

An East Turkestan Manual of the Cobblers  
Eric Schluessel, Harvard University

One of the most ubiquitous genres of written work in Central Asia is a legendary and liturgical text peculiar to a given professional community that its users call a *risāla* and Western philologists a “craft manual.” For at least four centuries and through the present day, these small manuscript, lithographed, or word-processed books have acted as a written record of the legends of these communities and of their common mores and rituals. As such, the craft manual is an important cultural document that provides a rare internal view of a spiritual and social world. Yet, it is a genre that has only recently, in a single landmark study (Dağyeli, 2011), received the level of scholarly attention appropriate to its pervasiveness in everyday life in Central Asia. I present here one such manual and a commentary on its meanings and importance.

To my knowledge, no such manual has been translated in its entirety into any language, save for the translation of some from Persian into Turkic within the original textual tradition. Where partial translations have been prepared, they have focused on the folkloric aspects of the crafts’ origin myths and their possible relationship to a putative world of pre-Islamic mythology (Sakharova, 1960, 1984). Such scholarship has been dedicated to demonstrating the continuity of national culture at the expense of understanding the function of the texts in their contemporary social and cultural context. This is a mistake for two reasons. Firstly, the manuals are not primarily records of a craft community’s practices and structure, but rather liturgical texts used to prepare and guide participation in rituals. As such, they are complex texts, and they are interesting for their common structure and relation to orality, while they provide little data for economic history or theory. Secondly, Turkologists have avoided discussing the explicitly Islamic moral content and intertextuality of the manuals. It is undeniable that the content of the manuals is primarily Islamic (or “Islamicate” [Hodgson, 59]) and that the people who historically used these manuals, when they read the stories of the Prophet Dawūd or recited a prayer to God, related the text to the daily prayers, to sacred history as exemplified by the “stories of the prophets” genre, to the Qur’ān, and to the Sūfī *dhikr*. Indeed, previous commenters have almost totally ignored the fact that all such manuals instruct their users to recite specific Qur’ānic passages.

Also missing from previous analyses is an acknowledgment that the character of these texts is primarily Sūfī and only secondarily industrial. It is common to refer to these craft groups as “guilds,” partly in order to draw out a weak analogy to European guilds and thereby imply the existence of pre-capitalist organizations in the Islamic world, and partly in order to emphasize a connection with craft groups in Anatolia and the Maghreb. Not once in the archive of craft manuals from 19-20 c. East Turkestan, however, does a term meaning specifically “guild” appear. Rather, the groups self-identified as *ṭarīqah*, Sūfī circles or “paths.” This may remind us that, in order to carry out their rituals, including initiations, elevations, and periodic meetings, every craft group required the participation of a Sūfī master who would demonstrate full mastery of the guild’s lore and recitative formulae. The formal title for this master varied greatly across the Islamic world, but in East Turkestan, the term *ṣāhib takbīr* was current. The name means “master of the recitative formula”: *Takbīr* in this context refers not only to the common formula *Allāhu akbar* “God is great,” but also to a range of other prayers and physical movements and positions peculiar to the guild. As such, I translate the term *ṣāhib takbīr* as “recitation master.” I do so in part to emphasize the special place of the recitation master in the community beyond the craft group: The minimal scholarship on recitation masters indicates that they served multiple craft

groups, that they held regular “office hours” in a garden or other public space, and that many of them became successful political leaders. It seems, then, that authority in the craft group related to social authority more broadly (Qaraqutluq, 2006).

The example presented below is Jarring Prov. 43, the “Manual of the Cobblers” (*Risāla-ye mūzadozī*) held in the Jarring Collection of East Turkestani manuscripts at Lund University in Sweden. I have chosen this manual for its typicality of the genre, but also in part for its brevity. The folio itself, like all craft manuals, is small enough in size (175x110 mm) to be carried on a master’s person, tucked into his belt. Other manuals can be ten times its length, and their contents can be very repetitive. This “Manual of the Cobblers” presents all of the essential parts of a manual in minimal space. This manual also provides a good opportunity for textual comparison, as cobblers’ manuals are especially common in Turkological collections in Europe, including Berlin and St. Petersburg. Where necessary for clarification, I have compared the manuscript with parallel passages in Jarring Prov. 500, another, much longer and more complex “Manual of the Cobblers” in the Jarring Collection. I note, however, that the length of these manuals varies considerably, even among contemporaneous specimens from a single region, and that their contents can differ greatly. Therefore, it is almost certainly an error to label them separate redactions of a single text, as Jarring has done in his catalog to the collection.

It should be noted that Jarring Prov. 43 was copied specifically for Gunnar Jarring during his brief visit to Kashgar in 1930, and that its origins may account for its brevity and some of its irregularities. The Swedish missionaries then active in East Turkestan had encouraged the market for copies of manuals, as they often collected such texts for language study in service of oral evangelization and the translation of the Bible and other Christian stories. While the Jarring Collection holds many originals, and it is not difficult to purchase such manuals freely on the open market, copies were made either by native employees of the Mission or by paid scribes. It is likely that, as the copyist wrote this manual out in a Soviet-made notebook, he omitted sensitive knowledge or fabricated manuals wholesale or out of multiple sources. Therefore, while I assert that Jarring Prov. 43 is typical of the genre, it should not be taken to be positively authentic.

In order to facilitate analysis, I will proceed by presenting sections of the text in transliteration and translation interspersed with commentary. I have adopted an emerging standard for transliterating Eastern Turki that avoids archaisms in Turkic while respecting the self-consciously religious character of the text by reproducing Persian and Arabic according to their respective orthographies. While the system broadly follows the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, I have used /j/ for the voiced alveolar affricate. The symbol /p̥/ indicates a voiceless bilabial stop written with a *fā*. Folios are indicated within brackets [ ]. In order to reduce footnotes, I have indicated my editorial alterations to the original manuscript, such as corrections of spelling and of omissions, in parentheses ( ). All renderings of Qur’ānic passages are from Marmaduke Pickthall’s English translation, and individual verses are noted with Q (chapter):(verse), i.e. Q 43:60.

## **Introduction and Exhortation**

### *Commentary*

The manual begins with a title, the *basmala*, and a formulaic praise of God. It continues, as is typical, with a treatise attributed to Ṣādiq Ja‘farī (702-765), the Sixth Imam and an important Ṣūfī thinker and Islamic jurist. The available craft manuals universally ascribe their origins to this figure. Usually, the narrative of the craft’s origins comes before the discussion of

lore and moral duties, but, in this case, their positions are reversed. The manual exhorts community members to abide by its prescriptions. It proceeds in a question-and-answer format to outline the lore of the craft community. This history relates every practice expected of a professional to sacred pre-Islamic, early Islamic, and Şūfī history. The manual also explicit draws a parallel between the transmission of the craft across time and in the present community: The recitation master is akin to God, who sends the revelation of the craft to one of his prophets, “in whose place” the new initiate “sits.”

### *Text*

[1b] Risāla-ye mūzadozī. Bismi-llāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm. Al ḥamd ‘l-lāh rabb al-‘ālamīn, wa-l-‘āqibatu ‘l-il-mutaqqīyūna, wa-l-ṣalwatu wa al-salām ‘alī rasūla Muḥammadin wa ala wa aṣḥāba [2a] ijma‘īn.

“The Manual of the Cobblers.” In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds. And “the sequel is for those who keep their duty unto him” (Q 7:128). And peace and blessings be upon the great messenger Muḥammad and on his family and companions.

Amma ba‘d imām ja‘far al-ṣādīq wa rahnamā-ye muwāfiq andağ riwāyat qilibdurlar kim: And then Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādīq the Propitious Guide related:

Şayḥlar wā naqīb̄lar wā ahl-e taḥqīqlar wā darwīşlar wā ḥānqah naşīnlar wā şāḥib takbīrlar wā kāsiblar ḥazrat Ādam payğambar Nūḥ payğambar Ibrāhīm payğambar ḥazrat [2b] Muḥammad rasūl ‘l-allāhniḡ orunlarida olturub takbīr ayturlar. Bu takbīrlarni bilmäsā ularğa takbīr aytmaq işlāḥ rawā(h) ermäs hār luqma ke tafib yāyduḡ ḥarām turur. Qiyāmat künidä pīr ustādlniḡ aldida takbīrlarni bilmäy eytsalar şermsā(r) bolub pīr ustādlnar benazār bolğusidur. Hār takbīrlarni bilib eytsalar, jamī‘ pīr ustādlniḡ rūḥi ḥoşnod bolub [3a] şubu insānlarniḡ gunahlariniḡ ‘afū boluşini ḥazrat ḥaqq subḥānah wa ta‘alladin tilägäy.

The shaykhs and *naqīb̄s*<sup>1</sup> and philosophers and dervishes and lodge-dwellers and recitation masters and craftsmen sit in the place of the great prophet Ādam, the prophet Nūḥ, the prophet Ibrāhīm, and the great Muḥammad the Messenger of God and recite the *takbīr*. If they do not know these *takbīrs*, then reciting the *takbīr* is neither correct nor proper for them. Every mouthful of food they earn and eat is forbidden. If, on the Day of Reckoning, they recite the *takbīrs*, without knowing them, before the old masters, they will be shamed, and the old masters will not look upon them. If they recite all of the *takbīrs* and know them, then the spirits of the collected old masters will be pleased, and they will ask the great Lord Most High for the forgiveness of these people’s sins.

Hār insān takbīr eytsa şubu ṭarīqada takbīr eytqaylar: Čahār pīrī şarī‘at, čahār pīrī ḥaqīqat, čahār pīrī ma‘arifāt, čahār pīrī madḥab, čahār pīrī şafīq, bir pīrni, yerim pīrni, takbīr-i rizā, takbīr-i şifā, takbīr-i mulk, takbīr-i mawqūf, takbīr-i qibla’, takbīr-i miḥrāb: hār qaysi [3b] takbīrlarni öz muratabalarida bilib takbīr eytsunlar.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Naqīb* in the context of the Islamic craft group and Şūfī *ṭarīqah* denotes “most often a lieutenant to the leader of the group (and occasionally a kind of ‘ceremonial’ and ‘executive’ representative for the group’s spiritual head).” See (DeWeese 1995: 615). DeWeese gives citations for further discussion.

Whatsoever person recites the *takbīr*, that person shall recite it in this order: The four masters of the Law, the four masters of Truth, the four masters of Gnosis, the four masters of the Sects, and the four masters of Compassion; one master, half a master; the *takbīr* of contentment, the *takbīr* of purity, the *takbīr* of possessing, the *takbīr* of bestowing, the *takbīr* of the *qiblah*, the *takbīr* of the *mihrāb*: they should know each *takbīr* in its own number and recite the *takbīr*.

Ägär sorsalar kim takbīr eytmaq farzmu, yā wājibmu, yā sunnatmu, jawāb: Allāh haqq subhāna wa ta‘alla ḥazrat Jibrā‘īl aliya al-salāmğa amr qildi; farz boldi. Ḥazrat Jibrā‘īl payğambarlarğa ta‘līm bārdilār wājib boldi. Payğambarlar ‘ummatlarığa ta‘līm bārdilār; sunnat boldi.

If they ask if reciting the *takbīr* is obligatory, necessary, or tradition, the response is: God Most High ordered it to the great Gabriel PBUH. It became required. The great Gabriel bestowed it upon the prophets. It became recommended. The prophets bestowed it upon their communities. It became tradition.

Sū‘āl: Čahār pīrī šarī‘at [4a] qaysidur? Jawāb: Awwal ḥazrat Ādamī ṣafīyu ‘l-lāh. Dowwam Nūḥ nubī ‘l-lāh. Sowwam Ibrāhīm ḥalīlu ‘l-lāh. Čahārum ḥazrat Muḥammad rasūlu ‘l-lāh turur.

Question: Which are the four masters of the Law? Answer: The first is the great Adam, the Purity of God. The second is Nūḥ, the Word of God. The third is Ibrāhīm, the Friend of God. The fourth is the great Muḥammad, the Messenger of God.

Tört kitāb qaysidur? Awwal turāt Mūsağa kālgān. Injīl ‘Īsāğa kālgān. Zabūr Dāwudğa kālgān. Farqān ḥazrat rasūlu ‘l-lāhğa kālgān tururlar.

Which are the four books? First, the Torah came to Moses. The Evangelion came to Jesus. The Psalms came to David. The Qur‘ān came to the Prophet of God.

Čahār pīrī tarīqat: Awwal ḥazrat [4b] (Abū Bakr). Duwwam ḥazrat ‘Umr. Üçünči ḥazrat ‘Uthmān. Törtinči ḥazrat ‘Alī Karamu ‘l-lāh wajha tururlar.

The four masters of the Path (*tarīqah*): The first is the great [Abū Bakr]. The second is the great ‘Umr. The third is the great ‘Uthmān. The fourth is the great ‘Alī, may God favor him.

Čahār pīrī ḥaqīqat: Awwal ḥazrat Jibrā‘īl. Duwwam ḥazrat Mīkā‘īl. Suwwam ḥazrat Isrāfīl. Čahārum ḥazrat ‘Aḍrā‘īl turur.

The four masters of the Truth: First, the great Jibrā‘īl. Second, the great Mīkā‘īl. Third, the great Isfāfīl. Fourth, the great ‘Aḍrā‘īl.

Sū‘āl: Tört takbīr qaysi? Jawāb: Allāhu akbar allāhu akbar la ila ala allāh[?] wa allāhu akbar allāhu akbar wa ala al-Muḥammad demāk kerāk.

Question: Which are the four *takbīr*? Answer: One must say: God is great, God is great. There is no God but God. And God is great, God is great, and the God of Muḥammad.

Sū'āl: Tört [5a] (pīrī) maḏāhib qaysi? Jawāb: Awwal ḥazrat Imām-i 'Azam. Duwwam imām Šāf'ī. Suwwam ḥazrat imām Ḥanbal. Čahārum ḥazrat imām Mālik tururlar.

Question: Which are [the masters of] the Four Sects? Answer: The first is the great Imām-i 'Azam (Abū Ḥanīfa). The second is the Imām Šāf'ī. The third is the Imām Ḥanbal. The fourth is the Imām Mālik.

(Sū'āl: Tört pīrī ʔarīqat qaysi turur?) Šams Tabrīzī, Mawlāna Rūmī, Ḥwāja Ḥāfiz Šīrāzī, ḥazrat Šayḥ 'Aṭṭār wali tururlar.

(Question: Which are the four masters of the Path?) They are Shams Tabrīzī, Mawlāna Rūmī, Khwāja Ḥāfiz Shīrāzī, and the great saint Shaykh 'Aṭṭār.

Tört pīrī šafaq qaysidur? Awwal ata. İkkinči ana. Üçünči mu'allim. Törtünči ustādi tururlar.

Which are the four masters of compassion? First, father. Second, mother. Third, teacher. Fourth, one's master.

Ägär sorsalar kim takbīr-i mulk qaysidur, [5b] jawāb: Takbīr-i mulk ḥazrat Ādam payğambarğa kaldi. Ḥazrat Ādam payğambar dunyādin naqil qildilar. Farzandilariğa qaldi. Ani takbīr-i mulk derlär.

If they ask which is the *takbīr* of possession, the answer is: The *takbīr* of possession came to the great prophet Ādam. The great prophet Ādam departed from the world. It fell to his children. They call this the *takbīr* of possession.

Ägär sorsalar kim takbīr-i mawqūf qaysi tururlar, jawāb: Sayyiddin böläk kişi takbīr eytsä, ani takbīr-i mawqūf derlär.

If they ask which is the *takbīr* of bestowing, the answer is: If someone who is not a *sayyid* recites the *takbīr*, then they call this the *takbīr* of bestowing.

Ḥuṭba-i takbīr qaysi? Fātiḥa wä ḥulāsni oqumaqdur.

What is the *khutba* of the *takbīr*? It is reciting the *fātiḥa* and the *ḥulās* prayer.

Qibla-i takbīr [6a] qaysi dur? Jawāb: Du'ā qilurda qiblağa baqib olturub du'ā qilmaq keräk.

What is the direction of prayer for the *takbīr*? Answer: When one prays, one must sit facing the *qiblah* and recite prayers.

Ägär sorsalar kim sakta takbīr qaysidur, al-jawāb: du'āniñ awwalida wä āhirida ḥazrat Muḥammad amīn mušṭāfa šali 'l-lāh 'aliya wa-sallamğa durūd ibärmäk keräk.

If they ask what the silent *takbīr* is, the answer: At the beginning and end of the prayer, one must sent a prayer asking for intercession to the great Muḥammad PBUH.

Här şāhib takbīr bu tarīqat-nāmani bu tārтіblār birlān bilmāk kerākdur.

Every recitation master must know this account of the Path in this order.

[6b]

Ägär sorsalar kim ğusl-i şarī‘at nemā birlān pāk bolur, jawāb: Su birlān pāk bolur. Ğusl-i tarīqat takbīr birlān pāk bolur.

If they ask with what the lawful ablutions will become pure, the answer is: They will become pure with water. The ablutions specified by the Path will become pure with *takbīr*.

Ägär sorsalar kim şāhib takbīrgä näččä nimärsä wājibdur, awwal ṭahārat birlān bolmaq. İkkinçi fātiḥa wā ihlās wā durūdlarni pīr ustādlarniñ ḥaqqida oquğay. Şarī‘at, ḥaḳīqat, wā tarīqat bayān [7a] qilib olturğay. Rizqni ḥalāl yegäy. Ḥarāmdin perhiz qilğay. Ḥazrat payğambar ‘aliya wa sallamniñ şarī‘atlari birlān ‘aml qilğay.

If they ask what is required of a recitation master, first, he must have done ablutions. The second is that he should recite the *fātiḥa*, the *ihlās*, and the *durūd* prayers for the old masters. He shall keep explaining [7a] the Law, the Truth, and the Path. He shall eat for his daily bread what is permitted. He shall abstain from what is forbidden. He shall operate according to the law of the great Messenger PBUH.

Ägär sorsalar kim takbīr eytmaq kimdin qaldi, jawāb: Ḥazrat Ibrāhīm payğambardin qaldi.

If they ask from whom reciting the *takbīr* came, the response is: it came from the great prophet Ibrāhīm.

Här kāsib risāla saqlamisa risāla bilān ‘aml qilmasa qiyāmat küni pīrī [7b] ustādlar aldida ruswā[y] şarmanda bolğay. Wā risāla saqlasa risāla birlān ‘aml qilsa qiyāmat küni yüzi on dört künlük tolun aydek qopqay. Pīrī ustādlar aldida ‘azīz mukarram bolğay. Risālani kündä bir maratiba oqutsun. Bolmisa haftada yāke bir ayda wā balke här yildä bir maratiba oqusa kupāya bolğusidur. Allāh [8a] ta‘alla rahmat qilib gunahlarini mağfirat qilib dīdāriğa şarf qilğay. Risāla saqlağan kāsibğa y.ğ.d.r[?] här kişi ihānat [insult] qilsa darr(a) lazim bolur.

Should any craftsman not keep a manual, or not operate by a manual, then, on the Day of Reckoning, he will be disgraced and ashamed before the old masters. [7b] And if he keeps a manual and operates by a manual, on the Day of Reckoning, his face shall shine like the full moon on the fourteenth day of the month. He shall be beloved and respected before the old masters. One should make them read the manual once every day. Otherwise, reading it once every week, or every month, and maybe every year may be sufficient. God Most High [8a] will be merciful, forgive their sins, and look kindly upon their faces. If any y.ğ.d.r person should insult a craftsman who keeps the manual, he ought to be beaten.

Ḥadīṣniñ maẓmūni birlān: qāl al-nabbī ‘aliya al-salām al-kasibu ḥasbi allāhu. Hār kişi uşbu ḥadīṣğa munkir bolsa ‘aşı bolğusidur.

In the words of the *ḥadīth*: “The craftsman is dear to Muḥammad PBUH.” If any person should deny this *ḥadīth*, then he shall be a sinner.

Na‘ūdu b-allāh min al-dālīk tamut.

May God protect us from that.

## The Origin of the Craft

### Commentary

Every manual includes a legend describing the bestowal of the basic knowledge of the craft on an Islamic prophet or saint. God sends the angel Jibrā’īl on some pretext with the message that the prophet, in this case Şāliḥ, shall learn the craft and pass it on to his community. The angel then creates and demonstrates the necessary tools. These legends can be quite fanciful and anachronistic with reference to sacred history: In this example, the prophet Şāliḥ passes on his knowledge to his apprentice, the prophet Yūnus, who is meant to have lived much later. The two of them appeal to the prophet Dawūd, who comes from a period between the two of theirs. I note that a contemporary redaction of al-Rabghūzī’s *Stories of the Prophets* also held in the Jarring Collection is itself widely divergent from the oldest-known Khwārezmian version (Jarring 1980; al-Rabghūzī 1995), while its style and content are much closer that found in East Turkestanian craft manuals. The manuals appear as part of a legendary tradition that builds on the symbolic and narrative world of the *Stories of the Prophets*. The text in this manual is also peculiar in that it starts with a second opening similar to that at the beginning of the manual.

### Text

[8b]

Bismi-llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Al ḥamd ‘l-lāh rabb al-‘ālamīn, wa-l-‘āqibatu ‘l-il-mutaqqīyūna, wa-l-şalwatu wa al-salām ‘alī rasūla Muḥammadin wa ala wa aṣḥāba ijma‘īn.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds. And “the sequel is for those who keep their duty unto him” (Q 7:128). And peace and blessings be upon the great messenger Muḥammad and on his family and companions.

Ḥazrat imām Ja‘far Şādīq andağ riwāyat qilibdurlar kim: Müzedüzluq aḥkāmni ḥudā-ye mutabārik wa ta‘alla ḥazrat Şāliḥ payğambarga [9a] yarliqadi. Risālada andağ kältürübdurlar kim: Bir kün ḥazrat Şāliḥ payğambar kāfirlariniñ jibr sitamidin ğamnāk bolub yiğlab olturub idilär. Nāğāh ḥazrat Jibrā’īl al-salām kelib dedilär ke āy Şāliḥ nemä ğamnāk bolursiz allāh ta‘alla eytadur qawmini imānğa da‘wat qilsun. Ḥazrat Şāliḥ payğambar edilär yā Jibrā’īl [9b] kāfirlar eytadur seniñ mü‘jizeñ qeni dedur. Şulzamān ḥazrat Jibrā’īl ‘aliya al-salām ğayib bolub kättilär. Ṭarfati ‘l-‘ayn içindä ḥāzır bolub kıldilär wā bir pāra raḥta bārdilär. Maḍkūr raḥtaniñ nūri ‘ālamni tuttılar. Ḥazrat Jibrā’īl körsätib bārdilär. Ḥazrat Şāliḥ ayağlarığa müze qilib kiydilär. Kāfirlar körüb ta‘ajjubga qaldılar. [10a] ḥazrat Şāliḥ payğambar rāst payğambar ikān! Ayağdin nūr fayda bolubdur dāb kāfirlar musulmān bolur erdi. Maḍkūr raḥtadin bir parçā kiyib alur erdilär. Ertäsi futun [pütün] bolur erdilär. Lekin ötüğ kesärni bilmäs erdilär. Qollari birlän bir birigä yāmlāb ötüğ [10b] ötüğ qilur erdilär.

The great Imām Ja‘far Şādiq narrated: God the Beneficent and the Most High commanded the ordinances of cobbling to the great prophet Şāliḥ. In the manual, they have passed it down that: One day, the great prophet Şāliḥ grew sorrowful of the constraint and violent treatment of the infidels, and he was sitting and crying. Suddenly, the great Gabriel PBUH came and said, “Oh, Şāliḥ! How sorrowful you are! God Most High has said, ‘He shall bring his people to the faith.’” The great prophet Şāliḥ said, “Oh, Gabriel! The infidels ask, ‘Where are your miracles?’” At that moment, the great Gabriel PBUH suddenly disappeared. In the blink of an eye, he reappeared and gave Şāliḥ a piece of material. The light of that material lit up the world. The great Gabriel showed him how [to make boots]. The great Şāliḥ wore it as boots on his feet. The infidels saw them and were amazed. The great prophet Şāliḥ was a true prophet indeed! Because light appeared from his feet, the infidels became Muslims. They would take a piece from that cloth and wear it. The next day, it would be [a] complete [pair of boots]. But they did not know how to cut boots. They would use their hands to stick [pieces of material] together and make boots.

Bu həzrat Şāliḥ payğambarnıñ mü‘jizeləri erdilär. Hər kâfir körsälär be-iḥtiyār musulmān bolur erdi. Anıñ üçün Şāliḥ atandılar. Aşli nāmlari Zūlyā erdilär. Qaçanikim[?] həzrat Şāliḥ payğambar müze qilib kiyär erdilär, şahābalar alib kiyär erdilär. Ayağlarida müze härgiz tohtamas erdilär. Şubu jahattin müzedüznıñ [11a] ayağida ötüκ tohtamas dābdur. Həzrat Şāliḥ payğambardin həzrat Yūnus payğambar örgändi. Andin maşhūr boldi.

These were the miracles of the great prophet Şāliḥ. When any infidel saw them, he or she would perforce become a believer. For this reason, he was named Şāliḥ. His original name was Zūlyā. Whenever the great prophet Şāliḥ made boots and wore them, his companions would take and wear them. They never lacked for boots on their feet. For this reason, it is said, cobblers [11a] are never without boots on their feet. The great prophet Yūnus learned it from the great prophet Şāliḥ. Thereafter it became well-known.

Bir kün bir hərāmzāda yalğandin imān kältürüb maḍkūr rahtani oğurlab kätti. Həzrat Şāliḥ payğambar du‘ā qildi. Ul hərāmzādaniñ qolidin nāfaydā boldi. Həzrat Şāliḥ payğambar [11b] həzrat Yūnus payğambar tola iltijā’ qildılar. Tapılmadı. Həzrat Jibrā’ıl ‘aliya al-salām kelib dedi ke yā Şāliḥ atqan oq härgiz yanmas. Dar həl həzrat Jibrā’ıl ‘aliya al-salām bir dāna terā bārdilär. Ämdi öziñ qilğil dedi. Həzrat Jibrā’ıl körsätib bārdi. Həzrat Şāliḥ rāñ bārdilär. Kimsän boldi. Kimsän sızliq [12a] rüzī qiyāmatğičä yoq bolmas.

One day, a scoundrel finagled his way in and stole this cloth. The great prophet Şāliḥ prayed. It did not appear from the hands of the scoundrel. The great prophet Şāliḥ [11b] and the great prophet Yūnus made great supplications. It was not found. The great Gabriel PBUH came and said, “Oh, Şāliḥ! The fired arrow never comes back.” Immediately, the great Gabriel PBUH gave him a piece of leather. “Now do it yourself,” he said. The great Gabriel showed him how. The great Şāliḥ dyed it. It became golden thread. This quality of this golden thread will never run out [12a] until Judgment Day.

Həzrat Şāliḥ payğambar ötüκ qilay deb idilär. Härgiz awwalqıdāk bolmadılar. Həzrat Şāliḥ munājāt qildılar. Həzrat Jibrā’ıl ‘aliya al-salām daraht tubidin yapraq alib kelib bārdilär. Həzrat Şāliḥ ‘aliya al-salām bu yapraqğa oğşa asbāb qildılar.

The great prophet Şālih intended to make some boots. They never turned out as they had before. The great Şālih prayed to God. The great Gabriel PBUH took leaves from the trunk of a tree and brought them. The great Şālih PBUH made tools that resembled these leaves.

Ḥazrat Dāwud ‘aliya al-salāmğa mutawajjih boldilar [12b] Ğāyibdin bürändä faydā boladur. Ḥazrat Jibrā’ıl ‘aliya al-salām behaştdin yıñnä çiqarub bārdilār. Ḥazrat Şālih payğambar[ğa] körsätib bārdilār. Ḥazrat Yūnus payğambar[ğa] tägdilār. Düzandaliq Ḥazrat Yūnus payğambardin qaldilar. Bir näçčä muddatdin keyin zeräkni ḥār qildi.

They addressed the great Dāwud PBUH. [12b] A cobbler’s knife appeared out of nowhere. The great Gabriel PBUH brought a needle from Paradise and gave it to him. He showed the great prophet Şālih how to use it. It came into the possession of the great prophet Yūnus. Needlework comes from the great prophet Yūnus. After a certain period of time, they began to push this clever one around.

Ḥazrat Şālih payğambarnıñ ğazablaridin [13a] kelib kimsänni bārmädilār. Ḥazrat Yūnus payğambar tola iltijāh qildilar. Ḥazrat Şālih payğambar dedilār ke, āy Yūnus bu meniñ mu‘jizām erdilār. Ḥār qildiñ. Āmdi āt eshākniñ teräsidin raḥt qilib ötük tik dedilār. Ḥazrat Yūnus payğambar bir āt alib soydilar. Dedilār ke, āy Şālih qaysi tarafni qilsam bolur ikän? [13b] Şālih dedilār ke, āy Yūnus sağra tarafini rastlağil dedilār. Ḥazrat Yūnus dar ḥāl bijā qildilar. Wā Ḥazrat Şālih payğambardin soramasalar hämmäsi sağra bolur erdilār. Ḥazrat Şālih kimsändin namuna bārdilār. Zarničä tikmäk andin qaldi.

The great prophet Şālih’s indignation went into a rage and [13a] stopped giving them the golden thread. The great prophet Yūnus pleaded with him a great deal. The great prophet Şālih said, “Oh, Yūnus! These were my miracles. You coveted them. Now make material out of the skin of horses and donkeys and sew boots.” The great prophet Yūnus got a horse and slaughtered it. He said, “Oh, Şālih! Which side should I do?” [13b] Şālih said, “Oh, Yūnus! Prepare the hindquarters.” The great Yūnus did it immediately. And, when he asked the great prophet Şālih, he said that everything should be from the hindquarters. The great Şālih gave him an example from the golden thread. Inlaying with gold came from him.

Hār kimersä müzadüz deb ḥaqārat qilsalar, ‘āşī gunah-kar bolur. Hämmä hunarlardın [14a] uluğ tururlar. Hār kāsibniñ öyidä risāla bolmasa yegāni ḥarāmdur. Takbīr eytmaqi aşlān durust emäs.

Whosoever takes the name of cobbling in vain, he will be a guilty sinner. It is greater than [14a] all the crafts. If in any craftsman’s house there is not a manual, what he eats is forbidden. His recitation of *takbīr* is under no circumstances correct.

## **The History of the Craft Community**

### *Commentary*

Most manuals also contain a second and more explicitly genealogical origin legend. This genealogy, which is at least partly imagined, integrates a variety of local and widely-known Şūfī figures. For a complete discussion of the sacralization of the craft, see Dağyeli (2011: 71-93, 133-135, 157-182).

The legend then continues to the question-and-answer, or perhaps call-and-response, format seen above to outline the specific sacred origins of various skills and practices within the craft repertoire. Each action, such as stitching the seam of a boot, is attributed to a specific figure in sacred history. Most of the terms for these activities are part of a professional jargon internal to the craft community. Jarring (1991: 73-4, 81-85) has identified some of this terminology, and I draw on his work here as far as possible.

### *Text*

Riwayət qılıbdurlar kim Sufyān Thūrī Raḥmat ‘l-lāh ‘aliya ḥaramgā barib ziyāratdin keyin yığlab turub erdilār. Həzrat haqq subhāna wa ta‘alla dar gāhlaridin ikki dāna malā’ik kelib, bu yıl [14b] Bağdād şəharidəki ūstā-ye ‘Alī Mūzadūzniñ həjjilərinin həşiyaatdin həmmə həjjilərinin həjjiləri qabul bolğusidur. Şāyḥ Thūrī bu sözni işitib Bağdād şəharigə barib ūstādi ‘alini tafib [tapib] tola təhaqquqlar sordilar ke, ay ‘Alī ḥaramgə barğanmusiz.

They tell the story that, one time, after Sufyān Thūrī Raḥmat ‘l-lāh PBUH had come back from making pilgrimage to Mecca, he was weeping. From the presence of the Great Lord on High, two angels came and said that, this year, [14b] because of the specialness of the pilgrimage made by the master ‘Alī the Cobbler in the city of Baghdad, all of the pilgrimages of all of the pilgrims would be accepted. When Shaykh Thūrī heard these words, he went to the city of Baghdad, found the great master, and asked him over and over if it was true. He asked, “Oh, ‘Alī, have you gone to Mecca?”

Ūstā-ye ‘Alī dedilər ke, bir kün [15a] bāzārğa barsam, bir mullā bir kohna kitābni tutub turadur. Satamsiz desəm, satarmən dedi. Qançəgə bərursiz desəm, öziñiz dəñ, dedi. Mən meniñ tənğə bərdim. Şu küni öydə risāla-ye maḍkūrni oqutub pīri ūstādlar haqqidə du‘ā qıldim. [15b] Tüş kördüm: Həzrat Şālih payğambar dedilər ke, ay ūstādi ‘Alī, sən bizgə köp ‘aqida qıldıñ. Bizlər saña on miñ tənğə bərdük. Şulzaman bīdār bolub bi‘dāz [u] bāmudād tursam ikki yasawul kəldi. Fədişāh [pādişāh] çirləydu, dedi.

The Master ‘Alī said, “One day, when I went to the market, there was a mullah holding an old book.

‘Are you selling it?’ I asked him.

‘I’m selling it,’ he said.

‘How much do you want for it?’ I asked, and he told me, ‘Your choice.’

I gave him my money. That day, at home, I read this manual, and I prayed to the Old Masters. I had a dream: The great prophet Şālih said to me, ‘Oh, Master ‘Alī! You have had great faith in us. We have given you 10,000 *təngə*!’

At that moment, I awoke. When I got up, two guards came. They said, ‘The emperor calls upon you.’

Həzrət şulsə‘at bardim. Fədişāh [pādişāh], dididi, [16a] tüşü kör. Həzrat Şālih hədāniñ yolida nəzirə qılğan hədānələri ūstā-ye ‘Aligə berin, dedi deb həzrat ūstā-ye ‘Aligə berib yandurdilar. Wə bu hədānələri alib kelib öydə qoydum niyatim ḥaramgə bərişni tola həwāhləydu [16b] deb sözni betaməm bayən qildi.

I went that very hour. The emperor said, ‘Did you see? Give the treasures that the great Şālih received on the Path of God to Master ‘Alī.’ And so they gave them over to the great Master ‘Alī. And I took these treasures and brought them home.’” Thus he narrated it completely.

Ḥazrat Sufyān Thūrī yiglab ḥublašib be-ṭaraf öz šähärigä rawān boldilar.  
The great Sufyān Thūrī wept. They said goodbye, and he and set off straightaway for his own city.

Ägär sorsalar kim müzadüzluqda näççä pīrī muršīd ötübdu, al-jawāb: Awwal ‘Abdurahman Ādam şafiyu ‘l-lāh turur. İkkinçi ‘Abdalqahhār Nūḥ nubī ‘l-lāh turur. Üçünçi ‘Abdaljabbār İbrāhīm ḥalīlu ‘l-lāh tururlar. [17a] Törtinçi ‘Abdal‘azīz ḥazrat rasūl ‘l-lāh tururlar.

If they ask how many Old Guides there have been in cobbling, the answer: The first was ‘Abdurahman, Adam, the Purity of God. The second was ‘Abdalqahhār, Nūḥ, the Word of God. The third was ‘Abdaljabbār, İbrāhīm, the Friend of God. The fourth was ‘Abdal‘azīz, the great Messenger of God.

Ḥazrat Ādamdin tartib ḥazrat Muḥammadğičä näççä pīrī muršīdlar ötübdu? Säkkiz yüz altmış altā pīrī muršīd ötübdu. Hämması kāmīl mukammal tururlar. Şar‘at, tarīqat, ḥaqīqatni ārasta qilibdu.

How many Old Guides were there from the great Adam to the great Muḥammad? There were 866 Old Guides. All were perfect and perfected. They equipped themselves with the Law, the Path, and the Truth.

Bulardın soñra on ikki pīrī üstādlar [17b] ötübdu. Awwal ḥazrat Şālih payğambar. İkkinçi ḥazrat Yūnus payğambar. Üçünçi Jālūt. Törtinçi pīrī Dihna. Bäşinçi üstā-ye Ṭūsī. Altınçi üstā-ye Şāmī. Yättinçi Ḥiyāmdīn. Säkkizinçi ḥoja Bāqī Şāhī. Toqquzinçi ḥoja İlyās Şīrāzī. [Oninçi] ḥoja Quddus. On birinçi ḥoja Abu Ṭalīb Ṭāsmānī/Şāmānī/Ṭāmānī. On ikkinçi ḥoja Muḥammad Yāradoza durlar.

After them, there were twelve Old Masters. The first was the great prophet Şālih. The second was the great prophet Yūnus. The third was Jālūt. The fourth was Pīr Dihna. The fifth was Master Ṭūsī. The sixth was Master Şāmī. The seventh was Ḥiyāmdīn. The eighth was Khwāja Bāqī Şāhī. The ninth was Khwāja İlyās Şīrāzī. The tenth was Khwāja Quddus. The eleventh was Khwāja Abu Ṭalīb Ṭāmānī. The twelfth was Khwāja Muḥammad Yāradoza.

[18a] Ägär sorsalar kim dukkändärlīq kimdin qaldı, jawāb: Ḥazrat Şālih payğambardın qaldı. Rāstkarlık kimdin qaldı? Ḥazrat Şālihdin qaldı. Düzandalık kimdin qaldı? Ḥazrat Yūnusdin qaldı. (Dirham)dozluq kimdin qaldı? Üstā-ye Jālūtdin qaldı. (Sağdaq)dozluq üstā-ye (Perwīš)[din] qaldı. Sarrājdozluq [18b] kimdin qaldı? Üstā-ye Ṭūsīdin qaldı. Sāqdozluq kimdin qaldı? Üstā-ye Şāmīdin qaldı. Pāydozluq kimdin qaldı? Üstā-ye Hisāmīdīndin qaldı. İlmādozluq kimdin qaldı? Ḥazrat İsrāfīldin qaldı. Jübadozluq kimdin qaldı? Ḥazrat ‘Azra’īldin qaldı. Yiğnä Ḥurrdin turur. [19a] Fadra kūf ḥazrat Ḥizr İlyāsdin turur. Qayl-i boğuz ḥazrat payğambar ‘aliya al-salāmdin turur. Tiknä ḥazrat İdrīs payğambardın turur. İsmāl tāb ḥazrat Dāwud payğambardın turur. Yif Ḥawwadın turur. Mom Ādam payğambardın turur. Şaṅ İsmā‘īl payğambardın turur. Köpā

Dāwud payğambardin turur. Mūza kardan Sulaymān[19b]din turur. Mūzadūzluqda yigirmä tört payğambar dāhīl bolub ötübdur.

[18a] If they ask from whom shopkeeping came, the answer is, it came from the great prophet Şālih. From whom did shoe-polishing come? It came from the great Şālih. From whom did needlework come? It came from the great Yūnus. From whom did ... come? It came from the Master Jālūt [Goliath]. Quiver-sewing came from the Master Parwesh. From whom did saddle-making [18b] come? It came from Master Tūsī. From whom did the sewing of the front seam come? It came from Master Shāmī. From whom did making little shoes come? It came from the Master Hīsamidīn. From whom did embroidery come? It came from the great Isrāfīl. From whom did lining with fur come? It came from the great ‘Azra’īl. Nails come from Hurr. [19a] Weaving reed mats comes from the great Khizr Ilyās. The speech of the throat is from the great Prophet PBUH. Needles come from the great prophet Idrīs. The twining hook comes from the great prophet Dāwud. Thread comes from Hāwwa [Eve]. Wax comes from the prophet Ādam. The wooden wedge of the bootleg comes from the prophet Ismā’īl. Lambskin comes from the prophet Dāwud. Making boots is from Sulaymān. [19b] Twenty-four prophets have been included in cobbling.

Andāza hūdā-ye ta‘alladin turur. Ūstādī kim be-takbīr şāgirdiğa indāza toħub bārsā tarīqatdā murtadd turur. Peş taħtani beheştdin alib çiqqan āmūrd yağaçdin turur.

The pattern is from God. Whatever master makes and grants the pattern to his student without [reciting] the *takbīr* will be an apostate from the community. He will be among the first and most swiftly expelled from paradise.

## Daily Recitations

### Commentary

The manual concludes by specifying which passages of the Qur’ān are meant to be recited at different points in the working day. Recitations from the Qur’ān are presented either in full and with vocalization to aid in pronunciation, while other phrases are indicated by their common abbreviations. A craftsman would presumably be familiar enough with the Qur’ān to recognize and reproduce each passage. Contemporary prayer books, however, including one bound together with a rustic edition of the “Manual of the Camelleers” (Jarring Prov. 400), tend only to cite verses by name. Passages may be written out in the manuals because they are usually partial verses or blends of more than one verse on a common theme.

The verses found in manuals imbue the everyday with the experience and remembrance of the divine. A particularly fine example comes from the “Manual of the Druggists” (Jarring Prov. 7), in which a lengthy series of Qur’ānic verses, if one reads them through Islamic exegetical literature, clearly refigure the working day as spiritual journey of drawing nearer to and retreating from God. Most of those passages recall a figure from Islamic sacred history, particularly Nūḥ, Mūsa, and Alexander, and relate their journeys towards, with, and away from God to the physical movements of the craftsman.

The “Manual of the Cobblers” presented here is rather simpler. The cobbler’s working day is akin to a short text: It begins with the entry into the shop and an invocation of God through three common verses. This establishes the cobbler’s shop as a sacred as well as a productive space. Two further actions are accompanied by specific verses, both of which are

commonly used in Uyghur divination (A-pa-er et al., 385). The first, sitting on one's chair in the shop, corresponds to Q 2:255, one of the "throne" verses in the Qur'ān. Q 2:255 is also an important verse in traditional Uyghur bibliomancy (A-p-er et al., 177). The verse brings to mind the power and ordering presence of God.

Next, the cobbler lays down the pattern to cut and shape the material while he recites a passage from Q 36, "Yā sīn." This verse is commonly evoked in Uyghur malefactory magic (A-pa-er et al., 385), as it refers to the resurrection of the dead in the final days following the first blast of a trumpet. The connection with the craftsman's action is analogous to the judgment of God: As the cobbler takes a dead thing, leather, and remakes it according to a final, absolute, and God-given pattern, so will God, after the second trumpet blast, punish and reward the dead. According to the craft manuals, not only, according to the oft-cited *ḥadīth*, does God love the craftsman who acts according to the correct path, God is himself a divine craftsman. "Yā sīn" reminds the professional that all crafts precede from divine knowledge and reflect divine intent.

Finally, when the cobbler wets the material to make it more pliable, he is to recite a *tasbīḥ*, a *dhikr* comprised of "Glory be to God," "Praise be to God," and "God is great." To this is appended a *ḥawqala*. Normally, a *tasbīḥ* involves repetitions of these phrases. While other manuals often specify the exact number of times (*martaba*) that a phrase or prayer should be recited, this manual leaves out such specificities.

#### *Text*

Ägär sorsalar kim dukkānğa kirärdä [20a] qaysi āyatni oqumaq keräk? Bism-illāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm. Tawakkul 'ala (Allāh). Allāh. Wa 'ufawwidu 'amrī 'ila Allāhi 'inna 'l-lāha baṣīrun bi'l-'ibādi.

If one asks, when one enters the shop [20a], which verse must one recite? "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." "(And whosoever) putteth his trust in Allah, (He will suffice him)." (Q 65:3) "God." "... I confide my cause unto Allah. Lo! Allah is Seer of (His) slaves." (Q 40:44)

Kürsīdä oltururda qaysi āyatni oqumaq keräk? Wasi'a kursīyuhu 's-samāwāti w'al-'arḍa wa lā ya'ūduhu ḥifẓuhumā wa huwa 'l-'alīyu al-'azīmu.

When one is about to sit on one's chair, which verse must one recite? "... His throne includeth the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them. He is the Sublime, the Tremendous." (Q 2:255)

[20b] Andāza salurda qaysi āyatni oqumaq keräk? Qālū yā waylanā man ba'aṣanā min marqadinā hādā mā wa'ada 'r-rahmānu wa ṣadaqa al-mursalūna.

[20b] When one is about to set the pattern, which verse must one recite? "Crying: Woe upon us! Who hath raised us from our place of sleep? This is that which the Beneficent did promise, and the messengers spoke truth." (Q 36:52)

Raḥtgā su pükärdä qaysi āyatni oqumaq keräk? Subḥān Allāh, w'al-ḥamdu 'llāh, w'Allāhu akbar. Lā ḥawla.

When one is about to spray water on material, which verse must one recite? Glory be to God. Praise be to God. God is great. “There is no initiative or capacity except from God.”

### Works Cited

Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets: Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā’, an Eastern Turkish Version*, H. E. Boeschoten, M. van Damme, and S. Tezcan, eds., (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

A. A-pa-er, D. Ao-mai-er and Liu Ming, *Weiwuerzu Saman Wenhua Yicun Diaocha* (Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe, 2010), in Chinese.

J. E. Dağyeli, “*Gott liebt das Handwerk*”: *Moral, Identität und religiöse Legitimierung in der mittelasiatischen Handwerks-risāla* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2011), in German.

D. DeWeese, “The Descendants of Sayyid Ata and the Rank of *Naqīb*” in *JOAS* 115:4 (October-December 1995), 612-634.

M. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 1, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

G. Jarring, “The Qisas ul-Anbiya” in *Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 74 (1980), 15-68.

G. Jarring, “Garments from Top to Toe: Eastern Turki Texts Relating to Articles of Clothing, Edited with Translation, Notes, and Glossary,” *Scripta Minora Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1991).

O. M. Qaraqutluq, “Qāshqārdä Ötkän Sahib Täkbirlär” in *Shinjang Tāzkirichiliki* 2006:1, in Uyghur.

O. A. Sukhareva, “K Voprosu o Genezise Professional’nykh Kul’tov u Tadzhikov i Uzbekov” in *Trudy Pamiati Mikhaila Stepanovicha Andreeva: Sbornik Statei po Istorii i Filologii Narodob Srednei Azii*, Stalinabad: ANTS, 1960, pp. 195-207.

O. A. Sukhareva, “Risala kak Istoricheskii Istochnik” in *Istochnikovedenie i Tekstologiya Srednevekovogo Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka* (1984), pp. 201-215.