer and scholar al-Jahiz writes about the Turks in "Faz'il al-atroqiya" as follows: "The Turks are brave, strong, courageous and noble. They are reliable friends and do not spare their wealth or lives for the sake of a friend. Literate people make up the majority among the Turks. They value people of knowledge and support people of art and creativity" [4; P.221]. Of course, such thoughts and ideas, such an approach within the intelligentsia chronically influenced other layers of society. The Abu Muslim revolt and the subsequent decline of the Umayyad Caliphate, and the subsequent acquisition of great political power by various local nobles in the Caliphate, in a sense, paved the way for the development of the language, culture, and literature of the local peoples. Also, during the period we are considering, prominent representatives of the non-Arab peoples managed to create a significant scientific and creative heritage in Arabic literature and literary sciences.

The European scholar Adam Metz, in his book "The Muslim Renaissance", notes that scribes occupied a special place in the cultural life of this period. Secretaries were not only engaged in copying written works, but were also responsible for running the palace divan.

At the initial stage of the Caliphate, prose in Arabic did not play a significant role in socio-cultural life (of course, sacred sources are not included in this calculation. Here we are referring to examples of scientific and literary prose). During the Umayyad era, the work of the divan and the work related to writing and drawing in the palace were gradually taken over by Muslims who were not originally Arabs, but who had perfectly mastered the eloquence and eloquence of the Arabic language. In particular, the art of writing and the tradition of eloquence did not have a specific order and system until the time of Jabala ibn Salim, who served as secretary during the reign of Caliph Hisham ibn Abdul Malik (d. 125 AH/725 CE). During the Umayyad era, there was a need to refer to literary and historical sources in diplomatic letters, correspondence between the caliph and other state officials, historiography, and other matters. In order to satisfy this need, Jabala ibn Salim translated stories such as "Rustam and Isfandiyar" and "Bahram Cho'bina" from the old Pahlavi language into Arabic and narrated them in both languages, as Ibn Nadim recorded in his work "Al-Fihrist".

Ibn Nadim writes about Abdulhamid ibn Yahya, a disciple of Jabala ibn Salim: "He was a mawla (a term used to refer to a person who was originally a slave and then freed after becoming a Muslim) of the Bani Amir and an Ajami. He was Marwan ibn Muhammad's personal secretary both when he was the governor of Armenia and when he was the caliph. After Marwan was executed (130 AH / 750 CE), he hid for a while with his friend Abdullah ibn Muqaffa. But the Abbasids' guards found him and killed him... Abdulhamid used to write in two languages with the same pen. He is a master of the tradition of tarasul in Arabic. He established the tradition of putting the tamhidat (basmala, hamd, na't and wasf) at the beginning of letters, placing tarasul on the correct standard" [5; P.282].

It is known that zullisanayn is a literary phenomenon that appeared in the early period of the Arab Caliphate. Also, some traditions in the Arabic language, which initially found their perfection in the bosom of pre-Islamic literature, passed into national-Islamic literature with a new form and content under the influence of Islamic enlightenment. Abdulhamid ibn Yahya was considered by Arab literary scholars to be the founder of the art of essay and the genre of tarassul. According to the tradition

established by Abdulhamid, aphorisms and wisdom, stories and stories from ancient sources were quoted in treatises, sermons and letters. Through this, on the one hand, examples from the literature and history of other peoples were translated into Arabic, thereby saving them from extinction; on the other hand, the poetic and stilted style inherited from the literature of the Arab period of ignorance changed, and clear, simple and meaningful texts began to appear. In this way, Indian and Persian sources such as "Kalila and Dimna", "Khudoynama", "Buzurgmehr hakim pandnomasi" were translated into Arabic. As a result of these translations, the later creation of "One Thousand and One Nights" raised the literary status of Zullisonayn writers and translators.

In this regard, it is worth noting the services of the famous translator and scribe Abdullah ibn Muqaffa. Ibn Muqaffa was famous in Basra, one of the most important cultural centers of that time, as an accomplished scholar of Pahlavi and Arabic literature. Important sources such as "Siyar ul-muluk", "Oinnama", "Gohnama", "Mazdak Kitiwi", "Kitab ut-Taj" have reached us in Ibn Muqaffa's translations. The content and content of these translations were not only interesting, but also recognized as a criterion of mastery according to the criteria of the Arabic language. According to Ibn Muqaffa, a scribe should always choose simple and understandable words when expressing his thoughts. However, he emphasized that simple writing should not lead to the vividness of thought and lack of eloquence.

Ibn Muqaffa's views on the essence and importance of the Tarassul genre, the history and theory of literary sciences and genres, which he described in his works such as "Al adab as-sag'ir", "Al adab al-kabir", and "Kitab as-sahoba", are also valuable. These works also contain wisdom and poetic fragments in the Pahlavi language, which, according to some researchers, belong to his pen. If this idea is taken into account, we can include Ibn Muqaffa among the first Zullisonayn writers.

One of the most prominent Arabic-speaking scholars and writers of the first three centuries of Islam was Abu Hanifa Ahmad ibn Dawud Dinavari (died 281 AH/895 CE). His work "Akhbar at-Tiwal" is a reliable source of valuable information about the pre-Islamic period. He is known for introducing new genres and topics in the history of Islamic civilization with his "Kitab ul-fasoha" ("Book of Rhetoric") and "Kitab ul-wasayo" ("Book of Wills"). Dinavari is considered one of the leading scholars of his time in the sciences of grammar, lexicology, literary studies, geometry, mathematics, and astrology. He made a great contribution to the science of lexicology and comparative lexicology. Dinavari's works also provide information on the etymology of Turkic and Persian words that entered the Arabic language, and the study of these dictionaries is one of the urgent tasks of comparative linguistics. In addition, Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Qutayba (213-276 AH/ 829-891 CE) - the author of "Adab ul-katib" and "Ash-she'r va-sh-shuaro", "Ma'ani ush-she'r", "Uyun-ul-akhbor", Sahl ibn Harun - the author of "Dewan ur-rasa'il" and "Tadbir ul-mulk vas-siyosa", and Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari's famous work "Tarih ar-rusul wal-muluk" - presented the customs, holidays, wisdom and proverbs of the peoples of Khorasan and Movarunnahr in Arabic and the language of the local population of that time. Of course, we cannot say with certainty that these scholars were Zullisonayn, but their works contributed to the development of Arabic literature and science. In addition to being a reliable source on the culture, history, language, and literature of non-Arab peoples, they also served as an important document that the authors were well-versed in these languages.

In the 9th-10th centuries, which are known in the history of world civilization as the "Muslim Renaissance", the tradition of Zullisanayn also developed greatly in the lands of Khorasan and Transoxiana against the background of the development of science, culture and art, economic growth and political stability. During this period, local nobles seized power, and during the reign of the Tohirids, Safariids and especially the Samanids, the Persian-Tajik language was firmly established as a literary language. Under the leadership of Abu Abdullah Rudaki, Shahid Balkhi, Abulmuayyad Balkhi, Abu Hafs Sugdi, Munjik Termizi, Murodi, Daqiqi and other poets determined the laws of the development of Persian poetry, while scholars and historians such as Bal'ami, Mustamli Bukhari, Avfi Bukhari, Hujviri succeeded in forming scientific and literary prose in this language.

At the same time, Arabic literature in these countries had also developed much more than before, reaching a level that rivaled the Arabic environment in Baghdad, Basra, and Damascus. Along with Persian poets and writers, scholars and artists who wrote in Arabic also enjoyed honor in the palaces

of the kings. As a result, poets and artists who wrote in both languages, such as Shahid Balkhi, Shamsulmaoli Qabus, Abu Nasr Mushkan, and Abulfath Busti, reached their peak. In addition, since the Samanid court was conducted in both languages, people who had perfect command of the Arabic language and culture, such as Utbi, Jayhani, and Bal'ami, achieved the rank of minister. Naturally, in such an environment, the Arabic language and literature also followed their own path of development and developed side by side with the language and literature of the local peoples.

The most important feature of Arabic prose of this period is considered to be the appeal to scientific understanding and artistry. In prose of this period, unlike prose of previous centuries, there was a surge in appeal to verbal arts. In particular, the wide expressive possibilities of the Arabic language led to the formation of previously unseen styles such as *saj'* elements, *ishtiqaq* (combining different words made from the same root such as *hakim*, *hukm*, *hikmat*) and rhyme. As we noted above, *saj'* was used a lot in Arabic prose of the period of ignorance, especially in the sermons and treatises of soothsayers and orators. However, in the early period of Islam, this tradition was replaced by simple and understandable writing. Later, due to the development of lexicography, the Arabic dictionaries were brought to a single denominator, and the words derived from it (internal inflection phenomenon) were also adapted to the rules of the Arabic language, and new words were created. As a result, Arabic prose became a field where these possibilities were manifested. In addition, arts such as *tarse'* and *tajnis* were used not only in poetry, but also in prose works. The same situation gradually spread to the field of Persian prose. While the style of poets such as Hujviri and Bal'ami was characterized by simple and understandable writing, the works of Zullisonayn poets were significantly influenced by the Arabic custom of writing with *takalluf* [6; Tehran, 1367.].

One of the prominent representatives of the writers who wrote in Arabic during this period, Abulfazl Muhammad bin Husayn ibn Amid, was born in the city of Qom, now Iran, and received his primary education in his native city. In particular, the lessons he received from his teacher, Ibn Samaka Qumi, left a deep mark on his future fate. When Ibn Amid arrived in Bukhara, he was appointed head of the *diwan* at the court of Nuh bin Nasr Samani. Later, he went to the Buwayhid dynasty and served them until the end of his life. During his service in Bukhara, Ibn Amid, who worked in two languages, improved his official language to the highest level. For this reason, his contemporaries highly recognized him, saying, "Abdulhamid began the *mirzali*, Ibn Amid perfected it." This also testifies to Ibn Amid's writing skills.

One of the great writers and scholars who lived and worked during this period is Abubakr bin Muhammad bin Abbas al-Khwarizmi (died 383 AH). Abubakr was from Khorezm on his father's side, and his mother was from the Tabaristan region - she was the sister of the famous historian, scholar and commentator Muhammad bin Jarir al-Tabari. Al-Khwarizmi was one of the only scholars of his time recognized as a master of Arabic poetry, folklore, grammar and literature. Therefore, Al-Khwarizmi served as a benchmark in Arabic literature in terms of the style of narration and eloquence in his treatises [7; 1297].

Shamsulmaoli Qabus bin Vushmgir bin Ziyar Daylami can also be included among the Zullisanoin writers. Qabus bin Vushmgir is also the author of beautiful poems in Arabic and Persian [8; P.161-202.]. His treatises were collected by Abulhasan Ali bin Muhammad Yazdadi and titled "*Kamal ul-baloga*" ("*Perfection of Mature Words*"). These treatises have survived to this day and have been recognized by many scholars and specialists in the field of eloquence and eloquence. Examples of Persian poems

One of the scholars and writers who raised literary and historical prose to the level of art, Abu Nasr bin Muhammad bin Abduljabbar Utbi, was born in the city of Ray. He served in the court of the rulers of Khorasan - Abu Ali Simjor, the father of Mahmud Ghaznavi - Nasiriddin Sabuktegin. His famous work "*Tarihi Yaminii*" is a reliable source about the political and social situation of his time and is also a high example of poetic prose. Most interestingly, Abu Sharaf Nasih bin Zafar Juzfadqaniy (*Gulpayaganiy*), who later translated this work into Persian in the 14th century, also demonstrated the possibilities of poetic prose.

In general, due to the large number of Persian speakers in the early periods of Islam in the region, the Persian language became more active in state administration and other areas of social life. Zullisanoinlik began to enter the rule of tradition due to historical necessity - entering into relations with the local population and establishing business with the official government. During this period, dynasties such as the Daylamis, Buwayhids, Tahirids, Saffarids, and Samanids, while pursuing their own policies, were officially considered vassals (qaimmaqam) of the Baghdad Caliphate. Therefore, this factor also had a significant impact on the equal use of the two languages.

During this period, the Turks also began to become active in the political arena of society. Since East Turkestan, the Kipchak steppe, and the main regions of present-day Kazakhstan had not yet adopted Islam, it was considered a real reality to make campaigns in those areas and bring the local population to the slave market and sell them. According to the Arab historian Ibn Havkal in his book "Surat ul-Arz", the average price of a Turkish slave or slave girl in the markets rose to three thousand dinars. The procedure and rules for buying, educating, and converting Turkish slaves to Islam, as well as their promotion from ordinary soldiers to the ranks of hajibs and commanders are described in detail in Kaykovus's "Qabusnama" and Nizamulmulk's "Siyosatnama". As a result, special guards consisting only of Turkish soldiers were formed in the army of each dynasty, whose rights and privileges were equal to those of emirs and high-ranking officials. Such status and rank, prestige in society, naturally, did not fail to affect the place and importance of the Turkic languages. From that time on, an unwritten law was formed that "Turkish is the language of war, Persian is the language of literature, Arabic is the language of science and technology."

These centuries also have their place in the history of the region's civilization as one of the decisive stages of Sufi teachings and literature. According to Abu Ali Hujviri's work "Kashf ul-Mahjub", during this period, three hundred Sufi sheikhs lived in Khorasan alone and were engaged in the spiritual education of the population. After all, the place of the sheikhs of Khorasan and Transoxiana in the history of Sufism and knowledge is incomparable. The works written in Arabic include "Qut al-Qulub" by Abu Talib Makki (d. 386 AH/996 CE), "Kitab al-Luma" by Abu Nasr Sarraj Tusi (d. 378 AH/989 CE), "Tabaqat us-Su'fiya" by Abu Abdurrahman Sullami, and "Kitab at-Ta'arruf" by Abu Bakr ibn Ishaq Kalabadi Bukhari, while the works written in Persian include "Sharh at-Ta'arruf" by Mustamli Bukhari, and "Kashf ul-Mahjub" by Hujviri.

The phenomenon of Zullisanaynism was also manifested in various forms in Sufi literature. For example, Andoqi, Baraki, Ghijduvani, and Yassawi studied under the famous sheikh Khoja Yusuf Hamadani, who made a great contribution to the spread of Sufi orders in Transoxiana. Andoqi worked tirelessly in the spread of Sufi teachings in the lands of Rum (present-day Turkey), Baraki in Egypt, Ghijduvani in Bukhara, and Yassawi in Turkestan. Andoqi and Baraki expressed their teachings and wrote works in Turkish and Arabic, Ghijduvani in Persian, and Yassawi in Turkish. It seems that the four great murshids, who studied under the same teacher, also wrote in their native languages. But there is no doubt that each of them was familiar with all three languages that were widely used in the Islamic region.

We observe the same process in the last two chapters of Abu Ali ibn Sina's "Isharot va tanbeh". In this book, the scholar refers to sources in various languages while presenting the origins of the science of Sufism, the spiritual perfection of the sages, the philosophical analysis of spiritual phenomena characteristic of the saints, such as karomat and kashf, mushahada and muraqaba. Also, in his works such as "Hay bin Yaqzan", "Ishq Risolasi", "Solomon va Absol", "Khass uz-zikr", he specifically focuses on the essence and importance of Sufism. The unique aspect of the scientific environment of this period is not only in the use of languages, but also in the universalism of scientists and creators. Scientists, in turn, were engaged in music and artistic creation, while for some poets and writers, science was the main activity.

The famous encyclopedist Abu Nasr al-Farabi, after receiving his initial education in the madrasas of Maverannahr, went to Baghdad. There, he studied logic with Abu Bushr ibn Matta ibn Yunus, and philosophy and wisdom with a Christian scholar named John in Harran, and became acquainted with the teachings of Aristotle. Then he went to Egypt and Syria, and at the end of his life, he taught and taught in Aleppo and Damascus until he was eighty years old. Al-Farabi gained fame as the "Second

Teacher" for his interpretation of Aristotle's metaphysical teachings in accordance with Islamic teachings. He wrote works in Arabic, such as "Risala fi mabodii oroi ahli madinat al-fazila" ("Treatise on the Condition of the People of the Virtuous City"), "Al-jam' bayna ra'yi aqoidi Arastu va Aflotun" ("On the Common Aspects of the Creeds of Aristotle and Plato"), "Uyun al-masa'il" ("The True Essence of Issues"), and "Ag'rozu moba'dut-tabi'a" ("Commentary on Metaphysics"), which have been translated into hundreds of languages. According to narrations, he was familiar with more than seventy languages.

Another great compatriot of ours, Abu Ali ibn Sina, also left an indelible mark on the history of the science of medicine. Ibn Sina was recognized by all scholars as an encyclopedic scholar for his leadership in all sciences of his time. Although it was not very common to write scientific works in the Persian-Tajik language in the 9th-10th centuries AD, this brilliant scholar created a number of scientific and philosophical works, including "Donishnama" and "Me'rajnama" in the Persian-Tajik language. These works of Ibn Sina are significant in that they did not directly copy religious, medical, philosophical, and mathematical terms and concepts from Arabic or Greek, but created and boldly used their Persian equivalents. As a result, this trend was continued later, and the Persian language gained its own status in scientific works and scientific style. Ibn Sina is a thinker who knew the Arabic language perfectly. Writing in Arabic, Ibn Sina, who expressed medical issues in a simple and understandable poetic form in this subtle and playful literary genre adapted to the sea of paradise, is one of the founders of scientific poetry in Arabic literature. In addition, he also wrote excellent odes in Arabic. In particular, the ode "Ayniya" (ending with the letter "ayn") is very famous, in which the thoughtful poet put into verse the most complex and controversial, deep philosophical wisdom about the descent of the soul into the physical world, its perfection and return to its place, giving it a poetic gloss.

Abu Ali ibn Sina's great contribution to world civilization is that he systematized all the knowledge that existed before his time. In particular, he critically studied all the sources related to philosophy and medicine, adapted them to the scientific worldview of his time, and expressed them clearly and intelligibly in two languages - Persian and Arabic, using new concepts and terms. In particular, Ibn Sina's merits are extremely great in proving his metaphysical way of thinking with verses and hadiths and removing misunderstandings between scientific and religious worldviews. The fact that he was able to express this in Arabic, the common language of the Muslim world, as well as in his native language, caused the phenomenon of scientific and literary Zullisonain to rise to a new stage of development. Another contemporary of Ibn Sina, our famous thinker ancestor Abu Rayhan Beruni, also gained fame as a scientist and writer who made a unique contribution to the development of the phenomenon of Zullisonayn. Since the scholar-encyclopedist carried out fundamental research in various fields of science, Western orientalists, especially John Sarton, evaluated the 11th century AD as the "Age of Beruni."

When Beruni turned sixty-five, he compiled an autobiography - a list of 113 books he wrote on astronomy, medicine, wisdom, arithmetic, physics, pharmacology, history, geography, hadith and other sciences. During his creative activity, which lasted until the age of seventy-eight, he continued to replenish his autobiography with new fundamental works such as "Qanuni Mas'udi", "Javahir", "Ad-dastur". One of the thirty or so works of Biruni that have survived to our time, the book "At-Tafhim li awoli san'ati tanjim" ("Primary Concepts on the Essence of Astrology") is a systematic analysis of all astronomical and astrological views before Biruni. Biruni wrote this book in both Arabic and Persian. The need to translate oneself or express an opinion on the same issue in two languages is nothing more than the consolidation of the foundations of scientific language and the norms of literary language. Therefore, there is reason to interpret the creation of "At-Tafhim" in two languages by the author himself as a literary phenomenon.

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