

Islamization of Anatolia and the Effects of Established Sufism (Orders)

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ABSTRACT Anatolia is one of the most important lands in the history of the world. All throughout history, it has always been a center of attraction for humanity and for civilizations; it has always been important in an intercontinental manner. The most substantial feature of this land, where the belief systems and the thought manners diversify, is the perceiving of the differences with flexibility and with tolerance. After the conversion of Turks to Islam, the political and social developments in the region they live, forced them to come to Anatolia. The conquests, which started in 1018 as explorations, were solidified after the victory in the Battle of Malazgirt in 1071. In addition to the settlement projects, the Sufism movement from Asia Minor accelerated the Islamization of Anatolia and the foundations of this process that we see as a phenomenon are laid.

INTRODUCTION

The Early Encounters of Turks and Muslims

Even though it was indirect, Turkish-Arab relations go back before the birth of the religion, Islam. It is known that Prophet Muhammad knew about Turkish people during his lifetime (Turan 1993: 215-217). According to the documented information, Arabs had some knowledge of Turks during the Era of Ignorance (Yazici 1992: 12). The first direct contact of Arabs with Turks was during the era of Caliph Umar after they conquered Iran and later turned to Khurasan (El-Cahz 1988: 12). The Arabs who conquered the Sassanian Empire encountered Turks after a while. However, after Caliph Uthman passed away and the following civil unrest died down, the rule of the government passed to the Umayyad Dynasty under Muawiyah's leadership and the conquests gained momentum once again. The Arabs, who managed to defeat the Persians in a short span of time, faced a resistance that they had never seen coming. Nonetheless, as a result of the events taking a turn favoring the Arabs, the majority of Turks, especially those living in Mawaraannarh (Transoxiana), were taken under control. Similar stand-offs had also taken place

against Khazar Turks on Caucasian Front. At the Mawaraannahr conquests, which started under the commands of Khurasan Governors Ubeydullah Bin Ziyad (54/674) and Sa'id Bin Osman (56/676), especially Kuteybe bin Muslim attained glorious success (Barthold 1990: 202). During Kuteybe's reign, a large portion of Mawaraannarh including the important cities of the area such as Beykent, Bukhara, Samarkand, Fergana and Sas (Tashkent) were conquered between 705/715. Following the conquest of Kaskar, the armies of Islam reached as far as China (Taberi 1983: 334). Even though the governors that succeeded Kuteybe bin Muslim were relatively successful; the violence inflicted upon people with regard to tax collection, in addition to dealing with many rebellions breaking out as a result of the internal conflicts of the Umayyad Dynasty, prevented the Arab rule taking roots in the region (Kitapci 1988: 83-84). Even though the region was just conquered and Islamization had just started, the Umayyad Dynasty continued collecting the poll taxes of *harac* (the land tax paid by non-Muslims) and *jizya* (the tax paid by non-Muslims for not serving the obligatory military service) from Turks who had just converted into Islam while those were generally taken from non-Muslims. This oppressive and unjust policy of the Umayyad State was the most important reason why Turks refused to convert to Islam in that era (Turan 2010: 24-25). Khazar Khagan converted to Islam in this period (737) but later he converted back to his old religion (Kuzgun 1985: 32). Frankly, even though Arabs were quite successful in the area of military ex-

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pertise, they had some problems in proselytizing and spreading the rules of Islam. We can say that especially the Umayyad Dynasty failed in showing Islamic tolerance to Mawali (non-Arab Muslims) and they acted in accordance with their political agenda. However, it can be said that some of Kuteybe bin Muslim's political actions and especially Omar bin Abdulaziz's egalitarian and just politics were the most effective constituents in Turks acceptance of Islam.

The racist approach of the Umayyad Dynasty, the oppression, and the violence of the governors; who were located in areas afar from the center, not only caused Turkman communities to refrain from Islam, but also led them to be dissidents/to antagonize the system. Due to this dissidence, in 751 as a result of the support of Turks to the Abbasid Dynasty, especially of those living in Khurasan, the Umayyad Dynasty was overthrown and the Abbasid Dynasty took over.

The fast and extensive conversion into Islam of Turkish community happened during the reign of Abbasids. It can be seen that the relations of Muslim Arabs and Turks were shaped by mutual dialogue and cooperation rather than political games and conflict after the Battle of Arlakh (751). The Turks played an important role in Abbasid's becoming the leading force in Islamic world after they took over from the Umayyad Dynasty. As a result, Abbasids embraced Turks rather than holding onto Umayyad's externalizing nationalism as Turks were quite supportive to the foundation and the working of their state.

The way Turks in Khurasan and Mawaraannarh accepted Islam is also quite important as they converted to Islam not because of the proselytization of the *Ulama* (highly educated class of Muslim legal scholars engaged in Islamic studies) as it was the case in Iraq, Iran and in Egypt, but because of the services of the Sufis (Rahman 1993: 8). The Islam presented to and embraced by the Turks had one striking difference. It was not the Islam of the high scholars but it was the Islam praised by the known and beloved travelling scholars, merchants and soldiers at the borders. There was talk of customs and spells that had parallels to the Turks' old religion. Also, it was not the Islam of a specific school of thought. The Islam presented to the Turks was a universal and primitive form of Islam that made it impossible for them to see the differences between various sects and schools of thought and

that waged war against their heathen neighbors (Cahen 1994: 27-28). It is impossible to apply the argument of Claude Cahen to the whole Turkish population of Khurasan and Mawaraannarh. Besides, this period, when the differences between the perception of Islam among *Ulama* (scholars) and among the common people had surfaced, is quite important.

As the Umayyad Dynasty's racist and nationalistic politics slowed down the conversion to Islam amongst the Turks and the other ethnic groups, the Abbasid's understanding of tolerance and justice in state politics accelerated the acceptance of Islam. Also in this period, cities like Samarkant and Bukhara became the centers of Islamic civilization after Mecca and Medina, which are the birthplaces of Islam. Besides, influential *Hadit* (words of Prophet Muhammad) scholars like Buhari, Semerkandi and Imam Maturidi and order imams came along and the region became a religious authority center. This clearly shows that the Turks were not only influential in the military and political arena but that they also served in the scholarly arena and shouldered important tasks.

Later, the individual conversion endeavors of some dervishes were added to these scholarly endeavours. These dervishes, who isolated and dedicated themselves to a life of religious missionary were wandering far-off lands freely, proselytizing Islam and catalyzing conversion. The first representatives of this Sufism tradition, which later systematized in the person of Akhmet Yassawi, were Sakik Belhi and Ibrahim Ethem (Esin 1978: 151).

Conversion of Turks into Islam occurred in relatively different manners amongst settled, nomad and semi-nomad communities. Actually, this proselytization process converges with sociological horizontal diversification norms (Gunay 1993: 287). While in cities, towns etc. that formed the center, the Islam that spread was state-mandated and followed educational traditions to parallel the *Abrahamic* religion (the monotheistic faiths tracing their common origin to Prophet Abraham) form of Islam; in the surrounding regions, it was different from the *Abrahamic* version, a sorts of popular Islam if you will, among semi-nomad and nomad communities. As this spread was mainly achieved by wandering dervishes who dedicated themselves to religious service, in time religion intergrated with Sufism that institutionalized as orders. However, these

two schools evolved paralleling each other and had the same belief forms and motives fundamentally. Because settled or nomad Turks never stopped fighting in solidarity for the survival of the state and the religion (Cahen 1994: 28).

ESTABLISHED SUFISM: TARIQAHS (RELIGIOUS ORDERS)

Sufism movement that progressed thanks to the enthusiastic support of the state and the people had spread quickly and institutionalized structures called *tariqahs* (a school or order of Sufism, especially for the mystical teaching and spiritual practices with the aim of seeking the ultimate truth) started to form. The dictionary meaning of the word "*tariqah*" is "path" and in Sufistic literature and in accordance with this meaning, it was basically used to describe "cleaning one's heart" and "path taken to reach Allah". The descriptions stand true today, as well; however after 5th and 6th centuries, *tariqahs* became institutions with their specific leaders and specific worship methods (Esin 1978: 151).

From the moment Sufism emerged as an asceticism movement, there have been many different stages of progress. While it was an individualistic movement at the beginning, it later turned into an elite mass movement. From 6th and 12th centuries on, it spread into different ranks of society, became popular and turned into a fraternity with a definitive sheikh and definitive rituals (Arberry 2008: 84). At this time, the first big *tariqahs* started to emerge. Kadirilik, which was founded by Abdulkadir Geylani and Suhreverdik, which was founded by Sihabeddin Suhreverdi are the pioneers of *bi tariqahs*. After those came many others such as Sazeliyye, Kubreviyye, Rifaiyye, Cistiyye, Mevleviyye and Naksibendiye (Knyse 1999: 179). The emerging of new *tariqahs* started in 6th/12th centuries and it still goes on.

In terms of their methodology, this sheer number of *tariqahs* can be classified into two large categories. The first category considers *dhikir* (an Islamic devotional act, typically recitation of the Names of God, and of supplications taken from hadith texts and Quran verses) as the basis for spiritual progress. Attendance to obligatory deeds like *salaat* (obligatory prayer for Muslims five times a day), fasting or *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina) and heeding to supererogatory prayers are the basics of this path. The most

definitive characteristic of this path is refraining from worldly possessions and pleasures by means of eating less to achieve spiritual discipline, sleeping less, speaking less and *riyazet* (self disciplining by means of lowering the food and water consumption). Using dreams, self-exploration and prophecies as information sources are essential. The way of *tariqahs* that adopt the ways described above as their methodology is called "*Esma* path" or "Asceticism and *Taqwa* path". The second category seems to be opposing the first category in their methodology. This path is the path of love and ecstasy where the methods adopted by *Esma* path like seclusion, *riyazet* and *dhikir* are refused; apparent prayer is not given much importance and any type of special clothing item for Sufism connoisseur are considered a hypocrisy. In this second category, it is argued that the way to reach Allah is not what is listed above but love and ecstasy and as music and dance are important tools in reaching love and ecstasy, they are almost as important as prayer. As this way is a form of Sufism that stems from Khurasan and Iran, it is called Khurasan School (Golpinarli 1993: 188).

The Role of Islam Sufism in Turks Conversion into Islam

Sufism movements started to emerge in Khurasan and Mawaraannarh from 8th century on. In these regions within Islam's borders Sufi Islam influenced people more; thus, they felt closer and the acceptance was easier. The main reason of this ease of transition was the resemblance of old Turkish religion, which was partially mystic as well, to Sufi Islam. It is possible to think that the *shamanism* institution that forms the basis of the old Turkish mystic school of thought, which Turks always kept alive, made the transition of Turks to Sufism smoother. The legend of famous Turkish bard, Korkut Ata's going to Arabia to understand Islam and conversion into Islam after his interview with the Companion Abu Bakr, despite being a *shaman* at first; and spreading of this legend by word-of-mouth show that the influence of the old religion in Turkish population's conversion into Islam could be an important factor. When Turks first started to know Islam, the dervishes called "Father" or "Patriarch" started to take the place of the bards and *shamans*. Also it could be argued that religions like Buddhism and Christianity, into

which Turks conversed in time, were also effective in Turks acceptance of this aspect of Islam. The life stories of Ibrahim bin Ethem and Sakik-i Belhi, some of the most influential Khurasan Sufis who lived during that era, were always a matter of curiosity among Westerners and it was often claimed that these people were influenced by old religions, especially by Buddhism.

As Sufism was quite common among people and people felt quite close to this philosophy, Sufism started to be acknowledged officially by the political authorities. As a result, rulers, politicians, even sultans were trying to get Sufi sheikhs to their sides. Karakhanids, who were so pious that they refused drinking wine, and the first Seljuks, who defended Islam with passion and love, treated the scholars and sheikhs with great respect. Besides, since Turkish rules were quite loyal to Islamic doctrines, the Sufistic ideas that grew around them were progressing accordingly (Koprulu 2003: 50).

No doubt, the forefathers of the Sufis that made Turks know of Islam and love it so dearly and made the Islamization possible were Akhmet Yassawi and his followers. However, we must keep in mind that the ground for Sufism movement was already laid in Turk world before Akhmet Yassawi arose. About the matter, Fuat Koprulu states that, "In our opinion, when Akhmet Yassawi arose, Turkish world were quite used to the Sufistic ideas for quite some time and the stories and the prophecies of the Sufis were known more or less not only in cities but also among nomad Turks. Turkish people were embracing the dervishes, who sang hymns and recited poetry, helped people for no reason but for God's sake, showed them the ways to achieve happiness, as they reminded of the bards that were considered to be holy in the old religion and they were believing what they say. Arslan Baba, who was considered to be a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, famous sage of bards Korkut Ata, who was storied to go to Arabian Peninsula from Turkistan to understand Islam and convert to Islam after conversing with Caliph Abu Bakr and Coban Ata were all keeping the memory of those bards alive. It is almost certain for us that during the times of Akhmet Yassawi's arise, there were dervishes among nomad Turks; at the shores of seas and in moors, addressing people in Turkish, in a language they understand, trying to spread the rules and customs of Islam. It would be unjust not to accept

the fact that Akhmet Yassawi was superior, as a stronger personality compared to the dervishes came before him; however if the generation that came before him hadn't set the ground for him, he wouldn't be this successful" (Koprulu 2003: 51).

Islamization of Anatolia

As the Turks were spread to a large geography during the history, depending on their surroundings, depending on their relations to these surroundings, they converted into the religions of the nations they are in contact with, like their acceptances of Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, or Manichaeism, even though it couldn't be generalized or it was permanent. However, it can be seen that all these religions had privative effects on Turks. They left the religions that don't go with their national identities. Notwithstanding, Islam embraced the national identity of Turks and as a result Turks today managed to sustain their existence thanks to Islam and preserved their Turkish identity. The Turks who wasn't acquainted with Islam had melted in foreign religions, got assimilated and lost their Turkish identities. From these groups, the Tuoba (Tabgach) turned Chinese, Bulgarians and Hungarians turned Slavic. Only Christian Orthodox Gagauz' (Gokoguz) and few of the Judaist Karaites managed to keep their Turkish identities (Barthold 1975: 77).

The religious life in Anatolia was in a sense a sequel to Pre-Anatolian religious life for Turks. The differences in religious life between urban and nomad communities in Anatolia continued just like it was in Pre-Anatolian life. When we take into account the fact that especially during the Seljukian times, most of the urban population in Anatolia had the Divine-Sunni understanding, we can think that the some of the differences in terms of religious understanding between this urban population and that mostly nomad population, who lived in the villages or in fringe areas, was due to oral or traditional faith systems that was permanently existent. The fact that the *madrasah* (school, institutions of higher education), where the religious disciplines were taught and many of the religious institutions were in cities emphasizes that the urban population naturally had a higher knowledge and culture of religion compared to the nomad or villager population. Under the influence of Turkmen sheiks and dervishes, the people living far from the cit-

ies led their religious lives in a fashion that is not quite informed about the religion and mostly depending on the religious customs (Balcioglu 1940: 30-32).

Today, it is a well-known fact that, Sufi *tariqah* and institutions bearing names like Ahi, Alp, Abdal and Dervish worked relentlessly for the love of spreading the name and the glory of Allah, leaving their homes and families behind, forming the most enterprising clique of Turks in Anatolia's Turkization and Islamization. It is also a historic fact that the *tariqahs* these dervishes are affiliated with were quite functional not only in providing disciplined and pious soldiers to the armies for the conquests but also through missionary dervishes propagating religious and social ideas to masses. It is also certain that they played an important role in creating the necessary environment for great reforms in the social structure and the political institutions of the countries they were in and easing the representation and conquest processes. The indoctrinations of these missionary Turkish dervishes who had the idea of a new social order and justice idea against the medieval justice system and took the form of mystic religious propagandizers went onto conquests with armies, even before armies; somewhat prepared and in fact conquered the people spiritually (Barkan 1951: 535-538).

In 11th century, the Turkmen immigrations to Anatolia carried on intensively and these intensive immigration resulted in Anatolia's opening up to Turks completely and became a Muslim country in the form of a Turkish continent. As a consequence, the immigrations of that century were tectonic in the Islamization of Anatolia (Yinanc 1944: 168). The first batch of the immigrants in Anatolia were the mostly nomadic Turkmen communities. However, from 13th century on, the artists, merchants and the scholars who lived in cities arrived in Anatolia (Bozkus 2001: 5).

The *jihād* and the Islamization understanding of Great Seljuk Emperors were pursued in the same manner by the rulers of Anatolia Seljuk Empire. When Suleyman Shah conquered Tarsus and Cukurova in 1082, he immediately brought *kadis* (a judge ruling in accordance with Islamic law – Sharia Law) from Syria and founded religious institutions in the region. Actually, all through Seljuk history that was the case and whenever a city or a town was conquered, the first action taken was assigning *kadis*, *imams*, teachers, orators and muezzins to the region and

starting to construct mosques, *madrasahs*, *zawiyas*, palaces and *caravanserais* in an attempt to proselytize Islam in this new land (Cetin 1981: 147).

After the Mongol Invasion, sheikhs and dervishes from different *tariqahs* preferred Anatolia as a good environment for themselves as it was safer and spreading their ideas was easier. Those who were coming from the sophisticated elite generally settled in cities and played an active role in the bureaucracy. However the sufism among nomads spread through Patriarchs who reminded bards of old Turkisk belief systems and compared to the Sufism in cities, it was a simpler form of public Sufism, which was in accordance with the living conditions in Anatolia. This was also mirroring the religious understanding of nomad Turkmens. The Islam they learnt from the religious leaders was more suitable to the life-style of Turkmens as it was simpler, more depended on stories and more sentimental. This understanding is later called Turkish Folk Islam in a manner of speech.

It can be seen that these sheikhs and dervishes who came to Anatolia because of the Mongol attacks contributed a lot to the Islamization of the region with their enthusiasm for being an instrument in Islamization and finding followers for their schools. As a result, a great number of pioneering sheiks and patriarches who came to the very borders of Anatolia from Turkistan, Iran and Azerbaijan in their attempt to run from the Mongols played a vital role in the Islamization of the Turkmens who didn't quite converted. These immigrant men of culture served their spiritual load to the population in their respective geographies (Kafesoglu 1992: 290-293).

As the nomad Turkmen groups were spreading into Anatolia, sheikhs and colonizers dervishes who founded their *khanqahs* in strategic points and started their calling to the path of Allah were engulfing Anatolia like a web (Barkan 1974: 280-282).

Mevleviyeh, Melamiye, Yasaviyye, Vefaiyye, Kalanderiyye and Haydariyye groups and *tariqahs* were the most influential established Sufism movements in Anatolia at the time. It is important to provide short information about this Sufism movements and groups.

Mevleviyeh

Sufism, which became the ruling thought system in Anatolia at 12th century, evolved in

two different paths. The first group was known as Irakis and they were represented by moralist Sufis who adopted the educational aspect of Sufism (*Tahalluk*) and cared for ascetism and *taqwa*, and gnostic Sufis who adopted the informative aspect of Sufism (*Tahalluk*) and cared for the exploration, grace and unity of existence. Sufism theorists like Muhyiddin Ibn'ul Arabi and Sadreddin-i Konevi and followers of movements like Qadiriyya and Rifa'i which gave momentum to the sufistic thought are the most important representatives of this group. The second group, called Khurasanis, was a school of thought that was coming from Mawaraannarh and Khwarezm regions and cared a great deal about ecstasy. The most important representatives of this school are Sehabu'ddin es-Suhreverdi (death 635/1238), Necmuddin-i Kubra (death 623/1226), Bahauddin Veled (death 635/1238), Burhaneddin Muhakkik-i Tirmizi (death 637/1240), Necmeddin-i Razi (o. 654/1256) and Fahreddin-i Iraki (death 685/1286) (Ozkose 2003: 261). However, in the second half of the 13th century, Mevleviyeh, founded by Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi (death 672/1273) in Anatolia, combined and synthesized these two main schools.

Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi is, no doubt, one of the stars of the religious life in Anatolia and he was maybe the most important representative Sufi of the Islamic reflection understanding in Anatolia. In terms of Belief School that he had, Mevlana was a Sunni Sufi. Besides, in some sources, it is stated that he was a scribe of Hanafi sect. During his life and after his death, Mevleviyeh was never considered as a Shia institution. Unlike some other *tariqah*, this *tariqah* never allowed extremism and politically, they followed a straight line. Thus, it was quite influential at the region. As a result, first by Kayqubad I, it was protected by all rulers (Hasluck 1928: 167-168).

There is no doubt that Mevleviyeh was one of the most influential *tariqahs* in the Islamization process of Anatolia. We also have to admit that Mevlana mostly dealt with the ruling elite and he showed the path of truth to them. It is important that he mentioned Kayqubad I, a sultan of Anatolia Seljuks, as a friend and a follower in his statements (Nicholson 1974: 19).

Mevlana is an important Sufi who stood against the diversification and confliction between religions all through his life. He never looked down on any religion. He considers any-

one turning to Allah, no matter from what religion they are coming, on the path to truth. His behaviour caused conversions among non-muslims as well.

Mevlana passed away in 1273 (Sipahsalar 1977: 113-114). His close friend Sadreddin Konevi led the funeral salaah in accordance with his will (Eflaki 1995: 14). By saying, "Every prophet is loved by his people; however, Mevlana is loved by people from all religions and all states." Alu-middin Kayser, an important commander of Keyhusrev the 3rd, emphasized the love and respect Mevlana earned (Eflaki 1995: 573).

Yasaviyya

The culture that we call Yassaviyya born thanks to Akhmet Yassawi and his great personality and it still survives today with some of its elements intact, even though some parts of it changed in time. It must be known that the Akhmet Yassawi's importance in our history is lays in his perfect timing during era of the Islamization of Turkish communities and his superior skill in combining the old Turkish beliefs with new religious values.

"The importance of Akhmet Yassawi in Turkish history is not just because he was a poet wrote several volumes of Sufistic poetry; it is because he ruled over the hearts and the souls of people for centuries by giving Sufism the importance it deserved for the first time among Turks when Islam started to spread among Turks. There were people who took Sufism as a job before him; however they either turned Persian in great centers of Islam due to the Persian culture or forgotten when they joined huge Turkish masses to make the new religion known. None of them achieved the foundation of something that would outlive them. Notwithstanding Akhmet Yassawi founded a large *tariqah* that lived for centuries among Turks thanks to his great personality. Yasaviyya is the first *tariqah* that was founded by a Turk among Turks. As a result, by studying Akhmet Yassawi, we are shedding light to the oldest and the most crucial part of Turk Sufism" (Koprulu 2003: 114).

The dedication to Holy Quran and to Sunnah forms the basis of Akhmet Yassawi's thought and action. His understanding of Sufism shows great dedication to Holy Quran and to Sunnah.

In Vilayetname, it is exaggerated and stated that he had many caliphs and hundreds and thou-

sands of followers (Bektasi Veli 1958: 14). Through these caliphs, he both spread his tariqah and provided momentum to the Islamization process in Middle Asia. Yasaviyya, which is the first large Turkish tariqah founded by a Turkish Sufi made its presence known in Turkistan area first, later in Mawaraannarh and Khwarezm and in Khurasan, Iran and Azerbaijan after the Mongol Invasion (Koprulu 1988: 213).

Even though Akhmet Yassawi was not personally present, his followers were highly influential in the Islamization process of Anatolia.

The followers of Yasaviyya, patriarches and the caliphs, whom we see as bearers of culture in their coming to Anatolia, were reminding the old shamans and the bards to Turkmen communities and they were embraced because of these emotional attachments. They prepared Anatolia to the arrival and the spread of Yasaviyyaism (Ocak 1996: 70-73).

We can see that Yasaviyya was quite influential over Bektashism, which was also highly weighty in Anatolia (Koprulu 1991: 110). According to Evliya Celebi, Haji Bektash Veli took permission from Akhmet Yassawi to come to Anatolia with his seven hundred men and lodged in Seyyid Battal area of Seyid Gazi town (Celebi 1990: 1315-1320). Also it is confirmed in Vilayet-name that Haji Bektash Veli came to Anatolia with Akhmet Yassawi's encouragement. We can see that Akhmet Yassawi personally supported and ordered Haji Bektash Veli coming to Anatolia (Bektasi Veli 1958: 16). In other words, though he didn't take initiative in the Islamization process of Anatolia, Akhmet Yassawi was indirectly contributed a lot.

Besides, we can say that in addition to Bektashism, different groups like Haydariyya was affected by Yasaviyya and became influential in Anatolia. In other words, Yasaviyya was represented by different groups in Anatolia, which internalised the ideas of Akhmet Yassawi and found him close.

Vefaiyye

The Vefaiyye *Tariqah*, which was founded by Seyyid Ebu'l-Vefa Bagdadi at the second half of the 13th century, is among the weightiest of Sufi institutions and movements that are represented by Baba Ilyas Khorasani in Anatolian Turkmen circles. Asikpasha, who is one of the most important Sufi literati, points to Baba Ilyas

as the representative of Vefaiyye in Anatolia. It is storied that the family tree of Baba Ilyas, who is known to come to Anatolia from Khorasan, goes back to Ebu'l-Vefa Seyyid Muhammad el Bagdadi Tacul Arifin, who was a Kurdish Iraqi sheikh, through Dede Garkin (Dogus 2009: 351). Through the information at Vilayet-name, A. Yasar Ocak states that Dede Garkin probably came and settled in Elbistan region due to the Mongol Invasion (Ocak 2000: 109). When the syncretism and the variety of the thought systems in Anatolia is taken into consideration, we can see that the institutions and the movements are either quite affected from each other or they became the representatives of them. The fact that while Baba Ilyas, who was affected by, even became a representative of the Vefaiyye thought rebelled; Haji Bektash Veli stayed tolerant and understanding clearly states that the Vefaiyye understanding presented itself in various forms.

The most important source that mentions Seyyid Ebu'l Vefa is the Menkibename dated 1371 and written by the Menakib-i Tacu'l Arifin. According to this work, the sheikh of the Vefaiyye was born to and raised in a Kurdish family and had many followers from all social classes. This frightened the Abbasid Caliph Al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah. A. Yasar Ocak points out the similarities between the mixed gender rituals held by Akhmet Yasawi in Mawaraannahr and he observes Ebu'l Vefa to be a heterodox sheikh. It is also clear that he is trying to connect Vefaiyye with Yasaviyya when he is explaining that Dede Garkin Ocak is coming from the same circle with Baba Ilyas and Haji Bektash Veli as their manners of thought bore resemblances to Yasaviyya (Ocak 2000: 111).

Besides, while it is argued that the roots of many of the ocaks in Anatolia like Garkin Ocak stems from Vefaiyye, they emphasize that some of the Alevi spritiual leaders (Dede) started talking about Vefai thought after they moved to city centers from rural areas.

As Baba Ilyas and some of the dervishes that follow him were quite weighty in the history of Sufism in Anatolia, it can be seen that Vefai thought was very influential in the progress of Melami Sufism during Seljukian and ensuing periods. However, A. Yasar Ocak argues that upon his arrival at Anatolia, Haji Bektash Veli had taken up Vefaiyye and Vefaiyye should be considered as a heterodox tariqah just like Qalandariyya and Haydariyya. Notwithstanding,

one can argue that the true importance of Vefaiyye lays in the fact that the tariqah of an influential sheikh like Baba Ilyas, who etched a mark in 13th century Anatolia, is not springing from Khorasan but from Iraq (Karamustafa 2005: 116). On the contrary to what is accepted so far, this proves that the Sufistic roots of the Turkmen sheiks, who came to Anatolia were not necessarily of Khorasan, even though the sheiks themselves were from Khorasan and some of these sheiks like Dede Garkin got interested in Sufism in Southeast Anatolia, Syria or in Iraq. It is natural that two contemporary Sufis like Akhmet Yasawi and Dede Garkin, who lived two centuries after the conversion of Turks to Islam in Khorasan, Mawaraannahr and Turkistan, got interested in Sufism at the guidance of sheiks that were influential at the time and at the place. It is positively natural that just as Yasawi, who spent most of his life in Turkistan, was attracted by Suhrawardiyya, which was possibly the most common of all tariqahs in Iran, Middle and South Asia in the second half of the 12th and in the first half of the 13th centuries; Dede Garkin, who is known to have lived in Southeast Anatolia at the same period, joined the ranks of Vefaiyye that was founded by Kurdish sheik Ebu'l Vefa, who had apparently quite influential caliphs amongst the Turkmens in Syria and Iraq; or maybe instead Dede Garkin was influenced by Rifa'iyye. From this perspective, we can say that Vefaiyye is a tectonic phenomenon, which proves that the contributions of Turkish originating sheiks in the progression of the Sufism in Anatolia are nurtured by not one but many sources (Dogus 2009: 253).

Malamattiyya

Malamattiyya is a Sufism terminology and an understanding of Sufism that started in Khorasan region at 9th century, and then became widespread all over the Islam world. While the dictionary definition of the word "Melamet" means, "reprove, slander or condemn"; in Sufism literature it is quite common as a term, as a state and as the name of an understanding of Sufism. The ones who adopt the Malamattiyya understanding of Sufism, which started in Khorasan that included Merv, Heart, Belh and Nishapur cities, and became quite influential in Nishapur and still is quite influential, are called "Ehl-i Melamet", "Melami" or "Melameti". And the movement is

called "Malamattiyya" or "Melamiyye". At the early records, in defiance of grammar, generally the words "Melameti" and "Malamattiyya" are used; whereas in Ottoman Period, a group that belongs to Bayramiyye Tariqah is called "Melami" and the tariqah itself is called "Melamiyye" (Azamat 2004: 24).

Actually, the tariqahs in Islam forms especially the practical aspect of the Islamic Sufism and at the core of all these tariqahs lays the Oneness (Tawhid) concept of Islam and the Unity of Existence (Wahdat al-Wujud) understanding of Sufism (Sunar 1975: 7).

From 9th century on, Malamattiyya, which was born and grew in Khorasan that was a center of economical and cultural richness in Middle Asia, was highly influential at the Islamization of Turks and in their absorbing the Islam culture. The group, which is defined as the workers of Sufism by the Khorasan Saints, is an invaluable asset of our culture which was influential in the understanding of Islam at a wide geography from Anatolia, to Balkans and Eurasia steppes (Dogus 2009: 306).

Khorasan, where the Turkmen clans were living, was the center of Melameti thought. Malamattiyya, which didn't quite have the classical aspects of tariqah institutionalism, continued its existence in a fashion that was more like an understanding and a thought school. After the conquest of Anatolia, Malamattiyya was especially influential in the actions of heterodox Qalandariyya dervishes at rural areas; thorough Kubreviyye movement within Mevleviyeh Tariqah, which was a settled city tariqah, and among the merchant class and Futuwwa organization members (Golpinarli 1992: 197-200). We can say that Malamattiyya was effective both on heterodox Islamic masses and on orthodox Islamic masses during the Islamization of Anatolia. Bayramiyye being the first, Malamattiyya was influential over Sufistic groups such as Halvetiyye, Bektashism, Yasaviyya and Naqshbandiyyah and contributed to the shaping of Anatolian Islam and Sufism.

CONCLUSION

As a result, it is certain that there was a difference in Islamic understanding between the nomad and the settled lifestyles. These differentiations at the Anatolian Islam understanding resulted in the birth of concepts of Divine Islam and Folk Islam. However, these differentiations

contributed positively in the proselytization of Islam both in Anatolia and in Balkans.

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