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A FRESH LOOK AT ALI SHER NAVO'I'S LIFE OR ERRORS UNANSWERED FOR 100 YEARS

Shuhrat SIROJIDDINOV
Professor, Alisher Navo'i Tashkent State University
of the Uzbek Language and Literature

Abstract

The great poet of the Turkic world Alisher Navo'i made a great contribution to the development of science during the reign of Timurid dynasty, which was mentioned in several historical works and memoirs of the XV century. The personality and activities of the poet and statesman have always attracted the attention of many political and social circles since his lifetime. In the twentieth century, Russian and European orientalists also began to show interest in Alisher Navo'i. The most famous of the papers they wrote is the fundamental work "Alisher Navo'i and political life" by the Russian scholar V. Bartold. He created an image of Navo'i that was in stark contrast to the popular representation of him in people's mind: Navo'i was portrayed exaggeratedly as a hater of the exploiting class and the Shah's regime, and who therefore suffered greatly from the Sultan.

Later, all researchers on Navo'i studies have developed his approach. Over 100 years, with the exception of some minor points, the biography of Navo'i in Bartold's interpretation has not been revised. This article, based on primary sources, examines some of Bartold's commentaries on Alisher Navoi's biography, in particular, on the relationship of the poet with Sultan Abu Sa'id, vizir Madj ad-Din and poet Kamal ad-Din Bina'i.

Key words: *Alisher Navo'i, timurids, uzbek, Central Asia, Khorasan, Bartold, Sultan Husayn Boyqaro, Astrabad, Kamal ad-Din Bina'i, sefevids, Aq Qoyunlu, Babur, Fakhri Heravi.*

Абстракт

Интерес к личности и деятельности великого поэта тюркоязычных народов Алишера Наваи начался еще при его жизни. Его заслуги в развитие гуманитарных наук в государстве тимуридов отмечены во многих исторических летописях и мемуарах XV век. Начиная с XX века наблюдается бурное научное изучение его биографии и творчества востоковедами мира. Первое фундаментальное исследование принадлежит перу русского ученого В.Бартольда. В нем был создан образ Навои, в корне отличающиеся от того образа, который утвердился в сознании масс. Навои был изображен как представитель трудового народа, как ярый противник эксплуататорского класса, ненавистник шахского режима, в целом, из-за этого претерпевшего

много бед со стороны султана. Такой подход был заимствован и узбекскими наваиведами. На протяжении 100 лет интенсивного изучения жизни и деятельности Навои, за исключением некоторых незначительных моментов, не была пересмотрена концепция Бартольда. В данной статье на основе первоисточников пересмотрены утвердившиеся в науке представления об отношениях Наваи с Султаном Абу Саъидом, визирем Маджиддин, поэтом Камалиддин Бинаи, проанализированы некоторые ошибки востоковедов в изучении жизни и деятельности великого поэта и государственного деятеля.

Ключевые слова: Алишер Навои, тимуриды, узбек, Центральная Азия, Хорасан, Бартольд, Султан Хусайн Байкара, *Астрабад, К*амалиддин Бинаи, сефевиды, Аккуюнлу, Бабур, Фахри Хирави.

Abstrakt

Turk dunyosining buyuk shoiri Alisher Navoiy temuriylar sulolasi ilm-fani taraqqiyotiga ulkan hissa qo‘shgan bo‘lib, bu haqda shoir yashagan XV asrda yaratilgan bir qancha tarixiy asarlar va yodnomalarida tilga olib o‘tilgan. Shoir va davlat arbobining shaxsiyati va faoliyati o‘z davridan boshlab hamisha juda ko‘plab siyosiy va ijtimoiy davralarning qiziqishini uyg‘otib kelgan. XX asrga kelib, Rossiya va Yevropa sharqshunoslari ham Alisher Navoiyga qiziqish bildira boshlaganlar. Ular yaratgan asarlar orasida eng mashhuri rus olimi V. Bartoldning qalamiga mansub “Alisher Navoiy va siyosiy hayot” fundamental asaridir. Unda omma orasida hukm surgan Navoiy talqinidan keskin farq qiladigan obraz yaratildi: Navoiy ekspluatatorlar sinfiga, umuman, shoh tuzumiga nafrati behad bo‘lgan va shu tufayli sultondan ancha xo‘rliklar ko‘rgan xalq vakili sifatida o‘ta bo‘rttirib ko‘rsatildi. Keyingi davr Navoiy tadqiqotchilarining barchasi uning yondashuvini rivojlantirdilar. Mana 100 yil o‘tibdi hamki, ayrim jihatlarni hisobga olmaganda, Bartold talqinidagi Navoiy tarjimai holi qayta ko‘rib chiqilmadi. Ushbu maqolada ilk manbalar asosida V.Bartoldning Alisher Navoiyning tarjimai holidagi ayrim o‘rinlar, xususan, shoirning Sulton Abu Sa’id, vazir Majdiddin, shoir Kamoliddin Binoiy bilan munosabatlari borasidagi talqinlari qayta ko‘rib chiqilgan.

Kalit so‘zlar: *Alisher Navoiy, temuriylar, o‘zbek, Markaziy Osiyo, Xuroson, Bartold, Sulton Husayn Boyqaro, Bertels, Astrobod, Kamoliddin Binoiy, safaviylar, Oqquyunli, Bobur, Faxri Hiraviy.*

INTRODUCTION[1]

The life and personality of Ali Sher Navo’i is a grandeur matter of interest for the world literature and science. He is one of the highly gifted personalities who had already gained recognition during his lifetime. All the objective evidences for this can be traced back to the biographical works devoted to Ali Sher Navo’i written by such outstanding historians of the middle-ages as Abd ar-Razzaq Samarqandi, Mir Khwand, Khwand Amir; poets like Abd ar-Rahman Jami, Dawlatshah Samarqandi, Zayn ad-Din Wasifi, Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur, Fakhri Hiravi and many others. The researches devoted to the exploration of the life and works of the great poet

[1] This article is an extended version of an unpublished paper presented at a conference on Ali Sher Navo’i held in Berlin in 2016.

are as actual today for both European and Russian scholars as it was more than a hundred years ago. The reason for this that he used to be an extremely wise man, a splendid poet and a prominent philosopher. He was a great patron. He was an outstanding public official who gained very important place in the political life of Timurids' dynasty. He completely meets the requirements of "al-Insan al-Kamil" (a Perfect Human). He seemed to have been blessed by God, indeed. In life he chose such human characters as modesty, simplicity and humbleness ("faqir") for his state of mind due to which he had never been interfered with his authority position in the country as an "Amir kabir" – a chief vizir of the Sultan Husain Boyqaro's court. He remained loyal to his own conscience and principles. Whatever he did was fair and just. Ali Sher Navo'i was a sanctum who served as a beacon fire for the efforts to realize peace, prosperity and cooperation among nations. As a poet, he praised high morals and doing goodness throughout his life. His works promote and maintain the role of Turkic culture in the world. For example, in his "Mūḥākamat al-lūghatayn " (The debate of two languages) Navo'i proves the important place of the Turkic language among others; meanwhile, his "Mīzān al-Avzān (Measure of meters)" focuses on the ways of creating beautiful poetry in the most difficult branches of poetic system of *aruz*. In his works he praises love and pride for Turkic nation in the highest degree. Created for enlightening the nation his schools of calligraphy, history, poetry, theology, arts and music became well-known and recognized far beyond the country. In the four universities (*madrasa-i* **ā***liya*) and dozens of social buildings built on the initiative and money of the poet, where the students studied humanities, natural sciences and exact sciences.

Navo'i aroused a vivid interest of European orientalists starting from XIX century. Although the scholars began studying his life from multiple historic resources written during that period, neither of those sources were critically analyzed nor comparatively explored. Everything found in the various historical texts was added to the biography of the poet. As a result, a significant part of real facts was diminished. The image of poet's being a close friend of Sultan, and therefore, having a peaceful and regular life that was described by the European scientists in XIX century turned into stereotype in people's minds. There was a great deal of information about his works in the genres of nazira and tatabbu' (these genres require keeping several lines of some other poets and continuing with alternative version of the same poem) and the works, he created inspired by his salaf-mentors. As a result, western orientalists took Ali Sher Navo'i for a poet-imitator.

Ali Sher Navo'i devoted himself to the prosperity and development of science and arts, peace of the state and empowering of the country. It was for this reason that Sultan Husein Boyqaro called him "the pillar of the country". The friendship of Ali Sher Navo'i and Sultan Husein Boyqaro is considered phenomenal in the world political history. Despite the fact that, scholars have been exploring the life of Ali Sher Navo'i for more than a century, there are still plenty of misunderstandings to be corrected. The article is devoted to throwing light upon some of those mistakes and misunderstandings in interpreting the personality and works of Alisher Navoi.

THE WORK THAT CONFUSED SCHOLARS

Beginning from the second half of the XIX century the race between the Great Britain and Russia on subjugation of the East, empowered the interest for the geography, geology, nature and culture of the Central Asia and India. This interest continued and increased even after the Russian revolution in October of 1917 for establishing the "Red empire". The materials related to the life and activity of Ali Sher Navo'i described by a clerk of Hungarian embassy in Turkey M.Belen in 1868 regained its actuality more than ever. The articles written about Turkestan by French scholar Lucien Bouvat in the journal "Asia" in 1926 called "Scenes from Timurid's period civilization", the notes from "Catalogue of Turkic manuscripts kept in the National Library" and chapters devoted to Timurid's period from the book of Edward Browne "A Literary History of Persia" drew attention of political circles of that time [Quatremere 1841; Belin 1861; Gibb 1900; Browne 1928, 422, 423, 437, 453; Nikitskiy 1856]. Under the influence of false promises of V.Lenin, on providing independence for the Caucasus and Central Asia, there appeared a tendency for praising the genius of Ali Sher Navo'i among Turkic people. This resulted in organizing the first Turkology congress titled "Ali Shir Navo'i-the great Turkic poet" in 1926, in Baku, devoted to the 500 anniversary of Ali Sher Navo'i [Beyuk turk shairi Mir Alī Shīr 1926]. There, the main attention was paid to the contribution of Ali Sher Navo'i in the development of the Turkic languages, his status as a statesman and ideas of national identity. The articles of scholars of that time as Ismail Hekmet's "The life and literature of Ali Shir Navo'i", Mirzo Jalal Yusufzoda's "About Navo'i", Chubonzoda Bakir's "Navo'i-linguist", and Mirzo Muhsin Ibrohimi's "The influence of the Persian literature to Navo'i" – arouse a life interest in the participants and triggered the consecutive exploration about him. In the articles of Abdurauf Fitrat and Vadud Mahmudi, in the newspaper "Maorif va

o'qituvchi" ("Enlightement and teacher") of the same year, one can imagine the influence of the articles of the conference on the regions [Fitrat 1926, 38-39].

The ideas raised in the congress were not suitable for the usurpatic communist regime. So, soon after, all Russian scientists were armed to break the soul of the Baku congress. All the materials announced in the congress were claimed to be against the regime is ideology and prohibited to be spread. Ye.E. Bertels writes: "We should say that, only representatives of local bourgeoisie made lectures about Ali Sher Navo'i, where they expressed and followed their own benefits. Because of this fact, all the works in presented at the conference should be considered as falsification, anti-scientific and useless and harmful. The collection "Navo'i" printed in Baku (1926) consisted of the outdated materials and articles where the main idea of the collection is completely not certain. Nevertheless, the Scientific Academy of the USSR will give its immediate respond to the incident" [Bertels 1965, 67]. The last line proves the fact that praisers of communistic regime were always aware of Ali Sher Navo'i.

Soon, in Tashkent, a conference devoted to Navo'i based on the "socialistic platform" was held. The main idea of the conference was to prevent spreading of "chauvinist Turkic ideologies" among people, and showing the greatness of Ali Sher Navo'i in his struggles against "feudal people and king`s regime".

For making the first congress illegible and claiming that it promoted "idealizing of the history", the representatives of the soviet regime needed a solid scientific work, where the opposite and against ideas would be described. Therefore, the work of V.V. Bartold "Mir Ali Sher and the political life" appeared. There a radical image and antagonist to Ali Sher Navo'i's characters were created. There Ali Sher Navo'i was shown as a person with an endless hatred to the exploiter class and king's regime in general and as a result, he was doomed to the endless humiliations.

The debates which began in the 20th of the XX century ended with the victory of dictatorship regime of the Soviet Union based on seizing and keeping people in fear and political executions. In order not to feel their cultures "humiliated", the national soviet republics within the Soviet Union were allowed to have few representatives of classic literature. In Azerbaijan, Nizami Gandjavi, in Tajikistan-Rudaki, in Georgia Shota Rustaveli, in Uzbekistan Ali Sher Navo'i's works were allowed to explore as well as the classics of Russian literature, such as A.Pushkin, V.Lermontov, V.Gogol, L.Tolstoy, but in the strict ideological framework of the regime. The spreading of

the ruling court literature was completely banned; at the same time theological literature was announced as mind-poisoning one. They were banned as feudal-clerical and theological-mystical literature; the representatives of that kind of literature were considered to be toadies and doomed to banishment and hatred. The facts about relationships between Ali Sher Navo'i and Sultan Husein Boyqaro were falsified on purpose by V. Bartold. In his work Ali Sher Navo'i was presented as a fighter against the Sultan, claimed to be ousted several times from the palace and exiled once even to Astrabad. It is clear that there were ideological goals under falsifying of the personality of Ali Sher Navo'i during the Soviet regime. Ali Sher Navo'i was not just a poet. He was a great statesman who devoted his whole life to strengthening the country, its culture, language and traditions which had lost almost everything during the two-century-rule of Mongol-invaders and which was literally rebuilt by Amir Timur. These were the main reasons for creating a completely false image of rebel, insurgent and atheist poet under the name of Ali Sher Navo'i. There are many falsifications in the work of V. Bartold's "Mir Ali Sher and a political life". Unfortunately, during former regime, V. Bartold's exploration was taken as the basis and it was translated into several languages. Moreover, some scholars all over the world are still keeping on taking his concepts as main resource for researches.

ON RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ALI SHER NAVO'I AND ABU SAI'D MIRZO

A political problem occurred in the 30's of the last century before Uzbek researchers. One could not cross the line, which had been set by Bartold about interpretation of Ali Sher Navo'i's life. There were, of course, Uzbek scholars who did want to cope with the one-sided, limited interpretation of the facts. Even if it was almost impossible to change anything in the system that had created a false image of the poet, to keep the real personality and purity of the image of Ali Sher Navo'i was one of the main concerns of the scientists of that period. The only way of reaching the goal was presenting the poet as "a communist", meanwhile skipping his points that were against the "socialistic outlook". Even though they never could afford taking a risk by freely expressing their opinions, they fought against some facts with the help of some Russian orientalists. A.A. Semyonov in his article "On the relationships between Ali Sher Navo'i and Sultan Husein Bayqara" was completely against the comparison of the relationships that used to be between poets and Sultans with the relationships of "Pushkin and the tsar" afterwards [Semenyov 1988,

238]. But unfortunately, all of these used to be nothing compared to the explorations of Bartold. According to the concept of Bartold, Ali Sher Navo'i was a rebel and insurgent who was completely against Sultan. This tendency is still found in some modern works.

The hatred of Ali Sher Navo'i against another sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzo is clearly seen in his works, but still, the reasons for such hatred are unknown. V. Bartold writes: "*According to Khwand Amir, Ali Sher Navo'i goes to Herat, to the audience of Abu Said and stays for a while. However, being upset with the ruler, he left for Samarkand. According to Babur, Ali Sher Navo'i was exiled to Samarkand for his some mistake. Ali Sher Navo'i himself says that he left for Samarkand for studying. At those times, people used not to go from Herat to Samarkand for studying. So, his leaving Herat for Samarkand can be interpreted as an exile*" [Bartold 1964, 223-224]. Moreover, Bartold falsified several facts to prove his own theory. For example, he writes: "*Maybe, in interpreting this period of life of Ali Sher Navo'i his relationships between his beautiful and kind "one who has captured his heart" the story of sheikh Sadr ad-Din Rivosi could be important. He was a lover of even higher politicians like the shah of Badakhshan. His close relationships with them after the events of 871 AH year influenced on his life. It could be the cause of Sultan's being jealous of the sheikh, because of his friends*" [Bartold 1964, 225]. Bertels also writes in his book "Navo'i", that is, Ali Sher Navo'i's leaving for Samarkand was an exile, as at that time Samarkand was not a center of education [Bertels 1965, 77]. In another place he states: "*Ali Sher Navo'i comes back from Mashhad to Herat in 1464. After Abu Sa'id crushes the rebellion organized by his friends in 1466-1467 in Badakhshan, he flees to Samarkand*" [Bertels 1965, 99]. But he does not give any clear evidence concerning his opinion. In addition, he continues contradicting himself saying: "*Ali Sher Navo'i was exiled by Abu Sa'id to Meshhed in 1467* [Bertels 1965, 99]. It is noteworthy that he does not give the story of Sadr ad-Din Rivosi as Bartold does, but nevertheless he states that after the case of his uncles and his friends from Badakhshan, he had to escape as well [Bertels 1965, 77]. I do think that Bertels had some reason for being so shallow in his studies. Being a very pedantic scientist, he could have found the truth, but, for not crossing the line of Bartold's concept, he did not show the clear limits between the contradicting facts and the sources, so he had to unify everything in a single thought. Nevertheless, he did not give logical proofs for both of his opinions. According to Sadr ad-Din Ayni, the hostility between Ali Sher Navo'i and Abu Said was because of the fact of the former's being close to Husein Boyqaro, Mir Said Kobuli, Muhammad Ali Garibi, and rulers of Badakhshan

[Ayni 1963, 284-285]. Ayni states furthermore: *"Abu Sa'id exiled Ali Sher Navo'i in 1466; he made Ali Sher Navo'i leave Herat and live in Samarkand. Ahmad Hojibek takes Ali Sher Navo'i with himself as Abu Sa'id makes look after Ali Sher Navo'i*" [Ayni 1963, 284]. Oybek shares the same point of view [Aybek 1979, 15-16]. O.Sharafiddinov says: "Ali Sher Navo'i was exiled to Samarkand in 1465 and he arrived here under the control of Ahmad Hojibek [Sharafiddinov 1948, 51-52]. As can be seen from scholar's contradictory remarks it is very important for us to reconsider and restudy the case of the exile of Ali Sher Navo'i one more time.

What is our suggestion on this issue? We believe that as a basis for such an approach served the word "ikhraj" (lift out) using in "Babur-name" by Zahir ad-Din Muhammad Babur. In fact, speaking about Ali Sher Navo'i he says: "*I do not know the reason of Sultan Abu Sa'id's making Ali Sher Navo'i leave Herat. He went to Samarkand and lived there for several years* [Bobur 1989, 153.]. Understanding only this difference in the context shows us how revisiting the image of Ali Sher Navo'i is important for us. Babur, being aware of the fact that Ali Sher Navo'i left the palace because of Abu Sai'd, expresses his objections to this fact. Because, it was a job of the Sultan to take care of poets and scientists. The more poets there were, the more popular was Sultan. They used to praise the power of their ruler to the worldwide and let him live on the pages of history. All Sultans gained popularity by patronizing the poets and scientists. Otherwise, the satire of the poets could have made a laughing stock of the Sultan to the world. Lifting out from the city was the last measure for extremely bad crime. Babur could not have seen an image of a criminal in Ali Sher Navo'i, so, that is why he was so surprised of the fact. Moreover, he did not say that Mir Ali Sher was exiled to Samarkand, just stressed that he was removed (ikhraj) from city. So, it is clear why it was so necessary for V.Bartold to give the color of exile to Ali Sher Navo'i's leaving Herat. It was necessary to create the image of a rebel. He had just used the fact provided by Babur to justify his own theory. For example, the respect the kings of Badakhshan for Ali Sher Navo'i, his friendship with Husein Boyqaro and exaggeration of these facts gave a good chance for making conspirators' scene for his theory. But the most racially offensive is that he staged the love relations of

Sheikh Sadr ad-Din Rivasi with Abu Sa'id. According to the scenario of Bartold, Abu Sa'id was jealous of Sadr ad-Din Rivosi, so he killed the shah of Badakhshan, and exiled Ali Sher Navo'i who allegedly had been in love with Sheikh.

What is Bartold hinting at here is not clear at all. Sadr ad-

Din Rivasi was old aged spiritual mentor so Navoi's confession that communications with him were captivating should not mean any physical dependence .

Even though Ali Sher Navo'i's uncles Mir Said Kobuli and Muhammad Ali Garibi showed affection for poetry, they earned their lives as warlords. Their being killed in the fight against Abu Sa'id together with the soldiers of Husein Boyqaro is a realia of the war. The fortune of the Shah of Badakhshan shows the same tendency. Therefore, the death of Ali Sher Navo'I's uncles or king of Badakhshan could not cause the failure to the relationships between Ali Sher Navo'i and Sultan (Just as the execution of Ali Sher Navo'i's nephew Amir Haydar by Husein Boyqaro). Moreover, Ali Sher Navo'i was a young poet who did not interfere with politics under the rule of Sultan Abu Sa'id. Husein Boyqaro did not meet with Ali Sher Navo'i after the death of Abu al-Qasem Babur. Ali Sher Navo'i was as busy with poetry in that period, just as during the time he was in Herat and Mashhad, and was not interested in politics. Writer Oybek states that when Sultan Husein was wandering in the opposition to Abu Sa'id, Ali Sher Navo'i did not keep in touch with him and he did not have a clue about the conspiracy in Herat [Aybek 1 1979, 17].

If Abu Sa'id had a rivalry towards Ali Sher Navo'i because of Husein Boyqaro, his son, Mirzo Sultan Ahmad would not have taken him with himself when he led war against Husein Bayqara. Historian Mir Khwand writes about that in "Ravzat as-Safo": "*...Having left from Khorasan for Samarkand, he lived in the khanakah of Khwadja Jalal ad-Din Fazl al-Allah (Abu Laysi). It lasted so long, that even when Mirzo Sultan Ahmad crossed Amudarya and came to fight in Khorasan against Husein Bayqara, he (Mir Ali Sher) was in his palace. After Abu Said's death, and Hirat being taken by Husein Boyqaro, he asked Ahmad Khojibek's permission to go back to Hirat and left*" [Mir Khwand, 15].

It shows that Abu Sa'id was not afraid of Ali Sher Navo'i. If Sultan were feeling any anxiety because of poet's being close to Husein Boyqaro, how one could interpret the fact of his taking one of Abu al-Qasem Babur's servants to his own service? Most of them were the teachers and friends of Husein. (And Sultan Husein Boyqaro hired Abu Sa'id's ministers to his own service as well). Sultans of Timurids' dynasty did not refuse or penalise officials due to their being servants to former sultans, but respected and did honour to their being devoted and loyal to the Sultans of the dynasty in general. That is why even after the death of certain Sultans most of the ministers remained in glory and respect they used to enjoy. They were in a particular respect, being very close people to the

dynasty. According to "Tuzukot-i Timur" if a servant from a rival country comes to the Sultan, making sure that he will not go back, Sultan should forget about his being a servant to another ruler, and make him provide a high position [Temur tuzuklari 2013, 78]. From this point of view, the fact of Abu Said's having rivalry towards Ali Sher Navo'i because of his friendship with Husein, cannot be considered true[1] [Abdullayev 1968, 39; Khwand Amir №2153, 568ª]. Taking into consideration the traditions of the middle ages and very high respect of Ali Sher Navo'i for all Sultans of Timurid's dynasty, we can conclude that some lines of Ali Sher Navo'i written to Abu Sa'id have personal attitude; so, it is not correct to point it with a political colouring.

WAS NAVO'I EXILED TO ASTRABAD?

According to the information provided in "Ravzat as-Safa" Sultan Husein appointed Ali Sher Navo'i ruler of Astrabad in winter of 1486-1487.(*In winter of 892 AH (December, 1486 – January, 1487) Husein wished to fire Amir Mogul, the ruler of Astrabad and then he appointed Ali Sher Navo'i to that position* [Mir Khwand vol.VII, 36]*).* According to the historical resources, despite the fact that ruling the Jurjan region was very honorable, the idea was not completely appealing to Ali Sher Navo'i. Khwand Amir writes: *The aim of Husein Boyqaro was not clear to the kind Amir. Being ready to any good for the sake of God and his readiness to assist the great Sultan Husein, Ali Sher Navo'i had never objected to this decision. However, it took his long time to think over, then he nodded his head, and in company of Mir Bobo Ali and Badr ad-Din he set out to Astrabad*" [Mir Khwand vol. VII, 36].

Scholars, who study Ali Sher Navo'i, interprete these fact differently. This appointment has been presented as exile for already a hundred year. This was first introduced by V. Bartold [Bartold 1964, 240]. Nevertheless, some other scientist objected to this concept, but was not heard by scientific society. Yu. Bregel, a scientist who republished the edited version of Bartold's work afterwards writes: "Recently, the concept of V.V. Bartold's about 1487-1497 being very misfortunate ones for Ali Sher Navo'i, it can be seen for example, in his exile to Astrabad" where he faced solid counterarguments. A.A. Semyenov witnesses that the resources do not show any evidence of the connection between Ali Sher Navo'i's leaving for Astrabad and Majd ad-Din's becoming a chief vizir. He

[1] It's important to say, that in some surveys the occupation of Hirat and some ferocious events are related to timurid sultan Abu Sa'id. When rediscovering the sources of that time it was certain that Abu Sa'id Sultan was misled with military leader Amir Sheikh Abu Sa'id.

says, being the richest and strategically most important region of the country, Astrabad required a ruler in the face of either princes or the closest people to the Sultan. So, Ali Sher Navo'i's becoming the ruler in Astrabad had never been considered as an "honored exile" [Semenov 1960, 238]. G.R. Remer sees the cause of Ali Sher Navo'i's leaving for Astrabad in the tense relationships which occurred at that time between Sultan Husein and the ruler of the bordering country. Still, it is a well known fact that neither Semyonov's nor Remer's points of view were taken into consideration. The problem has not lost its actuality until present. It is the fact that Ye.E. Bertels in his monograph "Navo'i" quotes the words of Semyonov's in interpreting this moment [Bertels 1965, 171]. Nevertheless, he was never able to cross the Bartoldian line and go through the "ideological wall" of that time: "*Enemies of Ali Sher Navo'i used to keep on telling to Sultan Husein about the decrease in the political and social life of the country, and hinting at the fact that it was only Majd ad-Din Muhammad who was able to influence on the prosperity of the country, while Ali Sher Navo'i was busy writing his "Khamsa" ("Quintuples"). The stronger the pressure of the attendance of the palace, the weaker was the resistance of Sultan who was getting addicted to wine day by day. Maybe, Sultan did not like Ali Sher Navo'i's attempts to getting his attention to the problems of the country and some critiques against palace attendances. From time to time Sultan preferred not to hear the truth from Ali Sher Navo'i. Ali Sher Navo'i was the voice of consciousness of Sultan, who, at the last wanted to mute eventually*" [Bertels 1965, 170]. Uzbek scholars just adopted the views of Bartold, so at the end, the interpretation of the "ideological war" got very deep. For example, O.Sharafiddinov writes: "*Husein Bayqara decides to exile Ali Sher Navo'i to Astrabad, who always would tell the truth, no matter whether Sultan wanted to listen to that or not, to be at last farther from his hard truth. The following case became a pretext for his plan about Ali Sher Navo'i regarding Sultan. As a result of incompetence of alcohol addicted Sultan to rule the country, the treasury became empty. Sultan needed to find at least any money immediately. All of his vizirs, except Majd ad-Din, told that it was an impossible thing to do. Majd ad-Din suggested Ali Sher Navo'i be appointed as a chief vizir. Actually, Majd ad-Din used to be a chief vizir before, despite of his being amoral and not just, Ali Sher Navo'i assured Sultan to reduce him in his rank. Husein Bayqara, of course, did understand that Ali Sher Navo'i would object to reappointing of Majd ad-Din to the post of vice vizir again. Therefore, he needed to hold away Ali Sher Navo'i from the capital. On the other hand, he could not just exile Ali Sher Navo'i from the country, so he decided to appoint Ali Sher Navo'i as the ruler*

of the farthest region of his country in 1487; actually, it was an exile covered by his new appointment" [Sharafiddinov 1948, 78]. Sadr ad-Din Ayni as well sees Majd ad-Din as the reason of Ali Sher Navo'i's going to Astrabad: *"...After Majd ad-Din was released from his post, the chaos was getting gradually replaced by order. On the other hand, the wastefulness of Sultan put the treasury on its knees. Moreover, Ali Sher Navo'i would comment on the amoral doings of the Sultan, which, in its turn, made Sultan wish to send Ali Sher Navo'i to any farther from himself. He started considering Ali Sher Navo'i as a fly in the wine. Therefore, in the end, at the beginning of 1487, Sultan appointed Ali Sher Navo'i as a new ruler of Astrabad; it was an "honored exile" for Ali Sher Navo'i which was prepared by Husein Bayqara*" [Ayni 1963, 164].

P.Ravshanov continues the ideas of Bertels in his research published in 1989 saying: "*The worst thing in the problem of Astrabad for Husein Boyqaro was its being the farthest border. Moreover, the protests of local people made it impossible for any of the princes to rule it. In early 1484, the problem reaches its critical point and Sultan makes a kind of "maneuver". On the one hand, he pleases Majd ad-Din who had given him some financial aid recently, and sets the problem of the ruler for Astrabad. So, everthing was set in Merv; Ali Sher Navo'i was sent to Astrabad with an oral decision, without any official order.*"

It must be mentioned here that Ayni never took the story of *the treasury recruitment* for the reason of Navo'i's leaving for Astrabad and fairly interpreted the chronology given in the sources. However, he claims that Sultan made his decision in order to be able to lead a carefree life. The unbiased attitude to the history was also shown in the book by Izzat Sulton "Navoiyning qalb daftari" (The soul book of Navo'i).

In the article of Yusuf Tursunov devoted to the works of Ali Sher Navo'i in Astrabad the single ideologized attitude towards his image has been criticized as well. His conclusions are pretty close to the ones of Semyonov, Remer and Bregel, who said : "*Sultan Husein Bayqara, first of all, made strategically important move when he sent as a ruler to the most important part of the country the person like Ali Sher Navo'i, who was completely loyal to himself and devoted to the country*" [Tursunov 1984, 37]. However, Tursunov does not give the reasons of Ali Sher Navo'i's leaving for Astrabad. As a result, Ali Sher Navo'i's urge to leave the capital at that exact time and setting out to Astrabad were not commented on.

Here is what Khwand Amir writes: *"After the closest person of the kind Sultan (Ali Sher Navo'i) set for Astrabad, Sultan wanted to grant Khodja Majd ad-Din with the great honor. Before he decided it, there was a case of his urge in some money for himself. After Sultan*

got proper advice from neither of his vizirs-Khodja Nizom al-Mulk and Khodja Afzal, Khodja Majd ad-Din suggested him a solution to the problem; Majd ad-Din knelt himself in front of the Sultan and said: "These two vizirs who have, of course, their own benefits of the treasury they possess, should have found for you even more money than you had asked them to find whenever you have a need in that!" These words touched the Sultan and he granted Majd ad-Din with his kindness" [Khwand Amir №2153, 603; Mir Khwand vol.VII, 36]. As one can clearly see from the source, "the money issue" happened after Ali Sher Navo'i had left from the capital to Astrabad. After that case Sultan decided to grant the post to Majd ad-Din Muhammad again, Khwand Amir's point is that Sultan always wanted to grant Majd ad-Din with the post, but when Ali Sher Navo'i was next to him, he did not want to upset him as he arranged the man to be next to him though he did not like him. Had the wise person as Ali Sher Navo'i been next to Husein Bayqara at that time, Sultan would never have needed Majd ad-Din. We must not forget that it is only after Ali Sher Navo'i's leaving the capital, Sultan had a need in another clever and wise advisor next to himself.

Also we must consider that the dispute on "filling the treasury" should be done not in th ecapital, but during winter camping in Merv. Taking into consideration the fact that Sultan was temporally living in Merv that time; it is obvious that for some reason he needed some money. In this context, the words of Majd ad-Din were quite just in time; had Ali Sher Navo'i been next to Sultan, he would have given him the money even from his own pocket. There is a very similar story in the ninth chapter of "Makarim al-akhlaq", when once Ali Sher Navo'i paid one hundred thousand kepaki[1] for some event from his own money. All in all, there was nothing said about the connection of Ali Sher Navo'i's being exiled to Astrabad and Khodja Majd ad-Din. Therefore, saying that after Ali Sher Navo'i left for Astrabad for solving some political issues and strengthening the country's power, Sultan Husein granted Majd ad-Din Muhammad the post of the chief vizir, as he was the second person whom Sultan relied on after Ali Sher Navo'i.

Astrabad was the centre of Jurjan region that situated on the western borders. Aqquyunli were border neighbors to the country. At that time there was a territory called eastern Iraq on the place of modern Iran. The lands on the other side of the western borders belonged to people of Ardabil. There lived the successors of the Shia sect founded by sheikh Safi ad-Din (1254-1334), and

[1] Kepaki is a monetary unit, which was put into practice by the ruler of Mavaraunnahr Kepak Khan (1318-1326), equal to silver dinar.

they had a powerful government and a great amount of territory, which was loyal to religious issues. They came to the political scene at the second half of the XVth century. The ruler of Sefevids sheikh Junaid (1447-1456) got in relationships with the ruler of Aqquyunli. This was a very strong union against the country of Qoraquyunlu, which was considered as one of the strongest countries of that time. The azarbaijanian nomadic armies like ustajlu, rumlu and afshor joined the Sefevids as well. Junaid tried to invade Shervon and Dagistan, but there was a strong counter-attack. In 1456 on the bank of the river Samur there was a great battle between Junaid and shervanshah Khalilullah. Junaid was destroyed and killed. His successor Haydar (1456 -1488) was much greedier to capture his neighbors' treasures and power. Despite the fact, that Sheikh Haydar's desire to invade Shervan, the leader of Aqquyunlu's country Yaqub Mirzo and shervanshah Farruh Yassor did not pay attention to him. Maybe, their calmness was because of the facts that Sheikh Haydar's mother Khadicha Khatun's was Yaqub Mirzo's aunt, and the same time Sheikh Haydar's wife Alamshoh Begim's was Yaqub Mirzo's younger sister. Moreover, Yaqub Mirzo was the father-in-law of Shervanshah Farruh Yasor. Therefore, the latter was sure that Yaqub Mirzo would be the person to rely on in case of some troubles. The story began very simple. In 893 AD (1487-1488) sheikh Haydar using the status of his mother got the allowance from Yaqub Mirzo to make an army to punish the non-Muslim cherkass tribes and to be able to enter the territory of Aqquyunlu freely. This led to his becoming very powerful, and now he started to be a real danger to his neighborhood countries [History of Azerbayjan 1958, 209]. We are sure that being a very wise ruler Sultan Husein Bayqara had a full understanding of the future possible evil plans of sheikh Haydar. In case he wanted to start war, all the Shia people would have taken his part. Sultan needed to strengthen his relationship with both Yaqub and Farrukh Yasor in order to stop the probable war with sheikh Haydar. Therefore, having a respected diplomat and devoted person who was able to make dialogue both with common people and the rulers in that region was critical to Sultan Husein. Only Ali Sher Navo'i, who had an unimpeachable authority among all nominees before mentioned people, was able to reach this goal.

At the beginning of 1488 sheikh Haydar was completely ready to start a grand battle. He wanted to start with the country of Shervan. He gathered all his army between Ganja and Badra. After he sent a man to Farruh Yasor, saying that as usual he was going to invade the cherkass tribes and asked Farruh Yasor to open the way to Darband for the Islam army. Farrukh Yasor, knowing nothing

about Haydar's evil plan allows him to enter the city. At that time sheikh Haydar ordered to color the sallas (national head cloth) of his army into 12 red stripes, to the honour of 12 Shia sheikhs, and starts the invasion of Shervan. Farruh Yasor did not expect this kind of development of the events and in order not to let the death of innocent people, escaped with his family into the Guliston fortress. Sheikh laid a siege of the fortress, which continued for seven months. At last, in June 1488, having no more patience and belief in Haydar's being just Sulton, Yaqub marched with his own army to Ardabil. Hearing that Haydar moves back to Darband, Sultan came after him, and in July, there was a battle, where Haydar was destroyed and his army was dissolved [History of Azerbayjan 1958, 209].

We can conclude that Ali Sher Navo'i's being in Astrobod was very important for that time. Husein Bayqara always knew that only Ali Sher Navo'i was able to make a diplomatic dialogue with neighbor Sultans, and people of Shia cast who were ready to make jihad for the sake of their sheikhs, moreover, Ali Sher Navo'i had ability for making correct decisions being under great pressure of the various circumstances. According to the sources Ali Sher Navo'i had lived in Astrabad for about a year and a half. This can be the proof of our opinion on the image of Ali Sher Navo'i.

All the facts in our scientists' researches were taken from each other; that was the reason of their crossing the line of the historical facts. As we have told already, at the very beginning of exploration works of the personality of Ali Sher Navo'i, the Soviet scientists tried to make the image of the poet who was never afraid of "telling the truth" and that's why he was exiled by Husein Bayqara. Unfortunately, in some of the recently published books, this concept is still being pointed out as the truth. It is crucial to correct the mistakes and falsifications in such works. First of all, Ali Sher Navo'i would never conceal the truth as he was a servant of Sultan as well. He used to clarify his points gradually (remember the story of Navo'i and the orphan children in *Badoe' al-Vaqoe'* written by Vasifi). Secondly, Ali Sher Navo'i would never criticize him or sting him with the truth; he never used to even object to the strict decisions of the Sultan [Sirojiddinov 1997, 39-40][1]. It worked the same for every person to serve those sultans who lived during the time of Ali Sher Navo'i. There was a strict rule in the Timur's "tuzukot" where it is stated that a ruler should never take back his words. There was given an example of Mahmud Gaznavi. Thirdly, Ali Sher Navo'i was sent to Astrabad not only by oral order, but having a

[1] As it is mentioned in "Makarim al-akhlaq", Navo'i had an opportunity of addressing to the king nine times in case he wanted to protect his opinion upon some decision

formal document. (By Sultan's decree he was sent officially). There is a script written by Husein Bayqara and sent to Sultan Yaqub Mirzo, where it is stated that Ali Sher Navo'i was sent to Astrabad as a governor. The script is found in "Munshaoti Abdallah Marvorid" kept in the fund of manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent [Abdullah Marvorid № 286/1, 25^{b}-26^{b}]. It proves the fact that Navo'i was sent to Astrabad with an official written order and contains some other issues.

NAVO'I AND BINO'I

Three fundamental principles had engraved Navo'i into the eternal history. They are his great works, which can say about his poetic talent more than any words, his being an outstanding statesman and, finally, his humble behavior that gained him the status of a great master.

Since reaching wisdom is considered as an ideal in the eastern culture, in the manuscripts created until the end of XXI st century we can read about his civility and morals. Here we can see two approaches at the same time: first, they popularized the essence of human values by narrating Amir Ali Sher's narrations, second, they tried to introduce the people with the behavior which was appeared to the attitude of this great historical person about the smallest details of everyday life. The impact of both approaches can be seen equally in almost all sources created during the XVI-XIX centuries.

The work which can reflect Navo'i's spiritual appearance is, definitely, "Makarim al-akhlaq" (Beautiful manners). While giving information about his attitude to scientists, scholars raised under his estimation, important works and educational institutions, Khwand Amir tried to show Navo'i's behavior as broadly as possible.

The sources which study Navo'i's period show that Navo'i loved pun and humor, at the same time, his unrepeatable was always in the center of attention of scientists. However, different scholars interpret those occasions variously. Khwand Amir explained his tender taste together with high human qualities. He writes: "*One winter Sultan was spending time in Merv, the tent of the great of the world (Mir Ali Sher) was there as well. One turtledove flew into our majesty's tent; gradually, since no one prevented, it nested there and laid eggs.*

When King of planets (sun) addressed towards honor and privilege after staying in the village Hut, Sultan also set off towards the throne of Herat. However, the chicken of the turtledove did not hatch yet. Therefore, Ali Sher ordered to leave the tent there until eggs hatch. Additionally, he hired Khwaja Hasan Bakhtiyor to take care after the

tent and after the turtledove launches its children, he can take the tentas a wage for this service[1] [Khwand Amir. 2015, 91].

Zahir ad-Din Babur writes: "*Ali Sher Bek was famous for his being too touchy. Everybody thought that it was the result of his being a dignitary. Nevertheless, that was not the reason. He used to be not less touchy, when he lived in Samarkand*" [Khwand Amir. 2015, 153]. It is clear that Babur remarked his temperament here. As you can see, Babur hints at the fact that Navo'i used to get offended very quickly. In his book, "The history of Rashidi", Mirza Khaydar tells that the only fault in the character of Navo'i was that he was too easily offended [Mirza Haydar Doglat №1430, 121]. In his book, "Badoye' al-Vaqoe'", Zayn ad-Din Vosifi witnessed to this point of the character of the great poet as well [Zayn ad-Din Vasifi 1961, 94-95]. This shows us that the reference of the poet's being too touchy started being mentioned in the chronicles after his death only and according to Babur's comments it was the theme for debates. The fact that Zayn-ad Din Vasifi created the whole chapter on this issue is another prove for this. It says that one day "Navo'i missed and invited his friends had fallen and when the meal was ready he remembered that one of his friends being ill, and sent Sahibdoro to visit him. Having seen a sign of melancholy on the face of Navo'i after the meal, all his friends considered that Ali Sher wanted to be alone for some time as he could be tired; they began to go out one by one. The actions of his friends disappointed Mir Alisher Navo'i, and he spoke loudly to Sahibdoro who just came back from visiting the sick friend of the poet: *"So, it seems to me that my house is a canteen and I am a cook. My friends come to my house after only for eating and leaving*". Sohibdoro immediately began to justify his being innocent, and tried to remind Navo'i that the poet himself had asked him to visit his sick friend".

Mir Alisher had not talked to Sohibdoro for 2 days, seeing how awkward Sohibdoro was feeling himself, Mir called him and said: "*Wise Sahib, only Allah does not make mistakes, and is free of any sins. Because of my anger, I must have forgotten that I had sent you to visit my friend, I had insulted you, but that was not my purpose. On the other hand, you should have been more thoughtful, and never dare to hint at my mistakes in the presence of people. Because of your words they got a feeling of my becoming too old and gone mad. I suppose, we could have escaped from this misunderstanding, could not we? Is it not the real point of friendship*? *Could you not just have begged your*

[1] This book written by an apprentice and a close assistant of Alisher Navo'i. Khwand Amir describes in details the attemts of the poet on teaching law and his charity activity. The only manuscript is kept in the British Museum.

pardon, hidden my mistake and saved me from the shame I had to face [Zayn ad-Din Vasifi 1961, 94-95].

Nevertheless, Amir Ali Sher had a delicate character; he liked making jokes. A. Abdullayev wrote the following in his special research devoted to Navo'i's satire: "There are a lot of examples showing powerful inclination of humor, the poet used to have very cute sense of humor on the various levels. The people who had lived in the period of Ali Sher Navo'i, and witnessed the cases themselves, provided the objectiveness of this fact. This, of course, shows us the value of the memories that are priceless [Abdugafurov 1966, 8]. There are ten anecdotes, which are mentioned in "Makorim ul-axloq" which, in their turn, can be the proof for this as well. Having a great philological and educational importance, they indicated, consciously, different qualities of the hero of the book by the author. Probably, because of his delicate and sensitive character Ali Sher Navo'i would not bear the unjust irony towards his personality. One can resume it from the passage, which was provided in "Badoe' al-Vaqoe'", where the conversation between Majd al-Din and Abd al-Vasi' Nizomi is given. *"Majd ad-Din said to Abd al-Vasi': "My friend, never decline helping others, still be aware of yourself as well... May everything end well! Mavlono Abu al-Vose' said: "I shall not come to the meeting tomorrow... it has been for a long time that the relationships between you and Ali Sher Navo'i is very tense and not friendly... Thanks to God that this misunderstanding is going to be dissolved soon. It is traditional for the meetings to use irony and mocking in conversation. I am sure that Ali Sher Navo'i would make an askiya (pun) towards me. In that case, I cannot help joking back to him. You are aware of his sensitive and touchy character. I do not want to make it hard for your reconciliation"* [Zayn ad-Din Vasifi 1961, 98].

It is clear that, most of the fans (admirers) of Navo'i kept silent from answering something against him. From the information of Zayn ad-Din Vosifi we can be aware that, all the sayings about Navo'i have their own address and they are especially related to the people close to Navo'i, even the content of the same stories by other authors differs from those which were written by them. For example, the story on the discussion of Navo'i with Sohibdoro was mentioned both by Hakimshoh and Vosifi. It was written "the defeated Navo'i smiled and gave his horse to his friend".

Such situations can be seen in the exposition of jokes made between Navo'i and Kamol ad-Din Bino'i. There is a special attention to the relationship of Navo'i and Bino'i in books. They are considered to be very useful in pointing out the similarities in characteristics of Navo'i and Bino'i. We can think that the attention to their relationship

in "Babur-name" may be counted as a following step: *Bino'i used to be illiterate in the musical science; it would be a steady reason of Ali Sher's gibing at him. Once Ali Sher went to spend the winter outside of the capital together with Husein Bayqara. Bino'i, on the contrary, started learning music staying in Herat. He achieved impressive results in a very short time; he started composing music as well. In summer, when Sultan came back to Herat, he performed for Sultan. Ali Sher became very impressed by his performance. Bino'i perfected his musical ability so much, that he composed a piece of music and called it "Nine colors". Still, he was too rude to Ali Sher. That was the reason of his being always afraid of Ali Sher's anger. He left for Iraq and Azerbaijan to meet the ruler Yaqubbek Sultan. He spent there his time attending Sultan's meetings. After the death of Yaqubbek, he moved back to Herat. He still was a tussle. Once, he was attending a dinner in the house of Ali Sher. After the dinner, everybody got busy with chess. Ali Sher accidentally kicked Bino'i's bottom, when he was stretching his numb leg. Ali Sher commented saying: "What a wonderful place is Herat. Wherever you stretch your leg, you'lI touch a poet's back". Bino'i responded to him: "You will touch back of poets, even if you fold your leg indeed". After being rude to Ali Sher, he had to leave Herat again.*

Ali Sher Navo'i was a very popular inventor. People used to like very much all of his inventions. People would call all his inventions "Ali Sheriy" ("in manner of Ali Sher"). Bino'i due to his being mean to Ali Sher, before leaving decided to make another rude joke on him. Once, having an earache Ali Sher took a kerchief and bent it over his head diagonally. Most of the women, seeing him with the bondage over his head, decided to try this fashion as well. Thus, the way of bending the kerchief over women's heads got the name of "noz-i Ali Sheri" (Alisher's charm). So, when leaving from Herat Bino'i ordered very strangely and awkwardly designed clothing for his donkey, and called this gown with clumsy design "Ali Sheri"(Alisher's gown) [Bobur 1989, 162]. *Almost all historical resources recorded that the only person who would talk back to Ali Sher Navo'i was Banno'i, and that was the main reason that the most part of his life he had to be away from Herat. Vosifiy wrote from the word of Bino'i himself: "Because of Ali Sher Navo'i's being so touchy, I have to leave away from Khorasan. I dared to set off for travelling to Iraq.*" [Zayn ad-Din Vasifi 1961, 605].

Ali Sher highly valued Bino'i as a poet and at the same time tried to endure his criticism. The invitation of Bino'i to the meeting of Ali Sher Navo'i just after his return from Iraq gives an evidence of that as well.

Ali Sher Navo'i behaved bravely in their *askiyas* (jokes) with Bino'i. Navo'i could not stand immorality and disrespect in askiyas,

and at the same time could not bear unjust irony towards himself. In this case it is acceptable to give the conclusion of A. Abdugofurov about the character of Navo'i: *Ali Sher Navo'i could not stand unsuitable, rude, shameless laughter. He took as a sign of impoliteness. Then it meant a narrow term for laughter for him.*

A joke for amusement must be used carefully, must not be impolite, rude and charismatic. Jokes like "a tickle of toe" were slandered by him [Abdug**a**furov 1966, 8]. The stories are the great evidence of it in "Makarim al-akhloq" and "Badoe' ul-vaqoe'". For example, the author of "Badoe' ul-vaqoe'" writes: "*It is told that at the times of Bino'I's return from Iraq , one day in a meeting of Mir with scholars Navo'i asked him to tell about tenderness and courtesy of Yaqubbek (the sultan of Aqquyuns)*".

Bino'i told:

- The most quality of him more than his tenderness and courtesy is he does not speak a word in Turkic (language).

Navo'i (angrily) said:

- Hey, Bino'i! The rudeness and stupidity of you has exceeded [Zayn ad-Din Vasifi 1961, 616-617].

Unifying the information in different sources of the beginning of the 16th century, we can note that Navo'i was easily offended and was kind at the same time. As an example, we can say Bino'i's constant visits to Mir's meetings. Bino'i also respected him much and devoted many poems to him. As mentioned above, when Bino'i was back from Iraq Navo'i welcomed him and invited to "mushoira" (a poetic battle in the Turkic literature). That time Bino'i had finished his poem and sent it to Navo'i. But being offended by Bino'i in *mushoara*, Navo'i did not accept it. As a result Bino'i changed the poem and dedicated it to the ruler of Samarkand Sultan Ahmad Mirzo and left for Samarkand criticizing Ali Sher. The poem has not been handed until our times. He could not come back to Herat for some time. In 876 AH (1471-1472) Bino'i writes another "qasida" (a praising poem) for Navo'i – "Majma ul-gharaib". The same as its written year it consists of 876 verses –"bayt". It was more or less written on purpose of begging his (Navo'i) excuse. We don`t know whether it was handed to Navo'i or not. As it is clear from history, at the period of ruling of Sultan Husein Boyqaro he did not come back to Herat and no contemporary of him has left information about it. Even Babur in "Babur-name" did not write about it. It can be concluded that, Navo'i did not receive it, as he had not mentioned about it in his re-edited book "Majolis al-Nafois". One hundred and forty lines of the book were preserved till our days by the book of Zayn ad-Din Vosifiy "Badoe' ul-vaqoe'" [Badoe' al-Vaqoe', 595-605]. As we see from early sources, Navo'i

highly respected the poetic talent of Kamol ad-Din Bino'i. But there were cases that with his risky askiyas and jokes he wounded Navo'i's pride many times. In the anecdote of Mirzo Haydar in "The history of Rashidiy" it is mentioned: "Bino'i is well educated and perfect man. The askiyas between him and Navo'i are famous".

As a respond to the askiyas of Banno'i, Ali Sher Navo'i made his askiyas back. Once, he said: "*It appears to me that my dear Bino'i got crazy, so he needs to be placed in "Dor ush-shifo" (the name of one of the hospitals built by Navo'i) and cured having pea-soup and lash on his heels*". Hearing that, Bino'i flees to Iraq. At that time, Sultan Yaqub was the ruler of the country of Iraq. After spending a couple of years in Iraq, Bino'i comes back to Herat. Ali Sher Navo'i meets with him, they both express their excuses about the past situation, and get on well again. During their conversation, Mir Ali Sher asks Bino'i about his brightest impression of Iraq. He says: "*The best impression I got, is that they do not write poetry in Turkic language". Ali Sher Navo'i replied to that:*

- Is it ever possible for you to be a little bit more serious and not so rude? Let it go! Tell me my friend, which opening lines to my divans (poetical collections) you like best?

Bino'i says that the followings are very sweet to many ears:

Kukragimdur subhning pirohanidan chokroq,
Kiprigim shabnam tukilgan sabzadin namrokrok.

(Being tortured more than skies at dawn my heart sighs,
Morning dew made grass wet, still much wetter are my eyes.)

Mir Navo'i responds:

- You are a wonderful joker, these lines are from Mavlono Sohib! We have bought it.

Bino'i said:

-What are you talking about? I never knew they were not yours. Would I ever dare to make such an irony to you? Nevertheless, the following lines of yours are even better:

Boshimizdin soyayi sarvi qading kam bulmasun,
Zotipoking bulmasa, olamda odam bulmasun.

Let your gorgeous self being be never gone from prospects of ours,
Let there be no man at all, without the genuine of yours.

Mir Ali Sher said:

- These are better indeed, and they belong to Mavlono Lutfiy. However, it seems to me that you are not able to leave not making ironical jokes!" [Mirza Haydar Doglat №1430, 12].

After these changes of views, anecdotes began to be introduced in the written sources, the relationships between these two poets became legend. Through the pages of "Babur-name", "Badoe' ul-vaqoe'", "Latoif ut-tavoif", "Tarikh-i Rashidi", "Latoif-name", "Tuhfa-i Somi" and "Hakimshoh Qazvini's memories" these information reached India, Iran and other Asian countries; as the time passed by, they were covered with the mist of uncertainty. Later on people created and introduced the disagreement between these two poets; in this kind of askiyas (jokes), the celibacy of Ali Sher Navo'i which comes from his philosophy and outlook were misinterpreted. We should admit that the stories of askiyas between Ali Sher Navo'i and Bino'i belong to the early period of Husein Bayqara's ruling, and should never be interpreted from the point of view of hostility.

CONCLUSION

It was impossible to write the full truth about Ali Sher Navo'i during the period of the communist system. The only way of introducing his work to the mass was to analyze his works from the point of view of the communistic ideology. That's how nearly all of his works were collected and published. This way was the surest and safest one for popularizing the poet. While exploring his works, the life and autobiography of the author were studied as well; the information was constantly broadened and analyzed using various historical sources.

It should be stated that, nowadays, during the period of independence of our country the analyses and data collected by the scientists of the previous centuries help people, in some ways, to reconsider the importance of the personality and works of the greatest poet. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to fully comprehend his life in a short time, and tender details, the spirit of the time he lived in and other peculiarities that are connected with Navo'i must be interpreted in a strict and scientific language of the historical sources only. In this context, the great share of enlightening depends on the translational works of historical sources. For example, the book of A.Urinbayev written in Russian – "Letters-autographs of Abdurrahman Djami from the album of Ali Sher Navo'i" is considered to be one of the significant exploration written in this period. In this book 337 letters of Jami to Navo'i have been translated and defined. Therefore, it is essential to get more information about his life work [Urinbayeva, 1982].

Nowadays Uzbekistan is considered an important scientific center for studying Navo'i. The life of Ali Sher Navo'i has never been explored so deep in any other part of the world except in Uzbekistan. It cannot be in another way. Ali Sher Navo'i is the founder of the Turkic literary language and an outstanding statesman and the greatest poet of Timurids period. For the recent hundred years, a great load of work has been carried out in the field of exploring of the biography and works of Ali Sher Navo'i by Uzbek scientists. It is highly recommended for any person in the world to study and get acknowledged with this scientific basis first, before they start their own studying in this field. Unfortunately, nowadays, there is a sad tendency in the world of scientists for not being acknowledged with all of the works of our scientists. I hope that after this conference, the researchers all over the world will be able to use the results provided by Uzbek scientists.

Although there has been a great job done about the explorations of the life and works of Ali Sher Navo'i, there is still a lot of scientific studies to be done. During XVI-XIX centuries a great number of written sources including historic, scientific, biographic-memoires were created. They have not been comparatively studied and systematized, though. The creation of scientific-critical texts of the works of Navo'i have not been completed yet. We have one more important task to do. All scholars specializing in Navo'i studies must cooperate and publish a universal encyclopedia of Alisher Navoi. The manuscript versions of his works are widespread all over the world, so it is crucial to systemize all these works, and by translation turn it into the heritage of the humankind. It is time that an International fund and award of Alisher Navoi were organized under UNESCO.

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