



SHUHRAT SIROJIDDINOV

EMIR ALI-SHIR
NAVĀI



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BY
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First Edition

ISBN: 979-8-218-49737-8

This book is a research-based text on a historical figure. While it is non-fiction, it uses interpretation and analysis of factual information.

Book Cover:

Creative Direction: Mina Saberi

Design Execution: Kate Lozovskaya

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Publisher: Mina Saberi of Saberi Publishing

Printed in the United States

Printed by Lightning Press

140 Furler Street

Totowa, New Jersey 07512

Phone: 973-890-4422

Email: cs@lightning-press.com

Web: www.lightning-press.com

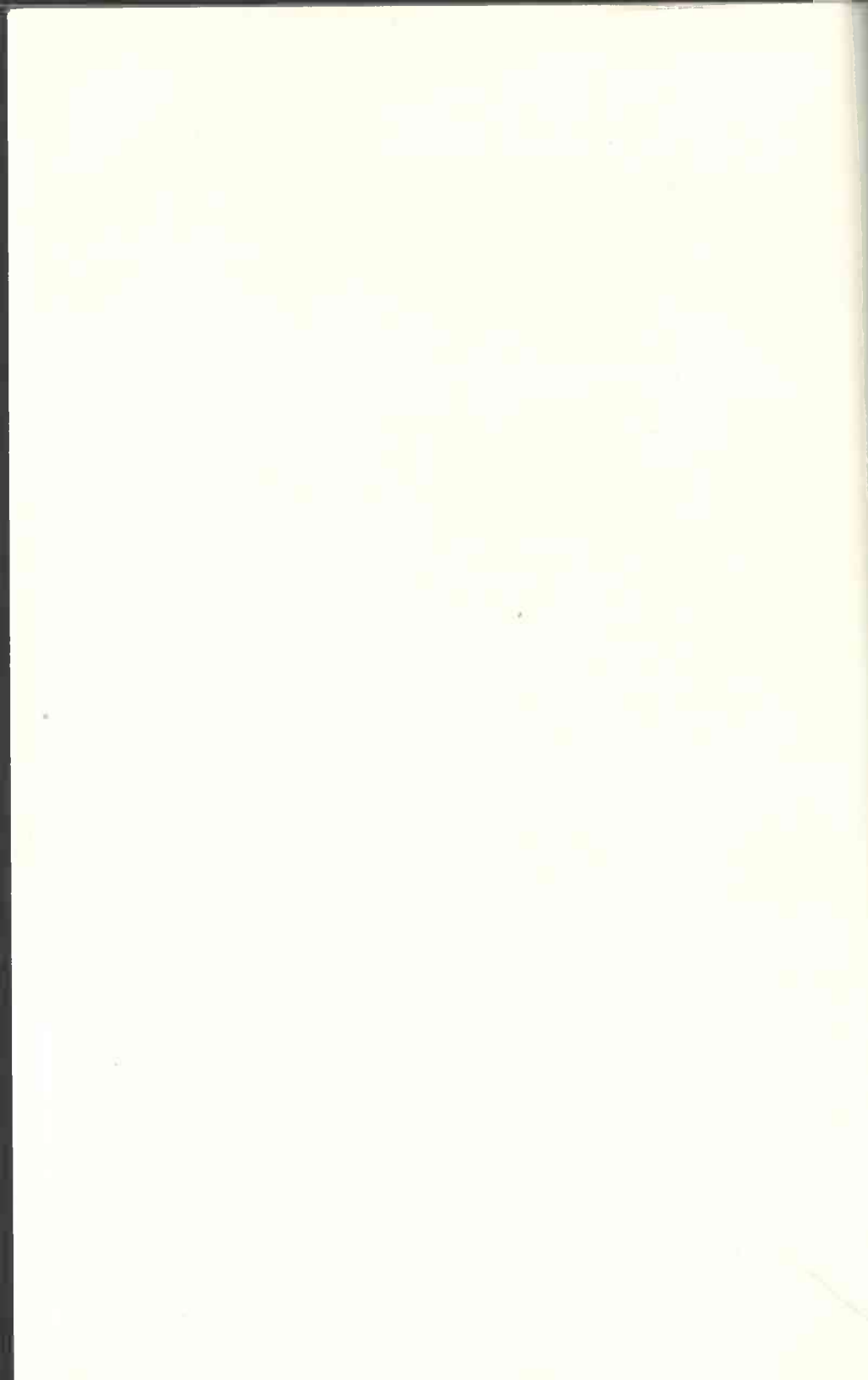
Library of Congress Control Number: [Self-published work, no LCCN]

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Emir Ali-Shir Navā`i

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SHUHRAT SIROJIDDINOV

Interest in the life and works of the great poet, thinker, and statesman Ali-Shir Navā'ī has been growing since his time and continues to these days. The figure of Ali-Shir Navā'ī has been interpreted differently by researchers for more than five centuries. This book re-examines Ali-Shir Navā'ī's life and activities based on original sources and analyzes existing interpretations.



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FOREWORD

My interest in exploring Ali-Shir Navā'ī's biography arose during my research activities at the Abu Rayhān Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan in 1988. Initially, my goal was to study the poet's religious outlook. Books by different authors on Navā'ī's life and works on this period in Uzbekistan numbered in hundreds, and research had been conducted for almost a hundred years. I was convinced that all aspects of life and creativity had been deeply researched. The only thing that remained out of sight of Soviet period scholars, or rather, had been forbidden under the communist censorship was the exploration of religious and theological aspects of the poet's work. Just at that time the epoch of "perestroika" gave me a chance to bring something new to the study of the poet's work.

I began my work by studying primary sources about the poet's life to learn more about contemporaries' assessments of Navā'ī's religious outlook. In a short time, I have leafed through almost all known in science works of contemporaries of Ali-Shir Navā'ī. I found some unknown works written in Hirāt during Navā'ī's lifetime. However, when I considered the information of his contemporaries my attention was attracted by the fact that some episodes of his biography did not coincide with what was stated in the studies of Soviet Navā'ī scholars. The more I penetrated the essence and content of the original sources, the more I got an impression that some moments of the poet's life

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were not correctly interpreted by modern researchers, even some obvious facts were omitted. This surprised me. Leaving for later the main theme of my thesis, I decided to deal with the biography of the poet. Since the 550th anniversary of Ali-Shir Navā'i was to be held in 1991, the desire to bring something new to the study of the poet's life and work gave me the impetus to revise everything that had been done before me and compare them in detail with manuscripts of the poet's contemporaries, giving information about his life and work.

At the initial stage I copied all the information of manuscript treatises on the history of Timurids concerning Navā'i and in parallel checked with the information given in the works of famous Soviet scientists, who stood at the origins of Navā'i studies, such as V.Barthold, E.Bertels, A.Semenov, M.Sal'e, O. Sharafiddinov, S. Aini. I familiarized myself with the works of P.Savel'ev, M.Nikitsky, I.N.Berezen, Hungarian diplomat G.Vambery, French orientalist M.Belin, English scientist E.Browne, carefully studied the research of A.N.Kononov, A.K. Borovkov, A.Yu.Boldyrev, A.S.Levend and all the subsequent studies of Uzbek and Turkish scholars on Navā'i's life and works without exception. Then I moved on to the study of various kinds of tazkira – biographies of poets, calligraphers, musicians, as well as collections of "ta'rikh" – a kind of collections dedicated to the dates of significant events. During the next 2 years I looked through hundreds of such manuscripts written in the period from the 16th to the 19 centuries. A huge amount of information about Emir Ali-Shir was collected. They were mainly of compilation character, written off from previous books. Many of them sometimes contradicted each other because of unauthorized distortions and additions.

From 1988 to 1991, I published my results and findings in local newspapers and magazines. Great resonance among the

public was caused by my articles, where the groundlessness of information of Mirzā Haydar Douglat, the author of "Tarikh-i Rashidi" that Navā'i belonged to the family of Uyghur scribes, that V.Bartold's version about Ali-Shir's relations with the ruler of those years Abu Sa'id Mirzā and Navā'i's exile to Samarkand was not true were proved. Especially my speeches about his friendship with Husayn Bāyqarā, about the female Ali-Shir was in love with, about relations between Emir Ali-Shir and other viziers arouse great interest of the public, as it was a discovery for everyone to see Navā'i in a different perspective, contrary to the imagination of the masses about Navā'i's personality as a "revolutionary and sufferer from persecution of the tsarist regime", a man who did not marry because of his physical weakness.

Thus, I began to build my version of his biography based on facts. The work lasted almost a decade.

During the whole period of my research work I have looked through and studied more than 300 manuscript copies of different kinds of works from the 15 to the beginning of the 20 century, stored in the rich collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, then checking them with copies of the same name works in the manuscript collections of Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Turkiye and Russia. I still remember with gratitude the late Uzbek academicians Batirkhan Valikhodjaev, Aziz Kayumov, Asamiddin Urinbaev, Alibek Rustamov, Najmiddin Kamilov, Abdukadir Hayitmetov for their support and advice in the successful advancement of my research.

What were my conclusions?

Although his name is often mentioned in chronicles and memoirs of the timurid period, they are only occasional references to the events that happened during the reign of Sultan

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Husayn, and do not provide a coherent account of Navā'ī's life. On the other hand, the information based on the observations of the authors, as well as what the contemporaries of Navā'ī, was not listed in chronological order. In this respect, they do not allow to completely restore the aspects of Emir Ali-Shir's life. It should be considered that some of the details are too short and less informative to shed the light on his life. In many cases where Navā'ī's participation is recorded, the date and location of the event are not clearly indicated. There are many cases where the difference between two pieces of information given briefly in one place is several months and years. Because the genre characteristics and subject direction of historical works did not allow to dwell on the participation of Al-Shir Navā'ī. The information in historical memoirs is also brief from the point of view of genre requirements, and consists of short, informative notes. Fortunately, two important books written by the contemporaries of Navā'ī that give greater details on the poet's life and activity have come down to us. These are a collection of memories written by Ghias ad-Din Khwandamir and Zayn ad-Din Vāsifi. Khwandamir, who was a close assistant and student of the great thinker, tried to reveal the bright image of Navā'ī as a possessor of beautiful manners in his work "Makarim al-Akhlāq", in which he provides extensive information about the poet's circle, his activities as a statesman, and public character. However, the biggest flaw of this work is that the author, while having the opportunity to provide accurate information, firstly, in many cases, did not mention the dates of the events, and secondly, he did not reveal Navā'ī's life in chronological order.

Zayn ad-Din Vāsifi's work "Badā'e'u-l-Vaqā'e" contains several famous anecdotes about Emir Ali-Shir. The author's uncle, Mavlānā Sahibdārā, was a close associate and friend of Emir

Ali-Shir, and with his support, Vāsifi was able to participate in the get-togethers of Ali-Shir Navā'ī. In this regard, the memories presented in his work were heard from people in the great poet's circle and consist of anecdotal accounts of Navā'ī's daily life.

There are some authors of the later period, who were born on the eve of the decline of the Timurid dynasty, used the information they grasped from previous writers in their works. For example, Mirzā Haydar Dughlat, Hakimshāh Qazvini, Fakhri Hiravi, Sām Mirzā Safavi, who lived in the first half of the 16 century, recorded some interesting information in their works; however, the source of the information is not always clear.

A substantial amount of information about Navā'ī can be found in the historical memoirs written in the following centuries. Some authors added skewed anecdotes and different narratives that reached them as the information left by contemporaries of Ali-Shir Navā'ī, creating "new" data which further was accepted as the norm by the next generation of authors.

This trend continued to the 20 century. It was especially evident in the works of Soviet researchers of Ali-Shir Navā'ī's life. Communist ideology played its influential role in this. The work of Soviet scientist V.V. Bartold "Mir Ali-Shir and Political Life", except for some, became fundamental for all subsequent studies in covering the life of the great poet and statesman of the XX century.

In 1997, I finally managed to finish the research entitled "Ali-Shir Navā'ī: comparative-typological, critical analysis of Persian sources of 15-19 centuries" and I successfully qualified for my DSc degree at the Institute of Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan. In it the information of different genre of sources created from the 15 to the 20 centuries is considered in detail. Grouping them vertically by centuries

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and horizontally by territories of their creation, the important information was singled out, it was then subjected to distortions and unreasonable generalizations during the following centuries. This made it possible to clarify the reasons for the appearance of false facts and "new" information that misled modern researchers of Navā'i. But the work did not end there.

A year-long internship at the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies gave me the opportunity to familiarize myself with valuable manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, the Institute of Oriental Studies at Oxford University, as well as studies by foreign scholars on the history of the Timurids and those related to Ali-Shir Navā'i and his era, which gave me more confidence in the validity of my conclusions. I am very grateful to Farhan Nizami, Director of the Center, for his assistance in allocating the grant and for his fraternal patronage during my stay in Oxford.

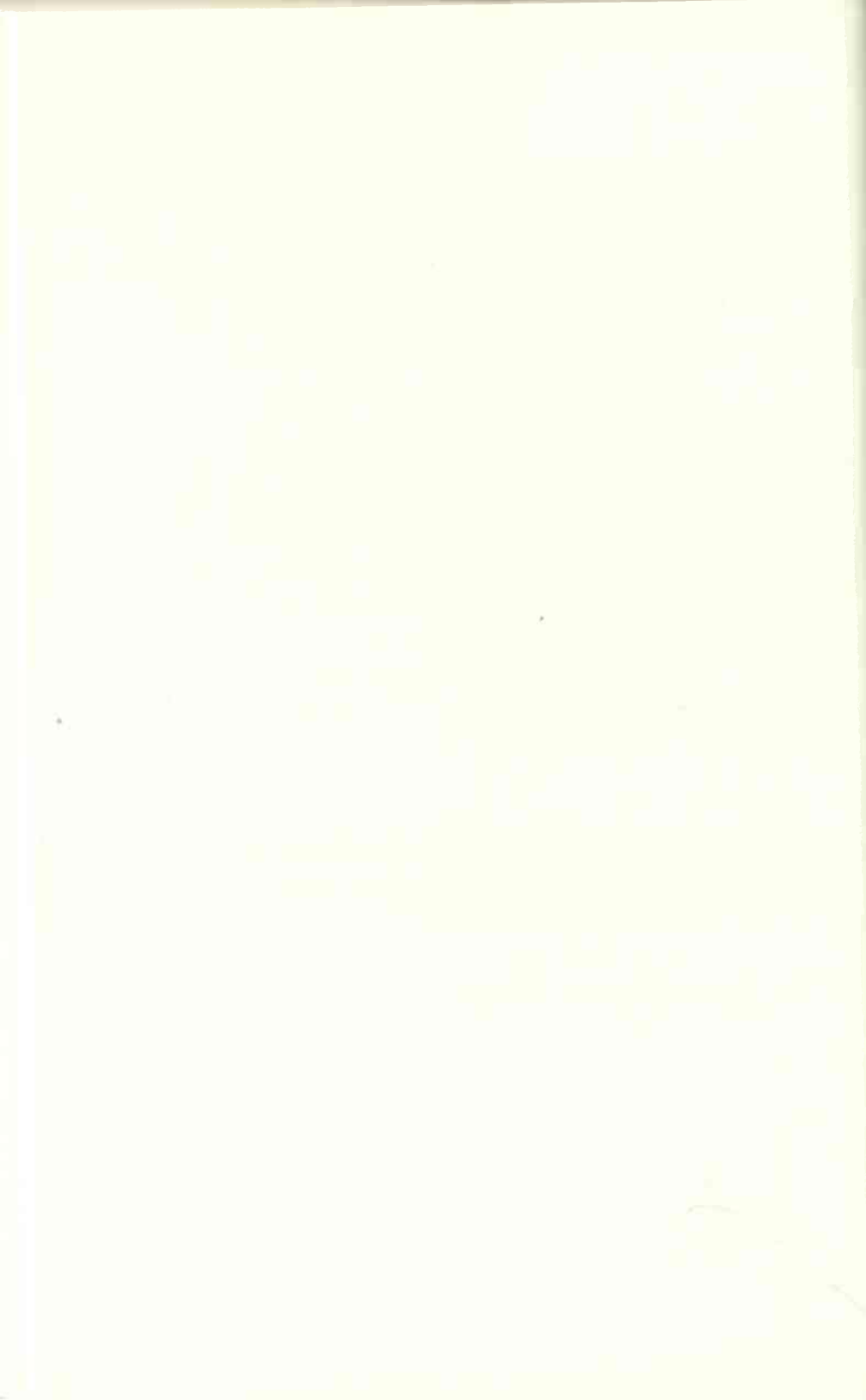
The results of my research were reflected in my books "Navā'i in the Recognitions of Contemporaries", "The interpretation of Ali-Shir Navā'i's life and activity in historical and memorial works of 15-16 centuries", Ali-Shir Navā'i: comparative-typological, critical analysis of sources (15-19 centuries)" published from 1996 to 2011.

Ali-Shir Navā'i as a poet and thinker all life sang of friendship of people, called up for solidarity and tolerance, education, and blessings, glorified universal values. Did not separate the destiny from destiny of all mankind, has devoted all life to spiritual progress of mankind. These issues were considered in my book titled "Mir 'Alī Shīr Navā'i the great" published in English in 2018. Ali-Shir Navā'i was not only a great poet, but as a statesman and wise friend of timurid sultan Husain Bāyqarā. His name has always been associated with

many legends. Interest in the personality of Navā'ī originated in his lifetime has not stopped by this day.

In the 20 century, apart from Soviet scientists, several scientists from other countries were engaged in studying the history of Timurids and in passing covered the life and activities of Ali-Shir Navā'ī. Without diminishing their merits I would like to emphasize that most of the studies were guided by the guiding vector and methodological basis of V. Bartold's work "Mir Ali Shir and Political Life" and subsequent studies of Uzbek scholars who were forced to distort the true biography of Ali-Shir Navā'ī under the influence of censorship of communist ideologists. If anyone is interested, he can carefully compare my conclusions with popular studies made in the world from the beginning of the 20 century to the present day and see the differences in approaches and assessments. In this book I considered to cover the biography of Navā'ī based solely on the facts given in the works of Navā'ī's epoch, in cases where it is necessary to polemicize on the erroneous views of Soviet scholars, which in different degrees influenced the undesirable direction of research on the life of Ali-Shir Navā'ī.

I hope this book will force researchers to take a new look at the personality of Ali-Shir Navā'ī and inspire them to search for even more reasoned findings that would lead to the creation of a full-fledged and objective biography of the great master of words and an outstanding statesman of the late Timurid period.



INTRODUCTION

Ali Shir Navā'i is recognized as an outstanding representative of Oriental Renaissance who made a great contribution to the development of the world civilization and cultural and spiritual life of Turkic speaking people, in particular. There are several reasons for that:

Firstly, He is a great poet and thinker whose endeavors to the development of the human mind through his humanistic ideas, philosophical-literary views and immortal poetic lines are beyond the count. His literary heritage is immense and diverse. The splendid seven *divāns* and the collection of five *dastans* – *Khamsa* ("Quintuple") are the most valuable proofs for his unique genius. His great collection of poetry that still preserves its social actuality *Khazāin ul-ma'āni* (A Treasure of Thoughts), Persian *divān* and odes (*qaṣīda*), scientific works *Muhākamat al-lughatayn* (The debate of two languages) and *Mizān al-avzān* (Measure of meters), religious and didactic works, and memories proved him as a remarkable artist of the word and a great thinker. Composing more than one hundred thousand poetical lines, he was among the fewest of the world poets who were able to create in almost all oriental poetical genres. Raising a perfect and tolerant human who would care about his country and establishing peace and mutual understanding among people, and founding friendship and cooperation with other nations were the core ideas and leitmotif of 'Ali Shir Navā'i's works.

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Secondly, he tirelessly fought for the rights of the native language without belittling the dignity of Arabian and Persian, dominating not only in science and literature, but also in political life. At that time, Arabic used to be the language of science and Persian owned the status of the language of poetry. Official correspondences were composed in either of these two languages. The poet proved that Turkic was as beautiful as the Arabic and Persian languages.

In the linguistic treatise *Muhākamat al-lughatayn* (Dispute of two languages) he proved on huge factual material stylistic, grammatical and phonetic possibilities of the Turkic language as a literary one. Ali Shir Navā'i concerned the logical dispute, in which there could be neither a winner nor a defeated one. It leaves the rights of all languages to the great existence in literature. Navā'i changed the historical attitude towards the Turkic language showing its vast opportunities theoretically in the treatise, artistically in wonderful melody "Khamsa" – the collection of five poems on Turkic. Thus, he lifted on all-new, the maximum step progress of the Uzbek literary language and the literature in general. The poet mentions this fact in his famous lines:

ترك نزمیده چومین تار تیب علم-
ایلادیراول ملکتنی یک قلم

*Caring lots on matter of Turkic word
Unified I Turkic land without sword¹.*

¹ In this introduction extracts from the verse of Navā'i are translated by Aida Bumatova

Navā'ī managed to complete the task he had put before himself and united the vast world of Turkic people under a single language.

Navā'ī founded a single system – a perfect language that joined the basics of the Turkic standard language, its literal genres and rules of its poetics for the Turkic people. The great poet and reformer developed Turkic literature showing the world pure beauty and power of the language and its vocabulary. Navā'ī's following poem is a good proof of this issue:

اگر بیز قوم گریوز یوقسه مینگدور-
 معین ترک اولوسی خود مینینگدور
 آلیب مین تحت فرمانیم غه آسان
 چریک چیکمای ختادین تاخراسان
 خراسان دیبه کیم شیراز و تبریز
 که قیلیمیش دور کی کلکیم شکر ریز
 کونگل بیز میش سوزوم که ترک جان هم
 نی یالغوز ترک بلکیم ترکمان هم

*Be it one tribe, hundred or thousand no less,
 Turkic people are all mine, nevertheless.
 Have taken I under my rule them with ease,
 China till Khūrāsān – no army – but peace.
 Khūrāsān, as well Shīraz and Tabriz men.
 Got all enjoyed to the sweet works of my pen.
 My words on Turkic people casted a spell,
 That is not only Turkish but Turkmen as well.*

His contemporary historian Daulat Shāh Samarqandī wrote about Navā'ī : “Turkic dīvāns of the great poet are integral and essential in the meetings of rulers and royalty... His fame reached

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Hijāz, Nishāpur and Isfahān. People of Ajam (non-Arab countries) recite his poetry with great pleasure; all parts of the world are full of these pearls”

It is seen in his following lines:

دیگانیرنی اولوسفه مرغوب ایت-
یا زغانیرنی کونگول غه محبوب ایت
تیل غه لفظی نی ناگزیر آیله
جانغه نظمی نی دلپذیر آیله
خلق غه زیب تارک آیله انی
اوقوغانغه مہارک آیله انی
ییتی اقلات نی انگه یار ایت
ییتی اقلیم ایلین خریدار ایت

*Make my sayings loved amongst the people,
Make my writings enjoyed amongst the hearts.
Make their language be the Turkic tongue,
Make its poetry to their hearts the song...
Make it a tiara for my people,
Make the ones who read it very cheerful.
Make the seven heavens friend with Turkic,
Make the seven continents desire it.*

Thirdly, alongside with his devotion to the Turkic poetry, Navā'i did much for the development of the Persian poetry of his time. His aim was to retain a great many of poetic and literary genres that was almost forgotten in the XV century. For instance, he supported many Persian poets and urged them to create in as many genres as possible. 'Abd ar-Rahman Jamī wrote about Navā'i's efforts to keep the Persian poetic traditions:

ز چرخ افرینها بران کلک باد-
 که این نقش مطبوع از آن کلک زاد
 ببخشید بر فارسی گوهران
 بنظم دری در نظم آوردان

*May the heavens bestow their blessings upon,
 The pen that has been embroidered on.
 Since endowed he Persian with pearl,
 Granting poetry of Dari with jewel.*

Fourthly, Navā'ī spent his life trying to win back the glory and prestige of great cultural-spiritual life and civilization of Turkic people, which once was as prosperous as the civilization of the Persians, and to resserect national pride and national identity. Through his scientific, philosophical-religious and literary works this brave, tolerant and patriot son of his nation restored the real prestige of Turkic people that was destroyed as the result of confusing Turkic people, and people of Māvarā al-Nahr in particular, with barbaric mongols and their descendants.

Fifthly, the great poet conducted a large-scale activity wide spreading morality. Within almost 30 years, he comprehensively helped his childhood friend, the fair ruler of Timurids – Sūltān Hūsayn Bāyqarā. His achievements were great in the preservation of peace in the state, progress of the science and education, strengthening international relations.

'Alī Shīr Navā'ī devoted his life to the development of the science, art, nation, establishing tolerance and peace among people, and strengthening of the country. That is the reason for Sūltān Hūsayn to call Navā'ī as "the pillar of the country". The power and estate of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī was not a chance to gain extra privileges and adornment for him. All he craved for was the

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development of science, restoration of national self-esteem and integration with human dignity².

Alī Shīr Navā'i was the owner of a large estate. He donated all his wealth in 1481 and created a charity waqf property. Waqf property – the buildings in the territory of Hirāt, in particular, the madrasah of *Ikhlāṣiyya* and related buildings, 24 shops, 3-4 tim markets (top-closed markets of the medieval), gardens (255.5 jaribs of fine vineyards and orchards, a certain portion of land (545 jaribs) where all the income of their usage was directed to madrasahs, buildings for wanderers, dervishes, qalandars, the needs of the poor and orphans. Caring much about the life of the representatives of science, spirituality, education, and art in Khūrāsān, he paid them salaries and granted dwelling houses from his private funds. He was the initiator of erecting many constructions, including four madrasahs, hospitals, bridges, pools and caravansarays³. He sponsored daily distributions of food for the poor; he used to grant the poor with about 2000 coats, gowns, shirts and trousers, footwear, and others annually. He had a special place *Dār al-ḥuffāz* built in Imam Rizā's garden in Meshhed where he distributed food for the poor, the disabled and orphans.

Other part of the income was spent on the development of science and literature. Under the estimation of Navā'i dozens of scientists did their research; writing historical works was widely prized and special attention was given to the works of artists. In the capital, Hirāt, such madrasahs as *Ikhlāṣiyya*, *Khalāṣiyya* and *Nizāmiyya* were built under Navā'i's personal initiative and money. There, famous scientists were occupied with research and teaching variety fields of science. Impeccable work and 'Alī

² Sirojiddinov, 1990, p. 79.

³ Khūlasatu-l-Akhhbār, 480a; Makārim, 66-68; Daulatshah Samarqandi, 371; Latāif-nāma, 133; Tuhfa-i Sāmi, 169a.

Shīr Navā'ī's diligence in progress of science, education and enlightenment became the reason for arrival of many poets, architects and artists in Hirāt from remote places, most of whom remained there forever.

During this period, lots of works related to mathematics, astronomy, geometry, logics, jurisprudence and Islamic theory and other fields of science were created. Sūltān created a beneficial and advantageous environment for the development of culture in Hirāt which was a vivid sample of careful attention of the rulers to the development of science and literature in the country in the Timurids Empire. Navā'ī's contribution to the development of science in the country was remarkable.

Historian Khwāndamir in his "Makārimu-l-Akhlaq" (Beautiful manners) gave a list of writers and scientists who worked on their creations under the support and sponsorship of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, and all of them mentioned the disinterested aid of the poet in their books with the feeling of gratitude⁴. Khwāndamir mentioned about 20 important scientific research which were held under the leadership and supervision of Navā'ī, their authors and the list of poets and representatives of scientific world who were under the patronage and financial support of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī.

'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, financed the education of many talented disciples from his personal funds, supported poets, scientists and artists morally and financially⁵. Thus, specifically under his protection, the whole generation of the famous scientists and creative people was grown there. The most known valuable chronics, shining history of the Central Asia Maṭla'i-Sa'dayn, Ravzatu-s-Safā, Khūlaṣat al-akhbār were created specifically under patronage of Navā'ī. The great artist-miniaturist Kamāl

⁴ Makārim, 28-30.

⁵ Sirojiddinov 1998(2), pp. 29-32.

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al-Dīn Bihzād, acknowledged in the West as “Rafael of the East” was brought up specifically under patronage and guardianship of ‘Alī Shīr Navā’i.

His remarkable and selfless services addressed the development of science and Timurid’s dynasty had already been admitted and registered in the hundreds of works of that period. His fame spread to other countries as well. His name as a great patron became legendary gloried among the prominent scholars and artists of that period. Many scientists of Hirāt mentioned ‘Alī Shīr Navā’i at the prologue of their works to express their deep gratitude to him. Many biographers, historians, poets, scientists wrote about goodness of Navā’i in their works.

Sixthly, Navā’i was a blessed man. Allah gifted him with a great talent and set a mission of enlightening the humanity – it is well seen from the objective feedback of ‘Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī, Sayyīd Ḥasan Ardashīr, Khwaja Ahrār Valī. The rulers of Timurid’s dynasty Sūltān Abu al-Qāsim Bābur and Sūltān Hūsayn Bāyqarā had a deep respect and adornment toward the great poet. Navā’i himself felt the divine mission of his life in this world:

اولوغ کامر لردین ایدیمر بختیار
که یوق ایردی آتده منگا اختیار
نی تانگ بولسا کوپدین کوپ ارقایخولوق
طمع بولسا کیر گه اولوغ دین اولوغ
ولیکن نی غم تنگری آیلاب کرم
اولوغ مدعا بیر سا مقصود هم

*Having great goals in front happy was I,
Still, never a choice to disclaim them had I.
A lot of obstacles on their ways to come,*

*To ones who claim the great goals to overcome.
Though why should I be sad or more upset,
Since the God for me those obligations set!*

The life and works of Navā'ī that are thoroughly oriented at humanistic ideas can prove that he lived with the idea of creating a fair community that we know today as a democratic society. The following Persian ghasal of the poet is a bright example:

عالمی خواهر که نبود مردم عالم در او
که از جفای مردم عالم نباشد غم در او.
نه به روز اشک اسیرانش نماید سیل قتل
نه به شب زاه غریبان کسوت ماتم در او
نه ز پیداد فلک در وی دل با صد علم
نه ز شمشیر «تو صد زخم بیمار هم در او
نه ز پیریویان در او خیل همه نا آدمی
نه هزاران دیواز جنس بنی آدم در او...
فانیا، در وضع گرد و غبار پر مکن اندیشه زان
که نکته ای نبود که نبود بر خیرد مبهرد در او

*World I long for is the one – people of world there wouldn't be,
Greif from the oppression of people ever there wouldn't be.
Either had the slaves to weep all day long of being execute
Or mourning all nights long of their misfortune there wouldn't be.
No more of hundred pains of unjust world that the heart could hurt
Hundred wounds in hearts men by sword of grief there wouldn't be.
Wish I none of angel faced inhuman there could exist,
Either thousand beasts or djins in human look there wouldn't be.
Ey Fani, never go deep into understanding of the world
Any issue that couldn't be solved by wit there wouldn't be.*

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Navā'i's works seem to be a message to the future. He repeatedly states that the highest benefactor for humans is living in friendship and peace; the highest task for humanity is providing the refinement of the Earth, and preserving peace in the world. As this great scientist and poet tells himself

کیو بو چمن ایچره خرامان ایرور
بارچه سی بیر بیر ییگه مهمان ایرور
هرکیشی کیو یار ایسه یاری انکا
هرکشی کیو یار ایسه یاری انکا

*Just as flowers in this flourishing garden,
No one is eternal – are guests with burden.
Those who exist are friends for each other,
Those who are friendly – may be blessed men.*

It goes without saying that each of Navā'i's verses, containing the appeal to good deeds, generosity, call for peace, love, fraternity, and friendship between people as the core nucleus, presents particularly deep significance even in the present uneasy time when conflicts arise in various areas and regions; when insecure information war threatens amicable and peaceful life of different nations; when pseudo-religious claims lead to intolerance and bloodshed, but all do nothing but pursue the desire for power. He writes:

بو گویا جهان ایچرا طوفان ایرور
که اندین جهان اهلی ویران ایرور
نی طوفان بلا بحری چایقالتغانی

جهان اہلی سو آستینا قالغانی
 اتا بیر طرف گرایرور فی المثل
 ینا جانب اولسا او غولغہ محل
 ایکسی غہ کین اوقی سالغای غضب
 اول اوت قان ایچار غہ قلیب تشنه لب
 اتا جان بیریب اوغلین اولتور گہ لی
 او غول ہمرانگہ تیغ کین سور گہ لی
 قرینداش تاپسہ قرینداشینی
 دما دم تیلاب کیس کا لی باشینی
 توشوب آشنالر غہ بیگانہ لیق
 کیتیپ ہمنشین لر غہ ہمخانہ لیق
 توتوب فتنہ گردی خلایق کوزون
 کیم اول گرد ارا خلق تاپمای اوزون
 یقین بیل اول کوندور آفت کونی
 نی آفت کونی کیم قیامت کونی

*Just as hurricane covering the globe aye,
 That'll destroy people of the world entire.
 What a storm that waves the sea of evil!
 Then, humankind wholly be drown in it will.
 Father is on one side full of rage being
 Infuriating his son once him seeing.
 The flame of fury filling their hearts with thud,
 The burning heart can be slaked only with blood.
 Craving father for the blood of his own son
 While the son longs for the sword so father's done
 Their country mate, kin, or relative it be,
 Would they execute at times so easily,*

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*Would the closest friend become eternal foes
Covering them with sadness from head to toes
Malice and anger cover their eyes in day,
Through them they will see no one, and lose their way.
This is how comes upon us the Judgment Day!
Or what the day there comes would be the Wrath Day!*

From this prospective, the following of Navā'i's appeals sound as the call for vigilance towards the whole humanity and the international community:

*I say, the people of the world, hostility is no good that
matters; love each other, and do only good deeds to
each other, that is what matters!*

If you read the works by this great poet who could foresee the future and discern various threats and menaces through centuries, who always desired to lead humanity to a proper way, you will feel as if you found the solution to difficult problems.

Let us read the following verse by Navā'i where he insists that the only way to solve any war-threatening situation is negotiations and peaceful talks:

خوشا یکی آزاده نامراد
که بیزیر کا ظاهر قلیب اتحاد
نی اول آیللا سبومدارا قلیب،
انگامور رفق آشکارا قلیب
انینگ کامی بوییر کا مقصود اولوب
مونونگ ردی اول بیر کامردود اولوب
کیرالک اول نصیحت داغی نرم روی
که تامستمع بولمه غی تندخوی

که تند اولسه کوپ وحشت امکانی بار
که ناصح کا هریر نقصانی بار

*So good, when people each other tolerate,
Having will with one another cooperate.
If one of them to unite their forces intend,
While another's mind is obtaining the friend.
Once the same goal unite them for the good sake
Opposing aim, taking they, for a mistake.
There will be need in advisor, wise indeed,
Who his bad temper can under control keep.
Rage comes, once friendship feelings disappear,
No good of that to the advisor will appear.*

The works of Navā'ī are not written for one nation, indeed. Every problem in his works and his ideas on solving them are related to humanity. The great thinker lived with the global issues; he set as his main goal upbringing of a perfect human and spreading humanism all over the world. He felt a great responsibility for his divine mission – wide spreading high human dignity.

It is a historically well-known fact that once Timurids Sultan Hūsayn considering Alī Shīr to be his *patron pir* wanted to take the bridle of the horse Navā'ī rode and led it. As it was underlined in historical sources, the governors of eastern countries longed for meeting 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, they used to express their respect, sending their ambassadors. As it was mentioned by well-known historian Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, to keep the works of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī in any ruler's libraries, was considered as the honour for a governor. Besides, many different rulers willed to have an opportunity to have a conversation with Navā'ī. And the Timurid's princes ruling in the different regions

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of the state stretched from eastern parts of China up to Persian Gulf, including the present territories of Iraq, Iran and Turkey, considered 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī a mentor and the respectable *pir*. Navā'ī neither was a follower of any particular theological school or *tariqah*, nor did he write philosophical treatises as al-Fārābī or used theological discourse like Ibn al-'Arabī; but in everlasting poems he advocated a gnostic view of the universe while remaining fully aware of all Islamic sciences, almost all aspects of philosophy and theology of all specific schools of thought, which had ever existed until his time. He showed his vast knowledge of Quranic exegesis, Hadith sharif and wide range of intellectual sciences.

All it shows that it was not only the recognition of his genius as a poet, but also it was the proof of their endless tribute to the saint person' life-long admonitions enlightening the way of the humanity, who assumed advocating human's perfectness and education to be his highest mission of the life, and who became the eternal model by his personal behaviour.

PART I
ALI-SHIR'S YOUTH
(1441-1469)



Ancestry of Ali-Shir Navā'i

Alishir Navā'i was born in Hirāt on the 17th day of Ramaḍān 844 A.H. (February 9, 1441) during the reign of Emir Timur's son Shāhrukh Mirzā. His ancestors were wise advisors of Emir Timur and later the mentor of the prince Umarshaikh Mirzā. A historian Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandi writes in his book "Matla-i Sa'dayn va Majma-i Bahrain":

and there is Emir Ali-Shir, whose great grandfathers and ancestors were among the noble emirs since ancient times. During the time of Umarshaikh Mirzā the son of Emir Timur, the happiness of being fed milk by the same nanny was written on the tablet of their lives with a pen of attention"⁶.

This work was completed between 872(1467-1468)-874 (1469-1470) and in 875 A.H. (1470 A.D.) the author proceeded, including the events that took place in the month of Sa-far (August 1470) of that year⁷. There are two important aspects of this work for Navā'i studies. First of all, it is the source that recorded the name of Ali-Shir Navā'i for the first time in history. Therefore, the information about Navā'i's life reflected in it is important as a historical fact. Even if the information is given in

⁶Matla-i Sa'dayn (1), 331a. Author's translation from Rersian. All translations in the book belong to the author. When the translation is performed by another translator, the latter's name is provided.

⁷Ibid, 331a

the form of brief note, it is of great importance in the exploration of the life of a great thinker. Second, the work was completed under Navā'i's supervision. So, Navā'i reviewed the notes about himself. Navā'i may have preferred the note to be this extremely brief himself. The research shows that, none of the works belonging to different genres created during the time of Ali-Shir Navā'i provide with enough information about the Ali-Shir's ancestors. Daulatshāh Samarqandi, in his memoirs, dwells very briefly on Navā'i's father saying that he was one of the nobles of the Chaghatai people and the confidant of Abu-l-Qasim Babur. At the same time, he emphasizes that Navā'i's father was a warlord⁸.

It is surprising that in all the works created during Navā'i's lifetime and under his patronage, there is no additional information about Navā'i's ancestors. Such information is not even found in such works as "Ravzatu-s-Safā" and "Khulāsatu-l-Akhhār" of Khwandamir that were commissioned historical works by Navā'i. This, in turn, leads to the idea that Emir Ali-Shir did not allow his contemporaries to write about his ancestors. Ali-Shir Navā'i himself left almost no information about his ancestors. Except for a couple of general notes, of course. In the preface of his divan "Badāe'u-l-Bidāya", he mentions the following:

starting from our parents to the previous seven generations have our family been servants of the noble family of Husayn Bāyqarā dynasty, and having chosen generational brotherhood relations with this dynasty, being a chosen brother of the prince Husayn, and the slave of the dynasty that was born in the inner family" and, thus, Navā'i emphasized that he

⁸ Daulatshāh Samarqandi, 370.

*and his ancestors were close to the Timurid family on the level of kinship*⁹.

He also mentions in the work "Vaḳfiā" that every one of his ancestors have been in the service of the ancestors of this nobleman (Sultan Husayn), each one of them was a gem of the kingdom, they were men who deserved great honor and were highly respected¹⁰. He, thus, pointing at his lineage. There are some notes about his father should the general topic require it. For example, in his *tazkira* "Majālisu-n-Nafāis" it is mentioned that when a poet named Mir Shāhi deceased and his body was brought from Astrabad to his native town Sabzavār, Navā'i's father was in charge of government affairs of the town¹¹. He did not give any other information about how long he was governor and his life in Sabzavār. But for some reason, he does not mention the names of his parents in any of his works. There are some brief notes about his uncles, Mir Sa'id Kabuli and Muhammad Ali Gharibi, and his brother Darvishali in the "Majālis an-Nafāis". Those notes are so brief in terms of the *tazkira* requirement¹².

It should be noted that information about Emir Ali-Shir's ancestors is found only in works written after the poet's death. For example, although the sources of Navā'i era unanimously stated that Emir Ali-Shir's ancestors were among the noble emirs, Haydar Dughlat's work "Tarikh-i Rashidi" written in 951 A.H. (1544-1545 AD) provides different information on his genealogy. In particular, the author states that Navā'i originally belonged to the Uyghur Bakhshis¹³.

⁹ Badāe'u-l-bidāya, 5b.

¹⁰ Vaḳfiā, 744b.

¹¹ Majālis, 662a.

¹² Ibid, 669b.

¹³ Tarikh-i Rashidi, 121b

A.Semenov in his article on the relationship between Navā'i and Husayn Bāyqarā provides quite a short explanation of this, saying that "bakhshis are the clerks of *devon*, court employees". Meanwhile, T.Sultanov in his research, based on the definition of Abul-Ghazi Bahadir and V.V.Barthold's conclusion, about the position and duties of bakhshi-secretaries mentions:

"...there were many literate people among the Uyghur people. They were good at managing documentation and were well-versed in finances. During the Gengis Khan dynasty, all court officials in Movaro an-nahr, Khorasan and Iran were Uyghurs. All the secretaries and officials of Turkestan royalty who used Uyghur script were referred as "bakhshi" (Sanskrit "bhikshu") whose original meaning means Buddhist priests. According to V.Bartold these officials had a higher rank in comparison with the representatives of Islamic culture at the Chagatai court and only they were responsible in keeping the historical records¹⁴.

V.V.Bartold concludes that during Genghis Khan's time, pagan Uyghurs were close to Mongols in terms of religion and Central Asian peoples in terms of language, so Mongol Khans made good use of them, and naturally, Uyghurs were considered closer to Mongols than Muslims. Maybe it was like that in the early days of the Mongol invasion. In "Zafarnama", where the history of Emir Timur is covered, Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi called the people who carry out writing and drawing works such as "Bakhshiyān-i Turk¹⁵. It is clear from this that the official correspondence in Timur's palace were carried out mainly by

¹⁴ Pamyatniki, 104-105.

¹⁵ Zafarnāma, 99b

local scribes. However, as the use of the word "bakhshi" instead of "secretary" became a tradition from the Mongol khans, both terms were used interchangeably. So, if it is considered a tradition to call the secretaries by the name of Bakhshi during the time of Timur, then it becomes clear that when Mirzā Haydar called Navā'ī "to be from the Uyghur Bakhshis", he did not mean his nationality as some of scholars say¹⁶, but the fact that his ancestors were the court secretaries. On the other hand, the claim that his ancestors were the court secretaries also is questionable. It should be noted that this information is not found in any works written during the Navā'ī era. Due to the fact that historians and his contemporaries who were personally acquainted with Navā'ī did not provide such information, it is necessary to approach Mirzo Haydar's information with caution. Secondly, Mirzā Haydar was born in Tashkent shortly before the death of Navā'ī, i.e. 905/1499-1500 AD. He spent most of his life in Kashgar and lived his final days in India. He did not have the opportunity to get information about Navā'ī from people who knew the great poet personally. Even Khwandamir, who spent the end of his life in the palace of the Zahir ad-Din Babur, had died about seven years before Mirzā Haydar's arrival in India. As it happened, Mirzā Haydar had no opportunity to double-check his information on the subject in question. Thirdly, it is known to orientalist that in the process of creating a historical work, the author sometimes relied not on written sources, but on unfounded claims circling within the people and recorded them as facts. T. Sultanov in his research on the content of historical works created in the 15-16 centuries stated that Mirzo Haydar also followed this path in many places¹⁷.

¹⁶ Semenov 1960, 238; Subtenly (2), 800.

¹⁷ Pamyatniki, 192.

Since Navā'i himself commented that his forefathers were "highly respected and noble men" in the reign of the Timurids, one should have a belief in this statement above all. A conclusion similar to that of Mirzā Haydar can be found in some sources created in later centuries. For example, "Bahru-l-asrār fi manāqibu-l-akhyār" (17 century, Balkh) by Mahmud b. Vali, "Tāmmu-t-tawārikh" (1598, Bukhara) by Abdulmu'min Khan, Fahmī's "Tazkiratu-sh-shuarā" (19 century, Samarkand), bayaz-antology by Sharifjon Sadr Ziā (20 century, Bukhara) there is also a brief note that "Emir Ali-Shir's ancestors are from the Uyghur Bakhshis"¹⁸. Notice that this same information is found only in sources created in Central Asia. It is interesting to note that the T. Sultanov, who studied the work "Tarikhi Rashidi" in depth, also emphasized that its copies did not spread outside of Central Asia and Eastern Turkistan, especially in the Middle East. Thus, it can be concluded that the information found in later periods that confirms Emir Ali-Shir's being from "Bakhshi", must have been taken from the work of Mirzā Haydar.

The real name of Navā'i's father in the history of Navā'i studies for the first time is mentioned in Khwandamir's "Habibu-s-Siyar" (completed in 1524) as Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina. It is noted that when prince Sultan Ibrahim b. Ala ud-dawla b. Bāysunghur b. Shāhrukh Mirzā's ambassadors were sent to the ruler of Samarkand, Abu Sa'id Mirzā, the father of Emir Ali-Shir, Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina, was assigned to accompany them¹⁹. Mirzā Haydar Dughlat gives his father's name as

¹⁸ Bahru-l-Āsrār, 160a; Tazkira-i Fahmī, 36a; Sadr Ziā: Bayaz, 20a. The information in "Tāmmu-t-tawārikh" was taken from A. Hayitmetov's article. See: Hayitmetov 1974 (2), 184.

¹⁹ Habibu-s-Siyar, 570a.

Emir Kichkina²⁰. Fakhri Hiravi also mentions as "Emir Kichkina"²¹.

In "Latāifnāma" by Fakhri Hiravi, written in 1521-1522, it is mentioned as follows:

Old historians who are familiar with Mir's biography and wise people quote in their works that Mir inherited his title of Emir. His father, Emir Kichkina, was in the service of Sultan Abu Sa'id (the period after 1457, when Abu Sa'id Mirzā occupied the throne of Khurasan is being mentioned-SH.S.) Although he did not have the official position (mansab), he was highly respected man in the court. His maternal grandfather, Emir Sheikh Abu Sa'id Chang²², used to be the Emir ul-umara (premier-ministr) in the Bāyqarā's court. Mir was taken to the service of Babur Mirzā at the age of ten and (the sultan) treated him as his own son. Mir was a friend and classmate at school with the sultan of the time (Husayn Bāyqarā). They made a pact not to forget each other whenever they fortune would smile at them²³.

According to the hints given at the introduction of the memoirs, this information must have been taken from some other source. Perhaps Fakhri based on some source that has not reached us. It is unknown to us. The fact that no information was given about the parental relations of Navā'i, while his maternal grandfather's name was mentioned is quite surprising.

²⁰Tarikh-i Rashidi, 121b. Kichkina means younger and little or short and undersized.

²¹Latāifnāma, 133.

²²Sāmi gives as Bek

²³Latāifnāma, 133.

This is not logically related to the information in Khwandamir's works, as well as to Navā'i's recognition of his parental ancestors. Probably, note that describes Abu Sa'id Chang as Navā'i's maternal grandfather is a scribal error. Navā'i himself asserts this to be from "paternal grandfather". E.Bertels writes that Ali-Shir's grandfather Abu Sa'id Chang was an Emir in Bāyqarā's court during his short-term government in Qandahār²⁴. It was not possible to determine from which source E.Bertels took the information that he was an Emir in Qandahār. However, E. Bertels' speculation about Qandahār could be true. If we have a look at the history of Husayn's grandfather Bāyqarā Muhammad, we will come across interesting information.

²⁴ Bertels 1965, 25.

Mirzā Bāyqarā

Mirzā Bāyqarā was born to the second son of Emir Timur, Umarshaikh Mirzā²⁵ and Mulkat Āqā, whose father was mentioned as Khizr Oghlān. When Emir Timur died, Bāyqarā was 11-12 years old, and his eldest brother Iskandar was 21 years old²⁶. Thus, the year of Bāyqarā's birth can be determined as approximately 1391-1392. However, the date of birth of his brother Iskandar Mirzā was clearly mentioned as 786 (1384 AD). Umarshaikh ruled the northeastern regions of the empire, mainly living in Andijan. Because Emir Timur conquered Andijan in 773 (1371-1372) and handed it over to 17-year-old Umarshaikh²⁷. It is recorded in historical sources that Umarshaikh got married while he lived in Samarkand and had sons named Pir Muhammad and Rustam from his first wife. In 794 (1392 AD), Emir Timur marched to Iran. Umarshaikh accompanies him. In 795 (1392 AD), Timur defeated the rulers from Muzaffarids and occupied the country of Fars (Persia), the capital of which was Isfahan. He then bestows the control of Persia onto Umarshaikh Mirzā²⁸. Since then, the Timurids are firmly established in the territories of present-day Afghanistan

²⁵ Amir Timur had 4 sons: Muhammad Jahāngir (died in 1377-1378), Umarshaikh Mirzā (1354-1394), Mirānshāh Mirzā (1366-1408) and Shāhrukh Mirzā (1377-1447). Umarshaikh was born from the second wife of Amir Timur named Tolin Āqā.

²⁶ Zafarnāma, 491b.

²⁷ Natanzi, 114, 191-192.

²⁸ Zafarnāma, 234b, 239b.

and Iran. Umarshaikh makes Shirāz his capital. Umarshaikh then sends his people to Andijan to bring his family and young children²⁹. Taking into account that Emir Timur's next 5-year war in the Middle East began in 794 (1392 BC), it can be said that Iskandar Mirzā was about 9-10 years old, and Bāyqarā Mirzā was an infant when Umarshaikh's family moved from the territory of present-day Uzbekistan to the lands of Iran³⁰.

According to Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi, Umarshaikh stayed in Shirāz for a year and then was called by Emir Timur to help Diyarbakir on the Syrian road³¹. Umarshaikh leaves to his father together with his eldest son Pirmuhammad, and hands the power to his son Iskandar Mirzā, born from his second wife, Mulkat Āqā. By this time, Umarshaikh, who was 40 years old in 796 (AD 1394), was suddenly killed by a arrow shot from a tower near the walls of the Mukhtasri fortress in Kurdistan in the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal³². According to the decree of Timur, he was buried in the Aryati cemetery in Shirāz, and later his body was transferred to his native Shakhrisabz. According to Yazdi, his wives Sevinch Kutlugh, Mulkat Āqā and Beka Mulk Āqā and his children, including Iskandar, were left in Shirāz³³.

The management of the country of Persia was entrusted to the 24-year-old Pirmuhammad, the eldest son of Umarshaikh (Ibid., 254^a)³⁴. Iraq of Ajam (capital Isfahan) was handed over to his brother Rustam Mirzā. Iskandar born to Mulkat Agha was appointed as the ruler of Hamadan. According to the traditions, Mulkat Agho lives with his younger son Bāyqarā

²⁹ Natanzi, 199.

³⁰ Zafarnama, 224b.

³¹ Ibid, 253a.

³² Ibid, 253b.

³³ Ibid, 254b.

³⁴ Ibid, 254a.

under the patronage of Iskandar. Shortly after, Emir Timur decides to marry the widow Mulkat Āqā to his younger son Shāhrukh Mirzā in order to prevent possible political chaos in the future³⁵. Bāyqarā stays with Iskandar, and his mother moves to Hirāt. Soon, in 1395, Mulkat Āqā gave birth to a son, who was named Suyurghatmish Mirzā.

... After the death of Emir Timur in 1405, the battle of the princes for the throne begins. Emir Timur's son Mirānshah died in 1408 in a conflict with Kara Koyunlu Turkmens. The lands of Azerbaijan and Iraq of Ajam (present west- northern of Iran) passed into the hands of the Turkmens. In 1410, Umarshaikh's eldest son Pirmuhammad also died as a result of an assassination. Shirāz comes under the control of Iskandar. He moved from Hamadān to Shirāz together with his brother Bāyqarā. Shortly after, Iskandar managed to recapture Azerbaijan and Iraq. Iskandar Mirzā began ruling Persia and Iraq of Ajam independently. By the order of Shāhrukh Mirzā (probably at the initiative of Mulkat Āqā) in 1412, Bāyqarā was appointed as the ruler Iraq of Ajam. The lands of Hamadan, Vuruju, Nakhāvand and Luristān were handed over to him. Fakhri Heravi's information about the fact that Navā'ī's grandfather Abu Sa'id served as premier-ministr (emir al-umara) to Bāyqarā Mirzā's household probably refers to this period³⁶. Sām Mirzā, who recorded this information, mentions the name of Navā'ī's grandfather as Abu Sa'id Bek³⁷. Thus, it can be concluded that Abu Sa'id Bek was a very close person to Mirzā Bāyqarā. We even assume that Abu Sa'id may have been nursed by the same nanny as Bāyqarā Mirzā, because he was always with Bāyqarā wherever the latter lived.

³⁵ Matla-i Sa'dayn (2), part 2, 104.

³⁶ Latāifnāma, 133.

³⁷ Tuhfa-i Sāmi, 167a.

In 1413, Iskandar moved from Shirāz to Isfahan and made it his capital. In 817 A.H. (1414 AD), Iskandar disobeyed Mirzā Shāhrukh, the enraged ruler sent an army and besieged Isfahan. Iskandar surrenders. Shahrukh arrested Iskandar and handed over Isfahan to Rustam Mirzā and Shirāz to his grandson Ibrahim Sultan. Iskandar encourages his brother Bāyqarā Mirzā to oppose Shāhrukh's decision. In 1415, Bāyqarā expelled Ibrahim Sultan from Shirāz. Shahrukh storms Shirāz in anger and exiles Bāyqarā Mirzā to Qandahār ruled by Prince Qaidu Mirzā³⁸. It should be mentioned that exile here is not imprisoning the prince but making him live in the farthest territories of the country. Bāyqarā ruled Qandahār together with Qaidu Mirzā. Bāyqarā lived in Qandahār two years, from 1415 to 1417. Due to the disagreement between two Timurids: Qaydu Mirzā and Bāyqarā Mirzā, which gradually turned into a big conflict, Shāhrukh Mirzā exiled Bāyqarā Mirzā from Qandahār to Samarkand in 820 AH (1417 AD)³⁹. Bāyqarā Mirzā's further fate is unknown and not recorded in any historical source. Here we can confirm the assumption of E. Bertels that Navā'i's grandfather was the emir of Bāyqarā in Qandahār. He may also have come to Qandahār as Bāyqarā's closest person and loyal servant.

Mir Ali-Shir did not consider it to be possible to anyhow justify Bāyqarā, who was severely punished for his rebellion during the reign of Shāhrukh and accused of ungratefulness, in historical works and at the same time be proud of his grandfather, who was his close comrade. Mir Ali-Shir's decision not to bring his ancestors names and representatives of Bāyqarā's household to the light could be explained by his eagerness not to overshadow the history of the Timurids.

³⁸Matla-i Sa'dayn (2), 298.

³⁹Ibid, 327.

Fathers of Husayn and Ali-Shir

Mirzā Bāyqarā had two sons: Muhammad and Ghiyas ad-Din Mansur. The life of the Bāyqarā Mirzā's family after Qandahār is not recorded in the sources. Therefore, we do not know where they lived and the details of their lives together with Ali-Shir's family from 1417 when Bāyqarā was expelled from Qandahār to 1438 when Husayn was born. We think that his family did not go to Samarkand. Otherwise, Natanzi, who wrote the history of Iskandar Mirzā, would have mentioned it. However, there is some information to keep in mind. In the same year, Suyurgatmish Mirzā was appointed as the governor of Kabul and Ghazni lands by Sultan Shahrukh. Bāyqarā Mirzā's mother Mulkat Āqā moved to Kabul with her son Suyurgatmish Mirzā⁴⁰. Suyurgatmish Mirzā died on the 16th day of month of Muharram 830 AH (November 17, 1426 AD)⁴¹. If we take into account that Mulkat Āqā lived until 844 A.H. (1440 AD)⁴², it is clear that after Bāyqarā Mirzā was sent to Samarkand, Mulkat Āqā became the sole support of his grandchildren. It is probable that the members of the Bāyqarā family were brought to Kabul. While his grandmother was still alive, Ghiyas ad-Din Mansur married to Feruza Begim, who was the daughter of Sultan Husayn ibn Emir Muhammad ibn Emir Musa, who was born

⁴⁰Ibid, 343. Here it is said that Suyurgatmish took all his family members and relatives with him.

⁴¹Ibid, 480.

⁴²Ibid, 104.

to the daughter of Emir Timur. Feruza Begim gave birth to Bāyqarā (1430-1487), Husayn (1438-1506) and a daughter named Āgah Begim.

Mulkat Āqā died in Kabul. Her body was brought to Balkh and buried in the territory of the madrasah she built⁴³. It is not known whether she lived in Hirāt during the last years of her life, but the information that Husayn was born in the month of Muharram 842 (July 1438 AD) in the fort palace named Davlatkhana belonging to Mulkat Āqā on the northeastern side of Hirāt⁴⁴. This indicates that the relations of the Bāyqarā dynasty with Shahrukh family and Hirāt never been cut.

Ali-Shir and Husayn were brought up together since childhood. This is confirmed by contemporaries and themselves. This fact indicates that the dynastic affinity that started from their ancestors was never broken. Ghiyas ad-Din Mansur died in 849 (1445-1446)⁴⁵. It can suggested that after the death of Shāhrukh in 1447, Feruza Begim was the only surviving elder of the dynasty. Ali-Shir's family was her close supporters. Feruzabegim lived a long life and died on the 14th day of Muharram 874 (July 25, 1469 AD) a few months after her son Husayn ascended the throne⁴⁶.

Sources mention Husayn's father as Ghiyas ad-Din Mansur and Ali-Shir's father as Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina ("Kichkina" means "little"). Some modern studies have also mistakenly assumed that he was short.

There are two main conclusions to be drawn from Fakhri's information about Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina. First, Fakhri is the

⁴³Fayziev, 301.

⁴⁴Habibu-s-Siyar (1), 670a; Lubb at-Tawārikh, 145a.

⁴⁵Matla-i Sa'dayn (2)372; Lubb ut-Tawārikh, 145a.

⁴⁶Ibid, 644; Ibid, 145a.

first among the known sources to record that Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina served in the court of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzā. It is a credible note. When Abu al-Qasim Babur died and riots began in Khorasan, the princes would ascend on the throne one after the other, and shortly after, they would not stand the pressure of the other and fled Hirāt. In such circumstances, Mirzā Ibrahim takes the throne. In order to preserve the throne of Hirāt, he gathers around him the nobles of the kingdom and tries to make an alliance with Abu Sa'id. We see this when he sent some of the prominent figures of the kingdom of Hirāt to Sultan Abu Sa'id. The ambassadors are Shaikh Nur ad-Din ibn Bahā ud-Din Umar, Shaikh Shams ud-Din Jāmi and Emir Burkhan ud-Din, and Ali-Shir's father Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina was appointed as their escort. Abu Sa'id receives them with honor and escorts them⁴⁷. So, Abu Sa'id was in communication with Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina.

It is known from the historical chronicles that in the same year Abu Sa'id seized Hirāt. Sultan Abu Sa'id decides to keep some of the officials of Abu al-Qasim Babur's in his palace, it is likely that Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina was one of them. If Shāhrukh's grand grandson, Sultan Ibrāhim, assigned an important task that was crucial for him to Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina, the latter must have been among one of the most respected people in the country. The fact that Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina was alive during the time of Abu Sa'id shows that the belief that "Navā'ī's father died when the poet was young (11-12 years old)" in modern Navā'ī studies is incorrect⁴⁸. Secondly, there is notes in "Habibu-s-Siyar" describing Ghiyas ad-Din's being an Emir,

⁴⁷ Habibu-s-Siyar (1), 570a

⁴⁸ Aini believes that Ali-Shir's father died when he was 12 years old. See: Aini, 119.

there he is referred to as Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina in an official tone. Once this is combined with Fakhri's information, it shows that this nickname had a glorifying quality. Here it is possible to make a logical hypothesis about the origin of the nickname "Kichkina" ("Little"). This nickname indicates that Ghiyas ad-Din Mansur, the son of Bāyqarā, and Ghiyas ad-Din, the son of Abu Sa'id, grew up together. Since their names were the same, the court probably called the emir's son Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina to distinguish him from Ghiyas ad-Din Mansur. This nickname may have been added to his name up until his death as the sign of his being nursed by the same nanny as an infant and his close kinship with the Timurids⁴⁹.

Fakhri's information is repeated in Sām Mirzā Safavi's "Tuhfa-i Sāmi"⁵⁰. However, unlike him, Navā'i's father was introduced as Kichkina Bahadir. Since the period in which it was written was relatively close to Navā'i's era, there is reason to think that this change was founded. According to "Timur tuzuklari", if an Emir defeated a country or an army, they were firstly given a symbol of power and the title of Bahadir was officially added to their name; then they were appointed as the governor of one of the border regions⁵¹. If we look at the activities of Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina known to us, Sām Mirzā's information seems to be valid.

⁴⁹ E. Bertels thinks that Navā'i's father, Ghiyas ad-Din Kichkina, was nursed by the same woman as infant as Mansur (see: Bertels 1965, 25). This conclusion is not confirmed by any source. M. Subtenly, based on a note written by Sultan Husayn about Ali-Shir in a document obtained by Hans Robert Ryomer that reads as: "he was related to our family from the beginning of his life, rather, from the cradle, through kinship" comes to the opinion that Ali-Shir was Husayn's milk-kin (see: Subtenly (2) 801. It is worthy to note that Husayn was three years older than Ali-Shir.

⁵⁰ Tuhfa-i Sāmi, 167^a.

⁵¹ Timur tuzuklari (Timur's rules), 78.

Ali-Shir's childhood

Shāhrukh Mirzā died on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Zu al-Hijja 850 (March 3, 1447 AD). Ali-Shir was 6 years old at that time. In a memoir told by Mir Ali-Shir himself, it is said that after Shāhrukh's death, his family left Khorasan for Iraq of Ajam in order to stay away from chaos that could have started in the capital⁵². On the way, they stop in the city of Taft, where Sharaf al-Dīn Ali Yazdi lived⁵³. Khwandamir mentions in his "Makarim al-Akhlaq" that after the death of Shahrukh Sultan, Emir Ali-Shir's father left for Shirāz with his children. He stayed in the country for several years⁵⁴. Mirzā Sultan Muhammad, the second son of Bāysunghur Mirzā, ruled in Shirāz. He lost Persia and Iraq of Ajam, which was given to him in 846 (AD 1442-1443) due to the wrath of Shahrukh Mirzā, and after the death of the Sultan, he conquered it again. Shirāz was the capital and still did not lose its position as a center of science and culture. Ali-Shir's father receives special attention from the ruler and becomes one of his officials. In 855 (1451 AD), Abu al-Qasim Babur took the throne of Khorasan and soon after came to Shirāz to establish peace in Iraq. According to Abd ar-Razzaq

⁵² Majālis, 663b. Khwandamir also confirms this. See: Makārim, 117.

⁵³ At that time, the far western regions of the empire were called Fars and Irāq-i Ajam (now Western Iran). The road leading to it passed through the cities of Taft (Yazd), Abarkuh, Shirāz, Koshk-i Zard, Isfahān, Rey, Qum, Luristān, Shulistān, Yazd, Kirmān, Kāshān, Ova, Simnān and Damgān were also among the famous places of Fārs and Irāq-i Ajam.

⁵⁴ Makārim, 117.

Samarkandi, he spent a lot of time in conversation with local virtuous people, scholars and poets ⁵⁵. Before leaving, Babur handed over the administration of Shirāz to Prince Sultan Sanjar. At this time and here, with the blessing of Abu al-Qasim Babur, Husayn and Beka Sultanbegim, the daughter of Sultan Sanjar, were engaged ⁵⁶. Therefore, there is no doubt that during this period, the family of Husayn Bāyqarā were living in Shirāz and, naturally, the family of Ghiyos ad-Din Kichkina, who was connected by ties of milk-brotherhood, was also with them. At that time, Husayn was 13 years old, Ali-Shir was 10 years old. According to the sources, Ali-Shir became known to Abu al-Qasim Babur when he was 10 years old, and the Sultan treated the talented young Ali-Shir with fatherly affection ⁵⁷. It can be concluded that Ali-Shir met Abulqasim Babur in Shirāz not in Hirāt as many scholars say. At this very time Ghiyās ad-Din Kichkina was appointed the ruler of Sabzavār. According to Navā'i, when the remains of Mir Shāh, who died in Astrabad, were brought to Sabzavār, his father temporarily ruled the city ⁵⁸.

After staying in Shirāz for 4 months, Abu al-Qasim caught the glimpse of the plan of his brother Ala ud-Dawla's rebellion in Hirāt and returned to the capital. Along with Abu al-Qasim Babur, Husayn Mirzā and Ali-Shir's families also return from Shirāz to Hirāt. In this turbulent situation, it was very dangerous for Husayn and Ali-Shir's family to stay in Shirāz, because, according to the historians, the attacks of Karakoyunli Turkmens on Persia, Iraq of Ajam, Azerbaijan and Caspian lands at that time

⁵⁵Matla-i Sa'dayn (2), vol. 2, 334.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Lataifnāma, 133; Daulatshāh, 368.

⁵⁸Majālis, 29; Mir Shah Sabzavāri died in h. 857 (1453)

ended with the complete victory of Turkmen in 858 (1454 AD). Naturally, Hirāt was the only refuge for Ali-Shir's family, where Abu al- Qasim Babur ascended the throne and gave a sign of a peaceful life. Starting from this period, precisely from 1452, Hirāt became a permanent place of residence for Ali-Shir himself and his parents.

Ali-Shir's Early Adulthood

Sultan Abu al-Qasim Babur moved to Mashhad to spend the winter in 861 AH (1456 AD). The ruler takes Ali-Shir and Husayn with him. That winter, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Rabi as-Sāni (March 21, 1457 AD), Abul Qasim Babur passes away⁵⁹. As Khwandamir clearly shows in "Habibu-s-Siyar", after the death of Abu al-Qasim Babur, Ali-Shir stayed in Mashhad and engaged in the improvement of knowledge⁶⁰.

Ali-Shir returned to Hirāt soon after young prince Sultan Ibrahim Ibn Ala ud-Davla took the throne on the seventh day of the month of Rajab (May 31, 1457).

On December 21, 1458, Sultan Abu Sa'id subdued Khorasan for the second time, thus uniting Khorasan and Māvarā al-Nahr into one empire just like it used to be in the period of Emir Timur and Shāhrukh Mirzā. Ali-Shir was in the service of that sultan for a while.

Ali-Shir befriends with his peer poets, such as Shaykhimbek Suhayli, who was in the Sultan's service. He established a close relationship with Maulānā Abd al-Samad Badakhshi, who was writing the history of Abu Sa'id Mirzā⁶¹. Pahlavān Muhammad, a young wrestler, becomes his close confidant. Ali-Shir was also

⁵⁹ Habibu-s-Siyar (1), 563a.

⁶⁰ Habibu-s-Siyar (2), 217; Sām Mirzā also proves this information. See: Tuhfa-i Sāmi, 167a.

⁶¹ Majālis, 665a.

very eager to learn from the great scholars of his time while constantly engaged in poetry. Navā'ī studied Ibn al-Arabi's work "Fusus al-hikam" under the mentorship of Shaykh Sadriddin Rivasi, who was a brilliant scholar of the doctrine of "Vahdat al-Wujud"⁶². Another dream of his was to be close to Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi. During the reign of Sultan Abu Sa'id, Jāmi was a zealous leader of the Naqshbandi doctrine in Khurasan and was highly respected among people. At the same time, he was a prominent poet and scholar of literary theory. In his work "Khamsat al-mutahayyirin" Navā'ī describes his status and his first acquaintance in the following way:

...from the time of Sultan Shahrukh until the beginning of the time of Sultan Abu Said, he lived quietly in the city of Hirāt. After that, he moved next to the mausoleum of Maulānā Sa'd ad-Din Kashgari. All the well-respected and nobles of the city were sincere and respectful towards him... There were also his admirers who were eager to get a blessing from him, and thus would come over and over to his place. I too was among the latter, when I was lucky enough to meet him in the alley and got inspired by the lesson of his short treatise⁶³.

When Navā'ī was in Mashhad, he was well known as a poet, and his fame was widespread. The literary environment of Hirāt welcomes him warmly. Despite his young age, he is considered one of the great Turkic poets of the time. Khwandamir writes:

⁶² Ibid, 664b.

⁶³ Khamsatu-l-mutahayyirin, 760a.

ALI-SHIR'S YOUTH

Navā'i visited Lutfi one day. Maulānā Lutfi asked him to recite one of his poems: "Make me enjoy new examples of your thoughts by reciting your ghazal".

Ali-Shir recited a ghazal which begins with the following stanza:

عارضین یاہقاچ کوزومدین ساچیلور هر لحظه یاش،
بویله کیچیدا بولور یولدوز، غمناک بولغاچ قویاش.

(Meaning:

*As soon as she clothes her face from me, I cry non-stop,
As if there are stars appearing as soon as the sun is gone.)*

This ghazal amused Lutfi and he said: "Dear God, should it be possible, I would exchange my ten to twelve thousand Turkish and Persian verses to this one ghazal, and I would consider it a great success⁶⁴.

Sayyid Hasan Ardasher was one of the first teachers of Ali-Shir. When Ali-Shir returned to Hirāt, he would spend a lot of time with his him. Ali-Shir used to read his poems to Sayyid Hasan Ardasher and he got his first lessons of "Faqr" doctrine from him.

In his work "Halat-i Sayyid Hasan Ardasher" Navā'i mentions:

He always used to have conversations with wise and great people of the time. The high-ranking nobleman of the Chagatai clan, despite being superior or equal in rank, showed him respect and bowed down to him.

⁶⁴ Makārim, 45.

*When Sultan Husayn took the throne, Sayyid Hasan Ardasher became his trustee*⁶⁵.

Ali-Shir Navā'ī lives in Hirāt for several years during the reign of Abu Sa'id. Ali-Shir was writing poems equally fruitful in both Turkic and Persian. He used the pseudonym Navā'ī for his Turkic poems and Fāni for his Persian poems. Although young Ali-Shir was highly skilled in poetry, he was very modest and did not like to show off. Especially in the circle of older poets, although he was engaged into a debate, he was not reluctant to introduce himself. Later Navā'ī in "Majālis" recollects that once, one of the famous poets of the city, Maulānā Ayazī, recited a Persian poem at one of the literary gatherings held in Puli Mālān district of Hirāt. Ali-Shir recites its rhyme without Maulānā Ayazī's finishing each stanza. Those sitting there express their admiration for his talent. Three years later, at another literary night in Bogi Safed, when Maulānā Ayazī recited another qasida, Ali-Shir predicted his rhymes again. Maulānā was beyond surprised. By that time, Ali-Shir had already become a well-known poet in literary circles. Maulānā Ayazī did not recognize Ali-Shir because of his old age and poor eyesight. Some of the people sitting at the event in Puli Mālān jokingly asked, "Have you ever met such a poet before?" Maulānā Ayazī replied, "I have never met such a talented poet, but three years ago, a young man was messing up with me in Puli Mālān." The people at the meeting laughed sincerely and praised Ali-Shir⁶⁶.

Ali-Shir was well aware of the extent of his poetic talent and wanted the attention he deserved in the literary environment of the Sultan's court. It is natural from the point of view of logic

⁶⁵ Hālāt-i Sayyid Hasan Ardasher 736a.

⁶⁶ Majālis, 667b.

that a young poet brought up in the spirit of great respect for the Timurid sultans and proud of the feeling of closeness to this great family, and most importantly, whose creative enthusiasm surged, hoped for the sultan's protection. The young poet, who was connected to the Timurid dynasty by ties of brotherhood, returned to Hirāt with big dreams. But life brought him many trials. He decides to leave Hirāt. In the work "Habibu-s-Siyar" Khwandamir mentions the following: "(Emir Ali-Shir) returned (from Mashhad) to Hirāt to serve during the time of Sultan Abu Sa'id and was in the service of the court for a while. However, as he could not find the rank and respect, he deserved, he left Khorasan for Samarkand"⁶⁷. Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur also later recorded that he went to Samarkand in "Babur-nama".

Did the young poet really go to Samarkand? Navā'i recalls in his work "Halat-i Pahlavān Muhammad":

During the time of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzā, the people of Khurasan were captured by the people of Samarkand...his poor man (Ali-Shir) was dragged to Mashhad because of desperation, disaster, fat and remorse...⁶⁸.

If you have noticed, he clearly explained the reason for his coming to Mashhad. According to Navā'i, the reasons that drew him to Mashhad were "iflāslik" - desperation, that is, the word used in the sense of helplessness, the second is "falākat"-disaster, the third is "sarnavish"- fate, i.e. destiny, and the fourth is "ranjurish" - remorse. This last word is also Persian and means sadness.

⁶⁷ Habibu-s-Siyar (2), 217.

⁶⁸ Hālāt-i Pahlavān Muhammad, 25.

What could possibly have made Navā'ī's life so miserable and made him suffer so much? We can understand two facts from the above passage. First, Ali-Shir left Hirāt for Mashhad out of frustration and desperation.

Secondly, from the fact that the poet states with deep remorse that Hirāt is "Captive and mute to the people of Samarkand", it can be felt that he is very upset with Abu Sa'id and his court. This can be seen from the content of the poetic letter that Ali-Shir wrote to his teacher Said Hasan Ardasher before leaving the capital⁶⁹. It says:

غمی یتی چرخ جفا پیشه دین
همول انجیر خارج اندیشه دین
که بولماق وطن ایچره دشوار ایدی
سفر توشتی الیمغه بی اختیار
قضا امریدا ایلکانی اختیار

Meaning:

*I have suffered a lot in this life,
It's become difficult for me to live in my country.
The only way out of this pain was to flee.
That's why I had to opt for leaving.
This has been meant for my fortune, what could I ever do?!*

The poet gives four reasons for his decision:

The first reason:

اکر خاصه معنی گرایهام ایرور
انینک کوندا یوز بیٹی حلوا ام ایرور

⁶⁹ This letter-masnavi is included in the book of the poet "Gharāibu-s-Sighar". See: Gharāibu-s-Sighar, Masnavi, 476b.

ولی آیت دیب کیر منگا توتی یوز
 که مین یوز اوچون دیما دیر ایگی یوز...
 پیر او بولسا بیر ایشدا بونوع فرد
 ولی کورمسا بهره جزرنه و درد...
 نیچولک میل آواره لیغ ایتما گای
 باشین آلییان بیر طرف کیمه ما گای

Meaning:

If you are looking for a sense in the poem, then there's sense, if a metaphor, then a metaphor.

Writing hundreds of lines a day is not difficult for me.

But, who has ever faced me asking to create them?

Wouldn't I agree to do that with all my essence.

Should one be so skillful in it,

But should they see nothing but pain from it,

Why shouldn't they leave all behind and be off.)

The second reason:

ینه بیر بو کیر ظاهرا اولمیش منگا
 که چیقمیش خراسان ایل دین وفا
 وفا عزم ایلاردا بولمیش مگر
 سخا و مروت انکا هم سفر
 بو اوج فعل چیققاج ارادین تمام
 ینه بولمیش اوج فعل قایم مقام
 وفا یریدا ظاهرا اولمیش نفاق
 سخا ورنیدا بخل توتمیش وثاق
 مروت قه بولمیش حسد جای گیر
 زهی خوش ایل و ملکت دلپذیر

Meaning:

*Another one is that, as it appears to me,
The people of Khorasan have lost their loyalty.
Those who have loyalty, will have generosity and kindness.
If these three characteristics are lost, the following three will
replace them.
The loyalty will be replaced by hostility, generosity with
meanness,
Kindness with jealousy.*

The third reason:

او چونکه اولکه چو خلق ذوالجلال
که هم لم یزل کیلدی هم لایزال...
خیالیمدا انداق مصور بولور
که اول ایکی ایشتمین میسر بولور
بیری بوکه بیر جذبه حقدین یتیب
کونگول نی یقین جای دین مست ایتیب
حقیقت ساری ترک تاز ایلکای
جهان شغلی دین بی نیاز ایلکای...

Meaning:

*The third reason is that the Creator Almighty,
Who is not born and is eternal...
There were two ideas constant in my mind
I hoped to be able to perform them.
One of them is: once, I'll have a message from divine,
That will come and make me drunk with the light of the truth,
So, I'll be able to leave the problems of the world,
And reach the divine Truth finally.)*

The fourth reason:

ینه بیر بودور کیم گدا گر ملوک
 طلب یولیدا قیاضای آنچه سلوک
 بورون مرشد کامل ایستای یوروب
 آنی تاپخاج اوزین انکا تاپشیر وب
 سلوک امریدا اورمایین بیش و کم
 اینک امریدین آیرودم یا قدم ...
 چواؤلنی ایش بولمادی دستگیر
 ایکینچی سیدین خوش ایماستور گزیر

Meaning:

*The other one is that the beggar of the divine truth
 Hits the road to reach his destination.
 I wish I could find first of all a mentor
 After finding the mentor, I wish I could devote myself to him,
 I wish I could meet all the requirements of the doctrine,
 I wish I would never deviate from his orders.
 Even though the first is not done,
 But the second one is possible.)*

So, he experienced serious mental anguish during this period. May be this is related to his love conflicts. According to Khwandamir, during the flourishing period of his youth (referring to this period - Sh.S.), Ali-Shir became a hermit for some time and lived in Rabāt-i Suhayl, a country cabin of hermits⁷⁰. This information further clarifies the poet's mood and spirit on the eve of leaving Hirāt.

⁷⁰ Makārim, 63.

Based on the words of Khwandamir and Babur, scholars concluded that the poet left for Samarkand straight from Hirāt. However, no one considered the detail we mentioned above. E. Bertels in his monograph "Navā'ī" did not express a clear opinion on this issue: in one place he says that "Ali-Shir returned to Hirāt from Mashhad in 1464. After the revolt raised by Navā'ī's friends in Badakhshan in 1466-1467 was suppressed by Abu Sa'id, he fled and went to Samarkand⁷¹", and in another place, he seems to have paid attention to the reason for Navā'ī's trip to Mashhad, which Navā'ī admitted in his memoirs, and mentions that "Navā'ī was exiled to Mashhad by Abu Sa'id in 1467⁷²" For some reason, the scholar logically proved neither of these views.

Did the poet who went to Mashhad depressed and upset return to Hirāt before going to Samarkand? In that case, Navā'ī's works and those of his contemporaries would have given at least one line of information about it. If we pay attention to Khwandamir's information, he states that the poet left for Samarkand not from Hirāt, but from Khorasan. Considering that Mashhad was part of Khorasan, there is reason to say that Ali-Shir went to Samarkand from Mashhad.

⁷¹ Bertels 1965, 77.

⁷² Ibid, 99.

The relationship of Navā`i and Abu Sa`id Mirzā

At this point, it is impossible not to dwell on the erroneous ideas of scholars about the relationship between these two people.

In modern literature about Navā`i, it is said that Ali-Shir was exiled to Samarkand by Sultan Abu Sa`id. Initially, such an idea was put forward by V.Bartold and developed by other scholars later on.⁷³

V.Bartold writes: "According to Babur, Mir Ali-Shir was exiled to Samarkand by Abu Sa`id for some mistake. Mir Ali-Shir himself says that he went to study. At that time, people would not go from Hirāt to Samarkand to study. Therefore, his departure from Hirāt to Samarkand should be considered as an exile"⁷⁴.

It cannot be overlooked that V.Bartold deliberately misinterpreted some data to make his hypothesis sound plausible. For example, he writes:

The story of Sheikh Sadriddin Rivosi, who had a beautiful and eloquent language and "Captured his heart",

⁷³ See: Bartold, 223; Bertels 1965, 77. S.Ayni., 284-285. Oybek 15-16; Sharafiddinov, 51-52; I.Sulton, 157. At the time, some orientalists opposed this view. See: Semenev, 241-243. However, V. Bartold's conclusion turned out to be so natural that the scientist's way of thinking did not fail to influence the development of further Navā`i studies. In this way, the conclusion that Ali-Shir was exiled to Samarkand was firmly established in Navā`i's studies.

⁷⁴ Bartold, 223-224.

may be of some importance in illuminating this period of Navā'ī's life. Even high-ranking people, including the king of Badakhshan, who became his disciple and took lessons from him, and the king of the time, that is, Sultan Abu Sa'id, were among his lovers... After the event of 871 H.A. (1466-1467 AD), Mir Ali-Shir's close relationship with these Badakhshan people might have affected his life. It may have been added that the sultan became jealous of the beautiful sheikh⁷⁵.

In the next line, he exaggerates his opinion that "Mir Ali-Shir, who had neither family nor offspring until the end of his life, apparently loved handsome young men." Thus, V.Bartold connects Navā'ī's departure to Samarkand with the Badakhshan rebellion and brings the conflict between Sultan Abu Sa'id and Navā'ī to the scene.

According to historical sources, in 1464, Sultan Abu Sa'id conquered Badakhshan, moved the king of Badakhshan and his relatives to Hirāt and married his daughter. The son of the king of Badakhshan named Ibn Lal, fled to Kashgar province when Sultan Abu Sa'id took Badakhshan. In 1467, the prince gathered an army and invaded Badakhshan and reoccupied it. Abu Sa'id Mirzā marches an army to Badakhshan and ravages the country. Ibn Lal was captured and executed along with his father. Bartold was mentioning about this conflict.

Sadriddin Ayni, who profoundly was effected by the ideas of Bartold, also concludes that the conflict between Ali-Shir Navā'ī and Abu Sa'id arose from the fact that Husayn Bāyqarā, Mir

⁷⁵ Ibid, 225.

Said Kabuli and Muhammad Ali Gharibi and the kings of Badakhshan were close to the poet. Oybek claimed the same⁷⁶.

In fact, Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur never pointed out as: "Why did Abu Sa'id exile Navā'i to Samarkand?" he would rather put it as "I don't know, for what sin was he expelled from Hirāt?"⁷⁷ As for why Babur mentioned Samarkand, he may not have known about Navā'i's visit to Mashhad. But he was aware that he lived in Samarkand. Moreover, Babur did not set himself the goal of detailing the biography of Mir Ali-Shir but presented the information that remained in his memory. It is true that Babur believed that Navā'i's departure from Hirāt was related to Abu Sa'id and was surprised by this act of the king. Because it was the custom of kings to patronize poets and scholars. Poets and scholars were neutral towards politics. As much as they were favored by one king, after his death they were favored by subsequent kings who were his opponents (even assassins). Since ancient times, poets have been considered a decoration of the kingdom, they spread the name of the sultan to the world and engraved their glory on the pages of history. Patronizing poets and scholars brought prestige to all sultans. Otherwise, the sharp jokes of the poets were able to make the sultan a joke to the world. As Navā'i himself admitted, "Desperation, disaster, fate and remorse" caused him to leave Hirāt, but it happened for reasons known only to him. Navā'i was a poet who was not involved in politics during the time of Abu Sa'id Mirzā. Husayn did not meet almost 12 years with Navā'i after the death of Abu al-Qasim Babur, and during this period Navā'i lived in the environment of poets in Hirāt as well as in Mashhad. If Abu Sa'id had animosity towards Navā'i because of Husayn Bāyqarā,

⁷⁶ Ayni, *Kulliyāt*, 284-285; Oybek, 15-16.

⁷⁷ *Baburnāma*, 132.

his son Mirzā Sultan Ahmad Hussain would not have taken Navā'i with him when he led an army against Bāyqarā. There is the following information about this in "Ravzatu-s-Safā":

*...that is, when Mirzā Sultan Ahmad crossed Amu and marched to Khorasan to fight against Husayn Mirzā, Emir Ali-Shir was also in his army. After the news of Abu Sa'id Mirzā's death and Husayn Bāyqarā's conquest of Hirāt, he asked for a permission from Ahmad Hajibek to go to Hirāt*⁷⁸.

This means that Abu Sa'id and his son were not at all suspicious of Navā'i. If Sultan was in hostile to him because of his close relationship with Husayn Bāyqarā, then how can one explain the fact that Abul Qasim took Babur's emirs into his service? Most of them were Husayn's teachers and relatives (Similarly, Sultan Husayn Bāyqarā also took the emirs of Abu Sa'id to his service). Under the Timurid sultans, milk-brothers and emirs were valued not depending on which Timurid sultan they served, but generally according to their loyalty to the sultans of the Timurid dynasty. That is why, although the sultans changed, most of the emirs remained in honor. Milk-brother, as people close to the Timurids, had special attention in the territory of this country. According to the laws of Timur, whoever lost hope in his country and came to serve a king, this king should respect him, forget his loyalty to the opposing king and glorify his rank. In this regard, it is not true that Abu Sa'id treated Navā'i badly because he grew up with Husayn. Zahir ad-Din Babur was surprised by this action of the king because he did not see a terrible criminal in the person of Navā'i. Unfortunately, E.Bertels, in his monograph "Navā'i", considers

⁷⁸ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3),15.

Navā'ī's visit to Samarkand as an exile and comments that Samarkand was not a center of science at that time. Although he does not show the case of Sadriddin Rivāsi, like Bartold, he states that the poet was forced to flee after the tragedy of his uncles and the kings of Badakhshan⁷⁹.

It is understandable why it was necessary for V. Bartold to give Navā'ī's departure from Hirāt the appearance of exile. He adapted all the facts from the sources around Babur's information to suit his purpose. In particular, he uses the facts of Navā'ī's respect for the kings of Badakhshan and his friendship with Husayn to put it into "organized" group of Abu Sa'id's opponents. The assumptions about the personality of Sheikh Sadriddin Rivāsi are completely unfounded. Shaykh Sadr ad-Din Rivāsi was already an old man and spent most of his life in Medina, Egypt and Syria. He was a Sufi community leader in his native Isfarayin, when he moved to Hirāt at the behest of Sultan Abu Sa'id and died in Hirāt on the tenth day of Ramadan 871 AH (April 10, 1467 AD). Ali-Shir Navā'ī took lessons from him on the doctrine of "Vahdatu-I-Wujud" ("Unity of Being") and the words "He beheld my heart" express his love for the great teacher. The execution of Navā'ī's uncles or the king of Badakhshan by Abu Sa'id cannot be the reason for the sultan and Navā'ī's cold attitude towards each other (like the execution of Navā'ī's nephew Emir Haydar by Husayn Bāyqarā). Otherwise, Abu Sa'id Mirzā would not have allowed Ali-Shir to be honored in the ruling circles in Samarkand. Although we consider Ali-Shir's uncles as poets, they were warlords. Their martyrdom during armed clashes with Abu Sa'id's army was subject to the laws of war. Mir Said Kabuli was killed in the Sarakhs conflict⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Bertels, 77.

⁸⁰ *Matla-i Sa'dayn* (2), 494-497; *Majālis*, 670a.

between Abu Sa'id and Husayn Bāyqarā in the month of Sha'ban 864 AH (June 1460 AD). The death of his second uncle, Muhammad Ali Gharibi, happened much earlier. Together with Husayn Bāyqarā, he participated in Abu al-Qasim Babur's 1453 march to Samarkand against Abu Sa'id Mirzā. After the truce between the two kings, Husayn stayed in Samarkand with his brother Bāyqarā, brother-in-law Sultan Ahmed and his son Mirzā Kichik and entered to the service of Abu Sa'id. Soon after, however, Husayn was arrested and accused of supporting his cousin Sultan Uways' attempt to usurp the throne from Abu Sa'id. Although Husayn was released from custody at the request of Feruzabegim and sent to Hirāt, Sultan Uways and his supporters were executed⁸¹. According to Navā'i, his uncle Muhammad Ali Gharibi was executed in Samarkand during these riots⁸². The fate of the king of Badakhshan is the same.

It is true that Husayn Bāyqarā would constantly provoke the anger of Abu Sa'id. After the death of Abu al-Qasim Babur, he began to implement his plan to establish his own state: he went to Marv and conquered several lands in a short time. The fact that his father-in-law Sultan Sanjar was appointed governor of Merv could not deter him from this path. A disagreement begins between them. In this process, due to the disloyalty of some army commanders, they lost their lands and wander in deserts. But he does not give up his plans. Gathering loyal soldiers around him, he plans more big raids. Husayn Bāyqarā, in the month of Zul Hijja in 862 (October 10 - November 8, 1458, AD), took Astrabad from Husayn Sa'dlu, a relative of Jahānshāh Turkman from Karakuyunli dynasty, and issued a sermon in the

⁸¹ Matla-i Sa'dayn (2), 372-373.

⁸² Majālis, 669b.

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name of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzā and minted coins. However, after his declaring independence, Sultan Abu Sa'id sent an army to Astrabad and forced Husayn to flee. Since then, Husayn organized raids near the borders of Khorasan, from Khwarezm lands, causing large and small armed conflicts and disturbing Abu Sa'id's peace. For the experienced Sultan Abu Sa'id, the absolute ruler of Māvarā un-Nahr and Khorasan, Husayn did not pose much of a threat. We must not forget that there was a powerful Karakuyunlu Turkmen kingdom located in the west of the country that posed a serious threat to his state.

Ali-Shir's Life in Samarkand

According to "Ravzatu-s-Safā", in 869 AH (1464-1465 AD), Ahmad Hajibek went to Samarkand as the patron of Prince Sultan Ahmad Mirzā by order of Abu Sa'id Mirzā⁸³. Before that, he was the governor of Hirāt. When Ali-Shir was living in Hirāt, they had good relationship as Ahmad Hajibek was also a good poet and wrote under the pseudonym Vafā'i. Navā'i writes about him in "Majālisu-n-Nafāis":

*...He goes by the penname Vafā'i. He is a handsome and kind man. His morals are worthy of praise and his behavior is pleasant. He was brought up in Khorasan. He was the governor of Hirāt for about ten years. He was also a governor in the Samarkand region for a while...*⁸⁴

1-2 years after this event, we can see Ali-Shir in Samarkand. Ali-Shir's close friend Shaikhimbek Suhayli is also in Samarkand⁸⁵. Khwandamir mentions in "Makārim al-Akhlāq" on behalf of Navā'i that when Shaikhimbek Suhayli devoted a *qasida* to Sultan Ahmad Mirzā, it was edited by Ali-Shir⁸⁶. Maybe Ali-Shir came to Samarkand with his friend Shaikhimbek? Because we know from history that when the poets went to the ruler for the first time, they wrote a poem-*qasida* as the best gift.

⁸³ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 290.

⁸⁴ Majālis, 683b.

⁸⁵ See: Vahidov 1976,7

⁸⁶ Makārim, 119.

The presence of Ahmad Hajibek in Samarkand may have been a blessing for the young poet. It is no wonder that this gave him hope to live under the patronage of a person who appreciates poetry.

In addition, at that time, Samarkand was the center of the Naqshbandi doctrine, and thousands of followers gathered around Khwaja Ahrār, the prominent saint of Māvarā un-Nahr. From this point of view, this trip was a good opportunity for the young seeker of Divine knowledge, who was burning with the desire to get acquainted with Samarkand Sufis, enter the mentor's service, as he wrote to his teacher Said Hasan Ardasher, and connect his future life with the Naqshbandi doctrine. According to the information of Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandi, when Ali-Shir was in Samarkand, he met with Khwaja Ahrār⁸⁷.

During this period, Samarkand was a prosperous city, the traditions of the world science center founded by Mirzā Ulugh Bek had not yet died out, and scholars of Islamic sciences were still teaching Hanafi teachings. But for an unclear reason he did not become Khwaja Ahrār's disciple. Instead, Ali-Shir entered Fazlullah Abu Laysi madrasa. He studied at the Fazl al-Allah Abu Laysi madrasa for two years⁸⁸.

Ali-Shir stayed in Samarkand for a while after graduation. It is not known what he was doing during this period. Navā'i wrote in "Vaqlia":

*...because I did not see my abilities good enough for
any kind of service and work, and I did not feel that
I had the strength for any effort, I closed the doors of*

⁸⁷ Matla-i Sa'dayn (1), 331a.

⁸⁸ Majālis, 664a.

*all my desires and goals and objectives that I had set before me*⁸⁹.

According to the author of "Ravzatu-s-Safā", he had often participated in discussions with the governors of Māvarāu-n-Nahr Emir Darvish Muhammad Tarkhān and Emir Ahmad Hājibek⁹⁰. "Makārimu-l-Akhlaq" mentions Ali-Shir Navā'i's name twice in the chapter called "Account of Husayn Bāyqarā's invasion of Balkh Surroundings". Firstly, when Sultan Ahmad Husayn sends troops under the command of Ahmad Hājibek to repel the attack of Bāyqarā, we see that Ali-Shir Navā'i is also present in the commander's headquarters. Secondly, it is said that at that time Ali-Shir was in service of Sultan Hasan Arhangi, the commander of the army⁹¹.

These events are related to the events on the eve of Husayn Bāyqarā's accession to the throne of Hirāt. Husayn Bāyqarā, who ascended the throne of Khorasan shortly after, sent a letter to Sultan Ahmad Mirzā and summoned Ali-Shir to Hirāt. It is clear from this that Ali-Shir did not live long in Samarkand after his madrasa education. From this point of view, his life in Samarkand can be limited to the years 1467-1469.

Although Ali-Shir Navā'i left little information about his life in Samarkand, based on the notes in the work "Majālisu-n-Nafāis", it can be known that he actively participated in the literary environment of Samarkand. His constant conversations with poets, his acquaintance with Mirzā bek, Maulānā Mir Qarshi, Safai, Maulānā Javhari, Maulānā Khovari, Halvai, Ulai Shashi, Maulānā Yusuf, and his acquaintance with Yusuf Bade'i

⁸⁹ Vaqfia, 744b.

⁹⁰ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 15.

⁹¹ Makārim, 97.

indicate that he had a respectable attitude in the literary environment of Samarkand. The fact that participated in the poetry club held in the shop of Maulānā Mir Qarshi, and that he discussed poetry with Maulānā Riyazi, confirms that he was in close contact with the prominent poets of Samarkand⁹². There are some other memories that, although not specifically indicated, we believe that they related to his time in Samarkand. For example, Navā'i gives the following story about Maulānā Riyazi:

Maulānā Riyazi is from Samarkand as well... the following beautiful starting-lines are from him:

ستاره ایست در گوش آن هلال ابرو
ز روی حسن به خورشید میزند هلو

Meaning:

*The star (ear-ring) in the ear of that crescent-moon like beautiful one,
Claims to be as beautiful as the Sun.)*

*There should be the element "ki" in order to connect the lines.
Besides, I modestly told him that the following would be better:*

ز روی حسن در گوش آن هلال ابرو
ستاره ایست که باماه میزند هلو

Meaning:

*The pearl in that crescent-moon like eyebrowed one,
Is the star, which claims to be as beautiful as the Moon.)*

⁹² Majālis, 663a, 667a, 668a-b.

To be honest, he could have accepted that he was wrong, but he started an argument instead. I was left muted. Even his surrounding was arguing about it, he maintained his opinion. He died in Samarkand⁹³.

Riyazi's reaction to Navā'ī's reasonable criticism indicates that this incident took place in Navā'ī's youth. After all, in his middle-ages Navā'ī was so popular that even Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi listened to his advice. So, although Navā'ī's poetic skill is high, it can be felt that he is still a young man. The fact that the event happened in Samarkand can be evidenced by lines "He is from Samarkand and died in Samarkand". Because the event mentioned in Majolis happened in the native land of the description, Navā'ī was content with mentioning the poet's homeland. If the poet moved to another place, the same place where he lived during the writing of the work is noted (for example, from Andijan, then he went to Samarkand). In contrast, while calling Riyazi from Samarkand, Navā'ī also pointed out that the event took place in Samarkand.

From some information given in "Makārim al-Akhlāq", Ahmad Hajibek treated Ali-Shir with great respect⁹⁴. The fact that the governor of Samarkand, Ahmad Hajibek, who was art lover and a poet himself, could possibly be indifferent to Navā'ī's financial support does not inspire trust. Zahir ad-Din Babur mentions that "Ahmad Hajibek became a coach and patron (sponsor) for Ali-Shir bek in Samarkand"⁹⁵, thus, he was financially supported by the governor.

⁹³ Ibid, 668b.

⁹⁴ Makārim, 93.

⁹⁵ Baburnāma, 132.

Fakhri Hirāvi mentions an incident that he heard from Navā'i:

*On one of the cold nights, Ali-Shir needed to go to the bathroom, and even though he wanted to pledge his pencil-box to the bath employee, the latter did not accept it*⁹⁶.

This information became the basis for the later conclusion that Ali-Shir lived a poor life in his youth. In research, this story has been further developed with several hypothetical additions. Thus E. Bertels believes that Navā'i's life in Samarkand was difficult, based on the description of the situation of the young student of science in the big city in the eleventh story of the epic "Hayrat al-Abrār"⁹⁷. The same example is given by V. Abdullaev and Izzat Sultan. V. Abdullaev cited it as an explanation of poverty and need⁹⁸, while Izzat Sultan showed it as a confirmation of need and pride⁹⁹. In our opinion, it seems that Fakhri's information should be viewed critically. This could be a random situation that might happen in everyone's life. If Ali-Shir was poor in Samarkand, he would not have kept a personal servant. In the work "Makarim al-Akhlāq" there is information that Ali-Shir had a servant named Pir Ahmad¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁶ Latāifnāma, 134.

⁹⁷ Bertels, 80.

⁹⁸ Abdullayev, 32-35.

⁹⁹ I. Sulton, 174-179.

¹⁰⁰ Makārim, 135.

PART II
EMIR ALI-SHIR AND
THE ROYAL COURT
(1469-1501)

From Samarkand to Hirāt

After Sultan Husayn Bāyqarā occupied the throne of Khorasan in 1469, Ali-Shir returned to Hirāt from Samarkand. His close friend Shaikhim Suhayli returned with him. Ali-Shir wrote the ode "Hilolia" and Shaykhimbek the ode "Eydia" and entered the presence of the new ruler¹⁰¹. Whether Ali-Shir was officially summoned to Hirāt by the new ruler or not, for some reason historians have not covered this issue. In his "Vaqfia", Navā'i said that his return from Samarkand happened at the will of the sultan and that a decree-letter was sent about it¹⁰². According to Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandi's "Matla-i Sa'dayn", Mirkhwand's "Ravzatu-s-Safā", Khwandamir's "Khulasatu-l-Akhbar", as well as "Makārim al-Akhlāq" specially written by Khwandamir about the life and virtues of Navā'i the poet came on his own initiative¹⁰³. Although "Vaqfia" was written in 1481, why did Khwandamir, who was aware of it, not cover this aspect in his works? It is clear "Vaqfia" as a service and financial document is not intended for a wide public. Therefore, Navā'i was forced to note two aspects in this document, contrary to his nature completely far from arrogance. One is the fact that he was drawn into public service at the behest of Husayn Bāyqarā, although he was reluctant from the beginning, and the other is to show the size of his personal property. In fact, it is extremely contradictory

¹⁰¹ Khulasatu-l-akhbar, 60a ; Majālis, 670b.

¹⁰² Vaqfia, 745a.

¹⁰³ Matla-i Sa'dayn (1), 331a; Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 70; Khulasatu-l-Akhbār, 60a.

that a man of perfect piety and a wise philosopher like Navā'i enumerates his large wealth one by one and describes the endowments in the form of a treatise. This book was presented to the Sultan according to the sentiments mentioned in the introduction to the Sultan. Navā'i had in mind to show an expression of gratitude to Sultan Husayn for making him the owner of honor and state, and at the same time, a hint that he was forced to accumulate wealth against his will. According to Navā'i's works and from Khwandamir's information, he was a supporter of expressing his achievements in very thin veils from the point of view of high modesty and humbleness (odes in the poet's verse are a separate topic – Sh.S.). Therefore, Navā'i believed that it would be immodest to record in the history books that his summoning to Hirāt took place due to his high delicacy and wisdom. It is difficult to say that Navā'i's close people are not aware of the content of "Vaḡfia". Especially considering that Khwandamir was Emir Ali-Shir's secretary, he was clearly aware of the contents of the book. So, it seems that he was satisfied with modest notes in the history book, acting according to his wishes. Only after a long period of time, after the death of Navā'i, his young contemporary, Fakhri Hirāvi, openly mentions this issue. He writes:

Sultan Husayn sent a letter to Sultan Ahmad Mirzā, where he required Emir Ali-Shir back to his court, and sent someone (to bring him). (Sultan Ahmad Mirzā) sent him to the Sultan Sahibqirān with appropriate grace. Emir Ali-Shir went to Hirāt and was able to serve the state¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰⁴ Latāifnāma, 134.

Fakhri Hirāvi's information is repeated a few years later in "Tuhfa-i Sāmi" written by Sām Mirzā¹⁰⁵. These two different approaches observed in the sources have greatly confused the soviet scientists. V.V.Bartold claims that the works of Abd ar-Razzāq Samarqandi, Mirkhwand and Khwandamir were composed under Navā'ī's guidance, thus, he denies Fakhri's information¹⁰⁶. In the first edition of his research on the life and work of Ali-Shir Navā'ī, O.Sharafiddinov mentioned "Sultan Husayn remembers his friend Navā'ī and calls him to Hirāt"¹⁰⁷, but in the second revised edition he changed his mind: "Since this information given by Sām Mirzā is not found in other reliable sources, it should be considered as a story"¹⁰⁸. M.Aybek considers it as a "Poetic legend" of writers prone to beautiful fabrications¹⁰⁹. Thus, the issue remained unresolved. Later A.Abdugafurov's article revised this topic after many years providing a final resolution to it. He mentioned:

In the verses of the masnavi in "Vaqfiā", the main purpose of Husayn Bāyqarā's letter is explained, and in this part, it is clearly revealed that it is in the nature of a command." Navā'ī expresses it in one place with the word "Tawqe" (a decree with a special sign of the king), and in the second place he openly calls it "Command". When the new ruler officially invites Navā'ī to the palace, he mentions that "There is no time to hold back", he calls for social and creative activity, makes big promises to him, and writes that

¹⁰⁵ Tuhfa-i Sāmi, 167a.

¹⁰⁶ Bartold, 226.

¹⁰⁷ Sharafiddinov(1), 40.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid (2), 56.

¹⁰⁹ Aybek, 115.

“your work will become so great that you will step on the surface of the moon.” In short, Husayn Bāyqarā urges Navā’i to come to the palace as soon as possible¹¹⁰.

R.Vahidov in his research on the translations of “Majālis an-Nafais” also emphasized that the notes in “Vaqlia” will be improved with the information of Fakhri Hiravi¹¹¹. So, it turns out that Sultan Husayn wrote a letter to Sultan Ahmad as well as to his friend.

¹¹⁰ Abdygafurov 1973, 225-232.

¹¹¹ Vahidov 1984, 31.

Letter of Sultan Husayn Bāyqarā

There is no doubt that after occupying the throne of Khorasan in 1469, Prince Husayn, immediately started looking for his friend. After all, the new ruler had to choose a confidant who should be “wise, experienced to reveal the affairs and secrets of the kingdom, to investigate hidden affairs and secrets” and in this regard, there was no one more worthy than his friend Ali-Shir. In this context, it is worth recalling a legend which is very popular among the uzbek peoples. A legend states: “Ali-Shir Navā’i and Husayn Bāyqarā were very close friends from their youth and studied together at school. Their teacher was a very sharp minded person. One day, he wanted to test the minds of his students and what they were interested in. He drew a picture of a head and a sword for both and asked them to write a comment. Ali-Shir finished the ghazal by describing the head, mind and wisdom. Husayn praised the sword and wrote a hymn about bravery and fighting”¹¹². The people’s perception of these two historical figures is embodied in this narrative.

Sultan Husayn appealed to Sultan Ahmad Mirzā of Samarkand and asked him to allow Ali-Shir to return to Hirāt and sent a letter to Ali-Shir himself. The content of this letter is given by Ali-Shir Navā’i in the work “Vaqfiā”¹¹³. The letter

¹¹² El desa, 4.

¹¹³ Vaqfiā, 745b.

laments that Ali-Shir, although he is known to the people for his poetry and the people have enjoyed his gems of meaning, is suffering in his wanderings, and that now is the time of joy:

کای فضل جهانی نینگ سپهری
 یوق یوق کیماوشول سپهر مهری...
 سین گرچه گهر دکانی آچینگ
 لیکن بو گهرنی ایلکا ساچینگ
 فکرینگ چمنی داکوب ریاحین
 لیکن بولوب آندا خلق گل چین
 نظینگ دریدین که دهر تولدی
 دیگیل که سنگانی بهره بولدی
 لفظینگ دین اولوس قه وجد و حالت
 یتمای سانگا بهره جز ملالت...
 ایهدی که طرب زمانی یتی
 دوران دین المرنشانی کتی

Meaning:

*Oh you, the sky of the world of wisdom,
 No, no, you are the Sun of that sky.
 Even though you have opened the shop of the diamonds,
 You have scattered these diamonds to the people.
 There are a lot of flowers in the garden of your thought,
 People enjoy them always.
 The world was full of the flowers from your poetry,
 What was there for you from it, though?
 The people became excited from your words,
 But you got nothing from it to yourself.
 Now, finally the happy times have come,
 The sadness has left your fortune.)*

Husayn, urging Navā'i to arrive quickly in Hirāt, promises him special attention;

هم صبح امیدینگ اولدی طالع
 هم مهر مرادینگ اولدی لامع
 چون ساقی دور جام عشرت
 توفی یانا چکمه زهر محنت
 توفیق یتیشکاج ایلا لازم
 کیم جان بیلہ بولغاسین ملازم ...
 کیم آئی اوزه قویغاسین قدم نی
 کون لوحی غه چککاسین رقم نی ...
 نیچه بیسک ایلاسانگ سوز ونگنی
 آندین بیسک ایتکابیز اوز ونگنی
 یوقتور سنا وقت گوشه توتماق
 عشرت گلین آه ایله قور وتماق
 چون حکم نی انگلادینگ دم اورمه
 بلکیم دم اوررغه داغی تورمه

Meaning:

*The dawn of your hope has finally came,
 The Sun of your dreams has finally shone.
 The fortune has given you the goblet of happiness,
 Do not be concerned with sadness anymore.
 Once you get any order, make sure to accomplish it,
 Serve with loyalty.
 You are on your way to reach the moon,
 You are the master of your day.)*

Ali-Shir had to make a hard decision: meddling in the affairs of the kingdom, on the one hand, would alienate him from peace, and on the other hand, alienate him from composing poems. He listens to his heart¹¹⁴ :

نوابی فی بلا اندوہ ایرور بو
 اوزونگنی سالماغیل مونداق بولور مو
 انکا کیم عقل و همت یار بولغای
 بونوع ایش لار قاجار دشوار بولغای
 قویاش دین تربیت گرتاپسه خارا
 قیلور یاقوت ایله لعل آشکارا
 بولوت دین کیم بولور سیراب توفراق
 ملور گل بیرور مینایی یافراق...
 کولی کیم تیره بولمیش گلخن آندین
 ایرور کوز گو جمالی روشن اندین...
 قویوب بیکار لیق فرزانه بولغیل
 ایلک اورایشکا و مردانه بولغیل

Meaning:

*Why are you sad Navā'i,
 How could you be so egoistic?
 For the one who is active and smart,
 Has this ever been a problem?
 If the granite is left under the Sun,
 It becomes a precious stone.
 If the soil is watered enough from the clouds,
 The green buds will give birth to colorful flowers.
 Even though the ash puts the fire out,
 it clears the image in the mirror.*

¹¹⁴ Vaqfia, 746a.

EMIR ALI-SHIR NAVĀ'Ī

*Thus, stop whining and depression,
Set yourself to the creation).*

Sultan kept his promise until the end of his life.

Ali-Shir – the Court's Sealholder

Thus, Navā'i is summoned from Samarkand. It seems that Ali-Shir Navā'i's presence in the palace was finally necessary for Husayn Bāyqarā as a reliable and loyal person. Ali-Shir starts his career as a court's seal holder. Although this position was not among the top positions, it was considered crucial in controlling the proper maintenance of the palace documents.

When Husayn had just ascended the throne, his main opponent was Yadgar Mirzā, the grandchildren of Baysunghur Mirzā. He took advantage of his absence from Hirāt, usurped the throne. The fact that Sultan Husayn first sought advice from Mir Ali-Shir when he planned to reclaim the throne shows how strong their mutual trust was. After a certain period, Ali-Shir asks the Sultan for a resign. Of course, the information about this is very short and abstract. Khwandamir wrote: "Emir Nizam ad-Din Ali-Shir, after serving as a seal holder for some time, resigned from this position and asked the king to appoint Emir Shaikhim Suhaili in his place. The Sultan accepted this request, and in Shaban 876 AD (January 1472), Emir Ali-Shir, who deserved to be honored, was appointed to a high position of "Sahib-Devan"¹¹⁵. It seems that almost nothing has been said about the reasons that forced him to resign. The answer to this question cannot be found either in Navā'i's own works or in other chronicles. At first glance, Navā'i's resignation from the

¹¹⁵ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 25.

seal holder position does not appear to be a resignation, but rather a rise in the ranks. This view is the priority in Navā'ī studies. In all the literature, Navā'ī's removal from the seal holder position and his transfer to the post of the Sohīb devan is marked with the above-mentioned date – the month of Sha'ban of 876 AH (January 1472). However, if we pay attention to the continuation of the conversation given by Khwandamir, we can see an aspect that has been left out of the eyes of our Navā'ī researchers. Khwandamir writes:

...Emir Nizam ad-Din Ali-Shir at first did not accept this position (i.e. the position of Sāhib Divān) and said, "Even though I do not hold any official position now, I am much closer to your highness, whose throne is as high as the sky, than any other emirs¹¹⁶.

If you notice, when he was offered the new position, he was not a holder of any position. It is clear from this that he was released from the seal holder position long before accepting the new one. Meanwhile, he would visit the palace as kin of the sultan for a while and did not have a specific position. This issue has not been considered in modern studies of Navā'ī. All current studies, interpret seal holder and Emir titles as consistent career advancement. When Navā'ī's abdication is mentioned, it is associated with the new higher position and is believed to have occurred only once, in 1476. However, Ali-Shir's request for resignation on his own initiative cannot be said to have taken place at the same time when Sultan offered him the post of Sahib divan. This conversation proves that Navā'ī did not accept the post of Highest Emir with a lot of excitement.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 26.

Thus, the task of determining when Navā'i was freed from the position of seal holder is still actual. We have only two facts. One is the time of Navā'i's appointment to the post of seal holder in Shawwal 873 AH (April 1469), and the other is when he was appointed to the position of Emir kabir (according to Khwandamir and Razi 876 AH, Sha'ban (January 1472). While exploring this theme encountered an unexpected detail. There is a story in "Khamsatu-l-mutahayyirin":

...when he (Jāmi) returned from the trip to Mecca, the king went to Balkh campaign due to the events of the time. After returning and ascended the throne, he came to Murghob province. After talking with the king, he visited us. There was a new white house for them to rest, and it was built, and they were engaged in peace. Also, on this date, I was tired of military service, left the position, reduced my service. He asked me about this issue:

-Why would you do this?

I replied:

-I have become to burdened by the people talking and bored as well... I was afraid he would be discontented with my decision, but he was not. So, I calmed down¹¹⁷.

So, it is known from the contents of the conversation that the king returned to the capital from Balkh campaign and shortly before the time when Jāmi, who had returned from his pilgrimage, came out to meet him at the foot of the Murghob river, Navā'i handed over his post. Navā'i hinted that he had

¹¹⁷ Khamsatu-l-mutahayyirin, 761b.

abruptly resigned when he said, "I left military service, left the position, reduced my service." This memorial is undated. It is possible to find out which position Navā'ī resigns from by determining the date of Jāmi's return from the pilgrimage and the date of Husayn Bāyqarā's return from the Balkh campaign.

The sources do not mention how many times Jāmi went on Hajj. But the pilgrimage during the period when he became the spiritual leader of Khorasan and received the greatest prestige and attention in the country, was sealed in history. Fakhr ad-Din Ali Safi's work "Rashahat ain al-hayat" gives the details of this historic pilgrimage. Safi recorded the dates related to Jāmi's journey in a special section entitled "Hazrat Makhdum's visit to the blessed pilgrimage and the description of the events that happened during this journey". According to it, Jāmi went on pilgrimage in Rabi ul-Awwal month of 877 AH/1473, August-September, and returned to Hirāt on the eighteenth of Sha'ban/1474, January 18¹¹⁸. Based on the information in historical sources, such as, "Ravzat us-Safā", "Khulasatu-l-Akhbar", "Habibu-s-Siyar", during this period, from 876/1472-1473 to 884/1479, Sultan Husayn did not march to Balkh. Only in 884/1479, due to the invasion of Khorasan by Abu Bakr, Husayn Bāyqarā marched to Balkh. It is clear from this that the historical pilgrimage of Jāmi described by Ali Safi in the above Jāmi-Navā'ī conversation is not the one. Jāmi may have gone on pilgrimage before. Sultan Husayn's marches to Balkh were carried out mainly in 1469-1471. This period was the years of the battles for the throne, and there are records related to Baysunghur Mirzā's grandson Yadgar Mirzā and Abu Sa'id Mirzā's son Sultan Mahmud in the scene of the struggle for

¹¹⁸ Rashahāt, 125b – 130b.

Balkh. There are reports that Sultan Mahmud made an alliance with Yadgar Mirzā and fought against Husayn Bāyqarā. According to Khwandamir, Sultan Husayn, pursuing Yadgar Mirzā, moved to Bāgh-i Nazargāh on the eleventh of Zul-Hijjah (June 11, 1470) and moved from there to Saritāgh. Yādgār went to Mashhad. At the same time, Sultan Mahmud Mirzā sailed through Amudarya and entered the territory of Balkh and Shibirghan and besieged Balkh¹¹⁹. It seems that Yādgār Mirzā and Sultan Mahmud fought for the throne with Husayn almost at the same time. There was a serious disorganization and confusion in the Bāyqarā's army. Some generals turned their backs on Husayn, and according to Khwandamir, this happened on the 19th day of Zul-Hijjah 874 AH (June 19, 1470). Husayn's next march to Balkh is related to the declaration of independence by Emir Mushtāq, who was the governor of Balkh a year after the above events. When the news of rebellion reached Husayn Bāyqarā, he immediately set out and besieged Balkh for three to four months. Due to the strong defense of the fortress, and the lack of food among the soldiers of Bāyqarā, Sultan Husayn was forced to leave Balkh and return to Murghāb, where he reorganized his army and gathered food. Meanwhile, the brothers Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Mahmud, who wanted to take advantage of Husayn's predicament, left Amu and besieged Balkh again. However, Emir Mushtaq opposes them too. So, they turn the army towards Husayn Bāyqarā. Meanwhile, Abu Bakr, another son of Abu Sa'id Mirzā, invaded Hisar, which was the property of Sultan Mahmud. This will cause the brothers to quickly turn back."¹²⁰ Khwandamir clearly recorded that this event took place in the summer of 875 AH (1471).

¹¹⁹ Ravzatu-s-Safā (4), 37b, 33a.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 40a-40b.

So, those events took place in the summer-autumn months of 1471. After that, there is no doubt that Jāmi's meeting with Sultan and Navā'ī after the pilgrimage took place when Bāyqarā stopped at Murghab on his way back from Balkh to Hīrāt, i.e. in the fall of 1471. It can be concluded that Ali-Shir Navā'ī took part in the military campaigns conducted in the first years of Sultan Husayn's reign. He was with Sultan Husayn in all the battles related to Yādgār Mirzā. This means that he also accompanied him in the campaigns related to Balkh. In addition, Ali-Shir was forced to carry a sword contrary to his nature. It is possible that this service burdened the creative person, who is cheerful by nature. Perhaps this is the reason why he wanted to be freed from the affairs of the kingdom, to breathe in solitude, to regularly engage in creativity, and to engage praying. The discussed Navā'ī-Jāmi conversation also confirms this.

As mentioned in "Matlai Sa'dayn", Emir Ali-Shir was awarded the title of "Muqarrab-i Hazrat-i Sultan" (close person of the Sultan) at the same time because he justified the Sultan's trust in him.

In conclusion, it can be said that Navā'ī was appointed to the post of seal holder in Shawwāl 873 AH (April 1469), but his resignation took place in the fall of 1471, two to three months before Shabān 876 (January 1472, that is, his appointment to the post of Emir).

Appointment to the Post of Emir

Thus, we have seen that Navā'ī's appointment to the post of Emir was not a direct promotion from the seal holder but was carried out by the will of the sultan after a certain period after Navā'ī's resignation. But there is another issue to solve. We will continue to study Khwandamir's information about the appointment of Navā'ī to the Emir, discussed above. Khwandamir writes:

... at first, Emir Ali-Shir did not accept this position and said, "I am now among the servants of the great court, I am the holder of a great position (referring to the title of "Muqarrab-i Hazrat-i Sultan"), I am in a position higher than all the emirs of the throne, which is up to the sky. Should I ever take the post of Emir, some of the barlas and arlat emirs will have to sit above me according to the traditions. This will reduce the significance of my post. I hope that if his highness frees me (as an emir) from sealing the documents, I would be at ease in your service and courtship.

Ali-Shir suggested the promotion of Sayyid Hasan Ardashēr to this position.

Nevertheless, seeing Ali-Shir's displeasure with the offer, the sultan thought that Ali-Shir was not satisfied with the position of Emir and appointed him to the position of Emir kabir in supreme divan (*divan-i a'la*)

At the same time, he declared: "No one from the Barlas emirs except Emir Muzaffar Barlas should seal before Emir Ali-Shir!!"¹²¹.

From this information, one can conclude that Husayn Bāyqarā had a deep respect for Ali-Shir Navā'ī, and that he had a high tendency to act according to his opinion during this period. From this, Navā'ī's position in the palace can be clearly imagined. After that, as the historian noted, "Obeying the opinion of the Sultan, he accepted the position of emir, took pride in wearing a gold-plated cloak and a specially embroidered hat."

Ali-Shir's honor seems to be exaggerated against the background of the close friendship of these two great personalities in the above-mentioned part of the data. Some can even see this as hidden arrogance. But it is not. Navā'ī's dissatisfaction with the Sultan's proposal is due to his desire to distance himself from the court service as much as possible. The poet, who recently got rid of the palace services, did not want to return to government work. After hearing the proposal, he did not dare to clearly explain his position to the sultan. Let's not forget that this period was the beginning of the Bāyqarā's kingdom. It would not be a mistake to say that the Sultan did not fully understand Navā'ī's hermit-like worldview at this time and regarded him, like others, as someone whose main goal was to hope for the king's grace. In our opinion, the above action of Ali-Shir, which seemed arrogant to us, was meant to be stimulating the Sultan to leave Navā'ī alone and excuse him from the positions at the court. Unfortunately, things did not turn out as Navā'ī thought. The Sultan took it seriously and considered it his duty to raise his position. Ali-Shir, who was in an unexpected situation, had no choice but

¹²¹ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 26; Makārim, 94.

to accept the position of emir. Otherwise, it was sure to be perceived as ungrateful for the Sultan's favor. Caught in the middle of the fire, Navā'i is also embarrassed for his inappropriate excuse. Because the sultan could put it down to arrogance. Khwandamir continues:

*but when they gave the note of command to seal to Navā'i, because of his high humbleness and modesty, he would put a stamp on such a place on the paper that there would be no place to stamp below it*¹²².

Khwandamir reveals Navā'i's image and characteristic of his inner world truthfully:

everytime he has to seal a document, he sends it to the Emir Sayyid Hasan Ardasher. Naturally, since no one has the right to stamp before Ali-Shir, the document is returned to Navā'i. Then he stamps at the very bottom of the paper, so that there is (as a rule) no place to stamp below it, and others are forced to stamp above it." In this way, firstly, he shows his respect for his teacher Sayyid Hasan, and secondly, proving he is far from hunger for power, he prevents future scandals.

In "Ravzat us-Safā" it is specially emphasized that this incident was praised by the king and became a tradition among the ministers.

What duties Ali-Shir Navā'i was responsible for in Sultan Husayn's palace is shown in the historical sources during the narration of events. What does Ali-Shir say about the duties of Emiri Kabir? Navā'i showed some of them in "Vaqfiā". Thus, he is responsible for

¹²² Ibid.

1. Public gatherings and public events.
2. Foreign affairs. Formal reception of distinguished guests.
3. Emergencies, uprisings, border problems.
4. Fight against bribery.
5. Fight against robbery and invasion.
6. Court-justice.
7. Check applications and complaints received from regions.
8. Amnesty.
9. Religious relations¹²³.

The sources do not yet have clear information about how long Ali-Shir Navā'ī worked in this position, as well as when and why he resigned. It is possible to draw some conclusions only by comparing references in the sources and historical facts presented in other contexts. The following poem, written by Burhān ad-Din Ataullah, was written in connection with the appointment of Navā'ī as governor of Astrabad:

آن امیر نظام الدین علی شیر
اوصاف بیرون ز حد تقریر
چون کرد قبول باز امارت
تاریخی شد امارت میر¹²⁴.

Meaning:

*He is Emir Nizamud-Din Ali-Shir,
The one whose description awes people.
He has reaccepted the position of Emir,
And his Tarikh was "Amārat-i Mir")*

¹²³ Vaqfia, 747a.

¹²⁴ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 36.

The year 1487 comes out of the phrase "Again accepted the position of an emir" mentioned in the third verse according to abjad calculation (a specific organization of Arabic letter in a way to form a particular year in history). We learn that Ali-Shir after a certain period once resigned from the position of an emir, he returned to state work due to being sent to Astrabad in 1487. The issue is to be clarified.

Resignation

In modern Navā'i studies, the opinion that the poet resigned from the position of an Emir Kabir in 1476 is firmly accepted. This idea is clearly stated in all available studies. This date was first noted by the russian orientalist V.V.Bartold based on Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi's note in the preface of "Nafahat al-Uns". He wrote in his work "Mir Ali Shir and Political Life":

According to Jāmi, after studying the Naqshbandiyyah doctrine deeply, in 881 A.H. (1476-1477) he voluntarily gave up prestige and attention (the post is meant-Sh.S.) and took up the path of poverty¹²⁵.

This thesis has become a ground foundation for all Uzbek scientists' research. Thus, the scientific conclusion that Ali-Shir left his position in 1476 was confirmed. At this point, let's pay attention to an important aspect of Navā'i's work "Vaqfiya". It is known that this work was written in 886 AH (1481-1482). In his preface, the author asks the sultan to fulfill his two requests: I have achieved unimaginable good deeds from his (Sultan Husayn's) state and high devotion, and I have been empowered to do good deeds that I had never dreamed of. Only two knots of dreams remained untied in my heart. But I hope that both my dreams will come true, and I will not take them to the ground with me. One of these two dreams is a blessed Hajj pilgrimage,

¹²⁵ Bartold, 235.

so that one of the five obligations in Islam is fulfilled and my faith does not become defective. My second request is to release me from my duty so I could devote my time to glorify the graceful name of my Sultan for the generations to know about his holiness. I will devote this time to composing various poetry and prose books containing beautiful odes, colorful ghazals, beautiful masnavis and works rich in artistic skills¹²⁶.

It is well known that one of the two requests is to send him on Hajj and the other is to release him from public affairs. Ali-Shir Navā'i explained his request to be released from public affairs by spending the rest of his life writing works to inscribe the Sultan's name and glory onto the pages of history. Navā'i clearly expressed that the state service is a serious burden on this way: "What meaning can be gathered from state affairs?" The poet clearly refers to the writing of "Khamsa":

But I have hope, I will be happy with the grace of the Lord, and I will spend the rest of my life in such a way that (referring to the writing of "Khamsa") the people in the whole world will be happy to remember the name of him and be satisfied with his praise¹²⁷.

Therefore, if we consider that "Vaqfia" was written in 886 (1481-1482), it turns out that in 1481 Navā'i was still in the position of Emir kabir. How valid are the conclusions of the scientists based on the facts above?

Let's see the preface of the book "Nafahatu-l-Uns", where Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi dwells on the factors that led to the creation of the work, and writes:

¹²⁶ Vaqfia, 746b.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 748b.

*Dar ta'rix-i sana-i ahadi va samanina va samanimia, muhibb-i darvishān va mu'taqidi ishān, on hama az shughl sir va bar faqr dalir – Nizām ad-Din Ali-Shir, ki ba tau'-u ixtiyār az a'lā marātib-i jāh va e'tibār 'irāz namuda va ba qadam-i taslim va rizā bar suluk-i jāda-i faqr-u fanā iqbāl farmuda, az in faqir misl-i on surate, ki bar dil guzashta bud va dar xātir mutamakkin gashta, istid'a kard*¹²⁸.

I am prone to translate this passage as follows: "In the hijri year 881 a friend of dervishes and their admirer, a man, who was harboured a strong discontent towards all (worldly) pursuits, who considers to be a *faqir* an honour, who (by his nature) was indifferent to the highest ranks of honor, thus, willing to resign from them, and willing to join to path of *faqr-u fana*. Emir Nizam ad-Din Ali-Shir asked this poor man (Jāmi) in a form that he had passed over in his heart and decided to do it." This translation is turned out not so English as I wanted, but the meaning is true, I think. Yes, the translation accepted by V.Bartold and uzbek scholars which we quoted above, is superficially correct. But in my translation, attention is paid to the high style and artistic arts characteristic of Persian literature. If you look closely at Jāmi's sentence, it is clearly visible that the author used the method known in the art of essays – arranging the determiners expressed with adjectives – in order to use the method of *sajj*. For example: "*Muhibb-i dervishān - mo'taqid-i ishān*" (beloved by the dervishes – the one they believed)," *az shughl ser-bar faqr daler*" (fed up with the work of the world – not afraid of being poor) and so "*'irāz namuda-iqbāl farmuda*" imply "(willing to

¹²⁸ Nafahā tu-l-Uns, 2a.

resign – willing to join). The fact that Ali-Shir felt overwhelmed with worldly issues and craved for the ascetism (becoming a hermit) together with his loath to the grand positions does not mean that he did at the very time officially resign from his position in the Palace. Accordingly, it is also clear that Jāmi is not saying “officially accepted the path of hermit” in this sentence. In this place, Jāmi meant that Navā’i’s tendency to follow the “*faqr*” doctrine was very high (by 881 Hijri/1476 AD). In addition, Jāmi’s purpose of quoting the date 881 AH (1476) was to record the time when the idea of creating this book was proposed. It has nothing to do with Navā’i’s resignation. What is more interesting, in the works of uzbek scholars of the 1940s and 1950s, for example, by O. Sharafiddinov, Bartold’s view was essentially confirmed, however, the basis was given from another source:

Ali-Shir Navā’i wrote a persian ode titled “Tuhfatu-l-Afkār” (1476) dedicated to the great poet Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi during this period. It clearly expresses the poet’s hatred against the king and his court. Admiring this poem, Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi gave it a very high praise. He called this ode “Taziyona”, which means “Whip”. In his letter to Ali-Shir, there are these words about the content of the ode:

- From the content of the poem, it is clear that you want to escape from formality, from the king’s palace. This will of yours is worthy of praise..¹²⁹

As noted, O.Sharafiddinov made a firm conclusion that Emir Ali-Shir’s resignation was in 1476, based on Jāmi’s opinion on “Tuhfatu-l-Afkār” and the year when the ode was created.

¹²⁹ Sharafiddinov 1971,66

Looking at the original text, one will find that O.Sharafiddinov misinterpreted Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi's words related to "Tuhfatu-l-Afkār". There are several reasons for this: Firstly, the original text is as follows:

*... Az fahvā-e ānchunān ma'lum shud, ki xidmat-i
ishānro irādat-i iqbal bar qibla-i maqsud va 'irāz
az namudha-i bebud mutaakkad shuda*¹³⁰.

that is, "It is known from the content that the person (that is Navā'ī) was determined to face the direction of maqsud (i.e., the doctrine of *faqr*) and to turn away from formalities that have no meaning (i.e., the pleasures of the mortal world)". There is no word about king's palace.

Secondly, the phrase "*khidmat-i ishānro*", that is, "In that person", which was said by Jāmi referring to Navā'ī himself. O.Sharafiddinov translated as "The services of that person", that is, the Sultan's service. We know that in Muslim literature it is considered disrespectful to mention the names of great people and the third person pronoun is used instead.

Thirdly, in the letter, Jāmi continues:

*Ammā agar chunānchi dar taghyir-i umur-i suvari
va tark-i ishtighāl-i ghayr-i zarur-i, chun mulāyim-
i mizāj-i azizān nist, mubālagha naravad va dur
naminamāyad, hech jā nist, ki maqsud zāhir nist
va jamāl-i zuhurashrā kamāl-i zuhur sātir na.*

(Do not be hasty to leave your posts and worldly issues that you see as non-important, that is not the path that is worth of chosen ones (*azizān*). There is nowhere in the world that does

¹³⁰ Khamsatu-l-mutahhayirin, 764b.

not reflect the Allah. Thus, one can find Allah in everything and nothing in the world can hide his beauty.)

Here, Jāmi wanted to emphasize that public affairs cannot be a distraction to the issues of human spiritual perfection, and dissuaded Navā'i from the intention of resigning from public affairs, which was always his dream. The analysis of the Jāmi's text shows that Emir Ali-Shir did not resign that year.

S.Ayni in his paper "Ali-Shir Navā'i" puts together the information from "Tuhfatu-l-Afkār" cited by O. Sharafiddinov with a memorial in "Khamsatu-l-mutahayyirin" (the conversation between Navā'i and Jāmi, which we mentioned in the "Sealholder" section), and this integration resulted in a new "episode":

Soon after this incident (after the incident of the qasida interpreted by O.Sharafiddinov – Sh.S.) Ali-Shir resigns from the government job without taking Jāmi's permission. He recorded Jāmi's reaction on this resignation in "Khamsat al-mutahayyirin"¹³¹.

Ayni must have either not paid attention to the fact that those two actions belong to different periods, or he did it deliberately, as it would suit the interests of the regime. Because Jāmi's letter related to the ode "Tuhfatu-l-Afkār" was written in 880 AH (1475-1476) and refers to the correspondence between Jāmi and Navā'i when he accompanied the Sultan to Merv. The second scene happened in the place where Jāmi returned from his trip to Mecca and Husayn Bāyqarā returned from his campaign in Balkh. In the previous pages of our study, we mentioned that this memory belongs to the year 1471. Even though if we consider that Jāmi's pilgrimage according to

¹³¹ Ayni, Kulliyāt, 306.

"Rashahat" was fulfilled in the year 1474¹³² S.Ayni's opinion does not correspond to historical reality.

E.Bertels could not have avoided this issue in his monograph "Navā'ī" due to the requirement of the topic¹³³. However, he is the only scholar who did not openly comment on Navā'ī's resignation in 1476.

Thus, it can be concluded that Navā'ī did not resign until 1476, and only by 1481 after he presented his request in the work "Vaqlia" to the Sultan¹³⁴.

As confirmation of our above conclusion, I would like to dwell on one more consideration. Have the very two requests in "Vaqlia" been met? Logically, Husayn Bāyqarā had to satisfy both. As we know from historical works, Sultan Husayn did not allow Emir Ali-Shir to go on pilgrimage. Did he release him from public affairs? The poet himself did not speak openly about it, although later. However, a review of the evolution of Navā'ī's art raises some assumptions that lead to the solution of this problem. We know that between 1481 and 1485 after "Vaqlia" Navā'ī composed his masterpiece "Khamsa" and wrote many ghazals.

Isn't it too difficult to create these great works, which can come to the world in a short period of time through tireless work and complete dedication, at the same time as the affairs of the state? Therefore, the sultan must have fulfilled only one of his requests, i.e. accepted his resignation. Because Navā'ī stated above that the purpose of his resignation was to create masterpieces with

¹³² Rashahāt, 130b

¹³³ See: Bertels, 118.

¹³⁴ In the East, petitioners to the Padishah for a solution to some problem or request usually looked for an opportunity to get his attention. "Vaqlia" for Emir Ali-Shir was a good opportunity to present his request

the intention of "Engraving the name of Sultan Husayn in the history."

The fact that he started composing the great "Khamasa" from this period leads to the opinion that the sultan officially accepted his resignation. It is known to us that the date of creation of the first epic of Khamasa "Hayratu-l-Abrār" is 1482. So, it can be said that in 1481 he resigned. From this point of view, it would be correct to define the years of his tenure as emir as 1472-1481, not 1472-1476. However, it seems that Navā'i could not completely free himself from the services of the sultan. This is evidenced by the existence of passages expressing this mood in the "Sadd-i Iskandari". In any case, although Husayn Bāyqarā officially accepted his resignation, he would still give assignments to Navā'i from time to time.

Did Navā'i ask to resign just to write "Khamasa"? Wasn't that an excuse? It can be said that Navā'i himself showed the real reason for the request. This is reflected in the first of the Ruba'is that expresses four intentions, which is quoted at the end of the introduction to "Vaqfia" and it is as follows:

عالم ایشیا میں ملول ایت یارب
فقر ایسا گئی تار تار غہ حمل ایت یارب
بوایش کہ سینینگ رضائنگ اوچور قیلش مین
هرعین رضایله قبول ایت یارب¹³⁵

Meaning:

*Oh, dear God, make me leave all the troubles of this world,
Make me the one who nurses on the breast of faqr doctrine.
All I do, I am doing for you,
So, bless me with your acceptance.*

¹³⁵ Vaqfia, 749b.

In the first stanza, the poet is asking Allah to stop him being engaged into the worldly affairs; in the second stanza, to make him carrier who would be able to bear the burden of faqr doctrine. So, by this time, Navā'ī decided to devote his life to the deeds of the path of faqr, and to spend the rest of his life in obedience, fulfilling the pillars of the hereafter, and doing creativity. In the third verse of Ruba'i, it is said that this decision is made for the sake of Allah's pleasure. Therefore, it will be known that Navā'ī has a real purpose for donating all his property and asking for resignation. It was a desire that became more and more determined during the past years – to get rid of the encirclement of career and deeds and to become a hermit.

Ali-Shir the Governor of Astrabad

In 886 AH (March 2, 1481 - February 19, 1482 AD), Ali-Shir Navā'i, who was officially released from state affairs, completely devoted himself to creativity...

In the winter of 892 AH (December 1486-February 1487), Sultan Husayn decided to appoint Emir Ali-Shir as governor of Jurjan region (capital Astrabad). According to Khwandamir, when the Sultan was spending winter in Merv, he dismissed the Governor of Astrabad, Emir Mughul, and called Emir Ali-Shir and announced his intention to send him to Astrabad. Astrabad is a very important region of Khurasan, and it is natural that its management in unstable conditions requires great responsibility and tireless work from the governor. Moreover, accepting this offer was very difficult for Navā'i, who donated all his property and devoted himself to creativity since 1481, and decided to spend the rest of his life in creativity and prayer. Sources indicate that Ali-Shir Navā'i was dissatisfied with going to Astrabad:

... the Emir (Ali-Shir) did not say anything about accepting this order or not for God Almighty's sake and his own readiness to carry out all important tasks for the sultan. He was accompanied by Emir Baba Ali and Emir Badr ad-Din to Astrabad¹³⁶.

¹³⁶ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 36.

In this way, Navā'ī had to officially return to public affairs for the third time.

Astrabad was the center of Jurjan province, located in the western border region of Khorasan. The western cross-border lands belonged to the owners of Ardabil property under the Aqquyunlu dynasty. At the head of this country, the representatives of the Safavid dynasty, founded by Shaikh Safiud-Din (1254-1334), a prominent figure of the Shiite sect, had strong power and huge vaqf lands. They appeared in the political scene in the second half of the XV century. Shaikh Junayd (1447-1456), the leader of the Safavids, established a close relationship with Sultan Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Aqquyunlu through in-law-relations. This event was an alliance against the kingdom of Karakuyunlu, which was considered quite powerful at that time. Armed groups of ustajlu, rumlu, and afshors, from nomadic people of Azerbaijan, began to join the Safavids. Junayd tried to conquer Shirvān and Dāghestān, but the Shirvanshāhs strongly resisted. In 1456, a great battle took place between Junayd and Shervanshah Khalilullah on the banks of the Samur River. Junayd was defeated and killed. Shaikh Haidar (1456-1488), who took his place, was even worse than his father and began to plan an attack on the neighboring countries. Although Shaikh Haydar's appetite for the kingdom of Shirvan and other possessions was already known, Yaqub Mirzā, the ruler of Aqquyunlu at that time, and Farrukh Yasār of Shirwanshāh dynasty, did not pay enough attention to it. Shaikh Haydar was the son of Yaqub Mirzā's aunt Khadija Khatun, and his wife Alamshāh Begim was Yaqub Mirzā's younger sister. And Shirvanshah, being the father-in-law of Yaqub Mirzā, might have been not worried about him. The course of events began very naturally. In 893 Hijri (1487-1488),

Shaikh Haydar, through his mother Khadija Khatun, received permission from Sultan Yaqub to gather an army and move freely in the territory of the Akkoyunlu state under the guise of "Teaching a lesson" to non-believer Cherkass people from time to time. This leads to the gathering of a strong army in the hands of the sheikh and becoming a dangerous opponent for the neighboring countries¹³⁷. In our opinion, Sultan Husayn, as one of the most knowledgeable military general and a statesman who deeply understood the ups and downs in the formation of interstate relations, had a good idea of the future goals and intentions of Shaikh Haydar. Maybe he was aware of his plans. He sensed the danger of the Shia people on the western borders of Khorasan to defect to Haidar's side should something bad happen. Hussain had to have a good relationship with Sultan Yaqub and Farrukh Yasār to avoid the inevitable future conflict with Shaikh Haydar. For this, it was necessary to hand over the border region to such a person that the people there would obey and respect, and most importantly, it was necessary to be a very skilled diplomat in relations with Sultan Yaqub and governors of the border regions and to win their respect. Naturally, this event could be implemented only with the assistance of Navā'i, who was deeply respected by both Shia and Sunni community, as well as by the neighboring rulers.

There is very little information about his work in Astrabad in the sources. For now, we have only some letters and information that show Navā'i's relations with the rulers of neighboring countries, including his letter to Shirvanshāh Farrukh Yasār, and his close relations with Sultan Yaqub Mirzā, the ruler of Akkoyunlu, and his prime minister Shaikh Najm. After staying

¹³⁷ Istoria Azerbaydjana, 209.

in Astrabad for a year, he asks for permission to return. According to "Ravzatu-s-Safā":

...Emir Ali-Shir, after staying in the Jurjan region for a year, wanted to meet with the Sultan, and after receiving permission, he left Emir Badr ad-Din in his place and headed towards Hirāt...and requested that the governorship of that region be given to someone. But the Sultan did not listen to his request and allowed him to return back to Astrabad after a few days¹³⁸.

The reason why Sultan Husayn did not listen to his request is that, by this time, the events that Husayn could foresee began to happen. At the beginning of 1488, Shaykh Haydar considered that it was time for a general attack and began to conquer the kingdom of Shirvan: He gathered his entire army between Ganja and Barda. Then sent a man to Farrukh Yasār and asked him to leave the Derbend road open to the Islamic army. Farrukh Yasar welcomed the ambassador and watched with honor, then ordered to open the road to Darband. Shaikh Haydar then dyes the turbans of his soldiers twelve stripes red in honor of the twelve imams, and after easily crossing the Darband road, declares war on Shirvan. Farrukh Yasar, who was oblivious, hides himself in the Gulistan fortress with his family, avoiding the bloodshed. The thousands of "Redheads" under the leadership of Shaikh Haydar besieged the fortress for up to seven months. Having finally given up hope of Haydar's coming back to his common sense, Sultan Ya'qub, who was impatient, marched to Shirvan with anger and arrived in Ardabil at the end of the month of Jumadu-s-Sani in 893 AH (June 1488). Hearing this

¹³⁸ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3),37.

news, the Shaikh left the fort and retreated to Darband. The Sultan chased him down, and at the end of the month of Rajab (July) a fierce battle took place between them. In the end, Haydar was killed on the battlefield and the red-headed army was disbanded¹³⁹.

Therefore, Navā'i's remaining in Astrabad was necessary. Husayn Bāyqarā believed that only Emir Ali-Shir could extinguish the sparks of religious war that was to appear in the hearts of Shia people in the border because of blind loyalty to their Safavid shaikhs and carry out all the necessary protocols in a difficult situation with practicality, calmness and deep consideration ...

Sources testify that Ali-Shir Navā'i lived in Astrabad for about a year and a half. Khwandamir describes the event that hastened his return to Hirāt as follows:

Emir Ali-Shir's nephew, whose name was Mir Haydar, and who was assisting him in Astrabad, went with a mission from Astrabad to Hirāt. Mir Haydar was quite a lunatic. At a time when the mood of wine was added to this, he said: "Emir Ali-Shir found out that Sultan ordered Kākuli the cook to pour poison to Emir Ali-Shir's food. That's why the Emir Ali-Shir is in a great panic and is in a hostile mood towards the king." Hearing this, the Sultan became extremely anxious and sent an ambassador swiftly to Astrabad with a letter to admonish the Emir and swearing that "whatever they said in this matter, everything is far beyond the truth, and do not even let such an idea to your noble mind". When the

¹³⁹ Istoria Azerbaydjana, 209.

Sultan's ambassador reached Emir Ali-Shir and handed over the letter, the Sultan's close friend (Emir Ali-Shir) was surprised, not understanding what it was about. Because he was totally unaware of that talk. So, under the pretext of visiting the king, he arrived in Hirāt from Astrabad in ten or twelve days, and when he had the pleasure of kissing the king's skirt, he mentioned: "Everything that Mir Haydar said is a lie and an extreme slander." I have never heard about this". Because of this, Emir Haydar was punished and arrested¹⁴⁰.

It is not known whether the incident of "poisoning" happened indeed. None of the other sources cover this issue. Nevertheless, this incident gave an opportunity to Navā'ī, who was impatiently craving to go back to Hirāt, to talk to the sultan once again about his resignation. Husayn Bāyqarā, who was calmer because the danger at the border was eliminated, allowed Emir Ali-Shir to relinquish control of Astrabad and return to Hirāt. Whether Mir Haydar did this out of spite for his uncle or out of simple imprudence, regardless of how it is evaluated, in any case, he helped Navā'ī escape from Astrabad governorship and return to Hirāt.

There are different views in the history of Navā'ī studies about the reasons why Ali-Shir Navā'ī was sent to Astrabad. V.Bartold in "Mir Ali Shir and political life" concluded that with Navā'ī's exile to Astrabad, the "years of disgrace and discredit" began in his life. According to V.Bartold, this period includes 1487-1494, i.e., the period from the increase of influence of minister Majd ad-Din to his death. The point is well made. Only

¹⁴⁰ Habibu-s-Siyar (1), 603a.

the inauspicious years began not before Ali-Shir's departure to Astrabad, as V.Bartold determined, but after his returning from Astrabad; moreover, they ended much later, not in 1494. In addition, palace conspiracies continued even after Majd ad-Din. In the work of V.Bartold, the details of these events begin as follows:

Sultan Husayn had been planning to bring back Majd ad-Din to power for a long time, but Mir Ali-Shir opposed it. Therefore, the Sultan first recommended him to become governor of Astrabad. After a long resistance, Mir Ali-Shir was forced to agree and leave. Babur explained the reasons for this action of the Sultan. When Sultan Husayn needed a certain amount of money, the officials of his court said that there was no money and that it was impossible to find it. Then Majd ad-Din smiled and asked the Sultan to meet with him tet-a-tet. He told the Sultan that if he was given the power, he was ready to find the necessary funds and organize the state economy so that the treasury would be full. After gaining power, he fulfilled his promise and made the provinces prosperous. However, he was hostile against all the nobles who were in favor of Mir Ali-Shir¹⁴¹. Nevertheless, in "Boburnoma", Babur did not see the reasons for sending Ali-Shir to Astrabad with Majd ad-Din. He did not even mention Astrabad. He gave information about Majd ad-Din in the section devoted to the description of the sultan's ministers and positively evaluated his work. At the same time, he indeed noted that Majd ad-Din was in

¹⁴¹ Bartold, 240-241.

*undercover oppositions with all the other ministers and Ali-Shir Navā'ī*¹⁴².

At the same time, some orientalists strongly opposed the version of the exile of V.Bartold, and the scholar Yu.Bregel, who later prepared the reprint of Bartold's works, writes: "Recently, V.V.Bartold's concept, which includes the opinion that "The years 1487-1497 were years of disfavor and discredit for Mir Ali-Shir, and this was evident, first of all, in his exile to Astrabad", has been seriously opposed. A.A.Semenov noted that the sources did not provide any facts that Ali-Shir's departure from Hirāt took place because of the appointment of Majd ad-Din as the prime minister. He emphasized that the appointment of governor of Astrabad cannot be understood as an "Honorary exile" to a "Distant region"¹⁴³. For V.Bartold, it is understandable why it was necessary to "Exile" Navā'ī. Unfortunately, A.Semenov's correct criticism was not taken into account by later Navā'ī scholars. Until now, this issue has not been definitively resolved and is waiting for its solution. It is true that E.Bertels recalls A.Semenov's words in the coverage of this issue. But he also cannot depart from V.Bartold's pattern of thinking and the principles of "Ideological struggle" characteristic of all-Soviet literature and science:

While Navā'ī was working on his "Khamṣa", his enemies did not spend time in vain. Every day they pointed out to Sultan Husayn that the affairs of the state were in ruins and that only Majd ad-Din Muhammad could restore them. The court was continuously pressuring the Sultan, and the will of

¹⁴² Baburnāma, 136.

¹⁴³ See: Semenov 1960, 237-249.

the sultan, who was addicted to wine, was weakening day by day. It is also possible that the sultan did not like Navā'i's efforts to focus the sultan's attention on state affairs and his critical view of the courtiers. From time to time the sultan tended to ignore such an adviser. For the Sultan, Navā'i was the voice of conscience, and sometimes he wanted to silence this voice¹⁴⁴.

The scholars who founded the Soviet Uzbek Navā'i studies completely adopted Bartold's views, and gradually the interpretation of "ideological struggle" began to deepen. For example, O.Sharafiddinov writes:

Husayn Bāyqarā, who has been thinking for a long time to catch a breath from the great poet who was not afraid to tell the truth, at least to keep him away from the capital and get rid of his poisonous words, decides to banish him from Hirāt. The following event was a great excuse to keep Navā'i away from the capital. As a result of Husayn Bāyqarā's indulgence in drinking, the treasury was empty, and even the king needed two tumans of money. When Husayn told his ministers that the money in the amount of two tumans was needed, they said that there was no money at all, and it could not be found anywhere. Majd ad-Din, who was present at the meeting at that time, said that it was possible to find not only two tumans, but also 2000 tumans of money, and for this he made a condition that he would be given authority in this regard. Majd ad-Din had already

¹⁴⁴ Bertels, 170.

been the minister of Husayn Bāyqarā. During his ministry, he did a lot of corruption and mischief. Navā'ī, who did not like Majd ad-Din's actions and considered his actions to be harmful to the country, managed to remove him from his post... Husayn Bāyqarā knew that Majd ad-Din's re-appointment to the post would cause great displeasure of Navā'ī. Therefore, he decided to exile Navā'ī from the capital. – He was exiled from Hirāt in 1487 under the guise of being appointed as the governor of Astrabad¹⁴⁵. Sadriddin Aini also points out that Majd ad-Din was the reason for Navā'ī's departure to Astrabad: "... the state treasury was not enough for the extravagance of Sultan Husayn Bāyqarā, besides, Ali-Shir used to talk him out from his somewhat frivolous behavior. He wanted to appoint Majd ad-Din back to the post so nobody would prevent him from this... For these reasons, Husayn Bāyqarā wanted to keep Ali-Shir away from the capital and enjoy himself as much as he wanted. At the beginning of 1487, he sent him away from the capital, making him governor of Astrabad. It was an "Honorary exile" to which Husayn Bāyqarā sentenced Ali-Shir¹⁴⁶.

According to some sources, at one time Majd ad-Din was demoted by Sultan Husayn and assigned to the role of parvonachi because of the complaints of Nizamu-l-Mulk and Afzal ad-Din Muhammad. Although his talent and ability in public affairs prompted Husayn to make him the prime minister

¹⁴⁵ Sharafiddinov, 78.

¹⁴⁶ Ayni(2), 164.

several times, Emir Ali-Shir was always opposed to this. Because Majd ad-Din "was a stubborn and rude person, despite his praiseworthy and good deeds. He tends to become angry at trivial things, spoke obscenely and insultingly, and always offended the heart of sultan with obscene words. This rudeness would usually make sad all the people around him as well"¹⁴⁷. Navā'i, being a polite and considerate person, wants everyone to be like him, and his inability to tolerate opportunistic people was brought to the reader's attention by means of some examples in the previous chapter. Therefore, it is correct to assume that Majd ad-Din's disagreement with Navā'i was caused primarily by his negative characteristics. In addition, Navā'i seriously prevented Majd ad-Din's illegal embezzlement of state funds. In our opinion, Emir Ali-Shir may have succeeded in getting Majd ad-Din's dismissal as the result of this issue. Although Majd ad-Din felt oppressed from the inside because of the discrimination of his rights, he was powerless in front of Navā'i's position. In this respect, it was natural for him to keep a secret grudge against the poet. As long as Ali-Shir was there, Majd ad-Din could not get close to the sultan; Nizamulmulk and Afzal Muhammad would not allow it too. In addition, during this period, the friendship between Husayn and Ali-Shir reached its highest point (the event of the presentation of "Khamsa" is a proof of this!). The notes found in Navā'i studies, such as Majd ad-Din shaming Navā'i to the sultan or agreeing to become a minister if Ali-Shir was removed from the palace, are not logically correct.

The fact that our scientists deviated from the historical reality was caused by their thinking based on each other's works.

¹⁴⁷ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 37.

Based on the ideology of the Soviet system, the interpretations of the early Navā'ī scholars that the sultan "Exiled him to get rid of his acute words", because Navā'ī was a "Poet who was not afraid to tell the truth", are not true. First of all, Ali-Shir Navā'ī, as a subordinate of the Sultan, could never tell the truth outright, but tried to explain it when it was the right time for this (remember the story of Navā'ī and the orphans in Vāsifī's "Badāe' u-l-Vaqāe'"). Secondly, Navā'ī did not have the courage to speak harshly against the king's firm decision, let alone say an acute word to the sultan¹⁴⁸. This attitude is not only applicable to him and that period, but it is a rule that determines the criterion of relations between rulers and their subjects. It is no coincidence that in Timur's rules, the sultan must not go back on his word, and the example of Mahmud Ghaznavi was cited.

The details provided by Khwandamir also confirm that scholars' assumption that Majd ad-Din had a say in Ali-Shir's being sent to Astrabad is incorrect. Historian writes:

...After Emir Ali-Shir turning to Astrabad the bright memory of the Sultan (Husayn) decided to endow Khwaja Majd ad-Din with a high rank and a high position. This idea came to his mind, while the Sultan said to Khwaja Nizamu-l-Mulk and Khwaja Afzal that there is need to prepare two thousand tumans of kepaki¹⁴⁹ for the expenses." The ministers did not respond to this as expected. Once the ministers left the room, Majd ad-Din knelt down and said: "Even if your majesty needed ten thousand

¹⁴⁸ According to "Makārimu-l-Akhlaq", Navā'ī had the right to appeal to the king up to nine times in order to defend his opinion on a decision or issue.

¹⁴⁹ *Kepaki* was a monetary unit introduced by Movarounnahr ruler Kepak Khan (1318-1326) and was equivalent to a silver dinar.

tumans of money, these two lords, each of whom transferred all the funds from the expenses of the budget to their own use, should have provided them immediately. What is two thousand tuman of money for your highness? This statement lightened up the mood of the Sultan and he turned his attention to his majesty (Majd ad-Din)¹⁵⁰.

After a certain time since the Emir Ali-Shir's leaving to Astrabad, the conflict of "Two thousand tumans of money" occurred. The idea came to reassign Majd ad-Din to a higher position. Had Navā'i not gone to Astrabad, the sultan would not have needed Majd ad-Din. Navā'i would have paid that amount himself if he had been present at this conversation. About the similar situation is told in the ninth chapter of "Makarim al-Akhlāq". It says that Emir Ali-Shir personally paid one hundred thousand kepaki, which should be collected for the necessary expenses.

Considering that the Sultan was spending winter in Marv at this time, it is understandable that he needed some funds for state needs. Majd ad-Din's criticism of the emirs is correct. In the sources, there is no word or information about the participation of Majd ad-Din in sending Emir Ali-Shir to Astrabad. So, we should not think that Sultan Husayn exiled Ali-Shir to make Majd ad-Din the Emir Kabir. Thus, it would be fair to say that when Emir Ali-Shir was sent to Astrabad because of the state security issues, Sultan promoted Majd ad-Din Muhammad, the second person he devoted his heart to after Navā'i, as a loyal person who cares for the state.

¹⁵⁰ Habibu-s-Siyar (1), 603a; Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 36.

Navā`I and Majd Ad-Din Muhammad

After Emir Ali-Shir went to Astrabad, Sultan Husayn had high expectations from Majd ad-Din. Majd ad-Din managed the affairs of the kingdom well and did not miss any opportunity to replenish the kingdom's treasury. This thing pleased the sultan and his trust in him increased day by day.

After Emir Ali-Shir returns from Astrabad, he leaves politics and state affairs. Even the sultan does not oppose his request. The reason is that he knows his friend's mood well, besides, he was completely satisfied with Majd ad-Din's work. Without exception, there is no mention of the sultan's displeasure with Ali-Shir in any source of that period. Khwandamir noted that during this period, Navā`i lived a peaceful life in his home, and when the Sultan wrote letters honoring him, he mentioned all his titles:

After returning from Astrabad, the noble Emir (Ali-Shir) lived peacefully in his homeland. After he left the politics and governorship, his reputation increased day by day, and he began to be honored to such an extent that in the letters sent to him by the Sultan, he wrote his titles as follows: "The owner of virtue, the highest point of honor and respect, the leader of statesmen and religious people, the strength of the leaders of the country and the nation, the

*initiator of good deeds, the promoter of charity institutions, the pillar of the kingdom, the leader of king, the hope and trust of the sultan's state, the close friend of the sultan, the principle of truth and religion Emir Ali-Shir*¹⁵¹.

According to Khwandamir, Majd ad-Din handled the affairs of the state fairly, because of his policy, no official would dare to secretly take a grain from the people, and no soldier would dare to lay hands on any of the people of the bazaar. Khwaja Majd ad-Din was busy with the affairs of the sultan's state and devan every day from morning to noon prayer, and then he would talk with the scholars and virtues of the time¹⁵². When the time comes, it should be mentioned that no historian of that time had a negative reaction to Khwaja Majd ad-Din. Of course, there was a rivalry between Navā'i and Majd ad-Din. Therefore, it would be logical for Khwandamir, who was a supporter of Navā'i, to reveal Majd ad-Din's negative qualities in his later historical works. However, although he also criticizes some of Majd ad-Din's habits, in general he describes him as an enterprising statesman, even Zahir ad-Din Babur mentions him as a skillful minister.

It seems that there is reason to say that Majd ad-Din, of course, still harbored a grudge against Emir Ali-Shir, but he no longer viewed him with hostility. The reason for this was, firstly, the sultan's decision to leave Ali-Shir alone, and the fact that Ali-Shir himself wanted to "retreat" and was relieved that no one would be a threat to him anymore. Secondly, he managed to remove his supporters from the palace during Ali-Shir's time in

¹⁵¹Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 38.

¹⁵²Ravzatu-s-Safā (4), 45b.

Astrabad. This can be proved by the fact that Afzal Muhammad, Navā'ī's most loyal man, fled to Astrabad seeking refuge from Navā'ī. Even if there was someone who was the supporter of Navā'ī, they would not dare to show it openly as they were afraid of Majd ad-Dīn. Ali-Shir's brother Darvishali was also appointed as a governor to Balkh, and he hardly ever met the sultan. Because of this, he knew that Navā'ī could not harm him anymore.

Sources indicate that Sultan could sense that Majd ad-Dīn disliked Ali-Shir. He wanted these two people to be friends¹⁵³. Ali-Shir was well aware that Majd ad-Dīn's grudge for previous events, so he was ready to reconcile with him. According to Vāsif's work "Badā'e'u-l-Vaqā'e", one day Emir Ali-Shir met Majd ad-Dīn in Bāgh-i Jahanārā and said that he had heard about fun parties that Majd ad-Dīn had a habit to organize and that he would like to participate if invited. Majd ad-Dīn was very happy to hear that¹⁵⁴. Majd ad-Dīn, considering the Sultan's high regard for Navā'ī, thought that reconciliation with him would be acceptable to Sultan, and began to organize a large party. This fact indicates that the impeccable friendship between Sultan Husayn Bāyqarā and Ali-Shir was still strong during Majd ad-Dīn's ministry, otherwise Majd ad-Dīn would not have paid much attention to the poet.

The feast was held on the first day of the month of Jumad us-sani in 897 AH (March 6, 1492).

If you have noticed, the analyzes reviewed up to this page show that there was no coldness in the relations between Navā'ī and Husayn Bāyqarā until 1492. Majd ad-Dīn did not behave badly towards Emir Ali-Shir until this time. V. Bartold claimed that due to the rebellion of Darvish Ali, the brother of Navā'ī,

¹⁵³Badā'e'u-l-Vaqā'e', 408.

¹⁵⁴Ibid, 403.

the sultan had to dismiss Majd ad-Din in 1490 and appointed Nizam-u-lmulk instead¹⁵⁵. This accident indeed took place, though, the date was not 1490. Darvish Ali's plan to revolt was revealed on the eve of the sultan's decree dated the twenty-fourth day of Ramadan in 898 AH, i.e. July 8, 1493 AD. Majd ad-Din was dismissed a little later.

It is important to remember this chronology. We are gradually approaching to the one of the main topic of Bartold's version – "Emir Ali-Shir's discredited years". A lot of emphasis has been placed on this issue in Navā'i studies. General conclusions have been drawn correctly. But in many places Navā'i's rivalry with the vizirs, the painful scenes of court intrigues, the sequence of events and the consistency of historical dates have been neglected.

¹⁵⁵Bartold, 245.

Emir Ali-Shir's Sorrowful Years

Majd ad-Din takes Emir Ali-Shir's arrival at the party as his surrender. It can be seen from the following story that this mood of arrogance was also common among Majd ad-Din's followers. Zayn ad-Din Vāsifi tells a story:

... Sultan Husayn had a bakaul (chef at the royal court) called Mir Khwaji Piri Bakaul. One day, when Mir Ali-Shir was coming into the royal court, he met Mir Khwaji coming out of the palace being carried on a carrier. Once the latter reached Ali-Shir, he said: "My dear, today your servants said strange things in the presence of Hazrat Mirzā (Sultan Husain) about you" and went on his way. At that time, there were rumors that there was some coldness between the Sultan and Ali-Shir. Because of this, Mir was in agony, ran after the cook and said, "My dear, please wait!". The cook replied: "Excuse me, Mirzā sent me to the market, I am in a hurry." Mir had to run after the carriers who were holding the cook for about twenty paces...During his conversation with Mirzā Husain, His Holiness showed no sign of the anxiety that Ali-Shir was worried about. When he left the presence of the king and asked some of his friends about the issue, they replied: "Sultan was talking about you such respectable words that none of the disciple have even said about their mentors yet".

It was only then, when Emir Ali-Shir realized that Mirhaji's purpose was to show the people how he would treat Mir Ali-Shir...

Mir harbored this grudge in his heart and after a year, one day he came to Mirzā at the time of prayer. Since they did not agree on this meeting, Mirzā asked: "You look of concerned, where are you coming from?"

Mir said: "I visited Darvish Alishāh. On my way back, as soon as I reached the gate of Feruzabad, I heard a commotion inside. I thought it had to be one of your high officials. A group of handsome young men, who we have never seen in this city were riding gracious horses. They were followed by a group of soldiers, who were cleaning the way, pushing the people aside. I also took myself to a corner and began to watch. Mir Khwaji Pir appeared on a takht-i ravān (throne on horse) decorated with precious gems and rubies... I was glad to see it: thank God, our king's servants are walking in a manner that even Kaikavus, Afrasiyab, Khisrau, Parviz, Bahrām and other great sultans and respected ruler could never afford themselves¹⁵⁶.

The Sultan realizes that the great poet has been disrespected and immediately punishes Mir Hadji Bakaul for such a behavior.

The following can be understood from the details of this episode: Firstly, Mir Khwaji Pir's arrogance to the great Emir among the people confirms that Navā'i resigned from his duties in the palace and was finally having a peaceful life. Otherwise, an common official in the palace would not dare to treat him like

¹⁵⁶Badāe' u-l-Vaqāe', 422-424.

this. Secondly, the fact that Navā'i was coming from Darvish Alishah means that the letter was still the governor of Balkh and this event happened during the ministry of Majd ad-Din. Thirdly, the main majority of the officials in the palace were Khwaja Majd ad-Din's people, which confirms that they were in a hostile mood towards Ali-Shir. Fourthly, it can be seen that the rumors that the sultan started having some sort of grudge against Emir Ali-Shir spread among the people, and it is clear that Darwish Ali had no plans to rebel during this period.

Navā'i was very distressed by the rumours. He tried several times to find out the cause of the rumours, but to no avail. In one of Navā'i's letters to Husayn Bāyqarā, published by A. Hayitmetov it is mentioned:

For a few days, I have feeling as there has been some dust in the pure water of our friendship, and His Holiness (Sultan Husayn) closed the door of kindness, which is the source of infinite grace, in my face... Therefore, I neither dare to express this pain to anyone, nor can I be patient about this situation... No one knows whether you are offended by me or not better than yourself. I confess my sins, but I don't know what wrong I did that you took yourself away from me...¹⁵⁷.

It can be concluded from this that it is a historical fact that Ali-Shir Navā'i and Husayn Bāyqarā had indeed some sort of coldness for unknown reasons. Khronicles, including "Ravzatu-s-Safā, "Khulasatu-l-Akhbar" and "Habibu-s-siyar" do not clarify the reasons for it.

As mentioned above, Darvish Ali's plan to revolt was revealed in the month of Ramadan 898 AH (end of June 1493

¹⁵⁷Hayitmetov (2), 9-13.

AD). Khwandamir suggests that Darvish Ali's rebellion was motivated by his brother's declining prestige in the kingdom and his fear of a possible disaster:

*After Darvish Ali repeatedly heard from the trusted people that Khwaja Majd ad-Din's prestige and will were increasing to such an extent that he was disrespecting Emir Ali-Shir and that he had transferred all the affairs related to Ali-Shir to his control and opened the doors of rebellion against. If this situation was to continue, the decline of Emir Ali-Shir's dignity could influence him as well, and the thought that he might be removed from the governor's office would disturb him*¹⁵⁸.

In the course of these events, for the first time, we see Husayn Bāyqarā speaking disapprovingly about Navā'i:

*At that time, one day, Emir Darvish Ali's treason was causing the Sultan distress. Then he said to some of his noblemen, "I wonder why Darvish Ali would show such ungratefulness by following the path of ignorance." Then some of the corrupted people said that his brother Emir Ali-Shir could have had a hand in the affairs of Emir Darvish Ali. When Ali-Shir came to the seat of the supreme throne and found out about what happened, he was greatly affected and saddened by this provocation*¹⁵⁹.

Majd ad-Din might have worried that Navā'i would inevitably try to diffuse the sultan's resentment and try to return to state

¹⁵⁸Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 40; Habibu-s-Siyar (2), 249.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

affairs. From the footage quoted above from Khwandamir, it can be seen that it was Majd ad-Din's first attempt to an open strike against Navā'ī. It is possible that Majd ad-Din is meant by "corrupted people" in the above extract.

Concerned that his brother has chosen the path of rebellion, Navā'ī asks Khwaja Dehdār to go to him and talk him out of it. Khwaja Dehdār manages to get permission from the Sultan and goes to Darvish Ali. Concerned about the development of the event, Sultan Husain rode to Balkh. But he doesn't see the hostility he expected from Darvish Ali. Darvish Ali greets the sultan outside Balkh with cordial respect and organizes a great feast. The Sultan forgives him, but dismisses him from the governorship. Khwandamir made a special mention of this¹⁶⁰.

Judging by Khwandamir's statement that "Emir Ali-Shir was greatly affected by this provocation", Ali-Shir probably did not expect such an open attack from Majd ad-Din's group. He was very nervous and had to speak openly with the Sultan. The evidence for this is that the sultan announces a decree on the same eve. In it, Darvish Ali, Navā'ī's brother, was detained in the protest area for some of his sins, and it is a mistake and fraud to think that this is influential on Navā'ī, and it is ordered to keep the noble name of Emir Ali-Shir in peace¹⁶¹.

Majd ad-Din will be removed from his post shortly after. The resignation ceremony was held in a solemn manner, the Sultan gave him a reward of one hundred thousand *kepaki* for his loyal services and dressed him in a robe¹⁶².

¹⁶⁰Ravzatu-s-Safā (3),40.

¹⁶¹The decree is stored in the collection "Majmuai ruq'āāt va munshaāt" under number 2278 in the Tashkent OIAS manuscript fund.

¹⁶² For detailed information see: Sabtenli (1),93.

Navā'i and Nizāmu-l-Mulk

After Majd ad-Din was dismissed in 1494, he left for Hajj shortly after and died on the way to Mecca. Nizāmu-l-Mulk was appointed as the Emir kabir. According to Khwandamir, Nizāmu-l-Mulk was one of the noblemen along with Majd ad-Din, Afzal Muhammad and Mir Ali-Shir, which means that he was one of the most important persons in the eyes of the Sultan.

In khronicles, there is no mention of any war or campaigns of Husayn Bāyqarā in Khorasan from 1494 to 1497. So, Khorasan was peaceful during this period. In the sources, we did not see any negative aspect in the relationship between Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Navā'i until 1494. There is no information that can shed light on the relationship between Navā'i and Nizāmu-l-Mulk. The reason for this can be explained by the fact that Navā'i during this period was out of the royal court. However, by 1497, some events in the kingdom show that Navā'i was forced to intervene in political life and that a conflict arose between him and Nizāmu-l-Mulk.

According to the sources, to that year the government of Balkh was handed over to Badi'u-z-Zamān, who was in charge of Astrabad. Astrabad was promised to his son Momin Mirzā. However, at the last minute, the Sultan's decision was changed, and his son Muzaffar Husayn, who was born from Khadija Begim, was appointed as the governor of Astrabad. Dissatisfied with this, Badi'u-z-Zamān disagrees with Sultan Husayn. This disagreement was getting worse day by day. Ali-Shir Navā'i, who

understood that this situation would bring disaster and turmoil to the people, and disorganization in the kingdom and the army, was seriously disturbed. From this period, we see that he began to work to overcome the coldness between father and son. For example, in "Ravzat us-Safā" the following information is given:

...Khāqān-i Mansur (Husayn Bāyqarā), despite the hardships of riding the saddle, decided to direct his mighty army to Balkh province that winter to teach Badi'u-z-Zamān a lesson. But Emir Ali-Shir asked his Highness to issue a decree, so he could go to Badi'u-z-Zamān instead, and advises him to come back to his senses and that Badi'u-z-Zamān would hopefully see the perfection of the king's benevolence, and would come back from the wilderness of anger to the path of servitude. The Sultan cherished this idea¹⁶³.

Emir Ali-Shir had bad feeling that the disagreement between the father and the son would result into a huge distress and turmoil for the kingdom, eventually. It can be logically concluded that he did not want to be an outside spectator and turned to the sultan on his own initiative. Nizamu-l-Mulk did not like his selfless intention, as can be seen from the following scene:

Emir Ali-Shir was in Balkh and spoke to Badi'u-z-Zamān Mirzā. At the instigation of Khwaja Nizamu-l-Mulk and some of his close people, who did not want peace to be established with the actions of Emir Ali-Shir, Khāqān-i mansur (Sultan Husayn) sent a decree to Emir Islam Barlās, the governor of Balkh¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶³Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 49.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

Decree was ordering to close the gates once Badi'u-z-Zaman went outside the city to hunt, and not let the prince to enter. The question arises, what happened when Ali-Shir went to Badi'u-z-Zaman that the sultan's trust in Navā'i was replaced by doubt and he turned away from the reconciliation path that he offered? Besides Nizamu-l-Mulk, who does the historian mean by some close people?

The content of the incitement is not revealed in Navā'i's period's historical works known to us, but it is mentioned that it belongs to the group "who did not want peace to be connected with the means of Ali-Shir". What could the incitement be about? In the work "Alamārā-i Safavi" dedicated to the history of the Safavid dynasty, there is such a minute episode, which is important in the illumination of this issue and, most importantly, in drawing a logical conclusion. According to it, "In 1496, Sultan Husayn handed over the government of Balkh to Badi'u-z-Zaman. He issued a decree to give Astrabad to Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā. Two days later, Badi'u-z-Zaman received a letter from Ali-Shir Navā'i. The letter read as follows:

If you leave Astrabad for Balkh, leave Muhammad Momin Mirzā in your place. No matter what happens, the city should not be left to any other person." When Badi'u-z-Zamān received this letter, he was very happy and grateful to the poet who had been his mentor since his youth¹⁶⁵.

Does this information have a historical basis or not? Why did Khwandamir, who left abundant information about Navā'i, did not mention about it in the work "Habibu-s-Siyar" he created in the last years of his life? According to O.Efendiev, the

¹⁶⁵ Ekaev, 28.

English orientalist Denison Ross found out that Khwandamir wrote the account of the events of the youth of Shah Ismail Safavi in the work "Habibu-s-siyar" using "Alamārā-i Safavi"¹⁶⁶. Therefore, Khwandamir was aware of the above-mentioned information and did not include it in his work because he clearly knew that it was false and had no basis. But this detail may represent the essence of the incitement created by Nizamu-l-Mulk and his close circle. The reason is that the incitement happened when Badi'u-z-Zaman came to Balkh from Astrabad, leaving his son Muhammad Momin Mirzā in his place. Who was interested in the expulsion of Momin Mirzā from Astrabad and intensifying the conflict between father and son? Of course, the first doubt in this place falls on queen Khadija Begim, who was plotting to transfer the throne to her own son Muzaffar Husain Mirzā. It was said that Navā'i's policy of conciliation between father and son would become a barrier to her political ambitions¹⁶⁷. Because of this, it can be said that the Khadija Begim was interested in "Keeping him out of sight", albeit temporarily. This matter seems to have been secretly consulted with Nizamu-l-Mulk, and it is possible that a terrible provocation was prepared and delivered to the sultan, which was obviously the cause of a major conflict on the scale of the kingdom. Thus, Sultan sent a new decree to the army commander to prevent Badi'u-z-Zaman from entering the city. So, it is worth noting that Nizamu-l-Mulk benefited from the provocation in two ways. First, he destroyed the relationship

¹⁶⁶ Efendiev, 8-9.

¹⁶⁷ Khadijabegim's intrigues aroused strong protest in Badi'u-z-Zamān. Khadija Begim was the concubine of the former king Abu Sa'id Mirzā and had a daughter from him before she was taken to the harem of Husayn. Sultan married her and has glorified her as the great Mahdi 'Ulyā (ie., the first lady) honoring her above all his other noble wives because of his enormous love to her (Zahir ad-Din Babur).

between the sultan and Navā'i, and secondly, he fully satisfied Khadija Begim's desire. The queen and the minister agreed that both of them persuaded the sultan to send Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā over Momin Mirzā in order to prevent the provocation brought to the sultan from being exposed and to intensify the political situation. Because if Navā'i had reconciled the sultan with Badi'u-z-Zaman, the Astrabad issue would have been resolved peacefully. As a result, Momin Mirzā would not have been executed, Sultan Husayn would have believed that the incident mentioned in "Alamārā-i Safavi" was a provocation. In this way, Ali-Shir Navā'i's name would have been rescued; if we look deeper, Sultan Husayn would not have axed the roots of his own kingdom and accelerated his crisis. Unfortunately, Emir Ali-Shir had lost.

Warming of Relations

Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, who marched an army to Astrabad, took Mirzā Momin as a prisoner and brought him to Hirāt. At the entrance to Hirāt, the whole nation gathered and greeted Momin Mirzā with tears. He was imprisoned in the Ikhtiyariddin tower. The conspirators under the leadership of Nizam al-Mulk, who was afraid of the beginning of unrest among the people, and princess Khadija Begim had Sultan Husayn Mirzā sign the decree to execute Mo'min Mirzā, while he was drunk during his march against Badi'u-z-Zaman on the banks of the Murghāb river. It is mentioned in "Habibu-s-siyar":

Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā's mother, Khadija Begim, considered that the Momin Mirzā's survival was the cause of her son (Muzaffar Husayn Mirzā)'s death; so all her efforts were focused on the task of destroying the beautiful plant (Momin Mirzā) with the power of enmity. Thus, she made an alliance with Khwaja Nizamu-l-Mulk, who was the owner of state property at that time, and his sons... They had the Sultan authorize the verdict regarding the execution of Momin Mirzā on the night when he was intoxicated with wine on the banks of the Murghāb river¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁸Habibu-s-Siyar (2), 851.

When the prince was executed (Safar month 903 AH/October 1497 AD), the Sultan regretted what he had done. However, it was already too late. Now, almost all the rest of the children of the Sultan became unrest and alerted about him. Khwandamir writes in "Habib us-siyar":

After the news of the martyrdom of Muhammad Mo'min Mirzā was spread around, the news of this incendiary and pure evil spread near and far to the heart of both Turkic and Tajik people; each of the princes who built a government around Khorasan started becoming anxious about princess Khadija Begim's cunning tricks. They were scared; thus they imitated the way of rebellion of prince Badi'u-z-Zamān Mirzā and took the path of opposition against their father¹⁶⁹.

Despite the details of Sultan Husain's battles with his sons and the emphasis on his victories in historical works, it is not difficult to notice that the Sultan's battles were difficult and dangerous for him. The Sultan condemns Nizamul-Mulk as the cause of these disasters, and the resulting tension forces him to rely more and more on the support of Ali-Shir Navā'i. During this period, the sultan wanted to bring the poet closer to him again, which is clear from the fact that he ordered Navā'i to compile the poetry Divans.

Navā'i included this letter-order in the preface of the *Khazāinu-l-Maāni* divans. It reads as following:

... You collected the previous two divans by our order and with our advice and approval. So in the first one

¹⁶⁹Ibid, 898.

the cry of lovers rose from the love poems to the highest goal till end of this world. When it comes to the second one, the unreachable vault of the dome was touched by the sobs of the people of love, after which the number of collected poems and strings of poetry seems to be more than the previous ones. It looks like two more divans could be made with these graceful beauties. Could there be a more enjoyable job and a more rewarding activity for you? Now the best thing is to put your mind to this wonderful work. My command is that you take up this wonderful task and have a party with the beauties of your imagination in the wilderness of your thinking. And until the sky goes round, show the wonders that the human race has not thought of to the people... Because God has blessed you and no one else has been given a sparkle and strength for this work, we hope that you will take advantage of the opportunity and suffice to the result of our expectations¹⁷⁰.

The preface also contains a letter written by Navā'i in response to the Sultan. It seems to be written with more of an upset tone. In this respect, the preface of *Khazāinu-l-Maāni* is sharply different from the prefaces of the earlier Divan and scientific works. The content of the letter is as follows:

دیدم کہ بواشد اکیر بولوب مین مامور
 هر نیچه کی تو تسام اوز مورنی معذور
 لیک رشته کہ اژدهاغه کی تیر غای زور
 زور یتکای اوز یغہ ایستاسا قیلماق مور

¹⁷⁰ Khazāinu-l-Maāni: Preface, 10-11.

Meaning:

(I have said to myself: I have always fulfilled any order, even those that have been particularly difficult and almost impossible for me. However, it is clear that an ant can't complete the task – Which is too hard even for a dragon to complete.)

It is known and obvious to the Sultan that his humble servant has seen a lot in his life. As I am recovering from illness, the food I eat and the beverage I drink are still very rare. I spend time lying in bed from morning till night, anxious about time. Even though I have a little energy, I can't move until someone helps me to go out. It is not possible for a fly to pull a load that a hundred elephants cannot pull, especially if it is injured and weak, and how an ant can do what a lion cannot, especially if it is sick and poor in terms of health.

RUBO IYA:

اول ايکي ديوانغه چوقيلدير رغبت
هم ايردي ييگيتليک مددير هم صحت
بولدوم چوقاري وخسته يوق اول قوت
کور گوزغالي انداق نيمه لارغه جرعت

Meaning:

(Once I had started my previous two divans, I was young and full of strength as well, Now I have grown old, and depleted from my energy, How am I able to dare to something like that.)

In general, because Sultan Sahibqiran made many corrections and changes in every small detail during the compilation of those two divans, the result of the work was clearly ordered from the

beginning to the end. In my current weak and powerless period, when I am in a state of weakness, helplessness, and in need, it is difficult to do such a difficult task, even to imagine it, without Sultan Sahibqiran's encouragement and continuous guidance. Thus, is there anything this humble servant could do if his highness would not ask after my condition from time to time. There is nothing surprising if the ant does not come to the memory of Solomon. It is wrong to be surprised and apologize even if the star Alcor is not visible in the sky"¹⁷¹.

The following considerations arise from this letter and Navā'ī's response:

1. Navā'ī had suffered from a serious illness.
2. The Sultan orders him to collect all his poems and compile two more divans in addition to the previous two divans.
3. His mentioning "The cause of illness and troubles is known to the sultan" might refer to some events, which can be understood as a hint to the death of friends such as Jāmi, Pahlavān Muhammad and Majd ad-Din's incitement on the eve of Darvish Ali's rebellion, together with Nizamulmulk's incitement related to Badi'u-z-Zaman 's rebellion.
4. According to the hint of "Possibility of hope for health", the correspondence between Navā'ī and the sultan took place during the period of recovery from illness. The mention of this in the preface of "Khazayinu-l-Maani" indicates that Navā'ī's illness occurred in 903/1497-1498 AH. Therefore, the sultan's doubts in Navā'ī as a result of the instigation of Khadijabegim and Nizamu-l-

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 12.

Mulk may have had a strong impact on the poet's psyche and made him bedridden.

5. It is not difficult to notice the signs of being upset with the previous events and implied plea to the Sultan to cooperate with him in creation and show mercy. Navā'i hinted that attention to himself has decreased.

When the letter reached Husayn Bāyqarā, he immediately sent a reply to Navā'i. This letter is also included in the preface. Its content proves the correctness of our above comments. Among other things, it says:

Don't get upset and think of bad events. We've never been ignorant of your situation, even though you think so. Never have we ever ghosted you, even though you are thinking like that. So, we did not have any coldness in the creation of the previous two divans. No lack of attention was allowed in matters of guidance and grace. Now, with the same attention, maybe even more, and with the same approach, maybe even more, we will keep supporting you. I will go to see you soon. We know about your illness and we will heal you with compassion and kindness. Your depressed mood is also known and obvious to us. All your problems will be solved with our blessings and kindness.¹⁷²

The following conclusions can be drawn from the answer:

1. The tone of comforting the poet can be felt from Sultan's saying "we always remember you, even though you are not aware of it". On the one hand, this confirms

¹⁷² Ibid.

that Navā'ī was seriously ill, and on the other hand, there is a hint that the sultan tried to cheer him up.

2. It is understood that either Sultan Husain was not in Hirāt during Navā'ī's illness or Navā'ī is somewhere other than the capital.
3. Although he is far from Navā'ī, Sultan is aware of his works. If we connect the content of a letter with an unknown addressee in "Munshaāt" to the hint of the last sentence, it becomes clear that someone mediated between the king and Navā'ī:

Letter from "Munshaāt":

فراق ارا که یتار کو ککا شعله آهیر
بو اوتقا آه اگر رحمر قیلماده ماهیر

Meaning:

(There is fire till the sky from my moan,

Woe to me if my monobrowed one doesn't show mercy for that fire.)

After the servile prayer, my statement is that I am very happy that you remembered me with your kind letter. May God bless you and give you long life.

خطینگ طفیلی مینگ غمیمدین بیتتاسی قالدی
تینگری بیر سین بیر یاشینگگا مینگ یاش

Meaning:

(You letter made my thousand problems vanish, now I have only one, May God bless each of your life years with thousand more ones.)

You wrote that you cry remembering me in front of Mirzā.
I do not mind your remembering me, but your crying.

دېاھجرينگدين منگا عادت بولوتور يىغلاماق
شاد بول سين كيومنگا قسمت بولوتور يىغلاماق¹⁷³.

Meaning:

*(If you have a habit of crying, I was destined to cry,
So, you should be the happy one.)*

It seems that someone was trying hard to make Sultan Hussain Mirzā feel sorry for Navā'i. Who could it be? The following conclusion can be drawn from the letter:

1. The spirit of being upset in the preface of "Khazāinu-l-Maāni" and the statement of Navā'i in the letter lead to the opinion that they were written at the same time.
2. "Remembering and crying" means that Navā'i is seriously ill.
3. The addressee is a relative of Husayn Mirzā, an elderly person.

In our opinion, it must be Afzal Muhammad the Emir al-Kabir of that time who was loyal to Ali-Shir or Shaikhimbek Suhayli. May be Navā'i's following *saqinama* devoted to Suhaili was written during this period¹⁷⁴:

... كيوسهيلي ساري دور زار كونگول
كوپ تيلار صحبتين افكار كونگول...

¹⁷³ Munshaāt, 795b

¹⁷⁴ Favāidu-l-kibar, 654b.

سین ایدینگ کیم منگا دمساز ایردینگ
 هر هار نکتہ داهمراز ایردینگ
 ظلم لار کیم منگا بو چرخ دنی
 قیلدی قایدین تاپای ایتورغه سنی
 کیم بیری بوایدی کیم سالدی پیراق
 سینی باغریمنه قویوب داغی فراق
 منگا گردد و غم انبوه اولدی
 قسمتیم غمه واندوه اولدی...
 کیم که کیلسا بو طرف یاد ایله
 طرب آیین سوز ایله شاد ایله

Meaning:

*(As my heart yearns for Suhayli,
 My heart craves his speeches,
 You were one who was my air,
 You were my confidant.
 The treacheries that this fortune
 Has made for me, where can I find you ever to tell you all.
 The fortune has caused a lot of pains to me,
 one of them was distancing you from me.
 My pain and sadness have multiplied endlessly
 My problems have become infinite
 Since then, my fortune is bad luck and sadness.
 Anybody, who is coming towards my side,
 Think about me, make me happy with the good news.)*

From the content of this poem, it becomes clear that Suhaili was far away and Navā'ī is going through difficult experiences during this period. In our opinion, it seems that after Navā'ī came down with great pain, Shaikhim Suhaili was able to kindle the sparks of mercy in the heart of the sultan and was the first to

get the sultan himself to decide to end this coldness. Suhaili, who was aware of Navā'i's work, told the sultan that he started composing "Khazāinu-l-Maāni" in 897/1491-1492 A.H., but because of the unfortunate events, he was discouraged from it. There is a probability that he urged the Sultan to support Navā'i, so the poet could finish the poetry compilation. This event would be really good opportunity for Navā'i to get out of depression state.

After the first victory over Badi'u-z-Zamān in Puli Charāgh on Sha'ban the 29 (April 2, 1497), Sultan Husayn did not return to Hirāt, but went to Balkh instead. He remained on the banks of the Murghāb River until the Safar month of 903 (1497, October). Perhaps all three letters were written during this period. Soon we see that Navā'i went to Mashhad and returned the very month of Safar after he has heard about the killing Momin Mirzā. After that what's happened with the royal family he became Bāyqarā's confidant again. In the meantime, it should be said that the brutal extermination of Nizamu-l-Mulk and his family (on the twenty-first day of the month of Ramadan, 903 A.H. (May 15, 1498 BC)) made the sultan lean even more on Navā'i.

In this way, warm relations have been formed between them. For example, on the twenty-fourth of Shawwal in 903 AH (AD 1498), when Badi'u-z-Zamān rebelled against his father, the king, standing on the Neshin plateau, panicked because of the small sizes of his army. He immediately sent a messenger to Hirāt and ordered Ali-Shir, who was in charge of the government there, to mount a horse and gather troops and soldiers wherever he saw them and send them to the camp¹⁷⁵. This fact confirms that after the execution of Momin Mirzā, relations between Navā'i and the Sultan were improved. In the course of the above

¹⁷⁵Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 55.

incident, it is mentioned that when Emir Ali-Shir realized that the incident had taken a serious turn, he immediately went to the sultan and "Tried to comfort and soothe his heart for Badi'u-z-Zamān Mirzā. Emir Ali-Shir's words were sincere and met the approval of the great Sultan"¹⁷⁶. The point was that Badi'u-z-Zamān demanded his father to return Balkh, and the sultan would not agree. Navā'ī intervened between the sultan and Badi'u-z-Zamān, managed to prevent the conflict, and he managed to urge Sultan to give the prince Seistan and Farah regions. Thus, it could be concluded for the last years of Sultan Husayn's life, that is, in the period after 903/ 1497-1498 of the Hijri, Sultan more and more needed his help and relayed on Navā'ī in solving extremely important problems.

After Emir Ali-Shir's health became much better, he starts to do his last good deed he had been dreaming to fulfil. In 903 A.H. (1497-1498 AD), he began to renovate the cathedral mosque in Hirāt. The dome of the mosque was demolished and rebuilt, and two luxurious porches were built on the sides of the mihrab. According to Khwandamir, Emir Ali-Shir himself came and helped the workers. This job that was supposed to take 3-4 years was completed in only 6 months. After strengthening the foundation and renewing the dome, it took a year for external and internal decorations and tiling. Instead of the dilapidated walnut altar, a marble one was erected. Many poems in the genre of ta'rikh have been written about it.

Ali-Shir Navā'ī always dreamed of Pilgrimage. Every time, the Hajj trip was postponed due to the sultan's interference. Emir Ali-Shir started thinking about the pilgrimage again in 904 AH (1498-1499 AD).

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 57.

Hajj Dream

Khwandamir writes:

...From the beginning of the days of growing up until the last moments of his life, his highness (Ali-Shir Navā'i) had the desire to perform the Muslim pilgrimage and the idea of visiting the Prophet's grave. He would always try to do this as much as he could, and he would constantly recite the following two stanzas:

کی بود یارب که رود در یشرب و بطحاکم
گه به مکّه منازل و گه در مدینه جا کنم
بر کنار زمزم از دل برکشویک زمزمه
وز دو چشم خون فشان آن چشمه را دریا کنم

Meaning:

*(My dear God, when shall I finally visit Yasrib and Bathā?
I wish I could stay sometimes in Mecca and other times in Medina.
I wish I could sing the song of my heart next to Zam-Zam,
I wish I made this spring into the river with my eyes that shed blood.)*

How many times did he put his foot on the stirrup and go straight to the royal court to get permission for this trip, and every time he returned with the request of the powerful Sultan and was prevented from manifesting this desire¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁷ Makārim, 75

In the previous pages, it was mentioned that Navā'ī asked the Sultan to fulfill two requests in his work "Vaḳfiā" that one was a request to allow him to go on a pilgrimage¹⁷⁸. But this request was not approved. Mir Ali-Shir never gave up on the dream of pilgrimage. He writes in the preface of the book "Khazāinu-l-Maāni":

... and during this period, I had every opportunity to write poetic works such as "Khamṣa", "Nazmu-l-Javābir", "Majālisu-n-Nafais", "Zubdatu-t-Tawārikh and I spent my time praying for the state of his highness (Husayn Bāyqarā -Sh.S.). Thanks to Allah, I have achieved such goals that no one like me can achieve. I was blessed with things that were the dreams of hundreds, if not thousands of people like me. Thanks to Allah, I spent most of my life due to his care and I reached the end of my life happily. I don't have any dreams left unfulfilled and I don't remember any of my dreams being unfulfilled ever. I tasted all the riches of and the joys of life and praised them and sent the tunes of my poems to the seven heavens. I have only one dream left. Even so, the lightness and ease of the path to the Hereafter is to achieve happiness in the next world, and this work depends on obeying the commands of the Almighty with the help of Haqq subhanahu wa ta'ala and obeying the intercession and sharia of His Messenger, may God bless him and grant him peace.

¹⁷⁸ Some studies indicate that "Vaḳfiā" was written in 1480-1481. Taking into account that 886 Hijri began on March 2, 1481 AD, it is appropriate to indicate the year of writing the work as 1481-1482.

I hope that I will achieve this happiness and enjoy this happiness under his highness kindness ¹⁷⁹.

Mir Ali-Shir's desire to visit Mecca grew stronger day by day, and in 904 A.H. (1498-1499) he sent Abdulhay Tabib, the physician to Merv – to Sultan Husayn, who was besieging his son Abulmuhsin Mirzā, to get permission to leave. He himself set off to Mashhad together with the blessed scholars, the class of virtuous people and most of the officials repeating the stanzas that meant "...now, I can't bear to postpone this anymore"¹⁸⁰. Abdulhay Tabib brings back a letter from the king to Navā'i. It was written that Husayn Bāyqarā gave permission for Hajj. In the copy of the letter cited by Khwandamir, it is written, among other things:

...Furthermore, let it be known to enlightened minds that on Friday, the eleventh of Rajab, Maulānā Abdulhay came and conveyed the mood, health, and good conditions of his great highness. The news of this caused great joy. The news of his soon departing to the pilgrimage has been word of mouth quite for some time now, but we did not pay attention to it because it was not heard from trusted people. However, the content of the letter written to Khwaja Afzal ad-Din Muhammad made it clear that the dream that has been cherished for the long-time in the tender hear has turned into a strong desire by now and there is no other way than going. We will not take back our word, but we must warn you of possible dangers of the travel. In this regard, road safety is a must. It should be known

¹⁷⁹ Khazāinu-l-Maāni: Preface, 18.

¹⁸⁰ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 59.

that the situation in Iraq and Baghdad, which is the passageway these days, is so chaotic and unstable. It is heard that the same is true about the borders of Egypt and Syria. It must be said that if the road is dangerous, it would be wiser not to set out. If you don't think about the dangers of the road these days, anything could happen. Another thing is that this journey is known to be long, and there is no guarantee of how long one will live. If only we could meet again and say goodbye to each other. But by mentioning these two cases, there is also a fear of writing this preface, so that you do not think that the purpose of these words is to prohibit you from the travel.

We have always said it openly anytime there should be any relative thought. You can also let us know anything that comes to your mind in this regard.

One more thing: It is up to you, which decision to make. Whatever needs to be done for the good of both worlds, we shall do it. May the two worlds be blessed. Be safe¹⁸¹.

From the conclusion of the letter, one can infer that Sultan Husayn expressed his wish to see him before the Hajj and say goodbye due to his lack of confidence in the future meeting. It is felt that the Sultan's emphasis on road unrest is an excuse, and he needs Navā'ī's help in easing the political tension in the country. Realizing this, Navā'ī completely gave up hope on the pilgrimage.

¹⁸¹ Makārim, 76-78.

The Last Request

According to Khwandamir, after receiving the letter, Emir Ali-Shir held a council with his relatives. Everyone asked him to go to the sultan and reconcile the father and the child¹⁸².

Ali-Shir Navā'i hits on the road. Before reaching Merv, when he stopped at Sarakhs, he heard the news that Sultan Husayn was coming from Merv. As it turned out, a truce was concluded between the king and the prince through Emir Ali-Shir's brother Darvish Ali, and the troops were returning to Hirāt. The details of this incident are given in "Habibu-s-Siyar" as follows:

.... after an unsuccessful siege of Marv for three or four months, Sultan was inclined to peace. When Abulmuhsin Mirzā got tired of defending the fortress, he sent an ambassador to his father and asked for Emir Darvish Ali. According to the verdict, he went to the city and met with the prince. The prince said: "If the great Sultan will forgive me of my

¹⁸² Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 59. There is a possibility that when "Ravzatu-s-Safā" was written, the author was not familiar with the original copy of the abovementioned letter, rather he could be aware of its but with its contents; on the other side, even if he was familiar with it, he wrote it in short form, considering the size of the work. In "Ravzatu-s-Safā" there is no summary of the letter and no further details. While writing "Makārim ul-Akhlaq", Khwandamir corrected the mistake he made earlier by presenting the letter in its original form. The fact that the original of the letter was like this is also confirmed by comparing it with the copies available in the letter collections of the "Maktubāt" and "Munshaāt" series. See: Maktubāt-i tarikhi, 161b-163a; Majmua-i ruq'aāt, 169b.

sin and return to Hirāt, I will go to the foot of the throne to pledge my loyalty". His plea was accepted, and Sultan set off to Sarakhs¹⁸³.

Ali-Shir Navā'ī meets Sultan Husayn Bāyqarā in a village called Bazargān-i Tavia near Sarakhs. Khwandamir reveals the result of the meeting as follows:

...The high-ranking Emir stayed in the residence for three days, and during those days he presented the king, princes and the harem with wonderful swift horses, camels, and incalculable wealth. His highness bestowed most of the officials in the shrine with the fruits of charity. Then Ali-Shir Navā'ī told Sultan: "You once said that if you ever refused to deal with royal affairs, you would stay in the tomb of Shaikh Najm ad-Din Kubrā or become a sweeper of the threshold of Khwaja Abdullah Ansāri. You will not be able to do this now, and you will not allow me to travel to pilgrimage with desire and motivation. That being the case, if you allow me to spend the rest of my life sweeping the threshold of Ansāria...." His Holiness Sultan showed grace and kindness and accepted this request well and said: "As long as you stay in Khorasan, any request you may have will be granted, because should you ever leave this property, there will be a rebellion in the condition of all the people, big and small¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸³ Habibu-s-Siyar (1), 281b.

¹⁸⁴ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 59.

It is worthy to note that Navā'i's will is described in the preface of *Khazāyinu-l-Maāni* in detail. In it, it is explained that Navā'i had a serious illness and decided to spend the rest of his life in obedience, so we consider it appropriate to quote its contents in full:

...My humble self has grown an illness as I have advanced in my age. This illness would not leave me for a minute and that's well-known to the sun-like Sultan. Now my health has gone backwards, and many diseases have appeared in my body. Doctors are unable to treat and are in a difficult situation. They are confused and sad. Because of the confusion of my mind my words are confused, because of the confusion of my mind I feel unstable. My body trembles from burning inside, my head is dizzy from despair, and my vision is always dark. I don't eat from morning to evening, I don't sleep from evening to morning. My mind is confused by absurd thoughts, I feel bad for every kind word because of being cramped. People around me are in trouble because of the extremely small amount of food and drink my. It is very painful to stand without the help of a person, and it is difficult to take a step without the help of a cane. If I want to go for a walk, two people should be the to bear me. After riding the horse, I feel like all my limbs are useless from the fatigue of such a walk, I can't move for another night and day because of the pain; this long-lasting disease has withered my flower of life, and the weak body hurts from the heavy in and out of its breath.

Rubā'i:

هرشام و سحر داتى گرو اينگرانماق ايش
 بويانى دين او يانيگا ايللاشماق ايش
 گه گه ايسيتما او تيدين يانماق ايش
 گه قيناليش دات يانا چير مانماق ايش

Meaning:

*(Every night and day, all I do is moaning,
 I am restless, days and nights, alas,
 The fever burns me down from time-to-time,
 Other times I scream in agony.)*

Rubā'i:

نى جسى داتاب و نى تنى داقوت
 نى كونگول دا خوشلوق نى اوزى داصحت
 مونداق كيشى نينگ مئاسى دور قرىت
 ويرانه سيدين چيقماق انكا نى نسبت

Meaning:

*(I don't have either energy, or any strength,
 Neither have I happiness, nor goodness, alas,
 The one like me is worth of death,
 Why would I ever leave his slum?)*

The request of this slave who spent his life in this holy palace enjoying many gifts and limitless donations of the Sultan Sahibqirān is the following... I have achieved worldly happiness from the care of your highness and now I do not want to be despaired of the happiness of the hereafter. I plea from the glorious Sultan to issue a decree and appoint me as one of the

janitors of the mausoleum of Abdullah Ansāri, the holy shrine of the kingdom. So that I could go to that threshold and fall in this time of depression. I shall take a broom in my hand when I have energy, and when I have no energy, I shall weep the threshold with my eyelashes instead of a broom. And I consider this service to be the honor of my religion and the hereafter¹⁸⁵.

The letter where Navā'i is asking the Sultan to give him the permission to become the janitor of Khwaja Ansāri's tomb was added to the preface part; moreover, as the tribute to the fact that he finally reached his goal, he instructs the scribes to keep it there in the future as well:

... and I have added that letter, where I am asking his grace to let me reach the final goal of mine, and he has shown his great kindness letting me to see those days. My will is that this letter to be kept everytime this work is copied, so the good people know, who made my dream come true, and may the graceful sun like Sultan be praised for his generosity forever¹⁸⁶.

According to Khwandamir after receiving the permission to be a janitor of Navā'i Ansāri's tomb, the sultan has issued a decree on this. The decree was announced in Sarakhs. Khwandamir did not provide the text of the decree. The text of this decree was found in the collection of letters of Navā'i's contemporary Abdullah Marvārid¹⁸⁷. The letter's content is as the followings:

...Since it is obligatory to believe in the correct hadith, the reason for unification and association is determined from the hadith, which says: "Souls who were

¹⁸⁵ Khazāinu-l-Maāni: Preface, 19-20.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 18.

¹⁸⁷ See: Sirojiddinov (5), 68-73.

friends initially will be reconciled with each other eventually." The friendship that was determined at the very beginning of the creation does strengthen the existence of the world. Emir Ali-Shir, whose level of loyalty and worthiness is well-known, who is considered to be a person with divine qualities, the pillar of the state, the great of the country, a prominent representative of the religion and the state, the head of the leaders of the country and nation, the owner of good deeds, the support of the sultan's state, the close friend of His Majesty the Sultan, the symbol of the religious state, has lived a happy and content life. I was lucky enough to be with this representative of the great dynasty from the cradle of infancy to the rise of the star of the sunshine to the power of the state. He was assigned to provide external and internal support for the royal worldly goals. Thanks to Allah, the country that has been adorned with the blessed name and the blessed body of his highness the Sultan for a long time and the past is a comprehensive proof of this. In fact, this comment does not need a testimony. In accordance with this bright vision, his consent was always sought. Everything is done according to the will of the honorable Sultan; we did not ever refuse and command of his and we accepted his requests unconditionally. We had always had in our thoughts the words of his grace: "We always wished to become a janitor of the tomb of the great of this world Abu Ismail Khwaja Abdullah Ansāri's mausoleum and Shaikh Najmuddin Kubrā. Thus, we have always competed with his greatness Ali-Shir Navā'ī on the

matter of who should be bestowed with this honorable task eventually. This continued to the point when he requested us: "This has always been the wish of heart of his grace, which in turns proves that this is the motto of the pillar of the kingdom. It is very worthy in terms of the feeling of relatedness to His Holiness... Khwaja Abdullah Ansāri and Hazrat Shaikh Najmiddin... Should the service of janitor caretaker be bestowed on Navā'i with royal authority, this would be a dream come true for Husayn Bāyqarā, thus fulfilling all his intentions!" The needs of his nobleness should be met as much as possible! Let the dignitaries try to fulfill as much as possible whatever Ali-Shir's requirement is and whatever the level of his demand is for the development and discipline of the heavenly destination!

Happy children! Renowned emirs and high-ranking leaders! Respected ministers, all governors, dignitaries, people of the court and all lower classes! Especially the officials and messengers in the works related to vaqf of the Holy palace! In particular, those who consider it obligatory to fulfill the orders of his highness the Sultan. They should not undertake any work without the permission of his highness' well-intentioned opinion, without the approval of his assistants, and the sum of the endowments should be spent on legitimate expenses, as his grace sees fit! And let them never forget that their appointment and dismissal depend on his grace! And no one should touch the finances of the prestigious dynasty without the consent of his grace!¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ Abdullāh Marvārid, 110.

Death

After being appointed as an official to the tomb of Abdullah Ansāri Navā'i rushes to complete his unfinished works. He copied *Khazāyinu-l-Maāni* divan and presented it to the sultan, then wrote *Mabbubu-l-Qulub*. Hirāt begins to beautify the surroundings of Jāme' (Cathedral) Mosque. Covering the roof of the porch, which occupies an area of about 3 hectares around the mosque with two layers of thatch. Thus, Hirāt Jāme' Mosque was fully renovated with the efforts and funds of Emir Ali-Shir. Construction officially ends on the fourteenth of Sha'ban 905 AH (March 15, 1500 AD). On the first day of Jumad ul-Avval 906 AH (November 23, 1500 AD), Emir Ali-Shir threw a big feast. This fact shows that Emir Ali-Shir was in a good mood during this period. At the same time, due to the attack of the princes in the country, the sultan had to walk outside Hirāt for a long time. At this time, Emir Ali-Shir was busy with government affairs.

At the end of Jumadu-l-Avval 906 AH (December, 1501 AD), Sultan Husayn left Astrabad for Hirāt. Emir Ali-Shir and his closest associates left Hirāt to meet Sultan on the way on the seventh day of the month of Jumad ul-Akhir and stopped at Pariyān Rabāt. He spent a night there, and the next day he went to Pāyāb Rabāt. There they get the news that the sultan arrived at Emirshah Rabāt, and Emir Ali-Shir went to Emirshāh Rabāt the next morning. His condition worsened on the way. He asked Khwaja Shahāb ad-Din Abdullah, who was accompanying him

to keep an eye on him. From the opposite side, the sultan's carriage was seen coming. Everyone dismounts and moves to welcome the Sultan. Seeing that Emir Ali-Shir's condition was getting worse, Khwaja Shahāb ad-Din Abdullah and Maulānā Jalāl ad-Din Qāsim took him down from the horse in their arms. Sultan got off the throne and walks towards Emir Ali-Shir. Emir Ali-Shir lost his consciousness as soon as he leaned on the chest of his dear friend. Emir Ali-Shir was placed on the king's throne. On the way, with the advice of Maulānā Abdulhay and Maulānā Shams ad-Din Muhammad Gilāni, blood was drawn from his veins. However, this does not improve the situation of the poet. After arriving in Hirāt, all the famous doctors of Hirāt gathered around him and no matter how much they tried, the disease got only worse. Khwandamir explained in detail that the sultan was deeply saddened by this incident and sat by Emir Ali-Shir's side for a long time. Emir Ali-Shir struggled with death for three days. Any of the treatments of doctors did not help. Ali-Shir Navā'i passed away on Sunday morning, the twelfth of the month of Jumad ul-Akhir, in 906 AH.

The funeral was held in the Hirāt Mosque, and then he was buried under the dome built for this purpose next to the mosque he built¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁹ Makārim, 122-128.

PART III
EMIR ALI-SHIR IN
EVERYDAY LIFE

Character of Ali-Shir Navā'i

We know well that there are three reasons why Ali-Shir Navā'i went down in history. It is his great works, the fact that he was a famous statesman, and finally his behavior that raised him to the status of a great man.

Almost all the contemporary written sources that provide information about Ali-Shir Navā'i and in the following centuries, make a special mention of his nature. There are usually two approaches: first, the standards of human perfection are promoted through stories about the virtues of Emir Ali-Shir, and second, the priority is to show the behavior of this famous historical person typical of ordinary people. The influence of both approaches can be equally felt in all sources created in the XVI-XIX centuries.

The information provided about Navā'i's advantages and character belongs to his contemporaries Mir Kwand, Khwandamir, Daulatshāh, Zayn ad-Din Vāsifi and Zahir ad-Din Babur.

Daulatshah describes his nature as follows: "His friends and noblemen are grateful and satisfied with his pleasant conversation. Participation in his meetings is the wish of the virtuous, his court is a place of reference for citizens, his table is full of various delicacies for hermits, his door is always open to those in need... Even though this great emir's acceptable nature and gentle demeanor are close to the sultan's majesty, guarantor of the important affairs of Muslims, Sharia and Sunnah, and generally

the affairs of the country and common people, he is always inclined to acquire virtue and engage in knowledge¹⁹⁰.

Navā'i always acted in accordance with Sharia laws and the Sunnah of the Prophet, working for the benefit of the state and the people. He always used to justly solve the problems of the poor. According to "Ravzat as-Safā", at the beginning of 1470, when Sultan Husayn went to Mashhad to visit the tomb of Imam Rizā, Abdulla Khatib made complaints to the king about Qutbiddin Tāvus Simnāni, the governor of the court, who stayed in Hirāt, and succeeded in occupying his position. Then they colluded with Khwaja Nizam ad-din Bakhtiyar, seized the local governance and began to brutally oppress the people. This, in turn, leads to public unrest. As soon as Sultan Husayn learned about this, he sent Emir Ali-Shir to Hirāt¹⁹¹. Navā'i arrives in Hirāt, arrests Nizam ad-din Bakhtiyar and re-appoints Qutb ad-din Tovus. The author of "Ravzatu-s-Safā" has the tendency to highlight the characteristics of Ali-Shir in the series of events and power, due to his deep respect for the great Emir, every time the story involves the participation of Emir Ali-Shir. For example, what we discussed above, that is, the sultan's sending of Emir Ali-Shir to establish order in Hirāt and his punishment of traitors and oppressors, is given in the form of a dry statement in "Matla-i Sa'dayn"¹⁹². The author of "Ravzatu-s-Safā" felt it necessary to fully reveal the character of the person he knew well:

...First and foremost, Emir Ali-Shir went to the city and, according to his natural habit (!) applied ointment to the wounds of their (people's) hearts from

¹⁹⁰ Daulatshāh Samarqandi, 190.

¹⁹¹ Ravzatu-s-Safā (4), 37a.

¹⁹² Matla-i Sa'dayn (1), 341a.

*useless days. He showed a complete and cordial sympathy to the oppressed and began to fight the oppression, and ordered that first the supreme label should be proclaimed on Friday... So the people's hearts could be calm and peaceful, and they would pray for the continued success of the king's state and the increase of the glory and fame of Emir Ali-Shir*¹⁹³.

"Makarim al-Akhlāq" by Khwandamir is undoubtedly the work that fully reflects the spiritual nature of Navā'ī. While giving enough information about the attitude of the great mentor to the people of knowledge, the scientists and virtues that grew up under his education, the important works created and the places of enlightenment he built, the author tries to reveal Navā'ī's character as widely as possible. He spent most of his time with the poet. Therefore, the information in "Makarim al-Akhlāq" is an important source for determining the poet's daily life, lifestyle and attitude to others. As the title suggests, the book is written about the admirable qualities of Ali-Shir Navā'ī. Khwandamir considers Emir Ali-Shir as a blessed by God from the childhood person. He writes that Ali-Shir's family, who have moved to Shirāz after the death of Shahrukh Sultan, returns to Hirāt through the Yazd desert after a few years. On the way, Ali-Shir falls asleep and falls from his horse. Because it's night, no one notices. Ali-Shir is also very tired and falls asleep where he falls. At dawn, Ali-Shir is horrified to find himself alone in the desert. After regaining his senses, he rode on the horse that was standing next to him and started following the caravan trail. On the way, he becomes very thirsty and weak. At this moment, in the middle of the desert, he sees a black object. Going closer to

¹⁹³ Ravzatu-s-Safā (3), 19.

it, he finds there a container full of fresh water. After quenching his thirst, he sets off again. Soon he meets his father's servants who are searching for him in the desert. Everyone is surprised by the grace of God who brought water to the child.

Khwandamir pays special attention to discovery of holiness traits in Ali-Shir Navā'i's character. His modesty and humbleness, his complete indifference for wealth, his generosity, and his blessings are revealed in the stories and anecdotes taken from the poet's life.

In the sources about Ali-Shir Navā'i, there are notes about his delicate character. Zahir ad-din Babur quotes:

*... Ali-Shir bek's nature is known for his delicacy." Some considered him capricious because of his wealth. However, that was not the case. He just was sensitive. This was his true nature as he was the same when he was in Samarqand*¹⁹⁴.

The facts found in "Badā'e'u-l-Vaqāe", "Tarikh-i Rashidi" and other works emphasize that Navā'i's sensitivity is explained by his quickness of mind. For this reason, even in the XX century, when we think about the poet's life, we come across different interpretations. For example, V.Bartold translates the word "Delicacy" that was used by Babur as "Capricious taste"¹⁹⁵. A.N.Boldyrev, based on the quotes given by Zayn ad-Din Vāsifi, says that he had "extreme sensitivity, quick and unreasoning nervousness", A.Semenov understands it as "Pride, arrogance"¹⁹⁶. Zayn ad-din Vāsifi devoted a special chapter to this topic to clarify this issue. According to it, one of Mir's

¹⁹⁴ Baburnāma, 153.

¹⁹⁵ Bartold, 226.

¹⁹⁶ Boldyrev (2), 123; Semenov, 240.

teachers, Maulānā Fasih ad-Din, was sick and bedridden. Mir Ali-Shir invites his friends to dinner, and during the meal, he remembers his master's illness, gives food to his servant Sāhibdārā and sends him to see him. After the meal, the nobles leave one by one, thinking that Ali-Shir bek, who is sad, wants to be alone. This made Mir sad. At that moment, Sāhibdārā came back from the patient's side and entered the room. Ali-Shir tells him loudly: "So, Ali-Shir's house is a restaurant, and Ali-Shir is a cook, thus, nobles come and go to eat." Sāhibdārā immediately began to justify himself, reminding him that he was not guilty and that Mir himself had sent him to visit his mentor"¹⁹⁷. Mir does not speak to Sāhibdārā for two days. When Sāhibdārā was worried about this situation, Mir called him and said, "O Maulānā Sāhib, only God is free of mistakes. I objected to you because I must have forgotten that I have sent you to see my teacher. Did you have to justify yourself to everyone and humiliate me in front of everyone, as if I am old and crazy? What happened to our friendship? Would it not be possible for you to keep silent and cover my mistake and prevent me from being the cause of people's fun?"

Zayn ad-din Vāsifi proves with another information that Mir Ali-Shir's sensitivity should be understood in the sense of being "quickly offended". It says that the premier minister Majd ad-din Muhammad organized a party in his honor to reconcile with Ali-Shir Navā'ī. Considering that there should be a lot of fun, he asks Abu al-Vāse' Nizami, who was known for his wits in such circles, to take the initiative and create a cheerful mood at the party:

(Majd ad-Din) said to Abu al-Vāse': "Makhdum, have fun, but be careful... hopefully, all will be good."

¹⁹⁷ Badāye'u-l-Vaqāe', 401.

*Maulānā Abu al-Vāse' replied: "...I shall probably not come to your party tomorrow... because the air of sincerity between you and Ali-Shir has been covered by a cloud of discord for quite some time." Thanks to the grace of Allah, this dust has been dispersed. There must be weak and mischievous humor in such gatherings. Mir Ali-Shir is the leader of the world's eloquence. There is no way that he will not make some sarcastic comments on me. It would be hard for me not to reply to him. You know he has a sensitive soul! As a result, because of me, the reconciliation between you might end.*¹⁹⁸

Mirzā Haydar also noted that he had a habit of being easily offended. He narrates the following story in his work "Tarih-i Rashidi":

...Bināi was being a little too much sarcastic towards Mir Ali-Shir, so, Mir said: "Maulānā Bināi has gone mad, take him to "Dār ash-shifa" and treat him with pea slurry and hitting his heel". Hearing this, Bināi fled to Iraq. There he enjoyed the favor of Sultan Yaqub and returned to Hirāt after some time. Mir Ali-Shir called him to be his dear guest, Ali-Shir received him with honor and apologized for the past events. Bināi also apologized for his behavior, and they reconciled.

At the meeting, when Bināi was asked what impression the Iraqis made, Bināi said that he was impressed by the fact that Iraqis never write Turkic poetry. Then Mir uttered:

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 407.

*You still haven't come to your senses, stop such nonsense!
Why don't you take the path of friendship and kindly
tell us which of my Turkic stanzas are the best?*

*Bināi said that the following matla is liked by the
people:*

کو کرا گیم دور صبح نینگ پیراھنی دین چاک راک
کیر پیگم شبنم تو کولگان سبزہ دین نمناک راک

Meaning:

*(My chest is full of holes from the dagger of the fortune,
My eyelashes are wetter than the grass that has been washed by
the dew.)*

Mir replied to this:

*—What a joker you are indeed. This stanza belongs to Maulānā
Sāhib, I've bought it from him. 199*

Bināi continues:

*—I didn't know it wasn't yours. You have a lot of good ones as well,
for instance, the following one is even better:*

باشیمیز دین سایہ ی سرو قدینگ کم بولماسون
ذات پاکینگ بولماسا عالمدا آدم بولماسون

Meaning:

(May you gracious stan and beauty be always present for us,

¹⁹⁹ It is widely known that, in the Muslim East poetry there was the tradition that was called "naziragui" that allowed one poet to buy from another one a stanza that the former liked, so that the latter could use it and continue this stanza to develop to another complete poem.

Should you happen not to be in this world, may the world stop existing.)

Mir said to him again:

*—Yes, it is better than that, but this one now belongs to Maulānā Lutfī. (But it turned out that) you never give up your sarcasm!*²⁰⁰

The same example is also found in “Bāda’e’u-l-Vaqāe’” as follows:

It is said that Maulānā Bināi came from Iraq and while sitting in Mir's meeting full of nobles, Mir asked (Bināi) to speak about the qualities of Ya'qubbek (Sultan of Aqquyunlu state).

Bināi said:

—Yaqubbek's praiseworthy quality is that he does not speak Turkic language.

Mir replied angrily:

*—O Bināi! You have gone too far with rudeness and stupidity!*²⁰¹

It seems that the statement that Sultan Yaqubbek does not speak Turkic being a Turkman himself, was a sign of hatred against Ali-Shir Navā'i's struggles of development of the Turkic language. So, Navā'i having the abovementioned sensitive nature could not handle it.

From the information in the sources, it seems that Kemal ad-Din Binai was the only person who did not hesitate to say words

²⁰⁰ Tarikh-i Rashidi, 122b. This was Binai's way of criticizing Ali-Shir Navā'i's creativity and annoying him.

²⁰¹ Bādā'e' u-l-Vaqāe', 614.

that hurt Navā'ī, and according to Zain ad-Din Vāsifi, that was the reason why he was forced to immigrate from Hirāt. Vāsifi quotes the words of Bināi:

...Because of Emir Ali-Shir's sensitive taste and disappointment (with me), I was no longer able to live in the country of Khorasan. Thus, I have headed for enjoying the air of the Iraqi state..²⁰²

Emir Ali-Shir highly appreciated Bināi as a poet. This is evidenced by the fact that Bināi was invited to Mir Ali-Shir's meeting even after his return from Iraq²⁰³. Navā'ī tried to cope Bināi's sarcastic comments about himself. However, he could not let his malicious sarcasm that hurt his pride. Mir Ali-Shir was angered very much specifically with Bināi's extravagant reasoning of Ali-Shir's being celibate. For example, Sam Mirzā quotes about one of Bināi's verses that he distributed among the people before leaving for Samarkand:

...After (Bināi) came from Iraq, he wrote an ode (to Emir Ali-Shir). However, when he did not receive the award, he dedicated it to Sultan Ahmad Mirzā, the ruler of Samarkand. Before leaving, he wrote the following letter to Mir (Navā'ī):

دختران بکرفکرمند
هریک را به شوهری دادم
آنکه کابین نداد و عین بود
زود گرفت و به دیگری دادم

²⁰² Ibid, 605.

²⁰³ Ibid, 616-617.

Meaning:

(The virgin daughters of my thought –

I have married them all to their husbands.

When one of those husbands ended up being mean or impotent –

I took her back and remarried her to the other.) 204.

In Amin Ahmad Rāzi's book "Haft iqlim" the word "Annin" – meaning "impotent" in this ode, was replaced by the word "ghani", which means "rich"²⁰⁵. These two words are consonant with each other, and it is easy to confuse those words should the dots be misplaced in the Arabic script. It is logical that a person, who became rich and did not give a sum of money for his wife-to be as a gift, is meant in the ode. It is common for the dots to slip or fall off in manuscripts. Scribes used to copy the word as they understood it. It is not known which one was used originally in the ode. However, the negative connotation is common. This option is also found in the later era²⁰⁶. It is not known in which version this poem reached Emir Ali-Shir. Binai was a talented Persian-speaking poet. Perhaps the concern that the development of Turkic poetry would limit his rise may have caused Binai's enmity towards Navā'i. Ali-Shir was seriously irritated by the fact that Bināi sarcastically called the scarf that Navā'i tied when he had a toothache "Noz-i Ali-Shiri" (the caprice of Ali-Shir); his having a special knot made for his donkey and calling it "Ali-Shir's knot".

While Bināi was living in Samarkand, he regretted his actions and wrote an ode to Navā'i. This poem is included in the conclusion of his work "Majma' ul-Gharāib". Vāsifi cited 116

²⁰⁴ Tuhfa-i Sāmi, 97a.

²⁰⁵ Haft iqlim, 283b.

²⁰⁶ Nashtar-i ishq, 131a; Ātashkada, 153.

verses of it in his work "Badāe'al-Vaqāe'"²⁰⁷. The poem is read as an apology to Navā'ī. It is not known whether it reached Navā'ī. It is known from history that Bināi, who went to Samarkand, did not return to Hirāt during the reign of Sultan Husayn, and Navā'ī's contemporaries did not leave any information about this ode as well. Even Bobur doesn't say anything about it in "Baburnāma". Since Navā'ī himself did not mention it in the "Majālisu-n-Nafais", which was reedited in the year when this ode was written, it seems that the ode did not reach Navā'ī. As Navā'ī's work did not express any negative opinion about Bināi, he did not hold a grudge against Bināi.

The spread of rumors about Navā'ī's reason for not marrying among the people, on top of that, Bināi's sarcastic comments on this seem to have become a topic of discussion in wide circles for a long time. Zayn ad-Din Vāsifi has dedicated a special chapter in the "Badāe'u-l-Vaqoe'" to put an end to such debates and not to understand Navā'ī's delicacy as being feminine. It is reported that one day Sultan Husayn described to Khadijabegim that Emir Ali-Shir was a promiscuous person who deliberately avoided contact with women in order to preserve his chastity.

Khadijabegim does not believe this. Khadijabegim had a concubine named Daulatbakht, and Emir Ali-Shir was always fascinated by her beauty. Khadijabegim explains her plan to her maid and sends her to Mir's house when it is late. As taught, the maid prolongs the conversation and asks for permission to stay the night. The maid, who is in the room next to Mir, enters Mir's bed in the middle of the night and lies down next to him.

²⁰⁷ Badāe'u-l-Vaqāe', 452-463.

Sensing what the purpose is, Mir puts his hand on his and says: "Be sure that I can open the lock of your treasure box with this key. We have manhood, but we have not engaged in this so far, and we will not do it after"²⁰⁸.

When these words reached the ears of Khadijabegim and Mirzā, their faith in Mir increased a hundred, may be even a thousand times"²⁰⁹.

The second story of Mir Ali-Shir, who is free from social vices related to children, is also noteworthy. Vasifi writes:

*...When Maulānā Muhammad Pir Shams wanted to visit the shrine of Jafar Muhammad Bāqir with the holy Ali Musa, he did not know who to entrust his sun-faced son to. Emir Ali-Shir was famous for his saint-like qualities, and it was known to everyone that no sin had touched his skirt since birth, so he decided to leave his son in Ali-Shir's house...*²¹⁰

These two stories alone make the claims about Emir Ali-Shir's being sexually weak or his "loving young men" (according to Bartold) unfounded.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, 444-450.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 562.

Why Didn't Navā'ī Get Married?

Khwandamir also stated that Emir Ali-Shir's celibacy was due to his desire to follow the path of great hermits. He writes:

... it is impossible to know Allah without breaking away from sensual lust and physical desires and without turning away from the blessings of the material world. For this reason, saints have always restrained unruly and stubborn lust and did not look at the transitory things of this world. Emir Ali-Shir also took a place in the ranks of the saints who dressed in accordance with the hadith "The world is forbidden to the people of the hereafter". His blessed behavior was always in this way from his childhood and from the time when he was just beginning to grow up, he was indifferent to this world and the things in it, and he never fell in love with transitory possessions. He always took back the stubborn reins of his ego from the field of desire and lust by torturing himself²¹¹.

Of course, it should also be considered that Emir Ali-Shir, like all his peers, did not escape the pain of love during his youth. In the 74th chapter of the "Majālisu-l-Ushshāq", the reason for

²¹¹ Makārim, 62.

Mir Ali-Shir's being single is explained in the following way by Sultān Husayn:

...Emir Nizam ad-Din Ali-Shir, nicknamed Navā'i, the sultan of the world of poetry... He was a close friend and confidant of mine... In the days when the command of the kingdom was handed over to him and when the sun of the governing shone the mirror of my destiny, whatever Mir (Ali-Shir) wished for, with the gracious permission of Allah, all his desires were fulfilled. His meeting was never without gorgeous beauties and Davidic singers, and their various musical instruments, and songs and poetry... So, as for his celibacy, he met a good-natured young woman and fell in love with her²¹².

The author of this memoir talks about how that girl also loved him and came to Mir's house despite her parents' opposition. However, Mir understands the situation and sends him back to her home. The author notes that Navā'i devoted a lot of ghazals to her when he was in a state of dismay, and that he kept his dream of reaching her without marrying anyone else till the end of his days. Given that Husayn was a close friend and confidant of Ali-Shir, this story may have some basis.

E.Bertels in his monograph "Navā'i" on the basis of folklore materials tells about the love between Navā'i and a girl named Guli; Sultan Husayn, unaware of the incident, also falls in love with her and sends Navā'i to her house to ask her to marry to Husayn. After Navā'i tells her lover that there is nothing she can do, the girl takes a slow-acting drug of death and gives Navā'i an impotence drug. E.Bertels writes, "This legend was undoubtedly

²¹² Majālisu-l-ushshaq, 148b-152b

woven to explain the reasons for Navā'i's celibacy. It is certainly impossible to think that there is any fact behind it. This legend is a romantic story typical of the Oriental world"²¹³.

On February 4, 1959, at the traditional conference of Navā'i studies in Tashkent, the uzbek poet and scholar Gafur Ghulam uses Navā'i's following stanza to prove the idea that Navā'i deliberately did not mention the name of his beloved anywhere and that he was separated from her, that the person who snatched his beloved was a man of power, and he also was always drunk, and tried to prove that that person was Husayn Bāyqarā.

ياردین هیچ کیم مینگ دیک زار و مهجور اولما سور.
جمله عالم دار سوال یقیناً مشهور اولما سور.

*(May no one as me be hurt and tortured by their beloved,
May no one as me become ill-named to the world and disgraced
as I am.)*

In any case, there could be some truth in this narration: Navā'i loved someone very much, but he was not lucky enough to marry her. As Sultan Husayn calls him a classmate in the school of love, there is a possibility that they might have fallen for the same girl together in their youth.

Who could this beauty be? There are three characters in the story: Ali-Shir, Guli and Sultan. Maybe this sultan is not Sultan Husayn as Ghafur Ghulam guessed? Maybe, Guli did not drink poison, as the legend infers? But what if it is true that the sultan took her away?

²¹³ Bertels, 201.

The fact that Ali-Shir never reached his beloved is inscribed into his poems as well:

بارایدی اول هر که بیر چاچ بیزگایاری بارایدی
 کلّی اریار او ماسا فی الجملة باری یارایدی
 وصل دین بو تکار ماسا تسکین بیر وریردی سوروب
 خسته کونگولوم دردینی کیم هجریدین افکارایدی
 مین اگر محروم ایدیم محرم هم ایرماس ایردی اول
 کونگولوم ارآزده ایردی لیک منت دارایدی
 شمع اگریار و ماسا کویدور ماسا هر یغشی دور
 فی اولوسقا الفت اندین فی منگا آزارایدی
 گویا شکر ایتما دیم کیم آنسین اولمیش مین بودم
 اول قویاشیمنی یاشورغان چرخ که رفتارایدی

Meaning:

*Once, I used to have a beloved of mine,
 Even thou I was not the close one for her, she was all I had.
 Even there was no way for me to reach her, she would often –
 Ask about my well-being, soothing away all my pain.
 I was not a darling for her, even though she was all to me,
 All my heart was in pain, even though it was all I was grateful for.
 Should the candle not give off the light, it's good that it doesn't
 burn at least,
 All the time she was good for the all the rest people, I would be
 hurt by this.
 I must have been ungrateful, 'cause now I am sans her,
 The ill minded fate has hidden my sun from me away.* ²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Favâidu-l-kibar, 532b.

Dear reader! If you remember, on the previous pages, we gave a brief information about how Navā'ī came to Mashhad from Hirāt and became bedridden due to "Desperation and frustration". Let's pay attention to the continuation of this information given in the work "Hālāt-i Pahlavān Muhammad". When Pahlavān Muhammad came to see his sick friend, he slowly took out a newly written draft of a poem from Navā'ī's pocket and immediately memorized it. After a while, a discussion about the poem begins, and Pahlavān recites Navā'ī's poem, that he has just taken from his pocket and learnt, as an example from Said Nasimi. Ali-Shir is taken aback. What caught our attention is the essence of the controversy between the poem written by Navā'ī and the debate. The essence of the argument is that Pahlavān asks Ali-Shir which Turkic poets he favors. Navā'ī mentions Lutfi. Then, when Pahlavān asks why he hasn't chosen Sayyid Nasimi, Navā'ī replies: "Said Nasimi's poetry has been written in a sufi meaning."²¹⁵

From this passage, it can be understood that Ali-Shir Navā'ī liked poems with a literal meaning in his youth and that he considered Lutfi as a teacher in his work at that time. This is the first stanza of Navā'ī's poem that was read in the debate:

هر قیامت باقسام کوزومگا اول قویاشتین نورایرور
هرساری قیاسم نظراول آی منکا منظورایرور

Meaning:

*Wherever should I look, I see the light from my sun's rays,
Wherever should I gaze at, she is the one I need alone.)*

²¹⁵ Hālāt-i Pahlavan Muhammad, 740a.

This stanza describes the state of a lover who cannot find a place to put himself in the pains of parting, burning with love for his beloved, and a lamentation coming out of his soul.

The final stanza of the same poem:

گرنوای سیرلار وصلین ایستاب کورسارنج
یوق عجب نیوچون که خام ایتگان طمع رنجور ایرور

Meaning:

*Navā'i has suffered by yearning for the beautiful ones,
There is nothing to be surprised, as the hoping one gets distressed
because of such an attitude.)*

The fact that this poem was written when Navā'i had just come from Hirāt to Mashhad and was ill, indicates the poet's difficult situation and depressed mood at that time, doesn't it? Could it be that while he said: "...During the time of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzā, the people of Hirāt were captives of the people of Samarkand, and if any kind of oppression happened, these captives were obedient and mute. This poor man (Ali-Shir) was dragged to Mashhad by the same desperation, disaster, fate and remorse" – these notes express exactly his broken heart? Did his beloved reject him? This passage expresses strong displeasure with the people of Sultan Abu Sa'id, who was ruling Hirāt at that time. Could it be that one of those "People of Samarkand" took her from him? It wouldn't be surprising to suppose that the incomparable beauty of her beauty was heard among the court. Perhaps she was even taken by Sultan Abu Said himself. Maybe that's why he always hated Sultan Abu Sa'id? Sweet dreams turning into a mirage may have led to the emergence of angry feelings of jealousy and internal enmity towards Sultan

Abu Sa'id. The angry Navā'i left for Mashhad, fearing that his improper behavior would bring troubles. I should return to the letter of Navā'i to his mentor Sayyid Hasan Ardasher, that is mentioned in the chapter "Ali-Shir's early adulthood"²¹⁶. Apart from some allusions in Ali-Shir's poetic letter to Said Hasan Ardasher, it is also felt that the real reason for Ali-Shir's departure from Hirāt is related to his separation from his beloved. Navā'i tries to distract Said Hasan Ardasher in this matter²¹⁷:

بوعزمیرنی شاید که تفتیش ایتیب
فراقیرضمیرینگفه تشویش ایتیب

*(Maybe having analyzed my decision,
Feeling anxious of losing me)*

مین یوقلابان بارچا احباب ارا
تیلاب تاهمایین خیل اصحاب ارا

*(Should you ask about me from my environment,
And friends and not be able to find me)*

دیگای سین کیم اول زار آواره وش
که هجران می دین بولوب جرعه کش

*(You will say, why this poor restless soul,
Decided to be far from.)*

نی قیلدی ایکن چرخ ناچتیار
که سرگشته لیک ایلادی اختیار

*(What has the ruthless fortune done to him,
He has agreed to be restless and wander.)*

²¹⁶ See this book: pp.27-30.

²¹⁷ Gharaibu-s-Sighar, Masnavi, 476b.

خیالینغه حادث نی بولدی ایکن
 بو عزمینغه باعث نی بولدی ایکن

*(What was in his mind?
 Probably, you have thought about the reason for this?)*

چو حالیمدین احباب آگاه ایماس
 دیگایلا حدیثی که دلخواه ایماس

*(Even my confidants do not know the truth,
 Thus, whatever they will tell you is not the truth at all.)*

It appears from the last stanza that the letter was written with the fear that people might reason his leaving using the causes that he would not like to be opened. For this reason, Navā'i asks Said Hasan Ardasher not to trust those people, in order not to allow the secret that was revealed to a few people to spread among the people. The reason for saying this is that one can get an idea of the love tragedy of the poet from the another autobiographical poem included in his book "Favāidu-l-kibar"²¹⁸. In it, he writes that he suffered various regrets because people got to know about his romantic struggles:

کیمر نیلار قیلدی مینی زارغه عشق
 جان زار و تن بیمارغه عشق

*(Is there anything I haven't experienced because of this love,
 Is there anything it hasn't affected my poor body.)*

²¹⁸ Favāidu-l-kibar, 655b-656a.

کونگلور آلدی بت شوخی ناگه
قالما دیر عشقی دا اوز دین آگه

*(I have fallen in love with a beautiful fairy,
I have lost myself in this love.)*

اوپری وصلی چوبولدی مطلوب
تیلبه لیک قیلدی کونگولنی مغلوب

*(All I could think of was reaching her,
In this love I have lost my stamina.)*

چون جنون عشق ایله بولدی دمساز
اسرای آغایمو کیشی کونگلنی دا راز

*(Once the craze from love is joined with the love inside,
Could a person ever hide this love inside?)*

آنی کیم محرم اسرار دیدیم
درد دین کونگلنی خیر دار دیدیم

*(Whoever I found a confidant for my secret,
Whoever I consider to be able to understand the ways of love.)*

جدای آلمای قاتیق احوالیر دین
آلیدا شعه اوز حالیم دین

*(I haven't opened my whole heart to them yet,
I have shared only a part of my story to them, yet.)*

دیدیم ووه دیباکای ایردیم کاش
کیم دیباس سوزنی اوزومر قیلدیم فاش

*(I have shared, but I wish I had not done that,
I have shared the secret that was never supposed to be heard by others.)*

زار جسمیر غه عنالار کیلدی
تیلہ باشیر غه بلالار کیلدی

*(My poor body is in pain,
My crazy mind is in turmoil.)*

چرخ یاغدوردی منگاتیغ ستم
بلکه دوران هم و دوران ایلی هم

*(The fortune has fured its peaks on me,
Even the time, even my contemporaries.)*

***The poet painfully remembers that everyone
blamed him:***

اوز ویات نیش ملامت اوردی
یروکوک باشیما تاش یاغدوردی

*(Both my confidants and strangers judged me,
The whole world set fire and turmoil on me.)*

اقریاتن غه اوروب تیغ جفا
کوزوما ایگنه لار اوردی ضعفا

*(My relations stabbed me with the dagger of pain,
The women stabbed my eyes with needles.)*

***A lover has no choice but to run away. He gets sick with
various diseases and craves for his death:***

کیچیان بالشتین ایاغدین توشتم
اولکالی ضعف ایچیدا یاووشتم

*(I have decided to run away, to escape,
I have become ready to meet my death.)*

درد و رنج میرحد و غایت دین کوپ
مرضیمر بولدی نهایت دین کوپ

*(I have had too much of the turmoils,
I have become too ill too.)*

تن دایوز درد و صعوبت کوردوم
جان دایوز آنچه عقوبت کوردوم

*(I haven't felt a hundred of sickness on my body,
I have felt all of them in my soul.)*

تا ایشیر اولماک ایله توقی قرار
بولدی باشیمر دین اطیبا غه قرار

*(Thus, I have become too desperate,
The doctors were not able to find a cure and escaped from me.)*

***Navā'i says that he spent two years like that, and we
think he means Mashhad:***

اوتتی بوزار لیغیر غه ایکی ییل
هر زمانین ایکی ییل چاغلیغ بیل

*(I spent two years like this,
Each od of these years, one could take for two more years.)*

***There is an interesting fact at the end of the poem that
refers to Navā'i's old age:***

ایمدی کیم یوزیدا خط باش اورمیش
گلینه سبزه سپه کیتورمیش

*(Now that beautiful's face is covered with wrinkels,
Her flower of youth is dried and became yellow.)*

گد گهی حالیمه پروا ایلا

ص.ب. حالیمی تماشا ایلا

*(Look, how she asks about me from time to time,
Look, how she watches my tangled situation.)*

A very strange situation. There is a hint there that his beloved is not far from him. Probably she is someone's wife. In one of Navā'i's ghazals, there is a verse that says: "I am so close to you, but I am so far away." We had thought it to have a sufi meaning. What if he meant someone? Only that beauty must have understood the meaning of this poem. The fact that his lover shows favor to Navā'i in his old age means that she lives at the same time, that they are not far from each other.

So, Navā'i lost that beautiful woman in his youth and loved her all his life. It is no wonder that he did not want to marry anyone else, and every time he saw her, his pain was renewed. He stated the following for a reason:

طعن قیلمانگ کیم نوای بیکس و بی یار ایش

کیم انکا عالمدا عاشق لیق ایش اولمیش عشق ایش

(Don't talk bad of Navā'i because he does not have beloved one.

His fortune has become to be in love, and love is a couple: both earthly and divine love)²¹⁹.

²¹⁹ Gharāyibu-s-Sig'ar, ghazal 248.

The Teachers of Ali-Shir Navā'i

Alishir Navā'i's artistic skills, worldview and breadth of knowledge are clearly visible in his work. He not only skillfully used all literary traditions, types and genres that existed before him, but also tried to improve them. Also, from the high philosophical meaning of his works, it can be understood that he is a thinker who knows not only Islamic sciences, but also various religious and philosophical teachings of the Oriental world, and that he is a well-versed thinker. Talking about the creation of the Creator and the Laws of the Universe, the evolution of the Universe and Man in the prologues of his epics, the poetic interpretation of the verses of the Holy Qur'an based on deep knowledge is evidence that Ali-Shir Navā'i has an extraordinary great understanding. Analyzing his poetry requires a person to have deep and comprehensive knowledge. Of course, each researcher analyzes and interprets Navā'i's poetry at the level of his own knowledge. Someone is from religious view, someone is secular, and someone tries to get into the deep meaning layers of the poet's thinking, to understand the theological concept of the thinker's genius. Neither interpretation can be ruled out. The approaches are different and that's natural. The analysis and interpretation of Ali-Shir Navā'i's poetry are still causing wide debates. From the past six centuries to the present day, there are different views about his worldview. The poet's positive attitude towards other religious teachings, his unique approach to Sufi doctrine, while being

loyal to classic Islamic beliefs, is still the cause of controversy among many scholars. All this once again makes us believe that Ali-Shir Navā'i was a saint, as his contemporaries recognized, that the Creator blessed him with the knowledge of Ladun (Divine knowledge). This knowledge cannot be discovered by itself. It is known that the key to it is obtained through the lessons of the Mentors. If we pay attention to Navā'i's life path and pay attention to the lessons of his teachers, which he mentioned in his memories, we can get some idea about what questions tormented Ali-Shir Navā'i from his youth and from which teachers he received training in search of answers to them.

Ali-Shir started composing his ghazals from a very young age. For instance, when he was 3-4 years old, he surprised the guests by reciting by heart the verse "*Rindem-u āshiqem-u jahānsuz-u jāmachāk, Bā daulat-i gham-i tu zi fikr-i jahān chi bāk*" by Qāsim Anwār. Even the fact that he memorized "*Mantiq at-Tayr*" by Farid ad-Din Attār is mentioned in his memoirs. Although he did not write down who he showed his first poems to, he said that during his teenage years, his favorite teacher, Sayyid Hasan Ardasher, always encouraged him to write poems. He also considers Sayyid Hasan Ardasher to be his mentor in the learning of the doctrine of hermit and in the teachings of Imām Ghazālī:

...when the throne of the Sultanate was bestowed upon Sultan Ibrāhim Mirzā in the year eight hundred and sixty-one (1457 AD), my humble self was granted to participate in the meeting with them. His worldview and conversation took me in so much that I decided that one day I must become his disciple. If it were not to be that way, that would be the biggest misfortune of my miserable life... Moreover, he would constantly encourage my humble

self to explore the doctrine of hermit and compose the poetry... In the persian literature, Dear Master enjoy the poetry of Khwāja Hāfiz Shirāzi... He memorized most of Farid ad-Din Attār's "Mantiq at-Tayr"... He was into reading works of the pearl of Islam, Imam Mubammad Ghazālī... especially his work "Kimyā-i saādat" and the treatises of Shaikh Aziz Nasafi and he used to quote from these works a lot²²⁰.

Navā'ī recalls his teachers with respect in his work "Majālis an-Nafāis". Maulānā Lutfi, the master of the word of his time, recognized the great talent of the young poet and gave his initial assessment as a teacher. Ali-Shir received his first lessons in the science of *Aruz* meter from Darvish Mansur Sabzavāri. He mastered the art of reciting the Holy Qur'an under the guidance of Hāfiz Ali Jāmi. Sheikh Sadr ad-Din Rivāsi awakens the first ideas about the doctrine of "Vahdat ul-Wujud", which had a strong influence on young Ali-Shir's worldview.

Before Navā'ī went to Samarkand, he did his best to learn something from any famous scientist, he could possibly know about. In particular, he learned the science of astronomy from Khwāja Avhad Mustavfi, and art of music from Khwāja Yusuf Burhān.

Ali-Shir befriends Kamāl Turbati while in Mashhad. Navā'ī recalls:

...my humble self was eager to see him. During the reign of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzā, I ended up ill and was staying in a room in Mashhad. It was the Qurban Holiday. People began to circumambulate

²²⁰ Hālāt-i Said Hasan Ardasher, 735a.

the shrine of the Imam. It was a tradition that they would visit the strangers in their rooms as well. When I was in my room a group of people, who were led by the shaikh came into my room and started a heated discussion. I was asked to express my opinion as well. I humbly joined the discussion. It appears that the leader of the crowd was prominent Shaikh Kamāl. It appeared that he has heard of my humble persona as well and wanted to meet me one day... This was my acquaintance with the shaikh.

Ali-Shir Navā'i deepens his knowledge of Islamic sciences, especially jurisprudence, under Khwāja Fazlullah Abu al-Laisi in Samarkand. Navā'i wrote: "*I studied under his guidance for two years*". Khwandamir calls this person "Abu Ali ibn Sina the second" (Avicenna) in "Makārim", while Navā'i glorifies him as "Abu Hanifa the second"

Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi's influence on Navā'i's outlook and creativity was vast. He takes some more lessons on the theory of poetry from Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi. He writes about it as follows:

The books and treatises that I studied under his guidance were the following: the first was the treatise "Rhyme" written by him, which is the unique in its genre in shortness and eloquence. It was the second treatise of "Muammā", which was written after "Hulya-i hulāl"²²¹. Another one is his brochure "Risāla-i Aruz"²²².

²²¹ Jāmi's treatise on Muammā was written in 856 AH/1452 AD, during the reign of Sultan Abu Said Mirzā.

²²² Khamsatu-l-mutahhayirin, 770b.

Ali-Shir Navā'i developed his views on Sufism and the concept of "Vahdatu-l-Wujud" directly through the lessons of Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi:

...Another one was a book "Lavaih"²²³ written in the style of Sufi sheikhs, and one would never find another treatise such as this one. There was also "Lavamih"²²⁴, also in this style, the light of each ray is like a candle of guidance in the dark night of despair, but also the rays of the torch of grace. There is also "Sharh-i Rubaiyat"²²⁵, which is also in such a style...²²⁶.

Navā'i writes in another place that at that time, when he was studying Sufi symbols, expressions and phrases with Jāmi, he often dreamed of learning from the "Lamaot" of Sheikh Fakhr ad-Din Iraqi. One day, he asked him about it. Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi agrees and begins to interpret and explain this work. After a few lessons, when the explanation became difficult, it was necessary to introduce some additional comments. Then Jāmi would put the commentaries by Sheikh Yorali and some other commentators and while continuing the lesson, he used to start criticising that their comments were wrong in some places. It was then when Navā'i asks Jāmi to write a book to ease the problems of the students. According to his request, Jāmi wrote a work called "Ashi'at al-lamaot". This work is a perfect commentary, and Navā'i finishes reading "Lamaot" based on these comments.

²²³ Risāla-i Lavāih dar bayān-i maārif va maāni. A work by Jami. Written in 1465.

²²⁴ Lavami fi sharh-i qasida-i xamria-i mimiya-i Farizia. A work by Jami. Written in 1470.

²²⁵ Sharh-i rybaiyat-i Vahdatu-l- Wujud.

²²⁶ Khamsatu-l-mutahhayirin, 768a.

Ali-Shir Navā'i tried to understand the mysteries of theology from his youth. He looked for a teacher who could give reasonable answers to the differences between Sufism orders, sectarian struggles, and the problems of hypocrisy and religion. And finally, fate brought him face to face with Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi. Ali-Shir Navā'i saw in Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi a great mentor whose views were compatible with his attitude to religion, doctrine, theology and philosophy. Ali-Shir Navā'i considered him as his great mentor and lived with great love and gratitude for him until the end of his life.

Ali-Shir Navā`i's friends

At the end of his life, Ali-Shir Navā`i wrote down precious memories about his friends who were with him and always supported him. His work “Khamsat al-mutahayyirin” is dedicated to Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi. He was a friend and mentor to Navā`i. Navā`i kneels before his genius. He is praised as the Imam of the doctrine, prominent scholar, shaikh ul-Islam. Their friendship was so great, pure, sincere that words cannot describe it. Their closeness was to such an extent that their outlook, opinions, aspirations and thoughts became the same. According to “Khamsat al-mutahayyirin”, Abdullah Kātib found Abdullah Ansari's “Ilāhināma”, copied it and sent it to Navā`i. Navā`i writes:

...I opened the first page and decided to read the introduction. When I finished reading, I have realized that I have finished the whole book, which was slightly more than two volumes, as it was written in a such beautiful and enchanting language. My dear friends were taken aback that I finished reading a treatise, almost two volumes, maybe more, on one breath from cover to cover.

In the morning Hazrat Makhdum (Jāmi) came to visit my humble place. The book was there, and he kindly looked at it. He was surprised to see this book and told me: “What a great surprise and coincidence this is. Three days ago, Maulānā Shaikh

Abdullah brought the same book to me, and I could not find my peace until I read it up until the end once I started reading it.”

Maulānā Shaikh Abdullah came in the early morning to get back either the book or the money for it. I told him: “I could not stop reading this book, once I started reading it till the morning.” He was taken aback and told: “I had given this book to Hazrat Makhdum and he had the same keen on the book.”

This incident itself shows that they used to have the same opinion and agree on many issues, and that they had a common worldview that was harmonized due to their close friendship.

From some of Ali-Shir Navā’i’s autobiographical poems, we know that throughout his life he was constantly searching a mentor with decent knowledge and outlook, who was not stuck in religious beliefs, and able to discuss theology and philosophy, and in the meantime, the one who took after the Prophet in character and deeds. Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi was an epitome of such a person. That is why Navā’i always tried to be like him, took lessons from him and loved him as both a teacher and a close friend. In “Khamsat al-mutahayyirin” Navā’i describes Jāmi as a “*Kāshif-i asrār-i Rabbāni*” (the revealer of God’s secrets) and a scholar with a critical thinking ability. Despite all his virtues Jāmi was still extremely modest and humble person. People who had heard of him and came to visit him, would never be able to differentiate him any of his servants.

Navā’i describes Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi’s excellent mastery of many subjects after studying in madrasahs, he also mentions his practicing poetry:

...Even though he is known as a prominent scholar, he does often compose wonderful stanzas. As he has been gifted with the innate love for the Allah and Truth, he always cures his longing and separation pain from

*the truth using the earthly love metaphors to express and extinguish the fire of divine love within his soul*²²⁷.

Such a saintly quality particularly illuminates the attitude of a person to his "Manifestation of Love" and Navā'ī's worldview confirms that:

*...The idea of worldly love being a metaphor for the love of God, roots in the hadith "Al-majāzu qantarāt al-haqqiqah" (Metaphor is the bridge of truth). This idea amazed him to such an extent that we would see the beauty of the Truth in the beauty of every beautiful person, forgetting the reason (the real person). He was restless to see Allah's eternal beauty at those times, and in those moments of pain, whatever would happen to him from the intensity of love and passion, he used to calm his impatience by writing lively poems and charming ghazals*²²⁸.

Navā'ī learned many good qualities from his friends and tried to imitate them in many places in his life. Sayyid Hasan Ardasher is another teacher and friend of Navā'ī. In his work "Hālāt-i Sayyid Hasan Ardasher", Navā'ī repeatedly dwells on the exemplary qualities of this person. It is known that Sayyid Hasan was much older than Navā'ī. He was a great scholar who was always the interlocutor of Bāysunghur Mirzā's sons Ala ud-Daula, Sultan Muhammad and Abul Qāsim Babur. Even in these times, he won the love of both old and youth with his humbleness, modesty and politeness. Many young people were

²²⁷ Ibid, 759b.

²²⁸ Ibid.

eager to go to his house to talk with him. According to Navā'i, every time anyone should come to visit him, he would say: "If you, please, step into our hut and make us happy, we will be at your service". He would approach the same courtesy and respect even those who are much younger than him. Sayyid Hasan was such a person that, according to Navā'i, he controlled his ego to such an extent that he did not see the difference between silk and felt. He says that no matter how much suffering he faced, he would bear it with patience. The poet proudly states that Sayyid Hasan Ardasher calls Navā'i his child.

Sayyid Hasan Ardasher strongly condemned human greed for power. He would mention:

...Greed for power is like drunkenness. But it is different from alcohol intoxication. A person who is drunk cannot control his actions and words. As a result, they can hurt people and behave badly. After getting sober, though, they regret those actions. However, such intoxication lasts only one day. The drunkenness of a power, on the other hand, continues as long as a person is in a position. It is good if a person controls himself during the period of his ascent, but if his feet are off the ground and he gives in to lust, he will make many mistakes.

Navā'i, as we see, always avoided official power, but the king did not want to dismiss him from public service. Navā'i always put the interests of the state and the people first, even when he held high positions. He carried out his duty honestly. As Sayyid Hasan Ardasher said:

...both a stone pot and a diamond are in essence stones. Nevertheless, delicious food is cooked in a stone

*pot and people benefit from it. Even though diamond is precious, it only harms people. If there is no benefit to the people, then what is the use of such a precious stone*²²⁹.

If we look at Navā'ī's known life path, we can witness his selfless service for the country, state and development. There is no doubt that Sayyid Hasan's teachings were vitally important to Navā'ī.

Pahlavān Muhammad is one of Navā'ī's friends who grew up with him since childhood. Navā'ī praises him as a forty-year-dear friend. Navā'ī refers to him as "Keeper of secrets". Admittedly, there was no secret between them at all²³⁰. In addition to being a famous wrestler who was never defeated, Pahlavān Muhammad was also one of the famous people of his time in music, a mature scientist with a deep understanding of medicine, poetry, and philosophy. He had a very sharp memory and memorized the Qur'an well. Pahlavān Muhammad respected Navā'ī very much. He always tried to soothe his heart, sympathize, and be by his side in good and bad times. As mentioned above, when Navā'ī went to Mashhad and became seriously ill, the doctor ordered him to massage his body. This work was undertaken by the wrestler. During such treatment, Pahlavān notices that there is a paper in poet's pocket. He carefully takes it out without Navā'ī's noticing it and sees a newly written ghazal on it. Pahlavān immediately memorizes it. Then he puts it back in the poet's pocket. In the middle of the massage session a conversation starts between them two. Pahlavān recites the abovementioned ghazal by heart and says that it belongs to

²²⁹ Hālāt-i Said Hasan Ardasher, 737a.

²³⁰ Hālāt-i Pahlavān Muhammad, 739a.

Nasimi. Navā'i is taken aback. He puts his hand in his pocket and feels that his newly composed ghazal is still in its place. Navā'i asks Pahlavān: *"How long have you known this ghazal?"* Pahlavān states: *"I have heard it about 12 years ago in a meeting, this poem was recited in a meeting that was held in the court of Abul Qasim Babur, and I liked it and memorized it."* Navā'i was even more surprised. With that, Pahlavān gets excited. When he comes the next morning, Navā'i asks again about that poem in order to know whether he has actually heard it at that time or not. Then Pahlavān has brought 3-4 wrestlers with him. He makes sure that all of them have learnt the same ghazal and says to Navā'i that he is not the only wrestler who has learnt that ghazal 12 years ago. He mentions that the other wrestlers who were with him at that time had also memorized that poem. All the wrestlers started reciting the ghazal by heart.

Navā'i remembers with special gratitude and pleasure that Pahlavān Muhammad, seeing his friend's mental anguish, came up with this joke in order to distract him and forget his pain.

Compassion is a powerful force that helps a person bravely overcome difficulties. Navā'i sees such a source of strength in his friend Pahlavān Muhammad.

Another of Navā'i's friends, whom he had deep respect for from his youth to the end of his life, was Shaikhim Suhayli. He calls him "My perfect friend". Their friendship started when Navā'i lived in Hirāt and Samarkand during the reign of Abu Sa'id Mirzā. That's why in "Majālis" it is noted that *"... we have had a beautiful friendship and looked in the same direction from the very beginning to the end"*²³¹. He, like Pahlavān Muhammad, was a caring friend who knew Ali-Shir's secrets. Ali-Shir Navā'i,

²³¹ Majālis, 670b.

in one of his poems, admits that Shaykhim was his confidant, saying, "You were the one who inspired and supported me at every point"²³².

Ahmad Hājibek plays a big role in Navā'ī's life. While Ali-Shir was studying in Samarkand, Ahmad Hājibek ruled Māvarān-Nahr on behalf of Sultan Ahmad Mirzā, the son of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzā. Navā'ī writes:

*... he goes by the pen-name Vafai... He governed Hirāt for about ten years. He was the governor of Samarkand province for a while*²³³.

Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur stated that Ahmad Hajibek took Ali-Shir under his patronage in Samarkand. Little is known about the close relationship between these two people. It is known that Ahmad Hājibek lived for a long time and corresponded with Navā'ī. We can get information about this from the following letter written by Navā'ī to Ahmad Hājibek²³⁴:

اوئی بیر قرت که هجرات ارامین
وصل ایای غه ارامان ارامین

*(It's been for long since I am apart from my friends,
Rejoining with my friends is only a dream now.)*

مهربانلار قانی احباب داغی
همشین لار قانی اصحاب داغی

*(Where are my kind people, where are my dear people,
Where are my friends, where are my confidants?)*

²³² Favāidu-l-kibar, 654b.

²³³ Majālis, 683b.

²³⁴ Favāidu-l-kibar, 654b-655a.

بارچا غریت قه خرام ایلا دیلار
خلد باغینی مقام ایلا دیلار

*(All of them have left this world,
Their destination is the garden of Heaven now.)*

بیری کیم قالدی بی کوپ قالسور
عمر کامینی جهان دین کلسور

*(Those of them who are still alive may them live longer,
May them enjoy the sweet life till the end.)*

چون وفا بیله بولدی مشهور
ایلا سورن عمری وفا بیر له ظهور

*(You are famous under the name Vafa'i,
May your life as well be loyal to you)*

حق سینی دهر دایاق توتسور
شادلیغ ساغری ساق توتسور

*(May God make your life long,
May the winebearer (the life) treat you with the wine of
happiness only.)*

سین قلیب نوش تیریکلیک جامین
مفتنرانگلا حیات ایامین

*(Until you are alive drink from the cup of life
Live your life in blessings, the life is not eternal.)*

کور که عمر ایلکا وفا ایلادی مو
چرخ جز جور و جفا ایلادی مو

*(Look, the life has not been faithful to anybody so far,
Is there anybody, who has survived this life's treacheries.)*

پیل که عالم را نی شه قالدی نی پیک
شاه مغفور دیک و پیک لاری دیک

*(Look, neither a shah, nor a bek was ever spared,
Even the greatest of the rulers and their court.)*

قانی سلطان سعید و خلی
بارچاسین یاپتی اجل نینگ ذیلی

*(Where is Sultan Said and his people now,
All of them has departed from this world.)*

قانی قنبر علی و قانی مزید
قانی سلطان و قانی نور سعید

*(Where are that Qanbar Ali and Mazid,
Where is Sultan Nur Said?!)*

هریری اوزنی توتوب عالی شان
پیریدین قالمادی عالم را نشان

*(Each of them considered themselves as the pillar of the world,
Not a trace even left of them eventually).*

بارچا گر کیتی سین اولغیل جاوید
تا ابد عمر دین اولما نو مید

*(Those who have left, they have left forever, may you live long,
As long as you are, don't be hopeless of life.)*

می مقصود ایله جامینگ تولسون
تینگریدین عاقبتینگ خیر اولسون

*(My all your good wishes be with you,
May God grant you with blessings you deserve.)*

One of the people very close to Ali-Shir Navā'i was Shaikh Bahlul. Their relationship was at such a level that it went beyond the limits of friendship and took the status of brotherhood. Ali-Shir Navā'i recognized him as his brother²³⁵. According to Zain ad-Din Vāsifi, Shaikh Bahlul was Emir Ali-Shir's adviser, trusted, faithful and reliable confidant. He entrusted all the important affairs of his property, down to the smallest detail, to his guarantee and authority. They called him the mind and talkative soul of Emir... he was knowledgeable and well-versed in all sciences... Mir used to think of him as a ceramic vessel²³⁶.

Emir Ali-Shir considered Kamal ad-Din Sultan Husayn, the son of Shaikh Bahlul, as his own son, and he took special care in his promotion. Mir Ibrahim, the son of Kamal ad-Din Sultan Husayn, was considered by Navā'i as his own grandson and Navā'i raised him with love²³⁷. According to "Makarim", when Emir Ali-Shir passed away, Shaikh Bahlul and his family were householders in mourning ceremony²³⁸.

Maulānā Fasih ad-Din Sahibdara was also one of the closest interlocutors of Emir Ali-Shir and one of his loyal friends who devoted himself to Emir's service. According to Zayn ad-Din Vāsifi, Emir Ali-Shir devoted the following verse to him:

منگا اول کیمائیس وصاحب دور
توت وکوت هلم و مصاحب دور²³⁹

²³⁵ Majālis, 682b.

²³⁶ Badāe'u-l-Vaqāe', 391.

²³⁷ Majālis, 682b.

²³⁸ Makārim, 129.

²³⁹ Badāe'u-l-Vaqāe', 378.

Another highly esteemed friend of Emir Ali-Shir was Fasih ad-Din Muhammad Nizāmi. He was a scientist well-versed in secular sciences, and Navā'ī always enjoyed talking with him:

...He has been engaged in science for almost thirty years. He teaches all secular subjects. He has composed manuals and books on every discipline that scientists use. Despite his perfection and greatness, he humbly spent most of his time entertaining my humble self, both on my journey and at home, with his conversation²⁴⁰.

According to Khwandamir, Fasih ad-Din Nizāmi was an interlocutor of Emir Ali-Shir for almost forty years. He often read secular textbooks in his presence²⁴¹.

Another close friend of Emir Ali-Shir was Khwaja Hāfiz Dehdār. The history of their acquaintance and friendship is unique. The author of "Badāe' al-Vaqāe'" mentions:

...Dehdār came to Khurasan from Azerbaijan province to talk with Emir Ali-Shir... At that time, Emir Ali-Shir was in the garden at the tomb of Abdullah Ansāri that he ordered to erect. Hāfiz saw that Mir was sitting alone... Mir saw a stranger coming towards him and asked: "Who are you and why are you coming to me?" Hāfiz said: "I have come to define myself in every way." Mir was surprised and said: "Come closer, I am surprised by what you said, what do you mean by "I define myself in every aspect?" Hāfiz praised himself... Mir said: "O dear,

²⁴⁰ Majālis, 681b.

²⁴¹ Makārim, 130, 39.

if even one of the things you said is true, there will be no one in the world closer to me than you” and invited everyone. Everyone gathered. Mir said to Hāfiz: You have praised yourself a lot, now show your craft! Hāfiz first recited the Qur'an... then recited a ghazal. Then he sang. Then he read a story. He answered to everyone's questions from any science.... Ten sheep were brought by the order of the Mir. Hāfiz was a cook, and everyone liked the meal. He became close to Mir. A man has never been so close²⁴².

Many of Ali-Shir Navā'i's friends were gifted scientists. Navā'i appointed them to teach at “Ikhlāsiya” madrasa, which he was built according to his order. He used to spend a lot of time with them. One of them was Maulānā Burkhān ad-Din Atāullah Mahmud Husayni. Ali-Shir Navā'i mentions him in “Majālis an-Nafāis”: “Mir Ata ullah is from Nishāpur”. He came to Hirāt to study science. Being a sage, he also achieved a good life. In addition to wisdom, he also developed a passion for poetry. He wrote a book about poetic arts called “Badāe'-i Atāi”³⁷⁸. This work is an invaluable guide that contains an overview of the fine poetic arts commented under the initiative and guidance of Ali-Shir Navā'i. Emir Ali-Shir always paid special attention to his friend's financial and material support and tried to lighten the burden of living. Khwandamir writes:

...One day, Mir (Ali-Shir) was playing chess with Maulānā Fasih ad-Din Sāhib. At that moment, suddenly Burhan ad-Din Atāullah came in. Hazrat (Ali-Shir) asked him where he was coming from and

²⁴² Badāe'u-l-Vaqāe', 476-480.

³⁷⁸ Majālis, 677b.

what he was worried about. Emir Burhān ad-Din answered: "I wanted to buy a house for a thousand dinars from around the madrasa to get rid of the burden of having to take a long route to attend "Ikhlosiya" madrasa every day. I found a house, but an official appeared and intended to buy it for a little more than the amount I offered. The seller now wants to sell to him. Please, write a letter to that official so he leaves it to me" ... After the game of chess, Emir Ali-Shir addressed him: "Tell me, wouldn't it be better, if you were bestowed with a house that is close to the madrasah and has a large area, many buildings, and a good place? Don't you find it more appropriate rather than having what you say?" The gentleman of holy lineage expressed joy and happiness at these words... (Emir Ali-Shir) donated him the yard that was his own in the entertainment and pleasant place bought from Muhammad Muin²⁴³.

Another close friend of Ali-Shir Navā'i was Atāullah Asili. Khwandamir writes:

... Atāullah... who has achieved great perfection in religious sciences, and in researching the science of hadith, there is no doubt that there is no one equal to him in the Khurasan...He has been teaching in the noble Sultania madrasah and the virtuous Khalosia khonaqah for a long time. He also wrote a book called "Ravzat al-Ahbāb", it is that kind of book that has probably has never been written so far. Emir Ali-Shir has been taking great care of him from the

²⁴³ Makārim, 105.

beginning of the reign of the just king Sultan Husayn to this day" Ataullah Asili wrote the following wonderful poem in this same work as a thank you for the favors he received from Emir Ali-Shir:

امیری که فضل و علم و رحمت
و بر و احسان و لطف و انعام
و لایمکت مینو عز و مهابه
والدین والدنیا نظام و انتظام

Meaning:

Emir Ali-Shir is still the pillar of the kingdom, a close friend of the sultan, and the ruler of the state and religion of the world, may his state live long in the world.)

سخن به مدح تو آراستن غرض آنست
که پیش اهل هنر منحصر بود مارا
و اگر نه منقبت آفتاب معلوم است
چه حاجتست به مشاطه روی زیبارا

Meaning:

*The reason that I praise you is because,
It became as an exception amongst the people of art.
When the greatness of the Sun is known, what is the reason of
praising the Sun,
And what is the reason of trying to beautify the face, which
already is beautiful)*

Maulānā Muhammad Badakhshi was also a close friend of Ali-Shir Navā'i.

Khwandamir writes:

...Maulānā Shams ad-Din Muhammad Badakhshi is a very well-spoken, good-natured, cheerful, eloquent, witty and virtuous person. He, who has great expertise in the science muammo genre, has been living happily under the care of Emir Ali-Shir for almost 30 years (Ibid., 75.)³⁸². Mir Ali-Shir also spoke warmly about him in "Majālis": "Maulānā Shams ad-Din Muhammad came from Isbkamish village of Badakhshi-Kunduz. At first, he came to Samarkand for education and took lessons for a while... after that he came to Hirāt. There is no one more disciplined than him. He is equally well-spoken to both the king and the beggar. He has composed a work in the genre of muammo, which is pretty famous among the people³⁸³.

Another friend of Ali-Shir Navā'i was Kamal ad-Din Husayn al-Wāiz al-Kāshifi, an influential scholar and preacher. Khwandamir writes:

...He is full of knowledge of secular and religious knowledge... He explains the interpretation of the words of Allah and the meaning of the sayings of the Holy Prophet from the pulpit in a very pure and meaningful way... He is also an expert in astronomy. He has a lot of meaningful and eloquent books, most of which are decorated with the famous name of Emir Ali-Shir³⁷⁴.

³⁸² Ibid, 75.

³⁸³ Majālis, 678b.

³⁷⁴ Makārim, 71.

Also, the leader of healers Maulānā Darvishali, historian Mirkhwānd, Hāfiz Muhammad Sultanshāh that is hāfiz and calligrapher, Hāfiz Jalāl ad-Din Mahmud shaikh of "Ikhlasia" madrasa and imām-khatib of "Qudsiya" mosque, imam-khatib of "Gavharshādbegin" mosque Maulānā Haji Mashhadi, master of several musical instruments Ustad Qulmuhammad Shibirghani, master of the genre *muamma* Mir Husayn Muammai, Khwaja Kamāl ad-Din Udiy, Maulānā Mas'ud Shirvāni, Maulānā Nādiri Marvi, Khwaja Mas'ud Qumi, Mavlana Qabuli, Hāfiz Yāri, and other artists were in friendly relations with Emir Ali-Shir.

From the work "Majālis an-Nafais" one can get some idea about his early adulthood friends. For example, when he lived in Samarkand, he had a close friendly relationship with Khwaja Khāvand, the son of Fazlullah Abu al-Laysi, and Maulānā Yusuf Badē'i. During the time of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzā he got close to Maulānā Abd as-Samad Badakhshi, Maulānā Subhi Ubahi, and the details of his acquaintance with Maulānā Muhammad Muammai, Khwaja Hasan Khizrshah Astrabadi, Khwaja and Mas'ud Qumi were recorded²⁴⁴.

²⁴⁴ Majālis, 403,330, 318,353, 319, 320, 321.

Emir Ali-Shir's property

Ali-Shir Navā'i paid special attention to people of science and art, not only giving them large salaries, but also giving them houses. This is probably the reason why there was great interest in the source, size, and number of buildings of Navā'i's property, both during and after his life. There are also different points of view on this matter. For example, Fakhri Hiravi pointed out that Emir Ali-Shir's wealth was accumulated after he joined the service of Husayn Bayqara²⁴⁵, while Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur says that "He would not get anything from Mirzā, but he used to give Mirzā a lot of money every year"²⁴⁶. Ali-Shir Navā'i himself clearly recorded that Husayn Bāyqarā treated Navā'i with great affection as a caring friend and always paid attention to his financial support. He writes:

ایل دین منگا گرچه غیر زحمت یوق ایردی
عیب ایرماس اگر مزد ایله منت یوق ایردی
ایل بیر دیلار اما منگا رغبت یوق ایردی
شه دولتی دین بولار کا حاجت یوق ایردی²⁴⁷.

Meaning:

The people haven't bestowed on me anything but the hardships,

²⁴⁵ Latāifnāma, 134.

²⁴⁶ Baburnāma, 154.

²⁴⁷ Vaqfia, 745a.

*I am distressed because they wanted to gift me, then reproach it
and anticipate a favor back from me.*

*I have never been in need of the gifts and would ignore them all,
Because of Sultan I got riches that was more than enough for me.*

Manuscript sources from Navā'i's period and later also mention a lot about it, but none of them contain exact details of that help. The only source that provides information about this is Ali-Shir Navā'i's work "Vaqfiā". It is a documentary work about Navā'i's personal property and the use of this property for the benefit of the nation. In it, we see that the Sultan allocated about 36 hectares of land near Margani in the north of Hirāt in 881 H.A. (1476-1477 AD) to build a house²⁴⁸. Even when he resigned from the governmental obligations, Husayn Bāyqarā gave him big gifts. Whether their form is in the form of salaries or gardens, or in the form of endowment, its extent is not known to us yet. This issue can only be solved by a thorough acquaintance with the Palace endowment and financial documents of Sultan Husayn period. However, it should be noted that this work is only about the endowment of shops, buildings, gardens and expenses ordered by Ali-Shir Navā'i to the endowments. In addition to the price of real estate, there is no accurate information about the amount of income from them and his wealth. Even when met, there is information related to a certain part of Navā'i's life, which does not give enough idea about his general wealth. For example, Fakhri Hiravi mentions that daily income of Emir Ali-Shir was 75,000 dinars and expenditure was 15,000 dinars; every year he distributed a thousand pieces of clothing to the poor²⁴⁹. Mirzo

²⁴⁸ 1 jerib is about 1,2 hectares.

²⁴⁹ Latāifnāma, 133.

Haydar notes that his daily income was 18,000 shahrukhis²⁵⁰. It seems that this information was written based on a document that is not yet available to us and concerns Navā'ī's activities and property in Astrabad. Because Fakhri quoted the above numbers while talking about his life in Astrabad. Mirzā Haydar Doghlat also saying about his daily income pointed out the name Baba Ali, who was temporarily entrusted governing of Astrabad. So, it is clear that Mirzā Haidar is also quoting financial figures in Astrabad. Daulatshah Samarqandi indicated the expenses for foundation constructions as 500 tumans²⁵¹; it is probably related to the constructions repaired before the time when the work was written. It is known from "Vaḳfiya" that Navā'ī assigned a salary of about 1300 gold per month to the officials and students in addition to wheat, barley and rice²⁵².

²⁵⁰ Tarikh-i Rashidi, 121b.

²⁵¹ Daulatshāh, 370.

²⁵² Vaḳfiya, 748a.

Ali-Shir Navā`I's Charitable Activity

Ali-Shir Navā`i's philanthropic deeds, charitable activities, generous favors shown to scholars, and his kindness to the poor and strangers have been talked about incessantly from his time to the present day. Every day more than a thousand poor and needy people were feasted and fed with delicious food in the Khalāsia Khānaqah built by him. Every year, about 2,000 fur coats, jackets, shirts, trousers, and shoes were distributed to the needy. In Mashhad, he ordered to build Dār al-Huffāz next to Imam Rizā Garden to feed the needy, weak and orphans every day²⁵³. Navā`i's contemporaries gave a list of the structures they knew for sure, trying not to make extra-long descriptions, they used to enlist the buildings they knew for sure to be built by Navā`i. For example, Daulatshāh mentions twelve structures²⁵⁴, while Khwandamir lists more than a hundred charitable buildings and structures, including ponds and bridges²⁵⁵. Fakhri Hiravi generally estimates that "Emir Ali-Shir built 370 charity buildings"²⁵⁶, while Sām Mirzā specifies this number and says that "Ninety out of three hundred and seventy are rabāts"²⁵⁷. However, neither in this nor in other works, Khwandamir

²⁵³ Makārim, 66.

²⁵⁴ Daulatshah, 371.

²⁵⁵ Makārim, 66-68.

²⁵⁶ Latāifnāma, 133.

²⁵⁷ Tuhfa-i Sāmi, 169a.

indicated the date of construction, except for some. This is traditional in other works written during Navā'ī's time.

Interest in Navā'ī's property continued in later periods, especially from the second half of the XVI century to the XX century. After all, it is evidenced by the fact that it is emphasized in many memoirs. For example, in the works of Mahmud bin Vali "Bahr al-Asrār" (XVI century), "Tazkirat ash-shuarā" by Fahmi Samarqandi, the information of Mirzā Haidar Doghlat is exactly repeated²⁵⁸. Bakhtāvar Khan's "Mir'at al-Ālam" and Muhammad Yusuf Munshi's "Tazkiratu-sh-shuarā-i Muqimkhāni" show that they used Fakhri and Sām Mirzā's memoirs²⁵⁹. At the same time, there is some confusing information as well. For example, the author of "Tām at-tawārikh" Abd al-Muminkhan (end of the 16 century) and Abdallah Kābuli (beginning of the XVII century) wrote in the historical review that the number of buildings built by Navā'ī was one thousand and one, while in the reviews of "Nashtar-i ishq" and "Ruz-i ravshan" the number of buildings and structures of Emir Ali-Shir is shown as twelve thousand²⁶⁰.

Navā'ī's encouragement to the education of the people of virtue can be found in almost all sources of the Navā'ī era and 16 century sources, in particular, "Latāifnāma" (Fakhri), "Tuhfa-i Sāmi" (Sām Mirzā), "Tarikh-i Rashidi" (Mirzā Haydar), "Tarjuma-i Majālis an-Nafais-i Navā'ī" (Hakimshah Qazvini), "Tuhfatu-s-surur" (Darvishali Chang), "Haft iqlim" (Amin Ahmad Rāzi), and later "Tāmm at-tawārikh" (Abd al-Mu'minkhan), "Tazkirat at-tawārikh" (Abdullah Kabuli), "Riyāzu-sh-shuarā" (Vāla Daghestāni) "Nashtar-i ishq" (Husaynquli Azimābādi) contain special emphasis on the matter. It would be useful to mention

²⁵⁸ Bahru-l-Asrār, 160a; Tazkira-i Fahmi, 36a.

²⁵⁹ Mir'atu-l-alam, 540a; Tazkira-i Muqimkhani, 165a.

²⁶⁰ Tazkiratu-t-tawārikh, 159a; Nashtar-i ishq, 693b.; Ruz-i ravshan, 719.

that sometimes writers gave an exaggerated tone. For example, in “Bahr al-Āsrār”, “Riyāzu-sh-shuarā” and “Nashtar-i ishq” there is information that “Almost 12,000 people were educated under the patronage of Navā’i”, but it was not possible to determine the source of this number²⁶¹.

²⁶¹ Nashtar-i ishq, 693b; Bahru-l-Asrār, 60a.

CONCLUSION

Ali-Shir Navā'i was a great personality that did not fit into the stereotypes of the society of his time. As a young man, he went to Samarkand to Khwaja Ahror's place to join the Naqshbandi sect, however he ended up entering a madrasa and studied jurisprudence instead. Being the owner of vast property and a prestigious official of the state, he was not greedy for wealth, he constantly distributed his wealth among hermits, visitors, students and the vulnerable; he erected social buildings. Though he was able to create a family, he opted for spending his life single. His life was spent in a battle against his own ego, he was able to control his passions and control his lust for the sake of God. As Amiri Kabir (the Grand Minister), he showed a high example of being humble. We know from the history of mankind that people with such qualities who lived in different eras and different societies were referred as holy ones or, in popular terms, saints. These qualities of Ali-Shir Navā'i were formed primarily due to the depth of his religious and secular knowledge, his actions aimed at becoming a perfect human being as a theological scientist who well understood the laws of the physical and metaphysical world.

Sufis of the world see in him a high example of asceticism. It is true that he adopted the beliefs of the great Sufis Hasan Basri, Sahl Tustari, and Junayd Baghdadi as his slogan. His worldview was formed on the ideas of the theologian Imam Ghazali. The Holy Qur'an and hadiths shaped his social position. Therefore,

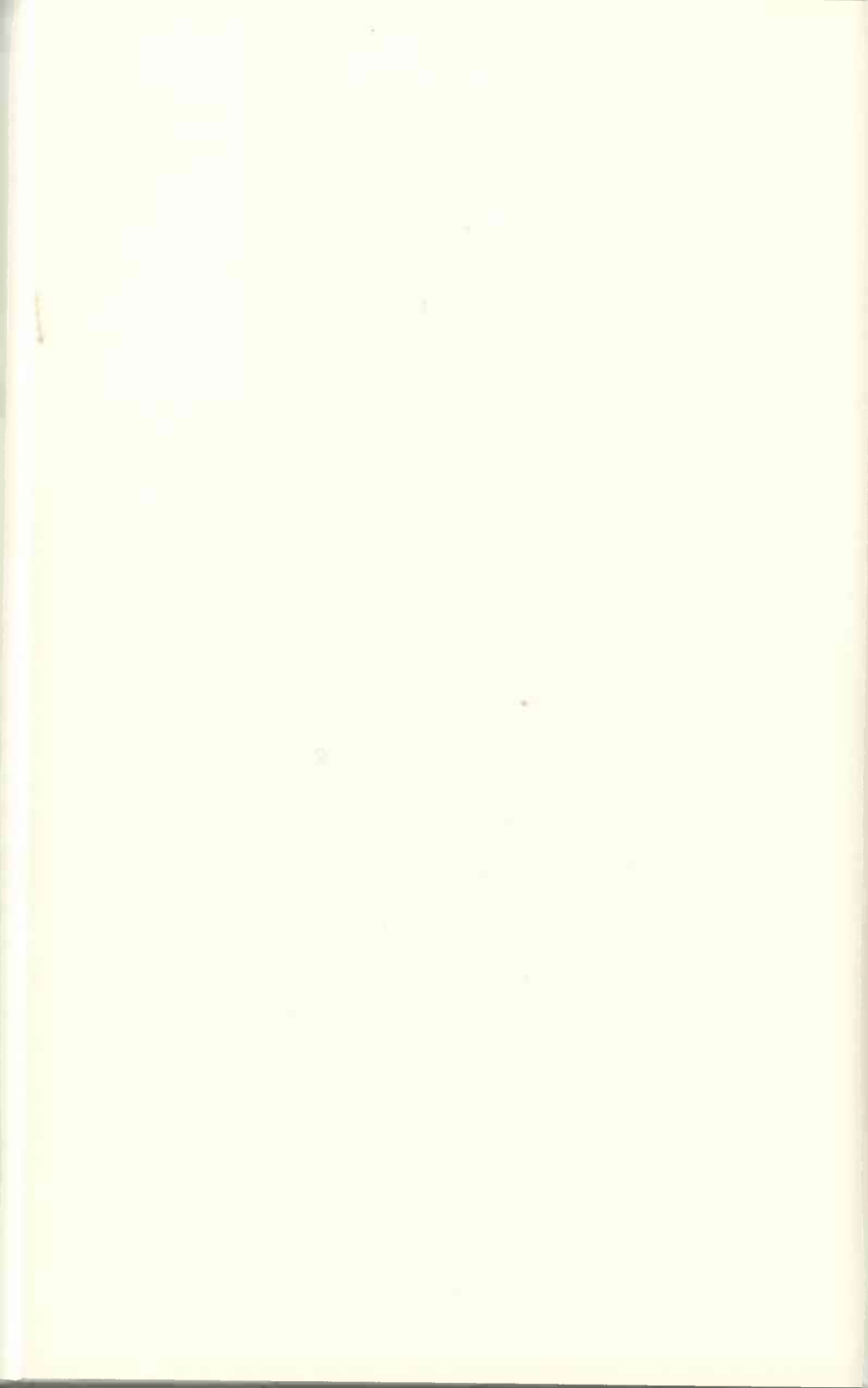
CONCLUSION

in our view, the elements of hypocrisy, the tendency to accumulate wealth, which began to appear in the Sufi orders of the XV century, did not correspond to Navā'i's worldview. For Navā'i the only true way of reaching the God and his blessing was refraining from sins, renouncing the blessings of the world, and trying to control his own ego. He was able to stand firm on his beliefs despite being in the vortex of social evils, that is, being actively involved in the social life. Khondamir writes: "... it is impossible to know God and his attributes without overcoming sensual lust and physical desires and without turning away from the blessings of this world. For this reason, saints have always restrained unruly and stubborn lust and did not care about the transitory things of this world. Amir Ali-Shir also took a place among them following the hadith "The world is forbidden to the people of the Hereafter". It was his nature, from his childhood and the time when he was just beginning to grow up, he looked at this world and its things with indifference, and he never fell in love with the transitory possessions of the world. He always pulled back the stubborn reins of his ego from the field of desire and lust by torturing himself. At the same time, a deep study of his life and works shows that he, like all ordinary people, loved and was loved. The poet, who lost his lover in his youth, was devoted to her until the end of his life, he could not forget her. Amir Ali-Shir lived a lonely life. He praised his beloved as the glory of God and wrote many ghazals dedicated to her.

His poetic talent was praised in books of his time. Ali-Shir Navā'i's artistic skills, worldview and breadth of knowledge are clearly visible in his creative work. He skillfully used not only all literary traditions, types and genres that existed before him, but also tried to improve them. Also, from the high philosophical meaning of his works, it can be understood that he is a thinker

who knows not only Islamic sciences, but also various theological teachings, and that he is a well-versed thinker. Talking about the creation of the Creator and the Laws of the Universe, the evolution of the Universe and man in the praises of his epics, the poetic interpretation of the verses of the Holy Qur'an based on deep knowledge is evidence that Ali-Shir Navā'ī has an extraordinary great understanding.

Historians have included him among the few wise ministers in the history of mankind. In fact, Navā'ī is a great patriot who spent his entire conscious life to restore the prestige, national pride and national identity of the Turkic peoples. Thanks to Navā'ī, the peoples of the world began to pay special respect to the Turkic culture and spirituality. Navā'ī devoted his life to the development of science and art, ensuring peace in the country, peaceful and harmonious living of the population, and strengthening the power of the state. Navā'ī's qualities of tolerance, justice, wisdom, politicking and caring for citizens helped the Sultan to manage the state fairly. That is why the Sultan praised and valued Navā'ī as a friend. He always tried to keep Navā'ī next to himself. Their tandem served to strengthen the state, establish justice, develop language, culture, art, and science in all spheres, as well as increase the state's defense power and prestige in the region. Although Navā'ī considered the meaning of his life to be in creativity, he thought of the interests of the state and the people, stood by the side of the Sultan, and carried out important state affairs. He considered the service in the palace not for wealth and prestige, but as an opportunity and a means to realize the great task of the coexistence of Turkish and Persian peoples and the recognition of Turkish literature to the whole world.



APPENDIX

Madrasa and Buildings Built by Navā`i

No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
1.	"Khusraviya" madrasa	881 AH /1476 AD	Merv
2.	"Ikhlāsiya" madrasa	881- 886/1476- 1481	Hirāt
3.	"Khalāsiya" khānaqāh	881-886 AH/1476- 1481	Hirāt
4.	Jāme`Mosque in Musallā Park	881 - 886/1476- 1481	Hirāt
5.	Renovation of Hirāt Jāme` mosque	903/1497- 1498	Hirāt
6.	A khānaqāh, garden and a pond in Ansāri's mausoleum	904/1498- 1499	Ansāri mausoleum in Gozurgāh
7.	"Shifāiya" madrasa	906/1500	Hirāt
8.	"Nizāmiya" madrasa	906/1500	Hirāt
9.	Mosque	-	In the garden of Marghani

APPENDIX

No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
10.	Mosque	-	Tāll-i Qutbān
11.	Mosque	-	Street Ulugh Āta
12.	Mosque	-	Street Emir Islam
13.	Mosque Chahār Su-i Mirzā Alāuddavla	-	Kushk-i Jahānnamā
14.	Qalandarān Mosque	-	Bāgh-i Zāghān
15.	Mosque	-	Tarkhāniyan district
16.	Mosque	-	Mir Odil district
17.	Jāme`Mosque Pul-i Kārt	-	Pul-i Kārt district
18.	Jāme`Mosque Pul-i Darqarā		Hirāt
19.	mosque		Puhra village
20.	Jāme`(Cathedral) Mosque	-	Iydgāh district
21.	Jāme`Mosque		Isfizār
22.	Jāme` Mosque		Ghur
23.	Mosque		Fushanj
24.	Mosque		Jām
25.	Jāme` Mosque	-	Sarakhs
26.	Jāme`Mosque	-	Karāt-i Tarshiz
27.	Jāme`(Cathedral) Mosque	-	Astrabad
28.	Dār al-Huffāz	-	In Mashhad, at the shrine of Imam Reza

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No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
29.	Mausoleum of Shaikh Farid ad-Din Attār	1492 year	At the tomb of Sheikh Farididdin Attār, Nishāpur
30.	Mausoleum of Abd ar-Rahman Jāmi	Rajab 898 Hijri / April 1493	Khiyābān (Hirāt)
31.	garden		
32.	Jamaātkhāna (Community Hall)	-	Khiyābān, in the shrine of Shamsiddin Muhammad Tabādgāni
33.	Fanāiyya garden	-	Jāmi's courtyard
34.	Mausoleum	-	Pir mujarrad Khwaja Abdulwalid Ahad in Hirāt graveyard
35.	Mausoleum of Shaikh Muhyi	-	Hirāt
36.	Langar-i Maulānā Sirri	-	Merv
37.	Emir Abdul-Vahid b. Muslim Graveyard Building	-	Khumcha-i bād
38.	Khānaqāh and shrine complex	-	
39.	Khwaja Yusuf Hamadāni	-	

APPENDIX

No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
	Graveyard Building		
40.	Qāsim Anwār Mausoleum	-	Nishāpur
41.	Havz-i Māhiyān	-	Hirāt
42.	Rabāt	-	Khiyābān (Hirāt)
43.	Tufur Rabāt	-	The address is unknown
44.	Rabāt-i Havzak	-	The address is unknown
45.	Rabāt-i Dara-i zangi	-	The address is unknown
46.	Rabāt-i Chihildukhtarān	-	Bodgis region
47.	Rabāt-i Tarnāb rabāt	-	The address is unknown
48.	Rabāt-i Panjdeh	-	The address is unknown
49.	Rabāt-i Qutulish Murghāb	-	The address is unknown
50.	Rabāt-i Marvjoq	-	The address is unknown
51.	Rabāt-i Baikur	-	The address is unknown
52.	Rabāt-i Zāhid	-	The address is unknown
53.	Rabāt-i Khwaja Duka	-	The address is unknown
54.	Rabāt-i Chahārshanba	-	The address is unknown

EMIR ALI-SHIR NAVĀ'I

No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
55.	Rabāt-i Bābā Buri	-	The address is unknown
56.	Rabāt-i Darin Kurqush	-	The address is unknown
57.	Rabāt-i Kandagi	-	The address is unknown
58.	Āq Rabāt	-	The address is unknown
59.	Rabāt-i Yānbulāq	-	The address is unknown
60.	Rabāt-i Dasht-i Shārakht	-	The address is unknown
61.	Rabāt-i Adraskan	-	The address is unknown
62.	Rabāt-i Farmānshaikh	-	The address is unknown
63.	Rabāt-i Abdulvalid	-	The address is unknown
64.	Rabāt-i Muzdurān	-	The address is unknown
65.	Rabāt-i Puriyan	-	The address is unknown
66.	Rabāt-i Puli Ghuriyān	-	The address is unknown
67.	Rabāt-i Pāyābak	-	The address is unknown
68.	Rabāt-i Nizpul	-	The address is unknown
69.	Rabāt-i Shuturkhāna-i Tīrpul	-	The address is unknown

APPENDIX

No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
70.	Rabāt-i Sahrā-i Bāghanda	-	The address is unknown
71.	Rabāt-i Jām	-	The address is unknown
72.	Rabāt-i Khargird	-	The address is unknown
73.	Rabāt-i Marammat	-	The address is unknown
74.	Rabāt-i Bīkrābād	-	The address is unknown
75.	Rabāt-i Sa'dābād	-	The address is unknown
76.	Rabāt-i Khazira	-	The address is unknown
77.	Rabāt-i Sangbast	-	The address is unknown
78.	Rabāt-i Mashhadi muqaddasa	-	The address is unknown
79.	Rabāt-i Tēpa-i Chavk	-	The address is unknown
80.	Rabāt-i Dizābād	-	The address is unknown
81.	Rabāt-i Gulidar	-	The address is unknown
82.	Rabāt-i Sanglidar	-	The address is unknown
83.	Rabāt-i Runiz	-	The address is unknown
84.	Rabāt-i Isfarāyin	-	The address is unknown

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No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
85.	Rabāt-i Chipārān	-	The address is unknown
86.	Rabāt-i Ishq	-	The address is unknown
87.	Rabāt-i Dahan-i takht-i Sulaymān	-	The address is unknown
88.	Rabāt-i Jurmjuy	-	The address is unknown
89.	Rabāt-i Āhvān	-	The address is unknown
90.	Rabāt in the head of the Alāmat Street	-	The address is unknown
91.	Rabāt-i Pul-i Nigār	-	The address is unknown
92.	Rabāt-i Bahra	-	The address is unknown
93.	Rabāt-i Diyagar	-	The address is unknown
94.	Day rabāt	-	Nishāpur
95.	Pāy-i Hisār pool	-	Hirāt
96.	Pool (havz)	Hijri 904/1498-1499	Ansāri tomb in Gozurgāh
97.	Pāy-i Hisār pool	-	Hirāt
98.	Pool	-	Pāydarakht-i Mirāsi
99.	Pool	-	Shālbāfān neighborhood
100.	Pool	-	Sur pushta

APPENDIX

No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
101.	Pool	-	Chihilgazi neighborhood
102.	Pool	-	Hoja-i kalla
103.	Pool	-	Pir Qivām
104.	Pool	-	Qalandarān neighborhood
105.	Pool	-	Next to Shifāiya
106.	Pool	-	Near Jāmi mausoleum
107.	Pool	-	Puriyān
108.	Pool	-	Near the Kushanj Mosque
109.	Pool	-	Jaraha
110.	Pool	-	Sahrā-i Bāghān
111.	Pool	-	Shāhān-i garmāb
112.	Pool	-	Zirbād
113.	Pool	-	Shrine
114.	Pool	-	Ankhud
115.	Pool	-	Rāh-i Khorazm
116.	Inside the Malik market, there are two textile shops with front porches		Hirāt
117.	Five stores		Inside Malik Bazaar
118.	Shop		Khum-i āb
119.	Carpet shop		Inside Malik Bazaar
120.	Fur shop		Inside Malik Bazaar

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No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
121.	Four shops		Outside Iraq Gate
122.	Bazaar		Outside the gate of Malik
123.	Two buildings and eight shops		Outside the gate of Malik
124.	Bazaar and two stores		in Kuhunduz region of Musarrih
125.	Two shops		In the Bāgh-i Zāghān
126.	Water-supply Tudagi		Bādghis region
127.	Water-supply Paragach		In Gumburoq village
128.	Bridge	-	Sepulak
129.	Bridge	-	Tulki
130.	Bridge	-	Soqsalmān
131.	Bbridge	-	Chihildukhtarān
132.	Bridge	-	Tārnāb
133.	Bridge	-	Qalandarān
134.	Bridge	-	Qāzbānān
135.	Bridge	-	Bāykhāja
136.	Bridge Pul-i Ahmad Mushtāq	-	The address is unknown
137.	Bridge and Dam	-	Khayrābād
138.	Bridge	-	Jurjānān
139.	Marble Bridge	-	Nigār
140.	Marble Bridge	-	Tīyr
141.	Bridge	-	Qushanj
142.	Bridge	-	Nahr-i Arab

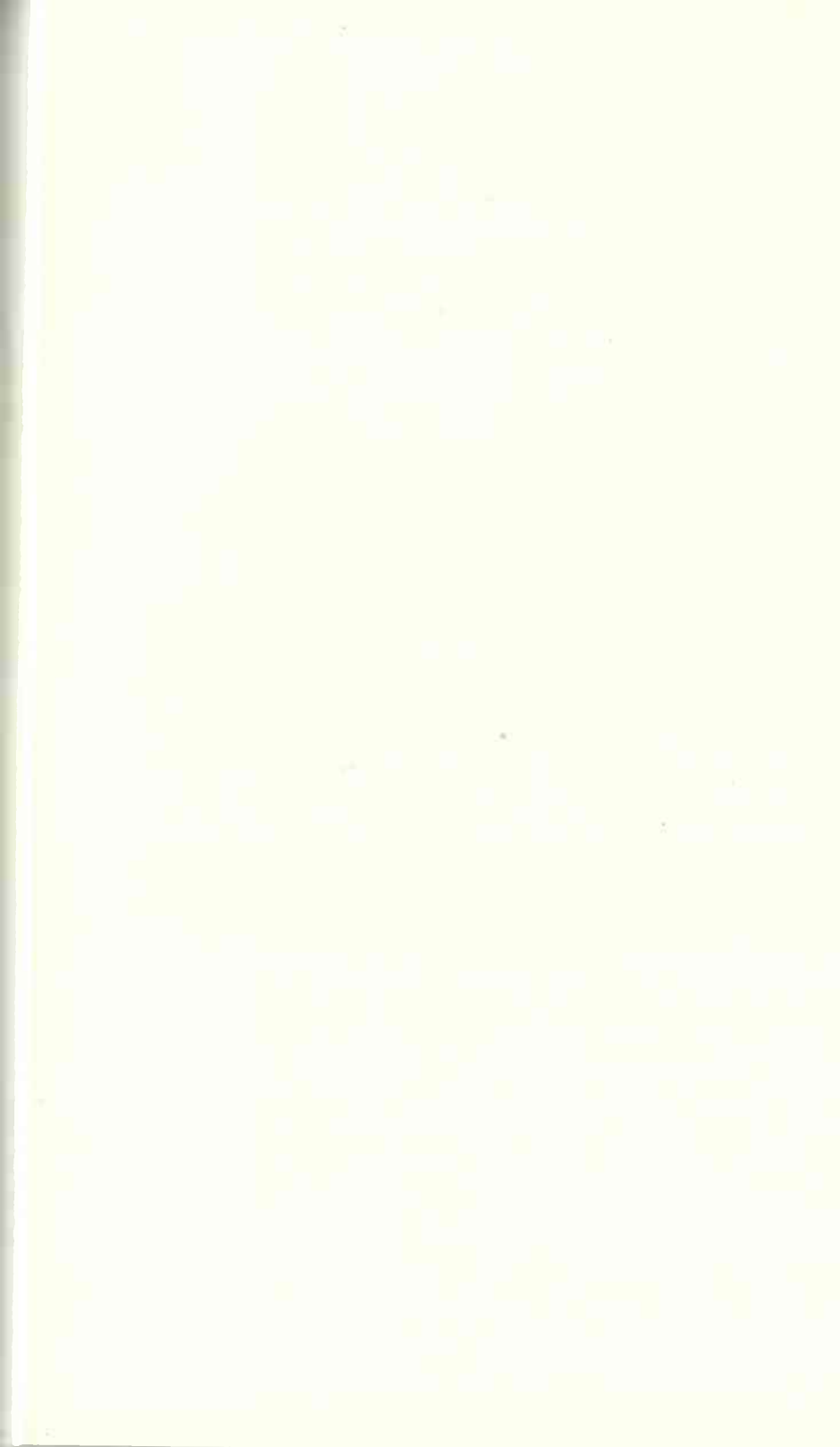
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No	Name of the facility	Year of construction	Place
143.	Bridge	-	Chahcharān
144.	Bridge and Dam	-	Turuk
145.	Bath-house	-	Next to the Shifāiya
146.	Bath-house	-	Shrine
147.	Bath-house	-	Darra-i zangi
148.	Bath-house	-	Tuvuchi
149.	Bath-house	-	Chihildukhtaran
150.	Bath-house	-	Tarnāb
151.	Bath-house	-	Panjdeh
152.	Bath-house	-	Faizābād
153.	Bath-house	-	Sa'dābād
154.	Chashma-i Gil	-	Tus-Mashhad

Works written under the patronage and order of Navā'i

No	Name of the book	Author
1	Sharh-i Farāiz	Ahmad Taftazāni
2	"Rauzatu-l-ahbāb fī siyrat an-nabi va-l-ālī va-l-ashābī"	Atāullah Asili
3	Tafsir-i Fārsi	Kamāl ad-Din Husayn Vāiz Kāshifi
4	Sharh-i "Arba'in"	Imām Nawawi
5	Hāshiya-i "Mukhtasar"	Muhammad Nizāmi
6	Hāshiya-i Chaghmini	Muhammad Nizāmi
7	Hāshiya-i "Sharh-i Hidāya-i hikmat"	Muhammad Nizāmi
8	Hāshiya-i "Sharh-i ashkāl"	Muhammad Nizāmi
9	"Ta'sis-i sharh-i bist bāb-i Usturlāb	Muhammad Nizāmi
10	Hāshiya-i "Mavāqif"	Muhammad Nizāmi

11	Sharh-i "Mi'atu Āmil"	Muhammad Nizāmi
12	Sharh-i "Mishkāt"	Khwāja Imād ad-Din Abdu-l-Aziz Abhari
13	Hāshiya-i "Sharh-i Hikmatu-l- 'Ayn"	Maulānā Kamālī-d- Din Mas'ud Shirvāni
14	Risāla dar "Ilm-i Farāsāt"	Maulānā Abd ar- Razzāq Kirmāni
15	Sharh-i "Hāshiya-i Mu'jiz"-i Maulānā Nafis	Maulānā Ghiyās ad- Din Muhammad
16	Tarjuma-i arabiyāt-i "Nafahāt al- Uns"	Nizāmu-d-Din Ahmad Pir Shams
17	Tazkirat un-nufus	Maulānā Darvishali Tabib
18	Hāshiya-i Mutavval	Khwāja Abu-l-Qasim Abu-l-Laisi
19	Hāshiya-i Miftāh	Khwāja Khāvand Abu-l-Laisi
20	Hāshiya-i Talvih	Khwāja Khāvand Abu-l-Laisi



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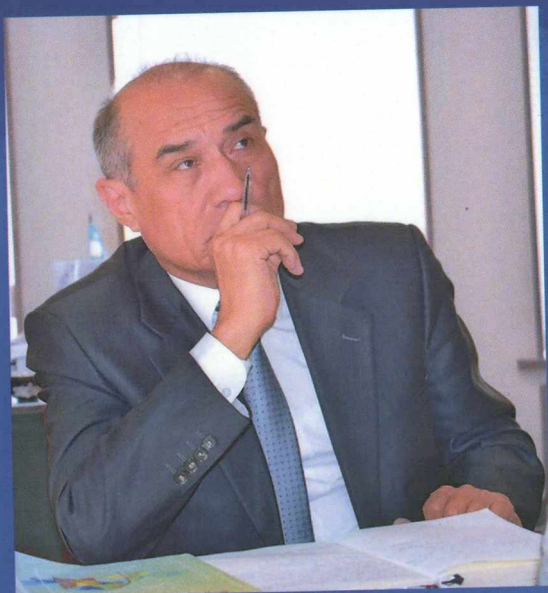
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\$30.00
ISBN 979-8-218-49737-8



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