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THE CHARACTERISTICS AND DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE QALANDARIYYA ORDER

Abstract. *Although scholars are in agreement concerning the emergence and development of the Qalandariyya order, many problems remain regarding the origin of the term “qalandar,” the question of whether the Qalandariyya was a community (taifa) or a tariqah, and its ritual procedures. Although the Qalandariyya, which arose in the early Middle Ages, was in origin an order that did not deviate from a pure faith, it later departed from its original nature and underwent changes across time and place. The acceptance by some Qalandars of Shia-tinged elements such as “wahdat al-wujud,” “hulul” and “tanasukh” (metempsychosis) provoked a negative attitude and criticism toward them. It is therefore important to study the Qalandariyya correctly and on a scholarly basis, relying on historical, literary and mystical sources. The Central Asian Qalandars differed from those of Iran and Turkey in practice and appearance, and local manuscripts and archival documents help us to reach fuller information and to understand the order’s essential aim and its hidden truth.*

Keywords: *Qalandar, truth (haqiqat), kharabat, chahar zarb, zahid, qalandarnama, malamat, dervish, Sufism, Central Asia.*

INTRODUCTION

Western historians, orientalists, ethnographers, Islamologists and travelling explorers – E. Bertels, O. Byork, I. Goldziher, A. Knysh, P. Pozdnev, I. Petrushevski, T. Staradub, J. Trimingham, A. Khismatullin, A. Schimmel and K. Ernst – conducted research on the emergence of the Qalandariyya as a movement in Central Asia and its development as a tariqah in Iran (Bertels, 1965; Byork, 2002; Goldziher, 1912; Knysh, 2004; Pozdnev, 1886; Petrushevski, 1966; Trimingham, 1989; Khismatullin, 1996; Ernst, 2002).

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The studies of A. Troitskaya, G. Snesev, O. Sukhareva and V. Vereshchagin (Troitskaya, 1975; Snesev, 1973; Sukhareva, 1960; Vereshchagin, 1868) described the Qalandars' activities, appearance, dress and way of life in Central Asia, but did not include in their special research the views of the order's own representatives or information about the local people's perception of their activity. As a result, the Qalandars' activities were explained not on the basis of original sources but on the basis of their outward, practical aspects.

Information about the Qalandariyya in Uzbekistan can be found in the books and scholarly articles of orientalists, historians, Islamic scholars and literary scholars such as N. Komilov, S. Rafiddinov, I. Ostonakulov, I. Usmonov and K. Rahimov (Komilov, 2009; Rafiddinov, 2000; Ostonakulov, 2007; Usmonov, 2017; Rahimov, 2020). Although their research gives details about the Qalandars' practical activity, way of life and appearance, it does not attend to the processes of the Qalandariyya's formation as a tariqah, its ideological foundations, its division into categories, or the features of these in the sources.

Among modern foreign scholars, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, Ahmet Karamustafa, Muhammad Reza Shafii Kadkani, Abu al-Husayn Zarrinkub, Sayyid Abu Talib Mir Abidin and Abu al-Fadl al-Qunawi researched the Qalandars' position in the regions where they were found, the fatwas issued against them by the people of the sharia, and their positive and negative relations (Ocak, 1992; Karamustafa, 2006; Kadkani, 1966; Zarrinkub, 1992; al-Qunawi, 2002). These works contain information about the history and development of the Iranian and Turkish Qalandars, and through the information reflected in them it is possible to compare the differences between regions.

Unlike the works mentioned above, the present study offers a comprehensive examination and analysis of the Qalandariyya's activities in Central Asia (above all in Uzbekistan) and of the works that give information about them. Sunni Hanafism, the dominant school in Central Asia, was one of the important factors in the formation of the Sufi views and way of life of this region (Usmonov, 2017).

Qalandari ideas, too, arose in the regions where the Hanafi school had spread and developed widely over the centuries in various regions. The Turkish scholar Ahmet Karamustafa notes that the Qalandariyya moved freely in the regions where Hanafism had spread (Karamustafa, 2006).

MAIN PART

On the basis of the foregoing, the sources that illuminate the history of the Qalandariyya, the conditions of its formation, its ideological foundations and its directions may be divided into four categories:

1) Travelogues that give information about the Qalandariyya. Among these are the books of the “Travelogue” series by Ibn Battuta (1304–1377), Armin Vambery (1832–1913) and the Russian artist and traveller Vasily Vereshchagin (1842–1904). Among them, Ibn Battuta’s comparatively neutral and moderate approach to the Qalandars is unique; in the books of Vambery and Vereshchagin the Central Asian Qalandars are described, in an exaggerated way, as backward representatives of society, and a critical tone is evident in their approach. The books in the series by Nicholas de Nicolay (“The Navigations”) and Giovanni Antonio Menavino (1492–1514) describe the appearance, way of life and role of the Qalandars in present-day Turkey.

2) The next type consists of Sufi sources containing the practical and ideological foundations of the Qalandars. These may conditionally be divided into three categories:

a) Sources written by Sufis who regarded themselves as Qalandars. Among these are examples from the written works left by Baba Tahir Uryan, Sanai, Saadi Shirazi, Hafiz and Fakhr al-Din Iraqi. In their rubais, ghazals and masnavis, Qalandarhood is accepted as an honourable and praised station.

b) Sufis who illuminated the lives of those living in the medieval milieu. Abdullah Ansari’s *Qalandarnama*, Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami’s *Risala-yi Malamatiyya*, Abu Hafs al-Suhrawardi’s *Awarif al-maarif*, Abd al-Rahman Jami’s *Nafahat al-uns min hadarat al-quds*, Alisher Navoi’s *Mahbub al-qulub* and Husayn Vaiz Kashifi’s *Futuwwatnama-yi Sultani* give objective information about the Qalandars. The authors of these works compared the Qalandars with the Malamatis and analysed them as false and genuine.

c) Manuscript sources: in the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan – *Qalandarnama* (no. 9175; no. 11668); in the treasury fund of the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan – *The Epistle of the Dervish and the Qalandar* (1090/255/2), *Risala-yi qalandari* (1099-279/II), *Dar bayan-i iman wa maqamat-i darwish* (1093-255/V); and in the Central Library of Turkey – the *Risala-yi qalandarnama* manuscript (record no. 137648 / cat. no. 2977).

3) Documents relating chiefly to the Qalandars active in Turkestan: the “Court of the Governor-General of Turkestan” (F. I-1), the Administration of the Syr Darya Region (F. I-17) and the “Report of the head of the Jizzakh district” (F. I-21). Articles published in the Jadid periodical press: *Sadoyi Turkiston* (1914, no. 1), *Qizil Bayroq* (1920, no. 8; 1920, no. 138), *Turkiston* (1923, nos. 169, 185), *Yosh Leninchi* (24 July 1991); and the Russian scholar P. Pozdnev’s book *Dervishes in the Muslim world*, in which the author, while giving information about the dervish activity that spread through the Islamic world, treats the regions from the Arab world to Turkestan. P. Pozdnev mentioned dervishes and Qalandars as a single category of person, studying them without distinguishing one from the other (Pozdnev, 1886).

4) Modern studies. Local and Near-Eastern scholars, Russian-Soviet scholars and Western orientalists have been involved in this research and have their own common and particular points; their studies attend partly to the activities of the Qalandars in the Central Asian region. Turkish studies hold a special place in giving information about the formation of the Qalandariyya in Iran and its activities in the territories of present-day Turkey, India and Uzbekistan. Among them are A. Ocak, A. Karamustafa, Sayyiddin Kocatürk, Ismet Kayaoğlu, Mehmet Ertan and Ali Akbar Kaivanfar, who, through their articles and pamphlets, succeeded in making known to the public the wide spread and activities of the Turkish Qalandars in the Ottoman Turkish period (Ocak, 1992).

The emergence of the Qalandariyya and its three foundations

The Qalandariyya arose in Central Asia in the eleventh century under the influence of the Malamati current and, in this period, had not yet fully taken shape as a tariqah. At first it functioned as a “movement” or “association” and found a place for itself in the region.

From the very time of its appearance, the Qalandariyya was distinguished from other orders by its mysteriousness and by features not shown to others. Like the Malamatiyya, this order was built upon three foundations – the concepts of “ikhlas” (sincerity), “sidq” (truthfulness) and “tawakkul” (trust in God).

Concerning ikhlas, God Most High says in a hadith qudsi: “Ikhlas is one of My secrets. I have placed sincerity in the heart of those of My servants whom I love. The angels cannot know its reward, nor can Satan destroy it.” That is, a sincere deed is so hidden that the angels cannot perceive or record it, and Satan cannot corrupt it, for it is a secret bond between the servant and the Creator.

In his work *Al-Futuh al-Makkiyya*, Ibn Arabi mentioned the rank of the Malamatis and their community as the highest level of the “tax-collectors” (Ibn Arabi, 1995). He maintains that their most praised quality is the keeping of their states and acts as a secret (ikhlas) from people in the presence of the Creator, and he noted that this order is directed not at everyone but at a special community. The representatives of the Malamati community are those who, being typical Sufis, are held in high esteem.

Taking these verses and hadiths as their model, the Qalandars considered it necessary to act with sincerity, holding that there was no need for people to see. As an inseparable continuation of ikhlas, they placed the concept of “sidq” at the centre of discussion. The word sidq – truthfulness, faithfulness, honesty – means “strength” in Arabic and is the opposite of kizb (falsehood); the conformity of the acts of the heart and the limbs to sincerity is sidq. When al-Junayd was asked about sidq and ikhlas – whether they are one or whether there is a difference between them – he replied: “There is a difference between them. Sidq is the root; ikhlas is the branch. Sidq is the root of everything. Sincerity comes only after one has begun to act. Without the two, no deed is accepted” (Dalil al-falihin, p. 202).

Al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. 932), a contemporary of the Malamatis, criticised the Malamatis and their views on the self (nafs), warning that a deep attachment to the concepts of sidq, ikhlas and nafs leads to error. He did not approve of the self-blame that, founded earlier on concealing self-interested prayers, avoiding hypocrisy and blaming others through self-abasement, gradually led to degradation. As al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi warned, the Malamatis’ deep approach to the question of the self drew criticism, and as a result a number of errors arose in the Qalandar category.

The Qalandars, who earlier performed the obligatory acts openly and the supererogatory ones secretly, now claimed that even the obligatory acts had to be performed secretly. As a result, they ceased going to the mosques and were accused of not fasting and not performing righteous deeds. As time passed this became reality, their secret practices came to light, and people protested.

On the question of tawakkul, the practice of making absolutely no effort to earn a living (kasb) was on the rise among the Qalandars. The station of tawakkul is the most important station in a Sufi’s life and requires great care and not going astray; for reaching the highest summit of tawakkul belongs only to those who possess the freedom

of asceticism and the boundless longing of the sages who have forgotten all but God (al-Tirmidhi, 2019). That is, this level is not for everyone but for those who have reached a high spiritual level. At first the Qalandars were so absolute concerning tawakkul that they forgot sustenance entirely; as an easy source of income for this tawakkul of theirs, certain so-called Sufis introduced the custom of begging. As a result the essence of tawakkul was trampled, and another condition criticised in the Qalandars' activity was begging.

The Sufi scholar Shihab al-Din Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 1168) made a special note about the representatives of the Qalandariyya in the ninth chapter of his famous work *Awarif al-maarif*, entitled "On those who are and are not kin to the Sufis" (Suhrawardi, 2019). According to him, there is a people who sometimes call themselves Malamatis and sometimes call themselves Qalandars; despite the Sunna and the righteous deeds of the past, they claim nothing, leaning only on their hearts occupied with the love of the Creator. They forbid even to themselves the things the sharia permits (such as marriage and honest trades), and they restrict all prayers except the obligatory ones.

In the ninth chapter of *Awarif al-maarif*, al-Suhrawardi writes: "The Qassanis sometimes call themselves Malamatis and sometimes Qalandars. They break customs and wear special clothing. The masters of the orders regarded them as people who had departed from Sufism" (Suhrawardi, 2019).

Al-Suhrawardi characterised the Malamatis as people of high standing, while he mentioned the Qalandars as a category that attached no importance to outward forms and ceremonies, to Sufi gatherings, to social relations, or to the accumulation and increase of wealth, believing that their only virtue was a pure heart. As a result of the comparison between the Malamatiyya and the Qalandariyya, the Malamatis were shown to be those who strictly control the "nafs," while the Qalandars were called those given to "sukr" (spiritual intoxication); he noted that the Qalandars were accused of performing the rituals of the ascetics and the gnostics blindly.

In the early period of the Qalandars' appearance there were no principles of being different from others or of being bound to a shaykh. These traditions were established by the Iranian Jamal al-Din Savi (d. 1221), who defined, as the foundation of the order, the wearing of coarse "jawlaq" garments, the shaving of the hair, beard, eyebrows and lashes, "tajarrud" (not marrying women) and the concept of "faqr" (poverty). Until that period these customs were not encountered in the Qalandars' activity. The Qalandars

also showed signs of Shiism, reflected in such things as injuring the body and mourning the events of Karbala.

Because they attached great importance to sincerity in their conduct, the accusations and criticisms of others were thereby regarded as insignificant. The Qalandars too used the verses that the Malamatis had taken as their model. This is verse 54 of Surah al-Maida: “O you who believe! Whoever of you turns back from his religion – [know that] Allah will bring a people whom He loves and who love Him, humble toward the believers, mighty against the disbelievers; they strive in the way of Allah and fear not the blame of any blamer. That is the bounty of Allah, which He gives to whom He wills; and Allah is all-encompassing, all-knowing” (Mansurov, 2006). Those who take this verse as their aim seek to be among the people who do not fear the blame of the blamers. The point that binds the Qalandars to the Malamatis is the concept of “malamat” (blame). Those who remained on this path wore woollen garments so as not to fear people’s objections and not to deviate from their aim. Since, among many pious people, wearing fine and costly clothes and living life to the full is a danger to faith, there was a custom of wearing coarse or woollen garments during their activity – on the one hand accepted as a way of disciplining the self, and on the other expressing displeasure toward people given over to the world.

Although the teaching of the Qalandariyya was based on Malamatiyya, there are mutual differences between them in matters such as “riyadat” (self-discipline), “tawakkul” and “tajarrud.” Although this order is criticised in many sources and in the literature, its true essence emerges as a result of studying its original sources on the basis of local manuscripts. By studying the hidden aspects of the Qalandariyya, which rests on Bayazid Bastami’s concept of “sukr,” it is possible to understand the aim and the truth at which they aimed.

According to the information given in the literature, the activity of the Qalandars may be divided into three periods.

First, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the teaching of the Qalandariyya gave priority to the concepts of “malamat,” “faqr” and “ikhlas.” In this period the Qalandars were not subjected to criticism from a doctrinal standpoint.

The second period is the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, when the difference between the Malamatis and the Qalandariyya began to appear. In the works of the Sufis and poets

of this period, references are met to the division of the Qalandars into types, classified in particular into the concepts of false and genuine Qalandars. By this time a critical attitude toward the Qalandars had formed, as a result of the use of the Qalandar image by certain persons who exploited the prestige of the Qalandars and Malamatis. Among the relevant views are those of Abd al-Rahman Jami, Alisher Navoi and Husayn Vaiz Kashifi (Jami, 2003; Navoi, 2019; Kashifi, 2011).

Abd al-Rahman Jami (1414–1492), in his *Nafahat al-uns min hadarat al-quds* (Jami, 2003), is regarded, after al-Suhrawardi, as one of the first scholars to compare the Malamatis and the Qalandars. According to Jami, the Malamatis observe the customs of Sufism, whereas the Qalandars try to break these customs; the Malamatis see good in everything and prefer to conceal their worthy deeds, while the Qalandars do not aspire to what they do not know, for purity of heart suffices them.

It is notable that the concept of the Qalandar occurs many times in the works of Alisher Navoi, a mature representative of Uzbek literature. As a poet who saw and observed both the ecstatic (*majzub*) Qalandars and the cunning beggars who gave themselves the name of Qalandar, as well as the greedy and wicked profit-seekers, Navoi divided them into types in his *Mahbub al-qulub*.

Navoi divides the Qalandars of his time into two categories: genuine and false. He stresses that one must not regard the vagabond Qalandars and the true Qalandars as one and the same. At the heart of his call to distinguish them is the indication that there exist those who remain Qalandars in the true sense and possess a pure faith.

Qalandarnama manuscripts as sources

To this day, the activity of this order in Central Asia has not been fully studied from a historical and mystical standpoint. The reason is that the Qalandars did not encourage the leaving of written sources and did not seek to make their activity known. In this respect the surviving *qalandarnama* manuscripts will help us. Unlike the Iranian *qalandarnamas*, the Central Asian *qalandarnamas* are fundamentally different in that they reflect both the theoretical and the practical aspects of the order. Studying the history of the Qalandars and taking into account their unique contribution to the spread of Islam will shed light on many problematic aspects of the subject.

The manuscripts and lithographs of the order are preserved in the manuscript fund named after Abu Rayhan Beruni. Unfortunately, they are not in full circulation; by

translating them and presenting them to the public, it becomes possible to illuminate the problematic aspects of the subject.

All orders sought to transmit books containing the foundations of the order in order to legitimise and popularise their practices and chains of transmission (silsila). The reason the Qalandars showed no encouragement to leave written sources is that they regarded their order as belonging to special persons and took no care to make it known to everyone. The procedures peculiar to this order are expressed orally, or partly in writing, in the books of the *Qalandarnama* series. In the course of studying the qalandarnamas it has been established that they may be divided into three types according to the regions in which they were written.

The first are the qalandarnamas belonging to the Iranian lands, which differ from other qalandarnamas in being written in a verse style and in containing information about the manaqib (virtues) of the order's founder Jamal al-Din Savi and his students. For this reason these books are also called *Sirat-i Jamal al-Din Savi* (Zarrinkub, 1992). All such qalandarnamas are written in almost the same style and begin with a literal explanation of the term "qalandar." Since these qalandarnamas are in verse, they are studied by modern researchers, who have added a short prose description to their introductions and presented them to the reader in the form of a commentary. The famous *Qalandarnama* written by the Iranian Khatib Farsi was researched and published in a modern form by Hamid Zarrinkub.

Another popular qalandarnama is the *Qalandarnama ya sirat-i Jamal al-Din Savi* written by Khatibi Farsi of Shiraz (Zarrinkub, 1992). This work contains historical and theoretical information about the order. The author states that, when he went to Damascus to study the Qalandari order, he became the disciple of a shaykh named Muhammad of Bukhara and, on his advice, wrote a poem about Jamal al-Din Savi. Although we do not have full information about the personality of Khatibi Farsi, it is not hard to gather from the example of his work that he was one of the most mature poets of his age; most importantly, his legacy is one of the primary sources that inform us about the Qalandariyya (Türk Ansiklopedisi, 1974).

In this treatise, the first representatives of the Qalandariyya are listed as Bayazid Bastami (d. 261/876), Usman Rumi, Jamal al-Din Savi, Jalali Dargazi and Muhammad Balkhi. It is said that the Qalandariyya spread to different parts of the world through

these four persons and that, through these four shaykhs, it reaches back to Jamal al-Din Savi. Qutb al-Din Haydar, the organiser of the Haydariyya, regarded as a branch of the Qalandariyya, is also counted among the first representatives of this order. Today the book is printed in a modern form and presented to readers.

The second type of qalandarnama is known by the same name, and its content includes the history of the prophets, the lives of the Companions and stories about the great representatives of Sufism, that is, the saints. This type includes the qalandarnama written in the fourteenth century by Abu Bakr Rumi, a Crimean Sufi whom Jalal al-Din Rumi accepted as his guide. The book was fully translated into Russian in 2017 (Rumi, 2017). The original copy of this manuscript is today preserved under no. 11668 in the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies. A modern translation of this book was published in Crimea by facsimile; the book consists of 400 pages.

In it, information about the Qalandars, the Muwallahs, the Abdals and the Haydaris and Rifais close to them is recounted in a poetic style. One Uzbek scholar, K. Munirov, specially noted that this book was written in response to Jalal al-Din Rumi's *Masnavi*; the book is noteworthy for its philosophical significance.

The third are the inscriptions belonging to Central Asia, included in the composition of manuscripts relating to Sufism. These surviving pamphlets consist of treatises of two to ten pages. They begin with the qualities of the prophets and consist of the garments the Qalandars wore and the prayers recited while putting them on. At the end of the pamphlets it is specially stated how a true Qalandar should be. The causes and conditions of begging – regarded as the most criticised of the Qalandars' activities – are set out, and the conditions for begging are divided into types. For example, Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi's *Risala-yi qalandari* (Rafiddinov, 2000) shows the limits of begging. The book sets out types of begging such as "Shah begging," "Nar (male) begging" and "Har (donkey) begging," and encourages not going to excess. "Shah begging" is going one day of the week to the doors of seven houses and calling aloud for alms, being content with whatever one receives that day until the next. "Male begging" is gathering things from people by reciting ghazals every day at the market stalls. "Donkey begging" is going from morning to evening to people's doors and begging ceaselessly (Rafiddinov, 2000).

The most important point is that instructions concerning states, duties, the conditions of poverty, pir-murid relations and the etiquette of dress – not found in other sources

– are reflected in the Central Asian qalandarnamas. According to one, the question is asked: How many are the duties of the order? Answer: six.

1) ihsan, 2) dhikr, 3) renouncing self-confidence, 4) renouncing the world, 5) [facing] danger, 6) hope (raja).

How many things are there in a dervish? Answer: four things.

1) culpability, 2) apology, 3) coarseness, 4) meticulousness.

The shaykhs say that poverty has three signs:

1) compassionate like the sun, 2) generous like the rain, 3) humble [like the earth].

Today, books written in the *Qalandarnama* genre concerning the Qalandariyya are preserved in local sources. In particular, a copy entitled “The epistle of the dervish and the Qalandar” (1090/255/2), dated to the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries and of unknown authorship, is preserved in the treasury of the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan. The book is written in Persian and printed on Eastern paper. It is part of a manuscript complex; the second work within it is devoted to Sufism, is very short – two pages (pp. 18–19) – and contains views on contentment, poverty, sharia, tariqah, haqiqa and enlightenment, after which the dervish circle is described. The beginning and end of the work are not preserved.

In the same place, a copy entitled “Dar bayan-i iman wa maqamat-i darwish” (1093-255/V) is also part of the above book. It was written in 1840 (1256 AH); the author’s name is not given. The treatise, devoted to the Qalandar branch of Sufism, speaks of faith, its fortress, alms, sharia, tariqah and the fifteen stages of dervishhood, and draws extensively on Qur’anic verses and hadiths. The manuscript is very old and not well preserved; it consists of three pages (pp. 27–30).

A manuscript entitled “Risala-yi qalandar” is also preserved in the treasury fund of sources. Although the author is unknown, it is recorded as belonging to the nineteenth century; it is written in Persian and consists of eleven pages (pp. 57–68).

The treatise “Risala-yi darwishan” is held in the treasury of manuscript sources under no. 1099-279/II; its author, scribe and year of writing are unknown. It is in Persian and copied on Kokand paper, consisting of two pages. It is part of a complex and contains information about poverty, its rulings, pillars and obligatory acts.

In the manuscript on Sufism preserved under no. 9175 in the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, a “Risala-

yi qalandar” is also included; it provides brief information about the Qalandars and the conditions they must observe. Moreover, four further copies of this category are preserved in the same manuscript fund (nos. 6239; 11668; 4320/3; 1577).

Of the 200-page copy preserved under no. 9175 in the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies, 10 pages are devoted to the Qalandariyya, and this small pamphlet is entitled “Risala-yi qalandari.” Although the author of the treatise is unknown, it begins with a saying of Imam al-Suhrawardi; for this reason some researchers believe that the treatise belongs to al-Suhrawardi’s pen. In the course of studying the treatise it was learned that the author wrote it on the basis of the mystical views of Imam al-Suhrawardi and Baha al-Din Naqshband. This qalandarnama was translated into Uzbek by S. Rafiddinov (Rafiddinov, 2000).

On the basis of the information given in the qalandarnamas and the manuscripts belonging to the Qalandariyya, it appears that the Qalandars’ essential aim rested on giving the interests of others priority over one’s own and on sincere, disinterested service in the way of religion. They tried to express the religion of Islam to ordinary people in a simple way and to convey it through small and intelligible “qalandar” verses. When their views lost their essence, they sought to remain effective among the people by uniting under the ideas of the Naqshbandiyya. They contributed to the development of Sufi literature, and to the strengthening of its sphere of influence, through poetry in an easy and intelligible style accessible to the people.

The functions and services of the Qalandariyya

From its foundation, the Qalandariyya undertook a number of functions and, in the period of its formation, contributed to renewal (tajdid):

As an order, the Qalandars – unlike the Malamatis – always took part in being active among ordinary people and in promoting religion;

Because of their ideas of pursuing “ikhlas” and avoiding “riya” (ostentation), and because in practice they did not support [open] knowledge and transparency, they gave rise to books in the “Qalandarnama” genre directed at a narrow circle;

The Central Asian Qalandars, being advocates of religious moderation, came together on a path of reconciliation with the representatives of the Hanafi school and the Naqshbandiyya order, contributing to the cohesion and unity of the people;

As they served the spread of the foundations of Islam to other countries, they also cultivated the habit of organising journeys to other lands;

In periods when interest in materialism increased among the Sufis, they tried to prevent the evil of false Sufism by consciously encouraging the wearing of special garments, by not disdaining these customs, and by [opposing] the forced performance of religious practices.

The types of Qalandars

In the process of studying the Qalandars' activities it is necessary to attend to their types. According to their classification in the Sufi sources, the Qalandars are divided into three: first, the Sufis who represent the Qalandar way of life; second, the persons belonging to the Qalandar order; and third, the false dervishes who claim to be Qalandars.

Alisher Navoi, as a poet who saw and observed both the ecstatic Qalandars and the greedy, wicked profit-seekers who gave themselves the name of Qalandar, mentioned them in his *Nasaim al-muhabbat*, dividing the Qalandars into genuine and false.

Navoi mentions with contempt those who are Qalandars in appearance but in fact occupy themselves with begging, while in reality trampling human dignity, regarding them as animals far from humanity: "Among these, the accursed one who gives himself the name of Qalandar has lost his humanity, and is firm in the face of the demon and Satan. Far from humanity and from the Muslims, pigs and bears are better than them in humanity. His form is more than human, and his fur garments are more bestial and insolent. Great and small, the beggar in all his forms is like a fossilised affliction" (Navoi, 2019).

From the above view it is known that there are two categories of Qalandars: one is genuine – those whose hearts are attached to God and who are people of tawakkul – and the other consists of those who suppose themselves to be Qalandars while their hearts remain empty, that is, the new false Qalandars.

Baba Rahim Mashrab not only wrote poems on artistic creation but also stood out as a member of this profession. In the account of the life of Baba Rahim Mashrab (c. 1657–1711) there are certain confusions concerning the Qalandariyya. Although Mashrab is regarded as a representative of the Naqshbandiyya order, the reader of his poems gains the impression that he belonged to the Qalandariyya; in particular, his poem "Be a Qalandar," in which Qalandar ideas are expressed, is much loved among the people.

The scholar Muhsin Zakirov interprets Mashrab's poetry thus: "This poem is, in a sense, programmed by the Qalandar. There is no doubt that the leftward, progressive schools of Sufism and its Qalandariyya order had a positive historical significance in the spiritual and social life of society in the period in which Mashrab lived" (Khoshimkhonov, 2001).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the terms "majzub" and "divana" were also used in some places to denote the Qalandars. For example, Mashrab was also called Majzub; Mashrab's contemporary and student Pirmat Setori addressed his teacher by this name in his treatise "Tazkira-yi qalandaran" (Zohidov, 1990): "There are forty dead Qalandars who were in the blessed circle of Shah Mashrab Majzub and were invited to the blessed one's noble conversations..." (Zohidov, 1990).

In the period in which Mashrab lived, the Qalandars wandered the streets in groups of forty. Such dervishes supported the Qalandar way of life. Mashrab was a representative of the Naqshbandiyya order and a supporter of the Qalandar ideas – namely, of not falling into a single mould and not living within a narrow circle bound by particular rules and restrictions. He stood out for his views on speaking his words freely, on standing against injustice and on removing it. The fire and fervour in his spirit fully suited a man who had chosen the Qalandar path; for this reason he supported this profession and found it positive. In short, Mashrab is the Qalandar of the Naqshbandiyya order.

It is seen that the Qalandars of Mashrab's period combined within themselves the features of various orders. In their way of life we may observe the loud [dhikr] characteristic of the Yasawiyya, the self-effacement characteristic of the Malamatiyya, voluntary poverty, and the humane ideas of the Naqshbandiyya.

Appearance, attributes and rituals

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, a vivid image of Sufi teachings appeared in the Herat miniatures. Kamal al-Din Bihzad and the representatives of the school he formed created the tradition of reflecting the lives of the representatives of Sufism in their own period and earlier. In the Herat miniatures, craftsmen, builders, warriors, ordinary people, Sufis and dervish-Qalandars are depicted. From the image of a Qalandar he created, for example, we obtain valuable information about the appearance, clothing and qualities of the dervishes.

Moreover, unlike the representatives of other Sufi orders, the Qalandars always carried the following items with them:

the kashkul – a gourd-shaped vessel for collecting alms;

the matbagh – a vessel made from a gourd for carrying offerings and candles;

the rida – a bag passed under the armpit and tied around the neck, often filled with baked bread.

The appearance of some of the representatives of the Qalandariyya was as follows:

constantly scratching the head, eyebrows and face;

wearing a khirqa – a garment consisting of a simple cloth wrapped around the body and a cotton belt around the waist;

keeping away from people and wearing iron ornaments called haydariyya on the neck and hands;

living by charity, owning no personal property, and celibacy (Encyclopédie de l’Islam, 1978).

On a festival day the Qalandars would leave the qalandarkhana and beg for alms in the city streets. Usually on this day they recited a “Yatimnama” (orphans’ poem) for the orphans; the Qalandars recited this qasida and prayed that the orphans be shown respect, considering themselves entitled to such treatment. Through the work they did, the Qalandars likened themselves to orphans; since the Prophet too treated an orphan kindly, they expected people to treat them likewise.

They would fill the courtyard, beat brass drums and perform the sama dance. Others, saying “hu” (Arabic huwa – He, God), gave a separate tone to each beat. The courtyard was filled with a crowd consisting mostly of women. The singing ended with the alms-collector’s poem about the death of Husayn; then he collected alms. The alms consisted of flour, rice and salt, but the wealthy sometimes gave sheep or even camels, and some brought cloth and clothing – which the Qalandars sold and turned into money. The products were taken to the qalandarkhana and prepared as halim; all the poor, the residents of that place and all who took part in the begging were invited.

In classical literature the Qalandar, as a lyrical hero, had the following spiritual images: the lover (ashiq), the lost and the ecstatic. The lovers are the true lovers of the Truth, those who, for the bliss of the inner world, care nothing for outward ruin. The ecstatic (majzub) Qalandar is like the saintly figures described in tales, anecdotes and

tazkiras. The Qalandars of the third image are those who cannot restrain themselves in their conduct from ostentation and fantasy, standing out as a category that deviates from the requirements of good manners.

Today, unfortunately, the activities of the third type of Qalandar have been studied in detail and compared with all the Qalandars. Yet in the historical and mystical sources, as well as in the literary sources, the image of the Qalandar is given a place, and most of it carries a positive meaning. Determining the reasons for the formation of the negative attitudes toward the Qalandars, carrying out a chronological analysis in terms of periodization, and bringing out their differences from the Iranian Qalandars open the way to discovering the distinctive appearance of the Qalandars peculiar to Central Asia.

It is important to attend, on the basis of the archival documents, to neutrality and to local sources, and to the undiscovered aspects of the Qalandariyya. In the documents relating to Turkestan held in the National Archive of Uzbekistan there is information about the number of Qalandarkhanas and Qalandars. Among these documents are figures for each volost (district) of the country. According to the archival documents, it can be said that in the late eighteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century a large number of qalandarkhanas functioned in this region of Central Asia. In this period the Qalandars' activities met with the greatest criticism; in most cases there was a deviation from their religious views and a negative attitude on the part of the religious representatives and the authorities.

In 1900, 14 qalandarkhanas functioned in the Syr Darya and Fergana regions. By 1903 it was established that there were 25 qalandarkhanas covering the Samarkand region, together with 17 pirs and 249 Qalandars (the archival document is appended).

At this point it is fitting to dwell on Khoja Safo Vali, regarded as the leader of the Central Asian Qalandars, whose qalandarkhana was in Samarkand. Information about Khoja Safo Vali can be found in local historical sources. For example, Abu Tahir Khwaja's *Samariyya* presents his personality and his Qalandar chain: "The most famous and renowned Qalandar of Central Asia is Baba Khoja Safo Vali. His grave is outside the city of Samarkand, in the south-eastern corner, in the Qalandarkhana quarter, at the Qalandarkhana takiya.

He received a kulah and a janda from Baba Khoja Abd al-Rahim Qalandar; he from Shah Mahmud Qalandar, he from Mir Shah Qalandar, he from Abd al-Shahid Qalandar,

he from Baba Shah Musafir Qalandar, he from Baba Shah Said Palangposh, he from Baba Filmazid, he from Sayyid Mir Jan Qalandar, he from Sayyid Shams al-Din, he from Mir Jalal al-Din, he from Mir Ghiyas al-Din, he from Mir Bughrayi Qalandar, he from Sayyid Bahram, he from Sayyid Hudud, he from Nimatullah, he from Shaykh Tayyib Qalandar, he from Mir Surkh Qalandar, he from Zakariyya Qalandar, he from Sayyid Muzaffar, he from the pride of the imams His Highness Sayyid Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, he from Abu Ahmad Abdal, he from Sultan Fursnama Kushai, he from Maruf al-Karkhi, he from Sayyid Ali Musa al-Rida, he from Imam Jafar al-Sadiq, he from Muhammad al-Baqir, he from Imam Zayn al-Abidin, he from the saviour of the two worlds Imam Husayn, and he from his father Abdullah al-Ghalib Ali ibn Abi Talib and from His Highness Mustafa [the Prophet]. Khoja Baba Safo was a man who settled in Mecca and built a takiya and a qalandarkhana in Samarkand. It should be no secret that Baba Khoja Safo left a son named Mirza Yaqub, and it is known that Mirza Yaqub had five sons” (Samarqandi, 2009).

He lived for a time in Mecca, and when he came to Samarkand he succeeded in building a qalandarkhana. According to the *Samariyya*, he died in 1817 and was buried in Egypt (his dates of birth and death are disputed).

The scholar Troitskaya noted that Khoja Safo Vali became head of the Qalandarkhana in Samarkand in the seventeenth century, and reported his death differently from the local sources. She writes that the Qalandarkhana was an administrative centre. According to her, the absence of comprehensive research on the Qalandars prevents us from having clear information about them; although they claimed to belong to the Naqshbandiyya order, it is more correct, despite the mutual relations, to call the Qalandariyya a separate order. Troitskaya stated that in 1899, the year she was active, the centre of the qalandarkhana was in Samarkand and its branches were throughout the country, above all in Bukhara, Kashgar, Afghanistan and Khiva; she noted that there were about 200 Qalandars in this field. The shaykh treated the members in other regions as murids. In Samarkand the status of shaykh was transmitted from generation to generation, whereas in other regions it was conferred by election or appointment. The senior shaykhs in Samarkand are the followers of Shaykh Safo Vali and are regarded as the founders of the Qalandariyya order. The branch commanders, who also had the right to lead their own murids and the regional section, received guidance from the Samarkand shaykh and took instructions from him at every step (Troitskaya, 1975).

The famous Mirza Qalandar is regarded as the second senior figure of the Samarkand dervishes. He worked in the volost of Khoja Ahrar Vali; although little is known about his personality, his name is mentioned many times. Although the Samarkand Qalandarkhana possessed more than 25 qalandarkhanas and more than 70 [units of] tax revenue, it played a leading role and left the Russians with the impression of being not a religious order but a place of religious education. It is also noted that, while all the representatives of the order were given the same name, the names of the Qalandars were not recorded – the reason being, as stated in the above report, the need for a specialist in the field, or the regarding of the qalandarkhanas as a mosque or a place of education.

According to the documents of the National Archive of Uzbekistan relating to the period of Tsarist Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, owing to the economic and social decline in Turkestan, the qalandarkhanas were needed by people in want of free shelter and food, and the number of qalandarkhanas remaining in the country reached 200.

When the numbers of qalandarkhanas and Qalandars in Turkestan are examined in chronological order, a sharp decrease is observed. Two types of Qalandars lived in their houses: the Qalandars had the right to marry after reaching a certain status and rank. Married Qalandars lived in the inner part of the qalandar building and the unmarried in the outer courtyard. The place of education of the Qalandars was also here; young Qalandars and new seekers (saliks) were trained here, memorising the rules of the order, Qur'anic verses and quotations from the divans – this being the method of preparing for the future.

In fact, according to the Qalandars' belief, marriage was forbidden; but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this custom changed somewhat, so that certain persons were able to start a family. According to the sources, the above-mentioned Samarkand Qalandar Khoja Safo Vali also had a wife and a son named Mirza Yaqub (Ghaniev, 2009).

The Central Asian Qalandars, unlike the Iranian Qalandars, found the opportunity to start a family. In the qalandar houses in Tashkent an inner and an outer courtyard were arranged, and in the inner part the Qalandars lived with their families. These were people who had passed the difficult stages of the order, fully fulfilled the conditions of the order and matured spiritually. To fulfil responsibilities such as raising a family they

did not beg, but occupied themselves with handicrafts and trades; with this, a process of transition to an active social status was observed.

The Qalandars in the Jadid press and their distinctive features

In the Turkestan press, the Jadids and the representatives of the religious scholars in society displayed a negative attitude toward the Qalandars of the country. In this period the essence of Qalandarhood had moved away from its reality, and the qalandarkhanas had become a source of shelter for the unemployed and for beggars. The activities of the Qalandars – who did not observe the rules of order in society yet claimed to belong to an order – were regularly criticised in the Jadid periodicals and scholarly publications. While Fitrat and Cho‘lpon preferred to dwell on the historical aspects of the Qalandars, Abdulla Qodiriy focused on the Qalandars’ practical activities and criticised them, calling for active participation in society (Fitrat, 1991).

Because Qalandarhood had a practical character, the representatives of this order paid no attention to the creation of written sources. Moreover, since activity peculiar to the Qalandar had to be kept secret, they guarded against revealing the relationship between themselves and the Creator. Despite this, the putting into writing of information about the Qalandariyya also gave rise to the *Qalandarnama* genre. In the early-medieval Iranian qalandarnamas, information about the order’s founder Jamal al-Din Savi and his students, and the customs of the order, were treated in a verse style; for this reason they are sometimes called “Manaqib of Jamal al-Din Savi, or Qalandarnama.” In the Central Asian “Qalandarnama” treatises there is information about the procedures of entering the order, the nature of poverty, pir–murid relations, the litanies (wird), the conditions for wearing the khirqa and the cap, and the states and conditions peculiar to the Qalandars.

The Central Asian Qalandars differ from those of other regions in their adherence to Hanafism, in the possibility of returning to a socially active life after passing through the ranks of the order, and in their appearance. In particular, the differences between the Qalandars of Central Asia and those of Iran and Turkey appear in the practice of dhikr, the types of khirqa and doctrinal views. In Central Asia the Haydaris, Ishqis, Kharabatis and Abdals worked, individually or in groups, as representatives of the Qalandar movement.

CONCLUSION

It has been observed that the attitude toward the Qalandariyya differed according to period. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a positive view of them. In

the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the concept of genuine and false Qalandars took shape. By the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, almost all of them were recorded as representatives of an order that had lost its original essence. Studying the Qalandariyya on the basis of its original local sources – the qalandarnamas and the manuscripts of the order – alongside the archival documents, makes it possible to recover the order's true aim, to distinguish the genuine Qalandars from the false, and to bring out the distinctive features of the Central Asian Qalandars as compared with those of Iran and Turkey.

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