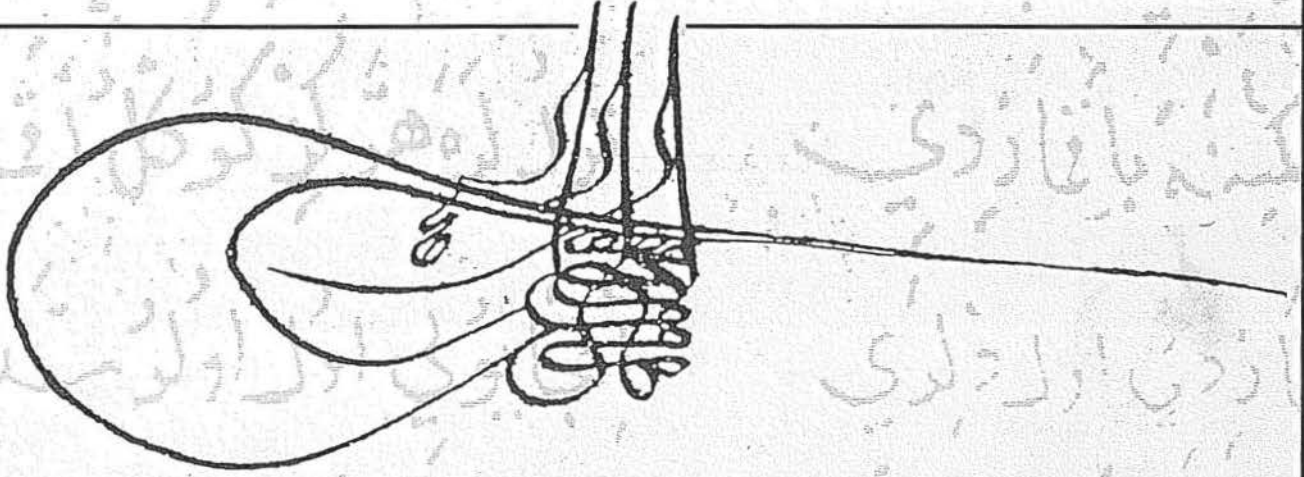


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YASAVĪ IDEOLOGY IN MUḤAMMAD SHĀYBĀNĪ KHĀN'S VISION OF AN UZBEK ISLAMIC EMPIRE

András J. E. Bodrogligeti

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 *tōrā* 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 (*ʿadl*) and justice (*dād*) and displays generosity (*cūd*) and magnanimity (*himmat*) applied to the memory of long departed kings.¹ For Shaybānī Khān's situation, burdened with the complexities of a changing world, these imperial qualities were of little relevance.² They still could impress some among the urban population.³ 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.⁴ 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

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

²The 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.

³Didactic works, such as the Karakhanid *ʿAtabatul-ḥaqāʾiq* by Adīb Aḥmad bin Maḥmūd Yūknāgī, the Persian *Gulistān* by Saʿdī, the Mamluk-Kipchak *Gulistān bi-t-turkī* by Sayf of Saray, the Chagatay (Classical Uzbek) *Maḥbūbu'l-qulūb* by Mīr Alīshīr Navāʾī 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 (*gulshan-i bāg*, as Sayf-i Sarāyī calls it).

⁴Cf. 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.⁵ 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 Aḥmad Yasavī and assiduously propagated by his followers.⁶

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 *sharīʿa* 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*:⁷

Šabānī Čingīzīdan šarʿingnī satun alğan:
Yolungda cānīn bergān Islām qılıçı mǎn mǎn.⁸

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:

Šabān yalğan demās kim Haqq anī sāhib-qirān qıldı.
Hasabda Tengrigā qul mǎn, nasabda Čingīzī dur mǎn.⁹

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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ The new ruler of Central Asia considered himself the legitimate heir to the Timurid throne.¹²

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:¹³

Ulusnī başlap alur mulk va taht İskandar,
Ki himmat ilā tegār tāt va sarvarī mīrās.¹⁴

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

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

⁷MS Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmad III, 2436. Cited throughout as *Dīvān*.

⁸*Dīvān* 118v:11-12.

⁹*Dīvān* 136v:13-137r:1.

¹⁰Shaybānī Khān refers to the qualities he has obtained by emulating the Prophet and the rank he has reached in the enforcement of the *Sharīʿa* (*islām*).

¹¹The title *ḥazrat-i sāhib-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, Muḥammad Sālīh.

¹²His 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 *Dīvān* (cf., for example, 27v:10).

¹³Shaybānī Khān refers to Alexander the Great (*İskandar*) quite often in his *Dīvān*.

¹⁴*Dīvān* 27r:1-2.

Yasavī Ideology in Muḥammad Shāybānī Khān's Vision

Marching at the head of his people, Alexander takes empires and thrones.¹⁵

[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 Čingizi šam'i, biling, beglär,¹⁶ yanar mendin.
Män ol şubḥ-i sa'adat män ki Čingiz kökidin toğdum,
Qaçan kim tābräsäm yel teg, Tīmūr šam'i öčär mendin.¹⁷

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.¹⁸

Shaybānī's acceptance of the *šharī'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 (*İslām laşkarī*)¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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 1506.²¹

Ol ki miskīnlārgä dunyā davlatin²² qıldi naşīb,
Aḥiratnıng davlatin ham bersä hēč ermäs ğarīb.
Bid'at ahlını savurdum Māvarā'unnahr ara
Uşbu dur işim Hūrāsān mulkida ham 'anqarīb.
Laşkar-i İslāmnı çeksäm [ol] qızıl börk üstinä,

¹⁵Cf. Allworth, *The Modern Uzbeks*, p. 18.

¹⁶Shaybānī Khān is addressing the officers of his guard.

¹⁷*Dīvan* 120r:1-4.

¹⁸One 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.

¹⁹In the phrase *İslām laşkarī* the first word occurs in its technical meaning: "keeping and enforcing the tenets of *Sharī'a*" (see n. 8 above). Thus the "forces of Islam" were military units engaged in enforcing the laws of Islam.

²⁰That is more than the take-over of Tīmūr'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 *Sharī'a* upon the people inhabiting those lands, as he explains in the following distich (*Dīvan* 27v:10-11):

Sen äränlärdän qalip sen eski yurtlar tüzmagä,
Tüz şarī'at cavharidın durr-i ma'nı durc-durc.

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

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

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

²²Ar. *davlat* is the Islamic equivalent of *qut* "good fortune," one of the traditional Turkic imperial values.

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Bolġusī yāvar Madīna kišvarīdīn šol Ḥabīb.
Men qiličnī šarʿ üčün çaptīm, Ḥudāy āgāh dur,
Lēk bilmäslār muni qāzī bilā šayḥ u ḥaṭīb.²³
Ay Šabānī, ʿišq dardī dur sening könglüng ara,
Bil, ki yoq bu dardgā maʿšūqdīn özgā tabīb.²⁴

He who granted the destitute²⁵ [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 sharīʿa, the Lord knows it.
Only the judge, the sheikh, and the Preacher do not realize it.

O, Shaybān, 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ In the second *ghazal*, composed after the occupation of Asterabad in 1507,²⁸ his ideological goals and imperialistic endeavors are explained in greater detail:

Uşbu yaz faşlida ʿazm-i Astarābād äylädük.
ʿAdl va dād ilā bu elni asru ābād äylädük.
Bu Tīmūr oġlanlarī taġyīr²⁹ qıldī mazḥabīn:
Kim “Qizil bōrk dīnigā kir!” desā, barbād äylädük.
Asru bēinsāflardīn³⁰ qayġuluq erdi bu el.

²³Ar. ḥaṭīb ‘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 *vāʿiẓ* 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.

²⁴Dīvan 15r:6-15v:2.

²⁵Shaybānī 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.

²⁶The 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.

²⁷Shaybānī 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.

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

²⁹A. T. *taġyīr* qīl- “to change” (transitive). This is not about “innovation” (*bidʿa*). The Timurids are charged with transferring their support from one school (*sunnī*) to another (*shīʿa*).

³⁰According 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.

Marḥamat birlā bu elning kōnglini šād āylādūk.
 Haqq taʿālānīng yolında ol qadar kim berdi dast,
 Čapiban İslām tēgin elni iršād āylādūk.
 Čōn šarīʿat yolida qoyduq qadam ihlās ilā,
 Barča ʿālamnī šarīʿat birlā munqād āylādūk.
 Gunbaz-i Qābūs ilā yaylap ušol Gurgān suyīn.
 Kim qizil bōrk cihatīdīn ʿazm-i Baǧdād āylādūk.
 Bu Šabānī bu ʿavāʿif beglārini qavlaban,³¹
 Zulm va cavrīn kōtāribān elni kōp dād āylādūk.³²

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.³³
 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 sharīʿa,
 It was by the sharīʿa that we rendered submissive the entire world.³⁴

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:

ʿAzm-i ʿavāf-i Kaʿbağa qıldīm niyyat, ahl-i ʿİrāq!
 Gar Kaʿba dur andīn narī, yoq tur valēkin kōp İraq.
 Qoymanğ šarīʿat yolīnī ahl-i ʿArab birlā ʿAcam,
 Har kim tilāyūr³⁵ davlatīn, pandīm ešitsā yaḥšīraq.
 Ol šāhrāh-i šarʿ-i dīn yolında dur cānīm fidā,
 Har kim bu yolğa kirmäsä, ol elni qılğum ʿumturāq!³⁶

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

³²Dīvan 82r:2-82v:2.

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

³⁴The Turkish definite past tense *munqād āylādūk* 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. Bodrogligeti, *Modern Literary Uzbek. A Manual for Elementary and Advanced Intensive Courses* [Los Angeles, 1991; in manuscript], Unit 23).

³⁵Archaic aorist form. See Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, pp. 138-139.

³⁶This distich expresses the two aspects of the technical term *islām*, i.e., keeping the Sharīʿa and enforcing it among the subjects.

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Davlat tilār siz barčangiz davlat ešikkā kelingiz,
Andin burunraq kim degāy davlat sizā, “Hāzā firāq!”
Men kim ūlūʾl-amr-i Haqqim vācib turur ʾāʾat manga.
Har ki boyun sunmağay ol Tangridin bolur yīraq.
Hān-i Qurʾān tahtī ūcūn, bil, ištīyāqim kōp turur,
Ol tahtning ʾišqi ūcūn bir laḥza tındurman³⁷ yaraq.
Cāhil elni, ay Šhabān, ʾālamda andaq āylāgil,
Kim har nečā el istāsā hēč tapmasun andin soraq.³⁸

People of Iraq, I have stated my intention³⁹ to set out to circumambulate the Kaʿba.
Although the Kaʿba 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.⁴⁰

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.”⁴¹

To Me, the highest officer of God, obedience is due.
He who does not bend in obedience will be far from God.⁴²

I have an ardent desire for the throne of the Khān of the Qurʾān.
Because of [my] love for that throne, I do not rest my weapons, not even for a moment.

O Šhabān, do away with the ignorant nations⁴³ of the world
So that people will find no trace of them no matter how eagerly they search.⁴⁴

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-seated⁴⁵ 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 cause⁴⁶ and the near magic power of the sharīʿa, 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,⁴⁷ handed down and diligently propagated by outstanding representatives of

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

³⁸*Dīvan* 80v:4-81r:5.

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

⁴⁰Persian *pand* means also “admonition, warning.”

⁴¹There 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.

⁴²The 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 (*kūs-i raḥīl*) and stays behind will be lost.

⁴³In Shaybānī Khān’s vocabulary “ignorance” means lack of knowledge about the Sharīʿa.

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

⁴⁵And to some extent eclectic.

⁴⁶Victory for the forces of Islam is guaranteed only if the soldiers fight in the Path of God (*fī sabīl-i-lāhi*).

⁴⁷See n. 6.

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

Avliyālar sarvarī ol Šāh-i Turkistān emiš.
Yār yüzini nūrī tutqan Māh-i Turkistān emiš.⁴⁸

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, Ḥāfiẓ al-Bukhārī,⁴⁹ a learned sheikh whom he often mentions in his *Dīvān*⁵⁰ and to whom he dedicated one of his *ghazals*,⁵¹ 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 Ḥāfiẓ-i Buḥārī dur sening,
Kim aning āstānasin Ka'ba ṭavāfin āylāyin.⁵²

O Shabānī, Ḥāfiẓ 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.⁵³

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 Aḥmad Yasavī's teachings.⁵⁴ 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 Aḥmad 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, Aḥmad 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.⁵⁵ The first was used to address and educate the broad popular masses; the second, to entertain the learned elect (*gulšan-i bāg*) of the urban population.⁵⁶ Although he was well versed in high-style literature, as

⁴⁸*Dīvān* 68v:12-13.

⁴⁹Khoja Ḥāfiẓu'dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓī al-Bukhārī, a famous sheikh of Central Asia (d. 875 A.H.). Cf. "Alī-shīr Navā'ī's *Nasā'imu'l-maḥabba min šamā'imu'l-futuvva*, ed. K. Eraslan (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1979), pp. 248-249.

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

⁵¹*Dīvān* 38v:4-39r:4.

⁵²*Dīvān* 125r:3-4.

⁵³For more on this see A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "Muhammad Shaybānī Khān's Apology to the Muslim Clergy," *Tibor Halasi Kun Memorial Volume* (forthcoming).

⁵⁴Concerning Shaybānī Khān's appreciation of Aḥmad 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.

⁵⁵Allworth'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).

⁵⁶This 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.

demonstrated by his *Bahru'l-hudâ*,⁵⁷ Shaybānī Khān employed the style and language of the Yasavī school both in his *Dīvān* and in his *Risāla-i Ma'ārif*, for he too wanted to communicate with a broad audience: his officers, his soldiers, and his subjects.⁵⁸

Directly connected with the plain style and the communicative-informative language was the social impact of Aḥmad Yasavī's teachings. The "Majesty of Turkistan"⁵⁹ 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 Shaybānī Khān 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 *ḥubbu'l-vaṭan*⁶⁰ was lifted from its traditional frame and applied by Aḥmad Yasavī's followers to the homeland of the Muslim Turks of Central Asia.⁶¹ Shaybānī Khān 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.⁶²

The moral impact of Yasavī's teachings was evident in the importance he attributed to the *sharī'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. Yasavī 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,⁶³ Shaybānī Khān led a deeply religious, disciplined life. Muḥammad Sālīh, his biographer, describes him as a pious, abstinent person, always mindful of his duties:⁶⁴

Özgā ḥānlar kebi maclis qurmas,
 'Ayş va 'iśrat sarīdīn dam urmas.
 Bāda içmāk sarī bolmas mā'il,

⁵⁷Critical edition, A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "Muhammad Shaybānī Khān's *Bahru'l-hudā*: An Early Sixteenth Century Didactic Qasida in Chagatay," *UArJ* 54 (1982), 1-56.

⁵⁸His dedication of the work reads as follows: "I composed this treatise in Turkic for the Support of the Sultanate, Muḥammad Tīmūr Bahādur, 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).

⁵⁹For 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.

⁶⁰From the Hadith, *Ḥubbu'l-vaṭan min al-īmān* 'Love of one's homeland is part of the Faith.' Cf. B. Firuzanfar, *Aḥādīs-i Maṣnavī* (Teheran: University Publishing House, 1334 [A.H.]), p. 97, no. 280; p. 127, no. 386; p. 126, no. 382.

⁶¹In mystical-religious poetry, *vaṭan* is the place where the Beloved resides and *ḥubb* 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 *ḥubbu'l-vaṭan* was directed to places where saints (*avliyā*) lived, i.e., geographical locations, such as Turkistan, Signak, Qilich, or Otrar (cf. *Dīvān* 174r:1-174v:1).

⁶²Shaybānī Khān celebrates his own birthplace, Sabrān, as the object of his love for home (*Dīvān*, 174v:1).

⁶³Cf. Bābur Mīrzā's remark in his memoirs. A. S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-nāma in English* (London: Luzac & Co., 1922), p. 329.

⁶⁴Text edition with German translation by H. Vámbéry, *Die Scheibaniade. Ein özbekisches Heldenepos in 76 Gesängen von Prinz Mohammed Salih aus Charezm* (Wien, 1885) 468 pp.

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Bir zamān išidin olmas ġāfil.

Unlike other Khans, he does not arrange parties.⁶⁵

He does not boast of feasting and revelry.⁶⁶

He is not inclined to drinking wine⁶⁷

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

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

“Allāh, Allāh,” desām, “Allāh,”

Zarra yazuq qalmas, v'allāh.

İblīs aytur, “Demā ‘Allāh’,”

Mān aytur mān, “Maʿāza'llāh.”⁷¹

If I say “Allah, Allah” [and yet once more] “Allah”

then, by God, not the slightest traces of sin will remain [on me].⁷²

[But if] Satan says, “Do not say ‘Allāh’ ”

then I will say “I take refuge in God.”⁷³

Shaybānī Khān accepted the *sharīʿa* as one of the two pillars of Muslim government and made the categorical enforcement of the demands of the *sharīʿa* the second pillar.⁷⁴ 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 bitār.

İčkilār muḥkamīdīn duşman yitār.

Daḡī bilgil uşbu yataq yaḡşī yaḡşī,⁷⁵

⁶⁵This 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).

⁶⁶This probably refers to the Timurid court poet, Amīrī's, description of feasts in the *Dah-nāma*.

⁶⁷He 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).

⁶⁸MS, British Museum, Add. 7914.

⁶⁹Apprentice and fourth vicar (*ḥalīfa*) 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.

⁷⁰*Ḥaṭarātu's* šayātīn “the vain suggestions of the Devil” (Lane, I, 2, 765b). As Shaybānī Khān explains it, *Ḥavāṭir vasvasa-i Šayṭāndīn turur*: “Thoughts about other than God arise from the evil suggestions of Satan” (2v:9).

⁷¹*Dīvān* 3v:6-7.

⁷²In 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.

⁷³A 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.

⁷⁴The first pillar is serving the Lord according to the demands of the *sharīʿa*. See below.

⁷⁵A 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!” dedilār kufr ahli. “Nā üčün?”

“Kim sāning šarʿingdā munkirga bolur ikki guvā.”

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

Uqlamasa çağdavul köpdin⁷⁶ ozar.⁷⁷

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.⁷⁸

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 ongđin murād šarīʿat ʿibādātī turur. Soldin išarat siyāsāt 8 qamčisi turur. Šarīʿat birlā ʿamal qīlip ʿibādāt qīlsa öz badanīnga va ahl- 9 ʿiyālinggā va raʿiyatga siyāsāt qamčisin ālikkā alip ʿadl 10 qīlsang, har āyina ʿudāy išingni künden kungā arturur. Va yana içki 11 din išarat rūhung turur. Ol Qādir-i Lam Yazaldin ʿināyat-i azalī 12 bolup nuşrat-i abadisi rūhunga şamadiyasī birlā madad qīlsa, havāfir tafriqa 13 sīnī va hīrş va havāngnī kitārūr. Va yana yataqdin murād köngül turur. 1 Ol Pādşāh-i ʿālamning atin köngüldā saqlasang va bu çağdavul⁷⁹ 2 teg uyuqlamay āgāh tursang Aning zikrining nūri sāning 3 nafs-i ammāraning zulmatin bu tūn dek qavlap⁸⁰ şubhdek köngülning 4 tangi atsa, ʿudāyning bārān-i raḥmatida ʿacib va ġarib ermās.⁸¹

[Know] also [that] “right” stands for serving according to the *sharīʿa*. “Left” means the whip of punishment. If you act according to the *sharīʿa* 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,⁸² 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,⁸³ and, like a rearguard [of the king’s army], you do not fall⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

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

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

⁷⁷*Dīvan* 50r:10-13.

⁷⁸The 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 Maʿārif* (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 Maʿārif* 12r:8).

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

⁸⁰See n. 26.

⁸¹*Dīvan* 50v-51r.

⁸²“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.

⁸³This is “silent recollection” (*zīkr-i ḥufya*) that Shaybānī Khān discusses in the *Risāla-i Maʿārif* (2r:10-2v:7).

⁸⁴Note 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.

⁸⁵Waking up with a fresh, healthy feeling and with a clear mind (*šādmānlīq va pākliq bilān*) is Shaybānī Khān’s ideal start of a new day. This state depends upon how we spent the night. Cf. *Risāla-i Maʿārif* (18v:2-20v:2).

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The *sharī'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,⁸⁶ the majestic valor of Chingis Khan,⁸⁷ and the compassionate generosity of Anūshīrvān, the Just.⁸⁸ Shaybānī Khān sums these thoughts up in the following distich:

Er esāng iṣ iṣlāgil mardāna.
Hikmat ilā bolsa sen⁸⁹ dardāna.⁹⁰

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, *ṣarī'at*, *ṭarīqat* and *ḥaqīqat*, making *ṣarī'at* a mandatory condition for the second and third stages. Shaybānī Khān did not take a deep interest in the *ṭarīqat* and *ḥaqīqat*. These would have taken him to the realm of *taṣavvuf* 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.⁹¹

The emulation of the Prophet Muḥammad in its spiritual dimensions raised Aḥmad 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.⁹² The events of his life and his life style also showed great similarities to the life of the Hashemite leader of the Faithful.⁹³ Following the principle, voiced in the *Muṣṭu'l-murīd*, that by emulating the Prophet you can attain his rank and status,⁹⁴ 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

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

⁸⁷The 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.

⁸⁸This 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.

⁸⁹*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 *Muṣṭu'l-murīd*.

⁹⁰*Dīvān* 51r:5.

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

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

⁹³Aḥmad 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 - *altmıṣ üçdā yergā kirdim* he says - in view of the fact that the Prophet passed away at the age of 63.

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

Ḥabīb ummatīṅa ḥabīblük ravā:
Ravā bolsa mī'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.

mī'rāj 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 Hikmat*, 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.⁹⁵

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.⁹⁶ This gave him a firm footing in his efforts to emulate "the friend in Madīna."⁹⁷ His habit of staying up at night for the *tahajjud* prayer was part of those efforts.⁹⁸ Even Bābur Shāh who would take every opportunity to blacken Shaybānī Khān's character, speaks with respect of his adversary's devotions.⁹⁹ The night prayer that Shaybānī Khān describes in detail in his *Risāla-i Ma'ārif*,¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ His main concern was to fight and subdue *nafs-šayṭān*, 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.¹⁰² 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 bāṭin bilä:¹⁰³

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.¹⁰⁴

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 home¹⁰⁵ and Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān became an emperor was the same Turkistān, in its old name Yassī:

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

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

⁹⁷Cf. *Divān* 15r:11.

⁹⁸The 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.

⁹⁹Cf. n. 54.

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

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

¹⁰²Shaybānī 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.

¹⁰³*Divān* 83r:9.

¹⁰⁴According to a tradition *bāṭin* 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.

¹⁰⁵Through 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 sarvarī ol Šāh-i Turkistān emiš.
Yār yüzini nūrī tutqan Māh-i Turkistān emiš.
Yol yangılğanlarğa der men, "Baralınğ Şabrān sarī!"
Qılma "umrung emdi zā'i", rāh-i Turkistān emiš.
Aytayın anıñ suyınıñ vaşfidin bir şammaē:
Āb-i Zamzam kim deyürlär,¹⁰⁶ çān-i Turkistān emiš.
Könglümä, "Kelgil!" deyür men, ol Samarqand arzulap,
Bilmämiş sen, ay köngül, dilhwāh-i Turkistān emiš.
Husn afşāfinda nāzük dilrubālar anda bar,
Bil, parī kim lāf ururlar dāh-i Turkistān emiš.
Aytayın men, ay yigitlär,¹⁰⁷ uşbu sirrni tinglägil;
Sarvar olurğa lā'iğ yer cāh-i Turkistān emiš.
Dedilär, "Qayda barur sen, köp Samarqandda valī!"
Bu Şabānī ārzūsī dargāh-i Turkistān emiš.¹⁰⁸

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.¹⁰⁹

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?"¹¹⁰

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 Aḥmad 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.¹¹¹ 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

¹⁰⁶Cf. n. 29.

¹⁰⁷Shaybānī Khān addresses the officers and soldiers of his immediate surroundings.

¹⁰⁸Divan 68v:12-69r:12.

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

¹¹⁰The line refers to Aḥmad Yasavī.

¹¹¹This 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.

will have power over them.¹¹² Again, the *miʿrāj* is referred to as directly as in the *Muʿīnuʾl-murīd*:¹¹³

Kezdim bu ʿišq šahrīn ʿayš va ʿarab barābar.
Kördüm anīng bāzārīn har rōz va šab barābar.
Ḥalqīnī kördüm anīng: biri birigā dōst[t]ur.
Nāmūs va nang birlā anda nasab barābar.
Sen emdi ʿālib ersāng pīr-i muḡāna bargīl.
Mayḡānadīn may ičkīl, ism-lakab¹¹⁴ barābar.
Har kim [ki] bu šahardīn cām-i šarīʿat ičsā,
Bilgīl ki ahlīga ol qīlgay ʿArab barābar.
Boldī bu ʿišq bāzī Sēmurg-i qāba qausain,
Manzilgahī dur adnā anda ʿacab barābar.
Ol köydāki kišīlār ḡam-ḡussadīn¹¹⁵ qutulḡay,
Ol vādīning ičindā šād va taʿab barābar.
Šabānī, ol šaharnīng sirriḡi kiši bilmās.
Seni ol ahl-i dilgā qīlgay Čalab barābar.¹¹⁶

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.¹¹⁷

Whoever drinks from the cup of the sharīʿa [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,¹¹⁸ how astonishing - equal to that of Him[, the Prophet].¹¹⁹

The folks in that street are exempt from sorrow and grief.

In that valley joy and weariness have equal status.

Shabānī, no one knows the secret of that city.

[But] the Lord will make you equal to the valiant [commander of that city].¹²⁰

The *miʿrāj* 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 *sharīʿa* an inheritance coming to him from the Prophet. This concept reminds one of the message of the Arslān Bābā legend that

¹¹²This attitude was the cornerstone of the Shaybanid restoration of Mongol power over the lands of Islam.

¹¹³Cf. n. 94.

¹¹⁴*Ism-lakab* and *ḡam-ḡussa* 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.

¹¹⁵See the preceding note.

¹¹⁶*Dīvan* 44v:11-45r:11.

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

¹¹⁸Reference to Qur. 53.9.

¹¹⁹This line echoes the thesis laid down in the *Muʿīnuʾl-Murīd*: if the *miʿrāj* was possible, the true believer's drawing near to God through love is also possible.

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

Yasavī Ideology in Muḥammad Shāybānī Khān's Vision

associated Aḥmad Yasavī directly with the Prophet and his mission.¹²¹ 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*):

Šabāniyā sanga Ḥaqq nusratī azaldīn dur.
Ravāc-i sunnat u šarʿ-i payambarī mīrās.¹²²

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 *sharīʿa*, 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:

Čōn ki Ḥaqq qıldı ʿināyat bizgā ʿizz va taḥt va tāc,¹²³
Biz taqī šukrānağa berdük šarʿatğa ravāc.
Šarʿ yolīn tüzdük andağ kim cihān aṭrāfidīn
Barča sultānlar kelip keltürdilār bēḥadd ḥarāc.¹²⁴

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 *sharīʿa*.

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 nāylāsūn:
Kuffār bēḥīn men kāsāy qalmasun andīn hēč nišān.¹²⁵
Šahbāz boldī Čingīzī, Sēmurg va ʿAnqā qayda dur?
Mān mān muḥitning cavharī, cavharnī bilmās ins va cānn.¹²⁶

I am Islam, I am Islam:¹²⁷ 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.¹²⁸ It was, however, filled with religious-ritualistic elements and expanded in elaborate

¹²¹See n. 79.

¹²²*Dīvan* 27r:3-4.

¹²³Majesty (*ʿizz*), Royal Throne (*taḥt*), and Imperial Crown (*tāj*) - in this order - were the insignia of Central Asian monarchs.

¹²⁴*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. Agnides, *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.

¹²⁵Expression for a total destruction or a complete elimination.

¹²⁶*Dīvan* 127r:1-4.

¹²⁷The statement is repeated for emphasis. See n. 64.

¹²⁸Cf. n. 4.

fashion over all layers of Muslim society. In his *Risāla-i Maʿārif* Shaybānī Khān explains as follows:¹²⁹

4 Har kiši öz nafsiga ħalifa 5 turur, ħwāh pādšāh, va ħwāh beg, va ħwāh raʿiyyat. Barčağa 6 ʿadl buyurup turur. Pādšāh kerāk kim öz 7 nafsiga ʿadl qılğay [kim ahl va ʿiyāligā ʿadl qıla alğay]. 8 Pādšāh kim öz nafsiga ʿadl qıla almağay¹³⁰ 9 ahl va ʿiyāligā nečük ʿadl qılğay? Pādšāh kim ahl va ʿiyāligā 10 ʿadl qıla almasa, raʿiy-yatğa nečük ʿadl qılğay? Basa beg-i 1 begat, nāʿib-i navvāb¹³¹ kerāk öz nafsiga ʿadl qılğay 2 kim ahl va ʿiyāligā ʿadl qıla alğay. Ahl va ʿiyāligā ʿadl 3 qılsa, özigā taʿalluq elgā ʿadl qıla alğay. Basa bāzargān 4 larğa, raʿiyyatlarğa, kāsiblarğa vācib turur kim öz 5 nafslariga ʿadl qılğaylar kim oğlan-uşaq¹³² bilā ʿadl 6 qıla alğaylar.¹³³

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 *sharīʿa* which is binding for every Muslim. Enforcement of the *sharīʿa* 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:

Mulhid eri kiringiz bu dīn-šarīʿat yolına
Ol sababtūn kim kōtār men sacdadīn bašim māning.¹³⁴

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

Or else I shall raise my head from prostration!

"Tangrī allots us time,"¹³⁶ Bilgā 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

¹²⁹The following passage is probably a translation from Nacmu'd-Dīn Dāya's *Miršādu'l-'Ibād* where it occurs as a commentary on Qur. 16,90.

¹³⁰Impossibilitive stem consisting of a gerund in -a + the descriptive auxiliary *alma-* as in modern Uzbek.

¹³¹See n. 97.

¹³²See n. 97.

¹³³*Dīvan* 41r-41v.

¹³⁴*Dīvan* 83v:1-2.

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

It hūrār, karvān kōčār. Mulhid ešāk dur dīn ara.

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

¹³⁶Old Turkic *öt* "a time span to which an event is assigned, the appropriate time for an event, condition, or state." See n. 34.

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 Ismāʿīl,¹³⁷ 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.¹³⁸ 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 Shaybānī 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.¹³⁹

¹³⁷Muḥammad Tīmūr Bahādur, Shaybānī Khān's valiant son, was about to join his father with a sizable army.

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

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