

To the Question of Relationships Between Representatives of the Sheybanid Dynasty with the Leaders of the Sufi Brotherhood of Maverannahr (1534-1598)

By

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to show the relationship and interaction of the Sheibanid rulers with the local Maverannakhr Sufi brotherhoods - Naqshbandiyya, Kubraviyya and Jahriya (Yassaviyya). The main materials for this study were information from Persian-language historical sources and Muslim hagiographic works (*manakib*) of the 16th century. The second generation of Sheibanids, whose representatives came to power in the mid-30s of the 16th century, unlike their predecessors, sought to establish trusting relationships with the leaders of various Sufi brotherhoods of Maverannahr. After the death of the great khan Kuchkundzhi-khan (died in 1534), Ubaydulla (died in 1540) became the new great khan of the nomadic Uzbeks, whose residence was in Bukhara. He maintained close relations with such well-known leaders of the Sufi brotherhoods of that period as the leader of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood Khoja Ahmad Kosoni (died in 1549), the leader of the Kubrawiyya brotherhood Sheikh Hussein Khorezmi (died in 1551), and others. In another large political center of Maverannahr - Samarkand, after the death of Kuchkunji Khan, his sons, Abu Said Khan and Foolad Sultan, became co-rulers of the city. They developed very close relationships with prominent Sufi leaders. In the 50-60s of the 16th century, due to the political ambitions of the new generation of Sheibanids, the country plunged into political chaos and a state of instability. Almost all well-known Sufi leaders of that period supported the claims of Sheibanid Abdullah Khan II (died 1598) to the khan's throne. The purpose of this article is to show the complex relationship of the Sheybanid rulers with the local Maverannahr Sufi brotherhoods - *naqshbandiyya, kubraviya and jahriya (yassaviya)*. The main materials for this study were information from Persian-language sources and Muslim hagiographic writings (*manakib*) of that period. The second generation of the Sheybanids, whose representatives came to power in the middle 30-s of the XVI th century, unlike their predecessors, sought to establish trusting relations with the leaders of the various Sufi brotherhoods of Maverannahr. After the death of the great Khan Kuchkunji Khan (died in 1534), Ubaidulla (died in 1540), whose residence was in Bukhara, became the new great khan of nomadic Uzbeks. He maintained close relations with such well-known leaders of the Sufi brotherhoods of that period as the leader of the *naqshbandi* brotherhood – Khoja Ahmad Kosoni (died in 1549), the leader of the *kubravia* brotherhood – Sheikh Hussein Khorezmi (died in 1551), etc. In the other large political center of Maverannahr

- Samarkand, after the death of Kuchkunji Khan, his sons Abu Said Khan and Fulad Sultan became co-rulers of the city. They established very close relations with prominent Sufi leaders. In the 50-60-s of the XVI th century, due to the political ambitions of a new generation of Sheybanids, the country plunged into political chaos and a state of instability. Almost all famous Sufi leaders of that period supported the claims of Sheibanid Abdullah Khan II (died 1598) on the Khan's throne.

Keywords: Sheybanids, Sufi sheikh, legitimacy, murid, naqshbandiya, kubraviya, jahriya.

Introduction

The turning point in military and political events that took place at the beginning of the 16th century. in Maverannahr, left a deep mark on the further development of local Sufism and its place in various social spheres. Although in those days the ideology and practice of Sufism depended little on various external circumstances, nevertheless, new historical events - the fall of the Timurid dynasty and the establishment of another dynasty - Sheibanids in the region - shaped its new characteristic features in society. Also during this period, complex relationships were formed between local Sufi brotherhoods with a newly arrived ethnic element - nomadic Uzbeks in political, religious and everyday life. However, the Sufi brotherhoods quickly adapted to the new current changes. It is known that the history of Sufism is closely intertwined with politics. At first glance, it seems that the life of the Sufi brotherhoods and their leaders took place outside the wider public. In fact, they showed the ability to quickly get involved in social and political life.

Results and Discussion

The relationship between Sheibanids and Sufi sheikhs in the 30-40s. XVI century

It is known that after the death of the great khan Kuchkunchi (1534), the era formally begins the next generation of Sheibanids. One of the brightest representatives of this generation was Ubaydulla Khan b. Mahmud Sultan b. Shah Budag Sultan. Ubaydulla Khan was considered the new head of the Sheibanid house and his residence was in Bukhara. The famous literary historian Khoja Hasan Nisari writes about Ubaydulla Khan the following: he has a good grasp of the essence of Sufism (dar tasawwuf munosibat kawi buda), mastered the intellectual and verbal sciences, had a penchant for musical science.

Ubaydulla Khan (1534-1540), showed himself to be a fanatical patron of Sunni Islam (mutashari '). The court historian of the Sheibanids, Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari writes that Ubaydulla Khan "made exceptional efforts to eradicate heresy" [1, p.95]. At the same time, Ubaydulla Khan maintained good relations with the leaders of various Sufi brotherhoods. For, as Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari writes, "after all, it has been proven that until one of the saints draws written instructions for this host of sovereigns, the affairs of the state do not get better" [1, p.163]. Hafiz-i Tanysh often combines the narration of these historical facts with edifying generalizations and advice. The purpose of a conversation with a saint is to receive the blessing of his spirit.

Ubaydulla Khan provided patronage to many well-known representatives of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood and, as a murid (student), attended their discussions on spiritual issues, listened to their advice. In this matter, one of his mentors was the influential leader of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood, Khojagi Ahmad Kosoni. Once Sheikh Ahmad Kosoni had a long conversation with Ubaydulla Khan and dedicated him to the intricacies of enlightenment

and truth. Judging by the information from the hagiographic work "Jama'ul-makamat" during this conversation, the khan "came to the senses and cried for a long time" (khazrat-i eshon bo-Ubaidullokhon suhbat-i azim doshtand wa maorif-u hakoik farmudand. Khazrat-i khon mutaassir shuda giryaho kardand). Ubaydulla Khan was a sincere follower of Sufism and was the author of an extensive mystical work. As the literary historian Khoja Hasan Nisari writes, the attention of Ubaydulla Khan was more attracted by such oriental literary genres as mu'amma (riddle) and lugz (charade). The khan himself was well aware of these literary genres. One of the famous students of Khojagi Ahmad Kosoni, Hafiz Ibrahim, also actively participated in literary meetings organized by Ubaydulla Khan and enjoyed the favorable attention of the ruler. Once the attention of Ubaydulla Khan was attracted by Hafiz Ibrahim with his couplet with a successful play on words. Hafiz Ibrahim himself was from Karmina (not far from Bukhara) and at a fairly early age joined the Naqshbandiyya (Khojagon) tariqat. He possessed an elegant, subtle instinct and composed pleasant poems [3, l.108b]. Another time, the Tajik writer and historian Zain ad-din Vosifi (died in 1566), as a well-known expert on these genres, was invited to one of such literary meetings (majlis) of the khan.

In that era, there was a paradoxical ideal in society - to be a dervish inside, even if he bears a royal crown (surat-i hohagiva sirat-i darveshon). This ideal is evidenced by the well-known Beit of Ubaydulla Khan in Persian, although in some poetry collections this beit is attributed to Zahir ad-din Babur (died in 1530):

Dur ast maguy shohivu darveshi,
Gar chi shochem, vale bandai darveshonem.
Don't say that power and domination are far from each other,
Although I am a padishah, but a fan of dervishes.

These lines are permeated by the fact of appropriation of the ideas of Sufism for political purposes. In this context, one can give another example from the very poetic heritage of Ubaydullah Khan, which clearly indicates the relationship between the ruler and the dervishes:

Hey Ubayd, sar matob az hidmati mardoni hack.
Oh Ubayd, never turn your back on serving the husbands of truths.

Communication of Ubaydulla Khan with famous Maverannahr sheikhs pursued a special goal. He was a typical example of a representative of the Sheibanid dynasty with their characteristic special qualities: pragmatism and cunning. He deftly used the influence and power of the Sufi sheikhs for his own purposes. For example, at the beginning of the relationship between Khojagi Ahmad Kosoni and Ubaydulla Khan, a trusting relationship was established. However, subsequently, the sheikh did not like the hypocritical behavior of the khan, and the author of the hagiographic work Jama 'ul-makamat (Repository of the degrees of spiritual perfection) [4, l.82b] condemns these contradictory actions of the khan and casts doubt on his religious and political reputation.

It is known from the history of Sufism that from the very beginning the relationship between Sufis and rulers was of a dual nature. Most likely, Ubaydulla Khan stood out for his special hypocrisy in court life, which could not but be reflected in the episode of his meeting with the famous feudal lord of that time Mir-i Arab (died in 1526) near the Gijduvan area (near Bukhara). According to the plot, Ubaydulla Khan first let him know about the need to stay in the saddle, when he himself humbly walked at the stirrup of his mentor, and shed tears in tears, listening to his teachings [5, p.158].

After his death, Ubaydulla Khan was buried in the mazar of Khoja Baha ud-din

Naqshband. His son and heir Abd al-Aziz Khan (1540-1550) was also extremely disposed towards the Muslim clergy, although sources note its contradictory nature. In some written sources, in particular, in the historical work "Mussahir al-bilad" (Conqueror of countries), he is called Shariatpanoh (patron saint of Sharia), although other medieval authors doubt this. The well-known literary historian Khoja Hasan Nisari characterizes this khan as the patron saint of scientists and poets, generous and not allowing actions contrary to adab (the norms of moral behavior of the Sharia). In Sufism, his murshid (mentor) was Sheikh Jalol Hiravi (died in 1548). Abd al-Aziz Khan tried to build mosques and other charitable institutions and became famous for these structures. In 1544, the khan erected a magnificent structure - the mausoleum of Bah ad-din Naqshband in Bukhara and a monastery with him. A magnificent library was organized at the monastery, and this building became one of the main places of pilgrimage in Maverannahr.

However, judging by the indirect information of the Manakibs, in parallel with the pious way of life, he was known as a great lover of wine drinking and promiscuous intimate pleasures (ba vodi-i khamr wa fisk dohil shud). And in the manakibs the reader does not find a description of the positive qualities of this ruler. The controversial behavior of the khan led to a break in relations with the Bukharian ulam. The clergy were not happy with the negative behavior of the khan. It struck out his name from the khutba, arguing that he had estranged himself from Sharia law (az chikhat-i, ki istikomate dar sharia-i Muhammad Mustafo va az niyobat-i Muhammad Mustafo azl qard) [6, l.120b]. In particular, apparently, because of his vicious behavior, an irreconcilable enmity arose between him and the famous Bukhara sheikh Khoja Islam Djujbari (died in 1563). The ruler died before reaching his advanced years - forty years of age. Abd al-Aziz Khan was also buried in the mazar of Khoja Baha ud-din Naqshband.

In another political center, in Samarkand, after the death of the influential Sheibanid Kuchkunchi Khan (who actually ruled the country after Sheibani Khan's death), his sons Foolad Sultan and Abu Sa'id Khan became co-rulers of the city. Foolad Sultan, in a sense, delved into religious issues. He and his brother Abu Sa'id Khan loved to communicate with the sheikhs of the Jahriya (Yassaviya) brotherhood, in particular, with Sheikh Khudoidod Azizon (died in 1534) and usually presented him with expensive gifts. In this regard, the question is very interesting, how did Sheikh Khudoidod manage to achieve a special location for the khan's court? According to one version, he won the favor of the ruler because of his reputation as a healer. Abu Sa'id Khan with his numerous retinue often attended the Sufi Majlis (meetings) of the sheikh. And every time the sheikh arrived in Samarkand, this ruler went out to meet him. The son of Abu Sa'id Khan, Abd al-Latif (1540-1551), also favored Sheikh Khudoidod and himself almost reached the rank of Sheikh (wa karib ba sin-i shaikhuhat rasida bud). During the reign of Sheibanid Abd al-Latif, Samarkand turned into a prosperous city. This was his significant merit. His son Javanmardali Khan b. Abd al-Latif Khan also favored the famous sheikhs and scholars (mashoikh-u fusalo) of that time. He, in turn, was also educated by Sheikh Khudoidod himself.

It is noteworthy that when Hussein Khorezmi (died in 1551) - the leader of the kubraviyya brotherhood, being already a famous sheikh, arrived in Samarkand, another co-ruler of the city, Foolad Sultan b. Kuchkunchi Khan became his close follower. After the death of this ruler, at the previously announced request of the deceased, Sheikh Hussein Khorezmi performed the memorial service (chanoza).

Another Sheibanid, the future ruler of Samarkand Sultan Sa'id Sultan (died in 1572) - the son of the aforementioned Sheibanid Abu Sa'id Khan, also became an ardent admirer of Sheikh Hussein Khorezmi (he is Sulton-i Dinpanokh Herodat wa inobat ba Hazrat-i Eshon

ovard) [7, l.140]. The famous Maverannahr literary historian Khoja Hasan Nisari characterized Sultan Sa'id Sultan as a just and merciful ruler, a friend of his subjects. According to B.V. Norik, after the death of Sheikh Hussein Khorezmi (died in 1551 in Sham and was buried there), Sultan Sa'id Sultan, "possessing a dervish warehouse", became a follower of Sheikh Sharif al-din Hussein (son of Sheikh Hussein Khorezmi). Sultan Sa'id Sultan died in 1572. His grave is located in the madrasah of his father Abu Sa'id Khan, in Samarkand [8, p. 251].

Maverannahr in the middle of the 16th century. In the middle of the 16th century, when the most influential representatives of the Sheibanid generation for various reasons withdrew from political activity, an era of political instability and chaos began. A long exhausting war between the Sheibanid princes began in the country [9, p.27-43]. Each of them justified their actions as an attempt to maintain internal order.

The cohesion of the Sufi brotherhood, which retained a strong position in society, is very interesting and indicative, especially during the periods of weakness of the Sheibanid state, when the rulers in their policies were guided by their own selfish interests. In this situation, numerous Maverannakhr rulers from the house of Sheibanids were looking for the necessary spiritual support from authoritative sheikhs in that era (the era of strengthening separatism (Tafrik)). For example, Samarkand prince Abu-l Khair Sultan b. Javanmardali Khan b. Abd al-Latif Khan sought rapprochement (dast-i herodat) with the leaders of the Jahriya brotherhood. He entered the circle of Mawlan Ismat, a representative of this brotherhood. This heir to the throne was also a student of another famous figure of the said brotherhood - Kasim Sheikh Azizon (died in 1581). The author of the hagiographic work "Lamakhat min nafat al-uns" (Reflections from the breath of holiness), dedicated to the sheikhs of the Sufi brotherhood Jahriya (chahriya), in this regard writes about him that Abu-l Khair Sultan, being in a khanaka (Sufi monastery), went with barefoot and dragged water. This circumstance (the visit to the monastery by the Sultan), according to the hagiographer's assumption, became the cause of his death (bo po-and ram obkash-and he hilvat bud va hamin hidmat sabab-i marg-i wai shud).

Such a zealous attitude towards religious rites was not characteristic of all Sheibanids. For example, the next ruler of Bukhara, Rahim Sultan, the son of Ubaydulla Khan, preferred debauchery (fisk-u fuchur) to godly deeds. His son and successor to the Bukhara throne Burkhan Sultan b. Rahim Sultana b. Ubaydulla Khan was also prone to debauchery [10, l.53a, b] and therefore many representatives of the clergy, as well as Sufi sheikhs, were in opposition to him. But, judging by the information of some written sources, Burkhan Sultan (1553 - 1557), it turns out, was a capable ruler, and did a lot for the improvement of Bukhara. However, the historical circumstances in the country worked against him. All major political players claimed the Bukhara throne. Contrary to his own ambitions and dreams, Burkhan Sultan became a victim of unpredictable and difficult circumstances, as well as political games around the Bukhara throne. Once, when his political opponents besieged Bukhara for three months, the ruler of the city Burkhan Sultan began to actively visit the khanak of the Naqshbandi sheikh Khoja Islam Djuybari (died in 1563). His disciples admired his sincerity and religious conviction (akida). However, the sheikh himself easily noticed the ostentatious piety of the ruler, which at times was acutely manifested in moments of hopeless political situation (Burhon Sulton chandon mulozimat-i hoha karda, ki muhlison ba ihlos va akida-i u ofarinho honda, ammo hocha farmudand, ki in ihlos az sidq nest) [11, l.69b].

Sheibanid Abdullah Khan II. Due to the selfish aspirations of this generation of Sheibanids, there was a threat of a split in the country and the beginning of its decline. The imminent threat of fragmentation of the country was eliminated for a certain time by Abdullakhan (1557-1598). He, as the most famous representative of the last generations of

Sheibanids, is described in historical chronicles and manakibs as a great admirer of the Sufi brotherhoods. It is said (nakl ast) that when he was still young, the famous leader of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood, Khojagi Ahmad Kosoni, pulled a couple of hairs out of his camel hair shirt and attached it to the child's belt. Then, blessing him, he prophesied (farmudand) a brilliant political future for him. Khojagi Ahmad Kosoni also named Abdullah Khan. The naming of a name by a Sufi sheikh was a tradition in the Muslim community. For example, it is known that Khoja Akhrar Vali (died in 1490) was named Zahir ad-din Babur. The name Sufi sheikh had a protective function - the creation of an aura of invulnerability for the future orthodox ruler. The result of naming a sheikh is the emergence of a wonderful patron.

The historian Hafiz-i Tanish Bukhari writes that the great and glorious Allah distinguished this ruler (Abdullah Khan), provided him with help and bestowed happiness on him. Abdullah Khan was patronized by Khoja Islam Djuybari, the famous leader of the Jahriya brotherhood Kasim Sheikh Azizon (died in 1581), as well as other famous and influential Sufi sheikhs. Khoja Islam Djuybari, in the difficult and unstable internal political situation of Maverannahr, mainly supported the claims of Abdullah Khan to the throne. 1581) provided spiritual support to Abdullah Khan. According to this author, the reason for the self-sacrifice of Qasim Sheikh during the cholera epidemic was to save Abdullah Khan and his troops, for in the essence of the latter lies a genuine blessing (va niz mefarmudand, ki ba Abdullohon wa lashkar-i wai wabo mutavacheh shud, man onro ikbol namudam, zero dar vuchud-i Abdullohon khair ziyod ast) [12, l. 203b]. The belief in victory on the battlefield with the support of the Sufi sheikhs, fixed in the Timurid chronicles, was extremely widespread during this period as well. According to the historian Hafiz-i Tanish Bukhari, in difficult moments of his life, merciful angels and souls of great sheikhs helped Abdullah Khan. The latter tried to observe the principles of Sufism in his life: in particular, although he possessed great power, he showed himself to be humble. He treated Khoja Juybari with exceptional love and always consulted with him. Khoja Islam Djuybari was actually his adviser.

It is worth noting that even when Abdullah Khan went hunting, he previously received permission and blessing (ichoizat wa fotiha) from Khoja Islam Djuybari. Actually, a sincere murid in all his affairs, both worldly and spiritual, should always ask his murshid for advice. The historian Hafiz-i Tanysh writes that Abdullah Khan always begged the Sufis for help and always received timely spiritual help. In this regard, the author states that if Divine mercy and help are not the ruler's guide, then all the advantages and numbers of troops are nothing. For the fate of the ruler is predetermined by the almighty God. Famous religious figures, people of Sayyid origin, numerous members of the Naqshbandi brotherhood and other pious people accompanied Abdullah Khan on his campaigns. Sometimes he trusted Sufis more than his advisers.

Summary

According to written sources, the feeling of sin and guilt was unusually widespread at that time in different strata of the Maverannakhr society, in particular among the representatives of the Sheibanid political elite. True, some of them demonstrated a sense of guilt and sin for the sake of external effect, sought to show the proportions of political power and humility in the spirit of Sufism. Judging by the information of the Manakibs, Abdullah Khan was possessed by a sense of sin, which made his life more severe. He was probably saddled with guilt over the killing of his rival relatives. These numerous murders of Sheibanid relatives could become a heavy moral and religious burden for him. He considered himself a lost person and often experienced feelings of suffering, helplessness, and powerlessness. As

the historian Hafiz-i Tanish Bukhari writes, on campaigns he always visited holy places and mazars, where the bodies of famous people of the Muslim community were buried. The facts show that he tried to do everything to spread a godly lifestyle among his subjects. For example, being in Termez, he asked for help from the holy souls of pious people who rested in these places, in this sacred land. In particular, he visited the graves of people of Sayyid origin - the "grave of the pole of saints" of Khoja Muhammad Ali Termezi, as well as the grave of the famous sheikh Abu Bakr Varrak and other great sheikhs. Here Abdullah Khan showed generosity, distributing numerous gifts, rich alms to the mujavirs (guardian of the holy area) of these places [13, p.84]. While in Balkh, Abdullah Khan visited the grave of the fourth caliph Ali ibn Abu Talib. Having performed the ceremony of visiting the grave, he distributed to the poor and needy many alms, many gifts. He awarded the high title of Sheikh-ul-Islam, Sheikh and Trustee of this area to the "guidebook of the house of saints" Hasan Khoja Naqib [14, p.106].

There is nothing surprising in these and other enthusiastic judgments of the historian Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari, given the central role of Abdullah Khan in the history of Maverannahr in the second half of the 16th century. Most likely, his exaggerated and vivid image was created due to the fragmentation and weakness of his opponents. Despite the outstanding successes of Abdullah Khan in strengthening the Sheibanid state, he was not destined to realize the main issue - the issue of continuity in order to avoid political upheavals in the future and preserve his legacy. The short reign of his successor son Abd al-Mu'min (died 1598) was the culmination of political selfishness that led to the final self-destruction of the Sheibanid state.

In general, with the dominance of the new dynasty in Maverannahr, the local Sufi brotherhood did not experience a crisis of succession (organizational and spiritual). And the local Sufi brotherhoods, preserving the old traditions, were gradually drawn into court political life. Sufi leaders have different opportunities and levels of access to the Sheibanid court. Socio-political initiatives aimed at rapprochement came from both sides. Closeness to the ruler gave importance to the Sufi leaders. The latter hoped that this factor would give them and the members of the fraternity different advantages. They expected the ruler to influence public life in accordance with their understanding. Most of the Sheibanid rulers were too receptive to the utterances of famous Sufis. Sufi leaders were able to quickly combine the interests of the brotherhood with the policies of the Sheibanids. At first, their point of contact was the strengthening of the foundations of Sharia and the general perception of an external threat.

It is known that religious issues often determined the political behavior of the Sheibanids, and at the same time, their policy dictated the development of events around any acute religious issue or religious situation. And here Sufism and politics, which at first glance seem to be completely dissimilar concepts, actually successfully interacted in some areas. Famous Sufis, due to their special charisma and exceptional position in society, had a tangible impact on the political life of the region. However, the relationship between Sufi leaders and rulers cannot be drawn only in black and white. The desire of the Sufi sheikhs to interact with the authorities does not always mean the proximity of their views, however, this hardly created difficulties for the Sheibanids. Often, Sufi sheikhs had to smooth their ideas or recommendations to match the expectations and perceptions of the ruler of the time. Sufi sheikhs helped the Sheibanid state and naturally benefited from this, but it is also worth noting that they simply had no other choice. On a number of issues, disagreements and misunderstandings often arose between them. The expectations of the Sufi leaders were not always justified, although it seems that they were based primarily on the principles of Sharia. And the position of the Sufi sheikhs did not always prevail on certain issues. This moment was

probably a factor of misunderstanding and disagreement between some rulers and mystics. In most cases, the latter, in carrying out their own mission, were guided more by ethical principles than by political expediency.

Often, the researcher has the impression that the Sufi sheikh was used as a tool to achieve other people's goals. The rulers strove to turn it into an instrument of influence. He was considered the figure through which representatives of the Sheibanid elite could exercise significant influence in certain areas. And this circumstance could also serve as an additional point of misunderstanding between the Sheibanid rulers and some famous Sufis.

Conclusions

The history of relations between representatives of the Sheibanid dynasty with leaders of the Sufi brotherhoods for more than half a century shows that they passed different periods, levels and degrees of intensity. New generation of Sheibanids, since Ubaydulla Khan, unlike her predecessors, she sincerely sought a way contact and rapprochement with Sufi sheikhs and received for this spiritual and political support. But there were also opposite tendencies among them. In the 50-60s. XVI century in the political behavior of some representatives of the Sheibanid generation unreasonable ambitions and narrow-political interests prevailed more than the presence of a sincere perception of the instructions (nasikh) of the Sufi sheikhs.