

“Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnoma” As A Historical, Literary, And Artistic Source

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Studying the history of each period of human society involves the invaluable works left behind by the historians of that era. Interpreting these works comprehensively and deeply on a scientific basis is one of the significant tasks facing scholars in the fields of source studies and philology. As is well known, the Uzbek language has a very long history, with various stages of development characterized by distinct linguistic features. Indeed, the developmental stage of the Uzbek language during the 15th and 16th centuries has been recognized by scholars worldwide as the "Golden Age" ¹, therefore, it is necessary to thoroughly analyze and extensively illuminate the language of every work from this period.

The creation of a comprehensive historical phonetics, lexicon, and grammar of the Uzbek language is closely tied to the study of written monuments related to the history of the Uzbek language. Therefore, in recent years, a number of scientific works dedicated to the study of the language of written monuments have been produced in the field of Turkology, including Uzbek linguistics. In this context, literary works are used as the primary source for observing the stages of language development. Most of the sources related to the old Uzbek language are poetic works, with relatively fewer prose works. This relative scarcity can be compensated by using historical works written in prose. One such source is the "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnoma," which is the subject of our research.

When discussing the period in which the work was created, it is essential to emphasize the significant development of science and culture during the Shaybanid era. The presence of prominent scholars among the dynasty's rulers serves as evidence of this advancement. Muhammad Shaybani Khan, Kuchkunchi Khan, and Ubaydullah Khan were among the most learned rulers of their time. Furthermore, the preservation of valuable publications in the libraries of Muhammad Shaybani Khan, Abdulaziz Khan, and Abdullah Khan, and the establishment of one of the most notable libraries of their time, also attest to this. Scholars in Transoxiana continued the traditions of the academy founded by Mirzo Ulughbek, bringing together intellectuals once more. Specifically, in the madrasahs of Samarkand and Bukhara, teachers, astronomers, physicians, poets, and historians wrote books and taught students.

At the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, a number of historical works were created to describe the campaigns and conquests of Muhammad Shaybani Khan, the founder of the Shaybanid dynasty, who ruled Central Asia during this period. Among these works are Muhammad Salih's "Shaybani-nama," Mulla Shadi's "Fath-nama-i Khani," Binai's "Shaybani-nama," and "Mehmonnamayi

¹ Самойлович А.Н. К истории литературного среднеазиатско-турецкого языка. // Мир-Али-Шир. Сборник к пятисотлетию со дня рождения. – Л., 1928. – С. 21. 181

Bukhara." Some of these works were written in prose, while others were composed in verse, using Persian and old Uzbek languages.

Many sources mention that Shaybani himself compiled a divan and wrote works. The scientific and literary community in our country became aware of the poet's "Divan" in 1991 through an article by the foreign Uzbek scholar Temur Khoja Ogli. The article notes that Professor Ahmad Zaki Validi Togan discovered Shaybani's unique "Divan" in the Topkapi Palace Library and first presented it to the scholarly world in 1927. Temur Khoja Ogli mentions that it is unknown how the only manuscript of Shaybani's "Divan" in the world ended up in the Ottoman sultans' palace. The article also includes samples from the poet's work. The author of the article emphasizes that Shaybani, continuing the traditions of Sakkoki, Gadoi, and Navoi, always expressed his boundless love for the land of Turkestan in his poems, which is a noteworthy feature of his poetry².

Additionally, this period is significant due to the noticeable development of the historical sciences, as evidenced by the creation of many historical works during this time. Under Shaybani Khan's command, Kamoliddin Binoi, Mulla Shadi, Muhammad Salih, and Fazlullah ibn Ruzbekhon wrote their works and dedicated them to the khan. Moreover, this list can include Abdulloh ibn Muhammad ibn Ali Nasrulloh's historical work "Zubdat ul-azor," the poet Tanish Bukhari's "Abdullahnama" ("Sharafnama-i Shohiy"), and the prose work we are studying, "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama." These historical sources reflect the socio-political situation during the Shaybanid era.

"Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnama" is a historical source written in the Turkic language, dedicated to the history of Genghis Khan, Amir Timur, and primarily Shaybani Khan, with an unknown author. Source scholars have put forward various opinions regarding the identity of the author. This source is considered a valuable spiritual heritage that narrates the history of Central Asia and its neighboring tribes and peoples. The historical source includes a basmala, the author's preface, the history of the Oghuz, Turkic, and Mongol tribes, the history of Genghis Khan and his descendants, the history of Amir Timur and the Timurids, and the history of Shaybani. It also contains separate sections on Abulkhayr Khan, Muhammad Shaybani's brother Mahmud Bahodir Sultan, and Shaybani's son Muhammad Timur Sultan.

This work, meaning "Selected Stories – Book of Victories," is a valuable source on the history, ethnography, geography, art, language, and literature of the Uzbek and other Central Asian peoples of the 15th and 16th centuries. For philologists, it is crucial for observing the historical development of the Uzbek language, studying its stages of formation, and researching changes in its evolution. For historians and source scholars, it is significant for studying the Mongol, Timurid, and especially the Shaybanid periods. This historical work has not been sufficiently studied by specialists and has not been extensively included in research.

After capturing Bukhara and Samarkand, Shaybani Khan tasked his court historians with creating "Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnama." Although the book is mainly dedicated to the history of Shaybani Khan, it can be divided into several sections. The first part contains information about the Turks and the ancestors of Genghis Khan, drawing on the works of Alauddin Ata Malik Juvayni and Fazlullah ibn Abulkhayr Rashiduddin. Additionally, the author creatively utilized "Tarikhi Arba'

² Шарипова М. Муҳаммад Шайбоний ижоди хорижда. // Жаҳон адабиёти. 2010 йил, 4-сон.

Ulus" ("History of the Four Uluses") by Mirzo Ulughbek, as can be inferred from the text itself.

"Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnama" details the death of Abulkhayr Khan and the period following Shaybani Khan's conquest of Transoxiana, concluding with the events of capturing Andijan in 1504 and wrapping up the narrative in 1505. It is worth noting that the work is structurally and compositionally complete, later serving as a model for other historical sources on this subject.

As mentioned earlier, the author of the work is unknown, and there are various opinions among researchers regarding this matter. For instance, according to the Orientalist archaeologist P. I. Lerch, the work was written by Ahmad Bahauddin Walid, the son of the Sufi poet Mawlana Jalaluddin Rumi³. However, this claim has not been substantiated, as Sultan Walid lived 300 years before the work was written (1226-1312). A. A. Semenov, R. G. Mukminova, and V. P. Yudin believe that "Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnama" was written by Shaybani Khan or with his close participation⁴. This is because Shaybani Khan was known to love history, favor the creation of historical works, and actively participate in their writing, as noted by the famous historians of his time⁵.

On the other hand, there are doubts about Shaybani Khan being the author since there are specific lines in "Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnama" mentioning the author's entry into Shaybani Khan's service. There is no doubt that Shaybani Khan himself was directly involved in the creation of the work. However, after researching contemporary manuscripts, A. M. Akramov considers Muhammad Salih, who was closer to Shaybani Khan, to be the author of the work.

A. Akramov, based on the words in "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" indicating that the work was written according to Shaybani Khan's order, emphasizes that Shaybani Khan is not the author. However, he does not deny the possibility of Shaybani Khan's involvement in its creation. This is because, similar to Binai's "Shaybani-nama," "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" contains certain ideas and phrases narrated directly from the khan, with these sentences being specifically highlighted.

Akramov concludes that Muhammad Salih is likely the author of "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama." He supports his argument by referring to the anonymous author's satisfaction expressed in the work about coming to Shaybani Khan and being well received by him. He recalls that in 1500, during the struggle for Samarkand, Muhammad Salih fled from Baki Tarkhan and joined Shaybani Khan. Furthermore, the researcher notes that "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" and Muhammad Salih's poetic work "Shaybani-nama" were written according to a single plan and contain some of the same passages. Notably, both works include Shaybani Khan's poem starting with the line "Yuzingni kordum ul chortoq ichinda (*I saw your face in that pavilion*)"⁶.

Another ambiguity in the work is evident in the narration of Muhammad Salih's defection to Shaybani Khan's side, which is presented in the third person: خان

³ Лерх П.И. Археологическая поездка в Туркестанский край в 1867 г. – СПб, 1870 – С. 11.

⁴ Семёнов А.А. Первые Шейбаниды и борьба за Мавараннахр. /Материалы по истории таджиков и узбеков в средней Азии. – Сталинабад, 1954. – С. 13; Мукминова Р.Г. О некоторых источниках по истории Узбекистана нач. XVI в. / Труды ИВ АН УзССР. Вып. III. – Ташкент, 1954. – С. 126; Юдин В.П. Материалы по истории казахских ханств XV-XVIII веков. – Алма-Ата, 1969. – С. 10-12.

⁵ خاندامير حبيب السير. Хондамир. Ҳабиб ус-сияр. – Абу Райхон Беруний номли Шарқшунослик институти. – №1716.

⁶ И. Низомиддинов. Қайта туғилган асар. // Шарқ юлдузи. – Тошкент, 1968, №3. – Б. 229-233.

زورکاب قاجوروب يو کون تانکلا سمرقندنى الورغه بتکور کاندابلکوت اومقلى نور سعدبىک اوغلى محمد مالچ بىک تاقى تر خاندین قاجیب کناىب انتدى کم ...⁷

The researcher describes on page 24 of the study how various works written at that time were meticulously examined and compared with other works. He states: "*The copy preserved in the British Museum was transcribed in Hijri 970 by a skilled calligrapher in Nasta'liq script, adorned with fine decorations, and contains seventeen exquisite miniatures. When this copy's script, miniatures, and the year it was written are compared with Mas'ud bin Usman's 'Tarikhi Abul Khayrkhani' and the copy of Muhammad Salih's 'Shaybani-nama' transcribed by a calligrapher named Qasim, the similarity in the script of these copies is strikingly evident*". By presenting this evidence, A. Akramov concludes that "Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnama" likely belongs to the pen of Muhammad Salih.

In our opinion, the conclusion that Muhammad Salih is the author of "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" does not seem accurate and requires deeper investigation, based on more evidence and facts. Although the scripts of the two mentioned works may be similar, this does not necessarily mean that "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" was also copied by the scribe Qasim. Qasim transcribed "Shaybani-nama" in 1510, whereas "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" was copied in 1562-1563, which is 52-53 years later. By this time, Qasim would have either passed away or been very old.

Even if we assume that Qasim transcribed "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" and also created miniatures for "Shaybani-nama," it does not prove that the work was authored by Muhammad Salih. Calligraphy is a craft, and it is historically known that a calligrapher would complete the tasks commissioned by whoever paid for them. Therefore, determining the author of the work solely based on deep textual analysis is the only acceptable method, requiring careful consideration from the specialist.

A. Ibragimov also disagrees with A. Akramov, emphasizing that Muhammad Salih's "Shaybani-nama" and "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" differ significantly in terms of ideas and content. For instance, certain historical events are interpreted differently in the two works. He cites the capture of Samarkand by Shaybani Khan, and the events involving Sultan Ali Mirza and his mother Zuhrebegim as examples.

Ibragimov points out that both authors claim in their prefaces to write only what they had witnessed personally. In "Shaybani-nama," it is mentioned that "*court officials and city dignitaries, aware of Sultan Ali Mirza and his mother Zuhrebegim's collusion with Shaybani Khan, reluctantly surrendered. Shaybani Khan captured Samarkand without war, using deceit*".

This discrepancy suggests that the two works were not authored by the same person, highlighting the need for more thorough investigation into the true authorship of "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama"⁸. The same event is described as follows on pages 93a and 93b of the manuscript: "*Andin so'ng, Samarqand ustiga borib, Bog'i Maydonga nuzul qildilar. Va Sulton Ali Mirzoga nasihat qilib yubordilarki, "Samarqandni yaxshiliq bilan solib chiq!.." Ul qabul qilmaydur. To'qqiz oy qamaldan so'ng, Sulton Ali Mirzo ojiz bo'lib, ko'rinishga chiqti...*" (Then, they marched towards Samarkand and camped at Bog'i Maydon. They sent a message to Sultan Ali Mirza,

⁷ تواریخ کزیره نصرت نامه – ЎзРФА Абу Райхон Беруний номидаги шарқшунослик институти қўлёмалар фонди. Тошбосма. № 4347.

⁸ Мухаммад Солих. Шайбонийнома. – Тошкент, 1961. – 336 б.

advising him, 'Surrender Samarkand peacefully!' He did not accept. After nine months of siege, Sultan Ali Mirza, overwhelmed, appeared)

In Muhammad Salih's work, it is described that Shaybani Khan does not marry Zuhra Begim. In fact, he does not even look at her and instead gives her to another person as a "gift." Sultan Ali Mirza, according to a military council decision with the sultans, is killed by Shaybani Khan. However, the same event is depicted differently in the manuscript of "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama": "*Va hazrati xon Samarqandni fath qilib, Sulton Ali Mirzoning onasini nikoh qilib oldilar. Necha kundin so'ng, Sulton Ali Mirzo mastligida Ko'hakdin yiqilib, ulibturur* (And Hazrat Khan, after conquering Samarkand, married Sultan Ali Mirza's mother. A few days later, Sultan Ali Mirza, in his drunkenness, fell from Kohak and died)". The facts presented clearly show that the same historical event is narrated differently in these two works. Therefore, considering Muhammad Salih as the author of "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" is not scientifically justified⁹.

If we compare the depiction of this historical event in Muhammad Salih's "Shaybani-nama" with its portrayal in Babur's "Baburnama," Binai's "Shaybani-nama," and Khwandamir's "Habib us-Siyar"¹⁰, we will see that their accounts are very similar to each other. However, the description of the event in "Tavorikhi Guzida - Nusratnama" is entirely different from these sources. This indicates that further research is needed regarding the authorship of the work.

In the preface of the work, the author refers to himself with the pseudonyms "Ojiz" (Humble), "Gharib" (Stranger), and "Khakisoor" (Lowly). He explicitly states that he was ordered to compile and arrange a book by selecting from "Tarikhi Jahonkushay" written in the name of Munkqaan, "Tarikhi Guzida" written for Ghazan Khan's daughter, and "Muntakhab ut-Tavorikhi Shohiy" written in the name of Ulughbek Mirzo, and to include the history of Shaybani Khan in this work. The author openly declares that he named the book "Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnoma"¹¹. The work states the following: "*Bilgilkim, bu kitobning tasnifig'a, bu tavorixning ta'lifig'a sabab ul bo'ldikim... podshohi muazzam sohib as-sayf val qalam imom az-zamon va xalifa ar-Rahmon himmatidin oliy tutub, davlat rikobin bosib, Movarounnahr viloyatini olib, davlat va saodat birla taxtgo'hida o'turub, xutba va siqqa (tanga)ni imom az-zamon va xalifa ar-Rahmon nomi birla muzayyan va mukarram qilg'onda, muborak xotirig'a andog' keldikim, to guzida tarixlardin intixob qilib, bir guzida so'zlarni jam' etib tartib doirasig'a kelturgay va ul podshohi kishvaristonning haqiqatin va avlodi kiromining mohiyatin elga bildurgay. Ul sababdin bu faqir, haqir, zaif an-nahif ar-rojiy... g'a farmon bo'ldikim... Taqi kitobg'a "Tavorixi guzida – Nusratnoma" ot berildi* (Know that the reason for the compilation of this book and the writing of these histories is as follows... The esteemed sovereign, master of the sword and the pen, Imam of the era and the Caliph of Rahman, took high determination, seized the province of Mavarounnahr, and seated himself on the throne with power and prosperity, adorning and honoring the khutba and coin (currency) with the name of the Imam of the era and the Caliph of Rahman. It then occurred to his blessed mind to select from the chosen histories, compile notable words, and bring them into the circle of order, so that the truth about that sovereign of the world and

⁹ Иброҳимов А. "Нусратнома" ва унинг муаллифи. // ЎТА, 1967, 6-сон. – Б. 57-59.

¹⁰ Заҳириддин Муҳаммад Бобур. Бобурнома. – Тошкент: Ўзбекистон, 2019. – Б. 89-90. 440 б.

¹¹ Таварих-и гузида-Нусрат-наме / Исследование, критический текст, аннотированное оглавление и таблица сводных оглавлений кандидата филол. наук А.М.Акрамова. – Т.: Фан, 1967. – 10-11 с.

the essence of his noble descendants would be known to the people. For that reason, this poor, humble, weak and frail servant... was ordered to... Thus, the book was named "Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnoma").

This passage clearly indicates that the compilation of "Tavorikhi Guzida – Nusratnoma" was done under the direction and with the endorsement of the ruling sovereign, reflecting their intention to record and celebrate their reign and lineage".

In the St. Petersburg manuscript, the place where the author's name should be mentioned is left blank. The original text of the work was written in Hijri 908 (1502 AD), although some sources suggest the book was completed in 1504. Therefore, we can say that the work was written between 1502 and 1504. According to the information in the copy preserved in Russia¹², the work was completed in the month of Dhu'l-Qi'dah in Hijri 909 (April-May 1504 AD).

The presence of 16 miniatures in the manuscript confirms that this text is the author's copy. The content of the text, which includes translation, compilation, and creative approaches, as well as independent narrative by the author, complicates the issue of defining the exact role of the person who wrote it. From the expressions in the title, it can be inferred that the author is not merely a translator. The inclusion of specific factual information, the fact that it was written by order of Shaybani Khan, and its organization around important dates and the presence of miniatures suggest that it was written within or near the court.

Considering these factors, it is plausible that the work was dictated by a scholar who had access to historical texts kept at the court and who had a deep understanding of history. Therefore, the individual who wrote the text could be considered both an author and a translator. As mentioned earlier, the text is not merely a copy but a work that includes translation, compilation, and creative expansion. Consequently, the person who wrote the text can be seen as both the author and a translator well-versed in Persian.

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¹² تواریخ کزیره نصرت نامه – Россия ФА шарқ қўлёзмалари институти, № В-745. – 59а.

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