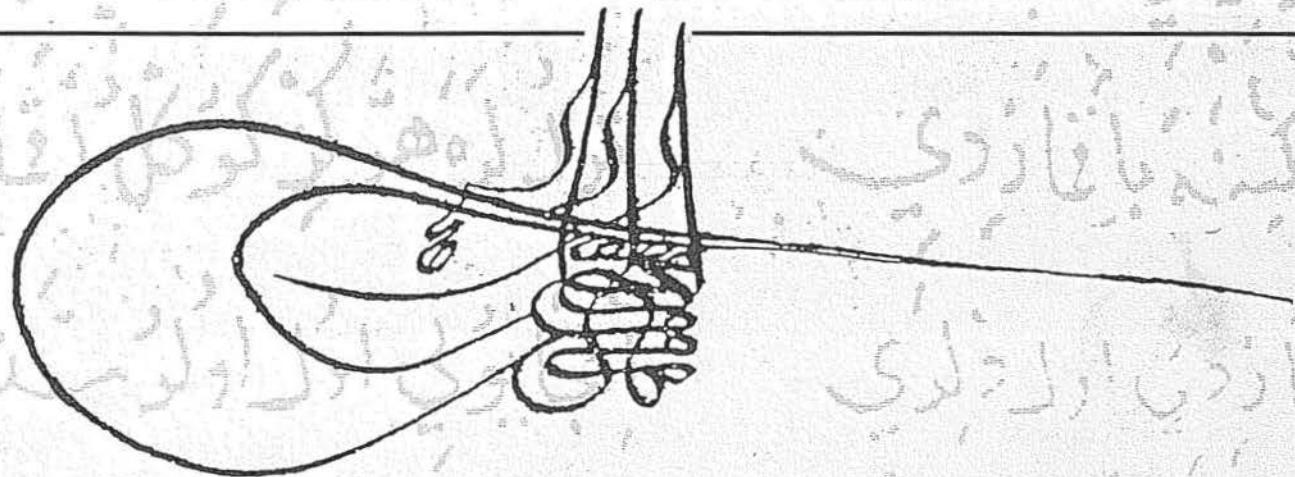


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## YASAVĪ IDEOLOGY IN MUHAMMAD SHĀYBĀNĪ KHĀN'S VISION OF AN UZBEK ISLAMIC EMPIRE

András J. E. Bodrogligli

When Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān occupied Transoxiana, Khorazm, and Khorasan and decided to establish his empire in those regions, he was guided by historical lessons drawn from events he had personally witnessed. One was the Uzbeks' reluctance to change from nomadism to sedentary or semi-sedentary life in spite of the social and economic pressures they were experiencing. The second was the disintegration of the tribal confederation built up by his grandfather, Abū'l-Khayr Khān, in his effort to bring his people closer to settled communities in Transoxiana and along the eastern bank of the Syr Darya river. The third was the fragmentation of the Timurid Empire due to lack of unity, efficient government, and military resolve. He realized that he confronted a crisis situation brought about by the breakdown of such traditional values as effective leadership motivated and governed by lofty goals, imperial wisdom, and an enterprising spirit on the part of the ruler, and unconditional loyalty combined with dedication, bravery, and personal sacrifice on the part of the subjects. There was no cohesive force to keep the tribes together in a solid, monolithic community. Except for financial gain, there was no motivation to urge the subjects to serve their king or to fight in his armies. Dynastic bloodlines had become intertwined and often lost their relevance in commanding unconditional tribal loyalty. The törä and yasa had lost their former significance mainly because there was no central power strong enough to enforce them. Even where they were observed, they could not prevent the transfer of loyalties from one leader to another. This resulted in a chaotic situation in social and economic life - both in production and in taxation - which led to shrinking revenues and growing dissatisfaction among the population. When the ruler was not able to maintain safety and security in the land under his rule, his empire fell victim to neighboring powers who were often welcomed by the disgruntled subjects.

Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān felt an urgent need to redefine the elementary conditions of good government, military strength, and balanced socio-economic life. The traditional Central Asian ideal of a ruler who rules with equity (*‘adl*) and justice (*dād*) and displays generosity (*cūd*) and magnanimity (*himmat*) applied to the memory of long departed kings.<sup>1</sup> For Shaybānī Khān's situation, burdened with the complexities of a changing world, these imperial qualities were of little relevance.<sup>2</sup> They still could impress some among the urban population.<sup>3</sup> In the eyes of the nomads, however, these qualities were signs of decadence, attesting to the ruler's waning strength and determination.

Chingis Khān's simple formula of good government, which required that the ruler care about his subjects as much as he cared about his own family, still applied as an abstraction and was honored as a basic principle.<sup>4</sup> Its content, however, had to be reinterpreted and its scope expanded in the light of a new ideology coming from a prestigious sedentary culture. Shaybānī Khān knew full well that an absolute monarchy under the prevailing circumstances could not be built on personal cult alone even if it was supported

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Allworth's chapter on "Symbols and Values of Sovereignty" in *The Modern Uzbeks* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1990), pp. 17-29.

<sup>2</sup>The embodiment of these virtues for the Central Asians was Anushirvan, the Just, i.e., the Sassanid Khusraw I (531-578). It was believed that he enjoyed his people's support on account of these virtues. In the eyes of the Mongolian Prince, however, support that had to be earned by the emperor through moral qualities of this nature meant containment or limitation, conditions incompatible with the Chingisite concept of imperial power. As he explained in his famous ghazal dedicated to this issue (*Dīvān* 99r:12-99v:8), everybody is contained by an ideal ruler, but an ideal ruler is not contained by anyone.

<sup>3</sup>Didactic works, such as the Karakhanid *‘Atabatū'l-haqā'iq* by Adīb Aḥmad bin Maḥmūd Yūknāgī, the Persian *Gulistān* by Sa‘dī, the Mamluk-Kipchak *Gulistān bi-t-turkī* by Sayf of Saray, the Chagatay (Classical Uzbek) *Maḥbūbu'l-qulūb* by Mīr Alishīr Navāzī of Herat, contributed immensely to the popularity of these royal virtues. The audience they could reach, however, was the educated layer of the sedentary society (*gulšan-i bāğ*, as Sayf-i Sarāyī calls it).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Allworth, *The Modern Uzbeks*, p. 23.

by a strong military. He was concerned about the loyalty of his subjects, which, in his view, was an important constituent of imperial might. He thought that the loyalty of his subjects should not come from fear of punishment or from desire for material gain.<sup>5</sup> It should come from the heart of the people unified and motivated by common goals and aspirations and expecting their recompense not in this world but in the hereafter. Religion and its unbreakable universal laws were what his empire needed to create an ideal government that was to replace the Timurids on the throne of Central Asia. This religion was Islam in its popular version, which had been introduced among the nomad Turks by Ahmad Yasavī and assiduously propagated by his followers.<sup>6</sup>

Shaybānī Khān had had a thorough training in Islam already in his early youth. He was a devout Muslim with profound literary erudition and leading a disciplined, exemplary life. It was with this intellectual, religious, and moral background that he chose to replace the Mongolian ways with the *sharī'a* of Islam, establish an Islamic empire, and spearhead the fight for the Faith in the Path of Allah. He states this explicitly in one of the *ghazals* in his *Dīvān*:<sup>7</sup>

Şabānī Čingīzidān şarīngi satun alğan:  
Yolungda cānīn bergān Islām qiliči mān mān.<sup>8</sup>

Shaybānī from the line of Chingis has accepted Your Law.  
I am [now] the sword of Islam ready to sacrifice my life in Your Path.

He obtained his status as leader not through self-appointment but, as he tells us, by the grace of God:

Şabān yalğan demäs kim Haqq anı şāhib-qirān qıldī.  
Hasabda Tengrigā qul mān, nasabda Čingīzī dur mān.<sup>9</sup>

When Shabān says that God has made him the Lord of the Happy Conjunction, he is not telling a lie.

By personal attainment I am the servant of God.<sup>10</sup> By birth I am from the house of Chingis.

The supreme imperial rank and status, signified by the phrase, *sāhib-qirān*, had been transferred from Tīmūr, the former holder of that title, to Shaybānī Khān.<sup>11</sup> The new ruler of Central Asia considered himself the legitimate heir to the Timurid throne.<sup>12</sup>

While he emphasizes over and over again that victory was his share through God's grace, he is conscious of his personal achievements which place him on the same pedestal with his imperial ideal, Alexander the Great:<sup>13</sup>

Ulusnī başlap alur mulk va taht İskandar,  
Ki himmat ilä tegär tāc va sarvarī mīrās.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>5</sup>A point he raises in the *Risāla-i Ma'ārif* when he discusses his subjects' motives in joining the retinue of the ruler (MS. 41v:6-9).

<sup>6</sup>A celebrated Central Asian saint (1080-1166), author of the collection of sermons, admonitions, and aphorisms called the *Dīvān-i Hikmat*.

<sup>7</sup>MS Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmad III, 2436. Cited throughout as *Dīvan*.

<sup>8</sup>*Dīvan* 118v:11-12.

<sup>9</sup>*Dīvan* 136v:13-137r:1.

<sup>10</sup>Shaybānī Khān refers to the qualities he has obtained by emulating the Prophet and the rank he has reached in the enforcement of the *Sharī'a* (*islām*).

<sup>11</sup>The title *hażrat-i şāhib-qirān* "His Majesty, the Lord of the Happy Conjunction," applied to Amīr Tīmūr, was used by his biographer, Sharafu'd-dīn Yazdī in the *Zafarnāma*. No known source ever referred to Shaybānī Khān by this title, not even his biographer, Muhammad Sālih.

<sup>12</sup>His concept of being the "legitimate heir" arose from his claim to Mongolian heritage. His succession to Tīmūr's throne was legitimate in the sense of the restoration of Chingisite rule in the lands of the former Mongolian empire. We may also note here that "restoration" of Mongol might was among the issues he addresses himself to in his *Dīvan* (cf., for example, 27v:10).

<sup>13</sup>Shaybānī Khān refers to Alexander the Great (Iskandar) quite often in his *Dīvan*.

<sup>14</sup>*Dīvan* 27r:1-2.

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Marching at the head of his people, Alexander takes empires and thrones.<sup>15</sup>  
[No wonder, since] it is through good efforts that crown and leadership become your inheritance.

It was through his imperial efforts that he rekindled the dying embers of the Chingisite line and blew out the candle of Timur’s lineage, as he announces in these famous lines:

Agar davlat čirāgini yarutsam hēč tang etmäs,  
Ki öcgän Čingiz şamı, biling, beglär,<sup>16</sup> yanar mendin.  
Män ol şubh-i sačādat män ki Čingiz kökidin toğdum,  
Qačan kim täbräsäm yel teg, Tīmür şamı öčär mendin.<sup>17</sup>

If I relight the lantern of the empire no one should ever be amazed.  
Since, as you lords know full well, through me the dying candle of the House of Chingis has flared up again.

I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis.  
When I breathe in like the [morning] wind, the candle of Timur goes out as I pass.<sup>18</sup>

Shaybānī’s acceptance of the *shari‘a* and his subscription to the basic values of Islam do not constitute a routine conversion story. The Chingisite emperor with avowed pride in his lineage assumes leadership in fighting heretics and pagans. With unswerving reliance on the invincibility of the forces of Islam (*İslam laškarı*)<sup>19</sup> and his firm belief in victory granted him by God from time immemorial (*azaldin*), he set himself the utmost goal: to demand obedience from all Muslims, i.e., to rule over the entire world of Islam.<sup>20</sup> The following poems disclose the essential aspects of his program.

The first was written after the occupation of Transoxiana and before the campaign against Khorasan in about 1506.<sup>21</sup>

Ol ki miskīnlärgä dunyā davlatün<sup>22</sup> qıldi naşib,  
Āhiratnïng davlatün ham bersä hēč ermäs ġarib.  
Bidat ahlini savurdum Māvarā’unnahr ara  
Ušbu dur išim Ḥurāsān mulkiða ham ‘anqarib.  
Laškar-i Islāmnü čeksäm [ol] qızıl börk üstünä,

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Allworth, *The Modern Uzbeks*, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup>Shaybānī Khān is addressing the officers of his guard.

<sup>17</sup>Dīvan 120r:1-4.

<sup>18</sup>One cannot help observing the majestic tone and elegant manner of this description of the transition of power from the hands of the Timurids to Shaybānī Khān.

<sup>19</sup>In the phrase *Islam laškarı* the first word occurs in its technical meaning: “keeping and enforcing the tenets of *Shari‘a*” (see n. 8 above). Thus the “forces of Islam” were military units engaged in enforcing the laws of Islam.

<sup>20</sup>That is more than the take-over of Tīmür’s kingdom. Shaybānī Khān’s aspiration for world rule is consistent with his efforts to restore the empire of Chingis Khān. He wants to achieve that through forcing the *Shari‘a* upon the people inhabiting those lands, as he explains in the following distich (Dīvan 27v:10-11):

Sen äränlärdän qalip sen eski yurtlar tüzmägä,  
Tüz şari‘at cavharidin durr-i mačnī durc-durc.

You stayed from among the valiant men to restore the old homes.

Build them up from the gems of the *Shari‘a* and make each of them a jewel box of hidden meanings.

<sup>21</sup>This ghazal is included, without a translation, in Eckmann’s *Chagatay Manual* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1966), p. 268.

<sup>22</sup>Ar. *davlat* is the Islamic equivalent of *qut* “good fortune,” one of the traditional Turkic imperial values.

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Bolgusı yāvar Madīna kišvaridin şol Ḥabīb.  
Men qılıčnı şar<sup>c</sup> üçün čaptüm, Ḥudāy āgāh dur,  
Lék bilmäslär munı qāzı bilä šayh u ḥaṭib.<sup>23</sup>  
Ay Șabānī, ńısq dardı dur sening könglüng ara,  
Bil, ki yoq bu dardgä maşūqdin özgä tabıb.<sup>24</sup>

He who granted the destitute<sup>25</sup> [like the Prophet Muḥammad and myself] the wealth of this world,  
Will also grant - and it should not seem strange at all - the wealth of the Hereafter.  
I have dispersed the forces of heresy in Transoxiana  
And soon the same will be my chore in the land of Khorasan.  
When I bring the forces of Islam down upon the red caps,  
The Friend from the city of Madīna will be my helper.  
I have drawn my sword in the defense of the sharīṭa, the Lord knows it.  
Only the judge, the sheikh, and the Preacher do not realize it.  
O, Shaybānī, the ailment of love is in your heart.  
Know that, except for the Beloved, there is no doctor to cure that ailment.

His objectives are clear and his determination undisputable. He has, however, trouble in getting accepted by the official clergy.<sup>26</sup> The judge, the shaikh, and the preacher, the three notables of the organized church with potential to influence the crowd, doubt the genuineness of his military, imperialistic aspirations.<sup>27</sup> In the second *ghazal*, composed after the occupation of Astarabad in 1507,<sup>28</sup> his ideological goals and imperialistic endeavors are explained in greater detail:

Uşbu yaz faşlıda "azm-i Astarābād äylädük.  
"Adl va dād ilä bu elni asru ābād äylädük.  
Bu Tīmūr oğlanları taǵyır<sup>29</sup> qıldī mazhabıń:  
Kim "Qızıl börk dīnigä kir!" desä, barbād äylädük.  
Asru bēinsāflardıń<sup>30</sup> qayǵuluq erdi bu el.

<sup>23</sup>Ar. ḥaṭib 'preacher' reads the sermon (*ḥuṭba*), part of the ritual of the Friday communal prayer, and dedicates it to the ruling emperor of the land. This ritual is also a sign that the emperor mentioned in the prayer is accepted by the community. Elsewhere vāṭīz is used in similar contexts, i.e., the preacher of good morals and ways. His role from the point of view of the emperor's standing was not so important.

<sup>24</sup>Dīvan 15r:6-15v:2.

<sup>25</sup>Shaybānī Khān uses the attribute *miskīn* 'destitute' in reference to both the Prophet and himself. He avoids the term *faqīr* 'poor' (by choice) in order not to commit ostentation. It is also for this reason that he does not include the Prophetic tradition "Poverty is my pride" into his practice of emulating the Prophet Muḥammad.

<sup>26</sup>The official clergy was conservative and well established in the economical, social, and political structure of the country. They had no reason to contemplate changes in their situation. The Mongolian prince, on the other hand, came with an authority that was to overshadow the rank and status of the members of the clergy.

<sup>27</sup>Shaybānī Khān claimed that his military exploits were acts of war in the Path of God, i.e., justified operations in the interest of the Faith, not armed adventures.

<sup>28</sup>Allworth, in *The Modern Uzbeks*, discusses this poem. Cf. pp. 57-58.

<sup>29</sup>A. T. taǵyır qıl- "to change" (transitive). This is not about "innovation" (*bid'a*). The Timurids are charged with transferring their support from one school (*sunnī*) to another (*shi'a*).

<sup>30</sup>According to the standards Shaybānī Khān set himself in his principles of good government, Timurid rule was tyrannical and oppressive in many ways. The Timurids were not able to stick together as a family and contradicted the Shaybanid concept of dynastic rule already at that point. Shaybānī Khān projects himself as liberator of the oppressed people in the lands occupied by the descendants of Tīmūr.

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Marḥamat birlä bu elning könglini šād äylädük.  
 Haqq tačalānīng yolinda ol qadar kim berdi dast,  
 Čapibān İslām tēgin elni iršād äylädük.  
 Čōn şarīfat yolidä qoyduq qadam iħlās ilä,  
 Barča ʻalammī şarīfat birlä munqād äylädük.  
 Gunbaz-i Qābūs ilä yaylap ušol Gurgān suyin.  
 Kim qızıl börk cihatidin ʻazm-i Bağdād äylädük.  
 Bu Šabānī bu ḥavāzif beglärini qavlaban,<sup>31</sup>  
 Zulm va cavrin kötäribän elni köp dād äylädük.<sup>32</sup>

This very summer We set out for [the town of] Astarābād.  
 With equity and justice we made the people [of this town] prosper in many ways.<sup>33</sup>  
 The sons of Timur altered the path for the people [of this town].  
 We dispersed in the wind those who [ever] said: “[Come and] follow the path of the people with  
 the red hat.”  
 The people [of this town] were anguished on account of the endless injustice [they suffered].  
 With compassionate treatment we lifted up the hearts of the people [of this town].  
 In the path of God, the Most High, to the extent our means permitted,  
 We disciplined these people, brandishing the sword of Islam.  
 Since We had embarked on the path of the sharīfa,  
 It was by the sharīfa that we rendered submissive the entire world.<sup>34</sup>  
 In [Our] royal dome we will rest this summer by the waters of Gurgan,  
 For, to see about the people with the red hat, we have decided to move against Bagdad [next  
 winter].  
 We, Shabānī, routed the chiefs of these tribes.  
 We have restored justice to the people [of this town] by rooting out injustice and oppression.

Here Shaybānī Khān speaks with greater self-confidence of his mandate to protect the purity of the Faith and enforce the Laws of Islam. A new element appears in the poem: he projects an image of himself as a liberator who drives away the oppressors and restores freedom and justice to the subjects. The third ghazal, also composed before the planned attack on Iraq, conveys a clear message to Arabs and Persians alike:

ʻAzm-i ḥavāzif-i Kačbaqa qıldüm niyyat, ahl-i ʻIrāq!  
 Gar Kačba dur andin nari, yoq tur valēkin köp iraq.  
 Qoymang şarīfat yolinii ahl-i ʻArab birlä ʻAcam,  
 Har kim tilāyür<sup>35</sup> davlatin, pandim eštsä yahširaq.  
 Ol şāhrāh-i şarīfat-i dīn yolinda dur cāniüm fidā,  
 Har kim bu yolga kirmäsä, ol elni qılğum țumturāq!<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Eastern Turkic *qavla-* “to pursue, chase, persecute.” In the Calcutta Glossary, it is translated as *tačaqub kardan*. Cf. Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1866), p. 867.

<sup>32</sup>*Divan* 82r:2-82v:2.

<sup>33</sup>In Shaybānī Khān’s view, social equality and justice lead to the prosperity of the population due to equitable taxation and equal enterprising opportunities.

<sup>34</sup>The Turkish definite past tense *munqad äylädük* occurs here to express the perfective aspect of the action, as in Modern Uzbek, to convey the meaning that something will definitely take place. (See A. J. E. Bodrogligli, *Modern Literary Uzbek. A Manual for Elementary and Advanced Intensive Courses* [Los Angeles, 1991; in manuscript], Unit 23).

<sup>35</sup>Archaic aorist form. See Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>36</sup>This distich expresses the two aspects of the technical term *islām*, i.e., keeping the Sharīfa and enforcing it among the subjects.

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Davlat tilär siz barčangız davlat ešikkä kelingiz,  
Andin burunraq kim degäy davlat sizä, "Hāzā firāq!"  
Men kim ülül-amr-i Haqqim väcib turur tā'at manga.  
Har ki boyun sunmağay ol Tangriđin bolur yiraq.  
Hān-i Qur'ān tahtü üçün, bil, ištiyāqim köp turur,  
Ol tahtning išqi üçün bir lahza tindurman<sup>37</sup> yaraq.  
Cāhil elni, ay Šhabān, ālamda andaq äylägil,  
Kim har nečä el istäsä hēč tapmasun andin soraq.<sup>38</sup>

People of Iraq, I have stated my intention<sup>39</sup> to set out to circumambulate the Ka'ba.  
Although the Ka'ba is beyond that [land of yours], it is not too far [for me to get there].

Do not abandon the Path of the Law, people of Arabia and Iraq.  
All those who wish good fortune for themselves should better listen to my advice.<sup>40</sup>

I have dedicated my life to [pressing forward on] the Highway of the Law of the Religion.  
I will bring disaster upon people who do not set out on this road.

If you want good fortune, come to the threshold of [the house of] good fortune.  
Do this before the same good fortune says to you, "The time is here for separation."<sup>41</sup>

To Me, the highest officer of God, obedience is due.

He who does not bend in obedience will be far from God.<sup>42</sup>

I have an ardent desire for the throne of the Khān of the Qur'ān.

Because of [my] love for that throne, I do not rest my weapons, not even for a moment.

O Shabān, do away with the ignorant nations<sup>43</sup> of the world

So that people will find no trace of them no matter how eagerly they search.<sup>44</sup>

Shaybānī Khān's aspirations which, after a series of victories, were to set him upon the throne were not the fruit of mere fantasies. They were integral elements of the Uzbek Khān's imperial plan, the moving force of his holy crusade, inspired, fueled, and legitimized by a deep-seated<sup>45</sup> religious ideology. The Chingisite determination to conquer and rule, the perception of lofty objectives in the Path of God, the firm belief in the invincibility of the forces of Islam fighting for a just cause<sup>46</sup> and the near magic power of the shari'a, and the unshakable conviction in his God-given mandate were the main factors of Shaybānī Khān's aspirations and also the secret of his brilliant initial success.

In shaping his views and ideas about an Uzbek Muslim empire Shaybānī Khān drew intensely on the teachings of Aḥmad Yasavī,<sup>47</sup> handed down and diligently propagated by outstanding representatives of

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<sup>37</sup>Azeri form, used in the language of Classical Uzbek poetry. Cf. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 136.

<sup>38</sup>Dīvan 80v:4-81r:5.

<sup>39</sup>For the Muslims, an act is ritually valid if the agent states in advance his intention to carry out that particular act.

<sup>40</sup>Persian *pand* means also "admonition, warning."

<sup>41</sup>There is an appropriate time (*kairos*) for everything, the nomads believed. If we do not act in the appropriate time, we may lose the opportunity forever.

<sup>42</sup>The image is taken from the movement of the caravan: he who does not keep pace with the caravan and is falling behind, or the one who after a stop-over does not get up on the sound of the drum signaling the departure (*küs-i rahīl*) and stays behind will be lost.

<sup>43</sup>In Shaybānī Khān's vocabulary "ignorance" means lack of knowledge about the Shari'a.

<sup>44</sup>I.e., there should be no trace (*asar*) of their names and no mention (*ḥabar*) of their works.

<sup>45</sup>And to some extent eclectic.

<sup>46</sup>Victory for the forces of Islam is guaranteed only if the soldiers fight in the Path of God (*fī sabīl'l-lāhi*).

<sup>47</sup>See n. 6.

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what is now called the Yasavī school. He expressed his admiration for the Central Asian saint in the following distich:

Avliyālar sarvari ol Šāh-i Turkistān emiš.  
Yār yüzini nūrī tutqan Māh-i Turkistān emiš.<sup>48</sup>

The Preeminent one among the Saints was the King of Turkistan.

The one whose light spread over the surface of the earth was the Moon of Turkistan.

His teacher, Hāfiẓ al-Bukhārī,<sup>49</sup> a learned sheikh whom he often mentions in his *Dīvān*<sup>50</sup> and to whom he dedicated one of his *ghazals*,<sup>51</sup> represented the ideas of the Yasavī school. Under his guidance, Shaybānī Khān was introduced to the essentials of Central Asian Islam. He expresses his respect to the sheikh in the following lines:

Ay Šabānī, pīring ol Hāfiẓ-i Buḥārī dur sening,  
Kim anıng āstānasın Ka‘ba ṭavāfin äyläyin.<sup>52</sup>

O Shabānī, Hāfiẓ of Bukhārā is your sheikh.

I wish to circumambulate the Ka‘ba: the threshold of his [house].

This line and his frequent objections to the figures of the judge, the lawyer, and the preacher elsewhere (see above) are evidence that Shaybānī Khān did not keep in line with the views of the contemporary clergy.<sup>53</sup>

In order to gain a better understanding of the Khan’s perception of his role in contemporary Muslim society, to appreciate his achievements, and to see the reasons behind his actions, we must take a closer look at some of the main points of Ahmād Yasavī’s teachings.<sup>54</sup> Our search for the significance of what he stood for should not be restricted, as is often the case, to an analysis of the tenets of the Yasaviya order. In exploring its cultural and socio-political impact, we must consider the Yasavī phenomenon in a broader historical context. We will, of course, dwell on points that had obvious relevance in shaping Shaybānī Khān’s imperial policy.

The cultural impact of Ahmād Yasavī’s teachings was thorough and long lasting. It brought the nomadic and semisedentary Turks of Central Asia into a cultural sphere of higher, historically more advanced values. Employing a simple, plain language for direct communication with the less educated, Ahmād Yasavī and members of his school established a “low-level” literary idiom based on the common parlance of the Central Asian Turks. This idiom became the language of popular literature and contrasted sharply with the elaborate style and Arabic-Persian lexicon of the “high-level” classical prose and poetry.<sup>55</sup> The first was used to address and educate the broad popular masses; the second, to entertain the learned elect (*gulşan-i bāğ*) of the urban population.<sup>56</sup> Although he was well versed in high-style literature, as

<sup>48</sup>Dīvan 68v:12-13.

<sup>49</sup>Khoja Hāfiẓu’din Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Hāfiẓī al-Bukhārī, a famous sheikh of Central Asia (d. 875 A.H.). Cf. ‘Alī-shīr Navā’ī’s *Nasā’imūl-mahabba min šamā’imūl-futuvva*, ed. K. Eraslan (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1979), pp. 248-249.

<sup>50</sup>E.g., 10v:10, 49r:3, 99v:7, 105v:5-6.

<sup>51</sup>Dīvan 38v:4-39r:4.

<sup>52</sup>Dīvan 125r:3-4.

<sup>53</sup>For more on this see A. J. E. Bodrogligli, “Muhammad Shaybānī Khān’s Apology to the Muslim Clergy,” *Tibor Halasi Kun Memorial Volume* (forthcoming).

<sup>54</sup>Concerning Shaybānī Khān’s appreciation of Ahmād Yasavī, “the Preeminent one among the Saints” as he calls him, and the clergy’s attitude in this matter, *ghazal* 174r:1-174v:2 in Shaybānī Khān’s *Dīvān* is quite relevant.

<sup>55</sup>Allworth’s distinction of “low-style” and “high-style” in Chagatay works shows the same stratification of Classical Central Asian literature. Cf. *Uzbek Literary Politics* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1964).

<sup>56</sup>This term is used by Sayf-i Sarāyī for the learned elite (see n. 3). Cf. his poem “On the Qualities of Poets” in the anthology appended to the *Gulistān bi’-turkī*, his Turkish rendering of Sa‘dī’s *Gulistān*, 186v:4.

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demonstrated by his *Bahru'l-hudâ*,<sup>57</sup> Shaybânî Khân employed the style and language of the Yasavî school both in his *Dîvân* and in his *Risâla-i Ma'ârif*, for he too wanted to communicate with a broad audience: his officers, his soldiers, and his subjects.<sup>58</sup>

Directly connected with the plain style and the communicative-informative language was the social impact of Ahmâd Yasavî's teachings. The "Majesty of Turkistan"<sup>59</sup> wanted to reach out to as many people in the lower layers of society as possible. His intent was to plant the seeds of Islam deep among his people and ensure its natural growth and future survival. The religion he promoted brought about an inter- or super-tribal Muslim community (*umma*), cohesive and monolithic, imbued with loyalty and solidarity to the Faith and to its leaders, qualities Shaybânî Khân could only dream of. This Muslim community was Turkish without tribal divisions, the nucleus of a Turkish national state soon to become the point of reference for Turkish identity. The notion of *hubbu'l-vâtan*<sup>60</sup> was lifted from its traditional frame and applied by Ahmâd Yasavî's followers to the homeland of the Muslim Turks of Central Asia.<sup>61</sup> Shaybânî Khân followed the Yasavite model to the letter. He laid stress on the importance of popular support and on the loyalty and cohesiveness of the Turkic Muslim community. He built his Uzbek Muslim empire on this community and made "love for the homeland" the slogan of rekindled Turkish patriotism.<sup>62</sup>

The moral impact of Yasavî's teachings was evident in the importance he attributed to the *shâfi'a*, both as a set of laws to regulate a Muslim's everyday life, social and private, and as the main constituent of the three stages of Muslim perfection. Yasavî demanded discipline from the individual, a constant concern for one's salvation. The believer had to fight his battle with *nafs*, the Carnal Soul, and was to recollect God constantly to keep his mind clear from Satanic distractions. As in Manichaeism, the success of the individual in his struggle with evil would bring redemption to the entire community. As even his adversaries admitted,<sup>63</sup> Shaybânî Khân led a deeply religious, disciplined life. Muhammed Sâlih, his biographer, describes him as a pious, abstinent person, always mindful of his duties:<sup>64</sup>

Özgâ hânlar kebi maclis qurmas,  
‘Ays va ‘îşrat sarîdîn dam urmas.  
Bâda içmâk sarî bolmas mâ'il,

<sup>57</sup>Critical edition, A. J. E. Bodrogligli, "Muhammad Shaybânî Khân's *Bahru'l-hudâ*: An Early Sixteenth Century Didactic Qasida in Chagatay," *UAJb* 54 (1982), 1-56.

<sup>58</sup>His dedication of the work reads as follows: "I composed this treatise in Turkic for the Support of the Sultanate, Muhammed Tîmûr Bahâdur, a son most precious, worthy, fortunate, victorious in battle, [a son] in whose footsteps victory follows, may God grant him long life. And in addition, so that it would be of use to governors, courtiers, young men studying religious practices, and the military forces of Islam - to all men" (2r:3-7).

<sup>59</sup>For a concise description of the Yasaviyya order and its ramification in Central Asia and Anatolia, see J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 58-61.

<sup>60</sup>From the Hadith, *Hubbu'l-vâtan min al-îmân* 'Love of one's homeland is part of the Faith.' Cf. B. Firuzanfar, *Ahâdîs-i Maşnavî* (Teheran: University Publishing Houe, 1334 [A.H.]), p. 97, no. 280; p. 127, no 386; p. 126, no. 382.

<sup>61</sup>In mystical-religious poetry, *vâtan* is the place where the Beloved resides and *hubb* is the attraction the believer feels toward that place. The place, however, is not a geographical location or a three-dimensional entity but an idealized "being somewhere" without "space" and "time." We are warned that before we talk about love for the home we must find out where "home" is, in a spiritual sense. In Central Asia *hubbu'l-vâtan* was directed to places where saints (*avliyâ*) lived, i.e., geographical locations, such as Turkistan, Sîgnak, Qilich, or Otrar (cf. *Dîvân* 174r:1-174v:1).

<sup>62</sup>Shaybânî Khân celebrates his own birthplace, Sabrân, as the object of his love for home (*Dîvân*, 174v:1).

<sup>63</sup>Cf. Bâbur Mîrzâ's remark in his memoirs. A. S. Beveridge, *The Bâbur-nâma* in English (London: Luzac & Co., 1922), p. 329.

<sup>64</sup>Text edition with German translation by H. Vâmbéry, *Die Scheibaniade. Ein özbegisches Heldengedicht in 76 Gesängen von Prinz Mohammed Salih aus Charezm* (Wien, 1885) 468 pp.

## Yasavī Ideology in Muhammad Shāybānī Khān's Vision

Bir zamān išidin olmas gāfil.

Unlike other Khans, he does not arrange parties.<sup>65</sup>

He does not boast of feasting and revelry.<sup>66</sup>

He is not inclined to drinking wine<sup>67</sup>

And does not take his mind off his work, not even for a moment.

In his *Risāla-i Ma‘ārif*<sup>68</sup> Shaybānī Khān treats the Recollection of God as one of the main issues. He recommends the technique of Ḥakīm Ata,<sup>69</sup> one of the followers of Aḥmad Yasavī, to keep one's mind free from the distractions of Satan:<sup>70</sup>

“Allāh, Allāh,” desām, “Allāh,”  
Zarra yazuq qalmas, v’allāh.  
Iblīs aytur, “Demā ‘Allāh,’”  
Mān aytur mān, “Ma‘āza’llāh.”<sup>71</sup>

If I say “Allah, Allah” [and yet once more] “Allah”  
then, by God, not the slightest traces of sin will remain [on me].<sup>72</sup>

[But if] Satan says, “Do not say ‘Allāh’”  
then I will say “I take refuge in God.”<sup>73</sup>

Shaybānī Khān accepted the *sharī‘a* as one of the two pillars of Muslim government and made the categorical enforcement of the demands of the *sharī‘a* the second pillar.<sup>74</sup> In the following lines he describes the principles of his government which are bound to bring success both for the community and for its constituent individuals and which will keep them away from the promptings of Satan:

Ong bilā sol birlikidin iš bitär.  
İçkilär muhkamidin duşman yitär.  
Dahı bilgil uşbu yataq yahşı yahşı,<sup>75</sup>

<sup>65</sup>This could be a reference to the Timurid princes' habit of having drinking parties for which we have evidence both in the *Bāburnāma* (see the selection “A Party at Muzaffar Mirza’s House” published by J. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, pp. 254-255) and Clavijo’s travel notes (cf. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo to the Court of Timur at Samarcand A.D. 1403-6* [New York: Burt Franklin Publisher, 1859], p. 148).

<sup>66</sup>This probably refers to the Timurid court poet, Amīrī’s, description of feasts in the *Dah-nāma*.

<sup>67</sup>He was against the use of wine. In his *Dīvān* he tells us how he ordered a commando to destroy wine jars secretly kept by his soldiers in the army (cf. 50v:7-51r:12).

<sup>68</sup>MS, British Museum, Add. 7914.

<sup>69</sup>Apprentice and fourth vicar (*halīfa*) of Aḥmad Yasavī (VI-VII centuries, A.H.). Cf. K. G. Zaleman, “Legenda pro Khakim-Ata,” *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* IX, no. 2 (1897), pp. 105-149.

<sup>70</sup>Haṭarātu’s šayāṭīn “the vain suggestions of the Devil” (Lane, I, 2, 765b). As Shaybānī Khān explains it, Ḥavāṭir vasvasa-i Şayṭāndīn turur: “Thoughts about other than God arise from the evil suggestions of Satan” (2v:9).

<sup>71</sup>*Dīvan* 3v:6-7.

<sup>72</sup>In classical Uzbek figurative speech the believer’s sins are “washed off” (*yunul-*) as by ablution, or “shaken off” (*tökül-*) like the dead leaves of a tree.

<sup>73</sup>A very subtle poem suggesting that a negative prompting from Satan cannot be the direct cause (*sabab*) of our act of piety. We are not going to pronounce Allah’s name just because Satan told us not to do so.

<sup>74</sup>The first pillar is serving the Lord according to the demands of the *sharī‘a*. See below.

<sup>75</sup>A statement is repeated in order to emphasize its truthfulness. The practice is based on the tenet of Islam that requires two witnesses to prove the validity of a claim. Shaybānī Khān uses this device quite often. In this respect noteworthy is his remark in the *Bahru'l-hudā* (7v:6-7):

“Ayni ikki yar!” dedilär kufr ahlī. “Nä üçün?”

“Kim sāning şar‘ingdä munkürga bolur ikki guvā.”

“Split the moon into two!” said the kafir. “Why?” - [he asked]./ Because in Your Law two witnesses

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Uqlamasa čağdavul köpdin<sup>76</sup> ozar.<sup>77</sup>

Things get done as a result of the unity of the Left with the Right.  
The enemy falls [vanquished] by the strongest of wines.

Also know full well that this mattress is very comfortable.  
[Yet] if the rear guard does not go to bed, he will get ahead of many.<sup>78</sup>

The message these lines have for us is cryptic. Fortunately, Shaybānī Khān helps us out with the following commentary appended to the poem:

7 Taqī ongdin murād šarī'at ībādatū turur. Soldin išārat siyāsat 8 qamčisi turur. Šarī'at birlā īamal qılıp ībādat qılsa öz badaningga va ahl- 9 īyālīngä va rā'iyyatgä siyāsat qamčisin ālikkā alip īadl 10 qılsang, har īyina Hudāy išingni kündin küngä arturur. Va yana ički 11 din išārat rūhung turur. Ol Qādir-i Lam Yazaldin īināyat-i azalī 12 bolup nuşrat-i abadisi rūhunga şamadiyasi birlā madad qılsa, hāvātir tafriqa 13 sini va hīrş va havāngni kitārūr.

Va yana yataqdin murād köngül turur. 1 Ol Pādshāh-i īalamnīng atün köngüldä saqlasang va bu čangdavul<sup>79</sup> 2 teg uyuqlamay īgāh tursang Anīng zikrining nūri sāning 3 nafs-i ammāranīng zulmatin bu tün dek qavlap<sup>80</sup> şubhdek köngülning 4 tangi atsa, Hudāynīng bārān-i rahmatida īacib va īarib ermās.<sup>81</sup>

[Know] also [that] “right” stands for serving according to the *sharī'a*. “Left” means the whip of punishment. If you act according to the *sharī'a* and, with the whip of punishment in your hand, exercise justice on your own person, your family, and your subjects, God will promote your work day by day. And, furthermore, “wine” stands for your soul. If the Almighty Whose Power Never Declines, moved by His Ever-existing Grace, comes in His majesty to the aid of your soul, granting you everlasting victory,<sup>82</sup> He will disperse your distracting thoughts, your greed, and your [carnal] desires. And the “mattress” is here for your heart. If you keep in your heart the name of the King of the World,<sup>83</sup> and, like a rearguard [of the king’s army], you do not fall<sup>84</sup> asleep but stay alert, the light of the Recollection of Him will drive away the darkness of your Commanding Soul as the [day drives on] the night. If, then, the dawn of your heart opens and spreads like dawn before sunrise, there should be no surprise or amazement in [beholding] God’s mercy as copious as early summer rain.<sup>85</sup>

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are required to convince a *kafir*” - [they replied].

<sup>76</sup>Köp as a noun in the sense of “the Community” occurs also in Hāliş’ Story of Ibrāhīm (75v:1).

<sup>77</sup>Dīvan 50r:10-13.

<sup>78</sup>The expression is symbolic: the “night guard” represents the believer who stays up at night to perform the *tahajjud* prayer that Shaybānī Khān describes in great detail in the *Risāla-i Ma'ārif* (8v:9-10v:5). He will reach a higher status than those who spend the night in sleep, i.e., in a state which is “the brother of death” (cf. *Risāla-i Ma'ārif* 12r:8).

<sup>79</sup>See čağdavul above. This word has several orthographical or, more likely, dialectal variants. The Calcutta Dictionary and the *Nisāb-i Turkī fi-luğat* (14v:8) have čindavul.

<sup>80</sup>See n. 26.

<sup>81</sup>Dīvan 50v-51r.

<sup>82</sup>“Everlasting victory” is a hyperbolic expression for “lasting victory.” In his choice of words the author is bound by a cultural-religious context: It is God who grants victory. But since he does everything in the most perfect way (cf. Qur. 27,90), the victory He grants is also most perfect.

<sup>83</sup>This is “silent recollection” (*zikr-i hufya*) that Shaybānī Khān discusses in the *Risāla-i Ma'ārif* (2r:10-2v:7).

<sup>84</sup>Note the distinction between “not falling asleep” and “being alert.” The latter refers to the night devotion. Shaybānī Khān advocates this practice, on the basis of Qur. 73, in all of his works.

<sup>85</sup>Waking up with a fresh, healthy feeling and with a clear mind (*şādmānlıq* va *pāklıq* *bilān*) is Shaybānī Khān’s ideal start of a new day. This state depends upon how we spent the night. Cf. *Risāla-i Ma'ārif* (18v:2-20v:2).

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The *shari'a* and its enforcement will keep the balance between the ruler's personal authority and the subjects' unconditional loyalty. Having achieved this, the ruler is ready for the noble task of ruling his empire with the bold aspirations of Alexander the Great,<sup>86</sup> the majestic valor of Chingis Khan,<sup>87</sup> and the compassionate generosity of Anūshīrvān, the Just.<sup>88</sup> Shaybānī Khān sums these thoughts up in the following distich:

Er esäng iš išlägil mardāna.  
Hikmat ilä bolsa sen<sup>89</sup> dardāna.<sup>90</sup>

If you are a hero, do [your] job with valor.  
Combine [your] ambition with compassion.

Aḥmad Yasavī emphasizes the progressive (sequential) unity of the three stages, *šari'at*, *ṭarīqat* and *haqīqat*, making *šari'at* a mandatory condition for the second and third stages. Shaybānī Khān did not take a deep interest in the *ṭarīqat* and *haqīqat*. These would have taken him to the realm of *taṣawwuf* which, in its institutionalized form, had little relevance for his imperialistic aspirations. He never mentions these notions, although they were essential elements in Aḥmad Yasavī's *imitatio Muhammadi* that Shaybānī Khān was eager to adopt.<sup>91</sup>

The emulation of the Prophet Muḥammad in its spiritual dimensions raised Ahmad Yasavī to the top of the saintly hierarchy in Central Asia. On account of the legend of the date that Arslan Baba had preserved for him from the time of the Prophet who foresaw his coming, he was regarded as the heir of the Prophet.<sup>92</sup> The events of his life and his life style also showed great similarities to the life of the Hashemite leader of the Faithful.<sup>93</sup> Following the principle, voiced in the *Muṭīnū'l-murīd*, that by emulating the Prophet you can attain his rank and status,<sup>94</sup> Aḥmad Yasavī reached the stage where he acted out, among the Turks of Central Asia, the prophetic role Muḥammad had among the Arabs. If the

<sup>86</sup>For Shaybānī Khān values ascribed to Alexander the Great served as justification of his own military campaigns against foreign countries.

<sup>87</sup>The claim to rule over the entire world was at the base of the Chingisite attitude in "foreign policy." Shaybānī Khān's poems echo this idea over and over again.

<sup>88</sup>This is the least emphasized imperial attribute in Shaybānī Khān's works. Sparing the enemy in captivity, fair treatment of the inhabitants of an occupied city ("liberator" image), helping the enemy in utter need, directing people to the right path, promising shelter and protection to those who join the emperor are some of the instances that reveal Shaybānī Khān's compassion and generosity.

<sup>89</sup>Bolsa sen is a hortative form (not conditional or temporal) and is commonly used in Classical Turkic. It occurs especially in instructional manuals such as the *Muṭīnū'l-murīd*.

<sup>90</sup>*Dīvān* 51r:5.

<sup>91</sup>Shaybānī Khān emphasizes that he stayed on the "highway of the Law" (*šari'at yolidā*), because that was to take him to the imperial throne. *Tarīqat* and *haqīqat* are for the saints (*valī*) of which, as he mentions in one of his *ghazals* (*Dīvān* 174r:1-174:v-2), there were quite a few in Central Asia.

<sup>92</sup>See Eraslan's concise summary of the legend of Arslān Bābā in Ahmed-i Yeṣevī *Dīvān-i Hikmet'ten Seçmeler* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1983), p. 364.

<sup>93</sup>Aḥmad Yasavī became an orphan at an early age. He grew up in utter misery and experienced great hardships in his life. He was in constant quest of spiritual values and of the road toward the Supreme Being, incessantly fighting the temptations of Satan and his own self. In order fully to conform to the life and life style of the Prophet Muḥammad, at the age of 63 he moved into a ditch and spent the rest of his life there - *altmış ücdä yergä kirdim* he says - in view of the fact that the Prophet passed away at the age of 63.

<sup>94</sup>The emulation of the Prophet Muḥammad, as the *Muṭīnū'l-Murīd* explains (199v:5), opens a direct road to God for *qurb* (closeness) and *dīdār* (the vision of the Divine Truth):

Habib ummatiṅga ḥabibluk ravā:

Ravā bolsa mi'rāc, ravā ham bu ḥāl.

For the Community of the Friend, friendship is quite possible.

If the Ascent was possible, then this state (of closeness), too, is possible.

*mīrāj* was possible, the assumption of the Prophet's mission in the new setting was also possible. This was the motive for Aḥmad Yasavī to picture his own life as a replay of Muḥammad's, and his teachings, the Turkish rendering for the nomads of Central Asia of the teachings of the Prophet. It was in this sense that he called his didactic volume, *Divān-i Ḥikmat*, the "Second Book" (*daftar-i sānī*), a reappearance among the Turks of the teachings of the "First Book," i.e., the Prophet's words and deeds.<sup>95</sup>

Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān recognized the high rank of Aḥmad Yasavī. He also understood the importance of the emulation of the Prophet Muḥammad in obtaining such an elevated status. Tacitly, more by his actions than by his words, he also embarked on the path of emulating the Prophet. His objective, however, was Muḥammad's position as the leader (*sarvar*) of the Muslim community, the authority commanding the forces of Islam (*islām laškari*) and the chief enforcer of the *sharī'a*, which came to him as an inheritance from the Prophet. His own life also had something in common with the Prophet's. He was an orphan and a destitute in his early youth and went through endless hardships and tribulations before he finally obtained leadership.<sup>96</sup> This gave him a firm footing in his efforts to emulate "the friend in Madīna."<sup>97</sup> His habit of staying up at night for the *tahajjud* prayer was part of those efforts.<sup>98</sup> Even Bābur Shāh who would take every opportunity to blacken Shaybānī Khān's character, speaks with respect of his adversary's devotions.<sup>99</sup> The night prayer that Shaybānī Khān describes in detail in his *Risāla-i Maṭārif*,<sup>100</sup> was so special for him that, in his *Divān*, he often used the penname *Šabān* ("nights"), or *Šabānī* ("pertaining to the nights"), i.e., a person who wakes up at night to pray.<sup>101</sup> His main concern was to fight and subdue *nafs-ṣayṭān*, the Carnal Soul, which he equates with Satan. He tried to keep his mind free from distractions, because, in his view, an evil deed had its beginnings in a disturbed, unclear mind.<sup>102</sup> Most of all, he wanted to be a model Muslim and to teach Islām, as Aḥmad Yasavī did, with his entire being:

Elgä der män Haqq sözini zāhir u bātin bilä.<sup>103</sup>

I communicate the word of God to [my] people through my way of life (as an example) and through (my words that come from a sincere) heart.<sup>104</sup>

The destination of the two paths, Aḥmad Yasavī's in the highest rank among the saints, and Shaybānī Khān's, on the imperial throne perceived by the Khan as the throne of the emperor of all Muslims are succinctly alluded to (*čāh ~ cāh*) in the following *ghazal*. The poem emphasizes the point that the place where Aḥmad Yasavī had his home<sup>105</sup> and Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān became an emperor was the same Turkistān, in its old name Yassī:

<sup>95</sup>Cf. A. J. E. Bodrogligli, "Aḥmad Yasavī's Concept of 'Daftar-i Sānī,'" *Milletlerarası Ahmed Yesevī Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Feryal Matbaası, 1992), pp. 1-11.

<sup>96</sup>Cf. Shaybānī Khān's reference in *Divān* 14r:6-7 above.

<sup>97</sup>Cf. *Divān* 15r:11.

<sup>98</sup>The night prayer (*tahajjud*) is often referred to in Shaybānī Khān's *Divān*. E.g., 160v:7-8, 121r:3-4. The *ghazal* 107r:9-107v:4 is entirely devoted to the night prayer.

<sup>99</sup>Cf. n. 54.

<sup>100</sup>Cf. the chapter on *tahajjud* 8v:9-12r:4.

<sup>101</sup>Allworth's translation of this term as "shepherd" is also possible. Shaybānī Khān calls his subjects "the herd" (*sürük*), but he views his own role as "the bellwether" (*qočqar*) that leads (*başlar*) the herd, i.e., the herd follows him.

<sup>102</sup>Shaybānī Khān's view reminds one of the three constituents of an action in Zoroastrianism: *mēnišn*, *gōbišn* and *kunišn*, i.e., to conceive an idea, formulate it in words, and carry it out.

<sup>103</sup>*Divān* 83r:9.

<sup>104</sup>According to a tradition *bātin* is directed to the Creator, *zāhir*, to the created world. Cf. M. Valiuddin, *Love of God. A Sufi Approach* (Published in India in limited edition, 1968 [no place or publisher given]. Reprint: London and Southampton: The Camelot Press, 1972), p. 196.

<sup>105</sup>Through the legend of Arslān Bābā, the one who was in charge of safekeeping for Aḥmad Yasavī the date the Prophet had set aside for his making him part of his inner circle, Yasavī's birthplace and eventually the place where he died obtained a high rank. Shaybānī Khān, apparently, knew about this legend.

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Avliyālar sarvarı ol Şāh-i Turkistān emiš.  
Yär yüzini nūri tutqan Māh-i Turkistān emiš.  
Yol yangılğanlarğa der men, "Baraling Şabrān sari!"  
Qılma "umrung emdi žā'ı", rāh-i Turkistān emiš.  
Aytayın anıŋ suyinęg vaşfidin bir şammaē:  
Āb-i Zamzam kim deyürlär,<sup>106</sup> čān-i Turkistān emiš.  
Könglümä, "Kelgil!" deyür men, ol Samarqand arzulap,  
Bilmämiš sen, ay köngül, dilğwāh-i Turkistān emiš.  
Husn afşäfında nāzuk dirlubālar anda bar,  
Bil, parı kim lāf ururlär dāh-i Turkistān emiš.  
Aytayın men, ay yigitlär,<sup>107</sup> uşbu sirrni tinglägil;  
Sarvar olurğa lā'iq yer cāh-i Turkistān emiš.  
Dedilär, "Qayda barur sen, köp Samarqanda valı!"  
Bu Şabānī ārzüsü dargāh-i Turkistān emiš.<sup>108</sup>

The Preeminent one among the Saints was that King of Turkistan.  
The [Planet] that lit up the face of the earth was the Moon of Turkistan.  
(In the past) I would say to those who lost the way, "Let us head toward Şabrān (to get to Samarqand)!"  
Now [I say] "Do not waste your life [going there]! There is a road to Turkistan."  
Let me tell you just a small item from the description of its waters:  
What people call Zamzam river is (Yasavī's) ditch of Turkistan.<sup>109</sup>  
I say to my heart when it is longing for Samarqand, "Calm down, now!  
Didn't you know, O Heart, that there was a heart's desire [here] in Turkistan?"<sup>110</sup>  
There are heart ravishers there described as exquisite in beauty.  
Mark well that the fairies that brag [about their ranks in Paradise] would pass only as maid-servants in Turkistan.  
Listen well, brave warriors, I will reveal this secret to you:  
The proper place [for me] to become an emperor was the place, called Turkistan.  
[When I left Samarqand] people said to me, "Where are you going? There are many saints [here] in Samarqand!"  
I, Shaybānī, [however,] had but one desire: The Royal Court of Turkistan.

Yasavī's *imitatio Muhammadi* in Central Asia meant emulation of the Prophet by members of the Muslim community who, in the majority, were Turks. Shaybānī Khān did not fail to see in the teachings of Ahmād Yasavī and his school an extremely important thesis based on this very circumstance. It was the negation of Arab [or Persian] supremacy in matters of the Religion, followed by the assertion that the Turks were equal and, ultimately, superior to the Arabs.<sup>111</sup> According to the principle of emulation of the Prophet, anyone who followed Muḥammad's actions and virtues, irrespective of the race to which he belongs or the language he speaks, can achieve an equally high status in Islam. In the following *ghazal* on an imaginary visit to Madīna projected back to the time of the Prophet, Shaybānī Khān goes even further. He states that, if a ruler accepts the laws of Islam, he makes the Arabs equal to his own subjects, that is, he

<sup>106</sup>Cf. n. 29.

<sup>107</sup>Shaybānī Khān addresses the officers and soldiers of his immediate surroundings.

<sup>108</sup>Dīvan 68v:12-69r:12.

<sup>109</sup>The "homeland" is preferable to places in Paradise and the pleasures they offer.

<sup>110</sup>The line refers to Ahmād Yasavī.

<sup>111</sup>This was a significant facet of Central Asian Islam: five hundred years after the occupation of Central Asia, the Arabs lost the last vestige of their power in this region.

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will have power over them.<sup>112</sup> Again, the *mi'rāj* is referred to as directly as in the *Mu'īnu'l-murīd*:<sup>113</sup>

Kezdim bu 'išq šahrin 'ayš va ḥarab barābar.  
Kördüm anīng bāzārin har rōz va šab barābar.  
Ḩalqinī kördüm anīng: biri birigā dōst[t]ur.  
Nāmūs va nang birlā anda nasab barābar.  
Sen emdi ṭālib ersāng pīr-i muğāna bargil.  
Mayḥānadin may ičkil, ism-lakab<sup>114</sup> barābar.  
Har kim [ki] bu šahardin cām-i šarī'at ičsā,  
Bilgil ki ahlīga ol qīlgay 'Arab barābar.  
Boldi bu 'išq bāzī Sēmurg-i qāba quasain,  
Manzilgahī dur adnā anda 'acab barābar.  
Ol kōydāki kişilär ǵam-ǵussadīn<sup>115</sup> qutulgay,  
Ol vādīning ičindā šād va ta'ab barābar.  
Şabānī, ol şaharnīng sırri ni kişī bilmäs.  
Seni ol ahl-i dilgä qīlgay Čalab barābar.<sup>116</sup>

I roamed about in this city of love where feasting and merriment [constantly] prevailed.  
I saw its marketplace: It was equal[ly brisk] by day and by night all the time.

I observed its people: They were friends to one another.  
Their good repute and their honor were ensured by their lineage.

Now, if you are a seeker [of their rank], go to the elder of the Magi.  
Drink wine in the tavern, where names and their attributes are the same.<sup>117</sup>

Whoever drinks from the cup of the sharī'a [that has originated] from this city  
Makes the Arabs equal to his own subjects, know full well.

This Falcon of Love has become the Phoenix of two bows' length.  
[Now] its station is closer still,<sup>118</sup> how astonishing - equal to that of Him[the Prophet].<sup>119</sup>  
The folks in that street are exempt from sorrow and grief.  
In that valley joy and weariness have equal status.  
Şabānī, no one knows the secret of that city.  
[But] the Lord will make you equal to the valiant [commander of that city].<sup>120</sup>

The *mi'rāj* was a symbol of the believer's attaining the rank and state of the Prophet. In Shaybānī Khān's claim, this elevated status assured him the position of the supreme defender of the Faith over the entire community of Islam. He considered the promotion of the sunna and the sharī'a an inheritance coming to him from the Prophet. This concept reminds one of the message of the Arslān Bābā legend that

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<sup>112</sup>This attitude was the cornerstone of the Shaybanid restoration of Mongol power over the lands of Islam.

<sup>113</sup>Cf. n. 94.

<sup>114</sup>Ism-lakab and ǵam-ǵussa below are juxtaposed nouns (doublets) used to express all-inclusiveness. Cf. Reshetov, *Osnovy fonetiki morfologii i sintaksisa uzbekskogo iazyka* (Tashkent: The State Publishing House "Middle and High Schools," 1961), p. 94 #141.

<sup>115</sup>See the preceding note.

<sup>116</sup>Dīvan 44v:11-45r:11.

<sup>117</sup>The Divine attributes are the names of God and not adjectives modifying His name.

<sup>118</sup>Reference to Qur. 53.9.

<sup>119</sup>This line echoes the thesis laid down in the *Mu'īnu'l-Murīd*: if the *mi'rāj* was possible, the true believer's drawing near to God through love is also possible.

<sup>120</sup>Another expression of Shaybānī Khān's aspiration to become the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Faithful.

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associated Aḥmad Yasavī directly with the Prophet and his mission.<sup>121</sup> Shaybānī Khān's belief in Divine approval of his crusade was supported by his firm conviction that victory in the path of God had been allotted to him, the Uzbek emperor, in the eternity without beginning (azal):

Şabāniyā sanga Haqq nusratī azaldın dur.  
Ravāc-i sunnat u şar̄c-i payambarī mīrās.<sup>122</sup>

Remember, Shaybānī, the victory of the Truth has been assigned to you since eternity without beginning.

[Your task is] to assert the sunna and to enforce the sharīfa, your inheritance from the Prophet.

Shaybānī Khān regarded the noble task of bringing the Law to universal victory as a gift to God for His grace of granting him this high position:

Çōn ki Haqq qıldī ̄ināyat bizgā ̄izz va taht va tāc,<sup>123</sup>  
Biz taqī şukrānaga berdük şar̄fatgā ravāc.  
Şar̄c yolın tüzdük andaq kim cihān aṭrāfidin  
Barča sultānlar kelip keltürdilär bēhadd hārāc.<sup>124</sup>

Since [God] granted us' Majesty, Royal Throne, and Imperial Crown,  
As a token of our gratitude for the Grace received, we promote the cause of the sharīfa.  
We keep on paving the road for the Law so that from all over the world  
All kings come and bring endless quantities of land tax.

Shaybānī's belief in his destiny of being the supreme leader of the Islamic world and the chief enforcer of the laws and tenets of the True Religion is demonstrated by the following lines:

İslām men İslām men kuffār kufrī näyläsün:  
Kuffār bēhün men käsäy qalmasun andin hēc nişān.<sup>125</sup>  
Şahbāz boldī Čingīz, Sēmurğ va ̄Anqā qayda dur?  
Män män muhītning cavharī, cavharnī bilmäs ins va cānn.<sup>126</sup>

I am Islam, I am Islam:<sup>127</sup> the disbelief of the infidels has no chance.  
I will sever the roots of the infidels so that no trace of them remain.  
The Chingisite Prince has become a royal falcon [on God's arm]: Where are now Semurgh or Phoenix?  
I am the Orient Pearl in the All-Surrounding Ocean. What do mankind or demons know about pearls?

Through Aḥmad Yasavī's teachings, Shaybānī Khān found in Islam what he wanted most for his imperialistic aspirations: absolute power with a universal claim that transcended tribal or racial-national boundaries and was supported by loyal Muslim Turkish forces. As far as government was concerned, Chingis Khān's principle - whoever controls his household well will also control the country well - remained in force.<sup>128</sup> It was, however, filled with religious-ritualistic elements and expanded in elaborate

<sup>121</sup>See n. 79.

<sup>122</sup>Dīvan 27r:3-4.

<sup>123</sup>Majesty (̄izz), Royal Throne (taht), and Imperial Crown (tāj) - in this order - were the insignia of Central Asian monarchs.

<sup>124</sup>Dīvan 28v:10-13. All lands that were conquered by force and were not divided among the victorious army but were left to the original owners or given to non-Muslim settlers brought from elsewhere were Kharaj-lands. (Cf. N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance* [Lahore: The Premiere Book House, 1961], pp. 376-396.) What Shaybānī Khān suggests here is that kings of other nations became his vassals.

<sup>125</sup>Expression for a total destruction or a complete elimination.

<sup>126</sup>Dīvan 127r:1-4.

<sup>127</sup>The statement is repeated for emphasis. See n. 64.

<sup>128</sup>Cf. n. 4.

fashion over all layers of Muslim society. In his *Risāla-i Ma‘ārif* Shaybānī Khān explains as follows:<sup>129</sup>

4 Har kiši öz nafsigä ḥalīfa 5 turur, ḥwāh pādshāh, va ḥwāh beg, va ḥwāh ra‘iyyat. Barčaǵa 6 ‘adl buyurup turur. Pādshāh kerák kim öz 7 nafsigä ‘adl qīlgay [kim ahl va ‘iyāliǵa ‘adl qīla algay]. 8 Pādshāh kim öz nafsigä ‘adl qīla almaǵay<sup>130</sup> 9 ahl va ‘iyāliǵa nečük ‘adl qīlgay? Pādshāh kim ahl va ‘iyāliǵa 10 ‘adl qīla almasa, ra‘iy-yatǵa nečük ‘adl qīlgay? Basa beg-i 1 begat, nā‘ib-i navvāb<sup>131</sup> kerák öz nafsigä ‘adl qīlgay 2 kim ahl va ‘iyāliǵa ‘adl qīla algay. Ahl va ‘iyāliǵa ‘adl 3 qīlsa, özīgä ta‘alluq elgä ‘adl qīla algay. Basa bāzargān 4 larǵa, ra‘iyyatlarǵa, kāsiblarǵa vācib turur kim öz 5 nafslarígä ‘adl qīlgaylar kim oğlan-ušaqları<sup>132</sup> bilä ‘adl 6 qīla algaylar.<sup>133</sup>

Each person is the caliph of his own soul, be he an emperor, a governor, or a subject. [God] commands that everyone exercise control. [This means that] an emperor must exercise control over his own soul [so that he may exercise control over his family and household.] How can an emperor who cannot exercise control over his own soul exercise control over his own family and household? How can an emperor who cannot exercise control over his family and household do so over his subjects? And the chief of the governors and the acting regent must exercise control over their own souls for them to exercise control over their families and households. If they exercise control over their families and households, they will also be able to exercise control over the people who are dependent upon them. And it is [also] necessary for merchants, peasants, and craftsmen to exercise control over their souls so that they will be able to exercise control over their sons and apprentices.

The rules of how to control one’s own soul, family, and household, or subjects are laid down in the *sharī‘a* which is binding for every Muslim. Enforcement of the *sharī‘a* will secure social order and help preserve the purity of the Faith. The ruler’s role is to see to it that the laws of Islam are observed to the letter. He does so through personal example and through the threat of severe, merciless punishment. He is constantly in the presence of God - the symbol of which is the prostrate position (*sacda*). Only censoring the deviate makes him to leave temporarily God’s presence. The following distich commands majesty and instills fear in spite of its plain diction:

Mulhīd eri kiringiz bu dīn-śarī‘at yolına  
Ol sababtın kim kötǖr men sacdadın başım mäning.<sup>134</sup>

[Listen] those who have swerved from the right way,<sup>135</sup> come back to the path of Religion and Law

Or else I shall raise my head from prostration!

“Tangrī allots us time,”<sup>136</sup> Bilgä Qaghan sternly reminds us in the Kül Tegin Inscription. Shaybānī Khān was not given enough time to accomplish all his imperial ambitions. But, in the time span he was granted, he was relentlessly building and strengthening his Islamic empire, expanding its boundaries with

<sup>129</sup>The following passage is probably a translation from Nacmu’d-Dīn Dāya’s *Mirṣādu'l-‘Ibād* where it occurs as a commentary on Qur. 16,90.

<sup>130</sup>Impossibilitive stem consisting of a gerund in -a + the descriptive auxiliary alma- as in modern Uzbek.

<sup>131</sup>See n. 97.

<sup>132</sup>See n. 97.

<sup>133</sup>Dīvan 41r-41v.

<sup>134</sup>Dīvan 83v:1-2.

<sup>135</sup>Shaybānī Khān has a stern warning for the mulhids also in the *Bahru'l-hudā* (11r:1; cf. n. 48):

It hürär, karvān köčär. Mulhīd ešäk dur dīn ara.

The dogs bark, the caravan passes by. In matters of the Faith the mulhīd is like an ass [that carries books]. A reference to Qur. 64,5.

<sup>136</sup>Old Turkic öt “a time span to which an event is assigned, the appropriate time for an event, condition, or state.” See n. 34.

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the effort of an Alexander the Great, the Uzbek conqueror's idol. Had he waited a few days for his son's army to join him in the fatal clash with the forces of Shāh Ismā'īl,<sup>137</sup> had he not relied so completely on the validity of his claim that Divine Decree had assigned him victory in eternity without beginning, he would likely have been able to reach his boldest objectives. "We must be bold!" he said to his staff when he was warned of the superior numbers of the enemy.<sup>138</sup> His was an army imbued with the new loyalty in the Path of God: none of his men abandoned him in the bitter fight. He himself fell in the battle. The enemy severed his head as if for fear that he might raise it again from prostration.

The military setback in the fight against the Qizilbash - people of the red cap - ended Shaybānī Khān's career, but did not put an end to his newly established Uzbek empire. His dynasty and his people carried on the Shaybānid heritage. Although they were never able to follow up on the founder's most ambitious dreams, they were able to meet the challenges of their times. Their land remained the land of the Uzbeks, part of the Muslim Sunnite world that effectively weathered the colonial times of the Russian czars and the nationalities policies of the Soviet overlords.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup>Muḥammad Timūr Bahādur, Shaybānī Khān's valiant son, was about to join his father with a sizable army.

<sup>138</sup>Cf. Mīrzā Muḥammad Haidar's account in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. N. Elias, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* (London: Curzon Press, 1985), p. 234.

<sup>139</sup>I.e., the idea of the merging of all nationalities into a Soviet nationality with a Soviet culture (sliianie). Cf. A. Benningsen and M. Broxup, *The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), p. 26.