

RELATIONS OF SUFISM AND THE RELIGIONS OF MANLINESS, MALAMATIEH AND GHALANDARIEH

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Öz

Sufizm ile Melamilik, Kalenderilik ve Mertlik Dinlerinin İlişkisi

Dindar ve çileye yönelik bir yaklaşımla yavaş bir seyirde başlamış olan İslami Sofizm, zamanın gerekliliklerine göre teorik konuları ele almış ve ana tartışmalarda “niyetteki içtenlik” ile “sevgi ve şefkat” unsurlarını vurgulamıştır. Bu yeni yaklaşım, sofi öğretilerinin daha yararlı uygulamalara haiz olmasını sağlamıştır. Mertlik dinleri, Melamilik ve Kalenderilik insani Sofizmin siperinin bir kısmını örneklediğinden dolayı, bazı çalışmalarının tanımlanması Sofizmin toplumsal özelliklerini ortaya koymaya yardımcı olacaktır. Bu bağlamda, mümbit olanların öğretileri ile Sofizmin ilkeleri, mertlik dinini, asetizm ve Sofizmin halk insanları ile Sofiler arasındaki dolandırıcılık eğiliminde olanlara nüfuz edilmesi, İslami Sofizm alanında söylemlerarası istidanın gelişmesini sağlamıştır. Dolayısıyla, Melamilik dindar olanları mağdur eden fenalıkları savması bakımından mertlik dininin bir devamı olarak ele alabiliriz. Söylemlerarası eleştirinin teorik çerçevesinin sıklığı ile uygulamasının kuvvetlendirilmesi Kalenderilik akımının oluşumuna ortam sağlayarak, yapay ve riyakar asetizmin daha geniş çerçevede yenilgiye uğramasına neden olmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: İslâm Sufizmi, Mertlik Dinleri, Melamilik, Kalenderilik, Söylemlerarası Eleştiri.

Abstract

Islamic Sufism commenced with a devout and mortification-oriented approach slowly, and according to exigencies of the time approached theoretic issues and emphasized ‘sincerity in purpose’ and ‘love and affection’ as the main discussions.

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This new approach caused Sufi teachings to have more useful applications. As the religions of manliness, Malamatieh and Ghalandarieh could illustrate a part of the frontage of humanity Sufism, and recognition of some of their works helps us to reach social characteristics of Sufism. Tantamount to this view, connection of the teachings of generous ones with principles of Sufism has chained this religion of manliness to a school for teaching asceticism and Sufism to public people. On the other hand, penetration of generous ones and the ones with the disposition of charlatanry among Sufis helped the development of the capability of inter-discourse criticism in the field of Islamic Sufism. Therefore, we can consider Malamatieh as the continuation of the religion of manliness for repelling injuries with which the pious ones faced. Firmness of the theoretical framework of inter-discourse criticism with reinforcement of its practice based aspect and settling the movement of Ghalandarieh brought about the approach of defeating against artificial and hypocritical asceticism to be broader and more flourished.

Keywords: *Islamic Sufism, Religions of Manliness, Malamatieh, Ghalandarieh, Inter-discourse Criticism.*

1. Introduction

What was known as Islamic Sufism during the third and fourth centuries, found its own bases and principles in devout thought and behavior. From the middle of the second century by transformation of cultural and social needs of the society and deliberation on the bases of devout full view, the devout movement was slowly exposed to change, and its new façade appeared under the name of “Sufism”. Although during several decades, the movement of Sufism continued its presence under the subject of asceticism, appearance of new situations caused this movement to continue according to new necessities, in a more obvious form. During the third century, the emphasis on Sufism was mostly on thinking, deliberation and looking attentively than hard mortification, meaning that the difficult and hard life which was considered by Sufis of the second period like Ibrahim Adham and Rabieh Advieh as the main factors of deliverance, was put aside or underestimated by Sufis of this period like Joneid and his followers. In addition, asceticism, unworldliness, obedience and worshipping are the means not the purpose, and it is the introduction of reaching a better purpose not the final aim and ideal, as Joneid wears like the learned ones and as Attar mentions in his *Tazkerah-Al-Oliya*, Abu Bahr Shebli and Abu Hafz have received each other luxuriously and proudly.

Ba Yazid does not believe in continuing asceticism and mortification, and he believes that the wayfarer should spare this world as well as the other, and also his own self and pay attention to the main purpose and subject, as

Abu Saieed Kharraz says, "Hunger is ascetics' food and thinking is of Gnostics." In brief, in this period theoretic side of Sufism is emphasized, and it surpasses its practical side (Ghani, 1340:57). Whereas, at the beginning Sufism was the school of practices not theory, as Joneid Baghdadi says, "we have not reached this Sufism by noise and quarrel, but it is found by hunger and sleeplessness and overlooking this world and quitting what we loved." (Ghani, 1340:19)

Therefore, considering Sufism as the school of practice, in effect, is an indication of the other side of Sufism or the devout movement. Although the theoretic flaw of Sufism had some signs of practical Sufism, slowly it moved to a direction which was not publically known, and only a specific group who were interested in mere theoretic discussions, accompanied it. Thus, we should say that in the Islamic world "[...] several centuries before the appearance of theoretic, philosophical and green Gnosticism, a branch of devout view and custom appeared, a branch which was called Sufism, and it was broadly penetrated specifically in the context of person language and the Iranian part of Islamic civilization, enabling the development of a great literature, views of which deeply influenced the growth and formation of different arts (Ashuri, 1384:273).

By this description, we can regard the first and second centuries as the period of asceticism and Sufism. In all books about Gnostics, most of the devouts are included in the school of Sufism, and characters such as "Ibn Taregh" at the end of the first century are from this group. "[...] These people are modes of friend's affection and grace and spectator of his wrath. Real Sufism at the end of the second century was created for "sincerity in intention." and the scrutiny over "sincerity for Gods' face" separated Sufism from asceticism. Thus, maybe we can consider "Hareth Ibn Asad-Al-Mohasebi" as the leader of this movement and style (Mortazawi, 1365:362). Other noble thoughts like love, affection, Gnosticism, wisdom, annihilation and eternity employed by Sufism at the end of the second century, specially the first part of the third century, continued in a parallel direction with the old thoughts and principles like asceticism, worshipping, demanding other worldly salvation (Ghani, 1340:59).

The point that Sufism originated from asceticism and austerity and then is mired with beliefs and opinions of Eshragh is obviously more natural than other possibilities (Zarrinkub, 1369:174). However, we can see the signs of gradual tonus formation of asceticism to Sufism from the end of the second century (Poor Namdarian, 1374: 13). Thus, this article intends to represent and analyze the links among Sufism, Manliness and Malamatieh with a descriptive approach.

2. Social Aspects and Public links of Asceticism and Sufism

Analysis of the excursion of changes in the history of asceticism and Islamic Sufism shows that the tendency to reinforce the weakening of any of its theoretic and scientific flaws was strongly influenced by social situations of the time. On the other hand, a new movement was formed in this great social and cultural movement that analyzing any one of them requires a broad and specific opportunity. However, we can briefly point to the generous ones or the ones of Malamatieh and Ghalandarieh. These two flaws alongside the main flaw of Sufism could represent unique roles, and depending upon the situation, perform considerable differentiation.

2. 1. School of Manliness; an Affirmative Approach in Social Insight of Sufism

The approach of the devout movement after unworldliness and simple living accompanied with fear of God's punishment, in accordance with the social and political changes of the society, gradually transformed into an active and objective discourse in criticizing deviations from Islamic bases in Omavi period. After this important subtitle, and in response to basic cultural and mental needs, on the basis of the approach of change and perfection, the condition was prepared to accept Gnostic characteristics, and "the devout movement" transformed into "the movement of Sufism and Gnosticism." This approach, since Sufis' asceticism and mortification were mixed with affection and love, and that they were mostly familiar with simple hearts and fervent bodies than school knowledge, attracted simple people, specifically craftsmen, business men and villagers.

This public interest, regardless of class, in Sufism discourse motivated the formation of a mediator organization and middle circles which were named as the religion of "generosity". Obviously, since ancient times, there has been a friendly relationship between different classes of trades and Sufis, as the organization of generous ones and trade become the direction of Sufism. This link continued to the point that with any definition of Sufism and Gnosticism, we can include it as "a kind of Sufism" (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:25).

2. 1. 1. The School of Asceticism and Public Sufism

The importance of paying attention to the flaw of manliness and generosity is not only summarized just in its social trend and output, but also it is considered to be a kind of admiration of noble frontage of Islamic Sufism against the theoretic Sufism.

Though, a specific branch of Sufism, by following theoretic discussions separated its way from public people, and is represented only in special

circles, teachings and exchanges of Sufis are still simple and void of complexities and artificialities which in trade, and next periods cast a shadow on a part of the context of Gnosticism; in this time (the third century), Sufism was still based on asceticism and most of the Gnostics of this time had been called devours (Dehbashi and Mir Bagheri Fard, 1386:69).

If we want to separate the distinguished family of “Gnosticism of Khorasan” and “Ibn Arabi’s followers’ Gnosticism” in the realm of Gnosticism, we can claim that the literature of “generosity” in Gnosticism of Khorasan is richer and stronger, and that we can overlook human’s position in Ibn Arabi and his followers’ teachings, and even we can deny human’s presence in Ibn Arabi’s asceticism, unless in a perfect human’s face which is an imaginary and fanciful conception; equal to the logos (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:26). In effect, this view reveals the basic difference between the kind of social view in the first devout Sufism and the theoretic Sufism. Deliberation on public teachings of the circles of generous ones during which like the teachings of Malamatieh and Ghalandarieh, overlooking the belongings of this world and paying attention to primary principles of the school of asceticism were emphasized, shows that noble flaw of devout movement could continue its social and cultural life for centuries.

Different mental and religious schools which emerged during the Islamic period had a critical role in the protection of national bases and training moralities to public, specifically in temporary intervals, and interruptions in transition of power from one group to another had an important strength in quarrels of the sovereignty realm and organizing political and religious sway, and was responsible for political, social or administrative duties, and had definite moral principles and organization (Kashani, Abd-Al-Razzagh, 1369:3).

The generous ones in Iran and in other Islamic societies were a group of Shiite Muslims who followed famous Gnostics of the preliminary centuries of Islam and in this way tried to reach the depth and reality of religious laws, and put love and affection and respect to friendship and faith fullness to promises as the basis of their deeds, and bring tender emotions and delicate Gnostic perceptions- which, if happens, in other religions and civilizations of the world, are specified to elites and excepted ones- to the depth of society through contributions of generous ones in every group and train eager and talented ones and verify them in action. Since the leaders and oldest ones of generosity had a great influence on creating our ancestors’ spiritual characters and had a considerable part in their social noble training due to their deep belief in divine rules, they tried to comprehend the reality of

human's life and compare these rules with individual and collective characteristics of people, and thus, prevent the pretentious ones' incursion and depredation.

These broad-minded and magnanimous people in turbulent periods and at the time of intervals, transition of power, decline and change of governments protected helpless and shelterless people in their land, especially inhabitants of cities from the harms of diverse transgressions by extending principles and bases of manliness onto all aspects of life and human relationships. Creating an atmosphere of affection and friendship, it left us a precious capital of love, affection, self-restraint, self-control, moderateness and indulgence (Corban, 1363:10).

2. 1. 2. Background and History of Manliness and Generosity

The word "generous" was used among Arabs before Islam as a specific term, they knew the person with this title who, as they believed, was perfect in morality, humanity and virtue or at least had the two characteristics of bravery and generosity (which were emphasized by Arabs) (Riaz, 1382:12). Another point of view is that social perfection and generosity in contrast to its mental aspect, is not related to old Arabs, since its beginning originates from special groups which were present in the civilization of eastern lands, particularly Iran (Hakemi, 1382:31).

Historical investigations show that the emergence of generous ones was at the beginning of the fourth century and they were known as "impostors", "errant" and "rebels". Apparently, principles of manliness were created in the fifth century, and we can find their works in compilations of generosity and Sufism (Corban, 1363:5). Some consider generous ones the same as impostors and in reality, as imposture is considered to be the direction and entry of manliness (Saleh Ibn Janah, 1372:28).

2. 1. 3. The Joints of the School of Manliness and Sufism

Although we can consider the description of the links between the school of manliness and Sufism as the main substructure of the discussions in this work, we should say that there is a close and fundamental link between Sufism and generosity (Corban: 1363: 7) and it seems that the school of manliness was a combination of imposture principles and the bases of Sufism (Saleh Ibn Janah, 1372:28).

Sufism and manliness have many links with each other and in reality they were never isolated from each other (Mahjoob, 1384:291). Following the combination of asceticism and Sufism with the school of impostures, the school of "generosity" emerged and the leaders of generosity taught the

principles of imposture to new learners of this school by referring to elements of generosity, generous one's characteristics and the conditions of generosity in order to teach them the nature of imposture (Afshari, 1382:47). Yet when some of the impostors as Fozeil Ayyaz and Ahmad Khosraviieh joined in Sufism and became great and famous Sufis' teaching their disciples the concepts of manliness and generosity, Sufis' familiarity with the school of Sufism increased and slowly generosity penetrated their circles, teachings and books (Afshari, 1382:53).

One of the dimensions specific to Iran's Sufism is the school of manliness and generosity. Iranian Sufis considered Sufism, which required special teachings, mortifications, attentions and worshipping, to be specific to elites and learned ones of religion and invited the public to principles of manliness and generosity, therefore, most of them along with authoring many pieces in poetry and prose about Sufism (mostly in person), they have many works in the field of manliness and generosity (Nafisi, 1385:129). The last point is that this school farther represented moral aspects of Islam and made Islamic Sufism richer and more active, and from a social viewpoint, it became a means for contributing to poor ones while leading to tyrants' extreme poverty.

In Persian literature, Ghabusnameh is the most ancient one that worked on the school of manliness and its links with Sufism in a separate Chapter. (the forty fourth chapter).

We can conclude that during the third and fourth centuries there was a close relationship between the school of manliness and Sufism. By reading the first books on generosity such as Epistle of Al-Fatrat, authored by Solmi (1021:412: D) we can state that working seriously on Sufism, without simultaneous usage of moral values of the school of manliness is impossible. Therefore, the phenomenon of organizing religions of manliness and dependent trades is the most important and inseparable part of religious experience of Iranian Sufism during primary centuries (Nasr, 1384:40).

2. 1. 4. General Principles of the School of Manliness in Relation with Asceticism

Analysis of general principles and rules governing the relationships of the school of manliness, either internal rules or the principles governing social relationships, shows that these principles were the socialized form of the teachings of asceticism and Sufism and is the sign of their public usage.

2. 1. 4. 1. Generous Ones' Characteristics

Generous person, as has been recorded in different generosity-words, before participating in society, should primarily reach some characteristics.

Shahab-Al-Din Amr Sohrevardi writes in his generosity words that the generous person should be a professional in all kind of arts such that when he participates in the circle of scientists and learned ones and is asked about something, he should know the point so completely that no one can object him, and this is not possible, unless he attempts to reach these characteristics, and all these characteristics are the peculiar to prophets, thus, Imam and prophets' inheritance belong to generous ones (Sarraf, 1370:151). Najm-Al-Din Zarkub's generosity-words also mention that the generous person should change his behaviors in such a way that his self becomes void of forty bad characteristics and endowed with forty good characteristics.

It is according to these teachings that it is said generous people were pious ones (Afshari, 1382:48) as we read in Ezzi Marvi's generosity-words that:

Always follow piety, because the weak person's future is not good.

Do not rebel against God, because finally it is a calamity to yours life.

For the sake of God, put your whims aside and do not accompany whim full ones.

Do not look at your friend lustfully that your enemy will become happy of this.

2. 1. 5. Generous One's Social Principles and Public Manifestations

After clearing out of any negative morality and being endowed with admirable characteristics, the generous person is capable of participating in society. Another aspect of the principles of generosity is the services the generous ones paid to others by exploiting inter-organization teachings. The basis of their belief was to help and to give others a relief and to behave in a manner of generosity and greatness (Hakemi, 1382:17). As it was stated earlier, the school of manliness was really the manifestation of affirmative approach of asceticism and Sufism in the layers of society. We can mention some of the titles and principles in this field as follows:

2. 1. 5. 1. Instituting Human's Greatness

Reviewing principles emphasized by generous ones best reveals that in a society exploited by tyrant ruler's incursion, human's greatness and generosity are sacrificed as the first victim, by the help of the school of manliness and generosity and along with heroic behavior and character.

For more development and perfection in the realm of humanity, threats directed on spiritual rights, on top of which is human's dignity should be prevented (Saleh Ibn Janah, 1372:10).

2. 1. 5. 2. Deployment for the Culture of Justice

Generous ones believe that to be generous, one should be “just”. In addition, they themselves followed justice, and rebelled against oppressors who were cruel to people (Afshari, 1382:49).

The great scholar shams-Al-Din Mohammad Ibn Mahmood Amdi in Epistle of Futuvvatieh mentions in Nafayes-Al-Fonoon that generous ones were kind to poor ones, and they were against cruel and tyrant ones, they behaved in a strong and intense manner, and for the sake of God, they do not fear any reproach.

2. 1. 5. 3. Behaviorism and Avoiding Ungrateful Speech

Generous ones do not have much desire and enthusiasm in single reasoning and affection or love of logic (in which others are interested). This might be ascribed to their precise recognition of human being and his behavior, as well as their participation in society. Yet they paid more attention to sensible reality and diversity of real things in nature than reasoning and logic which can be found among words, and through a simple and comprehensive language arrive at a clear image, and eradicate the base of alterations and explanations which hinder empirical analyses.

If we consider the action as the ultimate aim of any science, generous ones are important, and they possess a great position in history of science and in living style. They are simple, direct and independent people who stick to the principle of virtue and piety. Also their ideas are among thoughts which have continuous and permanent reliability during the history of human’s thought and in any time and period can be represented in a new form (Saleh Ibn Janah, 1372:22).

2. 1. 5. 4. Protection of the Culture of Bravery and Endeavour

One of the signs of generous one’s active movement is their resistance against the trend of transformation which happened among societies during the passage of time. These people by generosity continuously tired to maintain societies’ integrity against aggressors.

A special number of generous ones formed, quarrelsome groups who had political and religious thoughts and even participated in Holy wars. Upon this principle, in eastern parts of Irannee Khorasan and Mavara-Al-Nahr, the leader of the fighters in the holy war was called “Raires-Al-Fatian”. Therefore, reciprocal relationships between fighters and Sufis formed gradually. This means that Sufis learned generosity from fighters – real generous ones. On the other hand, generous ones were also associated

with the group of mendicants in fighter's military centers like caravanserais (Hakemi, 1382:33).

In general, we can say that generous ones are representatives of principles, humane values, moralities, rights and justice, and they wanted to change the society under the shadow of a kind of mental transformation and moral differentiation.

These wishes and ideals were always respected, even if most of them did not come into practice necessity for their presence had constantly been felt. They carried out effective services in social fields for a broad group of people – they were brave fighters who practiced their ideas by power and decision, discipline, management, patience and resistance to reach justice, right, logic, brotherhood, order and rule. They were also interested in reviving the forgotten self-confidence, courage and union to Iranians, and representing themselves as the symbol of constancy and social discipline.

3. Malamatieh and Ghalandarieh; Negative Approach in Social View of Sufism

What comes out of studying the process of formation, continuance and the school of manliness illustrates a trend that slowly leads to affirmative approaches, described under the school of manliness, to negative approaches and the school of Malamatieh. Earlier it was mentioned how generous ones brought about their social activities, but we should add that when some of them joined the group of Sufis and taught the nature of imposture to some Sufis, and in this way created a branch of Sufism from which the school of Malamatieh came out (Afshari, 1382:46).

Paying more attention to general outputs in the flaw of generosity and Malamatieh, in effect, clears public attention of Sufism, and until next centuries, in periods during which theoretical trend of Sufism, under the influence of series of ideas and other reflective fields of discussion developed in a specific situation based upon the needs of the time, and practised its duty and brought hope and happiness to public by relying on specific and known principles of the first steps of the devout movement.

3. 1. Anti-Hypocrisy; the First Origin of Malamatieh

One of the serious injuries occurred to the devout movement which brought about great damages to its general approach was “insincerity in action” and “hypocrisy”. From the very beginning of the history of Islamic Sufism, it became obvious that being religious and pious can easily transform into a great threat for spiritual life. Specially, during the first decades of Abbasis' government, governors' exploitation of presence of

ones who were known of holiness, in order to destroy objective aspect of the devout group who were previously of Bani Omayyees' opposors, brought about a situation in which the halo of holiness was a proper means for acquiring worldly blessings, and in this way customs of mortification changed to a profession and outward holiness to a merchandise which was bought at a good price (Bertles, 1367:31). Therefore, Malamaties are representatives of a very internal reaction against different holy-externalists (Soveiri, 1384:149). In such situation, the only solution for coming out of blind alley to which asceticism and piety surely leads, is the force of criticism which has a refining effect on Gnostics' soul (Dobervin: 1384:177). Upon this point, the issue of morality in action was specially emphasized by leaders of Sufism and all its dependent spiritual, social, cultural and critical flows. Sincerity is the basic principle in the religion of Keramieh and Sufism and also in the school of manliness, although according to Malamaties' idea sincerity is the base of teachings (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:27).

As Hojviri mentions in *Kashf-Al-Mohjoob*, one of the ways of purifying intentions for action is blaming, because blaming has a great effect on affection refinement and a special group and the righteous ones are specified to blame the creatures (Hojviri et al, 1358:68). As in Hojviri's speech, we can find a kind of link between "sincerity in intention" and "love and affection" as the first steps of theoretic reflection on many Sufis. Perhaps we can consider timely simultaneity of these two issues as another sign of this link.

The essence of the theory of Malamat is that the Gnostic should try his best to be completely headless to peoples' negative or positive judgement about his behaviors. In order to achieve mental heedlessness it is necessary that the person conceal his admirable actions from others to protect his sincerity from the first possible injuries. Perhaps the person goes further and puts on a mask of blameful behaviors to motivate the criticism of the respectable society against himself. The Gnostic is obliged to separate himself from everything except his deity (Dobervin, 1384:177). As this point of view works on the religious origin of a social flaw, it is noticeable and reflection able, but in addition we should keep this point in mind that any social flaw, has also other impacts and dimensions.

Paying attention to lower social and public layers and responding to their needs and requirements are other aspects of a socio-cultural school. This article does not tend to review all aspects and dimensions of Malamatieh, and thus it only emphasizes its social outputs. Therefore it is not improper to pass over it by mentioning the most ancient inter-discourse criticism against the school of Malamatieh which represents the attention to

religious fields of this flaw, and then work on its social fields. Ali Ibn Othman Hojviri (1358:75) in *Kashf-Al-Mah-jooob* writes as follows:

To me, blaming is like hypocrisy, and hypocrisy is the same as discord; that hypocrite keeps a way that others accept him and the blameful one obligatorily keeps the way that others reject him, and both of these groups are confused of people and have no way to come out of them, that one has come out by this treatment and the other with another, and dervish just pays attention to righteous ones' and Gods' speech and when he separates himself from others, he becomes free of these two meanings and nothing can prevent him.

As it was said, this kind of viewing Malamatieh in respect to clearing it out of theoretic calamities can include all of the main and religious subtitles and it is not tantamount to rejecting a social flaw and its outputs. It is like a kind of awareness that if we do not have the proper care, it is possible that one school changes to its apposite.

3. 2. Ghalandarieh; Malamatie's Objective Inter-Production

As Jami has said in *Nafahat-Al-Ons*, "Malamati should stick to all virtues but conceal them from others." (Jami, 1370:11), could illustrate malamatieh as the moderate critical school in the trend of the formation of social flaws during the Islamic period. Primary origin of this inclination is representative of its social aspect of dominance. Because most of their enmity was with hypocrisy and self-conceit (Gölpınarlı, 1378:39), the reason of transformation of this moderate flaw in Islamic society of that time requires individual and more analysis.

It seems that a series of hypocrite and impostor activities continued in such a dissipative trend that is contrary to it, and the kind of extremist Malamati Gnostic appeared under the name of "Ghalandar" (Dobervin, 1384:178). Perhaps, the contortions of the society which were caused by hypocrite behaviours and were linked to the means of political power that had an influence on the formation of this flaw.

As *Ez-Al-Din Mahmood Kashani* says, Ghalandarieh is a tribe which does not deal with damage or repairment of peoples' ideas, and they try their best to destroy customs and habits, and to escape from limitations of intercourse customs. The members of the Glandarieh are endowed with certain characteristics: they are always interested in tranquility, and they do not make themselves busy with the devout and worshippers' customs. They

do not go to extremes in worshipping and prayers, and they do not try to clear out their sinful actions by prayers. They stick just to precepts and religious duties, and compilation of worldly belongings is not of their habits. Thus, they are satisfied with sweet heartedness, and they do not want more. This tribe is the same as Malamatieh in respect of their dis-hypocriticism, and the difference between them is that the Malamati ones stick to all prayers and virtues but conceal them from others' view. Yet, Ghalandari ones do not go further than usual and ordinary religious duties, and they are not bound to conceal their religious deeds, and they tend to represent them (Kashani, Ez-Al-Din Mahmood, 1367:2-121).

About the links between Ghalandarieh and Malamatieh, if we accept that this theory of Malamat with all its parts is the product of reflection on the issue of sincerity, and there is no other anti-Islamic element in it, again we should admit that beside this theory of Malamat, there was something in the depth of society which was later called "Ghalandarieh, and it owes its development to this association with the theory of Malamat" (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:33).

Upon the collection of information gained from ancient periods, Ghalandars were the ones who were incompatible and unsociable with public people's institutions, religions, and habits and were disappointed and low spirited due to their hypocrisy and evildoings. And because of this, they were constantly in quarrel with hypocrite public (Boroomand Saieed, 1384:197). This quarrel, the base of which was the inclination to break the taboos (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:51) is considered the most serious manifestation of this flaw. In order to weaken and underestimate the bases and institutions of the public society, innovative and custom-breaker Ghalandaries participated in society with an appearance which was incompatible with peaceful and health wanting peoples' appearance. This was a sort of their cultural campaign, in addition, when they found the opportunity they would fight against the claimants with weapons (Boroomand Saieed, 1384:199). In time, Ghalandarieh came to be viewed from two completely contrary perspectives: one from "malamaties" point of view, and the other from the point of view of "the fans of carelessness" (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:51).

Ghalandars' arrangement in a special appearance is also considered to be one of their differences with other flaws of malamamat, because the nature of Malamaties is such that as pleasure-seeking ones, they are void of any pomp to humans, they avoid any attempts in a kind of action to attract others' notice and attention, and that malamamat was a reaction against jurisconsult's haughtiness and the religious ones hypocrisy (Gölpınarlı,

1378:29) and it itself should not be trapped in such things. It seems that Najm-Al-Din Razis' emphasis on the point that devotee, beside owning characteristics such as repentance, asceticism, abstraction, belief, virtue and patience... should be Malamati-charactered and Ghalandar-natured, not such that he behaves irreligiously and thinks that it is Malamati, it is surely Sati's way and his leadership, the religious ones are carried to hell because of this evil-doing. Malamati means others' fame and shame, admiration and blame, acceptance and rejection are the same to him and he does not react to others' enmity and friendship and considers all these contrarities the same (Najm-Al-Din Razi, 1366:261), showing the necessity of avoiding a style that Ghalandars stick to, going further than Malamatis' moderate style. However, there is no doubt that Ghalandars' view and the perception of this world differed from public and outwardly devout's points of view. Because of this, public ones and hypocrite devout's were dissatisfied with Ghalandars and were constantly in quarrel with them. It is natural that in the time of Ghalandars' positioning against public ones and hypocrite devout's, they also react and reciprocally confront with them. Both sides' disgust of each other and their previous encounters, have always been problematic and exciting (Boroomand Saieed, 1384:293).

However, in the social hypocritical environment of Iran and Islam, presence of pure virtuous devout's in the cultural background of Iran and Islam has brought about a context in which broad groups of people who were made helpless by the dominant hypocrisy of the society including that of the governors, religious and devout ones, more and more admired Malamatis' followers, and in this way the devout's hypocrisy increased, while the public, and the followers of schools of thought, specifically Gnostic poets, increased their admiration for the opposite side of hypocrisy (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:34). When hypocrite behaviors became more complicated and passed further than individual reaching to political and social layers, Malamatis' and its behaviorist branch Ghalandarieh's positioning became different.

As it is obvious, Ghalandars were revolutionists and liberalists and they campaigned to make equality and righteous acts permanent and firm. It is evident that these revolutionists, who were interested in revolution and changing institutions and customs of public society, were unreliable in peoples' view and criterion. As a result, public ones considered them ignominious and unimportant, because in public society, famous one is the person who is believed and accepted by social institutions and one who is faithful to those institutions. In this way, Ghalandars who were not compatible, unanimous with public ones, were ignominious in their view,

and Ghalandars themselves had accepted this infamy. Thus, they believed that any one who is famous among people is the same as them and he himself is one of them, a tendency which implies that he has accepted the criterions and values of the society therefore he cannot be effective in culture and society. In reality, the more ignominious a Ghalandar is in public view, the more he is accepted and the more famous he becomes in Ghalandars' view (Boroomand Saieed:, 1384:295).

The point that Ghalandarieh devoted its main aspect of attempt to breaking social taboos, in effect, shows another side of activeness and efficacy of this flaw. Because all cultural and artistic changes in Iranian society, particularly in the Islamic period, is a function of the variable of social ideals in breaking taboos (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:50) and religious and national movements, either in its integrated and broad movements or in the form of its regional and small movements, all and all were, are and will be manifestations of this inclination to break the taboos. Ghalandarieh evinces this social inclination through two aspects: they themselves tried their best to break the taboos and also in doing so, they were admired and encouraged by people. Heart and mind of Iranian society, specifically the great poets and artists, like Attar, Sanaiee, Molavi and Hafiz, have gradually illustrated such heroes who were inclined to break the taboos that are considerably different from their social and historic reality (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:51).

Ghalandars being encouraged by people do not rely just on its cultural side, but also revenues of Ghalandarieh have also found a social and political trend and dimension, it is their public-oriented approach in vindication of poor and helpless ones' rights. All those mysteries and secret organizations and constructs which were provided by Ghalandarieh, had any one purpose and that was supporting the poor and helpless people. Ghalandars regarded themselves as helpless and as indigent ones' companions; they wanted to suppress tyrant governors to establish equality and justice in society so that helpless people could make use of the least facilities of living, since they knew if these tyrants still remain in their high positions, helpless ones still remain portionless and unfortunate. Because of this, they always advised others that one should be effective and efficient for God's creatures, and if there is a person who can't be effective, at least he should be harmless and inoffensive (Boroomand Saieed, 1384:317).

By these points, it became evident that in a period in which hypocrisy destroyed the bases of religious action like a termite, Malamatieh by putting the emphasis on the principle of "sincerity in action" and special subtleties based upon the teachings of the field of asceticism and the first Sufism

helped the revival of “real faith” and Ghalandarieh as the more liberal part of this socio-cultural flaw, seriously turned to settle social and political layers of the society and practiced specific steps; thus, negative colour of the flaw of Malamati and Ghalandari has a particular manifestation.

4. The Period of Difficulties: Public Interest, Change and Resistance

Analysis of effective factors in formation and development of the devout movement shows that this flaw has always been exposed to injuries which originated from extremist actions and reactions, negative and positive rough dimensions that have never been without a customer in this bazaar. From this perspective, public interest and inclination of different classes of people on the one hand caused the development of basic Islamic views in society, while on the other imposed such situations on this flaw, having encountered considerable and great changes.

4. 1. Ascetic Teachings, the Cause of Public Interest in Sufism

Learned ones of religion and distinguished ones of religious jurisprudence had found sub-satanical and worldly contaminations and were occupied with the business of teaching and judgement. Most of them had tribunal responsibilities, and in response to tribunal ones detained religious rules and kept them neglected, and they were against public people who were mostly decided by the appearance of actions. However, distinguished ones of religion showed their acts by quitting this world, turning away from governors, seclusion and cessation, and some were busy with imperative actions to good deeds. Public ones considered them in charge of administrating rules and teaching the details while distinguished ones considered them soul complement, supplement of humanity, ladder of the sky of knowledge, and the extreme of creation as well as the center of the universe. In this way, on the whole the discussion of Sufism became the warmest one (Salim, 1380:82).

Asceticism and mortification were popular among many groups during the period of salajegheh, and were particularly valued and regarded as effective in attracting peoples’ attention. Abu Saieed Ab-Al-Kheir’s mortifications, though they were not as difficult as they were mentioned in explanations about his moods especially in *Asrar-Al-Tohid*, are considered an example of the devout’s mortification in that period. Such hard mortifications depicted most of the learned ones of that time. It was by such exaggerations in asceticism and mortification that Sufism became more popular among public, therefore Sufism was considerably circulated (Zarrinkub, 1371:26).

The link between Sufis and different classes of people, from the very beginning was based upon primary devout humane and active teachings and originated from a pure view. Sufism was the style of ones whose thirst for knowledge was not satisfied and suppressed by mosque and school, therefore they wanted to find a way to reality by something out of popular customs in rows of prayers and circles of discussion... they had high ambitions and knew that the face which is now beautiful, fairy- like and tranquillizing, some time later will become ugly and devil, the eye which is now troublesome and intoxicated, tomorrow will become blind and insincere and will be tearful. They gained the deep meaning by one sentence – they were not bound to eating and were not deceived by colorful tables and diverse foods. These people did not rely on their wishes and didn't create them, because they considered it silly ones' capital.

4. 2. The Change Process; Inevitable Danger of Socio-Cultural Flaws

Since deceitful attractiveness in cultural phenomena is followed by the attraction of attention of different layers of society with different levels of recognition, there is always a danger that some layers of society do not receive the original messages of that cultural phenomenon and thus, some elements transform into their opposite, and this is the issue which constantly threatens socio-cultural flaws. Any social flaw that can be changed in the passage of time is exposed to internal and external injuries, the situation which facilitated the transformation of the active flaw of asceticism and Sufism.

By popularity of this religious way and public dissatisfactions of outworldly scholars, the rich ones turned to Sufism and Sufis which were products of the community of the time, and constructed many monasteries in every city. Because of their disgust and hatred of outwardly scholars and governors' tyranny, they asked Sufis' assistance and paid all their vows to Sufis and corrupted some Sufis. As a result of this, ambitious and greedy ones put on dervishes' clothes, and treachery as well as deceit replaced righteous ones to guide others. From the beginning of the fourth century, this transformation occurred in Sufism, and it gradually developed, and in the sixth and seventh centuries reached its highest strength. Ab-Al-Ghasem Ghosheiri complains of this distortion and confusion in preliminary parts of his famous book (Epistle of Ghosheirieh) – Hakim Sanaiee in Hadigheh criticizes unrighteous and treachery Sufis and eloquently describes their indecent habits and undeserving moralities. Ohadi Maraghehi who lived in the early eighth century (deceased 738) has also spared one chapter of Jame-e-Jam to worldly hypocritical Sufis. Molana has also revealed the claimants'

hypocrite deeds in different parts of Mathnavi, and Hafiz has scoffingly commented this tribe in his lyric poems.

Certainly this rejection and critical approach had also another aspect – “gradually by emergence of Malamatieh and Ghalandarieh and some extremist elders, Sufism was separated both form science and religion.” (Zarrinkub, 1356:95). Although it was not so much public- some outwardly ascetics and religious ones opposed to these happenings which can be analyzed individually.

4. 3. The Approach of Resistance; in Line with Development and Progress

When primary bases and original values of asceticism and Sufism encountered transformation and change during passage of time, it is natural that such flaw with unique capabilities and abilities would not easily submit to the process of transformation. Series of productions and reproductions which occurred in or out of the noble movement of asceticism and Sufism revealed that this movement would still vivaciously continue its developed life for years, fostering unique heroes like Sanaiee, Attar, Molana and Hafiz. Also the analysis of the outputs of the religions of Malamati and Manliness shows that the main approach of these schools is the resistance against artificial and outward asceticism. Malamatieh looks into pretentious and outward asceticism in a critical view (Soveiri, 1384:161).

The flaw of Malamatieh itself was not safe from the calamity of transformation, if we consider appearance of the school of Malamaties in Neishaboor as the culmination of the theory of sincerity, and consider Gnostics such as Abu Hafez Haddad Neishaboori and the like as its representatives. The more we are away from this historical stage, the more the theory of Malamat, which is an internal and completely individual issue, transforms into a series of outward luxuries that increase steadily. Especially during the last period of Ghalander’s historical presence, the abundance of pretension, limitations and belongings entered Ghalandars’ circles, that in word analysis of “Ghalandars’ specific literature”, the number of those conceptions, expressions and means go further than hundreds of limitations and conditions.

In spite of all that, the mixture of this socio-cultural flaw with the unique and valuable literature belonging to speakers like Sanaiee, Attar and Hafiz, has caused its negative and trite aspects to be constantly viewed respectfully so as to justify Ghalandari Claimants’ the dirtiest and the most ridiculous actions to spectators. Spectators have looked for a space for God’s

messengers' behavior over all those corruptions and recklessness and sensuality of the frowziest gangsters of the time (Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:52).

Transformations which have happened as a critical response to the flaw of Sufism and asceticism, in itself have reached such an active situation that has brought about freshness and novelty to cultural messages of the religion of asceticism and the original Sufism.

We should always keep a social and historical reality in mind: in Islamic east and perhaps in general eastern lands, people have been always disappointed with their time, and looked for beauty, purity and goodness in past times. This is a principle that separates the boundaries of traditional and modern view in our history. Modern is not afraid of looking for beauty, perfection and goodness at present of future time, but in traditional view, all beauties and goodness have been present in the past. Because of this principle, societies of any period who wanted to speak about the field of Malamatieh and Ghalandarieh, often have blamed Malamati and Ghalandari in their own time. There is not much time interval between Solami and the elders of Malamati in Neishaboor, in spite of all that, in his production of epistle of Malamatieh, he speaks of them as ancient myths with no existing trace. One generation after him, Pir-e Harat had written about Sufis' classes, describing Hamdoon Ghassars' moods, as Malamaties' leader, he narrates some anecdotes about asceticism and piety, saying at the end, "all their (malamatieh) character and conduct were in this comparison. Now, this tribe has stucked to negligence of religion, atheism, impoliteness and disgrace and claims that is of Malamatieh. Be thou for tomorrow!"

Even Hamdoon Ghassar who is Malamaties' historical hero has said: "any one who looks at previous ones' conduct will recognize his own guilt and violation in reaching great ones' grades." (Ghosheiri, 1361:5). (See Shafiee Kadkani, 1386:53).

This style of viewing the past, in reality has brought about the eternity of primary values of asceticism and Sufism. What has been blamed by thinkers such as Sanaiee, Attar and Hafiz is not the real asceticism, but also it is the false and hypocrite asceticism, investigation on main messages and bases of thoughts and ideas of these leaders of rare Gnostic thinking well shows how the original essence of Islamic asceticism- in respect to all its approaches- has remained.

5. Conclusion

Islamic Sufism which primarily began with ascetic view and was based upon mortification and hard difficult living, by passage of time also paid attention to theoretic issues. Reflection on sincerity in intention, and emphasis

on love and affection are of important points which functioned as theoretic/practical issues that design the direction of the flaw of Sufism in society.

Another view regarding “generous ones”, Malamaties” and “Ghalandaries” clearly shows how any one of these social flaws could, according to socio-cultural exigencies of its own time, protect the frontage of public Sufism from different encroachments and internal and external damages.

The relation of generous ones’ teachings to the principles of Sufism transformed the school of manliness to a place for training asceticism and Sufism to public. What was transmitted as the nature of imposture from generous ones to Sufis could develop the capability of inter-discourse criticism in the field of Islamic Sufism to remove calamities exposed to pious ones which were created under the name of “the religion of Malamati”. In reality, Malamaties by making use of mentioned theoretical bases criticize the society. The framework of inter-discourse criticism was such firm that by settling the flaw of “Ghalandarieh” and reinforcing its activist aspect by the approach of resistance to artificial and hypocrite asceticism could play an important role in religious development and progress.

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