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TOLERANCE HERITAGE: THE ROUTE OF SUFISM FROM KHORASAN TO THE BALKANS

Abstract

The necessity for peaceful coexistence today makes clearer the requirement for study on tolerance. The vast region from Central Asia-Khorasan to the Balkans has had its ups and downs for centuries in the study of its historical geography. The diversity of nations and tribes along this path highlights the attention to common cultural components. Meanwhile, the existence of various Sufi groups throughout the history in the region has a special character. The idea of Sufism was essentially based on tolerance and grew into a Peaceful coexistence. However, various Sufi groups have experienced violence at historic junctures by entering the political arena. But it must be said that the distinction between cultural and ideological Sufism has shown peaceful life. This article endeavor to introduce the Sufism growth and development in different regions so that a significant and plausible path can be drawn as a Sufi Road. In addition, the legacy of Sufism has been activated by its cultural image in the areas in question, showing many similarities between different Sufi groups in various countries. The homogeneity among the cultural components of Sufism in the geography of the region are a way for dialogue. As a result, one can experience cultural exchange in the form of coexistence and tolerance.

Keywords: Sufism, Khorasan, tolerance legacy, Balkans, Sufi Road

Introduction

Sufism, as an important, influential and nevertheless complex phenomenon, has always been the focus of critics and analysts because it is so significant and influential that it has taken root in the lower layers of society and even religious and

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intellectual education, and on the other hand, it is so complex then vague that it cannot be easily claimed that its various aspects have been surrounded; to the extent that there is still no consensus among scholars about the authenticity or non-authenticity of this approach (Sufism) in Islamic society. One of the thoughtful topics in the history of Islamic Sufism has been the process of its formation and dissemination in the Islamic world and the effects of this developmental process. Since the center of Sufism was formed in Khorasan-Iran and this discourse spread from this region to the east to India and from west to Anatolia and the Balkans, it is important to study the course of the movement of this Sufi discourse. It can be said that this path of Sufism, like the Silk Road, which carries economic goods, it carries cultural elements that today can be assessed as Sufi Road, can be examined its effective legacy in the area of peaceful coexistence and compromise.

This article endeavor to reconstruct this intercontinental path to the components of the transition of the Sufi discourse parallel with the Silk Road but with a cultural function in the development of peaceful coexistence. In this regard, there are some major questions that can clarify the path of this research: First, what areas covers with Sufi Road? And what are the main factors behind the formation of this path? And finally, what impact has the creation of this cultural road on the convergence and compromise of the nations' get involved on the path? The findings of the present study point to the fact that the pivot of the formation of the active Sufi branch was in Khorasan that its dominant discourse is on the thought of pantheism and compromise. For centuries these important currents of the order (*tariqa*) provides Bektāshi and Qezelbāshi in the form of influential branches that bordered Central Asia and Khorasan to Anatolia and the Balkans. One of the structural basics of this Sufi order has been the spirit of tolerance in actions and the avoidance of ideological and worldly-minded fragile forms. Today, the representation of the convergence of different nations over this road together can be a display of the cultural paradigm for the development of peaceful coexistence thought in the historical geography of this article.

Backgrounds: Sufism in Khorasan

The Great Khorasan, due to its history and historical role in promoting Islam in Central Asia, has been one of the important religious centers in the Islamic world and Iran. Islamic traditions and *shari`a* (religious law) have always had a strong presence in the region, so that the effects of this religious position on the form and nature of the Sufi dominant movement in the region are significant. In fact, the most important success for Sufis theorists of Khorasan school in this period was that they were able to establish the status of Sufism in a *shari`a* - friendly manner and consistent with Islamic traditions in Khorasan society.³ Abu

3 Ilya Pavlovich Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, translated by Karim Keshavarz, Peyam Publishers, Tehran, 1979/1350, p. 350.

Sa`id Abu al-Khair was the most famous Sufi of Khorasan during the traverse from Ghaznavid (997-1186) to Seljuk (1037-1194) dynasties, he was known for his extraordinary bounty and generosity.⁴ Abu Sa`id's efforts to popularize the present in the Great Khorasan of the 11th and 12th centuries succeeded in beginning a profound change in the history of the essential knowledge of the Islamic World and the production of literature, especially Sufi poetry.

The status of Khorasan province and the diversity of ethnic and religious minorities contributed greatly to the flourishing of Sufism in this region. The Sufi elders (*sheikh*-شَيْخ) of Khorasan helped to increase the fertility of Sufism through with the help of ancient ideology such as chivalry, prudence, piety, and the penance that existed in this region. The land of Great Khorasan can be regarded as the cradle of Sufism in the Islamic World because of being in the center of the confluence of different nations and religions, the advent of *zāhid* (pious) and the famous Sufis, the spread of Sufi orders and schools (*tariqa*), and the writing of prominent works by the mystics in this land. The Sufism school of Khorasan has unique components. The Sufism of Khorasan is differentiated from the schools of Baghdad and Basra with the tradition of compromise and tolerance, that this issue is greatly affected by the presence of saints, righteous, clergy and other religious minorities (ancient Iranian, Buddhist religions) and their influence on Sufism.⁵

At the same time, among the cities of Khorasan in the context of Sufism and mysticism, Neyshabur has a special place. Neyshabur was one of the centers of Sufism in Islam from the 9th to the 12th century. Most of the Sufis and Sufi elders in Neyshabur were *Sunni* and *Shāfi`i*. The Sufi masters in Neyshabur, who had many followers, are known as the Sufi tradition of Neyshaburi. For the first time in Neyshabur, Muhammad Salāmi Neyshaburi wrote the history of the Sufis (10th and 11th centuries). The *tariqa* of Malāmatiyya originated in this area. The most famous Sufis of Neyshabur are `Attār Neyshaburi and Abu Sa`id Abu al-Khair. Abolhassan Hojviri (b. 1086) attributes the spread of Sufism in Neyshabur to Abu `Uthman Sa`id ibn Isma`il Khairi, whose preaching in Neyshabur had many followers. He informs about the presence of three hundred Sufi *sheikhs* in Khorasan, each of which had their own particular method, and one of them was enough for all of the world and saying that "the sun of love and good fortune is in Khorasan's astrology".⁶ Sufi methods in Neyshabur became popular at the middle of the 11th century with the expansion of Sufi convent and schools. At the end of this century, two different types of Sufi were distinguished in this city: the moderate Sufism (*towhid gerā*-توحيد گرا), which was represented by great Sufis such as Abu Abdul Rahmān Salmi (b.1021) and Abu al-Qāsim Qosheiri (b.1072) and another is

4 Muhammad ibn Monavvar, *Asrar al-Towhid fi maqamat al-Shiekh abo Sae'id*, ed. Taqi Asadi, Asal Publishers, Tehran, 2014/1393, p. 17.

5 Leonard Lewisohn, *The Heritage of Sufism*, translated by Majdodin Keivani, Markaz Publishers, Tehran, 2005/1384, p. 51.

6 Ali ben Osman Hojvairi, *Kashf al-Mahjoub*, translated by R. Nikolson, Hermes Publishers, Tehran, 2001/1380, p. 216.

the radical and extremist Sufism pantheism (*wahdat-e wjodi*- وحدت وجودی) whose famous mystic, Sheikh Abu Sa`id Abu al-Khair (b.1048) was its prominent face.

At the end of the 10th and 11th centuries, the formal rituals and radical asceticism replaced with moderate Sufi mysticism⁷, but what led to the rapid growth of this way in the Neyshabur community was, foremost, being composite and the other hand the existence of close relationship between Sufism and *Shāfi`i* jurisprudence. In fact, from the late 10th to the end of the 11th century, the Neyshabur Sufis widely adopted *Shāfi`i* jurisprudence, and *Shāfi`i* jurists were interested in Sufism.⁸ As far as Neyshabur's history there is no mention of a non-*Shāfi`i* Sufi. Even Sheikh Abu Sa`id is also said to follow this faith.⁹ However, the Neyshabur Sufis taught in their monastery (*khāneqāh*) the principles of religion and the principles of the faith, and the benefactors, and the masters also built friary for them, so the Sufis were able to austerity, care and self-purification and also obtaining the Sufi foundations from narration (*hadith*) and commentary of religious text. The history of Sufism in Neyshabur begins with the activities of the `Amr bin Sālm's convent and ends with Haji Bektāsh Vali.

In general, the Islamic Sufism, after going through the early stages, during the 10th and 11th centuries specifically stepped in to establish and consolidate its theoretical foundations and reached the stage of development and perfection. As a result of this evolution, the Sufis were divided into various ways and parties, and each became under guidance of a master or *sheikh*. This, in turn, has led to the evolution of the Sufi social organization and the emergence of modes of worship and shrines throughout the Islamic World.¹⁰ In short, it can be added that Sufism in the first stage followed the individualistic and path of theoretical evolution and in the second stage it evolved towards socialization. Then they found their evolution into the political and ideological realm and gained power in some areas, such as Iran: The Safavids.

Thus, from a theoretical and practical perspective, Sufism can be divided into two main groups: moderate Sufi and pantheism Sufi unity. Moderate Sufi strictly adhered to the appearance of religion or the *shari`a*, but the pantheism Sufis did not first adhere to the appearance of the *shari`a* - religious practice - and considered various other paths for religious practice. The unity Sufi pantheism was one of the ingenious and one of the most important and complex mystical discourses that used by mystics to understand God, being, and man. An attitude that many believe that it was theoretically organized by Ibn `Arabi and the date of its creation is in the 12th century, while a view of the remained works of earlier

7 Margaret Malamod, Sufi Organizations and Power Structures in Medieval Neyshabur, translated by Mohamad Nazari Hashemi, *Journal of Khorasan Pejohi*, No. 2, 1998/1377, pp. 65-92.

8 Muhammad ibn Monavar, *Asrar al-Towhid fi maqamat al-Shiekh abo Sae`id* . . . pp. 20-24.

9 C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, translated by Hasan Anoshe, Amir Kabir Publishers, Tehran, 2005, p. 175.

10 Qasem Ghani, *Discussion of Hafiz's works and thoughts*, Vol. 2, Zavvar Publishers, Tehran, 1995/1374, pp. 47-58.

mystics shows that the unity of existence has a long and long history.¹¹ This view of orders (*tariqa*-طریقت) is one of the contradictions of human thought that many thinkers have not accepted, but mystics have claimed intuition of its meaning. The mystical interpretation of this theory rests on the principle that, except for one true being, which is the God, no other every living thing can be found in the universe, and everything else is its manifestation. This theory holds that: "God is all and all is God. The creation of universe is not distinct from God. God is the world and the world is God"¹² or, as some say, "there is only one being and the other forms of reality surrounding or appearing from god, or the same"¹³ and finally this commentary believes that: "God is all things and everything is God, the world is either God himself or some form of manifestation of his essence".¹⁴

This technical outline of the *tariqa*, later applied to that perspective of existential unity, while this kind of mysticism was most pragmatic and simplified the religious teachings, mainly its target audience was the ordinary people, the people who better understood and dedicated themselves to love. Moreover, the teachings that everyone understands, empathy, and sympathy with audiences in different geographies conveyed the fundamental message that everyone are capable of understanding from the heart way, and that all beliefs and faiths with different customs were influenced and won the position. Aligning with the customs of the target audience and the ease of rituals - religious tolerance - created a huge disciple in every region. To be sure, in view of the variety of Sufi branches of pantheism unity, its commonality was popular acceptance and a popular interpretation of religion and worship. Thus, the great Sufis of various orders with "the way of the travel" at every angle, with empathy and devotion, gained a large audience in different geographies. Spreading such thoughts and getting them noticed on the other hand was due to the high pressure conditions and the numerous wars that have grown dramatically since the Mongol era. Following the path of Sufism on the east-west road of the Iranian plateau was nothing but the escape and migration of the people from the front side of the Mongols swords, was Mowlānā Jalāluddīn Rūmī a fugitive and a refugee of this tribe, from Balkh to Konya.

During early 13th century, one of the most attractive areas for these immigrants was primarily the Anatolian region and then the Balkans. Migrations and settlements in Anatolia have helped to culturally spread Sufism principle in Anatolia because, after the Mongol invasion of Iran (1219), Sufi leaders such as *Najmuddin Dāye Rāzi*, *Būrhānuddīn Mohaqeq Termazi*, *Bahao'ddin* and his son *Jalāluddīn Muhammad Rūmī* emigrated to Asia Minor and the city of Konya. Then and be-

11 Mohiedin Ibn'Arabi, *Futuhāt al-Makkiyya*, Vol. 2, Dar al-Sader, Beirut, no date, p.459.

12 Walter T. Stace, *Mystery and philosophy*, translated by Baha al-Din Khoramshahi, Sorosh Publishers, Tehran, 1996/1375, p. 214.

13 Huw P. Owen, *Concepts of Deity*, Macmillan Publishers, London, 1971, p. 65.

14 Michael P. Levine, *Pantheism*, Routledge, London, 1994, p. 10.

came a place for Sufism to penetrate with Farsi language in to the Balkan region.¹⁵ In the meantime, the Anatolia as part of the Muslim World, not only be exempted from this rule, but because of the border region of the Muslim world, the settlement of large numbers of non-Muslim peoples in this land was always favored by Sufi warriors (*ghāzi*-غزای) propagandists. The increasing activity of these migrants in Anatolia, often dressed in religion and brotherhood, made them the most important and pervasive characteristic of the land in the 13th century.¹⁶

This was also because during this period, the tolerance and religious compromise of the Roman Seljuks Empire (1077-1308) and their attention and respect for the mystics (*ʿarif*-عارف) and Sufis, along with the tribulations and turmoil that as a result of the Mongol invasion, it had engulfed Muslims, especially its eastern regions, led to the exodus of many famous Sufi scholars such as *Mowlānā Jalāluddīn Rūmi*, *ʿUhadudīn Kermāni*, *Najmuddīn Dāya* and many others Sufi to Anatolia, each of them bringing numerous of poetry and prose that contributed to the spread of Sufi beliefs in the region.¹⁷ In addition, many Sufis under the title of *baba* moved between the nomadic tribes and the semi-shaman Turkmens and trained them to create a generation of Sufis' warrior who then played an important role in the social and religious political developments of the region.¹⁸ Furthermore, in the social sphere, the Balkans region was also a suitable base for the Sufi methods and the runaway people were in the face of Mogul attacks and unrest in other areas to reaching peace. Disillusioned with the bitterness of the days, as a result of the guidance of the mystical Sufis, problems like poverty and the failure of the events of the day were forgotten.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the arrival Sufi discourse to Anatolia and the Balkans had two facets; one of which was the urban aspect, as this civilization expanded in Asia Minor; another facet was rural and it was the farmers and deserters who, although exposed to the influence of the urbanization tradition, but they were distinct.²⁰

The urban mysticism expanded with activities in various cities such as Erzurum, Tokat, Sivas, Kayseri, Malatya and Konya, and grew into Persian and Arabic authentic languages by geniuses such as *Mowlānā* and *Ibn ʿArabi*. The peculiarity of this kind of Sufism, in terms of its intellectual foundations, is that on the one hand it is found in the Iranian culture which appears in the works of *Najmuddīn Rāzī* (1221), *Mowlānā* and *Bahāʿddīn Sultān Valad* (d. 1312) and on the other hand, by *Ibn ʿArabi*. This form of Sufism had its own organizations along with fixed practices and customs was run by the endowment's (*vaqf*-وقف) income. One of

15 Masood Tareh, "Sufism in Asia Minor and the Balkans", in: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 15, Foundation of Islamic Encyclopedia, Tehran, 2008/1387, p. 430.

16 S. J. Shaw, *The history of Ottoman Empire and New Turkish*, translated by Mahmode Ramazanzade, Astan Qods Razavi Publishers, Mashhad, 1991/1370, p. 43.

17 Abdūlbāki Gölpinarlı, *Malamat and Malamatiyah*, translated by Tofiq Sobahani, Keyhan Publishers, Tehran, 1999/1378, p. 199.

18 A. J. Arberi, et al., *History of Islam*, translated by Ahmad Aram, Amir Kabir Publishers, Tehran, 2001/1380, p. 342.

19 Mohamad Shekar, *Saljukids*, translated by Nasrolalah Salehi, Ali Artoghrol, Adyan Publishers, Qom, 2006/1385, pp. 139-141.

20 Masood Tareh, "Sufism in Asia Minor and the Balkans"... p. 429.

the most important methods related to it can be mentioned Naqshbandiyyah, Rūmi and Khalvatiyyah. In contrast, the rural Sufism in the rural areas appeared among a class of clerical men called Baba, who were heirs of non-Muslim Turkic *shaman* tribes ritual, had no religious education, and they only knew Turkish. Their beliefs were a mixture of Sufi, Shiite, ancient Turkic-Mongolian rituals and Byzantine Christian culture. Since dervish usually lived among the peasants, they gained more influence in the villages. Among the important ways in this kind of approach are the different Hurufism and Alawites sects.²¹

Another way which Sufism spread in Asia Minor was through generosity (*fo-tovvat*-فتوت) and brotherhood (*'okhovvāt*-اخوت) manner. This process, which had existed in Anatolia and other parts of the Islamic world for a long time, such as Iran and Iraq, was gradually influenced by the Ismaili and Sufi hierarchies, and got more organized and due to its mingling with Sufism, gained more credibility and influence. According to Ibn Battuta in the early decades of the 14th century, the Fatimids and the brotherhood (*akhi* - اخی) were active and influential in all areas and cities of Anatolia, and even in some cities the people's affairs were in their hands, and in various parts of Anatolia and their dynasty of sincerity arrived to Imam Ali who was the first Shiite Imams.²²

This, along with other issues such as the existence of a number of *akhis* around the successors of Sheikh Safieddin Ardebili (1252-1334), and the fact that Shah Ismail I Safavid (1427-1523) in the Turkish Divan used the *akhis* title in the right of his companions and followers, shows the relationship between *fatiyān* in Anatolia with Qezelbāsh and Shi'a.²³ The *fatiyān* (chivalrous) and the *akhis* have played an important role in the successes and successes of the Safavids, and in return the Safavid support of these groups has made them one of their propaganda elements in the 15th and 16th centuries.²⁴

From the 12th century onwards, numerous Sufi modes with the various beliefs arose in the area, that promoting a form of Islam that was consistent with the traditions and practices of the shaman's survivor tribes and resisted with the traditional Islamic system and *shari`a*.²⁵ In many of these procedures teachings, such as *Haidariyyah*, *Qalandariyyah*, *Bābā'iyyah*, *Bektāshiyyah*, and *Samawiyah*, which had an esoteric Shi'a contexts, Shi'ism and Sufism blended widely. Because the leaders of these practices were highly influenced and respected among the peasants and Turkomans, their teachings and educations were easily disseminated among these people and provided the basis for the appearance of Shi'a and Sufi religious and social interests.

21 Ibidem, pp. 429-430.

22 Sharf al-Din Abo Abdollah Ibn Batotah, *Travelogue*, translated by Mohamad Alli Mohammad, Agaah Publishers, Tehran, 1991/1370, pp. 315-323.

23 Yosef Rahimlou, Beginning of Safavid Dynasty, *The Journal Literature of Ferdowsi University of Mashhad*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1993/1372, pp. 355-356.

24 Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Malamat and Malamatiyah*, translated by Tofiq Sobahani, Keyhan Publishers, Tehran, 1999/1378, p. 270.

25 A.J. Arberi, *History of Islam*... pp. 416-417.

But the Balkan region was most influenced by the Seljuk and Ottoman rule. Therefore, at different times one witness to sects' movements from the east to this region. Immigrants and fugitives that affected by the Mongol invasions also found the area safe and well. Some believe that Islam came to the area shortly before the Ottomans conquered the Balkans, and preachers of various Sufi such as Mowlawiyh, Naqshbandiyh, and Baktāshiyh provided the environment for the Sufi tendencies. And with the conquest of the Balkans by the Ottomans, the trend towards Islam became more intense. So the Sufis warrior came to Anatolia from East and Central Asia and the Greater Khorasan region and promoted Islam.²⁶ It is believed by some that Sheikh Sari Saltuk/Salutuk, a hundred years before the arrival of the Ottoman army along with forty Turkmen Sufis, migrated to the Balkans, expanding Sufism in these areas, and their activities intensified to such an extent that their Sufi convent released to Dubrovnik, Macedonia, Albania and other Balkans' regions to the Adriatic coast and northern Sweden.

Even today, after many years of their arrival in the area, there are still many places of pilgrimage associated with Sheikh Sari Saltuk, and there are also mourning places in some Balkans countries that are active. In these *takiyah* (تکيه - religious theater) are made in hard-to-reach areas, people go to these places to make a vow and sacrifice despite the great hardship. They believe that Sari Saltuk Sufi is from the Bektāshi approach, who came from the area, from Haj Baktāsh and he promoted his own cult. It is important to note that, according to some experts, the popularity of the character in the region is so high that even Sunnis and Christians who have a strong sense of nationalism have a special respect for him and remembered him to as a national character.

Another group believes that Iranians mystics, Sufis, and merchants spread the idea of the *tariqa* in the Balkans, and the existence of thousands of years of *takiyah* and shrines, as well as numerous books and manuscripts in Turkish, Persian and Arabic in the library and archives of the region, witness for this claim. For example, in ancient Albanian *takiyah*, there are many Persian manuscripts with Sufi content dating back centuries.²⁷ Considering that the Silk Road stretched to the city of Dubrovnik and was very active, even before Fatimid's arrival in Bosnia, Iranian merchants and culture had penetrated the area, and the Iranians had left a lasting impression on the region's culture. The presence of Iranians in the Balkans has been widespread and effective for a long time. The Mongol invasion of Iran causes Iranian businessmen, mystics, and scholars to migrate to Konya, thereby expanding their culture with the help of businessmen, religious orders and propagandists. Currently in various Balkans regions, there are many convents that Persian poems engraved on that facade and inside the Sufis' monastery adorn the quotation of the *shaykh* of religion. It should be noted here that only a list of effective process in this path can be the subject of several volumes of the book. At

26 Masood Tareh, "Sufism in Asia Minor and the Balkans" . . . p. 419.

27 Mohamad Qorbanpour Delāvar, *Islam and Moslems of the Balkans*, Tobāye Mohebat Publishers, Qom, 2012/1391, p. 21.

the same time, the genealogy of these rituals reveals several influential practices that themselves have been the result of divisions and divisions after some time. Here are some of them to explain.

Mowlawīyyah

The Rumi attitude was attributed to Mowlānā Jalāluddīn Muhammad Balkhi, known as Rūmi (d. 1229), is one of the most important process in Asia Minor. In fact, this *tariqa* was established after the death of Rumi and at the time of his son, Sultan Walad (d. 1312) and his grandson, Oulu `Aref Chalabi (d. 1320) and after that monastery (*khāneqāh*-خانقاه) related to this way and Rūmi, bases of this thought was built along the Sham (Syrian region) and Asia Minor. Therefore, this method was created to unite the Muslims, there was no prejudice to any particular religion and despite many of its leaders (*sheikhs* - شيوخ) believed in the Sunni religion, they respected to others group beliefs.²⁸

Rūmi and his successors have always been in contact with the *fatīyāns* and their *akhiyān*, and they have known Rūmi from themselves and most of them have become caliphs of his own way. Most of *akhiyān* and *fatīyāns* who often had the Shi`ite tendency, were counted as caliphs and promotions of the Safavids in Anatolia.²⁹ The tendency towards Shiism that had seriously begun among the *sheikhs* since the presidency of `Oulu `Aref Chalabi, the grandson of Rūmi in Mowlevi *tariqa*, continued after him more intensively.³⁰

Bābā`iyyah

Bābā`iyyah was established by Baba Ishak, known as Baba Rasoolallah (1239), who had risen from the Kafarsoud area near the Syrian border and had been able to gather many followers with his promotions among the village and immigrants' people of Asia Minor. Concerning the religious characteristic of Bābā`iyyah, experts believe that the main source of this movement was the Ghulāt movement. With emphasizing this characteristic of the Bābā`iyyah movement, Shibi has considered that it to be a fundamentally Shi'a movement in Sufism.³¹ According to the specialists, Bābā`iyyah caused movements such as Bektāshi, Samāviyyah, Mush`sha`yyah, Safavid Qizilbāsh and other movements that have been emerged in Iran and Anatolia region.³²

The thought base of Bābā`iyyah penetrate the Anatolian Turks in the form of

28 Gölpınarlı, *Mulavis after Mulana*, translated by Tofiq Sobhani, Keyhan Publishers, Tehran, 1987/1366, pp. 331-333.

29 Marchal G. S. Hajson, *Esmāeilid Sect*, Translated by Ferydon Badrei, Elmei Farhangi Publishers, Tabriz, 1964/1343, p. 502.

30 Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mulavis after Mulana* . . . pp. 153-156.

31 Kamel Mustafa Al-Shabibi, *Shi'a and Sufism from beginning to 12th century*, translated, Ali Reza Zekavatloo Garagozloo, Amir Kabir Publishers, Tehran, 1980/1359, p. 354.

32 Michelle Mazzaoui, *The rise of the Safavid government*, translated by Jacob Ajand, Gostareh Publishers, Tehran, 1984/1363, p. 139.

extremist (*ghāli*-غالی, *ghulāt* غلات) and against Sunni Seljuk aristocracy. The uprising had an extreme commotion in the regions of Kofrsoud, Malatya, Amasiyah, Tawakat, and Sivas and it consisted south, southeast and east of Anatolia.³³ This sect has taken great strides in promoting Shiite elements among the poor and disillusioned people of Anatolia. The appropriate spiritual component which was introduced the field provided a suitable background for emerging the various sects, such as Bektāshi and Hurufiyeh.³⁴

Bektāshi

The Bektāshi sect was one of the most important beliefs has been emerged in the Anatolian land in the early 18th century and then spread to various areas such as the Levant, Egypt and the Balkans Peninsula. This *tariqa* was established by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Musa Khorasani, known as Haji Baktāsh Vali (d. 1270), who immigrated to Asia Minor in the mid-13th century. Born in Neyshabur, he has fled Anatolia during the Mongol invasion. He went to Sivas with his brother and made it his center.³⁵ Concerning the beliefs of Haji Baktāsh, it is said that he has been a Sunni apparently but within the Shiite faith.³⁶ Some also have believed that he was promoting a form of Islam which was a combination of Sunni beliefs and the events of Muslims and Christians. For this reason, Petrushevsky believed that they were formally Sunni and Sufi but secretly tended to inner teachings and base of Shi'ism.³⁷

The teachings and beliefs of the Bektāshi, which was formed after Haji Baktāsh himself due to the religion commotions of Anatolian land, and also tolerance and patience of leaders to attract more followers have been a content of mixture of ambiguous beliefs, general and variable thought. Therefore, what has been confirmed by most experts, was a strong Shiite tendency among the disciples of this religion, as they were known this way as inheriting the common beliefs of other esoteric Shiite faiths in Anatolia.³⁸ Over the years, the Bektāshi *tariqa* with eclectic thoughts in Anatolia has gained many fans. As was the prevailing view of the Janissaries.³⁹

The Bektāshi *tariqa* in the 15th and 16th centuries were a method that the disciples of other sects, such as the Alawids and the Hurufi could easily connect with

33 Matti Musa, *Extremist Shiites: the Ghulat Sects*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1987, pp. 16-17.

34 Kamel Mustafa Al-Shabibi, *Shi'a and Sufism from beginning to 12th century* . . . pp. 1-4.

35 V. Bosako, *Religious & Sociocultural Dimensions of the Kazelbashi Community in Brown*, Johnpair, and the Dervishes: Oriental Spiritualism, London, 1968, pp. 164-165.

36 Parvaneh Aoroj Niya, "Bektash Vali", in: *Encyclopedia of Islam World*, Vol. 3, Tehran, 1997/1376, pp. 651-650.

37 Harry Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: religion and society between Europe and the Arab world's*, University of South Carolina Press, South Carolina, 1993, p. 89.

38 Tofiq Sobhani, Qasem Ansari, *Haji Bektash Vali and. . .*, *The Journal of Literature Department of Tabriz University*, No. 120, 1976/1355, p. 517.

39 V. Bosako, *Religious & Sociocultural Dimensions of the Kazelbashi Community in Brown* . . . pp. 279-280.

that, as in the 14th and 15th centuries in the Anatolia the Bektāshi had penetrated into all pillars of society and most Janissaries "The new army" was among the supporters of this belief.⁴⁰

Hurufism

Hurufism was another sect of Sufism in which rules and principles were implicitly borrowed from the Bektāshis. The basis of the Hurufisms beliefs was that the basis of knowing God is literacy and since God is not tangible, the only relation between the creator and the creature is literacy and the meaning of the word is not possible without a literacy.⁴¹ Thoughts and beliefs of Hurufism, along with belief in Shi'ism, were a mixture of Iranian ancient religions, Christianity, Jewish, and even representations of Neo-Platonism. Fazlolāh ibn `Abdul Rahman surnamed Na`eimi, the establisher of the Hurufim *tariqa*, was born in Astarabad in 1339 and he claimed Mahdism in 1374.⁴² He emphasized his Shi'a tendency by the fact that there were no prophets unless there were twelve Imams in his chase.⁴³ One of the successors of Fazaalah Astarabadi who name was Ali al-A'ala escaped to Anatoli and began to disseminate Hurufism beliefs among the more extremist Bektāshi society and was able to spread Hurufism thoughts among the Bektāshi community.⁴⁴ Thus, if I do not say that the Hurufism *tariqa* was resolved in the Bektāshi *tariqa* in the Anatolian region, it was partly linked to the Bektāshi *tariqa* thoughts by their subscriptions. The dissemination of the Hurufism sects in Anatolia was not easy, but in spite of the harsh prosecution and punishments, the number of people who were in various *tariqa* and promoting the Hurufism was noticeable. The great poets of Qizilbāsh who lived in the 16th century, such as Hirati, Mohiti, Virani, and Yamani, are among them such that the belief in the vision that was transmitted through the Hurufism is found in many Qizilbash poems.⁴⁵ Hence, after the arrival of the Hurufi into Anatolia, their religious thoughts generally permeated into Ottoman society, until it inspired later movements.⁴⁶

40 Roshan Khiviavi, *Hurufiya*, Āteye Publishers, Tehran, 1994/1373, p. 257.

41 Kamel Mustafa Al-Shabibi, *Shi'a and Sufism from beginning to 12th century* . . . p. 200.

42 Helmut Ritter, *Beginning of Hurufiya Sect*, translated by Heshmat Moayed, Farhang Iranzamin Publishers ,Tehran,1962/1341, pp.23-24.

43 Kamel Mustafa Al-Shabibi, *Shi'a and Sufism from beginning to 12th century* . . . p. 24.

44 Mehmed Fuad Koprulu, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, translated by G. leiser, Sate University of New York Press, New York, 1992, p.123.

45 Ahmad Yashar Ejak, From Bābā'iyyah uprising to Qizilbāsh Gray, translated by Shahab Vali, *Journal of History of Islam*, No. 27, 2006/1385, p. 175.

46 Abbas Amanat, Magnus Thorkell Bernhardsson, *Imagining the end: visions of apocalypse from the ancient Middle East to modern America*, I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, London, 2002, pp. 182-183.

Qizilbāsh

The religious beliefs of the Qizilbāsh, which were the Safavid forces, it can be said that they were firm in their words and they had critical spirit, and also from various methods, they got to know about religion. From this point of view, it is difficult to distinguish the religious forms of Qizilbāsh from Bektāshi.⁴⁷ The proximity of the Safavid discourse to the Bektāshi *tariqa* was the result of connections between Qizilbāsh, which means the Qizilbāshian forces, as the main attention of the Safavid discourse, had been exposed to Bektāshi *tariqa* promotions for decades. The intellectual roots of Qizilbāsh reach to the Shiites, and the current comes in the same group and discourse along with the Alawites and Bektāshi. Qizilbāsh paid major respect to Haj Bektāsh as one of the senior Sufi (قطب-*qotb*).⁴⁸ Shah Ismail was affiliated with the Bektāshi sect and was one of *dervish*.⁴⁹ Thus, the Safavid Sufis gradually went on to relate to the Bektāshies. The early form of the Safavid state was similar to the early Bektāshis and similar movements in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁰ This similarity was from that point some people were dependent Qizilbāsh with Bektāshi discipline and they generally assumed that Qizilbāsh have been created from two tendencies of Bektāshi and Sufi practice.

Some writers regard Qizilbāsh as a distinct group of Bektāshi, but believe in the association of Qizilbāsh with Bektāshi,⁵¹ while others have claimed that Qizilbāsh and Bektāshi are two different names for the people. By examining the itinerary of some travelers, and by examining some people of villages of the region and Bektāshi propagandists, Matthew Musa concludes that the people in these villages were Bektāshi, Qizilbāsh, and were among the followers of Iranian Safavid.⁵²

The Qizilbāsh tribes, such as the Rūmlu, the Ustādjlu, and the Shāmlou, inhabiting the Sivas, Tuba, and Amasya regions, constituted an important part of the disciples of Sheikh Junayd (1447–1460) and also of Sheikh Haidar (1460–1488).⁵³ Of course, it should be acknowledged that among the tribes of Qizilbāsh, the Ustādjlu were mainly associated with Haidar in the Caucasus fights and played an active role in the uprising of Shah Ismail.⁵⁴ These were large number of nomadic tribes living in groups in Sivas, Amasya, Tokat, and Qir. Shāmlou were a combination of nomadic Turkmen of Aleppo. After meeting Sheikh Junaid with

47 H.R. Roimer, *et al*, *History of Iran Cambridge*, translated by Jacob Ajend, Jami Publishers, Tehran, 2008/1387, p. 213.

48 V. Bosako, *Religious & Sociocultural Dimensions of the Kazelbashi Community in Brown...* pp. 277–278.

49 Rouhollah Ramazani, *The foreign policy of Iran: a developing nation in world affairs, 1500-1941*, University Press of Virginia, Virginia, 1966, p. 16.

50 Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History*, John Wiley & Sons Ltd, UK, 2012, p. 139.

51 Matti Musa, *Extremist Shiites: the Ghulat Sects...* p. 37.

52 Ibidem, p. 43.

53 F. Soumer, *The Role of Anatoli Turks in development of Safavid Region*, translated by Ehsan Eshraqi and Mohamad Emami, Gostareh Publishers, Tehran, 1992/ 1371, pp. 55–59.

54 Riza Yildirim, *Turkomans, between Two Empires: The Origins of the Qizilbash*, PhD Dissertation, Bilkent University, 2008, p. 278.

part of the people of this region, they became the main foundations of the Safavid kingdom.⁵⁵ The Rūmlus were a combination of the Sufis of Sivas provinces, Karahisar, Tokat, Amasya, Choram, and Kanik. Versaqas lived in the Adena-Tarsus and Turgut regions. Afshars were Turkmen large tribes that were dispersed in Anatolia, Azerbaijan. Takluans were from the Tekke region.⁵⁶ According to that it can be said that Amasya was the center of the sect Bābā'iyyah emergence, and Sivas was the first base of the Haj Bektāsh Valley⁵⁷, therefore, Qizilbāsh of this area was the main part of Bābā'iyyah sect and after that Bektāshi, even Takluans of Tekke during 14th century changed their way to the Bektāshi missionaries of Konya.⁵⁸ As a result of this dominate discourse, the Safavids came to power in Iran after the use of the Qizilbāsh penetration, which had already produced Anatolian schools of thought.

Analysis and evaluation

The accumulation and intellect of thought, different of past and present of the Sufis from the sixteenth century, in the debated areas caused the integrity of opinions and thoughts. It is quite clear that if any sect wanted to find followers in the area, firstly it should provide a new idea. Then, to be consistent with people's desires. Based on that, each sect with adding novel criteria from the previous one in way to gain power in the new shape, so it increased the significant amount of eclectic thoughts and believes and raised the superstitious ideas. The presence of ideas such as the Trinity belief in the Bektāshis *tariqa* and the belief in divinity in the Hurufism *tariqa* would be blended with the subjective mind. Such thoughts could have attractivity for the lower classes of urban and rural society. As a matter of fact, eclectic beliefs had no discernible difference with existing regional beliefs. It could only contain the new motivation force in different formats.

On the other hand, the different Sufis in the context of historical geography discussions show diversity and extent, but what lies in the context of peaceful tolerance and coexistence is dealing with the vague distinction in its different historical function: "Cultural Sufism" and "ideological Sufism ". As the history of the *tariqa* shows, the order has repeatedly sought to gain political power and, in some cases, succeeded. On the other hand, the Sufi negotiations and sectarian clashes for eliminating each other in this way have been an ideological seat of intervention. In fact, this trend a departure from the circle of cultural function and tolerance of the followers of the system, thus with the entity of criteria of coexistence and peaceful in thoughts of Sufism or existential unity, it should revise and be careful in the road of Sufi tolerance issues.

55 Ibidem, pp. 278-279.

56 Ibidem, pp. 282-283.

57 Ibidem, pp. 164-156.

58 Matti Musa, *Extremist Shiites: the Ghulat Sects* . . . p. 37.

It is clear that political thought is fundamentally considered the power of this world and the acquisition of power, while the philosophy of mystical thought and way is Self-improvement, that of the world, and the attainment of absolute and divine love of God in that world (next world; futurity). Therefore, the ideologicalization of the system of thought in the historical geography was discussed, and the tendency of the Sufi and Sufi followers, preferably from the Sufi ontological bases, to survive in the cultural phase must be recognized.

In fact, the historical geography of the Sufi Road is the active past representation of the mystical thought, which was contained from Afghanistan to Bulgaria and Romania. This fact as a more important point, represents the rich and long history of their emergence, transition and disappearance with in the other sects. A phenomenon that has created the excitement of historical (political-social) participation at some point, the period that has been going on since the 12th century.

The important point in the circle of expansion of the sects of *tariqa* is that, for example, the ethnic and tribal textures of Bektāshi and Qizilbāsh are very diverse in their historical course and have been unique to the region and uninterrupted by various tribes. This point holds for the regional distinctions of their beliefs from place to place; Kabulied Qizilbāsh (Afghanistan) and Bulgarian Qizilbāsh only had a similarity in their names. In fact, localization and adaptation of immigrant beliefs in the drawing of various colors and diversity of opinion, ethnicity, and beliefs on our imaginary road can be seen, and basically no attention is paid to monotony. In addition, the inhabitants of this road can be diversified in everything and share in tolerance and coexistence. Perhaps it is up to the graduated of many countries in this geography to insist, first and foremost, on highlighting the tolerant bases of the orders for the prosperity of this road and its products, which is peace and friendship.

Constantly traveling and poetry of two roadblocks of this way those were rich in culture and mystical literature. What could actually be a good way to strengthen cultural-economic relations across the interstate way? The long route runs from middle Asia to Asia Minor and the Balkans; Sufi Road along the Silk Road. A road that can encompass different species, and different Sufi sects among diverse nations. It is said that Rumi traveled the same route from Balkh to Konya, and his legacy in all the countries of this route has clearly influenced the culture of the regions. Rumi's call to poetry and all along this road was nothing but tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

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НАСЛЕДСТВО ТОЛЕРАНЦИЈЕ: ПУТ СУФИЗМА ОД КОРАСАНА ДО БАЛКАНА

Сажетак

Неопходност мирне коегзистенције у савременом свету чини истраживање толеранције неопходним. Шири регион Централне Азије – Корасан па све до Балкана имао је своје успоне и падове кроз историју. Различитост нација и племена у овом делу света скреће пажњу на заједничке културне компоненте. У исто време, постојање различитих суфи редова у овом региону кроз историју има посебан карактер. Идеја суфизма је суштински везана за толеранцију и мирну коегзистенцију. У овом раду се указује на развој суфизма у овом региону и истиче се значај пута суфизма. Додатно, наслеђе суфизма указује на неке сличности између суфи група у региону. Хомогеност суфи група у региону представља основу за дијалог. Као резултат, може се очекивати културна размена као форма коегзистенције и толеранције.

Кључне речи: суфизам, Корасан, наслеђе толеранције, Балкан, пут суфизма

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