THE CONCEPT OF TRAVEL IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL TRANSOXIANA SUFISM
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ABSTRACT
The article is devoted to the topic of the concept of safar ("travel") in the Sufi sources of Transoxiana of the 16th century, on the example of manakibs, or the Lives of Saints. The importance of research on this topic lies in determining the place of traveling in religious traditions of Sufism. In addition, the relevance of the topic is due to insufficient study of the issues of semantic interpretation of the concept safar ("travel") in Sufi writings. In this regard, the purpose of this article is to disclose the various meanings of the concept of traveling, contained in Sufi writings. The main method in the study of this issue is the historical and comparative method, and the method of literary analysis, which allow creating a holistic view of the traveling-related themes in the Sufi writings of Transoxiana of the 16th century.

Keywords: Transoxiana. Sufism. Traveling. Robbers. Hajj.

O CONCEITO DE VIAJEM NO FINAL DA IDADE MÉDIA SUFISMO TRANSOXIANA

RESUMO
O artigo se dedica ao tema do conceito de safar ("viagem") nas fontes sufis da Transoxiana do século XVI, a partir do exemplo dos manakibs, ou Vidas dos Santos. A importância da pesquisa sobre este tema reside na determinação do lugar de viajar nas tradições religiosas do Sufismo. Além disso, a relevância do tema se deve ao estudo insuficiente das questões de interpretação semântica do conceito safar ("viagem") nos escritos sufis. Nesse sentido, o objetivo deste artigo é divulgar os diversos sentidos do conceito de viagem, contidos nos escritos sufis. O principal método de estudo desta questão é o método histórico e comparativo, e o método de análise literária, que permite criar uma visão holística dos temas relacionados com viagens nos escritos sufis da Transoxiana do século XVI.


El artículo está dedicado al tema del concepto de safar ("viaje") en las fuentes sufís de Transoxiana del siglo XVI, sobre el ejemplo de los manakibs, o Vidas de los santos. La importancia de la investigación sobre este tema radica en determinar el lugar de los viajes en las tradiciones religiosas del sufismo. Además, la relevancia del tema se debe al estudio insuficiente de las cuestiones de interpretación semántica del concepto safar ("viaje") en los escritos sufíes. En este sentido, el propósito de este artículo es revelar los diversos significados del concepto de viaje, contenido en los escritos sufíes. El método principal en el estudio de este tema es el método histórico y comparativo, y el método de análisis literario, que permiten crear una visión holística de los temas relacionados con los viajes en los escritos sufíes de la Transoxiana del siglo XVI.

INTRODUCTION

Along with other Sufi procedures and duties such as zikr, khilwah and others, traveling (safar) plays a significant part in Sufism. Traveling in Sufism is peculiar in the sense that a traveler focuses not only on the place of the visit but also on the journey and all the obstacles on its way. Traveling in Sufism can be metaphorical (inner travel) and realistic (outer travel). Enlightenment and dreaming can evoke inner travel. Outer travel is a physical movement in a particular geographical space with an aim of searching for new knowledge, taming the nafs, fostering the spirit, and visiting holy places.

During an outer travel, it is likely to meet with Khizr (the patron of travelers) and receive his blessings, hear a mysterious voice (savt-i sarmad) that shows the Sufis new spiritual horizons, and encounter robbers. Haj is the highest form of travel in Sufism. Pilgrimage to Mecca took place in dire conditions. During the Haj, the Sufi received new insights and new experience. This research is based on the 16th century Transoxiana hagiographic works written in the Persian language (manakib). Such essays often describe the journeys that the Sufis made in their region and in neighboring countries.

The practical significance of the results is not in doubt, since the study is interesting to historians, philologists, and philosophers studying certain aspects of the cultural life of the 16th-century Transoxiana peoples.

It is known that in the Sufi educational system, along with various numerous spiritual duties and procedures (say, the hilvat procedure), the practice of traveling (Safar) had a significant position. A journey for a Sufi is a spiritual quest. In our context, the concept of spirituality is identified with religiosity, although it has a broader meaning. The source of spiritual search lies in divine revelation. And spiritual search is carried out where there is a liberation of a person from his own self (IVANOVA, 2015, p. 54). It opens the way for a Sufi to seek religious knowledge.

Sufism theorists distinguish two types of travel: internal (Safar-i mAni) and external (Safar-i Sura). Among the Sufis, the principle of "traveling through the secrets of the soul and heart", that is, an inner journey, was widely spread. The inner journey is usually performed within the framework of such phenomena as a mystical insight or a dream. In this paper, the author has limited himself to considering the external type of traveling.

The manakibs list various forms of external travel: pilgrimage - as a severe form of penance (tawba) and as a feat in the name of faith; pilgrimage to the Holy places of the region - as the fulfillment of religious duties and regulations; travel as a kind of self-absorbed meditation or Sufi exercises and rules; the search for higher knowledge, where the Sufi necessarily visits forty teachers (pir), engaged in riezat and reflection; travel for the purpose of performing Hajj and et cetera.

According to medieval hagiographic works, the dervishes of various Sufi brotherhoods of Transoxiana (XVI century) during the passage of the "way of tariqa" made numerous trips. The modern reader is struck by the dynamic mobility of individual Sufis and their groups that crossed vast geographical expanses. The main purpose of Sufi travel is to go to the graves of Muslim saints (Auliya) and other Holy places. In other cases, it was to go distant regions, either in search of religious knowledge, or for the sake of self-discipline. The journey was informative for the Sufi. The road (choda, Roth) was accompanied by synchronous reflections on the Sufi path and Sufi destination. During his travels, the Sufi studied people and his own reaction to their behavior. After all, you can only know the human heart in misfortune or in travel.

Sufis were looking for meaning in life, for certainty in a world full of uncertainty. According to G. A. Gusenova, the journey is considered by Sufis as a test of sincerity and depth of faith in the Supreme. It can expose the sincerity or insincerity of the traveler's faith in an extreme situation (ISMOILOV, 1992, p. 25, 6, p.89-104). Their journeys were theoretically encouraged by the ideologues of Sufism, and practically by their mentors themselves. For example, according to the famous Transoxiana Sufi Abd al-Khalik Gijduvari (died in 1179), a Sufi should travel a lot and then he will be less interested in earthly life (VIGASIN, KARLYUK, 1995, p. 68). This authoritative opinion was a guide for many Naqshbandi. The dervishes of the kubrawiya brotherhood followed a similar judgment of Alouddawi Simnani (died 1336), a famous Sufi theorist of the fourteenth century. However, Sufi theorists did not deny the pilgrimage to the Holy places and cities - Mecca and Medina.
METHODS

In the course of the study, a historical and comparative methods of studying the source were used. This approach requires consideration of manakibs in their relationship, considering the historical situation, the class and ideological position of the author of the work, in addition, general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, a systematic approach, and a descriptive method were used.

In the course of the study, we relied on the works of domestic and foreign scientists who studied the topic of traveling in Sufism, works on the Persian religious and mystical tradition and original manuscripts.

The claimed research topic is interesting to historians studying Medieval Transoxiana History, philologists studying Persian-Tajik Literature, philosophers studying the philosophy of Muslim peoples in Central Asia and others.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Traveling around the region

The Sufis of kubrawiya community (at the turn of XV-XVI centuries, the brotherhood was in Khorasan area Hubushan (now the city Quchan in Iran) alone, or in groups overcame considerable distances, using the following route: Hubochnan - Herat - Merv - Niso - Durun - Haywak- Urgench. The same kubrawian Sufis visited the area of Jam (Khorasan) on their way and visited the grave of Ahmad Jam. However, these numerous journeys were not accompanied by more detailed notes and comments by the author of manakib (a Muslim hagiographic work) and in some points are not of great interest.

Or Sufis of other brotherhoods (e.g. Naqshbandiya) while in Merv, visited the tomb of the famous Sufi Khoja Yusuf Hamadani (died in 1142). His exact burial place is located twenty kilometers from the modern city of Mary (a city in Turkmenistan) and was considered “the Shrine of Khorasan”. When visiting these shrines, Sufis overcame dramatic spiritual changes (futuhat, Taraqqiyot va Saodat-i kuli). It is known that Yusuf Hamadani created the school of Transoxiana mysticism. The latter was the mentor (teacher) of another famous Sufi, Abd al-Khalik Gijduvanii (died 1179). In the century considered, the burial place of Yusuf Hamadani became a spiritual center for the Turkmens living in the surrounding territories.

In the period under study (XVI century), especially the dervishes of the jahriya (yassaviya) brotherhood, who lived in the vicinity of Samarkan and consisted mainly of local Turkish-speaking Sufis (mashoikh-i Turk), showed excesses and extremes on this issue. They made their rather long and tedious journeys in the state of tawakkul without any preliminary preparation or food supplies, relying only on the mercy of Allah. Some of them visited the mazar of the famous Sufi Ahmad Yassavi (died in 1166), which was located in the city of Turkestan, during the harsh winter period, during the off-road and cold weather, overcoming considerable distances. These Sufis, with their overly severe living, sought to gain more of the grace of Allah and get closer to him.

Probably, Sufis possessed the art of continuous walking. It is known that as a result of continuous walking at the limit of physical capabilities, strong border states arise, psychological aspects of the journey are revealed, feelings of joy, fatigue and despair are awakened. At such times, Sufis would fall into a deep meditative state. Especially emotional and religious significance was the performance of prayer during the journey, when the pilgrim feels a mysterious closeness with God. However, such trips were full of inconveniences. Due to the lack of food and water and the particular means of transportation (too slow camels and faster horses), it was extremely tedious. In addition, travelers were often exposed to various diseases that were widespread in those days, for example, fever.

When describing the travels of Sufis, a prominent place in the hagiographic literature (manakib) is occupied by the theme “Sufi and robber”. This almost favorite topic of almost all manakibs of the era. In fact, the theme of “the noble robber” has a long history in medieval Arab-Muslim literature, as evidenced by its rich heritage.

It is worth noting that the appearance of this topic in manakibs was due to specific realists, earthly circumstances. Historical facts about the rampant robberies on the roads indicate the weakness and ineffectiveness of the measures of the Central and local administration in this era. Indeed, due to poor and unsafe transport communications (roads were destroyed, bridges were damaged), as well as the difficult terrain, movement and communication between different localities was fraught with many difficulties; in particular, robbers rampaged.
on the roads. Therefore, most people were condemned to immobility. About the presence of numerous and insidious robbers on the roads of Transoxiana, more detailed information is provided by the English scholar A. Jenkinson, who visited the region in the 50s of the XVI century (GOT'E, 1938. p. 173-180). Robbers on the roads even accused their victims of "disbelief", calling them Shia or Sunni. And, apparently, this is how they justified their criminal acts.

Biographers of Sufi sheikhs always emphasize in their works the meetings of the Sufi Sheikh and his murids (disciples) with robbers, in manakibs they were called rozhon, karakhchi, Kito-ut-Tarik. Facing them, the murids usually express a desire to resist. However, the group leader teaches them to observe the non-resistance thesis. For it could have ended much worse for them. Therefore, the Sufis remained calm and unperturbed, and the insults inflicted by the robbers did not cause them to protest. In real life danger, Sufis, in direct contact with robbers, usually collectively read the Koran aloud. The author of the manakib (Muslim hagiographic work) in one hagiographic episode dedicated to this case, writes that during the rhythmic reading of the Holy Scripture, robbers (in the hagiographic text, the newly appeared nomadic Uzbeks with their characteristic destructive tendencies to act as robbers) fell into such a state of mind that they could not do anything wrong. The theme of "Sufi and robber" is associated with the teachings of Islam about good and evil, or rather the ethical views of Sufism. The Sufis taught that no harm should be done to a person.

By the way, the author of manakib clearly indicates the courage and unity of the Sufis in the face of a real threat from robbers. In this regard, a fragment of hagiographic works “JAMA’ ul-of maqamat (the seat of the degrees of spiritual perfection), devoted to the biography of the leader of the Naqshbandi brotherhood Hojagi Ahmad Kosoni (died 1549 g.), states that tariqa khodjagon is not only a tariqa sheikhs and murids, he also implies the presence of mutual union and fraternity between its members (no shumore chun barodar qabul kardam, shumo moro). By itself, the spiritual futuwwa (nobility) was born in the Sufi fraternities, which formed the basis of joint life and relationships during the travels. However, according to researchers, it is very difficult to find a connection between Sufi fraternities and secret organizations of artisans or aristocracy - futuwwa. In hagiographic sources, there is almost no direct indication of this relationship. In the medieval "code of honor" futuwwa (in Persian javonnard) - courage and bravery were the basis of moral ideals. Persian poet Hussein Voise of Kashfi (died 1504 g.) links the ideals of futuwwa with Sufism. In particular, it States: “Know that the science of futuwwa (ilm-I futuwwat) is sacred and it is an integral part of the science of Sufism (ilm-I tasawwuf) and monotheism (Tawhid).”

However, in some cases, depending on the circumstances and human character, Sufis often got into a panic when there was a danger. For example, when defending Samarkand from the threat of the leader of the nomadic Uzbeks, Muhammad Sheiboni Khan (died in 1510), the Sufi sheikhs showed cowardice and indecision, instead of supporting the local Timurid ruler, Sultan Ali Mirza (died in 1500). Such cases are not uncommon in the history of Sufism, when Sufi solidarity gives way to expediency and pragmatism.

After meeting with robbers, in most cases, the captured and stolen items of Sufis are returned, although they themselves never express regret for their loss, because worldly goods are transient and have no value. And what kind of things that Sufis would carry, would attract the attention of thieves? Maybe it's water, food, clothing, and so on. In one place it is told that the robbers demanded only money (Tanga). And how could the robbers know about the arrival of Sufis in a particular geographical location, or was it just a chance meeting? Or has anyone alerted the robbers about the next journey of the Sufis? However, the author of manakib does not report anything about this. Actually, these road difficulties are a symbol of the difficulty of understanding the Truth.

"The struggle of the Sufi with robbers" is a wandering theme in Muslim hagiography, the ultimate essence of which is that robbers, after meeting a pious person, choose the path of righteousness and thanks to it, leave brutal thoughts and actions and turn to charity, piety and faith. In Manakib the emphasis is not on the noble deed of the robber, but in his transition to the path. By the way, about the same famous Sufi Fudayl Ibn Iyad (died in 803), there were legends that he was a robber in his youth, who appeared on the road between the cities of Averbay and Sarakhs. One day he accidentally heard a verse from the Koran, immediately abandoned his lifestyle and devoted the rest of his life to studying the traditions of the Prophet. The story that Fudayl Ibn Iyad was once a robber is strongly doubted by EE. Bertels, for this is not mentioned anywhere in written sources is not confirmed and has no historical basis. E. E. Bertels considers the antithesis "robber-righteous", along with other Sufi antitheses, a special literary device, although the fact of turning a robber into a pious person is not improbable (GUSENOVA, 2017. p.439).
With regard to this Sufi antithesis, the following story can be added. It is said that the famous Sufi Abu'l Hasan Harakani (died in 1034) was engaged in a robbery between Harakan and Bistam. Suddenly, at dawn, the voice of an angel was heard: “the time has Come when you will find peace and fulfill what you have said.” After hearing this voice, he immediately abandoned his lifestyle and entered the path of righteousness. As we can see, former robbers for some random reasons go to another world, the world of righteousness. Tawba is the beginning of the path to piety. It is known that numerous hagiographic stories about the meeting of Sufis with robbers end with the robber becoming a pious person. Perhaps the reason for such a successful denouement lies in the fact that all Sufi teaching is built on the motive of merging extreme contradictions in the absolute (GUSENOVA, 2017 p.192).

Pilgrimage to Mecca (Haji)

Undoubtedly, the main goal of the journey for Sufis, as before, remained the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was the Central event in the life of a Sufi. Many of them received Divine revelation or experienced an insight there. It is said that Iltikhor-Sheikh of the chahriya(yassaviya) brotherhood stayed in Mecca for seven years.

It was believed that before making a pilgrimage to Mecca, it was acceptable to receive the blessing of the Holy person (Wall) or perform the pilgrimage with him. It is said that the well-known Yassawi Sufi Qasim-Sheikh Azizon (died in 1581) once said before his memorable illness: “Everyone who wants to visit Ka`ba, who dreams of being in the most revered Madinah, will hurry to be with us.” So people who were going on this journey came to him in groups and begged him to be their companion. To become a companion of the Saint (Auliya) on the way to Mecca, to receive his blessing (Fathah) was the dream of any pilgrim. The Sheikh made everyone happy, read the Fathah, and gave them a blessing.

Before going to the Hajj you were supposed to visit famous local shrines. Shaykh Hussain Khwarizmi, before heading to Mecca, visited the graves of famous sheikhs of kubrawiya in Kulob (city in the South of modern Tajikistan), he visited the grave of Sayyid Ali Hamadani (died in 1384 g), Bukhara – the grave of Sayf al-Din Boharzi (died in 1261h) and other shrines, to give them a blessing.

According to the hagiographic work "Jodat-uk-oshikin" (the Wide road of those who love the truth), dedicated to the leader of the kubrawiya brotherhood Huseyn Khorezmii (died in 1551), Transoxiana pilgrims on their way to Mecca passed the burning sandy deserts of Khorezm (the Kyzylkum desert), experienced terrible hardships (let’s say lack of water), were constantly in danger of attacks by predators, robbery and murder by robbers. Despite these hardships of the Hajj in those difficult times, many Transoxiana Sufis tried to make a pilgrimage to the cherished places. The death of a person (natural and violent) during the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, in those areas where the Prophet lived and visited, had a special significance. The leader of the kubrawiya brotherhood, Sheikh Hussein Khorezmii, died in 1551 in Sham and is buried there. His disciple, Mahmoud Gijuvani, died a violent death at the hands of Arab Bedouins on his way to Mecca. By the way, robbing and killing pilgrims by Arab Bedouins was practiced until the XX century.

In manakibs, where the idea of Hajjis strongly promoted, the social status of the person who has performed the Hajj (Wai tawaf-I Hach kard Bud) is emphasized. The famous Naqshbandi Sheikh Khoja Isqaq Dahbid (died in 1599), once in Badakhshan, in the fortress of Rustok, especially visited a certain man named Khoja Nazar, who performed the Hajj three times. Three times going to the Hajj equated a person to the degree of a Saint and a Saint. In those days, the Hajj became an aura of sanctity and authority in the eyes of Muslims. Some written sources specifically mention that a certain person is the “Hajji of the two Holy cities” (Mecca and Medina).

Alternative routes to Mecca

During the period under study, due to the military conflict between the Sheibanids and Safavids, the traditional road through Iran towards Mecca was completely closed to Transoxiana pilgrims. Other alternative roads through India and through Astrakhan have also become closed for various reasons. This meant that the recently opened route Astrakhan-Azov-Crimea-Istanbul (Istanbul) - Aleppo (NORIK, 2011. p. 17-22) became inaccessible due to the capture of Astrakhan (Khodja Tarkhan) by Russian troops in 1556.

The other route, that is, the road from Transoxiana to India and then across the Indian ocean, was also full of dangers for pilgrims. In the Central part of Afghanistan, the Hazara tribes were particularly violent. They ruthlessly robbed the Transoxiana pilgrims. Therefore, some Transoxiana pilgrims sought to get to India through the Bakti (Tibet) mountain range, which during this period was under the rule of East Turkestan Muslim rulers. Here the
The concept of travel in the late medieval transoxiana sufism

road from Yarkand (the main city of East Turkestan) to Kashmir passed through two Tibetan mountain passes (in the Balti region), the distance between which was twenty days. However, the local harsh mountain terrain, off-road terrain, deep mountain chasms, and sudden rockfalls left a painful impression on travelers. Muslim pilgrims used this road during the 16th century and in the following centuries. The difficulties of this road are reported by the Russian prisoner Philip Efremov, who visited it in 1780 (VIGASIN, KARLYUK 1995 p. 164).

Then the route from India to Mecca passed through the Indian ocean, where the Portuguese were rampaging. They killed Muslim pilgrims, threw them into the sea, or at least cut off their limbs and let them go. Only those pilgrims who enjoyed the patronage of the Mughal rulers of India could safely reach Arabia. One of the descendants of Khoja Ahrar Wali-Khoja Abd al-Haq, who was patronized (ikhas dosht) by the Indian ruler Komron Mirza (the second son of Zahir al-Din Babur, died in 1557), managed to go to Mecca through India.

Famous Transoxiana Sufis of that period, such as Khoja Islam juibari (died 1563), Mawlana Lutfullo Chusti (died 1573) also tried to perform Hajj, but they failed. Islam Khodja Djuybazi was delayed in Khorezm and could not get to Astrakhan. Mawlana Chusti reached Kabuland due to unforeseen circumstances, returned to his homeland.

Only during the reign of the Safavid ruler Tahmasp I (1534 – 1576) the road from Transoxiana to Mecca was occasionally open. When returning from Mecca, this road was used, in particular, by Khoja Hoshim Marvi. Those Transoxiana pilgrims who had Sayyid origin were provided by a simplified procedure of going through the Safavid territories.

It is interesting that those who, despite long efforts, could not make the pilgrimage (Hajj) and remained in Transoxiana, often emotionally and sadly recited the following verse of the Persian poet Saadi (died in 1291) (NORIK, 2011. p. 52):

Hey, Bedouin! I am afraid you will not reach the Ka'aba,
Because the path you follow leads to Turkestan.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, the practice of traveling occupies an important place in the Sufi system of training, education and understanding of the Path. The main purpose of the journey in Sufism is the spiritual education of the adept. During the journey along difficult roads, through desert and mountainous areas, day and night in a state of detachment and love, the Sufi emotionally and poetically expressed his purpose, his secret feelings towards his Beloved. For a Sufi, the culmination of the journey was a visit to Mecca where he formed a new religious and spiritual identity.

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