

## THE ROLE OF TRADITIONALISM AND LITERARY INFLUENCE IN THE EPICS “SADDI İSKANDARI” AND “KHIRADNOMAYI İSKANDARI”

“SEDD-İ İSKENDERÎ” VE “HİREDNÂME-İ İSKENDERÎ”  
DESTANLARINDA GELENEKÇİLİK VE EDEBÎ ETKİNLİKLERİN ROLÜ

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Sorumlu Yazar

### Abstract

There have been people in world history whose lives have become so intertwined with myths that the real history and the myths have become inseparable. Alexander the Great (bc. 356-323) is one of these figures, who became famous in the East under the names Zulkarnayn and Iskandar. He was a renowned military leader and statesman. Shortly after his death, writers like Callisthenes, Cleitarchus, and Onesicritus wrote about his life and military campaigns. These works, along with historical and biographical accounts by Greek writers like Plutarch, led to the proliferation of myths and legends about Alexander. Works in this category can be divided into two types: First, historical works dedicated to Alexander’s campaigns and his governance. Second, literary works that glorify his positive qualities while sometimes condemning his negative aspects. The image of Alexander in Turkish and Persian literature is not always that of a positive hero; he can also be portrayed as an invader and a tyrannical king. It’s important to note that Alexander’s image did not remain static in either historical or literary works. His persona was enriched by the viewpoints of the people and nations whose languages were used to write about him, regardless of the historical period, cultural environment, or religious doctrine. From the 10th century onwards, this image was perfected as a traditional symbol of epic poetry. The Persian poet Abulqasim Firdausi, in his epic poem *Shahnameh*, was the first in Eastern literature to elevate the figure of Alexander to the level of a main character. In creating the epic, Firdausi relied mainly on materials from Khudaynamah, various legends and tales, as well as, albeit partially, the novel *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. The epic focuses on Alexander’s heroic and fantastic adventures, narrating his battle with Darius, his marches to India, China, and Mesopotamia, his journey into darkness, his construction of a fortress to block the path of Gog and Magog, and his battles with various mythical creatures. The first person to write about Alexander as an independent work of art was Nizami Ganjavi. The poet masterfully portrays Alexander, raising him to the level of a just king and a prophet. This young ruler is depicted as not seeking wealth, fame, or territory for himself, but rather waging wars only to protect peoples suffering from oppression. Later, Amir Khusrow Dehlavi, Abdurrahman Jami, and Alisher Navoi all created special epics about Alexander, solidifying his image in fictional literature. In literary criticism, the question of which of the Iskandarnamas by Alisher Navoi and Abdurrahman Jami was written first is a point of contention. Some literary scholars note that the epic poem *Khiradnamayi Iskandari* was completed first, with *Saddi Iskandari* being created as a prelude to it. Other literary scholars, however, state that the poem *Saddi Iskandari*

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was written and completed before the *Khiradnamayi Iskandari*. This is primarily because Navoi, in his work *Muhakamat al-Lughatain*, states that the foundations of *Saddi Iskandari* were laid by *Hazreti Mahdum* (Abdurrahman Jami), whom he refers to as the “engineer of memory,” and therefore he sought his guidance and support. Although Navoi completed his epic before his teacher, he stated that he wrote it with Jami’s support out of respect and humility. This article explores the similarities and differences between the epics of these two great poets, their attitudes toward tradition, and their creative originality.

**Keywords:** Iskandarnama, *Saddi Iskandari*, epic poetry, Turkish and Persian Literature, traditionalism, innovation.

## Öz

Tarih boyunca bazı yaşamlar, gerçek olayların sınırlarını aşarak destan ve efsane katmanlarıyla örülmüş; öyle ki, olgusal hakikat ile kolektif muhayyilenin ürünü mitler birbirinden ayrılmaz hâle gelmiştir. Büyük İskender örneğinde olduğu gibi, bu tür figürlerin hayatı, edebî metinlerde yeni anlam katmanları kazanarak geleneksel motiflerin ve kültürel etkileşimlerin aktarım aracı olmuştur. Büyük İskender (MÖ 356-323) bu figürlerden biridir, Doğu’da Zülkarneyn ve İskender isimleriyle ün kazanmıştır. Ünlü bir askerî lider ve devlet adamı olan İskender’in ölümünden kısa bir süre sonra, Kallisthenes, Kleitarkhos ve Onesikritos gibi yazarlar onun hayatı ve askerî seferleri hakkında eserler kaleme almıştır. Bu çalışmalar, Plutarkhos gibi Yunan yazarların tarihi ve biyografik anlatılarıyla birlikte, İskender hakkında efsanelerin ve söylencelerin çoğalmasına yol açmıştır. Bu kategoriye giren eserler iki türe ayrılabilir: Birincisi, İskender’in seferlerine ve devlet yönetimine adanmış tarihi eserler; ikincisi ise onun olumlu özelliklerini yücelten, ancak bazen olumsuz yönlerini de eleştiren edebî eserlerdir. Türk ve Fars edebiyatında İskender’in imajı her zaman olumlu bir kahraman olarak yüceltilmez; bazen istilacı ve zalim bir kral olarak da tasvir edilir. İskender’in imajının ne tarihî ne de edebî eserlerde sabit kalmadığını belirtmek önemlidir. Onun kişiliği, yazıldığı dilin, ait olduğu halkın ve milletin bakış açısıyla zenginleşmiştir. 10. yüzyıldan itibaren bu imaj, epik şiirin geleneksel bir sembolü olarak mükemmelleştirilmiştir. Fars şair Ebu’l-Kâsım Firdevsî, Şehnâme adlı epik şiirinde, Doğu edebiyatında ilk kez İskender’i ana karakter seviyesine yükseltmiştir. Anlatıyı oluştururken Firdevsî, başta *Khudâynamah* (*Hudâynâme*), çeşitli efsaneler ve hikâyelerden, kısmen de *Sözde-Kallisthenes* adlı eserden yararlanmıştır. Bu anlatı, İskender’in kahramanca ve fantastik maceralarına odaklanmıştır: Darius ile savaşı, Hindistan, Çin ve Mezopotamya’ya yaptığı yürüyüşler, karanlığa yaptığı yolculuk, Yecüc ve Mecic’in yolunu kapatmak için bir kale inşa etmesi ve çeşitli korkunç hayvanlarla savaşları anlatılır. İskender’i bağımsız bir sanat eseri olarak ele alan ilk kişi Nizâmî-i Gencevî olmuştur. Şair, İskender’in imajını ustalıkla tasvir ederek onu adil bir kral ve peygamber seviyesine çıkarmıştır. Bu genç hükümdar, kendisi için zenginlik, şöhrat veya toprak kazanmayı düşünmez; aksine, yalnızca zulüm çeken halkları korumak için savaşı. Daha sonra Emir Hüsrev Dihlevî, Abdurrahman-ı Câmî ve Ali Şîr Nevâî gibi şairler de İskender hakkında özel destanlar yazarak onun imajını kurgusal edebiyatın sayfalarına kazımışlardır. Edebiyat eleştirisinde, Ali Şîr Nevâî ve Abdurrahman-ı Câmî’nin İskendernâme’lerinden hangisinin önce yazıldığı sorusu tartışmalıdır. Bazı edebiyat bilginleri, *Hirednâme-i İskenderî* adlı eserin önce tamamlandığını, *Sedd-i İskenderî*’nin ise ona bir giriş olarak oluşturulduğunu belirtir. Ancak diğer edebiyat bilginleri, *Sedd-i İskenderî* adlı eserin, *Hirednâme-i İskenderî*’den önce yazılıp tamamlandığını savunur. Bunun temel nedeni, Nevâî’nin *Muhâkemetü’l-Lugateyn* adlı eserinde, *Sedd-i İskenderî*’nin temellerinin, “hafıza mühendisi” olarak andığı *Hazreti Mahdum* (Abdurrahman-ı Câmî) tarafından atıldığını ve bu yüzden ondan ıslah ve destek istediğini söylemesidir. Nevâî, destanını hocasından önce tamamlamış olsa da, Câmî’ye duyduğu saygı ve tevazu nedeniyle eserini onun desteğiyle yazdığını ifade eder. Bu makale, iki büyük şairin destanları arasındaki benzerlik ve farklılıkları, geleneğe karşı tutumlarını ve yaratıcı özgünlüklerini ortaya koymaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** İskendernâme, *Sedd-i İskenderî*, epik şiir, Türk ve Fars Edebiyatı, gelenekçilik, yenilik.

## Introduction

The figure of Iskandar (Alexander the Great) has long occupied a prominent place in the literary imagination of the Persianate world. Rooted in both historical accounts and legendary embellishments, his image was first synthesized in literary form by early Islamic and Persian historians, and later found its most influential artistic expression in the 12th century through Nizami Ganjavi's *Iskandarnama*. Nizami's portrayal of Iskandar not only blended elements of heroism, kingship, and wisdom, but also laid the foundation for a literary tradition in which Alexander would serve as a vessel for philosophical, mystical, and moral inquiry. Over time, this narrative was reinterpreted by successive generations of poets across the Persianate cultural sphere, each contributing new layers of meaning to the evolving mythos.

By the 15th century, the story of Iskandar had moved further from its historical origins and had become a versatile symbolic framework within which poets could articulate their spiritual and intellectual ideals. In this context, two towering figures of the Timurid era, Abdurrahman Jami and Alisher Navoi, revisited the Iskandar theme in their respective *Khamsas*. Rather than merely imitating Nizami or each other, both poets engaged in a sophisticated literary dialogue, drawing upon shared motifs while introducing innovations in structure, style, and thematic emphasis. Their epics, *Khiradnamayi Iskandari* by Jami and *Saddi Iskandari* by Navoi, reflect not only their personal poetic visions but also the rich tradition of intertextuality, adaptation, and *nazira* that characterized classical Persian and Turkic literature. This study seeks to explore the literary and philosophical relationship between these two epics, situating them within the broader continuum of Iskandar narratives. Through comparative analysis, particularly of shared episodes such as Iskandar's farewell letter to his mother, it becomes possible to trace how Jami and Navoi each used the figure of Iskandar as a means of conveying deeper reflections on fate, mortality, and the human condition. In doing so, the study also sheds light on the complex interplay of tradition and innovation in Timurid literary culture.

The theme of Iskandar, initiated by Nizami, was replaced over time by artistic findings that were the product of a personal approach. By the 15th century, this theme had become much further removed from historical reality. As a result, the two great poets of the 15th century, Jami and Navoi, in their epics about Iskandar, retained only general plot lines and used the image of Iskandar only as a template. A comparative study of their works makes it possible to clarify the issues of master-discipleship, discipleship, tradition and innovation between the two creators. In particular, in recent years, many studies have been carried out and continue to reveal the interrelationships of the *khamsa* written by Jami and Navoi, to clarify the issue of the poets' skill, and to promote the thoughts and ideas they wanted to express. In 1996, the scholar Y. Azimov, who studied Jami's epic poem *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* in comparison with *Shahnoma*, *Iskandarnama*, *Oyinayi Iskandari* and *Saddi Iskandari*, paid attention to the artistic skill of the creators, as well as the religious and mystical characteristics of the works. Later, D. Nazarova published "Comparative analysis of Abdurakhmon Jami's epic poem *Subhat al-Abrar* and Alisher Navoi's *Khayrat al-Abrar* (Nazarova, 2022, 50). In his PhD dissertation, he conducts a comparative analysis of the concept of *abror*, the artistic world of epics, the poetic skill of the authors, and their stylistic peculiarities.

In scientific research on the topic of Iskandar, the question of which epic was completed first is controversial. The orientalist Yevgeny Bertels, who initiated the study of Navoi's work in a new direction in Russia, proved the literary and thematic

harmony of the works of Jami and Navoi, making innovations in this field, and Jami's epics should be understood in connection with Navoi's *Khamsa* (Bertels, 1960, 159-219), concludes that. However, in the process of comparative study of the works, the spiritual and moral closeness between the creators becomes clear and it becomes possible to have a clearer understanding of the issues of literary influence of that period. As a result, in thematically harmonious works, not Navoi's influence on Jami, but Jami's influence on Navoi becomes clear.

However, there are also cases of exaggeration of literary influence, and some literary scholars want to call *Saddi Iskandari* a detailed description of *Khiradnomayi Iskandari*. "By rearranging Jami's *Iskandarnama*, Alisher Navoi clarified the description of events and stories, which enriched the work philosophically and morally and created a unique form and atmosphere of the image of Alexander in Turkic literature" (Toutant, 2018, 608), there are also opinions that this *Saddi Iskandari* leads to the erroneous conclusion that this is a free translation of Abdurahman Jami's *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* epic. In fact, Alisher Navoi himself wrote that he created the work under the influence of Jami's epic, but this should be understood as a creative collaboration. As a result of a comparative study of both epics, this idea becomes even clearer. Literary critic Sultanmurod Alim, while dwelling on the terms nazira and tarjibayi nazira, refers to Navoi's *Khamsa* and notes that all of these are direct or indirect nazira to Nizami (Olimov, 2022, 49). Also, the orientalist scholar Y.E. Bertels, who lived in the last century, noted that the works of Alisher Navoi were wrongly evaluated in Europe."If Navoi is a translator of Persian poets, then how should we evaluate the work of Amir Khusrav, Kotibi, Khotifi and many other poets? The interesting thing is that they translated Nizami from Persian into Persian!" (Bertels, 1960, 162) - he wonders.

Therefore, Navoi's epic "Saddi Iskandari" is, according to the poet himself, a direct and indirect reference to *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* and to the rest of the epics, and the story of the prince who took the path of king and beggar, and the letter written by Iskandari to his mother before his death, are very close in content in both epics, which has led some literary scholars to the erroneous conclusion that Navoi improved *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* and clarified the theme and idea. In particular, in Nizami Ganjavi there is an episode where Iskandari writes a farewell letter to his mother before his death. Iskandari, in order to console his mother, wills that after his death he will organize a big feast and that only people who have not lost a loved one can eat at this feast. A letter with the same content is written in both Jami and Navoi, and the conclusion is drawn that there is life, there is death, therefore a person must be patient in adversity and accept fate. Y. Azimov, speaking about the genetic basis of this subject, emphasizes that it is taken from *Pseudo Callesphene* (Azimov, 1996, 40). Ismoilov also writes that the historical root of this farewell letter is *Pseudo Callesphene* and that the letter in Navoi's epic is "...enriched with filial duty, maternal consent, acceptance of fate, and pain" (Ismoilov, 2022, 195) notes.

Chapter 80 of the epic poem *Saddi Iskandari* is devoted to the subject of Alexander's letter to his mother, the content of his will, and his being taken to Alexandria in a coffin. Although the last chapters of the epic poem *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* are also devoted to this subject, Jami divides them into three chapters. Chapter 53 is called the appearance of signs of Alexander's death and his letter to his mother, and the story is not added. Therefore, the muganniynama and soqiynama are presented at the end of the subject. While the grief of Alexander's death is revealed in Jami with the mourning of the judges and his mother (his departure to the immortal world, the fact

that he himself, having made the living miserable, was left without a soul, ... he went on a journey alone, the fact that the treasure he had collected was of no use to him, etc.), Navoi reflects this in his address to the soqiy at the end of the chapter:

*Ayog'chi, ichim keldi g'amdin batang,*

*Keturgil to'lo sog'ari lolarang.*

*Ki chun bo'lsa oni sumurmak manga,*

*Ish o'lg'ay ham ul dam o'kurmak manga... (Navoiy, 2012, 492).*

### 1. Tradition and innovation in the plot of epics

Before writing the epic poem *Khiradnama-yi Iskandar*, Abdurahman Jami carefully studied the epic poems of this direction and aimed to write an original work on a traditional theme. In this regard, we can say that he was more influenced and inspired by Nizami Ganjavi's epic poem *Iqbalnama*. As is known, Nizami Ganjavi's *Iskandarnama* consists of two parts, the first part - *Sharafnameh* - discusses Alexander's universality, and the second part - *Iqbalnama* - reflects on his wisdom, wisdom and prophethood. While observing the epic poems created before him, Jami follows the path of *Iqbalnama* and emphasizes the wisdom of Alexander. In addition, Jami's epic poem is similar to Nizami's epic not only in terms of theme and subject, but also in terms of form. The main similarity of the work is that it is written in the style of a *pandnama*, but the second commonality is that after the subject of Alexander, a story is presented in a manner that is consistent with the subject. In the second part of Nizami's epic, after the subject of Alexander, the following stories are presented that are not related to his life:

1. "The Wise Shepherd and the Epic of Alexander"
2. "The Legend of Archimedes with the Chinese Concubine"
3. "The Legend of Moriya the Coptic"
4. "The Legend of Khorasani and the Caliph's Deception"
5. "The Legend of the Poor Baker and His Son's Fortune"
6. "The seventy sages rejected the word of Hermis and perished"
7. "Plato rebuked Aristotle and created a musical instrument"
8. "The Story of the Ring and the Shepherd"

Neither Jami nor Navoi repeat the subject of these stories. The stories presented in the epics are of different themes and are based on the artistic idea of the creator or on subjects widely spread in folk oral literature. The conversations of the king with the wise men and the wise men's conclusions at the end of Alexander's life are also repeated in the *Iskandarnames* with certain changes.

Although Jami comments on Navoi's *Khamsa* in the conclusion of his epic poem *Khiradnomayi Iskandari*, he does not say anything about it in the introduction. It is clear from this that although both authors completed the epic almost at the same time, Navoi began his epic poem "Saddi Iskandari" after Jami, taking advice and instructions from his mentor. Because in the introduction to the work, Navoi provides information about Jami's first four epic poems and emphasizes that he is writing a work about *Iskandariy*:

*Bu damkim qilib xomasin durfishon,*

*Skandar hadisidin aytur nishon. (Navoiy, 2012, 46).*

That is, at the same time that Navoi began writing a work about Alexander, Jami was writing an epic on this topic. Thus, the master and student set out to create an ideologically mature masterpiece in a given time and place. The creators' intended purpose for the work was already clear in its title. Abdurahman Jami named the work *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* and drew attention to Alexander's wisdom and the advice of the wise. The poet's purpose becomes clear at the beginning of the plot of the work when he entrusts the upbringing of his son to Aristotle and asks him to write a wisdom book on governing the state when his death is approaching. Navoi, on the other hand, focuses on the wall of Alexander, which serves as a barrier between evil and good. Navoi also deeply studies historical works related to Alexander and provides information about his lineage: "The great goal of this gem is to find a foundation for the knowledge of history, and the state of the entire world is to be hidden from this gem of a celebration..." (Navoiy, 2012, 68) that is, Navoi's goal was not only to write a story, but also to inform the reader about historical science. Therefore, Navoi's epic cannot be assessed as a purely artistic work or as a historical work. First of all, the title of the work denies this. Because there is no historical fact about Alexander the Great building a wall blocking the path of Gog and Magog. Navoi creates a work using the harmony of historical truth and artistic texture in this regard. According to Navoi scholar I. Ismoilov, "...in the artistic development of the subject before Navoi, a work was not created that would provide a logical and literary-aesthetic balance in the depiction of universality and moral-enlightenment aspects, and would perfectly reflect the author's creative attitude. Therefore, the path taken by Navoi attracted attention with its absolute novelty in the interpretation of the subject." (Ismailov, 2022, 152).

Two common themes are evident in the epics of Jami and Navoi. 1. The story of Iskandar (a king in Jami) and a prince who turned to begging. 2. The content of Iskandar's letter to his mother. As we review the epics, we find that exactly the same events are described. The first reason for the commonality in the subject is the traveling subject, which was also mentioned in Yusuf Khas Hajib's *Qutadgu Bilig* and Khoja's *Miftah ul-Adl* as mentioned in the first chapter. At a time when the Timurids were fighting for the throne, the idea of the superiority of kingship over begging was very important for the time. The second theme is the letter written by Iskandar to his mother before his death in historical works, which is also mentioned in Nizami Ganjavi.

In Alisher Navoi and Abdurrahman Jami, the accession of Alexander to the throne is somewhat different from that of the master Khamsanavis. In Nizami Ganjavi and Khusrav Dihlavi, the prince is embodied as the heir to the throne and takes over after the death of his father, while the Alexanders of Navoi and Jami do not consider themselves worthy of their father's throne. Jami's Alexander says that there is no difference between the people and him, that everyone is a servant of Allah, and that since there is no desire for power in their hearts, they will find a generous and just king:

*Nadoram zi pas poyai bartary,*  
*Ki boshad maro moyai sarvary.*  
*Zi xayli shumon man yake digaram,*  
*Xayoli sare nabvat andar saram.*  
*Maro bo shumon nest royi xilof,*  
*Az in tiragy doram oina sof.*  
*Bijuyed az bahri xud mehtare,*

*Karamparvare, ma 'dalatgustare.*

*Buvad o ' chu cho 'pon, shumo chun rama,*

*Ba ro 'zu ba shab mehruboni hama (Jamiy, 1984, 346).*

Alisher Navoi, on the other hand, follows his father's will (do not let a stranger in my kingdom, do not let a stranger in my Shabistan) and sits on the throne of the country. The poet deeply studies the epics of his predecessors about Alexander, and the path taken by his teacher Abdurahman Jami seems preferable. Although he prefers to introduce the Turkic peoples to this history, taking as a lesson the first two poets who narrated the history of Alexander, he cannot refrain from telling wisdom like a piri. Thus, Navoi's epic *Saddi Iskandari* can be compared to the connection of two great poets: on the one hand, the subject of epics dedicated to the history of Alexander, and on the other, a treasure trove of meanings dedicated to advice, knowledge and wisdom, humility and charity, humanity and justice.

Navoi summarizes all of the qualities that a modern king should have in the image of Alexander, bringing him to a level of spiritual perfection. In this way, he summarizes and compares the epics of his predecessors. He even emphasizes that Nizami and Jami spoke the truth, while dwelling on the different opinions about who Alexander was:

*Aningdekki aslin Nizomiy dedi,*

*Hamul nav 'farzona Jamiy dedi (Navoiy, 2012, 82).*

Mark Toutant, comparing the epics of Jami and Navoi on this topic, concludes: "...Navoi's epic *Saddi Iskandari* was influenced by Jami's *Khiradnamayi Iskandari*, but Navoi expands upon Jami's themes more broadly and philosophically. Thanks to its four-part chapter structure, Navoi's work clarifies Jami's ideas, ultimately offering a more comprehensive understanding of the original text (Toutant, 2018, 629). Although Hazrat Navoi himself notes in his work *Muhakamat al-Lughatain* that he wrote the epic poem "Saddi Iskandari" under the influence of Jami, the above thoughts of the scholar should be understood as "Alisher Navoi's epic poem can be a key to understanding Jami's epic poem". Because both epics are separate works created on the same subject.

Jami's epic about Alexander is small in size, and the introduction consists of traditional praise, na't, prayer, description of Husayn Baykara and Khoja Ahrari Vali, advice to the child, and the reason for writing the work. Then the main plot begins: When Failaqus grows old, he has a son and names him Alexander. Aristotle is engaged in his upbringing. The prince perfectly masters all knowledge and passes the exam among scholars. After that, Failaqus asks Aristotle to write a treatise for Alexander on governing the country. After the treatise is completed, Failaqus dies, and Alexander ascends the throne by the will of the people. In the following chapters, the treatises of Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, and four other sages are presented, and stories appropriate to the topic are added. All of these stories have educational value and are devoted to topics such as self-control, faith, belief, non-attachment to wealth, patience and contentment, doing good to others, purity of heart, and generosity.

Alexander's reign brings prosperity to the country. He marches to the countries of the West and the East, frees people from oppression, establishes justice in the conquered countries, and builds cities. He wins the battle with Darius and marries Ravshanak. He marches to China and makes peace with the khagan. He goes to India, talks with the Brahmins, and is amazed by their intelligence and ability. After India, he travels to a country where even without a king, there is peace and prosperity, and

he is amazed by their peaceful life. Because the people have no business with wealth and possessions, everyone lives in peace and harmony.

*Sikandar chu megasht girdi jahon,*

*Xabarpusi har oshkoru nihon...*

*Na z-eshon tavongar kase, ne faqir;*

*Bar eshon na sulton kase, ne amir.*

*Barobar ba ham qismati molashon,*

*Muvofiq ba ham surati holashon (Jamiy, 1984, 410).*

That is: Alexander traveled the Earth and became aware of the obvious and the hidden... There was no rich man, no king, no poor man, no sultan, no emir. Everyone was equal in their fortune and wealth, and their condition was also equal.

In this way, he traveled from country to country, and when he returned to his country, he fell ill. At the end of his life, he wrote a letter to his mother and asked those around him to take his hand out of the coffin and fill it with earth. After his death, ten wise men were brought with the thoughts of death and life, and they took Alexander to Alexandria - to his mother - to express their condolences. His mother was greatly comforted by the encouragement of the wise men and said, "You have opened my eyes, just as a blind man needs a guide."

In the epic poem *Saddi Iskandari*, the events proceed in almost the same way, only a larger part is given to the subject related to the life of Alexander. The total volume of the epic consists of 7215 verses, which is 4900 verses more than in *Khirdnomayi Iskandari*. In Navoi, there is not much room for dialogue with other hakims. Only in one place does Alexander listen to advice from Socrates. In other cases, the theoretical part of the work takes the form of Alexander's question and Aristotle's answer. In Abdurahman Jamiy, the chapter ends with the advice of the hakims and a story related to the topic. The content of the stories is given in a way that is consistent not with Alexander's adventure, but with the hakims' xiradnoma. In Alisher Navoi, the theoretical issue, the question and answer of Alexander and Aristotle, the subject and the story related to the life of Alexander are proportional in content. At this point, it becomes clear that Jami's real goal was not to write a history of Alexander, but a memoir, and that he turned to the subject of Alexander only in order not to deviate from tradition. Navoi does not even have an episode of Alexander visiting a country of honest people without a king.

This should be understood based on the demands of the social era. Because it would be far from the truth for a person who was a close friend and advisor of the king to promote a country without a king. Therefore, we can see that Navoi was somewhat cautious in his attitude towards the king. This is also proven by the fact that Navoi does not have conversations with brahmins, a tailor, or Socrates.

Abdurahman Jami turned to the subject of Alexander only in order not to deviate from tradition, his original goal was to write a treatise, to teach readers knowledge and wisdom. Alisher Navoi, while turning to the history of Alexander, first of all, aimed at the demand of *Khamsa*, and also to entertain the Turkic-speaking population with this topic. While studying the *Iskandarnames* created by his predecessors, he came up with the idea of creating an exemplary epic poem like Jami and, combining the two directions, he added oriphone stories in the spirit of advice along with the subject of Alexander. Thus, an original work in the Turkic language was created.

## 2. The question of tradition and innovation in composition

The composition of Alisher Navoi's epic poem "Saddi Iskandari" is interpreted differently by literary scholars. Critics say that Alisher Navoi's original purpose was to tell the story of Alexander, while others note that the work is composed in the style of adventure, wisdom, narrative, and theoretical problem<sup>1</sup>.

Other literary critics<sup>2</sup> and put forward the idea that it consists of a theoretical issue (muqaddim), a story, wisdom, and adventure. The supporters of the first group believe that the second side: "if the work is understood in the order of a theoretical issue, a story, wisdom, and adventure, then the epic should be interpreted as a work that promotes moral-didactic ideas consisting of separate topics, like works such as *Khayrat al-Abrār*, *Qutadgu Bilig*. Navoi's main goal was not to express his moral-didactic ideas, but to compose the history of Alexander in verse." (Ismoilov, 2020, 186). The main reason for such differences of opinion is the question of whether Chapter 16 is related to Chapter 15 or 19. S. Tokhirov argues that Chapter 15 is not related to the adventures of Alexander. He emphasizes and notes that it is a translation of Nizami's chapter on the same subject with certain changes. Because when Navoi began writing the epic, he presented three different hypotheses regarding Alexander:

- a) Failaqus finds his lifeless mother in the ruins;
- b) Daughter of Phylaqus and child of Dorab;
- c) historical or religious Alexander.

That is, he emphasizes that the chapter about who Alexander really is is an annotation, not related to the main plot of the epic. "So, which of Alexander's adventures is the theoretical chapter 16 on "The Arrogance of the Protector of the Kingdom" connected with, the general annotation given in chapter XV, or with chapter 19 on "Alexander's arrogance from the crown of the kingdom"? Of course, with the latter. This detail (moving away from the kingdom) in the image of the dervish carrying a bone or Farhad is a high example of the concept of himmat... the next chapter also proves this: Chapter 20: On justice; Chapter 21 is the story of Mas'ud (Ghaznavid) seeing his father Mahmud in a dream and saying that he was honored with paradise because of justice; Chapter 22: Alexander's question and Aristotle's answer about the result of justice; Chapter 23: Alexander's establishment of justice in the country and his refusal to pay tribute to Darius.." (Tohirov, 2020, 190). Both views prove the correctness of their opinions, and the question arises as to which chapter the main part of the work begins with. As we have seen above, supporters of the second opinion consider the main part of the epic to begin with chapter 16, and consider chapter 15 as an annotation, while I. Ismoilov (supporting the first opinion) considers the main part of the epic to begin with chapter 11, and explains it with Navoi's title "This is such a great goal of history, to find a place in the library of history...". Therefore, the question arises whether chapter 15 is an annotation or the subject of the epic.

Ismoilov believes that already in chapter 15, the important grounds for Alexander's refusal of the crown, described in chapter 19, are indicated. Alexander sees in the death of his father a clear expression of his theoretical views on the transience of the world, and therefore he comes to the idea of leaving not only the throne, but also the world. But due to his father's will, he changes his mind and ascends the throne. He argues that his true intention (his desire to leave the crown, his unwilling accession

1 Y. Azimov, Sh. Sirojiddinov, D. Yusupova, I. Ismoilov.

2 Y. Bertels, A. Erkinov, S. Tohirov, M. Toutant.

to the throne in accordance with his father's will) was hidden from the people and he ascended the throne, which was a blessing. Both sides of the argument try to prove their point with examples of chapters in the epic that clearly reflect this. For example, supporters of the first opinion say that chapter 23 describes the general activities of Alexander, and there is no mention of justice in it, while the second side argues that Alexander's activities were related to justice. If we examine the epic in sequence until the last chapter, it becomes clear that there are confusions in the opinions of both sides. We will consider this on the example of several chapters. Chapter 24 of the epic discusses the harm of disagreement and its consequences, and tells the story of the end of the war due to the loyalty of two friends. Chapter 27 tells about the anger of Alexander and Darius at each other, their gathering of treason, and their preparation for battle. That is, the four parts are proportionally devoted to revealing the harmful consequences of the opposition. Similarly, the next section tells about the royal procedures and Abu Said Koragon's lack of mercy towards his army. Navoi, introducing the customs of the kingdom and the pitiful state of a ruler who is not merciful to his people, prepares the reader for the defeat of Darius. After this, in Chapter 31, there is a war between Alexander and Darius, and the Iranian king Abu Said Koragon is defeated on the battlefield.

The epic there are also sections that refute the opinions of those who claim that the book consists of a theoretical matter (prologue), story, wisdom, and adventure. For example, Chapter 35, "*Alexander's ambition for world domination was determined...*" Although the chapter that begins with "The Winter Adventure" is initially about Alexander's activities during the winter, the events are related to the next chapter, namely the benefits of the journey. Because Alexander traveled to beautiful countries like Khurasan-e-Movarunahr, enjoyed its air, founded cities like Herat and Samarkand, and set off for Kashmir. His enjoyment of the wonders and his joy were not related to the winter, but to the outcome of the journey. Also, the title of the chapter itself reflects that his intention was "the quest for worldliness." Thus, this adventure is not related to the theme of the winter, but to the benefits of the journey. Chapter 39 itself corresponds not to the journey, but to the section on the spoils of youth. The story of the Kashmiri king Mallu, who used magic to steal fire and wind and hide in a fortress, is similar to the story of a young man who spent his youth in vain entertainment and regretted it in the end. Because if Mallu had studied science and wisdom from a young age, he would have realized that science is superior to magic. Chapter 43 begins with "As Alexander, whose heart is full of magic, has inclined to Hindustan, so Kashmir has made a great effort to Hindustan..." In the chapter, the king of India, having heard that Alexander was gathering an army, regrets his response to him, and in fact, he did not intend to disobey his orders, and sends a letter apologizing. He invites him to the city and says that he agrees to all his conditions. Alexander accepts his apology, and the following chapters then theorize about the virtue of forgiveness, the role of generosity in human life, and tell the story of a merchant who saves his son from death through his generosity.

In chapters 47 and 48, the adventures are presented sequentially, and although they are separated by separate headings, they should actually be considered as one chapter. The first reason for this is the disruption of the sequence in the composition, and the second reason is the lack of appeals to Muganni, Soqi and Navoi after chapter 47. After all, Alisher Navoi refers to the above at the end of each adventure, which means that the adventure is complete. Chapter IX contains the Soqi-name, Muganni-name and the appeal to Navoi, and "at the end of the chapters of the epic, a total of

155 verses (310 lines) express the content of the Soqi-name. Of these, 51 verses begin with an appeal to the Soqi and the footman. The remaining verses address Muganni (51 verses) and the poet himself (53 verses)” (Asadov, 2020, 134).

These are considered to be conclusions that represent the completion of the subject, and at the end of Chapter 47, this law is broken, and in Chapter 38, the events of the epic are given again. Therefore, these chapters were formed as one chapter in accordance with the author’s intention, and may have been divided into two by the editors for publication. According to Tokhirov, “In modern publications, chapters are numbered based on the convenience of reading, the need for content creation, and statistical data” (Tohirov, 2021, 206). These two chapters describe Alexander’s departure from India to China, the Qakhanid of China gathering an army, preparing for battle, and his visit to Alexander as an ambassador to learn about the situation is dedicated to their mutual communication, and this subject is not related to travel, but to battle tactics. After all, the title (Iskandar, like the sun leaving the oppressive night of Zangbori and entering the light of the day, leaving the Indian desert, entered the country of Chin, and hearing that the Khoqan of Chin, like the sun, was bringing Jahangir, who was carrying a sword of warmth like the sun, gathered countless shards in return, sent an ambassador to him, but received an inadequate response, and from that aspect, the shards were stirred up like a shard of a shard, and he himself did not leave a single particle of the event) refers to this. The fact that the ruler of Chin went in the guise of an ambassador in Chapter 48 and the questions and answers that took place between the two prevented unnecessary bloodshed. The conclusion drawn from this plot is the same as the content of the story, which shows that Ardavon returned without a fight due to Ardasher’s entrepreneurship. In both the adventure and the story, rulers who are inevitably defeated by their enemies save their army from defeat due to their entrepreneurship.

Chapter 56 begins with “The Khagan’s arrangement of banquet equipment for Alexander...” and tells about the hospitality of the Chin Khagan. The following chapters, in accordance with the content of Chapter 56, present a theoretical idea about the rules of welcoming guests and a story about Bahram Gur’s being a guest in the three-story house.

So, taking into account that the topics of the subsequent chapters are also arranged in the same sequence, it was decided that the episode related to the adventure of Alexander, the story confirming this idea, Alexander’s question and answer with Aristotle (and Socrates in one place), and the philosophical conclusion of the chapter are presented in the form of a philosophical conclusion. Considering that the epic is a single work, it becomes clear that such a division is actually relative and was made only for the convenience of the reader during the reading process.

The division of *Saddi Iskandari* into four parts is an innovation in Khamsa literature, and it can be seen that it was divided into two parts in the works of its predecessors. After the subject of Iskandari, the presentation of stories that realize the content of the work began with Nizami Ganjavi’s *Iqbalnama*, and Khusrav Dihlavi and Abdurrahman Jami clearly modeled this. Navoi, however, did not limit himself to the story alone, but enriched it with two more chapters on theoretical issues and questions and answers between Iskandari and his teacher.

Abdurahman Jami’s epic poem *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* in terms of composition, it consists of 12 chapters of introduction, 63 chapters of the main part, and 3 chapters of conclusion. composed, as we noted above, each event or theoretical idea is followed

by a story. The twelve chapters in the introduction are traditional in nature, and only Jami introduced a story in the introduction, making it innovative in composition. Although the main part is divided into 63 chapters, only 20 of them are devoted to the subject of Alexander. 8 chapters are the *khiradnoma* (8-Iskandar *khiradnoma*), chapters 57-66 are the lament of the judges, chapters 68-72 are the condolences of the judges, and the remaining chapters are stories.

When the writer was planning to write the epic poem *Khiradnomayi Iskandari*, he preferred to write about Alexander's wisdom rather than telling his history. He reviewed his works created before writing the epic and thought that his life had passed in search of form, and now he should focus on meaning. However, fearing that he would lose both form and logic in searching for meaning, he likened himself to an old hawk and added the story about the hawk and the frog. The next story is about the need to look not at a person himself, but at his words, and it is also mentioned in the preface. With this story, Abdurahman Jami seems to be saying, look at the logic of the epic, understand its true essence.

This reminds us of the following stanza by Hazrat Navoi:

*Chun g'araz so'z din erur ma'ni anga,*

*Noqil o'lsa xoh xotun, xoh er.*

*So'zchi holing boqma, boq so'z holini*

*Ko'rma kim der ani, ko'rgilkim ne der (Navoiy, 2012, 360).*

Jami cites a total of twenty-three stories (one story is related to the participation of Alexander) for the confirmation of the idea. Although "Saddi Iskandari" is significant in terms of volume, there are eighteen stories related to the confirmation of the idea. Since Jami's epic is more of a parable than an adventure, the stories presented take the form of theoretical confirmation of the idea. However, this regularity is violated in some places of the epic, in particular, stories are not attached to chapters 45, 50, 53, 56. Chapter 68 contains the condolences of the judges. The internal structure of the main chapters is similar to those of Nizami Ganjavi and Khusrav Dihlavi, and we can see the proximity to Nizami in the matter of titles.

In each of the epic poems, the subject related to Alexander is addressed to the *saqi* and the *muganni* at the end. Nizami Ganjavi addresses the *saqi* in the "Sharafnama" section, and the *muganni* in the "Iqbolnama" section. Abdurahman Jami combines the two and presents the *saqinama* and *muganninama* at the end of each chapter, which serves as the final conclusion of the sections of the epic. In the epic poem "Khiradnamayi Iskandariy", we find such couplets at the end of the stories, rather than at the end of the events or *khiradnomas* related to the subject of the epic. For example, in the story about the falcon and the frog, there is the following address to the *saqi* and the musician:

*Biyo, soqiyo, sog'ari may biyor,*

*Falakvor davri payopay biyor.*

*Az on may, ki osoishi dil dihad,*

*Xalosū zi oloishi gil dihad.*

*Biyo, mutribo, ud binhoda go'sh,*

*Ba yak go'shmol ovarash dar xuro'sh!*

*Xuro'she, ki dilro ba hush ovarad,*

*Ba dono payomi suro'sh ovarad? (Jamiy, 1984, 337).*

That is: oh cupbearer, bring me wine in a large bowl, hold it like a circle of heaven. May it be so that it brings peace to the heart, washes away the mud on the skirt, and gives relief. Come, Mutrib, listen to your words, listen to your words and sing a wonderful melody. May the heart know what joy is from this melody, may wise words make a person an angel.

In the work of Alisher Navoi and his predecessors, the soqiname and muganniname are part of the main plot of the epic, and the attached stories end with their own conclusions. Also, in Alisher Navoi's epic "Saddi Iskandari" along with the soqiname and muganniname, there is an appeal to himself, which is not found in any other epic. For example, Chapter 27 ends like this:

*Ketur soqiy, ul mayki, jone topay,  
G'am ichra ulardin amone topay!  
Ki, gar davr og'u berdi Dorog'a bot  
Skandarga ham bermas obi hayot.  
Mug'anniy, bugun nag'mayi chang tuz,  
Vale navha soz aylab ohang tuz.  
Ki dardimg'a tortib fig'on yig'layin,  
Dame o'ylakim shisha qon yig'layin!  
Navoiy, jahong'a vafu yo'qturur,  
Aning da'bu rasmi jafu-o'qdurur.  
Vafu aylab oning vafosin unut,  
Navo istasang, benavolig'ni tut (Navoiy, 2012, 178).*

This chapter, which ends with Alexander's victory over Darius, has a philosophical character, and Navoi explains the treachery of the world and the impermanence of life through the sentence "Since this era poisoned Darius, Alexander will not be destined for eternity".

He gives wisdom to the kings of the time, saying that the great conquerors who subdued the whole world have passed away, and you will not remain forever, and not content with this, he also adds the story of Abu Said Koragon. Jami innovated Nizami's *Iskandarnama* by addressing the footman and musician in each chapter, and achieved individuality in his poetry by presenting them after the stories. Navoi followed the path of Nizami Ganjavi and Khusrav Dehlavi by presenting the soqiynama and muganniynama in places related to the subject of the epic, but he innovated in his poetry by including an appeal to himself.

The structural and thematic divergence between these two masterpieces is most evident in how each author navigates the relationship between the poet, the patron, and the protégé. In Saddi Iskandari, Alisher Navoi constructs a preface deeply embedded in the political landscape of the Timurid era. By dedicating significant praise to Sultan Husayn Boykaro and Prince Badiuzzaman, he does more than follow literary convention; he frames the entire epic as a mirror for the contemporary ruling elite. This focus on the sovereign and the heir-apparent acts as a bridge, linking the legendary justice of Alexander to the immediate expectations of the 15th-century court. Unlike Jami, Navoi does not dilute this introductory focus with domestic advice, signaling that his work is primarily a grand discourse on statecraft and the public duty of the monarch.

In contrast, Abdurahman Jami's *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* introduces a specialized "Advice to the Child" right from the outset, signaling a shift from the macro-political to the micro-ethical. While Jami does acknowledge the contemporary ruler, his early focus on the next generation transforms the preface into a site of personal moral development. This structural choice reflects Jami's broader philosophical leanings; for him, the history of Alexander is a framework for universal wisdom, and the education of the individual soul takes precedence over the chronicle of dynasties. Thus, the absence of child-directed counsel in Navoi's preface highlights his commitment to the "ideal king" as a political entity, whereas Jami's inclusion underscores the "ideal human" as a spiritual one. Alisher Navoi, in his advice to Darveshali, refers to him as his own brother and considers his family's service to the royal household as a blessing from God. However, he emphasizes that the king's generosity is accompanied by tyranny and advises the king to fulfill his servitude and do justice to the people:

*Sabab qilmasa shoh lutfin Xudo,*

*Men-u sen kim erdik – bir-ikki gado.*

*Shah ar lutf qilsa inoyat chog'i,*

*Vale aylay olur uqubat dog'i.*

*Kerak shohdin elga xavf-u rajo,*

*Tinor bu ikini kelturgan bajo.*

*Riokat chu quluqqa qilding tamom,*

*Raiyat ishiga ham et ehtimom.*

*Adolat bila elni qil bahramand*

*Ki yaxshig'a ketsun yomondin gazand (Navoiy, 2012, 517).*

The divergence in these two works is not merely a matter of length but a fundamental difference in their literary architecture. In *Saddi Iskandari*, Alisher Navoi adopts a comprehensive approach, driven by a dual mission: to provide the Turkic peoples with a rigorous historical narrative of Alexander and to project his own socio-political ideals of a "just ruler" onto this legendary figure. This encyclopedic ambition naturally results in a significantly larger volume, as the poet weaves intricate historical details with his personal vision of a perfect state. Navoi views the epic as a vehicle for cultural education, ensuring that the achievements and governance of Alexander are documented with a richness that matches the classical traditions of the past.

In contrast, Abdurahman Jami's *Khiradnomayi Iskandari* emerges from a Persian-Tajik tradition already saturated with the works of predecessors like Nizami Ganjavi and Khusrav Dihlavi. Assuming his audience is already well-versed in the broad strokes of Alexander's biography, Jami consciously sidelines the traditional epic plot in favor of a more condensed, didactic structure.

His focus shifts from the battlefield to the council chamber, prioritizing the philosophical discourses and ethical lessons exchanged between Alexander and the great sages of antiquity. Consequently, where Navoi builds a monumental epic of action and governance, Jami constructs a concise manual of wisdom, leading to a sharp divergence in the physical length and thematic weight of the two works. This stylistic choice reflects a transition from the heroic epic toward the philosophical treatise, where the character of Alexander serves primarily as a mouthpiece for universal truths. The structural and conceptual distinctions between these two masterpieces can be further analyzed in the table below:

**Composition of the epic poem Khiradnomayi Iskandari/Saddi Iskandari**

**Table 1**

**Table 2**

<b>Abdurrahman Jami's <i>Khiradnamayi Iskandari</i></b>	<b>Alisher Navoi's <i>Saddi Iskandari</i></b>
<b><i>I. Introduction (Chapters 1-12)</i></b>	<b><i>I. Introduction (Chapters 1-14)</i></b>
Chapter 4: Traditional beginning	Chapter 4: Traditional beginning
Chapter 5: Eulogy of Khoja Ubaydullah	Chapter 5: Improvement of "Khamsa"
Chapter 6: Praise of Husayn Bayqara	Chapter 6: Definition of the word, Confession of masters
Chapter 8: Advice to children	Chapter 7: Hymn of Jami
Chapter 9: Remembrance of contentment	Chapter 8: Sun of Grace
Chapter 11: Remembrance of words	Chapter 9: Husain Bayqara
Chapters 7, 10, 12: Stories	Chapter 10: Hymn of Sultan Badiuzzaman
-	Chapters 11-14: History of Iranian dynasties
<b><i>II. Various Plots and Stories (Chapters 13-18)</i></b>	<b><i>II. On Aspiration (Himmat) (Chapters 15-18)</i></b>
Chapters 13, 15, 17: The plot of the epic	Plot: The beginning of the Alexander plot
Chapter 14: Debate between the wise and the simple	Definition: Definition of Aspiration
Chapter 16: The old man and the crying child	Story: Alexander and the beggar prince
Chapter 18: Story of the village headman and his son	Wisdom: Which path is closer to the goal?
<b><i>III. The Contract (Chapters 19-32)</i></b>	<b><i>III. On Justice (Chapters 19-22)</i></b>
Philosophers: Aristotle (19), Plato (21), Socrates (23), Phaisogoras (27), Ascalinus (29), Charmis (31)	Plot: Alexander's justice
Stories: The camel and the fox (20), The honest man (22), A simple fish and a fishing bird (24), The poor child and the judge (26), Ungrateful child (28), A guy with no words (30), The mansion with the ugly face (32)	Definition: Definition of justice
-	Story: Mahmud's story
-	Wisdom: About justice
<b><i>IV. Diverse Plots and Stories (Chapters 33-78)</i></b>	<b><i>IV. On Opposition (Chapters 23-26)</i></b>
Frequent Entries: "The plot of the epic" (Chapters 33, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 67, 73, 74, 75)	Plot: Disagreement with the doctor
Notable Stories:	Definition: Opposition damage
About the Gharib Qazi (34)	Story: A story of two friends
Alexander's Chronicle (35)	Wisdom: About opposition
Parviz, his wife and the fisherman (38)	<b><i>V. On Kingdom Regulations (Chapters 27-30)</i></b>

The King and the Devil (44)	Plot: Alexander and Darius preparing for battle
A man who was shipwrecked (47)	Definition: Royal procedures
The ruler of Merv (52)	Story: Sultan Abu Said Koragon
<b>Thematic Chapters:</b>	Wisdom: Acting wisely
About generosity (55)	<b>VI. On Winter (Chapters 31-34)</b>
Lament of the judges (57-66, 68-72)	Plot: Alexander spends the winter in Karabakh
The end of “Panj Ganj” (78)	Definition: Winter definition
<b>Final Chapters:</b>	Story: Madman’s story
The End (The Infidelity of This Two-Door World) (76)	Wisdom: People’s inclination toward winter
The story of Balkhy Devona (77)	<b>VII. On The Journey (Chapters 35-38)</b>
	Plot: Traveling to Kashmir
	Definition: Trip description and conditions
	Story: Two friends found happiness through travel
	Wisdom: The benefits of an arduous journey
	<b>VIII. On Youth (Chapters 39-42)</b>
	Plot: Alexander’s conquest of Kashmir
	Definition: About learning to work and pray in youth
	Story: A story about a young man
	Wisdom: About Youth and Old Age
	<b>IX. On Forgiveness, Generosity (Chapters 43-46)</b>
	Plot: His journey to India
	Definition: The virtue of forgiveness
	Story: The merchant’s story
	Wisdom: The answer to every problem
	<b>X. On Right Thought (Chapters 47-51)</b>
	Plot: Alexander’s campaign against China
	Definition: In the definition of correctness
	Story: Ardasher’s story
	Wisdom: The value of right thinking and the harm of error
	<b>XI. On Hospitality (Chapters 52-55)</b>
	Plot: Khaqan’s feast for Alexander
	Definition: About waiting for a guest
	Story: The story of Bahrom Gor and the three scoundrels
	Wisdom: Guest Waiting Procedure
	<b>XII. On Youth, Spring (Chapters 56-59)</b>

	Plot: Inventions of Alexander
	Definition: About the joy of spring youth
	Story: Nightingale story
	Wisdom: Why the heart is inclined toward spring
	<b><i>XIII. On The Eye of the Heart (Chapters 60-63)</i></b>
	Plot: Alexander's journey to the Maghreb
	Definition: About the eyes of insight
	Story: The story of the fish
	Wisdom: The inability of human understanding to grasp truth
	<b><i>XIV. On The Torment of Hijran (Chapters 64-67)</i></b>
	Plot: Alexander's victory over a horde of ants
	Definition: The darkness of the evening of Hajj is described
	Story: Madman's story
	Wisdom: The dislike of Hijran and the pleasure of wasl
	<b><i>XV. On Patriotism (Chapters 68-71)</i></b>
	Plot: The wall blocking the path of Gog and Magog
	Definition: About the spoils of life
	Story: Pigeon story
	Wisdom: Why human nature wants to settle in its homeland
	<b><i>XVI. On Knowledge and Wisdom about the Sea (Chapters 72-75)</i></b>
	Plot: Sea walk
	Definition: About the sea situation
	Story: A man who found treasure in the East and died in the West
	Wisdom: Asking Socrates if the Earth is surrounded by water
	<b><i>XVII. On The Impermanent Nature of Life (Chapters 76-79)</i></b>
	Plot: Alexander's reaching the center of the universe
	Definition: About the impermanence of life
	Story: The story of Luqman
	Wisdom: Asking Luqman how he acquired his knowledge
	<b><i>XVIII. On Compassion (Chapters 80-83)</i></b>

	Plot: Alexander's letter to his mother
	Definition: About the condolences of the seven judges
	Story: The man with the severed wrist
	Wisdom: Why two sympathizers love each other
	<b><i>XIX. On Determining a Person's Rank by His Words (Chapters 84-87)</i></b>
	Hymn: Badiuzzaman's hymn
	Follow-up: Following the wisdom of the wise
	Story: The story of a poor but valuable beggar
	Wisdom: Pay attention to a person's words, not their personality
	<b><i>Conclusion (Chapters 88-89)</i></b>
	It is also clear from these tables that Navoi forms the epic based on four compositional parts, while Jami forms it on two.

## Conclusion

The two great poets in their epics about Alexander respond to the main character in terms of artistic purpose. Abdurahman Jami refers to the subject of Alexander only in order not to deviate from tradition, the main reason for not dwelling on the history of Alexander was that in Persian literature before Jami, works on this topic were created by Firdawsi, Ganjavi, and Dihlavi. Secondly, in the introduction to the work, he emphasizes that his life was wasted in search of rhyme, does not consider himself capable of telling an old legend and notes that he intends to write a pandnoma. Alisher Navoi, on the other hand, brings both the history of Alexander and his noble deeds into the subject of the epic. In this way, firstly, he realizes the intention of entertaining the Turkic-speaking peoples with the history of Alexander, and secondly, he expresses his views on the just king. Although the epics are about one literary hero, they are individual works that do not repeat each other due to the artistic purpose of the creators. This is determined by the fact that Navoi gives a wide place to the scenes related to the life of Alexander, while Jamiy mentions them in a general way. Although the composition of the epic *Khirađnāma-yi Iskandarī* does not differ much from the works created by his predecessors, in order to unite the plot of the epic and the stories on one topic, the author uses the appeal to the *soqi* and the *muganni* as a conclusion to the stories. As a result, the work acquires a unity in terms of content. This situation is not observed in the epics of the three poets who created the perfect *khamsa*. Alisher Navoi made an innovation in *khamsa* by dividing the epic into four parts in terms of composition. He also refers to himself, along with the images of the *soqi* and the musician, and concludes the conclusion with attention to three people. The poet includes a chapter dedicated to the praise of the king and princes in the introduction and conclusion of the epic, while in *Khirađnāma-yi Iskandarī* only the introduction contains a chapter dedicated to the king of the time.

*Saddi Iskandari* is a pure example of creativity based on the poet's artistic

skill, and is considered to be comparable to Jami's epic poem on this topic in terms of subject and idea. Although Navoi notes that he drew inspiration from Khiradnāmayi Iskandarī in his works, like Nizami Ganjavi and Khusrav Dehlavi, he focused on Iskandari himself, and like Jami, on his words, creating a single work that combines the two sources.

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