

# The Image Of Iskandar In Turkic Sources

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**Abstract :** Many works about Iskandar Zulqarnain were created in various epochs and peoples. In particular, there is information about this famous figure in the Turkic sources. Some has historical, some has folk, and some has artistic features as the leading character. The article contains sources from the 11th and 14th centuries, including the works of Abu Raykhan Beruni, "Osor ul-boqiya", "India", "Devonu lugatit Turk" by Mahmud Kashghari, "Kutadgu bilig" by Yusuf Khos Hajib and "Qissasi Rabghuzi" by Nosiruddin Rabghuzi. Information about Zulqarnain has been studied. Their influence on the Turkish literature, in particular, on the works of Alisher Navoi, has been studied.

**Index Terms:** Iskandar Zulqarnain, Turkish Literature, creative impact, Alisher Navoi, Persian Literature, tradition, originality.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The main points about Iskandar in the XI - XIV centuries on Turkic sources are Abu Raykhan Beruni's "Osor ul-boqiya" [13], "India" [14], "Devonu lugatit Turk" by Mahmud Kashghari [21], "Kutadgu Bilig" by Yusuf Khos Hajib. [33] and Nasiruddin Rabghuzi's "Qissasi Rabghuzi" [25]. Navoi was well-acquainted with the main sources about Iskandar of his time and before. Along with Persian sources, Turkish sources also play an important role in shaping his views. This aspect of the issue was poorly understood in studies, with a focus on only Persian sources. Therefore, we will try to give writings on Turkic sources on broader picture of Iskandar prior to Navoi and their impact on the formation of Navoi's views. Alisher Navoi's vision of Iskandar has gone through a complicated process of being synonymous with nature. One of the layers as on history, some were on religion, some were on the written and oral literature. The sources of Navoi's view of Iskandar can be divided into three groups: 1) historical sources; 2) religious sources; 3) literary sources. Literary sources can be also divided into two directions - Persian and Turkish. The first two groups have sources in common for both directions, and it is advisable not to divide them in terms of language. In turn, the Turkish direction can be divided into two sectors such as: 1) written literary sources; 2) oral literary sources (folklore).

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW.

So far, the information on Iskandar and its influence on the works of Alisher Navoi has not been studied so far. However, some commentary has been made in the work on the analysis of the various papers about Iskandar. The Russian orientalist Y.E. Bertels [12] mainly studied the historical refinements of the story about Iskandar, the Persian sources depicting the image of Iskandar and their influence on the work of Navoi in his research. It did not mention the portrayal of Iskandar and its creative influence on the works of Navoi. Y.A. Kostyukhin focused on the connection of Iskandar's image with folklore and written literature traditions [20]. Although the book analyzes Navoi and Abay's "Iskandarnama", it does not address the impact of early Turkic sources on Navoi's creative works. I. Unvar, Y. Akdogan and H. Minnegulov focused on the study of Akhmedi's "Iskandarnama" poem in Turkish [29; 10; 22], I. Avji researched the Turkic network of Iskandar, their relations with folklore, in particular, the poem of Akhmad Rizvani's "Iskandarnama" [3; 4; 5; 6; 7]. A. Kayumov commented on the ideological-philosophical content and observations of Navoi's poem "Saddi Iskandari" [34], while

F. Suleymanova addressed Alexander on the ancient and medieval cultural links [27].

F. Doufekar-Aerts' research mainly examines Arab stories about Alexander [17], while Dankoff's and H. Boeschoten's articles on Alexander, partly explored information written in the Turkic sources [15; 16]. However, the Turkic sources related to Alexandria have not been comprehensively analyzed and have not been shown to influence on Navoi's work.

## 3. METHODOLOGY.

The study of genetic and typological literary links is becoming increasingly important in modern philology. The comparative aspect is also important because it reflects the peculiarities of the literary process. The article uses comparative-historical, cultural-historical and descriptive methods in accordance with the scientific problem and the above-mentioned needs.

### 3.1 Main Part.

It is preferable to begin with a series of Turkic sources about Iskandar, with the exception of Abu Raykhan Beruni's works. Although the scholar wrote his works in Arabic in accordance with the requirements of the time, his background, youth and part of his scientific activity were in the territory of present-day Uzbekistan or therefore, it is possible to say that Beruni's works of the Turkic peoples on Iskandar was also reflected.

### "Osor ul-boqiya" and "India".

In the works of Abu Raykhan Beruni "Osor ul-boqiya" and "India", the information about Iskandar Zulqarnain was found. "Osor ul-boqiya" was Beruni's first major work, which was written in 1000 AD. It addresses, among other things, the historical science and its essence, and includes a separate chapter in the book, "The Conflict of Different Nations in Determining the King Zulqarnain (Alexander)'s Name" [13, 73 - 79]. It is remarkable that this story, which is short but full of important information, contains new information. One of Beruni's main goals was to respond to the conflicting question of who Iskandar was and show his solution. It should be noted that much of Beruni's work was also in the works of Navoi, so it is important to pay attention to the most important and varied aspects. Biruni begins by explaining the meaning of the Quran verses on Zulqarnain. According to him, Zulqarnain was a righteous and powerful man, who had given him authority and authority over the earth by the God. By calling Zulqarnain a "righteous and powerful man," Beruni refuses to acknowledge his being prophet, nor does he mention controversies on the

Zulqarnain's prophecy. Details such as Zulqarnain's penetration to the north to the kingdom of darkness, the fight against "nasnos" (half-ape-half-human creature) in the furthest places, and the construction of the Ya'juj-Ma'juj (Gog-Magog) barrier to the north and the mouth of the caves must be taken from the interpretations. The reason is that there is no such information Surat al-Kahf in the Quran mentioned Zulqarnain about "nasnos", the kingdom of darkness, and the fact that the barrier was built into the mouth of the cave. For example, Navoi notes that the barrier was built between two mountains (not the cave), as in the Quran. After giving this information, Beruni began to speak about the Greek Alexander the Great, figure without explanation. Describing Alexander's bravery, there is a sense of closeness to the plot of the "Iskandarnama" of Firdavsi and Nizami. This suggests that they relied on the same sources. Beruni said that Alexander had gone to fight with Darius to avenge the blood of the Babylonians, and Darius had been killed by the chief of his guard, Navjusanas bin Azarbakht. The story of Iskandar and Darius in the Khamsas was portrayed as an intrigue, and Darius marched against Alexander, while Darius's murderers were mentioned in Navoi, but we do not see a specific name. The information given by Biruni was probably from the Greek sources [9; 24; 26]. It should be noted that Navoi, like many of its predecessors, did not give any indication of revenge. Beruni told about the last years of his life and noted that he died in Shahrizur due to illness. Navoi also said in his "Tarixi Muluki Ajam" that there was a twofold view of Iskandar's death in Shahrizur or Babylon [p. 8, 155].

**Beruni then outlined the views of Iskandar over the nickname of Zulqarnain, they are as follows:**

1. For all his work, based on science, and with the advice of Aristotle, and for doing many things;
2. For the step to the sun rises and sunsets;
3. For being born of two generations, namely, Roman and Iranian.

While almost all of the Alexandrines have different views on the nickname Zulqarnain, we do not see the third option. Beruni commented on the latter's view, emphasizing that the Iranians relied on fictional stories of Alexander being the great-grandson of Darius. It is noteworthy that Beruni also laid the groundwork for this Persian belief that Alexander, when Darius lay in a frenzy, took his head on his knees and said, "Brother, who told you this thing! I will take your revenge on him", and this was proof that Alexander was the brother of little Darius. According to Beruni, this was unfounded, and Alexander appealed to Darius to be kind and equal to him, for it would not have been proper for kings at that time to call on the king or to name him. Navoi cited Beruni's commentary on the preface to "Saddi Iskandari" and "Tarixi Muluki Ajam," but it was mentioned in connection with Alexander's lineage. Beruni believed that Alexander was the son of Philip. Therefore, it is far from true that Zulqarnain was Atraks, Munzir ibn Moussamo, and Sa'ab ibn Hammol Himyari. However, Beruni said that it may be correct that Abu Karib Shammar Jūsīs bin Ifriqīs Himyari was Zulqarnain, since people called "zu" are met only in Yemen, for example, Zulmanor, Zulazor, Zushshanotir, Zunuvaz, Zujazan, Zuyazan [p. 13, 77]. Then comes the controversy over the barrier and Ya'juj-Ma'juj. According to Beruni, sources such as "Geography" and

"Kitab al-Masalikiwa al-Mamalik" referred that Ya'juj-Ma'juj were the class of the Eastern Turks living in the fifth and sixth climates. Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari stated in his "History" that the ruler of Azerbaijan sent a man to the barrier when he was conquered. He saw the wall and described it as a large, tall, black building on the other side of the sturdy trench [13, p. 78]. According to Hurdodbih, Beruni said that al-Muttasim (Abbasid Khalifa (833 - 842) dreamed the conquest of the barrier and sent fifty men to see it. They went through Bob ul-Abwab, Lon and Hazar, seeing a wall made of iron fragments and reinforced with molten copper, having a locked gate and seeing the wall guarded by the surrounding population, then the guide on their way back took them to places near Samarkand. [13, p. 78]. Beruni said that these two messages imply that the barrier was in the northwest quarter of the population, but that the Bulgarian nationals live there, they cannot believe that they are Muslim and speak Arabic, Turkish, and Hindi [13, p. 78]. These are some of the aspects of Zulqarnain's story that Beruni wants to report, which do not appear in the writings of Navoi and his predecessors. Evidently, Beruni was familiar with Greek, Persian, Arab, and Turkic sources, and sorted out what he believed was right. Abu Raykhan Beruni's "India" also contains some valuable information on the subject we are studying. In the chapter entitled "The Beginning of the Worship of Images and Their Illustration", there was a pamphlet containing Aristotle's answers to the Brahmins' questions, and Alexander sent his questions to Aristotle. Aristotle quoted from the pamphlet: "Some of the Greeks say that the idols speak; we do not know anything about it when you say that the Greeks offered various sacrifices to them and claimed that there was a priesthood in the idols. It is not right for us to judge what we do not know." [14, p. 105]

#### 4. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are two more quotes from this booklet in the chapter entitled "Earth and sky forms". The first is: "In his treatise to Alexander, Aristotle wrote: The Universe is the orderly structure of all things. But the place where the gods are at the top of it and which surrounds it on every side is the place where the gods stand. The sky is full of the bodies of the gods, and we call them the luminaries." [14, 184]. The second is as follows: "Aristotle also says in another part of this treatise: Earth is surrounded by water, water by air, air by fire and fire by ether; hence the highest place is the place of the gods; and the bottom is a place for aquatic animals" [14, 184]. Navoi noted in his "Tarixi Muluki Ajam" that Iskandar had corresponded with Aristotle on important matters, in particular the mulatto religiosity, but did not indicate Alexander's interrogation with Brahmins or Aristotle's special pamphlet in response to Alexander's questions. Nevertheless, the composition of the "Hikmatlar", which forms part of the "Saddi Iskandari", was compiled in the form of Aristotle's answer to Alexander's questions, and these questions may have been derived from Beruni's treatise. Possibly the Firdavsi and the Nizami were familiar with the brochure that Biruni is reporting. Except for the argument with the Indian philosopher, King Cade, in the "Shahnameh", it also contains a special chapter entitled "Raftai Iskandar and the City of Brahmanan". It contains Alexander's question and answer with Brahmins [31, p. 95 - 101]. In the "Ikbolnama", Alexander's long question with

Indian wise man was given in a separate chapter. Wise man asks Alexander a total of 9 questions. These were about the way to God and its destination, the boundaries of the world, the two parts of the universe, the soul, the dream, the sight, the magic, and the color of the inhabitants of the earth [23, p. 361 - 367]. In this way, Beruni wrote that the material contained new information and interpretations that were not found in the poems of Firdavsi and Khamsanians. It is not known that Turkic writers, especially Navoi, were familiar with Beruni's Zulqarnain story, as Navoi did not say anything about it. However, it is clear that Navoi's views on Alexander are not much different from those of Beruni, although their approach and purpose have produced some differences, but they were generally the same.

#### **“Devonu lugatit Turk”.**

One of the earliest Turkic sources to report Zulqarnain was the "Devonu lugatit Turk" (1074). Mahmud Kashghari did not intend to give specific information about Zulqarnain, but information about Zulqarnain served as additional evidence for the author to interpret certain words. Therefore, they come in many different places, and although it was written, the folklore is felt. From a historical point of view, Beruni and Kashghari lived almost at the same time, and their information on Zulqarnain came from a difference of fifty years. Nevertheless, there are some differences between the records of the two scholars, which can be explained by factors such as regional identity, author's worldview, and nature of the work. Information about Alexander is found in books I and III of Devon. Although the fragments are dispersed, there must be a logical relationship between one source and an unknown source. In particular, excerpts from the names of such names asögä, uyg'ur and turkman are derived from the same source and were conventionally combined with the so-called "Turkic Khagan and Iskandar epic" [1; p. 129]. The next passage relates to the words of tutmach, which relates to Alexander's search for a better life. This plot may also be part of the "Turkic khagan Shu and Iskandar" epic poem, since much of the Eastern pamphlet plot is the life story. It is understood from these passages that when Zulqarnain made his way to the Turkic lands, the Turkish khagan was a great and powerful man named Shu. Despite being young, he was very quiet and enterprising, and he did not want to fight or retreat with Zulqarnain. At the time this happened, cities like Tiroz, Isfijab, and Balasaghun were not built during these events, and the inhabitants were nomads. When he heard that Zulqarnain was coming, he and his people headed east, however, there were 24 families left because of lack of horses. When Zulqarnain came and saw them, he said that they were like туркмонанд- Turks without asking. Zulqarnain spoke in the Turkish language, which, in part, points to the fact that the source was a legend moving from mouth to mouth among the people. It is also noteworthy that two families in the language of the phrase, "Oh people, Zulqarnain is a passenger, do not live in one place" [21; p. 421]. This means that the ancient Turkic peoples called Alexander as Zulqarnain and were well aware of the many journeys around the world. It is noteworthy that in the clash between Shu and Zulqarnain, Zulqarnain was forced to make a truce. Nizami, Dekhlavi and Navoi clauses also had a truce episode between the Chinese khagan and Iskandar.

In the poems of Nizami and Navoi, the truce was initiated and there was no war between the two armies, while in Dekhlavi's poem, there were fights and a fierce battle between Chinese khagan and Alexander. The closeness of Mahmud Kashghari and Khusrav Dekhlavi's plots is felt, a connection to a single source. When Alexander returns, Shu builds a castle called "Shu", near Balasaghun, and every day, three hundred and sixty times a hurricane hits the beaches. When Khagan built the city, he built one secret, and the peculiarity of it was that if the storks flew in front of the city, they would stop. In "Saddi Iskandari", Khagan also showed a secretive mirror to Alexander – "Oyinai Chin", but the inscriptions did not mention about the magic city of Chin. Nonetheless, Khagan and its affiliation to the secret also remained in Navoi. Mahmud Kashghari interprets the meaning of the word ögä as "experienced" or "intelligent man" and gives further details of this legend or some of its details. It is remarkable that Zulqarnain was at peace in the battle. These details do not appear in the Iskandarnomas of Nizami, Dekhlavi, Jomi, and Navoi. According to Mahmud Kashghari, uyg'ur is the five-city province built when Zulqarnain made the truce with the Turkish king. Kashghari said that he heard from Isrofil Togontekin that when the Turkish khagan (Shu) would send four thousand soldiers against Zulqarnain when he approached Uyg'ur region, the feathers on their heads are like the wings of a falcon and they could shoot at the back like a bullet the same as from the front. When Zulqarnain saw them, he was astonished and believed and said inon xud xurand meaning "they are those who find themselves" and "do not need others," and after that the name of the province began to be called Xudxo'r, which later underwent phonetic changes and became Uyg'ur [21, 136. b.]. Although Zulqarnain spoke Persian here, it does not mean that the Turks imagined Zulqarnain as one of the kings of the Ajam, but he also spoke Turkish in a passage we saw above. For example, Persian writers such as Firdavsi and Nizami mentioned that Iskandar spoke Persian, while in the poems of Ahmadi and Navoi, he spoke the Turkic language and this is a contingent phenomenon in artistic creativity. Mahmud Kashghari, in another passage, gave a glimpse of the famous Turkish cuisine tutmach and according to narration, its origin was attributed to Zulqarnain. This narrative confirms that Turkic peoples, like the Persians and the Arabs, had an idea of Zulqarnain's journey before the tenth century in search of a better life. They also knew that Zulqarnain consulted with the wise. Another interesting thing is that people who write for starvation spoke Turkish. Indeed, Iskandar's army, depicted in the Navoi poem, included Turks, being representatives of different nationalities. As the fragments of the devon are considered part of the work, the episode referred to as the tutmach must have been part of the plot after Alexander's fight with the Turkic people, as the record shows that there were Turkic people amongst Alexander's troops. The information given by Mahmud Kashghari was somewhat ancient and its sources were also created by the Turks, so it has the same peculiarities as those not found in Persian sources.

#### **“Kutadgu Bilig”.**

The important work in this regard is also the work of Yusuf Khos Khajib "Kutadgu Bilig" (1069-1070). In two parts of the work, there is the name of Iskandar, the first in the chapter

"Uzgurmish tells Ugdulmish to turn away from this world and be inclined to that world." Uzgurmish told that ambition to the world was not pleasant to him, and that there was no difference between a prince and a slave and provided as an example of the followings: Shaddad, Namrud, Pharaoh, Korun, Iskandar, Moses, Solomon, Jesus and Mukhammad prophet. It is noteworthy that the author expressed his attitude when interpreting a historical person. For example, if Namrud was called as a dog, he calls Pharaoh as a godly villain, and he said about Iskandar

Qani ul Tug'ardin Batarqa tegi,  
Yurib el tutug'li bu dunya yegi.

Where is that who crosses the world from sun rise to  
sun down and

conquered the nations, the best of the world (Iskandar)

In the chapter titled "Pitying the Boy and Speaking of Aging," the poet again mentions Iskander as he reprimands himself as a substitute for eternal:

Ajun butru tutum Skandar tutarcha  
Tugel Nuh yashin men yashadim yashattim.

(I have won the whole world, as Iskandar had won,  
And also lived as long as Noah) [33, pp.702, 938].

This means that according to Yusuf KhosKhabib, Iskandar was one of the great descendants, who traveled the world from the East to the West. This fact is in keeping with the Qur'anic verses of Surah al-Kahf, which proves that the poet's views on Iskandar were Islamic. In each of these poems, Yusuf Khos Hajib used the image of Iskandar to prove the idea that the world is a background, and the expression "the best of the world" is the result of a positive attitude. The poems do not reflect Alexander's worldview and idle living. This approach of Yusuf KhosHajib to this image was also preserved in Navoi. At the same time - in the 11th century – in "Devonu lugatit Turk" there was no negative or positive reaction to Iskandar. In the East, negative attitude toward Iskandar's prejudice is widespread against wider Zoroastrian circles. According to Y.E.Bertels, in "The ArtakViraz Book", which was created during the Sassanid period, in the "Chronicle" of the historian of the 10th century, Khamzaibn Hasan al-Isfahani, Iskandar was shown as a master of destructive power. [12; p. 288]. However, in the main Persian poems about Iskandar - Firdavsi, Nizami, and Dekhlavi - he was portrayed as a positive hero, only Jomiy tried not to pay much attention to Alexander's personality, but he also portrayed Alexander as a positive figure. However, it is clear from the contents of "Xiradnamai Iskandari", that in the chapter "Dostoni xoqoni Chin, ki to'xfa ihaqir ba Iskandar firistod va ba hikmate sharifash ogohiy dod" Alexander was treated as the person, who was so dishonest insane, and that Alexandria was a worldly, looter of the nations. This attitude towards Alexander was preserved in Turkic peoples until the end of the 19th century [2]. This approach in the Turkic sources has ancient roots because Alexander's image has changed in many Oriental poems, mainly by the political ideology of the divine power of the Quran and the Persian kings, but in fact Alexander's intentions of plundering and invading, but the same aspect was preserved among the Turkic peoples.

"Qissasi Rabghuzi".

There are no references to Alexander or Zulqarnain in the works of the prominent Turkish artists of the twelfth century, such as Ahmad Yugnaki and Ahmad Yassavi. The work of Nasiruddin Rabghuzi, published in the beginning of the XIV century, or more precisely in 1309-1310, is of great importance in this regard and contains a special story about Zulqarnain. Rabghuzi created "Qisas ul-Anbiyo" based on Quranic stories, religious sources and historical works. It contains information about Zulqarnain's family background, his personality, his work, the problem Ya'juj-Ma'juj, and his journey to the dark. According to Rabghuzi, this person was called by two names, and his name Alexander came from Alexandria, whereas the name Zulqarnain was the reason because he reached for the earth's two side, from the east to the west. Rabghuzi mentioned two other points regarding the name of Alexander as Zulqarnain, the first being that the word "qarn" was horn in Arabic with two golden horns on its head; the other is named because he lived for two "qarn" (centuries), but there is a conflict here. Initial thought suggests that Alexander was imagined to be an Egyptian, and interestingly, the reason why the man was called Alexander was not found in any Turkic sources or Khamsanian poets. Historically, the work "Fake Callisphen" ("Pseudo Callisphen), a reference to Callisen, dating to the first century AD, was interpreted as a child born of an Egyptian priest's secret relationship with Olympia, not Alexander Phillip. This story has been translated into many languages of the world, which Rabghuzi said may have been influenced by such sources. Rabghuzi also provided some interesting information about the personality of Alexander. For the first time in Turkish written literature, the impression that Alexander had a horn appears in "Qissasi Rabghuzi." This is reflected in Nizami's "Ikbolnoma", which suggests that the idea of Alexander with a horn comes from the Arabs, because the Greeks had a special image of his king after his death, drawing two horns on both ends. This picture has spread around the world and has reached the Arabs, and they call Iskandar the horned angel and call him horny Iskandar [23, p. 323]. Navoi said that in "Tarixi Muluki Ajam", the name Zulqarnain had been known for living two centuries, but does not mention Alexander's two-horn. According to Rabghuzi, there is a controversy over the prophethood or kingdom of Zulqarnain, and the Prophets was claimed according to the verse "Surat al-Kahf" cites "Kulnaaya hall-karnayn". In the book, Iskandar was portrayed as a God-fearing person who did good, worked against the unbelievers, protected the oppressed, and built many buildings and beautified the world. According to Rabghuzi, there was a tendency to interpret Alexander as a ruler acting according to Islamic principles.

## 5. THE RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

It should be noted that the events described by Rabghuzi are close to the plot of the Nizami's epic. These include Alexander's journey to a part of the world, a fight with a group of judges on their way to the East, a trip to India, and details of the horn. However, there is no indication that the ambassador sent by the King of India treated Alexander. Another noteworthy feature in the story was the detailed description of the Ya'juj-Ma'juj. Rabghuzi gave information about Ya'juj-Ma'juj, mainly on verses and hadiths. This and some of the information he cited was almost consistent with

the "sad"(wall) construction described in the Iskandarnomas. Rabghuzi's this quote on "sad" from "Tafsir" by Majdiddin Andigoni is also remarkable: "One of the Khalifas gave Abu Ya'qub's translation to the transmitter fifty acres of gold and five mule loads to go and visit Zulqarnain's fort. They came out of Baghdad and went west. Zulkarnayn was hit by a rod. They measured the lid, thirty yards long ... Seeing them again, they came back to Baghdad in two and a half years. The Caliphs were turned back on their way back to Samuzkend, where they returned eight octaves" [25, p. 93]. The same information was also found in Beruniy's work "Osor ul-Boqiya" [13, p.78] and in "Tafsir" of Ibn Kathir [19, pp. 2512-2514]. Rabghuzi then mentioned about Alexander's journey in search of eternal water. The information in this respect is almost the same as Nizami's "Iqbolnoma" plot, but some of the records in Rabghuzi did not exist in Nizami, details such as Isrofil appearing in the wisdom of the stone given in the darkness. Information on Alexander's disappearance is not found in the Turkic sources or in other Iskandarnomas, however, Alexander is a character of an unusual nature, portrayed in the works of Navoi and his predecessors. The story of Rabghuzi was not based solely on the Quran or hadith, it contains a mix of religious and historical information. The author tried to gather as much evidence as possible and sometimes presents them in an irregular manner, citing interpretations as necessary, trying to prove his point, often with verses and hadiths. The coincidence of the data with Beruni's, sometimes with Nizami's, confirms that they were close or identical sources.

## 6. SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The image of Iskandar has gone a long and difficult way of perfection before Navoi. There are a number of peculiarities in the process of literary characterization of historical and vital facts and materials:

1. Observing Iskandar's views on sources dating from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries helps identify the leading trends in Turkish literature on this subject.

2. There is a process of "localization" in the literature of Iskandar at different times and nations. The Eastern peoples' tradition of embracing Iskandar's image has come a long and uneven way.

3. Alexander the Great in Turkish fiction and the historical Alexander (Alexander the Macedonian) is, of course, not the literary one (the negative or the positive). In particular, even before Navoi, this image was summarized in the history of the Orientalism, but not only in historical leadership, but also as a poetic image that reflects creative ideology and goals.

4. Although there have been many stories and stories about Iskandar among the peoples of the East and the West, Firdavsi is the first creative writer to write a poem about him. There is special information about Alexander the Great in Khurasan and Movarounnahr regions of Turkic literature before Navoi, in historical and religious sources, but no special poem of warlike character.

5. Turkish literature had some experience before Navoi wrote a poem about Iskandar Zulqarnain. There are several oral tales, legends about Alexander, and remarks on Alexander by scholars such as Abu Raykhan Beruni, Makhmud Kashghari, Yusuf Khos Hajib, Rabghuzi, Atoyi

and Lutfi. Undoubtedly, in addition to his predecessors, Navoi relied on the experience and literary traditions of the Turkic literature. This is evidenced by the concurrence of Navoi's vision of Iskandar and the views of Turkish artists such as Yusuf Khos Hajib, Rabghuzi, Lutfi.

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