



**DICSIPILES OF KHWAJA AHMAD YASAVI AND  
ATTITUDE TO THEIR WORKS  
(on the basis of foreign sources)**

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**Annotation:** In the article, the works written by the poets of the school of the famous holy man Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi, including Sheikh Khudoidad and other followers, as well as several sources are comparatively analyzed through the research of Uzbek and foreign scholars. The article compares the researches of the English scientist J. Trimmingham and the American scientist Devin DeWeese with the researches of Uzbek, Turkish, and Kazakh scientists.

**Key words:** disciple, Yassavi school poets, sources, "Devoni hikmat", "Nasabnoma", "Faqrnoma", American Yasavi scholar, Khudoidad, vocal zikr (remembrance of Allah), family tree, sheikh, Sufi scholar, Sufi man.

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**Introduction.** "Devoni hikmat" ascribed to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi was adopted by his disciples and even encouraged them to write *hikmats* (type of poems that inform about Islam and its essence – K.I.). They considered it an important means in calling the people to Islam through these *hikmats*. Yasavi founded the school of Sufism in Turkish language and literature, became a spiritual teacher of Turkestan Sufi poets and gained fame as the "Pir" of Turkish Sufi poetry and followed many disciples such as Yunus Emro, Ashrafoglu Rumi, Niyazi Misri, Aziz Mahmud Khudoi, Sulayman Bakirghani (Hakim ata), Shamsiddin Uzgandi, Iqani, Taj ata, Zangi ata and others. Sufi-literary works written in Turkic opened a new direction in Islamic literature and took a strong position. The biggest and first reason for this is that Yasavi was the owner of a spiritual personality, a perfect person and a *pir* in the XII<sup>th</sup> century, because he is the author of a literary work that has inspired many poets who have lived for eight centuries. It is known from the historical sources related to the poems of Yunus Emro that the sprout of Turkish Sufism poetry planted by him matured and bore fruit in Anadoli (Turkey – K.I.) through the language of Yunus Emro.

**Methods and materials.** Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi's life, teachings, *hikmats*, his path in the order, and the works that reflect the enlightened worldview are presented below by comparison: "Nasabnoma", "Mirot ul-Qulub" , "Risola dar tarjimai Ahmad Yasavi", "Javahir ul-abror", "Hadiqat ul-orifin", "Manba' ul-abhor",

"Jami' ul-murshidin", "Hujjat ul-abror", "Lamahot min nafahot il-Quds", "Samarat ul-Mashoyikh" and other sources were researched by the well-known Uzbek Yasavi scholar N.Hasan<sup>1</sup>. The Uzbek source scholar B. Bobojonov cites the source "Risolai zikri Sultan Al Orifon"<sup>2</sup>.

The American Yasavi scholar Devin DeWeese also mentions many sources that reveal the Yasavi tradition: "Muzakkiri ahbab" (authored by Khwaja Hasan Nisari Bukhari), "Lamahot min nafahot ul-quds" (authored by Olim Sheikh, 1035/1626.), "Hadiqat ul-Arifin" (Ishaq Khwaja ibn Ismail Ata, written in the middle of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, still unknown, says the scholar), "Ta'lim al-Zakirin" (in 947/1541, filled by one of the main disciples of Yasavi Sheikh Khudoidad, about *silsila* (lineage – K.I. ) and jahri zikr (vocal zikr – the remembrance of Allah by sounding like a “saw” – K.I.) are explained. There are manuscript copies in St. Petersburg and Bukhara), "Hujjat al-zakirin" (the work of Maulana Muhammad Sharif Bukhari, completed in 1080/1999-70s, there are manuscript copies in St. Petersburg, Tashkent and Istanbul), "Manoqib ul-ahyor" (written in 1036/1626. A source is about Sayyid Ata's descendants. There are manuscript copies in London and Rampur), "Samarat ul-mashoyih" (late XVII<sup>th</sup> century Bukhara), "Ashjar al-khuld" (1139/1726 by a Kashmiri author), "Tazkirai Takhir Eshon" (compiled by a Khorezmian author in the mid XVIII<sup>th</sup> century). Devin DeWeese points out that Turkish well-known Yasavi scholar F.Kuprulu did not use almost most of these sources in his work "Early mystics in Turkish literature".

The work "Nasabnama", which provides extensive information about the genealogy of Ahmad Yasavi, was translated from Arabic into Turkish by Maulana Safiuddin Orung Kuyliqi, the son of Danishmand Khoja, in 1146 AD. It is not known when and by whom the original Arabic version was written. The work contains the genealogy of Ahmad Yasavi. One of the unique aspects of the work is that it also contains valuable opinions of Ahmad Yasavi on issues of Sufism, and the events related to Ahmad Yasavi and his disciples are often narrated directly with the participation of Hizr (a.s.). In this work, Yasavi's relations with his disciples, their achievements and services in the order are also reflected<sup>3</sup>. It has some similarities

<sup>1</sup> Ҳасан Н. Яссавийликка доир манбалар ва “Девони ҳикмат”. Филол. фан. док... дисс. автореф. – Т., 2017. – Б.20.

<sup>2</sup> Babadjanov B. A New Document concerning Rituals in the Yasawiyya Lineage: *Risola-yi dhikr-i sulton al-'arifon*. <http://www.ceasia.ru/uzbekistan/455-bbm.html>

<sup>3</sup> See about “Nasabnoma” : Mevlana Safiyud“din. Neseb-name tercümesi, haz. Eraslan K. – İstanbul, 1996.; Аҳмад Яссавий аждодлари шажараси. Аҳмад Яссавий ва Амир Темур. Тадбил қилувчи ва нашрга тайёрлаган: Расулмухаммад хожи Абдушукуров Ашурбой ўғли. – Т.: Хазина, 1996. – Б. 32.; Szuppe M., Muminov A. Un document genealogique (nasab-nama) d'une famille de Hwaja Yasawi dans le Khanat de Kokand (XIXe s.) EuroAsian Studies. – P.1-35. The Skilliter Centre-Instituto per L'Oriente Journal for Balkan, Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian, Middle Eastern, Iranian and Central Asian Studies. I.1. 2002.; Серия “Казахстанские востоковедные исследования” основана в 1998 году. Disputes on Muslim Authority in Central Asia (19th-20th Centuries): Critical Editions and Source Studies Edited by Anke von Kügelgen Vol. II. Supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Islamization and Sacred Lineages in Central Asia: The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in Narrative and Genealogical Traditions. Supported by the Office of the Vice-Provost for Research at Indiana University Vol. 2. Genealogical Charters and Sacred Families: Nasab-namasand Khoja Groups Linked to the Ishaq Bab Narrative, 19th-21st Centuries. Edited by

with "Javahir ul-Abrar", which indicates that Hazini, a disciple of Yasavi, was well aware of "Nasabnama".

"Nasabnoma", according to the Kazakh scientist Muhammadrahim Jarmuhammad, is kept in the department of rare books and manuscripts of the People's Library of the Republic of Kazakhstan under inventory numbers № 3990-47. The scientist said that this work was written in 1687/88<sup>4</sup>. But this copy has not been identified yet.

The work "Mirat ul-Qulub"<sup>5</sup> ascribed to one of the first caliphs of Ahmad Yasavi Sufi Muhammad Donishmand Zarnuqi, was also written during the time of Ahmad Yasavi's life. In it, Yasavi's interesting thoughts on topics of Sufism are quoted.

The work "Risola dar tarjimai Ahmad Yasavi" is also considered as one of the works about Ahmad Yasavi. The author of this work is Imam Sighnaqi, it was written at the end of the XIII<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the XIV<sup>th</sup> centuries. Imam Husamiddin Husayn ibn Ali Sighnaqi, whose life is not well known, died in 1311 at the beginning of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century. He was born in Sighnoq on the banks of the Syrdarya river, the year of his birth is unknown.

Although the volume of Sighnoqi's treatise is not very large, a special place was reserved for Ahmad Yasavi, who served as a basis for many works on the subject of Yasavi written after him. It is also assumed that the oral sources about Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi were first described in this work.

These three works dedicated to Ahmad Yasavi are not only written in the time of Yasavi and close to it, but also the confirmation that many poems in "Devoni Hikmat" belong to Yasavi, the clarification of the "Faqrnama" treatise on the great sheikh and it is also valuable that it contains some new unknown information. In addition, there are a number of Sufism, scientific, literary, and historical works that provide information about Ahmad Yasavi<sup>6</sup>. It is difficult to think comprehensively about the subject without reading them and reacting to them.

If we compare these works dedicated to Ahmad Yasavi and yasaviya order or information on this topic with "Javahir ul-Abror", this work is distinguished by its wealth of new and deep opinions. F.Kuprulu used this work in his work "Early mystics in Turkish literature" and evaluated it as follows: "This work, written in the X<sup>th</sup> century of the Hijri, gives detailed information about the manners of yasaviya order, which is not available in other sources, so it is very valuable in terms of the history of Sufism in general. This work is stored in the Library of Istanbul University, Department of Turkish Manuscripts with number №3893. According to the

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Ashirbek Muminov, Anke von Kügelgen, Devin DeWeese, Michael Kemper. – Almaty-Bern-Tashkent-Bloomington Daik-Press, 2008. – P.10-16.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmed-i Yesevi: Hayati-Eserleri-fikirleri-tesirleri. Hazirlayan Prof.Dr.Mehmed Seker Necdet Yilmaz. – Istanbul, SEHA, 1996.; Хаққул И. Хожа Аҳмад Яссавий: ҳаёти, ижоди ва анъаналари. – Т., – Б. 184.

<sup>5</sup> Хожа Аҳмад Яссавий. Девони хикмат (Янги топилган намуналар). Нашрга тайёрловчи Н.Ҳасан. – Т.: Мовароуннаҳр, 2004. – Б. 147-175.

<sup>6</sup> Ҳасанов Н. Султон Аҳмад Ҳазинийнинг "Жавоҳир ул-аброр мин амвожил бихор" асари ва унинг яссавийшуносликдаги илмий-тарихий қиммати: Филол. фан. ном... дисс. – Т., 1999. – Б. 10-11.

photocopy of this manuscript, the scientist N.Hasan conducted research and informed Uzbek scientists about the new work.

"Javahir ul-Abror" is useful for in-depth study of Yasavi's poems, the history and development of his order. This work is a unique work that shows that Hazini was a talented poet, scientist and mystic who graduated from the Yasavi school in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>.

**Result and discussion.** There were many poets who grew up and were influenced by Yasavi's school: Iqani, Qul Sharif, Qul Asad, Qul Nadiri, Qul Sayfiddin, Bayza, Ghizoli, Sabiri, Shuhudi, Azim Khoja Eshanlar, and about thirty poets, those who graduated from this school<sup>8</sup>. According to well-known Uzbek Sufi scholar N.Komilov, "The following sheikhs continued Yasavi's line after him: Sufi Muhammad Donishmand, Sulayman Bakirgani, Mansur bin Arslan Baba, Luqman Paranda, Abdumalik Tajkhoja, Ishaq Baba<sup>9</sup>, Zangi Ata bin Abdumalik, Said Khorezmi, Halil Ata, Khwaja Bektash Vali, Uzun Hasan, Sadr Khwaja, Badr Khwaja, Ahmad Sayyid, Kamal Iqani, Hazrat Bashir and others<sup>10</sup>.

Yasavi scientist N.Hasan, in his monograph entitled "Sources on Yasaviya and "Devoni Hikmat", says: In the copies of "Devoni Hikmat", we witnessed the *hikmats* of about 60 disciples, such as Azim Khoja Eshan, Shams Ozgandi, Kamal Sheikh Iqani, Kholis, Qul Sharifi, Sharif Khoja, Khoja Hamid, Qani, Qul Gharib, Darvish Ali, Navbati, Qul Shaydo, Khoja Nematullah, Qul Umuri, Shahidi, Qul Ajiz, Mukhlis, Qul Fazili, Qul Sayfiddin, Miskin Ayyub, Talib, Qul Tufayli, Salih, Miskin Kasim, Ubaydi, Shaibani, Jamal, Qul Yakub, Eshoni Khoja Quli, Soyil, Qul Shuhudi, Yusuf Devona, Khoja Jalaluddin Eshan, Qul Pirnazar, Huzuri, Qul Temuri, Asi Qul, Miskin Hubbi, Miskin Jome', Qul Naziri, Yatimi, Banda Saqi, Banda Sayyid, Mulloyi Rum, Nizami, Ghizoli, Taj Khoja, Baba Mochin, Qul Asad, Mali, Qul Mafluj<sup>11</sup>.

In foreign sources, there is a testimony that Yasavi's disciples are shown in the form of a family tree<sup>12</sup>. The English Sufi scholar J.Trimingham researches Ahmad Yasavi's genealogy in three parts. They are Sulayman Bakirgani (Hakim Ata) (d.

<sup>7</sup> Ҳасанов Н. Султон Аҳмад Ҳазинийнинг "Жавоҳир ул-аброр мин амвожил бихор" асари ва унинг яссавийшуносликдаги илмий-тарихий қиймати: Филол. фан. ном...дисс. – Т., 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Абу Райҳон Беруний номидаги Шарқшунослик институти қўлғезмалар фонди. Инв. №377, №361, №1564, №1910, №3966, №3764, №5661.

<sup>9</sup> See: Disputes on Muslim Authority in Central Asia (19th–20th Centuries): Critical Editions and Source Studies Edited by Anke von Kügelgen Vol. II. Supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Islamization and Sacred Lineages in Central Asia: The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in Narrative and Genealogical Traditions. Supported by the Office of the Vice-Provost for Research at Indiana University Vol. 2. Genealogical Charters and Sacred Families: Nasab-namasand Khoja Groups Linked to the Ishaq Bab Narrative, 19th – 21st Centuries. Edited by Ashirbek Muminov, Anke von Kügelgen, Devin DeWeese, Michael Kemper. – Almaty-Bern-Tashkent-Bloomington Daik-Press, 2008.

<sup>10</sup> Комилов Н. Тасаввуф. – Т.: ТошДШИ нашриёти, 2006. – Б.43-44.

<sup>11</sup> Ҳасан, Нодирхон. Яссавийликка доир манбалар ва "Девони ҳикмат". / Ҳасан, Нодирхон. Масъул муҳаррир Иброҳим Ҳаққул; ЎР ФА, А.Навоий номидаги тил ва адабиёт институти. – Тошкент: Akadernashr, 2012. – Б. 160.

<sup>12</sup> Тримингэм Дж.С. Суфийские ордены в исламе. Перевод с англ. А.А.Стависской, под редакцией и с предисловием О.Ф.Акимовской. – М., 1989. – С. 58.; DeWeese, Devin A. The Yasavi Order Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia. The Heritage of Sufism. Vol III. Late Classical Persianale Sufism (1501-1750) The Safavid & Tughal Period. Ed. by Leonard Lervisohn & David Morgan. One World. –Oxford. – P. 396.

1186), Mansur ibn Arslanbab and Luqman Parranda. According to the scientist's scheme, the disciples of Mansur ibn Arslanbab are the majority. Also, the names of Said al-Khorazmi and three disciples are not mentioned in the Abdulmalik Taj Khoja series, and Bahauddin Naqshband is shown as a disciple of Halil Ota (d. 1347). It can be understood from that information, that Naqshbandi is also a follower of Yasavi.

One of the disciples of Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi who lived and lived in the XIV<sup>th</sup>-XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries, Sheikh Khudoidad, a contemporary of Alisher Navoi and Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur, was one of the prominent holy men of his time. Sheikh Khudoidad was not only a sheikh and holy man, but also a poet. We can witness his poetry in Abdurauf Fitrat's article "Investigations on the Poets of Yasavi School". It includes his research on the "Book of Bakirgan" published in Kazan in 1906, and points to the inclusion of poems by Yasavi school poets, including the poems of Sheikh Khudoidad, consist of 64-verses<sup>13</sup>.

First of all, let's try to find out how many Sheikh Khudoidads have passed away and when they were born, because there are not one but three, which is interesting to the science world. They can be confused without clarifying the problem. Taking into account that 2006 marks the 545<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of the sheikh we are talking about, his birth dates back to 1461. In some studies, we read that Sheikh Khudoidad ibn Tashmuhammad Azizan al-Bukhari lived in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century<sup>14</sup>. This person is certainly not the Sheikh Khudoidad that we know.

In one of his major researches, Devin DeWeese mentions Sheikh Khudoidad in a couple of places during the study of Olim Sheikh's work "Lamahot"<sup>15</sup>. He noted that a quarter of "Lamahot" is dedicated to Sheikh Khudoidad. Also, in this article, the lineage of Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi up to Olim Sheikh is presented.

Devin DeWeese cites a work on the defense of jahri zikr (vocal zikr) written by Sheikh Khudoidad and says that it is from the Yasavi Sheikhs. Since the title of the work was not identified in the English text, we could not quote it. Taking this into consideration, we are interested in whether the works devoted to jahri zikr (vocal zikr), found in some studies, correspond to the English text, and observe some articles. In his article called "Zikr-i Jahr"<sup>16</sup>, the well-known oriental scholar

<sup>13</sup> Ясавий ким эди. (мақолалар ва “хикматлар”дан парчалар). Тўплаб нашрга тайёрловчи ва сўз боши муаллифи Бойбўта Дўстқоров. – Т.: А.Қодирий номидаги халқ мероси нашриёти, 1994. – Б. 35.

<sup>14</sup> Исмоилов М. Шайх Худойоднинг “Бахр ал-улум” асарида нақшбандийлик тарикати оид маълумотлар. / Хожа Ахрор Валининг Марказий Осиё тарихи ва маънавиятида тутган ўрни. Илмий-амалий анжуман маърузалари тезислари. – Т., 2004. 17-18 декабр. – Б. 65.; Исмоилов М. Шайх Худойоднинг “Бахр ал-улум” асари Марказий Осиёда тасаввуф тарихига оид муҳим манба (XVIII асрнинг иккинчи ярми). Тарих фанлари номзоди илмий даражасини олиш учун тақдим этилган диссертация автореферати. – Т., 2006).

<sup>15</sup> DeWeese, Devin A. The Yasavi Order Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia. Alim Shaykh of Aliyabad and his Lanahat min nafahat al-quds. – P. 389-414. The Heritage of Sufism. Vol III. Late Classical Persianale Sufism (1501-1750) The Safavid & Tughal Period. Ed. by Leonard Lervisohn & David Morgan. One World. Oxford. (MS St Petersburg Branch of the Institute Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (hereafter “POIVRAN”). – C. 1563, fos. 45b-120a, in Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkie alfavitnie katalog), ed. O.F. Akimushkin, V.V. Kushev, et al. – Moscow: Nauka, 1964.

<sup>16</sup> Бабаджанов Б. Зикр-и джабр. Ислам на территории бывшей российской империи. Энциклопедический словарь. Статьи. <http://www.orientalstudies.ru>

B. Bobojonov cites the work "Pisand-i Zikr-i Jahr" by Sheikh Khudoidad, who lived in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century, in the list of literature of the above article.

In another study<sup>17</sup>, it is pointed out that the work "Bahr al-Ulum", which gives ideas about jahri zikr (vocal zikr), is the only manuscript written by Sheikh Khudoidad, who lived in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century. In this work, as well, the protection of jahri zikr (vocal zikr) has been proven.

Although there is not much information about Sheikh Khudoidad, we recognize that he was a disciple of Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi, and that he lived in the XV<sup>th</sup> -XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries (i.e. 1461-1532) and died at the age of 71. During the research, it was confirmed that there is a slight difference in the citations of Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi by Uzbek, English, and American Yasavi scholars. Because studies using different sources naturally cause such problems. If we think about jahriy zikr (vocal zikr), Sheikh Khudoidad who lived in the XIV<sup>th</sup>-XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries and Sheikh Khudoidad who lived in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century had works supporting jahriy zikr (vocal zikr).

However, we could not find any information about Sheikh Khudoidad who lived in the XIV<sup>th</sup> century. It would be a good idea to identify his identity and his works in the future researches. The American scientist Devin DeWeese does not provide information about anyone other than Sheikh Khudoidad, who lived between the XIV<sup>th</sup> and XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries (that is, Sheikh Khudoidad, whose 545<sup>th</sup> birthday was celebrated (2006). Regardless of whether the Khudoidads had works on jahri zikr (vocal zikr) or not, they are all representatives of the yasaviya order and supporters of jahri zikr (vocal zikr).

**Conclusion.** According to sources it is said that Yasavi had more than 90,000 disciples. In the article, English-language sources, including "The Sufi orders in Islam" by the English scholar J. Trimmingham and some issues in the studies of the American scholar Devin DeWeese "The Yasavi Order Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia" were analyzed in the article. When J. Trimmingham's very brief information about Yasavi was analyzed, a genealogical form was expressed about Yasavi's disciples. J. Trimmingham researches Ahmad Yasavi's genealogy in three parts. Among them, the followers of Sulayman Bakirgani (Hakim Ota) (d. 1186) were not mentioned at all, that is, the family tree stopped. But a few followers of Mansur ibn Arslanbab and Luqman Parranda are mentioned. J. Trimmingham omits the "Ata" ratio in the sheikhs, we have added them.

The American scientist Devin DeWeese, through his one major study "The Yasavi Order Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia" researches the work of Olim Sheikh "Lamahot" and during the study he mentions the poet of the Yasavi school Sheikh Khudoidad in a couple of places. The scientist noted that a

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<sup>17</sup> Исмоилов М. Шайх Худойдоднинг "Бахр ал-улум" асарида нақшбандийлик тариқатига оид маълумотлар. / Хожа Ахрор Валийнинг Марказий Осиё тарихи ва маънавиятида тутган ўрни. Илмий-амалий анжуман маърузалари тезислари. – Т., 2004. 17-18 декабр. – Б. 64-67.); Исмоилов М. Шайх Худойдоднинг "Бахр ал-улум" асари Марказий Осиёда тасаввуф тарихига оид муҳим манба (XVIII асрнинг иккинчи ярми). Тарих фан. ном... дисс. автореф. – Т., 2006.

quarter of the work "Lamahot" is dedicated to Sheikh Khudoidad. Devin DeWeese, in this study, cites the lineage of Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi to Olim Sheikh. He mentions the work on the protection of jahri zikr ("Pisand-i Zikr-i Jahr") written by Sheikh Khudoidad and says that it is one of the Sheikhs of Yasavi. Taking this into consideration, we determined whether the works devoted to jahri zikr, found in some studies, correspond to the English text.

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