

Mateusz M. Kłagisz

<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0807-3290>

Jagiellonian University in Kraków

mateusz.klagisz@uj.edu.pl

DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.10

A Glimpse at Aleksander Chodźko's *Le Ķorâcân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*

ABSTRACT

The article offers a concise discussion of a single text, *Le Ķorâcân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*, which appears to be based on a report from an expedition to Khorasan, undertaken in the 1830s by Aleksander Chodźko (1804–1891), a Polish diplomat in the service of the Russian tsar. Although lacking a broader methodological or theoretical framework, Chodźko's work should be regarded as a significant contribution to the study of the mythologizing of historical figures, exemplified here by a local raider from north-western Afghanistan – the titular Bunîad Hézzaré / Bunyad Hazara. In this respect, it may complement analogous research by scholars such as Ignác Kúnos, Wilhelm Radloff, and Tadeusz Kowalski in the field of Turkic folklore and poetry.

KEYWORDS: Bunyad Hazara, Chodźko, Khorasan, poetry, raider

STRESZCZENIE

Rzut oka na artykuł *Le Ķorâcân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré* autorstwa Aleksandra Chodźki

Artykuł stanowi zwięzłe omówienie pojedynczego tekstu *Le Ķorâcân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*, który opiera się najwyraźniej na relacji z wyprawy do Chorasanu podjętej w latach 30. XIX w. przez Aleksandra Chodźkę (1804–1891), polskiego dyplomatę w służbie cara. Choć brakuje w nim szerszych podstaw metodologicznych i teoretycznych, tekst Chodźki należy uznać za istotny wkład w badania nad mitologizacją postaci historycznych na przykładzie lokalnego jeźdźcy z północno-zachodniego Afganistanu – tytułowego Bunîada Hézzaré/ Bunjada Hazary. Może on zatem stanowić uzupełnienie analogicznych badań prowadzonych przez takich badaczy jak Ignác Kúnos, Wilhelm Radloff czy Tadeusz Kowalski w zakresie folkloru tureckiego i jego poezji.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Bunjad Hazara, Chodźko, Chorasán, poezja, rzeźmieszek

Suggested citation: Kłagisz, M.M. (2025). A Glimpse at Aleksander Chodźko's *Le Ķorâcân et son héros populaire Bunîad Hézzaré*. © ⓘ *Perspectives on Culture*, 3(50), pp. 111–140. DOI: 10.35765/pk.2025.5003.10

Submitted: 21.07.2024

Accepted: 02.05.2025

My stay in Daragez was rather eventful; on some five occasions I heard the call from the top of the mosque, "Turkomans! Turkomans! mount and away!" which is the call for the Governor's cavalry to mount and proceed in hot haste in pursuit of bands of these marauders who were carrying off slaves or cattle (Stewart, 1881, p. 535).

Today, when Turkmen raids, even in relatively small groups, reach only the border regions of the country, erupting on a larger scale only in central-northern Persia, the gates of villages stand open to every passerby. Here and there, even outside the walls of a chaykhana [tea-house – MMK] or caravanserai, a clay hut sometimes emerges, as if to test how long it will last. However, travelers seeking rest in these, especially when they are white, are still greeted with disgust and gloomy hostility by the people long accustomed for centuries that everything coming this way brings destruction and enslavement¹ (Goetel, 1924, pp. 119–120).

1. Among Ewa Siemienieć-Gołaś's publications, one can find articles on Polish pre-modern scholars interested in the broadly understood East, as well as on their academic and non-academic field studies. For example, in 2017, she published *Koncepcja nauczania języków orientalnych w czasach stanisławowskich* [*The Concepts of Teaching Oriental Languages in the Time of Stanisław August Poniatowski*], in which she discusses the establishment of the first professional and state institution in Warsaw during the mid-18th century to educate interpreters and translators of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Her article serves as a contemporary commentary on the issues raised by Jan Reychman in *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII w.* [*The Knowledge and Teaching of Oriental Languages in 18th-century Poland*] (Reychman, 1950).²

Four years later, in 2021, she released *Władysław Jabłonowski – polski lekarz w osmańskiej służbie: Znawca i badacz Wschodu* [*Władysław Jabłonowski – Polish Physician in the Ottoman Service: An Expert and Researcher of the East*],

1 "Dziś, gdy napady Turkmenów i to w grupach nie wielkich obejmują tylko pas pograniczny kraju, wybuchając w większych rozmiarach jeno w środkowo-północnej Persji, – otwały się wrota wsi dla każdego przechodnia. Tu i ówdzie wyrasta nawet i zewnątrz murów czajchana czy karawanseraj, – czasami chata glinianiana, wystawiona, jakoby na próbę, azali długo postoi. Szukającego w nich wypoczynku podróżnika, zwłaszcza, gdy jest to człowiek biały, witają tam jednak ciągle jeszcze ze wstrętem i ponurą nienawiścią ludzi, przyzwyczajonych od wieków, że wszystko co płynie tą drogą, niesie im zniszczenie i niewolę." (All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are by the author).

2 To find a review of Reychman's monograph, refer to the work by Mikulski (1951).

in which she presents the profile of a 19th-century *émigré* who spent thirty years of his life in the Ottoman Empire as a doctor and botanist. This article contributes to the contemporary humanistic trend of restoring the memory of lesser-known explorers and scholars interested in non-European cultures. It also adds to the discussion on Polish varieties of Orientalism, particularly in comparison with a similar, though not identical, phenomenon that analyzed by Edward Said (1935–2003).³

There are more such articles, but listing them here would be redundant. Of particular note is her academic leadership in the *Orientalia Polonica: Polskie tradycje badań nad Orientem* [*Orientalia Polonica: Polish Traditions of Research on the Orient*] Project (2013–2017). One of its outcomes was the re-edition of twelve works authored and published by Polish explorers, missionaries, researchers, and travelers of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, who were interested in Arabian, Indian, Iranian, or Turkish cultures.⁴

I was particularly drawn to her work *Orientalista – Aleksander Chodźko i jego wkład w popularyzację języka tureckiego* [*Aleksander Chodźko and His Contribution to the Popularisation of the Turkish Language*] from 2020, as I was simultaneously gathering sources for a short biographical entry on Chodźko focusing on his ethnographic studies.⁵ In her article, Siemieniec-Golaś discusses his work *Le Dragoman turc donnant les mots et les phrases les plus nécessaires pour la conversation: Vade mecum indispensable à l'armée d'Orient* (1854), a one-hundred-page monograph likely written at the request or instigation of the French authorities.⁶ This work served as a phrasebook for soldiers participating in the Crimean War (1853–1856) in support of the Ottoman Empire. Chodźko (1804–1891), a student at Vilnius University (1820–1823), and an alumnus of the Oriental Institute in Saint Petersburg (1824–1830), served as a Russian diplomat in Qajar Iran (1830–1841), *attaché* in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1852–1855), and professor of Slavic literature at the Collège de France (1857–1883). He is widely recognized as one of the earliest European scholars to work on Iranian folklore.⁷ However, his research was not

3 Given the extensive critical and enthusiastic literature surrounding Said and his monograph *Orientalism* (1978), I wish to direct the reader's attention to a single exemplary article by Fred Halliday titled *Orientalism and Its Critics* (1993).

4 For more details refer to: bj.uj.edu.pl/nauka-i-kultura/projekty/orientalia-polonica (access: 06.02.2024).

5 The entry appeared in volume VI of the *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy: Sylwetki, szkice biograficzne* [*Ethnographers: Personalities, Biographical Sketches*] (Kłagisz, 2020).

6 Another outcome of her research is the monograph *Turkish Vocabulary in Aleksander Chodźko's Vocabulaire français-turc (1854)* published in 2024.

7 For a discussion on Chodźko's life, (non)academic activity and publications, see: Calmard (1991); Kłagisz (2020); Krasnowolska (2007; 2013); Płoszewski (1937); Reychman (1972, pp. 252–261); Rypka (1970, p. 362); Siemieniec-Golaś (2020; 2024, pp. 9–34); Starnawski (1978, pp. 63–90).

limited to Persian-speaking communities; he also demonstrated interest in the cultural heritage of Turkic- and even Pashto-speaking groups.⁸ He remains relatively unknown in Poland, and his scientific achievements have received limited scholarly attention.⁹

2. In my contribution to the *Miscellanea Turcica et Orientalia*, a heartfelt expression of gratitude to Siemieniec-Gołaś by colleagues and friends alike, I will explore one of her academic interests that led her to Chodźko and his work, *Le Dragoman turc...* Specifically, I examine Chodźko's article, *Le Kōrâcân et son héros populaire Buniâd Hézzaré*, originally published in 1852 in *Revue orientale et algérienne* 2(2) and later republished as an offprint.¹⁰ Authored by Chodźko following his emigration to France, like most of his texts, the article draws upon observations made during one or more (short) trips undertaken somewhere between 1830 and 1841, a period when he served as a Russian diplomat, primarily stationed in Rasht. Through these travels, he documented various economic activities, such as silkworm cultivation (1843), as well as cultural phenomena, including theater (1845a) and *ta'ziye* plays (1845b), providing insights into the life of northern Iran.

His article, *Le Kōrâcân...*, can be considered a retrospective report compiled several years later, presumably from Polish notes taken during his travels. This may account for the absence of crucial details, such as the date of the trip or its itinerary. Consequently, it is challenging to determine the specific route he traveled, the extent of his exploration into northeastern Iran (the province of Khorasan), or the time of year he arrived there.¹¹ Interestingly, another article

8 In the journal *La revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des colonies* he published the following studies: 1) *Chants populaires turcomans, traduits des dialectes turkoman et turk oriental* (1852b); 2) *Chants populaires perso-turcs* (1852c); 3) *Chants historiques de l'Afghanistan en langue puchte* (1855).

9 Quite recently, a valuable text by Inga Walc (2023) has been published: *Ofiary brata Chodźki: Udział Aleksandra Chodźki w Kole Sprawy Bożej [Sacrifices of Chodźko's Brother: Aleksander Chodźko's Involvement in the Circle of Divine Matters]* discussing his life in France after leaving the diplomatic post in Iran, when he joined the Towians, who emphasised spiritual renewal and sought to bring about a transformation of society through their religious beliefs.

10 The offprint is held in the Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences under catalogue number PAU 114599 III. A handwritten note at the bottom of the first page reads: "Krakowskiej Akademii Umiejętności – dar autora [For the Krakow Academy of Arts and Sciences – the author's gift]," with the date "1874." Most importantly, Chodźko's signature confirms that this is one of several publications personally submitted by the author to the newly established Polish academic institution. We do not find this article on the extensive list of Chodźko's publications provided by Gritskevitch (1987, pp. 49–52) in his article *Aleksandr Khodz'ko (194–1891) i ego wkład v razvitie iranistiki i tiurkologii*.

11 Reychman (1972) does not provide any information regarding Chodźko's expedition to Khorasan, and the map illustrating the routes along which Poles traversed the Middle East does not

of his, *Une excursion de Téhéran aux Pyles caspiennes (1835): Extrait des voyages inédits* (1850), comes to the rescue, revealing: “I willingly joined the project for a new excursion into the mountains, especially since I had already seen Serdere [Sardarre – MMK] twice during my journey to Khorasan in 1833” (Chodźko, 1850, p. 298).¹² This information is corroborated by a comment found in *Specimens of Popular Poetry of Persia as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou the Bandit-minstrel on Northern Persia and in the Songs of the People inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea*: “[t]he following thirteen songs were collected, chiefly in Nardin, during an excursion in Northern Khorasan, which I made in 1833” (Chodźko, 1842, p. 379).

The mentioned shortcomings do not diminish the scientific value of his article, which remains an interesting albeit brief report on local folklore.

3. Chodźko's *Le Kōrâçân...* comprises two parts: the first serves as an introductory presentation of the Iranian province of Khorasan (Ch. Kōrâçân), while the second focuses on the life of an 18th-century local raider, the titular Bunyad Hazara (Ch. Bunîad Hézzaré). Before proceeding further, a brief explanation of the toponym Khorasan is necessary. As Ann K.S. Lambton argues: “[i]n the early centuries of Islam, Khurasan [Khorasan – MMK] generally included all the Muslim provinces east of the Great Desert. In this larger sense, it included Transoxiana, Sijistan [Sistan – MMK] and Quhistan [Kohestan – MMK]” (Lambton, 1988, p. 404). The name Khorasan refers to a greater cultural-historical region than the specific Iranian province described by Chodźko in the early 19th century. This broader region encompasses modern northeastern Iran, northern Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, central Uzbekistan, and western Tajikistan.

The article opens with a description of the boundaries and geographic features of the Iranian province of Khorasan. However, some facts Chodźko mentions pertain to the territories belonging to the Emirate of Bukhara in central Uzbekistan and the Emirate of Herat in northwestern Afghanistan. It is worth noting that the Qajar dynasty (1794–1925) made unsuccessful attempts to annex the latter, which was eventually incorporated into Afghanistan in the 1860s (Champagne, 1981). Other details in Chodźko's account relate to the southern regions of the Khanate of Khiva in northern Turkmenistan, which, between the 1870s and 1880s, became the scene of Russian expansion culminating in the creation of the Transcaspian Oblast. Chodźko's depiction of the borders of the Iranian province of Khorasan differs from contemporary

mark it, although his other trips have been. Such data is also missing in Azat'ian (1969), and in its Polish translation by Lipko (1979).

12 “[j]e m’associai d’autant plus volontiers au projet d’une nouvelle excursion dans les montagnes, que j’avais déjà deux fois vu Serderé, lors de mon voyage au Khorâçân, en 1833.”

ones because in the 1830s, its easternmost extent reached the banks of the Oxus River, east of the city of Merv (modern Mary). The contemporary boundary between Iran and Turkmenistan, marked by the Atrek River, the Kopet-Dag Range, and the Tejen River, was only established by the Treaty of Akhal on August 21, 1881.¹³ This treaty resulted in the the Qajar dynasty's loss of the Merv region, which was subsequently integrated into the Romanov Empire (1613–1917).

Chodźko's discussion of the boundaries of Khorasan is simplified; for instance, the Kopet-Dag Mountains are erroneously identified as the Alborz. This simplification creates a problem in one case, where its western boundary is said to correspond to a location identified as: "... the Yële-Kopri ditch, which once served as a boundary between Parthia and Media" (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 169).¹⁴ Searches for this toponym on 19th-century maps have yielded no results. Additionally, I have not encountered it in the works by Vladimir F. Minorsky, who meticulously reconstructed the geographical setting of the 11th-century romance *Vis-o Ramin* by Fakhroddin As'ad Gorgani [] (Minorsky, 1946; 1947; 1953; 1963). Given that after a few pages, Chodźko interprets the meaning of the lexeme *yêles* as "warriors,"¹⁵ he might have had the Turkic-Persian noun *il* (tribe) in mind. Hence, "the Yële-Kopri trench"¹⁶ would refer to a place inhabited by the Kopri tribe, which I also failed to identify.¹⁷

Next, the natural conditions of the province in question are discussed. However, the scarcity of available facts proves disappointing, particularly when compared with other texts by Chodźko or to reports by other European explorers and travelers.¹⁸ The same can be said about his discussion of history, which

13 For a contemporary account published in the Russian press, see e.g.: *Ekspeditsiia protiv turkmen akhal-teke* in the journal *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia*. See also: Spolatsbog (1884).

14 "... le fossé de Yële-Kopri, qui jadis servait de limite entre la Parthie et la Médie." On the borders of Media, see: Diakonoff (1985, pp. 127–129).

15 "guerriers."

16 "le fossé de Yële-Kopri."

17 After submitting the final version of the article to the editors, I came across the story of an orphan named Korpîe, who became the progenitor of one of the Turkmen clans (Vasil'eva 1985, pp. 88–89). Does the hero's name have anything to do with a toponym? I do not know – further research is certainly desirable, as I was unable to locate such a place in, inter alia, the 1888 report by Baev. Chodźko may have been referring to the Tash-Kepri region, where in 1885 a battle took place between Russian imperial forces and Afghan troops. If so, the name would designate an area near the Russo-Afghan border, on the frontier of present-day Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, around the Amu Darya River – an important communication and strategic corridor during the Russian Empire's southward expansion (Annaorazov, 2020). However, this seems unlikely, since Tash-Kepri is located in eastern Turkmenistan, far from the likely geographical context of "le fossé de Yële-Kopri."

18 To provide a few examples: 1) George N. Curzon, in his *Persia and the Persian Question*, offers a concise description of the nature of Khorasan (Curzon, 1892 I, p. 142); 2) Charles E. Stewart,

is limited to listing political figures such as Darius III, Alexander of Macedon, Harun al-Rashid, Genghis Khan, Timur, and finally, Nader Shah.

To conclude his brief overview of local history, Chodźko maintains that the dynamics of change on the local socio-political level are shaped by the conflict of two opposing forces: Iranian *vs.* Turanian. At this point, it is pertinent to clarify the meaning of the latter adjective. It derives from the toponym Turan, which refers to a mythological realm inhabited by enemies of Iran who were their (close) relatives.¹⁹ However, in accordance with the conventions of Chodźko's time, the term 'Turanian' refers to populations defined today as Turkic. The identification of the term 'Turanian' with 'Turkic' resulted from the gradual displacement of the Iranian people living in Central Asia by various Turkic tribes (cf. Bartol'd, 1903, pp. 60–62). The conflict of two opposing forces – Iranian *vs.* Turanian – acquires in the text an additional dimension of civilized *vs.* uncivilized, as reflected in Chodźko's portrayal of the Iranian province of Khorasan as a bulwark protecting Iran against Central Asian barbarity: "[i]t is the field of battles where the defenders of the civilization of the old world fought against the barbarians of Central Asia" (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 170).²⁰ This approach is complemented by the idea of a conflict between two models of life: sedentary, represented by the Iranians, *vs.* nomadic, represented by the Turkic tribes, as well as between the two branches of Islam: Shiite, represented by the Khorasani peasants, *vs.* Sunni, with the Turkic tribes once again serving as its principal representatives (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171).²¹

in his *The Country of the Tekke Turkmans, and the Tejend and Murghab Rivers*, provides an extensive description of Khorasan (Stewart, 1881, pp. 515–528); 3) *Travels into Bokhara: Being an account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia. Also, narrative of a Voyage on the Indus from the Sea to Labore* (1834–1835) by Alexander Burnes is still read by students of modern Afghanistan studies. Information on local geography provided by Chodźko could be compared with descriptions left by, among others, the Polish geologist Karol Bohdanowicz (1864–1947), who arrived there at the end of the 19th century, and bequeathed a report on Iranian turquoise mines near Nishapur (Wójcik, 1997, pp. 59–76). Local flora, represented by animals such as gazelles, hyenas, or onagers, could be complemented with the extensive register of animals inhabiting the banks of the Amu Darya, compiled by the Polish naturalist Włodzimierz Korsak (1886–1973) in the early 20th century (Korsak, 1923), while the basic information on the flora can be compared with: Linchevsky, Prozorovsky, Airy Show (1949). Finally, information on history can be complemented with works by the Russian/Soviet specialist Wilhelm Barthold [Vasilii V. Bartol'd] (Barthold, 1956; 1958; 1962; Bartol'd, 1963a; 1963b; 1964).

19 For more details, refer to the *Shahname* and the story of the three brothers – Iraj, Salm, and Tur (Ferdousi, 1394, pp. 51–74).

20 "[c]'est le champ des batailles que les défenseurs de la civilisation du vieux monde ont livrées aux barbares de l'Asie centrale."

21 The limitrophe character of the province in question is also highlighted by Barthold (Bartol'd, 1903, p. 60), who recalls that already in ancient times these lands were subject to extensive pressure from nomads coming from the north.

The opposition between Iranian and Turanian→Turkic can ultimately be equated with the opposition inscribed in Ferdousi's *Shahname* (10th/11th century), i.e., the opposition of self vs. other as well as of good vs. evil. At one point, Chodźko refers to the nomadic tribes ransacking the Iranian province of Khorasan as *Zahak*, an antihero from the *Shahname* who consumes fresh human brains and remains the source of all misfortune in Iran. This is because Chodźko sees them as forces that feed on the vital forces of the state, represented by hardworking men: "... which, like the serpent of *Zahak*, in the Persian epic, only feeds on human victims"²² (Chodźko 1852a, p. 179). It is therefore not surprising that local peasants used to refer to such raids as "a night of blood, *shab-e khun* (Ch. *chébi kouné*)"²³ (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 172), and the raiders as "vendors of men, or merchants of human flesh, *adamforush* (Ch. *adem furouch*)"²⁴ (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171). As explained, the main slave buyers are Uzbeks, who are purportedly unfamiliar with agriculture and therefore forced to acquire experienced workforce: "[t]he Uzbeks, lazy and not very suitable for agricultural work, willingly buy prisoners of both sexes"²⁵ (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171).

22 "... qui, semblable au serpent de *Zohak*, dans l'épopée persane, ne se nourrit que de victimes humaines." Chodźko should have mentioned "serpents," as *Zahak* had two – one on each shoulder. In his short story *Dzhan*, Andrei P. Platonov uses historical and mythological context to reveal deeper truths about the human condition and the tension between spiritual longing and harsh reality. The mention of Turkmen raids on Khorasan is only allusive (Platonov, 2004, pp. 15–16; Polish translation by Irena Piotrowska in: Platonow, 1969, pp. 46–47). It is not a detailed historical account, but rather a symbolic framework within which the author explores themes of spiritual searching, hunger for meaning, and transcendence. Khorasan, a land lying beyond the Kopet Dag mountains, is portrayed almost as a promised land, full of light, wealth, and order – a kind of embodiment of good (*Ohrmazd*). In contrast, the Turkmen steppes, barren and harsh, represent lack, deprivation, and thus generate desire, and it is this very desire that becomes the source of violence. Platonov draws on the Zoroastrian concept of two opposing forces: good and evil, but he reinterprets it. Evil here is not absolute, nor does it stem from hatred or moral corruption. Strikingly, it arises from a longing for good. The desire for beauty, order, and abundance becomes a force of destruction – not because goodness provokes envy, but because its unattainability leads to suffering, which in turn can erupt into violence. This is a very characteristic motif in Platonov's work: the human striving toward light, constantly thwarted by material limitations, hunger, and the frailty of the body but never fully extinguished. This dualism runs through the entire story, both in the relationships between characters and in the spiritual architecture of the world they inhabit. To sum up: the theme of the Turkmen raids on Khorasan does not serve a purely historical function, but becomes a metaphor for the tragic mechanism of human desire. Evil not as a choice, but as a byproduct of longing for good – this is one of Platonov's most moving and original reflections. A side thread concerns the sale of slaves to Afghanistan. For a broader discussion of the slave trade in this country, using Kandahar as an example, see: Trousdale (2021, pp. 66–68).

23 "une nuit de sang, *chébi kouné*."

24 "vendeurs d'hommes ou marchands de chair humaine, *adem furouch*."

25 "[I]es Ouzbeks, indolents et peu aptes aux travaux d'agriculture, achètent volontiers les prisonniers des deux sexes."

One of many manifestations of the Iranian *vs.* Turanian→Turkic tensions, according to Chodźko, are ravishing raids undertaken by Turkmens during which they abduct people to sell them later in bazaars of Central Asia, in Bukhara, Khiva, or Urgench (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 171). In fact, the Iranian province of Khorasan, like the entirety of Khorasan, was regularly assailed not only by the Turkmens but also by Baloch, Pashtuns, or Uzbeks (cf. Bartol'd, 1903, p. 74). Charles E. Stewart, who traveled across the same province approximately fifty years after Chodźko, in 1880, mentions in his report some Baloch groups plundering the countryside:

I found the small population of Sukand much excited at the news of the arrival of a large party of raiding Biluchis [Baloch – MMK], who were said to be stopping and plundering caravans between this place and Tabbas [Tabas – MMK] (Stewart, 1881, p. 517)

and:

[a]t 29 miles from Homin we reached a caravanserai in the desert named Rizab [Rezab – MMK], where there was a very small spring of brackish water. Near this place was a deserted village, which had been destroyed many years before by Biluchi marauders from Seistan [Sistan – MMK]. This is the furthest point to which I have heard of Biluchi raids extending, and considering the great distance from Seistan it is wonderful that their raids should extend so far (Stewart, 1881, p. 516).

Chodźko's and Stewart's mentions put in mind of the novel *Ghulomon* [*Slaves*] by the (Soviet-)Tajik intellectual and writer, Sadriddin Ayni (1878–1954). His novel, characterized by a plain ideological tenor and penned in a nice and simple language, unfolds between 1825 and 1933. It tells the story of three generations of titular slaves, of which only the last one can enjoy freedom thanks to the Bolshevik revolution and the establishment of Soviet power in Central Asia after 1920. At its very beginning, a description of an attack carried out by a group of Turkmens on a village somewhere near the Hari River in north-western Afghanistan, as well as a description of the subsequent path of the led captives driven through the sands of the Kara-Kum Desert, can be traced (Ayni, 1960, pp. 25–31).²⁶

26 Another example of literary traces of the slave trade conducted by the Turkmens is the Oriental novel *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* by James J. Morier (1824). The protagonist, Hajji Baba, begins his career in his father's trade as a barber, but after joining a caravan bound for Mashhad, he is captured by Turkmen raiders and taken into captivity. Eventually, he becomes one of them and, as a robber, takes part in their raid on Isfahan (Morier, 1824, pp. 8–76).

Characterizing Turkmens' raids, Chodźko explains that while the elders discuss, listening to messengers' reports, the rest of the men prepare their weapons and horses (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 172).²⁷ In the same paragraph, he also makes a short comment on the significance of the horse in Turkmen culture, emphasizing that the best horses are considered to be those bred by the Teke-Akhal (Ch: Téké-Akal) tribe, inhabiting the area of Ashkhabad, Merv and ancient Nisa. Their closest relatives are representatives of the Teke tribe living in the area of the city of Merv.²⁸ Highlighting the value of the Akhal-Teke horse, he confuses the Achaemenid mounted troops immortalized on one of the Pompeii mosaics with the Parthian ones.²⁹ Then he proceeds to present the equipment of the raider and his horse, as well as a concise description of the raid:

[t]he armament of a Turkmen horseman consists of a lance, a saber, a bow and sometimes a matchlock. Two bags, one with roasted barley for the man, the other with raw barley for his mount and a packet of shade-dried melon slices, all attached to the saddle bags; this is the sum of their food provisions. And it is still necessary to use it soberly, because who can predict the duration and eventualities of the expedition? / Here they are on horseback, the serdar at the head. From a simple owner of a tent in some Turkmen camp where all men are equal, he becomes a chief whose slightest gesture is an irrevocable sentence. As long as the expedition lasts, he has the right of life and death over his subordinates. They advance slowly in order to spare the strength of their horses, sometimes remaining for entire days to wait for the right moment. It is usually in the middle of the night that they fall like fire from the sky on the sleeping villagers. No quarter: anyone who dares to resist is put to the sword. The slightest cry is muffled before it is heard. They do not care about herds and other property whose transportation would present difficulty; they only want people, and men, women, old people, children are gagged, garroted, put on the backs and carried away at full speed. They will be pursued during the morning, they know it and only seek their salvation in the speed and vigor of their mounts. The celerity with which they then cover great distances is marvelous. Their impetuous enthusiasm only slows down after crossing the Alborz mountain range. It is only there that the strongest of the captives are taken off their horses to be dragged along tied to the stirrup, with a rope around their necks³⁰ (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 172–173).

27 To name the elders, Chodźko (1852, p. 172) applies the noun *aqsagal* (Ch. aḳ saḳal) of Turkic origin.

28 The name 'Teke-Akhal' should be understood as referring to those representatives of the Teke tribe that inhabit the Akhal oasis – a more appropriate term would therefore be 'Akhal-Teke.'

29 The Alexander Mosaic is traditionally believed to depict the Battle of Issus, which took place on November 5, 333 BC (cf. Cohen, 1997).

30 "[l]'armement d'un cavalier turkman consiste en une lance, un sabre, un arc et quelque fois [quelquefois – MMK] un fusil à mèche. Deux sacs, l'un avec de l'orge grillée pour l'homme, l'autre avec de l'orge crue pour sa monture et un paquet de tranches de melon séchées à l'ombre,

An interesting description of what such an attack, in this case carried out by the Baloch, looks like is provided by Stewart:

I here for the first time saw two men, who with their wives had been carried off and plundered by Biluchis. They said that they and their wives, with two other men, were on the road from Kirman [Kerman – MMK] to Tabbas, and when 80 miles to the southward of this place they were pounced upon by a band of thirty-seven men, most of them mounted on the swift Seistan camels so celebrated for their speed. They and their wives were stripped of everything but the most necessary clothing, and were carried about on camels for three days. One of their party who knew the country gave offense to the Biluchis by refusing to act as guide, and was hacked to pieces with swords, another of their party was killed by the Biluchis, and they heard that a traveler had been murdered previous to their own capture. At the end of three days the two men whom I met with their wives were released near Chasma Shutaran [Chashm-e Shotoran – MMK], the lonely spring in the desert where I filled my water-bottle. They came on to Rabat-i-Khan [Rabat-e Khan – MMK], and were anxious to proceed on their journey (Stewart, 1881, pp. 520–521).

Stewart also provides a quite detailed description of the animals used by the Baloch during a raid:

I here heard of the mode of procedure of these Biluchi marauders. The camels they ride travel very fast. They can go 70 or even 80 miles a day, carrying one or sometimes two men and a little food. The longest distance that I have ever myself known a good trained camel to cover in a day was 92 measured miles on a road. This was accomplished between early dawn and evening, but the camel

le tout attaché aux trousse de la selle, voilà la somme de leurs provisions de bouche. Et encore faut-il en user sobrement, car qui peut prévoir la durée et les éventualités de l'expédition? / Les voilà à cheval, le serdar en tête. De simple propriétaire d'une tente dans quelque campement de Turkmans où tous les hommes sont égaux, il devient un monarque dont le moindre geste est un arrêt irrévocable. Tant que dure l'expédition, il a droit de vie et de mort sur ses subordonnés. Ils s'avancent lentement afin de ménager les forces de leurs chevaux, restant quelquefois pendant des journées entières pour attendre le moment propice. C'est ordinairement au milieu de la nuit qu'ils tombent comme le feu du ciel sur les villageois endormis. Point de quartier : tout ce qui ose résister est passé à l'arme blanche. Le moindre cri est étouffé avant qu'il ne soit entendu. Peu leur importe les troupeaux et autres propriétés dont le transport offrirait de la difficulté ; ils n'en veulent qu'aux personnes, et hommes, femmes, vieillards, enfants sont baïllonnés [baïllonnés – MMK], garrottés, mis en croupe et emportés à bride abattue. Ils seront poursuivis dans le cours de la matinée, ils le savent et ne cherchent leur salut que dans la vitesse et la vigueur de leurs montures. La célérité avec laquelle ils parcourent alors de grandes distances tient du merveilleux. Leur fougue impétueuse ne se ralentit qu'après avoir traversé la chaîne des montagnes d'Albourz. Ce n'est que là qu'on fait descendre de cheval les plus robustes d'entre les captifs pour les traîner attachés à l'étrier, la corde au cou."

performing this feat would not have been able to go on the next day for any great distance. This was, however, not a Biluchi camel. The Biluchis, with their trained camels which only require water every other day, and who can on a push last for three days without water, scour the country for incredible distance, lying hidden in some ravine in the desert, and pouncing upon unwary travelers, and driving off camels and cattle wherever found. Sometimes a rich caravan falls into their hands. Their camels can find enough grazing, in the less arid spots of the desert, to support life, assisted by a little food supplied by their owners in the form of balls of barely-meat mixed with just enough water to make a paste. A camel can exist in this way for a few weeks only while the foray lasts. The Biluchis only approach some lonely spring in the desert every other day, water their camels, fill their water-skins, and go back to hide in some new spot (Stewart, 1881, p. 521).

Chodźko suggests that Turkmens were only interested in people and do paid little attention to livestock or other (im)movable property, as transporting such goods would require too much energy and time. They purportedly take only what could be moved – namely, people – who, he explains, were treated carefully in order to secure a better price. In contrast, Stewart reports: “Biluchis very seldom kill; Turkomans almost always kill those they cannot carry off” (Stewart, 1881, p. 524), and that: “[t]he Turkmans almost always kill all they cannot carry away captive. If pressed in pursuit they cut off either the hands or feet, or both, of the captives and then leave them” (Stewart, 1881, p. 536). Chodźko’s claim that the Turkmens cared for captives in order to increase their market value: “[t]hey are kept in custody, but they are pampered and carefully fed, with the aim of giving them an appearance of strength and health – the prices increasing according to the good looks of the merchandise”³¹ (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 173), stands in stark contrast to Stewart’s account:

[t]he sufferings of the poor slaves while being carried off is terrible, as they are lashed on a horse’s back behind their captors, often wounded while being taken prisoners, and are allowed very little rest, night or day, until they reach the Turkmen tents. They are then heavy ironed, a ring being passed round the neck and one round each leg. From these rings there are chains fastening the legs together, and a long chain from the neck ring which is fastened to a tent-peg (Stewart, 1881, p. 536).

A successful raid concludes with the capture of people, treated as mere loot to be distributed. According to Chodźko, one-tenth of the spoils is allocated to the commander, called *serdar*, as provided for by religious law, and the remaining

31 “[o]n les garde à vue, mais on les choie, on les nourrit avec soin, dans le but de leur donner une apparence de force et de santé, les prix renchérissant selon la bonne mine de la marchandise.”

nine-tenths of it are divided among the other participants under his command (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 173).

A crucial part of human trafficking involves determining whether the families of the abducted individuals would be willing or able to ransom them. If so, traveling merchants, known as *dallal*, would visit the designated addresses to negotiate the release price. However, as Chodźko (1852a, p. 173) emphasizes, paying a ransom did not guarantee future freedom. He recounts the fears of a Khorasan merchant, who had already been abducted a dozen times, expressing concern that his family may not be able to help him secure his release the next time.

The constant threat posed by the Turkmens led to the construction of various primitive fortresses and shelters (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 174–175). As Stewart (1881, p. 525) reports: “[t]he villages in this neighborhood are strongly fortified, and the forts are all kept in good repair and not allowed to fall into ruin like so many forts in more peaceful parts of Persia.”³² Furthermore, the threat prompted the Safavid rulers (1501–1736) to take measures such as resettling several tens of thousands of Kurdish families in the region and constructing fortresses to guard the high mountain passes (Bartol’d, 1903, p. 62). However, the political chaos following the assassination of Nader Shah on June 20, 1747, allowed the Kurds, who were growing increasingly independent from the distant capital in Isfahan, to either ally with the Turkmens or participate in human trafficking themselves (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 175).³³

Importantly, Chodźko (1852a, pp. 176–178) devotes a paragraph to the tribal divisions of the Turkmens and offers brief remarks on their customs, including culinary habits and tea brewing *savoir-vivre*. He mentions, among others, the Yomut (Ch. Yémoutes), Teke (Ch. Tékés), and Saryk (Ch. Sarik) tribes, providing their locations and some basic statistical data regarding their populations.³⁴ Did he acquire such data by hearsay? The answer might lie in his private, partially unexplored archive divided between the Collège de France and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.³⁵ It should be emphasized that Chodźko

32 Kennedy (1890, pp. 54–55) and Stewart (1881, p. 528) provide detailed descriptions of such defence towers. Similar structures can also be found in eastern Afghanistan as fortified houses. For a discussion on traditional domestic architecture in Afghanistan and the *qal’a*-type fortified farm compound dwellings, refer to Barfield and Szabo (1991, pp. 161–195).

33 For a detailed analysis of Chodźko’s reports on the Kurds resettled to northern and eastern Iran, refer to Krasnowolska (2013).

34 For some basic information regarding Turkmens’ lineages, see e.g.: Vasil’eva (1979).

35 As far as I know, Francis Richard dug through Chodźko’s handwritten notes to discover a page on which a few songs by the Turkman poet and Sufi – Magtymguly Pyragy (1724–1807) – were written down. Regrettably, I was not able to access his article Aleksander Chodźko and Magtymguly Turkman Songs published in English, Russian, and Turkmen in 2015 in *Miras Türkmenistanyn gylmylar akademiýasynyň milli golyazmalar institusy* 3(59), on pages 29–36. (After

most likely describes the situation in the 1830s, which changed at the end of the 19th century due to the Russian presence in Turkestan, strengthened primarily by their victory in the Battle of Gök Teppe on January 24, 1881.

As indicated above, Chodźko's *Le Korâçân...* is complemented by the story of the raider named Bunyad Hazara. He is the only son of Qurban Ali (Ch. *Qurbân Alî*) from the Bakharz (Ch. *Baķerz*) district, approximately 200 km southeast of Mashhad, in the Iranian province of Khorasan. According to legend, when Qurban Ali learned that a group of Uzbeks from Maymana (northeastern Afghanistan) were returning home, carrying rich loot, he decided to attack them with his countrymen.³⁶ He captured about a hundred Akhal-Teke horses, as well as some prisoners, who were later sold as slaves. The funds obtained were used to better arm the group, which quickly gained a measure of fame. Although not directly stated, their popularity most likely stemmed from their effectiveness, prowess, and temerity. Upon his death, Qurban Ali handed over the command to Bunyad Hazara, who continued his father's profession (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 179).

As for the name Bunyad Hazara, its first element, *bunyad* (Ch. *bunîad*), raises some doubts, as it corresponds to Pe. *bonyad* "fundament; organization." Initially, I supposed that Chodźko had mistakenly taken *bonyad* as *bani* "son; descendant." However, I revised this view when I came across the characters of Bunyad Khan and Aka Bunyad. The first was one of the chiefs of the Hazaras of Qal'e-ye Nau (Adamec, 1972 III, pp. 119, 121, 186, 229–230, 240), and the second was a representative of the Taymuri tribe in north-eastern Afghanistan (Adamec, 1972 III, p. 435). Bunyad Hazara was also called *kolab-e chape* (Ch. *koulah tchépé*), meaning "an inside-out headgear." The nickname refers to his hat: "[his] sheepskin hat, oval in shape and without opening at the top, earned him the nickname *kolab-e chape* (Ch. *koulah tchépé*), 'ugly, crooked hat'" (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 185),³⁷ that apparently resembled a typical Turkmen *telpek*.

Bunyad Hazara engaged in combat against Ebrahim Khan, the chief of the Chahar-Aymaq tribal confederation. He not only defeated Ebrahim Khan but also gained the favor of several herd owners who joined his side and settled in the pastures between Herat and Kohsan in northeastern Afghanistan. Additionally,

submitting the article for publication, I learned, thanks to a comment from one of the reviewers, that this article is available as a Word file on Academia.edu: www.academia.edu/17724524/Aleksander_Chodzko_and_Magtymguly_Turkman_Songs_published_in_Miras_Ashgabat_2015 (access: 04.06.2025)). Chodźko published in the *Specimens...* English translations of thirteen Turkmen songs, but unfortunately, without the original texts. For discussions on Turkic language and folklore in Khorasan, refer to Doerfer and Hesche (1993, 1998).

36 Maymana was in the middle of the 17th century an independent quasi-state ruled by the Uzbeks, known as the Maymana Khanate (Adamec, 1979 IV, pp. 397–405).

37 "[s]on bonnet en peau de mouton, de forme ovale et sans ouverture en haut, lui a valu le sobriquet de *koulah tchépé*, « bonnet laid, de travers »."

he clashed with the Uzbeks from Maymana, which Chodźko (1852a, p. 180) attributes to religious differences: the Uzbeks adhered to Sunni Islam, while Bunyad Hazara and his kinsmen followed Shiism. I believe that such a conclusion does not fully capture the situation. It was economic and political rivalry that played a more significant role, while religious differences were (only) a pre-text.³⁸ Chodźko (1852a, p. 184) further explains that Bunyad Hazara represented the Hazara (Ch: Hézzerés) subgroup within the Chahar-Aymaq tribal confederation. Despite his leadership of the subgroup and his fame for bravery, he never managed to lead the entire formation. He was ultimately murdered by a young man who sought revenge for the death of his father, who had been killed by Bunyad Hazara. Chodźko (1852a, pp. 184–185) recalls rumors that his murder was ordered by the contemporary *beglerbegi*, i.e. governor, of Herat himself.

Before I delve into two short legends illustrating Bunyad Hazara's personality, it is necessary to address a question regarding his ethnicity. The text notes that he was the leader of one of the Chahar-Aymaq subgroups "[o]f four divisions of Chahar Aymaks, namely the Hazaras, the Jamshidis, the Teymuris and the Firuzkuhis, Bunyad belonged to the first"³⁹ (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 184). Additionally, Chodźko (1852a, p. 184, fn. 7) clarifies in a footnote that there is another Hazara tribe in Afghanistan, specifically in the Hazarajat region of central Afghanistan, which has no connection to the Hazara in question. Is this distinction accurate? Lutz Rzehak from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin suggested to me in a private conversation that Chodźko might be referring to the Hazare-ye Qal'e-ye Nau.⁴⁰ This is a Sunni sub-tribe of the Hazara people who traditionally were located in Qal'e-ye Nau, the capital of today's northwestern

38 An analogous example may be Abdurrahman Khan's brutal crackdown on the Hazaras of the Hazarajat in the late 19th century, often perceived as a conflict between Sunnis and Shiites. However, the root causes of the conflict should be sought in political competition rather than religious differences. Abdurrahman Khan represented the state apparatus striving to unify the kingdom, while the Hazaras of the Hazarajat were a community striving to maintain the greatest possible independence from the capital in Kabul.

39 "[d]e quatre divisions de Tchéhár Oïmaks, savoir les Hézzerés, les Djemchudis, les Téimouris et les Firouzkouhis, Buníad appartenait à la première."

40 Personal communication on November 11, 2023. For a discussion, see: Adamec (1972 III, pp. 228–241). Chodźko (1852a, p. 180) states that Bunyad Hazare was a Shiite: "[l]e wali professait le dogme Sunni, Buníad, le dogme chéite [[t]he wali professed the Sunni dogma, Bunyad, the Shiite dogma]" (Chodźko, 1852, p. 180). However, in fact: "[t]he Western Hazara, integrated into the Aymak, are Sunni, unlike their counterparts in the central mountains, with whom the correlation remains doubtful. They are cited in the mid-19th century as an important ethnic group in the region, then almost completely semi-nomadic / [l]es Hazara de l'Ouest, intégrés aux Aymak, sont sunnites, à la différence de leurs homologues des montagnes centrales, avec lesquels la corrélation reste douteuse. Ils sont cités au milieu du XIXe siècle comme une ethnie importante de la région, alors à peu près totalement semi-nomades" (de Planhol, 1973, p. 6, fn. 8).

Afghanistan province of Badghis.⁴¹ To clarify these issues I need to highlight that the ethnic composition of the population in the broader, cultural-historical region of Khorasan was highly fluid, particularly with regard to Persian-speaking nomadic or semi-nomadic groups as described by Vladimir A. Ivanov in his *Notes on the Ethnology of Khurasan* (1926). Stewart (1881, p. 529) also refers to such fluidity: “[a]t present it is only the wild tribes who plunder Persia, Bokhara, and Afghanistan that are called Turkomans; but the name had once a much wider signification, and there is really no ethnic difference between the civilized Kajar tribe, to which the royal family of Persia belong, and those now called Turkomans.” This issue has also been thoroughly examined by Erwin Orywal in his *Ethnicity – Conceptual and methodological considerations* (1988).⁴²

The fluidity of ethnic structures resulted primarily from various, short- and long-term political-military alliances, depending on the economic-political constellation. Such alliances usually appeared under the name of the group that provided the chief and/or most of the members. Ethnic categories are then more likely to be understood as political-military alliance names. During the same private communication, Rzehak referred to his fieldwork in the late 1980s among the Baloch of Turkmenistan when, on closer inspection, it turned out that in addition to numerous *genuine* Baloch tribes, Hazara(-ye Qal’e-ye Nau), Jamshedi and even Pashtun tribes were listed as Baloch.⁴³ These groups migrated to Turkmenistan from Iran and Afghanistan during the political turmoil of the first two decades of the 20th century and are a good example of the fluid character of ethnic groups in the greater, cultural-historical region of Khorasan.⁴⁴

Chodźko (1852a, p. 181) quotes several facts from Bunyad Hazara’s life, such as accusations of alcohol abuse and his reputation as an experienced horse expert. These facts contribute to a quasi-mythological portrayal of him as a (noble) raider.

The first story reads as follows:

Mirza Abdolvahhab (Ch. Mirza Ābd el-Wéhhâb), the most eminent statesman at the court of Fath Ali Shah (Ch. Feth Āli Chah), who became a prisoner of

41 For further information regarding the geographical area inhabited by the Hazaras in the 19th and 20th centuries, see Mousavi (1998, pp. 65–72).

42 For a discussion, refer to Ferdinand (1959; 1964).

43 Similar information can be found, for example, in the text of Gafferberg (1960, p. 113).

44 The final outcome of the 1989 field research was referenced in the PhD dissertation *Arbeit, Eigentum und Sozialstruktur in autarken Gemeinwesen belutschischer Wanderviehhalter und Ackerbauern: mit einer Studie über den jüngsten Wandel bei den Belutschen der Murgab-Oase* that Rzehak submitted in 1991 to Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Similar processes of merging Kurdish and Turkmen ethnic groups in southern Soviet Turkestan were the subject of Aristova and Vasil’eva’s research (Aristova & Vasil’eva, 1964).

Bunyard during the day of Kaferqal'e (Ch. Kaferkālê), formed a friendship with him which lasted until the end of their lives. After a few hours of initial conversation with the minister, Bunyard felt so imbued with feelings of esteem and benevolence towards him that he offered him his best tent and would never sit in his presence unless he had asked his permission. After six weeks of captivity, an officer of the shah arrived in Kuruk with the ransom. / – "How much do you want for the redemption of Mirza Abdolvahhab?" / – "Twelve tomans, cash (fr. 150)," replied Bunyard. "You're joking," said the officer, surprised at the small sum requested. – "I don't like to joke with the Persian shah. Twelve tomans, in cash, no more, no less." / The officer untied the purse and began to count the money. / "That's good, I'll pay the sum," he said; "but accept it as a tip from me. I appreciate the merit of Mirza Abdolvahhab too much to sell it to you. He is free to go wherever he wants. I only wanted to see how brilliantly the gold shines that a sovereign of Persia sends to a Turkman shepherd as ransom." // The vizier never forgot the nobility of such procedures, he spoke about them with tears in his eyes, and after the death of Bunyard, he rendered many services to his son Bahram Khan (Ch. Behram Kân)"⁴⁵ (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 186–187).

And the latter one reads:

[o]ne day while hunting, and far from his companions, Bunyard surprised two Teymuri Turkmans stealing cattle from the pastures of Quruq (Ch. Kuruq). After having unhorsed them and forcing them to follow him on foot, he noticed, on the way, that one of them was crying and complaining to his compatriot. / "Look, when I was marrying off one of my sisters to Allah Werdi, good people told me not to ally myself with a bad-bakht (Ch. bed-bekt) man (born under the influence of a bad star). I disobeyed them and I regret it bitterly. The day before her wedding day, my sister was kidnapped by some mangy dogs from the band

45 "Mirza Abd el-Wéhhâb, le plus éminent homme d'État de la cour de Fetḥ Alî Chah, devenu prisonnier de Bunîad dans la journée de Kaferkālê, s'était lié avec lui d'une amitié qui ne cessa qu'avec leur vie. Après quelques heures de première conversation avec le ministre, Bunîad se sentit tellement pénétré de sentiments d'estime et de bienveillance envers lui, qu'il lui offrit sa meilleure tente et ne voulait jamais s'asseoir en sa présence qu'après lui en avoir demandé la permission. Après six semaines de captivité, un officier du chah arriva à Kourouk avec la rançon. / « – Combien voulez-vous pour le rachat de Mirza Abd el-Wéhhâb? » / – « Douze tomans, argent comptant (fr. 150), » répondit Bunîad. / « – Vous plaisantez, » fit l'officier étonné de la petite somme demandée. – « Je n'aime pas à plaisanter avec le chah de Perse. Douze tomans, en espèces, ni plus ni moins. » / L'officier délia la bourse et se mit à compter l'argent. / « – C'est bien, j'acquitte la somme, dit-il ; mais acceptez-la comme un pourboire de ma part. J'apprécie trop le mérite de Mirza Abd el-Wéhhâb pour vous le vendre. Il est libre de se rendre où bon lui semble. Je n'ai voulu que voir de quel éclat brille l'or qu'un souverain de Perse envoie à un pâtre turkman à titre de rançon. » // Le ministre n'oublia jamais la noblesse de pareils procédés, il en parlait depuis les larmes aux yeux, et après la mort de Bunîad, il rendit beaucoup de services à son fils Behram Kân."

of Kulah-e Chape (Ch. Koulah tchépé). Today you took me prisoner. Who are you?” / Barely back home, Bunyad had the prisoner’s sister found and sent her back with her brother without ransom, on the condition that Allah Werdi would wear a hat similar to the kolah-e chape for the rest of his life, and that he would henceforth be called khosh-bakht (Ch. Kōch-beḵt) (born under the happy star), instead of bad-bakht (Ch. bed-beḵt)⁴⁶ (Chodźko, 1852a, p. 187).

The two stories represent the same broadly understood folk tradition like the songs sung by the inhabitants of northeastern Iran about Kōroḡlu/Gōroḡly (Kappert, 1979; Rypka, 1968, pp. 634–639).⁴⁷ Chodźko (1842, pp. 3–16, 17–344) introduced this character to European readers in *Specimens of Popular Poetry of Persia as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou the Bandit-Minstrel on Northern Persia and in the Songs of the People Inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea*.

Furthermore, both stories provide a convenient framework for discussing mechanisms for building a folk legend around a historical figure, such as the title character Bunyad Hazara. These mechanisms, outlined by Chodźko, can be reduced to a two-way process – emphasizing the figure’s noble features in stories recalled by favorable storytellers and highlighting moral vices in stories recalled by hostile ones.⁴⁸ I deliberately use the term “outlined,” because the article cites only a few stories and no examples of poetry. I suppose that if only Chodźko had heard them, he would probably have written them down and incorporated them. It would then be possible to compare them with folk songs collected by Hungarian Turkologist Ignác Kúnos or by Russian Turkologist Wilhelm Radloff [Vasilij V. Radlov], which focus on an Anatolian rider named Tchakydjy, for example: “Barley in the furrows, / A black stork often

46 “[u]n jour à la chasse, et loin de ses compagnons, Bunîad surprit deux Turkmans Tëimouris volant des bestiaux sur les pâturages de Kourouk. Après les avoir désarçonnés et les avoir obligés de le suivre à pied, il remarqua, chemin faisant, que l’un d’eux pleurait et se plaignait à son compatriote. / « – Qu’as-tu donc? demanda Bunîad. » « – Voyez un peu. Lorsque je fiançais une de mes sœurs à Allah Werdi, des braves gens m’avaient bien dit de ne pas m’allier à un homme bed-beḵt (né sous l’influence d’une mauvaise étoile). Je leur ai désobéi et je m’en repens amèrement. La veille du jour de ses noces, ma sœur fut en levée par quelques chiens galeux de la meute de Koulah tchépé. Aujourd’hui, vous m’avez fait prisonnier. Qui êtes-vous? » / A peine de retour chez lui, Bunîad fit retrouver la sœur du prisonnier et la renvoya avec son frère sans rançon, à condition qu’Allah Werdi porterait le restant de sa vie un bonnet semblable au koulah tchépé, et qu’il s’appellerait dorénavant Kōch-beḵt (né sous l’horoscope heureux), au lieu de bed-beḵt.”

47 A more detailed description can be found in the encyclopaedic entry KÖROĞLU by Javādi (2009).

48 A similar process can also be seen in the case of other historical figures, such as Habibollah Kalakani *aka* Bachche-ye Saqqa, i.e. the leader of a peasants’ revolt that succeeded in placing him on the throne of Afghanistan in 1929.

visited [here]. / We spent the winter here, / In the summer, fate separated us”⁴⁹ (Kúnos, 1889, p. 188), and: “I sowed the grain deliberately, / The black stork was often here. / Here we spent the summer, / In the winter fate separated us”⁵⁰ (Radloff & Kúnos, 1899, p. 455). Another point of reference could be the thirty-five popular songs analysed by Tadeusz Kowalski in his work *Piosenki ludowe anatolijskie o rozbójniku Czakydżym* [*Anatolian Folk Songs about the Bandit Çakıcı*] (1917).⁵¹ He gathered them during a series of interviews with Turkish soldiers treated in hospitals in Krakow and Vienna.⁵²

4. Various issues concerning Bunyad Hazara have been examined, but the question when he lived remains unresolved. The matter is not straightforward, as Chodźko (1852a, p. 179) does not provide such information. He only notes that Qurban Ali was born in the mid-18th century and that Bunyad Hazara succeeded his father as the chief of Hazara subtribe when he was about fifty: “[h]e died, leaving Bunyad Hezare, his only son, who was already about fifty years old, in command of his troop.”⁵³ Certainly, Bunyad Hazara died before Chodźko arrival in the Iranian province of Khorasan, that is, before 1833(?). I provide these few details to take a closer look at an accidental finding that I came across while leafing through volume III of the *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan* by Ludwig W. Adamec (1972). It concerns a figure named Bunyad Khan, who died around 1830 at the hands of his distant cousin, Sher Muhammad Khan (Adamec, 1972 III, p. 119, 230). Why did I pay closer attention to this figure? Firstly, because his name closely resembles that of Bunyad Hazara. Secondly, he served as the chief of the Hazara subtribe within the Chahar-Aymaq confederation. And thirdly, he had a brother named Qurban Ali. This raises the question: did Chodźko mistakenly describe their relationship as that of father and son instead of brothers? Bunyad Khan succeeded his brother Muhammad Khan, who led the Hazaras during the reign of Timur Shah (1772–1793). Bunyad Khan was the son of Muhammad Shah Khan and the grandson of Kalifan Sultan, likely the inaugural chief of the Hazaras from Qal’-e Nau, who held power during the reign of Nader Shah Afshar (1736–1747) (Adamec,

49 “Arpalar evlek evlek / dadandı kara leylek / kış burda kışladık / yazın ayırdı felek.”

50 “Ekin ekim bilerek / dadandı kara leylek / yazı burada yazladık / kışın ayırdı felek.”

51 Çakıcı Mehmet Efe (c. 1872–1911) was a famous *zeybek* (a type of guerrilla fighter or bandit-hero) active in late Ottoman Anatolia, particularly in the Aegean region of Turkey. He is remembered both as a rebel and a folk hero, and his life and deeds have inspired numerous Anatolian folk songs, stories, and even films.

52 Kowalski’s text is a response to Enno Littmann’s *Tschakydschy: Ein türkischer Räuberhauptmann der Gegenwart* (1915). It was briefly discussed by Olga Schatskaya in her *Die krimtatarische Version des Tschakydschy-Liedes* (1928).

53 “[i]l mourut en laissant à Bunîad Hézzaré, son fils unique, âgé déjà d’environ cinquante ans, le commandement de sa troupe.”

1972 III, p. 240). The main reason for identifying Bunyad Hazara as Bunyad Khan lies in the mention of Fath Ali Khan and Hasan Ali Mirza, who fought against him (Chodźko, 1852a, pp. 182–183, 186). Fath Ali Khan (1769–1834) reigned in Iran from 1797 to 1834, while his son, Hasan Ali Mirza (1790–1855), held the governorship of the Iranian province of Khorasan between 1816 and 1823. My assumptions are supported by Christine Noelle-Karimi's work *The Pearl in Its Midst* (2014), in which the author presents the figure of Bunyad Khan Hazara, who died around 1829/1830. She also mentions Mirza Abdolvahhab, i.e., the influential Qajar official Mirza Abdolvahhab Mu'tamado-d-Doule (d. 1244/1829), who likewise appears in Chodźko's article (see above):

Bunyad Khan Hazara, on his part, had brought the influential Qajar official Mirza 'Abd al-Vahhab Mu'tamad al-Daula (d. 1244/1829) into his control during the confusion of the fight and used him as a pawn to obtain assurances for the government of Ghiriyān, Kiistiya and Bakharz (Noelle-Karimi, 2014, pp. 221–222).

5. One of the most crucial factors in the development of modern science is the circulation of information. When (re-)verified, (re-)analyzed, and (re-)described, such information expands the scope of our knowledge and deepens our understanding of the world. Collecting information is the first step toward (re-)transforming it into knowledge. (The archives where this information is stored also play an equally important role, but I will not discuss this topic here). Chodźko is undoubtedly one of the 19th-century researchers who collected information and provided commentary to transmit it to future generations of scholars. In certain respects, he can be regarded as a trailblazer in fostering Polish interest in the broader Eastern context, despite working outside Poland and publishing mainly in French or, alternatively, in English. We are indebted to him for numerous articles, primarily reports from his travels, although only a portion of these have garnered widespread interest among researchers. As I endeavored to illustrate in my descriptive article, a single text – exemplified by *Le Kora'ân...* – can serve as a reference point for exploring (quasi-)intertextual connections with other works, including those produced later. I therefore find the fragment that recounts the story of Bunyad Hazara through the lens of legends to be particularly intriguing, despite its somewhat cursory treatment. These legends construct a dual, contrasting image of this titular raider, with positive and negative aspects, though the positive portrayal clearly dominates. On this basis, I tentatively suggest that suggests Chodźko may have (unconsciously?) grasped certain mechanisms involved in mythologising a historical figure. Further investigation, such as a comprehensive study of his archives and an analysis of the notes used for compiling his article, could potentially lead to a reassessment of this thesis.

REFERENCES

- Adamec, L. (1972). *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Vol. III: *Herat and Northwestern Afghanistan*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.
- Adamec, L. (1979). *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*. Vol. IV: *Mazar-i-Sharif and North-Central Afghanistan*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.
- Barfield, T.J. & Szabo, A. (1991). *Afghanistan: An Atlas of Indigenous Domestic Architecture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barthold, V.V. (1956)[I], (1958)[II], (1962)[III]. *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. Vol. I–III. Leiden: Brill.
- Burnes, A. (1834–1835). *Travels into Bokhara: Being an Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia. Also, Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus from the Sea to Lahore*. Vol. I–III. London: A. Spottiswoode.
- Calmard, J. (1991). Chodźko, Aleksander Borejko. In: E. Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Vol. V. New York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 502–504.
- Champagne, D.Ch. (1981). *The Afghan-Iranian Conflict over Herat Province and European Intervention 1796-1863: A Reinterpretation* [unpublished PhD dissertation]. Austin: University of Texas.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1842). *Specimens of Popular Poetry of Persia as Found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou the Bandit-minstrel on Northern Persia and in the Songs of the People Inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea*. London: The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1843). Perse. Industrie séricole. *La revue de l'Orient*, 1, 326–332.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1845a). Le théâtre en Perse. *La revue de l'Orient*, 6, 119–135.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1845b). Théâtre persan: La tête de l'Imam Hussein. *La revue de l'Orient*, 6, 119–136.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1850). Une excursion de Téhéran aux Pyles caspiennes (1835): Extrait des voyages inédits. *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, 3, 280–308.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1852a). Le Kōrâçân et son héros populaire Buniâd Héz-zaré. c, 2(2), 169–187.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1852b). Chants populaires turcomans, traduits des dialectes turkoman et turk oriental. *La revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des colonies*, 2(3), 360–373.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1852c). Chants populaires perso-turcs. *La revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des colonies*, 2(4), 465–473.
- [Chodźko=] Chodzko, A. (1855). Chants historiques de l'Afghanistan en langue puchte. *La revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des colonies*, 1, 440–447.
- Cohen, A. (1997). *Alexander Mosaic: Stories of Victory and Defeat*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Curzon, G.N. (1892). *Persia and the Persian Question*. Vol. I–II. London: Longmans, New York: Green & Co.
- Diakonoff, I.M. (1985). Media. In: I. Gershevitch (ed.), *Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 36–148.
- Doerfer, G. & Hesche, W. (1993). *Chorasantürkisch: Wörterlist, Kurzgrammatiken, Indices*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Doerfer, G. & Hesche, W. (1998). *Türkische Foklore-Texte aus Chorasán*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Ferdinand, K. (1959). Preliminary Notes on Hazāra Culture: The Danish Scientific Mission to Afghanistan 1953–55. *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, 37(5), 4–51.
- Ferdinand, K. (1964). Ethnographical Notes on Chahār Aimāq, Hazāra and Moghol. *Acta Orientalia*, 28(1–2), 175–203.
- Goetel, F. (1924). *Przez płonący Wschód: Wrażenia z podróży z ilustracjami*. Warszawa: Biblioteka Polska.
- Halliday, F. (1993). ‘Orientalism’ and Its Critics. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 20(2), 145–163.
- Ivanov, W. (1926). Notes on the Ethnology of Khurasan. *The Geographical Journal*, 67(2), 143–158.
- Javādī, H. (2009). KÖROĞLU i. Literary Tradition. In: *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition*. Retrieved from: www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kroglu-i-literary-tradition (access: 04.06.2025).
- Kappert, P. (1979). Der edle Räuber in der engagierten türkischen Literatur: Köroğlu, historischer Rebell und literarischer Held. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 71, 177–194.
- Kennedy, R.J. (1890). *A Journey in Khorasan and Central Asia: March and April 1890*. London: Hatchards.
- Kłagisz, M. (2020). Aleksander Borejko Chodźko (1804–1891). In: K. Ceklarz & J. Święch (eds.), *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy: Sylwetki, szkice biograficzne*. Vol. VI. Kraków–Wrocław Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 21–24.
- Korsak, W. (1923). *Ku indyjskiej rubieży*. Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha.
- Kowalski, T. (1917). *Piosenki ludowe anatolijskie o rozbójniku Czakydżym*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński.
- Krasnowolska, A. (2003). Aleksander Chodźko (1804–1891) and his “Oriental” Poems. *Folia Orientalia*, 29, 71–81.
- Krasnowolska, A. (2013). Aleksander Chodźko’s Report on the Kurds of North and East Iran. *Fritillaria Kurdica. Bulletin of Kurdish Studies*, 1, 46–54.
- Kúnos, I. (1889). *Oszmán-török népköltési gyűjtemény*. Vol. II. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.
- Lambton, A.K.S. (1988). *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th–14th Century*. New York: Bibliotheca Persica.

- Linchevsky, I.A., Prozorovsky A.V., & Airy Show H.K. (1949). The Basic Principle of the Distribution of the Vegetation of Afghanistan. *Kew Bulletin*, 4(2), 179–214.
- [Lipko=] Azatian, A.A. et al. (1979). *Historia poznania radzieckiej Azji*, trans. S. Lipko. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Littmann, E. (1915). *Tschakydsky: Ein türkischer Räuberhauptmann der Gegenwart*. Berlin: Karl Curtius.
- Mikulski, T. (1951). Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII w., Jan Reychman, Wrocław 1950 (druk 1951), Prace Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, Seria A, nr 35, s. 162. *Pamiętnik Literacki: Czasopismo kwartalne poświęcone historii i krytyce literatury polskiej*, 42(3–4), 1127–1131.
- Minorsky, V. (1946). Vis u Ramīn, a Parthian Romance (Continued). *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 11(4), 741–763.
- Minorsky, V. (1947). Vis u Ramīn: A Parthian Romance (Conclusion). *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 12(1), 20–35.
- Minorsky, V. (1954). Vis-u-Ramīn (III). *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 16(1), 91–92.
- Minorsky, V. (1962). Vis-u Ramīn (IV). *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 25(1–3), 275–286.
- Morier, J.J. (1824). *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. Vol. I. London: John Murray.
- Mousavi S.A. (1998). *The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic and Political Study*. Richmond Surrey: Curzon.
- Noelle-Karimi, Ch. (2014). *The Pearl in its Midst: Herat and the Mapping of Khusasan (15th–19th Centuries)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Orywał, E. (1988). Ethnicity – Conceptual and Methodological Considerations. In: J.-P. Digard (ed.), *Le fait ethnique en Iran et en Afghanistan*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 35–40.
- de Planhol, X. (1973). Sur la frontière turkmène de l'Afghanistan. *Revue Géographique de l'Est*, 13(1–2), 1–16.
- Platonow, A. (1969). *Dżan i inne opowiadania*, trans. I. Piotrowska. Warszawa: Czytelnik.
- Płoszewski, L. (1937). Chodźko Aleksander. In: J. Bożek & F. Chwalczewski (eds.), *Polski słownik biograficzny*. Vol. 3. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności – Skład Główny w Księgarniach Gebethnera i Wolffa, 380–381.
- Radloff, W. & Kúnos, I. (1899). *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*. Vol. VIII: *Mundarten der Osmanen*. St. Petersburg: Académie Impériale des Sciences.
- Reychman, J. (1972). *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
- Rypka, J. (ed.). (1968). *History of Iranian Literature*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

- Rypka, J. (ed.). (1970). *Historia literatury perskiej i tadżyckiej*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Rzehak, L. (1991). *Arbeit, Eigentum und Sozialstruktur in autarken Gemeinwesen belutschischer Wanderviehhalter und Ackerbauern: Mit einer Studie über den jüngsten Wandel bei den Belutschen der Murgab-Oase* [unpublished PhD dissertation]. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität.
- Schatskaya, O. (1928). Die krimtatarische Version des Tschakydschy-Liedes. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 35, 290–295.
- Siemieniec-Gołaś, E. (2017). Koncepcja nauczania języków orientalnych w czasach stanisławowskich. *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, 3(263)–4(264), 443–450.
- Siemieniec-Gołaś, E. (2020). Orientalista – Aleksander Chodźko i jego wkład w popularyzację języka tureckiego. *Perspektywy Kultury*, 31(4), 29–42.
- Siemieniec-Gołaś, E. (2021). Władysław Jabłonowski – polski lekarz w osmańskiej służbie: Znaczenie i badacz Wschodu. *Perspektywy Kultury*, 35(4), 117–134.
- Siemieniec-Gołaś, E. (2024). *Turkish Vocabulary in Aleksander Chodźko's Vocabulaire français-turc (1854)*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
- Starnawski, J. (1979). *W kręgu zainteresowań literaturą polską we Francji w XIX wieku*. Łódź: Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe.
- Stewart, Ch.E. (1881). The Country of the Tekke Turkomans, and the Tejend and Murghab Rivers. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, 3(9), 513–546.
- Trousdale, W.B. (2021). *Kandabar in the Nineteenth Century*. Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- Walc, I. (2023). Ofiary brata Chodźki: Udział Aleksandra Chodźki w Kole Sprawy Bożej. In: E. Hoffmann-Piotrowska & K. Samsel (eds.), *Towianizm: Fenomen i dziedzictwo*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 174–202.
- Wójcik, Z. (1997). *Karol Bohdanowicz: Szkic portretu badacza Azji*. Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze – Wrocław: Państwowy Instytut Geologiczny.
- Persian:
Ferdousi, A. (1394[2015/2016]). *Shahname*. Vol. I. Tehran: Entesharat-e Sokhan.
- Russian:
Annaorazov, D.S. (2020). “Dzhigity svoei kroviu zasluzhili pravo na bratskoe tovarishchestvo...” *Turkmenskie irregularnye konnye podrazdeleniia v Tash-Keprinskom srazhenii. Voennno-istoricheskii zhurnal*, 6, 62–66.
- Aristova, T.F. & Vasil’eva, G.P. (1964). Ob etnicheskikh protsessakh na territorii iuzhnoi Turkmenii (O sblizhenii kurdov s turkmenami). *Sovetskaiia etnografiia*, 5, 17–30.
- Azat’ian, A.A. et al. (1969). *Istoriia otkrytiia i issledovaniia sovetskoi Azii*. Moskva: Mysl’.
- Baev, M.G. (1888). *Otchet chinovnika Ministerstva finansov, General’nogo shtaba general-maiora Baeva po komandirovke dlia issledovaniia nashei granitsy s Persiei i Avganistanom v predelakh Zakaspiskoi oblasti*. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiia V.F. Kirshvauma.

- Bartol'd, V.V. (1903). *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana*. Sankt-Peterburg: Fakul'tet vostochnykh iazykov Imperatorskogo Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta.
- Bartol'd, V.V. (1963a). *Sochineniia*, vol. I: *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*. Moskva: Vostochnaia literatura.
- Bartol'd, V.V. (1963b). *Sochineniia*, vol. II(a): *Obshchie raboty po istorii Srednei Azii: Raboty po istorii Kavkaza i Evropy*. Moskva: Vostochnaia literatura.
- Bartol'd, V.V. (1964). *Sochineniia*, vol. II(2): *Raboty po otdel'nym problemam istorii Srednei Azii*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Nauka.
- Ekspeditsiia protiv turkmen Akhal-Teke. (1880–1881). *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia* 03.05.1880 23(19), 377; 16.08.1880 24(8), 132–133, 136–137; 08.11.1880 24(20), 354–355, 356–357, 360; 17.01.1881 25(3) 43–46; 24.01.1881 25(4) 64, 66; 25.04.1881 25(18), 348–349, 351–355, 356, 357; 06.06.1881 25(24), 473–474, 476.
- Gafferberg, E.G. (1960). Poezdka k beludzham Turkmenii v 1958 g. *Sovetskaia etnografia*, 1, 112–125.
- Gritskevich, V.P. (1987). Aleksandr Khodz'ko (1804-1891) i i ego vklad v razvitie iranistiki i tiurkologii. *Strany i narody Vostoka*, 25, 41–52.
- Platonov, P.A. (2004). *Dzhan: Fantasticheskaiia povest'*. Moskva–Augsburg: Im Werden Verlag.
- Spolatbog, N.N. (1884). *Pokorenie Akhal-Teke (iz zapisok polkovnika Spolatboga)*. [Tiflis: no publisher].
- Vasil'eva, G.P. (1979). Kto takie “soi”? (K voprosu ob etnogeneze turkmen). *Sovetskaia etnografia*, 6, 100–109.
- Vasil'eva, G.P. (1985). Etnicheskie protsessy u zapadnykh turkmen v epokhu pozdnego feodalizma (XVI–XVIII vv.). *Sovetskaia etnografia*, 5, 83–91.

Tajik:

Ayni, S. (1960). *Kulliyot*, vol. III. Stalinobod: Nashriioti Davlatii Tojikiston.

On-line:

bj.uj.edu.pl/nauka-i-kultura/projekty/orientalia-polonica (access: 06.02.2024).

Acknowledgments

I offer my gratitude to Anna Krasnowolska, who provided her guidance on Chodźko's article on Bunyad Hezare, to Elżbieta Wiącek for Siemienic-Gołas's article on Chodźko's dictionary, and to Grażyna Jurendt-Paruk, Lutz Rzehak and both reviewers for their insightful comments and suggestions, which significantly improved an early version of this article. I thank them all, noting that they bear no responsibility for any statements in this article.

Addendum

Only after submitting the article I finally received a small but exceptionally interesting 1994 monograph by Lutz Rzehak and Walerija A. Pristschepowa *Nomadenalltag: Vor den Toren von Merw: Belutschen, Dschamschedi, Hazara* devoted to the nomads of the Mary region, in which the authors discuss, among other things, the complex picture of ethnic self-identification, including that of the Hazaras (page 19).

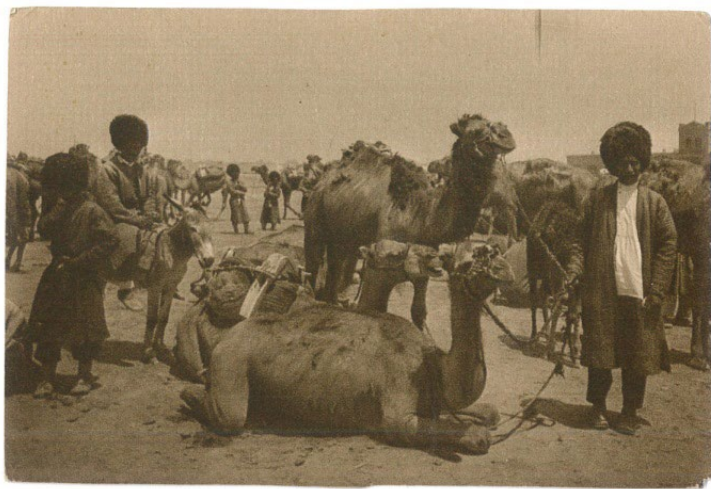
Appendix I:



An illustration depicting Turkmens taking captive some inhabitants of a village on the Hari River in northwestern Afghanistan, as featured in Ayni's novel *Ghulomon* (*Slaves*) (Ayni, 1960, between pages 32 and 33).

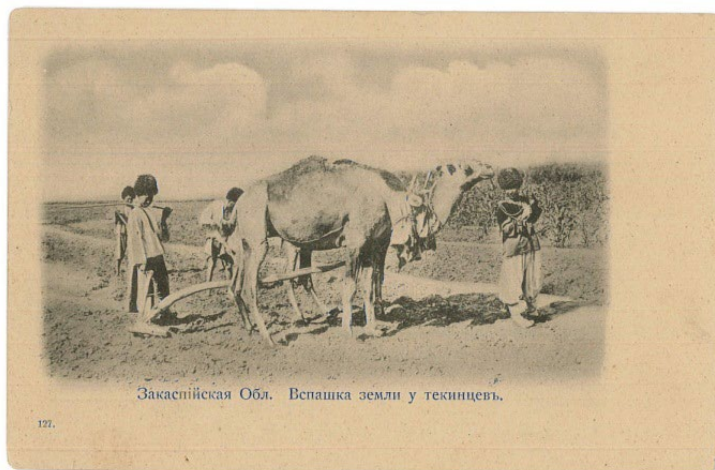
Appendix II: Postcards

No. 1: Camel caravan at rest: Merv (late 1920s)



Source: Antonina Pisarchik Central Asian Archive, Department of Iranian Studies, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland (APCAA).

No. 2: Transcaspiian Region: Ploughing the land by the Teke Turkmens (before 1919)



Source: APCAA.

No. 3: Views of Turkestan: The Romanov irrigation canal, opened on October 5, 1913, near the station Khilkovo in the Mirzachul (1913)



Source: APCAA.

Mirzachul (Russian: *Golodnaia step'*. “hungry steppe”) – a plain on the left bank of the Syr Darya, constituting a southeast extension of the Kyzyl Kum Desert. Since the end of the 19th century, it has gradually transformed into an irrigated agricultural area and is now one of the major cotton and grain-producing regions of present-day Uzbekistan.

No. 4: The Transcaspian Region: Types and Views (before 1917)



Source: APCAA.

Mateusz M.P. Kłagisz – Afghanologist and Iranist affiliated with the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Jagiellonian University, where he heads the Department of Interdisciplinary Eurasian Research (DIER). His research focuses on broadly understood folk culture, with particular emphasis on the cultural traditions of Afghanistan and Iran. In recent years, he has published his own translations of Persian and Pashto literature. Within the DIER, he also curates the Afghanological Archive of Professor Jadwiga Pstrusińska as well as Antonina Pisarczyk Central Asian Archive. Currently, he is working on a collection of photographs taken by Dr. Marek Gawęcki from Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań during the first Polish ethnographic expedition to Afghanistan in 1976 – *Etnologiczna Wyprowa Azjatycka* (EWA-76). These photographs were donated to the Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanica, which has been part of the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel since a deed of donation in 2023.