

ALISHER NAVOIY

XALQARO JURNAL
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL



VOLUME 1, ISSUE 1, 2021

ISSN 2181-1490

Doi Journal 10.26739/2181-1490

ALISHER NAVOIY

XALQARO JURNAL
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ ЖУРНАЛ



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TOSHKENT-2021



**ALISHER NAVOIYNING 580 YILLIK
YUBILEYIGA BAG'ISHLANADI****ПОСВЯЩАЕТСЯ 580 ЛЕТНОМУ
ЮБИЛЕЮ АЛИШЕРА НАВОИ****DEDICATED TO THE 580th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BIRTH OF ALISHER NAVOI**

Buyuk shoir va mutafakkir, atoqli davlat va jamoat arbobi Alisher Navoiyning bebaho ijodiy-ilmiy merosi nafaqat xalqimiz, balki jahon adabiyoti tarixida, milliy madaniyatimiz va adabiy-estetik tafakkurimiz rivojida alohida o'rin tutadi. Ulug' shoir o'zining she'riy va nasriy asarlarida yuksak umuminsoniy g'oyalarni, ona tilimizning beqiyos so'z boyligi va cheksiz ifoda imkoniyatlarini butun jozibasi va latofati bilan namoyon etib, yer yuzidagi millionlab kitobxonlar qalbidan munosib va mustahkam o'rin egalladi.

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Бесценное творческое и научное наследие великого поэта и мыслителя, известного государственного и общественного деятеля Алишера Навои играет важную роль в истории не только отечественной, но и мировой литературы, развитии национальной культуры и литературно-эстетического мышления. В своих лирических и прозаических произведениях великий поэт, воспевая высокие общечеловеческие идеи, демонстрировал богатый лексический запас и выразительные средства родного языка, благодаря чему занял достойное место в сердцах миллионов читателей по всему миру.

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The invaluable creative and scientific heritage of the great poet and thinker, famous statesman and public figure Alisher Navoi has a special place not only in the history of our people, but also in the history of world literature, the development of our national culture and literary and aesthetic thinking. The great poet, in his poetic and prose works, with his whole charm and grace, has taken a worthy place in the hearts of millions of readers around the world, expressing the high universal ideas, the incomparable richness of words and the infinite possibilities of expression of our native language.

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A COMPARISON: AMIR ALISHIR NAVA'I THE COUNTERPART OF KHAWAJA NIZAM AL-MULK TUSI OR KHAWAJA RASHID AL-DIN FADLULLAH HAMADANI

Amir Nemati Lima'i
PhD in History of Islamic Iran
Visiting Lecturer of
Payam Noor University

For citation: Lima'i N.A. A COMPARISON: AMIR ALISHIR NAVA'I THE COUNTERPART OF KHAWAJA NIZAM AL-MULK TUSI OR KHAWAJA RASHID AL-DIN FADLULLAH HAMADANI. Alisher Navoi. 2021, vol. 1, issue 1, (169-177) pp.

 DOI 10.26739/2181-1490-2021-1-17

ANNOTATION

Throughout Iran's¹ ancient and long history, the number of people who has become prominent in political and cultural activities is not few. Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, a prominent politician and minister (Vizier/Divansalar) of the Seljuq era, Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani, the great man in the realm of politics and culture in the Ilkhanid era and Amir Alishir Nava'i, a politician and a cultured man in the Timurid era, are three renowned personalities who have a high profile from the perspective of scholars in history. In addition, a number of scholars by comparing the performance of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi and Amir Alishir Nava'i in their researches and studies claimed that Amir Ali Sher can be called Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk al-Thani (The second or another Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk). What is clear is that the author of this study, has attempted to find answers to these questions whether these scholar's beliefs and opinions should be corrected or, on the contrary, should it be rejected? If one assumes that the homology theory of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Alishir performances to be false, is it possible to find a celebrated personality in history whose performance can be regarded similar as Amir Alishir Nava'i? The results of this research which ended up in historical method showed that Amir Alishir don't have much affinity with Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk's, nor one should name him Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk al-Thani (The second or another Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk). Rather he should be called Khawaja Rashid al-Din al-Thani (The second or another Khawaja Rashid al-Din).

Keywords: Amir Alishir Nava'I, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani, Culture, Politics.

AMIR ALISHER NAVOIY XOVAJA NIZOM AL-MULK TUSIY YOKI XAVAJA RASHIDIDDIN FADULLOH HAMADONIYNING HAMKASBI

Amir Nemati Lima'i
Islomiy Eron tarixidan PhD
Payam Nur Universitetining
tashrif buyurgan o'qituvchisi

ANNOTATSIYA

Eronning qadimgi va uzoq tarixi davomida siyosiy va madaniy faoliyatda taniqli insonlar soni kam emas. Saljuqiylar davridagi taniqli siyosatchi va vazir (Vizier / Divansalar) Xavaja

¹ It is worth pointing out that, in this article, the term Iran refers more to historical especially cultural geography rather than the current political geography of Iran, an area that encompasses a wide range of Iranian plateaus as well as adjacent regions. At many times, Persian has been used as a lingua Franca or bridge language in communication between different ethnic groups.



Nizom al-Mulk Tusi, Ilhoniylar davrida siyosat va madaniyat sohasidagi buyuk odam Xavaja Rashiddin Fadlulloh Hamadoni va Amir Alisher Navoiy, Temuriylar davridagi siyosatchi va madaniyatli inson – tarixdagi olimlar nuqtayi nazaridan yuqori obro‘ga ega bo‘lgan uchta taniqli shaxs. Bundan tashqari, bir qator olimlar o‘z tadqiqotlari va ishlaridagi Xavaja Nizom al-Mulk Tusi va Amir Alisher Navoiyning faoliyatini taqqoslab, Amir Alisherni Xovaja Nizom al-Mulk al-Tani (Ikkinchi nomi Xavaja Nizom al-Mulk) deb hisoblaydilar. Shubhasiz, ushbu tadqiqot muallifi ushbu olimning e‘tiqodlari va fikrlari to‘g‘rilanishi kerakmi yoki aksincha, rad etilishi kerakmi, bu savollarga javob topishga harakat qilgan. Agar Xavaja Nizom al-Mulk va Amir Alisher asarlarining gomologik nazariyasi yolg‘on deb taxmin qilsa, tarixda uning ijrosini Amir Alisher Navoiyga o‘xshash deb hisoblash mumkin bo‘lgan taniqli shaxsni topish mumkinmi? Tarixiy usulda yakunlangan ushbu tadqiqot natijalari shuni ko‘rsatdiki, Amir Alisher Xavaja Nizom al-Mulk bilan unchalik yaqin emas va u Xavaja Nizom al-Mulk al-Tani (Ikkinchi nomi Xavaja Nizom al-Mulk) deb nomlanishi kerak emas. Balki uni Xovaja Rashiddin al-Tani (ikkinchi nomi Xovaja Rashiddin) deb atash kerak.

Kalit so‘zlar: Amir Alisher Navoiy, Xavaja Nizom al-Mulk Tusi, Xavaja Rashiddin Fadeulloh Hamadoni, madaniyat, siyosat.

АМИР АЛИШЕР НАВОИ – КОЛЛЕГА ХАВАДЖИ НИЗАМА АЛЬ-МУЛЬК ТУСИ ИЛИ ХАВАДЖИ РАШИДИДДИНА ФАДУЛЛАХА ХАМАДОНИ

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приглашенный лектор в университете Паям Нур*

АННОТАЦИЯ

На протяжении всей древней и долгой истории Ирана был ряд видных деятелей политической и культурной жизни. Выдающийся сельджукский политик и министр (Визирь / Дивансалар) Хаваджа Низам аль-Мульк Туси, великий деятель политики и культуры в период Ильханидов Хаваджа Рашидиддин Фадлулла Хамадони и Амир Алишер Навои, политик и цивилизованный человек периода Тимуридов три знаменитости, у которых есть. Кроме того, ряд ученых сравнили деятельность Хаваджи Низама аль-Мульк Туси и Амира Алишера Навои в их исследованиях и работе и считают Амира Али Шера Хаваджей Низам аль-Мульк аль-Тани (второе имя Хаваджа Низам аль-Мульк). Очевидно, что автор этого исследования стремился ответить на эти вопросы относительно того, следует ли исправить убеждения и мнения этого ученого или, наоборот, отвергнуть. Если гомологическая теория произведений Хаваджи Низама аль-Мульк и Амира Алишера ложна, возможно ли найти в истории известного человека, чье исполнение можно было бы считать похожим на Амира Алишера Навои? Результаты этого исследования, выполненного исторически, показали, что Амир Алишер Хаваджа не был так близок к Низаму аль-Мульку и не должен называться Хаваджа Низам аль-Мульк аль-Тани (Второе имя Хаваджа Низам аль-Мульк). Возможно, его следует называть Хаваджа Рашидиддин аль-Тани (второе имя Хаваджа Рашидиддин).

Ключевые слова: Амир Алишер Наваи, Хаваджа Низам аль-Мульк Туси, Хаваджа Рашидиддин Фадлулла Хамадони, Культура, Политика.

Throughout Iran’s ancient and long history, the number of people who has been renowned for their strong presence and diligent efforts in the realm of politics and culture is not few. And, of course, what is clear is that the purpose of this short article is not naming each one of them, nor it is the author’s ability to bear this burdensome task. However, among these celebrated personalities, one can mention several prominent figures, such as Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, the prominent politician and minister of the Seljuq era, Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani, the great man in the realm of politics and culture in the Ilkhanid era and Amir Alishir Nava’i, a politician and a cultured man in the Timurid era.



It is worth noting that several scholars in their researches have claimed that Amir Alishir Nava'i should be regarded as a prominent counterpart of the Seljuq era, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, and hence referred to him as Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk thani, the Second. (Radfar, Winter 1377Š: 42-63 and ghazi, Fall and Winter 1387Š: 59-72 and Abdullah: 171-210). It turns out that the scholars who have called as Amir Alishir Nava'i, Nizam al-Mulk al-Thani (the second), have achieved this matter by considering these two important points: First, the prominent role that each of these two famous persons played in the political affairs of Seljuq and Timurid, as well as other extensive and numerous constructions the two had built. In fact, these historians believed that Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Alishir were both prominent ministers who, in their own time, with their intelligence and cleverness participated in managing government and founded a lot of buildings for charity purposes as well.

But in fact can we assume the correctness of these scholar beliefs and opinions? Or should it be rejected? The author of this study, who has applied these research by historical methods sought to find a suitable and appropriate answer to these questions, thus he assumed that to call Amir Alishir Nava'i, Nizam al-Mulk al-Thani is wrong. Given this assumption, he also raised another question: If one considers the Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Alishir homology theory to be false, is it possible to find a celebrated personality in history whose performance can be regarded similar as Amir Alishir Nava'i? The assumption in answering to this question was that Amir Alishir Nava'i's performance was similar to Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani's, so he should be called Khawaja Rashid al-Din, al-Thani not Nizam al-Mulk al-Thani. In other words, the author believed that, despite the relative similarities in the performance of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Alishir Nava'i, this comparison was not so correct. Also the fundamental differences in Amir Ali and Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk's thought and way of functioning are too much to assume them same. And since in this respect great fundamental similarities in the thought and performance of Amir Alishir and Khawaja Rashid al-Din were seen, it appears this claim of similarity is a scholarly work. What follows can affirm the validity of this claim. However, it is worthy to note, in comparison with the performance of these famous personalities, have made whether by scholars or the author of this article, a component such as vast territories the government in Seljuq s and Ilkhanids period had much greater than that one in Timurid period (the reign of Sultan Hosayn Bayqara), have been overlooked despite their effect it could have had on their political function.

Difference of Thought and performance of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi and Amir Alishir Nava'i:

As stated in the preface, the author believes that the comparative study of the thought and performance of Amir Alishir Nava'i and Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi illustrates many differences and disparities that this claim "homology theory or similarity of these two personalities" make no sense.

A. The Difference Between Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Alishir Nava'i Role in government:

Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Alishir were both effective ministers (Divansalar) in the Seljuq and Timurid period. However, it should be noted that the role these two played in the government in their own time had never been the same. Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk was the only minister (Vizier) who dominated the government for thirty years, and the way he managed the government at that time was so effective that made contemporary scholars to remember Nizam Al-Mulk not as the kings of the time, but as the Khawaja Era. Whereas, in his thirty-two-year political life, Amir Alishir wasn't the most prominent and dominant person during Sultan Hosayn Bayqara's reign, and he was in charge of position of much less importance such as Mohrdar or maintaining sultan's seals (Khwandmir 1380sh: 4/59 and Raqim Samarqandi, 1380Š: 141), also when he was honorably exiled from Herat to Esterabad (Mirkhwand, 1385Š: 11/5759), he couldn't interfere with the affairs of government. (Subtelny, 1988: 137 and Akkus, 2002: 15)¹.

B. Difference between Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Ali-Shir's Performance in Construction

¹ For more information on Amir Ali Shir's life, see Nemati Lima'i, Amir (1393), Analysis of the Political Life of Amir Alishir Navai and Exploring His Cultural, Scientific, Social and Economic Works, Tehran & Mashhad: MFA (Cire)& Ferdowsi University

of multiple Buildings:

Although the wise Seljuq's Vizier, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk, has long been known in Iran's ancient history as one of the most outstanding founder of buildings for charity purposes, it should not be forgotten that much of his reputation in this field was to establish a new educational system entitled Nizammyah schools. In fact, the enormous expense he spent on setting up these schools was so unprecedented that some historians, perhaps mistakenly, overlooked the function of former ministers (Divansalar), consider him the first founder of Iranian schools and the Islamic world. (Kasai, 1378Š: 114). However, about the construction of other structures, other sources left from that time reported almost nothing about him (Alyari, Summer and Autumn 1373Š: 1-12), if so, it isn't significant. On the contrary, Amir Ali-Shir's reputation in this field is not only limited to the establishment of educational centers, but also the construction of numerous structures with different functions such as caravanserais, cisterns, bridges, hospitals, schools, libraries, waterways, bathhouses and so on.

It is worth mentioning that the extensive activities of Amir Alishir in construction, attracted the attention of the authors and historians of that time. For example, the author of Khold-e-barin considered the number of his charities to be more than, one can count (Valeh Esfahani, 1379Š: 668). Others, such as Hasan Beg Rumlu and Amiri Herawi, estimated them as being around 360 to 370 (Rumlu, 1357 Š: 80 and Amiri Herawi, 1968: 92), and of course, Khwandmir highly exaggerated Amir Alishir had made "one thousand and one charities in one day and one hour" (Khandmir, 2535sh: 361-362).

C. differences in religious beliefs of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Ali-Shir

As reported by the Seljuq historians, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi was Shafi'i religious fanatic and he didn't believe in other Islamic religions. He was known for his great severity with Ismailis and the Shiites. He even was so strict with Hanbali, Maliki madhhabs that forbade them from entering the Nizammyah schools (Nemati Lima'i, 1393Š: 81), because he believed that "There are two religions in the whole world that are good and righteous, Hanafi and Shafi'i" (Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, 1364Š: 129). As Kasai describes in *The Book of Nizammyah Schools and its Scientific and Social Impacts*, he "did his utmost to eradicate other sects and their invitation, and left a world full of religious prejudices, religious conflicts and controversies." (Kasai, N.D: 67). It should be noted that even parts of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk's famous book, *Siyasatnama*, are also devoted to misrepresenting and expressing fanatical contents about other religions. As evidence of the validity of this claim, one can refer to Khawaja's writings in Chapter 43 of *Siyasatnama*, in which he referred to foreigners and Shiites as evils and acknowledged that "like dogs they would emerged from their hideout, if they had opportunity and did as much they could such as corruption, murder and innovation." (Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, 1364Š: 227). In a word, he advised the Hanafi Seljuq monarchs not to hire anyone except people from Hanafi and Shafi'i's madhhabs (Yavari, 1397Š: 136) because they pretend to be Muslims but they are infidels in fact (Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Tusi, 1364Š: 227). But according to history, not only Amir Alishir was far from any prejudice, but also was known to have liberal views on religion and gathered a large group of scholars of various faiths and religions together¹. In fact, if not, the numerous scholars and poets following Shi'ism, Sunnah and Sufism, each of them were mentioned in *The History Book* by Habib al-Siyar, may be referred to as Khandmir Mulla Husain Waiiz -Al-Kashifi, Elahi Ardabili, Amir Ebrahim Musha'sha', Kamal ud-Din Behzad, Sultan Ali Mashhadi, Khawaja Mirak Naghash, Nizami Bakhrazi, etc couldn't benefit from him. Surprisingly, despite the fact that Amir Alishir was somewhat interested in the role of Sufism to follow Sunnah, he did not refrain from offering support to the Noorbakhshia Islam who were followers of Shia. It may be argued that Amir Alishir was neither a Shiite, a Sunni, nor a completely Sufi. He was the only religious person

¹ It is worth mentioning that, Amir AliShir was disciple of Nur al-Din Abd al-Rahman jami, the famous poet and mystic of the 9th century, used to refer to him in his works. This point is significant in his different works especially in the book *Khamsat ul-Mutahayyirin*, Nava'i's work written after Jami's death describing different aspects of his life. It should also be noted that Jami in *Baharestan*, (meaning the land of spring, the spring orchard or the spring garden) explicitly stated that he avoided religious categories and called Sunni-Shia conflict disgusted. (Jami, Beta: 98). Thus despite all Nava'i's interest and passion for jami, normally the student's thoughts could not have been in conflict with the master's ideas. For more information on the relationship between Nava'i and Jami, see: Nemati Lima'i, Amir and Aminizadeh, Ali. (1395Š), pp. 273 -288.



who is free from any other religious prejudices. (Nemati Lima'i, 1393Š: 94).

D: The difference between the activity of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir Alishir in the field of writing and composing poetry:

Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk's extensive knowledge of the various sciences is endorsed by Seljuq and Contemporary historians. However, what appears to be is the prominent scholar and politician of Tus unlike Amir Alishir was not so active in the field of writing books and composing poetry, as his only famous book in politics is Siyasatnama. There is, of course, another book called Akhlaq-e-Mahmoudi (The Ethics of Mahmoudi), which is attributed to Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk in some manners. This book contains recommendations that Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk gave to his eldest son, Fakhr al-Mulk. This book was collected by one of Khawaja's lovers. However, it is worth noting that the classical sources do not mention the works of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk. In addition, although Siyasatnama is known by the name of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk, there are some scholars who find the attribution of this book to Khawaja inaccurate (Spuler, 2000: 38).

Whereas, the number of works by Amir Alishir is dozens of books, treatises and Divans, including Khamsa, Lison ut-Tayr, Muhakamat al-Lughatayn, Nazm ul-Javohir, Mizan al-Awzan, Mofradat, Siroj ul-Muslimin, Monajat, Nasayim-ul-muhabba, etc., most of which were written not in Farsi but in Chagatai Turkic¹.

Of all that was said, it is clear that there is no similarity between Amir Alishir and Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk. But in the history of Iran, can we find a prominent who was similar in performance in that of Amir Ali-Shir? The author believes that the answer to this question is positive and, as noted earlier, Amir Alishir can be considered similar to the renowned scholar and politician of the Ilkhanid era, Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani.

In one of his works, Shirin Bayani also points to some similarities and aspects of Khawaja Rashid al-Din's life, even calling him the model for Amir Ali-Shir. However, what is obvious is that he has counted their similarities in their higher education, wealth and founding charities, lack of Muslim ancestors, and their status (Bayani, 1387Š: 293-312). He has no idea of similarities between these two personalities about these following points. In any case, what comes next aimed at revealing the similarities between Amir Alishir Nava'i and Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani².

Similarity of the Thought and Performance of Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani and Amir Alishir Nava'i:

As mentioned later, the author believes that comparative study of the thought and Performance of Amir Alishir Nava'i and Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani reveals similarities which confirm this claims. Among the practical and intellectual similarities of these two, can be mentioned following points:

A. Similarity of the role of Amir Alishir Nava'i and Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani played in the government:

Both Khawaja Rashid al-Din and Amir Alishir were among the most effective politicians, and the firmness and persistence of government in the Ilkhanid and Timurid empires were largely owe to these politicians. However, neither Amir Alishir nor Khawaja Rashid al-Din were less likely had authority as Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk in managing the affairs of government. Because Amir Alishir was in the service of Bayqara in different positions such as maintaining sultan's seals, ruling Esterabad and Herat in various times, as well as his repeated resignations from government positions, it is obvious that he wasn't always being the number-one minister during the reign of Sultan Hussein Bayqara. Khawaja Rashid al-Din too served Ilkhanate rulers in a lower-level position for many years before attaining the position of ministry, and even after accessing the

¹ It needs to be reminded that Nava'i's two books, Mofradat and Monajat were published by the author. For more information, see: Nava'i, Amir AliShir. (1394Š). Mofradat. With an Introduction, Correction, Explanation, and Edition by Amir Nemati Lima'i and Mahdi Ghasemniya, Tehran: Meshkat-e- Danesh. And Nava'i, Amir Ali-Shir. (1395Š). Monajat, Translation, Introduction, Correction, Explanation, and Edition by Amir Nemati Lima'i and Mahdi Ghasemniya, Tehran: Jangal Publication and Edalat University.

² It should be remembered expressing the differences of opinions and behavior between Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk and Amir AliShir should not mean diminishing the value and especial historical status of the Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk al-Tusi.

seat of authority, he was not the best minister because he had fierce rivals Such as Sa'd-al-Din Mohammad Savaji in ministry and was eventually ousted by conspiracies of political rivals and died (Nemati Lima'i, 1393Š: 103).

B. Similarity of Khawaja Rashid al-Din and Amir Alishir's performance in construction of multiple buildings:

Amir Alishir was also prominent in construction of different establishments such as Ikhlasiyya complex in Herat, The Herat Technical School, Dizabad Caravansary, Baba Kamal Heart Bridge, Heart ziaratgah Bathroom, Herat Amir Alishir library, mausoleum of Farid al-Din Attar in Neyshabur, mausoleum of Jami in Herat and etc. Khawaja Rashid al-Din's performance in this field also has a good effect and like the Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk is not limited to the educational establishment. Among these buildings, besides the Rab'-e Rashidi Complex, we can name Rashidieh Hospital in Soltanieh (Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Al-Vazir, 1358Š: 236), two libraries in Tabriz (ibid, 236), The Rashidieh School in Soltanieh (Ibid, 201), The Rashidieh caravansary in Yazd (Rajabzadeh, 1377Š: 379) and the Rashidieh Khanqah in Hamadan (Nemati Lima'i, 1393Š: 231) and so on.

It is worth noting there are some evidences that Amir Alishir modelled himself on Khawaja Rashid al-Din indirectly, including the construction of Ikhlasiyya Complex in Herat. In fact, among his famous constructions, it is the biggest and the most daring establishment which was donated to him by Sultan and built on a piece of land near The Injil River in Herat as stated in his treatise (Nava'i, 1363Š: k). Amir Alishir Palace was the first building established in this land. However, a few days later, he also issued a decree to establish the mosque, school, hospital and etc (Subtelny, Jna-Mar1991: 40). Around these complex was added a beautiful garden which made the splendor and beauty of this construction twofold, as Khwandmir said it was like the heaven. (Khwandmir, 1378Š: 81)

Unfortunately, this construction did not survive from damages during times and what is clear is that today there are only a few ruins left.¹

Although there is no evidence of how the idea of making this establishment came to Amir Ali-Shir's mind, the author believes, he most modelled himself on Rashid al-Din's Rab'-e Rashidi Complex in Tabriz to do this enormous plan. In the history of Iran and Islam, no design can be compared in terms of the size, grandeur, and multiplicity of buildings with different uses with Rab'-e Rashidi Complex, because it contains multiple buildings such as schools, hospitals, houses, Khanqah, dormitories, mosques, libraries, baths, and so on. It is possible that only the Shanb-e-Ghazan in Tabriz to some extent can be seen same to Rab'-e Rashidi Complex, but it must be remembered that the Shanb-e-Ghazan was built only in accordance with Rashid al-Din's instructions. In fact, establishment of IKhlasiyya Complex by Amir AliShir was the thing that had never been done by anyone except Khawaja Rashid al-Din. This possibility is also done by Amir Ali-Shir's remarks in his Waqfiyeh treatise written in Turkish, acknowledging that he wrote it from Persian treatise. It should be kept in mind that Rab'-e Rashidi 's Waqfiyeh is the largest and perhaps the most famous Waqfiyeh written in Persian throughout history, and the probability that Amir Alishir was unaware of it, is low. However, it should be said that the IKhlasiyya Madrasa was clearly founded on a much smaller scale than Rab'-e Rashidi's (Okane, 1386Š: 182). In fact, Amir Alishir words is sufficient to prove this claim. Because According to Waqfiyeh only twenty-two students were studying in the school of IKhlasiyya Madrasa (Nava'i, 1363Š: kj) whereas at least six thousand students was studying in Rab'-e Rashidi (Nemati Lima'i, 1393Š: 192).

C. Similarities of the religious views of Khawaja Rashid al-Din and Amir AliShir:

Amir Alishir was free from all religious prejudice, Social stratification and as mentioned, he gathered scholars of various faiths and religions together. Although Khawaja Rashid al-Din was following Hanafi maddhab, he respected the other religions and their followers. The recommendations he wrote for his Shi'ite followers, workers and subordinators are the best proof of this claim (Ibid, p. 169). His support for Sufism and the mysticism, his suggestion to individuals to adorn themselves with "the ornament of truth" (Rashid al-Din Fadlullah al-Vazir, 1346Š: 102) also proves his freedom of thought. It should be remembered that Sheikh Safi-ad-din Ardabili,

¹ Zeki Velidi Togan and Fekri Seljuqi acknowledged that the area where the ruins of the IKhlasiyya Complex are located, today is also known as AliShir Alley. (Togan, Fall1377 Š, 46 and Seljuqi, 1343 Š: 58). The fate of this heavily damaged historical building is less clear because of the lack of sources. It seems this important center of knowledge after death of Amir AliShir, disputes and civil wars During the Timurid era, the conflict between Uzbeks and the Safavids had no end except complete destruction.



a famous Sufi in the Mongol era and the great ancestor of the Safavids were among the Sufis supported and respected by Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani. Also he sent letters to his son who was the ruler of Ardabil at that time and ordered him “respect and show obedience to Sheikh Safi and seek his consent.” (Ibid, 102).

D. Similarity of activity of Khawaja Rashid al-Din and Amir Alishir in writing and Composing Poetry:

Amir Alishir was an active writer and poet, and the great number of works he has today in various fields attests to this importance. Khawaja Rashid al-Din also wrote a lot of works on various subjects. Among these books besides his well-known book Jame' al-Tawarikh, one can refer to such works as Latayef-e-Rashidi, Meftah al tafsir, Bayan al Haghayegh, Tansuqname, Waqfnameh Rab'-e Rashidi, Savaneh al-Afkar and etc. (Rajabzadeh, 1377Š: 326-302).

E. Similarity of the Opinions of Khawaja Rashid al-Din and Amir Alishir in Opposing Superstitions:

According to historical sources of Timurid era, Amir Alishir was rational in his life and avoided any superstitions. In this matter, we can mention his opposition to this part of astronomy that predicted people's fate or his opposition to Sultan Hussein Bayqara's request to use an astronomer who specifies the right time to launch the campaign (Khwandmir, 1378Š: 55-56). What is noteworthy is that Khawaja Rashid al-Din was also opposed superstition in astronomy. Khawaja Rashid's letter to his son, opposing astronomical superstitions and his recommendation to refrain from such arguments, confirms this claim (Rashid al-Din Fadlullah al-Vazir, 1346Š: 300).

As indicated at the outset of this article, the main purpose is to understand whether some scholar's beliefs who consider Amir Ali-Shir, the counterpart of Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk should be correct. Or on contrary should be rejected. If one considers this similarity theory to be false, can we find anyone in Iran's history whose performance similar to that of Amir Ali Sher? The author believes that this article can, not fully and comprehensively, but at least to some extent reach the original purpose, and hence there is no need to recount them. However, in short, the investigative studies showed that Amir Alishir Nava'i and Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk had such differences in thought and performance that they could not be considered the same. So to call Amir Alishir Nava'i, Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk Sani (the second, or another Khawaja Nizam al-Mulk) is completely wrong. Of course, this historical review also evokes the notion that Amir Alishir can be referred to as Khawaja Rashid al-Dini Sani (the second) due to the similarities of his thought and performance to Khawaja Rashid al-Din Fadlullah Hamadani. It may be assumed that Amir Alishir imitated Khawaja Rashid al-Din's way of life and succeeded in his way even more than Khawaja Rashid al-Din.

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E-mail: alishernavoiy2020@mail.ru



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