APPENDIX - I

The second half of the eleventh century, all of the twelfth, and the beginnings of the thirteenth century may be considered one of the most important periods in the history of Sufism. In the second half of the eleventh century in Transoxiana, Khurāsān, and Iraq, great Sufi saints lived, each one in small convents (Khānqah), praying, meditating, and teaching new pupils. It is in the Saljūq period that Sufism, after years of distrust and even persecution by members of the orthodoxy, found its way in a modified form into Sunni orthodoxy itself. Oushairi and then Ghazālī gave to Sufism full rights of citizenship in Sunnism.


2. ibid.

3. ibid.

4. ibid.
It is in the twelfth century that the older organized silsilas of Sufism were founded, and some important parts of the silsila ritual were introduced. Further the document of initiation (ijāza) with its silsila, seems to have been used for the first time towards the end of the Saljūq period in 1227 A.D. It is also in this century that the coenobitic life of Ikhwan (brothers) in a cloister (Khanqāh) found its first development.

The developments of Sufism in this period took place especially in the Eastern, more strictly, Sunni zones of the Iranian cultural world. In the western part of this world, with its spiritual centre in Baghdad, Sufism was spread above all by the Suhravardiyra brotherhood, founded by Abu Hafs Umar Suhravardi, the real founder of the silsila of this name.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{ibid.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{ibid.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\text{ibid., P.298.}\]
In spite of the Sufis' deep penetration into orthodox Sunni circles in this period, an anti-Sufi attitude is of course still present in some orthodox Sunni writers. Talbīs-i-Iblīs, by the `Ashari theologian Ibn al-Jauzi, contains strong attacks on the Sufis, though the author makes a clear distinction between an older, purer Sufism and the modern one for which he shows distrust.¹

In spite of all such opposition, Sufis in this period were fairly free to teach their doctrines and carry out their practices.² They easily found protectors in princes and powerful personalities. One of the greatest of their protectors in the Saljūq era was the great wazir Nizām ul-Mulk himself. According to Muhammad b. Munawwar in his Ḥāfīz ut-Tawḥīd, composed in the second half of the twelfth century, he (Nizām ul Mulk) had been in his youth a pupil of the

¹ 1. ibid., P.299.
² 2. ibid., P.300.
famous Abu Sa`id b. Abul Khair, and had witnessed miracles performed by that saint.1

The Sufi thought took a turn towards the end of the eleventh century when the historic figure, Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī interpreted Sufi doctrines from the stand-point of the Quran and Hadîth. He was the first Muslim mystic who brought Sufism close to Islam. In his destruction of philosophers Ghazâlī remarkably examined and refuted the philosophical way of thinking, particularly that of the Greeks, and justified the spiritual quest after Truth. This brought a great revolution in the whole Islamic world. Abu Tâlib Makki's distinction between `intellectual knowledge' and `gnosis' and Râbia's theory of `pure love' contributed in the development of the Sufi system of Ghazâlī. Ghazâlī's writings, particularly his treatise Ihya` `ulûm ud-din, had a great impact on the Sufis of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Abd al Qâdir Jilani for instance, synthesised theological and

1. ibid. PP.300-301.
mystical knowledge. He had firm faith in Islamic teachings and Quranic mysticism. Ibn al-'Arabi was another learned mystic who was influenced by Ghazâlî. He departed from the Islamic doctrine of Tawhîd and elaborated the metaphysical theory of one existant God in his famous works Futuhabât ul-Makkiya and Fusûs ul-hikam.

It is an established fact that in reaching to the period of Saljuqs, Sufism had already undergone certain important stages of development. Therefore, in order to study the Sufism during the Saljuq period, one needs to study its origin and subsequent history since the first decade of Islamic era.

Quite a lot has been written about the origin of Sufism and the etymological background of the word "Sufi" 1. Sufism, in

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1. Abu Nasr Abdullah bin Ali al-Sarra`j al-Tusi (d. 456cf:1063), the author of famous Kitab ul-Lum`a fi al-Tasawwuf argues that the word Sufi is derived from 'sufi' which stands for coarse woolen clothes which had come to be accepted as a the conventional dress of the pious, even of the Prophet's, among the semetic people. And show that it was an established custom among the Arabs to refer to
its inner reality, is rotted in the Quran and
the Sunnah and the Hadith of the Prophets Saw
of Islam. To become a Sufi is to realise in
depth the doctrine of unity (Tawhid)

Continued...

men by their specific conventional garb rather than by their
specific attributes and traits. Sarraj quotes from the Quran,
emphasising that the companions of the Jesus Christ were referred
to by their white garb rather than by their virtuous traits.
M.Hamid ud-din, Early Sufis in, A History of Muslim Philosophy'
ed. M.M.Sharief, Delhi, 1993, P.315. For more details see: R.A.
Nicholson, 'A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and
Development of Sufism', in J.R.A.S. (1906), PP.306-48; Zachner,
R.C., Mysticism Sacred and Profane, Oxford, 1957, P.5 ff: A fairly
good amount of information can be had about the meaning and
background of the word sufi in: Nicholson, R.A., The Mystics of
Islam, London, 1914, and his Studies in Islamic Mysticism,
Cambridge, 1921; and The Idea of Personality in Sufism, Cambridge,
1923; M.Smith has also dealt with the subject in his Studies in
Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East, London, 1931; and
Readings from the Mystics of Islam, London, 1950; For more
details see also: Rafiqi.A.Q., Sufism in Kashmir,
PP.36-37( introduction).
contained in the holy book and to live a life based on the model of the life of the Prophet saw. 1 Again it is an attempt to realise the presence of the living God in the soul and in nature, or, more generally, as the attempt to realise, in thought and feeling, the imminence of the temporal in the eternal and of the eternal in the temporal.2

Sufism was not the creation of any particular race, whether it be Arab, Persian or Indian, but a 'Divine Mystery' contained inwardly within the Quranic revelation and instructed by the Prophet to a few of his choice companions, who, in turn, transmitted this esoteric knowledge to their worthy students and disciples.3

3. Camb.,ibid.
The word 'Sufi' is generally said to have been in use during the days of Tābe`īn (successors of the companions of the Prophet ﷺ) as well as the Tab`Tābe`īn (the successors of these successors). It is also held that the word was current even in the days of the prophet and his companions because it was already used in pre-Islamic days. To show that the word 'Sufi' was current in the days of Tābe`īn, Sarrāj quotes a comment from Hassan al- Basri (d.110/728): "I saw a Sufi going round the Ka`bah; I offered him something but he did not accept." 

Again to show that the word was in vogue during the days of Tab` Tābe`īn, Sarrāj quotes a comment of Sufyān of Thaur, "If it were not for Abu Hāshim the Sufi, I would not have understood the true meaning of. Similarly al-Sarrāj substantiates on the basis of linguistic use

2. ibid.; cf. M, Hamid ud-Din, op.cit, P.314; Camb., ibid.
3. ibid.
the fact that the word 'Sufi' was used during the days of the prophet (S.A.W.) and before him in the Jahiliya period.\(^1\) Al-Qushairi (d.465/1072) states that the word 'Tasawwuf' had been used by people before the 2nd/8th century. "Those among the Sunnites who took extreme care in keeping their contact with God alone and saving themselves from the paths of negligence come to be known by the special name of "ahl-ut-Tasawwuf".\(^2\) Hujviri (d. 456/1063) also traces back the use of the word 'Sufi' even to the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.).\(^3\)

The first manifestations of Sufism are to be found, after Prophet.\(^\text{saw}\), 'Ali and a few other of the closest companions, in several of the figures who came to be known


throughout the early community for their asceticism and piety. Among such figures was Abu Darda, himself a companion, who emphasized on the importance of meditation (tawakkhr) and reverential fear (taqwa).\(^1\) Another early figure respected by later Sufis was Abu Dhar al-Giffāri, a strong political activist. For the sake of social justice, he lived a strict life of simplicity emphasizing on the purity resulting from the cleansing of soul, which lies at the heart of Sufism. He too was against the social injustice and misrule of Umayyads.\(^2\) Contemporary to him was Hudaifa bin al-Yamān \(^3\), who also lived a life of simplicity and stressed upon the purity of the heart for the attainment of perfection of faith. A few years younger to him was Imrān bin Hussain al-Khuzai’ī who lived in Basra and was renowned for his piety and otherworldliness.

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1. Camb, P.448.
3. Zarin Kūb, op.cit, P.44.
The greatest of the companions who still lived in that city, Imrān died in 52/672. He trained some disciples of whom the most famous was Hasan al- Basari. Finally belonging to the same group of early saints was Uwais al- Qarani, the Yemenite, who fought with 'Ali at Siffin. Few men in the history of Sufism have left as profound an influence as Uwais, who became the prototype of a particular type of spirituality in Islam.\(^1\)

Although being Arabs these early Sufi saints had a profound impression on the spiritual life of Persia. Abu Dhar has remained to this day a Persian national hero, and Uwais has exercised the deepest influence in the development of Sufism in Persia.

The founder of the Basra school of Sufism, which is in itself the source for all later Sufi schools, was Hassan al Basari who was born in Madina in 21/642 and died after a long and chequered life in Basra in

\(^{1}\) ibid.
110/728. He is the spiritual chain (silsila) of many orders. He was also an exegete of the Qur'an, a transmitter of Prophetic Hadith and the founder of Kalām in its formal phase of development. He based Sufism upon fear of God (warā') and detachment from the world (zuhd).

From its earliest home in Basra and Kufa, Sufism spread to two main centers, Khurasan and Baghdad. The founder of the Khurasanian school of Sufi thought, one of the earliest of Sufis, is Ibrāhīm bin Adham, who was born in Balkh around 100/718 and died probably in Syria around 165/782. Of Ibrahim's students the most famous is Shaqiq


2. On the life and teaching of Ibrahim bin Adham, the best information and abridged note is found apart from the article on him in Encyclopaedia of Islam in Dā'irat ul-Ma'ārif Buzurg Islami, Tehran, 1969 A.H., Vol.II, PP.403-7. The article has a rich bibliography on Ibrahim.
al Balkhi (d.194/810) who emphasized the importance of reliance upon God (tawakul) and was the first Sufi to define it as a spiritual state (hāl). He was a milestone to the coming generations of Sufis so far as the self discipline is concerned.

Some other important figures of the Khurasānī school in the early period include Abdullah bin Mubarak (d. 181/797), Fudail bin Iyād (d. 187/803 and in the 3rd/9th century Abu Turāb an-Nakhshabī (d.240/054), Ibn Karrām (d.255/069) and Yehya bin Mʿuādh ar-Rāzi (d.250/072. Still to come from this school in the later centuries was a galaxy of great Sufis from Bāyazīd to Abu Saʿīd bin Abul-Khair.¹

Early Sufis of Baghdad School:

Almost contemporary and parallel with the school of Khurasān grew the school of Baghdad which was directly an incumbent of Basara and Kuфа schools of

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¹ Camb, P.451.
Sufistic thought and whose origins are also related to Khurasân. The founder of Baghdad school is said to have been Mîrûf Karkhi (d. 200/8150), the simple and probably illiterate companion of Imâm Rida, the eighth Shiʿī Imâm.¹ Almost the whole of later Sufism was articulately influenced by the two men of that school namely Hârîth Muʿâṣibi and Junaid Baghdadi. Although the two pioneers differed with each other on certain approaches, yet each of them, in his own way, provided the early intellectual and doctrinal formulations of Sufism.² Muḥâsibi is said to be the first Sufi of the foremost rank whose preserved writings may truly be said to have formed to a large extent the pattern of all subsequent thought.³ The bulk of Muḥâsibi's writings pertains to self discipline. In fact, his name is connected with the word for

¹ 1. ibid., P.453; Zarîn Kûb, op.cit, P.58.
² 2. ibid.
"self examination" (muhāsaba). He was a master of religious sciences, especially Hadith and Kalam. His al-Ri`aya li-huqūq-ullah and wasāya had a tremendous influence on the later day Sufi thought, especially on Ghazāli. Ghazāli, in his "Ihya" speaks about Muhāsibi in these terms, "He harmonized and combined the science of Truth (haqīqa) and the science of the Law (sharī`a). He spoke to the people in a manner comfortable to their condition. As a result the doctors of jurisprudence (fuqaha') had confidence in him as did the Sufis".2

With Abul-Qāsim Junaid Baghdadi who was born around 210/825, we reach the other peak of the school of Baghdad. Junaid studied first Law and Hadith and was attracted to Sufism only after becoming a disciple of Muhāsibi.3 He lived a long life and died in Baghdad in 298/910. This most

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1. ibid., P.47; cf. Zarin Kūb, op.cit, P.59.
2. Camb, P.452; Zarin Kūb, op.cit, P.59.
famous master of the school of Baghdad
trained many disciples and wrote a number of
treatises, many in the form of letters, which
have preserved his influence throughout
Islamic history. Few have ever gained the
degree of fame and universal acceptance
enjoyed by Junaid, the master of the 'sober'
school of Sufism. 1

Junaid was the first Sufi to have
discussed in depth the meaning of Spiritual
Union. The responsibility for developing the
doctrine of fana as an integral part of a
well-coordinated theosophy belongs to
al-Junaid of Baghdad, whereas others before
him and his contemporaries had by brilliant
flashes of intuition grasped one or another
of the spiritual heights now falling to their
mastery. He, standing as it were upon the
supreme mountain-peak of analytical thought,
took within his ranging vision the whole
landscape of mystical speculation stretching
below him and with an artist's eye brought it
to comprehension and unity upon a single

Considering the point of departure of man from God as referred to (according to Sufi exegesis) in the Quran,² he views the entire course of history as the quest of man to fulfill that covenant and return to "the state in which he was before he was".³ Junaid defines the Tawhid (unity) as follows:

التوحيد إرنا إلا فتيم (unification is the separation of the Eternal from that which has originated in time).⁴

Among the long chain of Junaid's disciples, the best known was of course Hussain bin al-Mansūr al-Hallāj, the most striking figure of early Sufism whose words have chosen throughout the history of Sufism. Born around 244/858 near Baida' in the southern Persia, he was executed upon the cross in 309/922, on being condemned for

1. Arberry, op.cit, P.57.
2. Al-Quran, 7:166-7; see also: Rafiqi, op.cit, PP. 37-38.
3. Arberry, ibid.
blasphemy. Hallâj traveled throughout Persia, central Asia and India speaking everywhere, openly of esoteric knowledge and union with God. He scandalized the public through his open divulgence of viewing himself as very God incarnate. He did not claim Divinity for himself, through the utterance which led to his execution, "I am the truth" (اَنَّ الْحَقَّ اِنَّ الْحَقَّ). Of course from the Sufi point of view it was not the ego (nafs) of Hallâj making this utterance, which would have been blasphemous, but God within him, which is in fact the case in all the theophonic locutions or paradoxes of the Sufis.

Later Sufis of Khurasani School:

Basing its fundamental teachings upon the central Asian Sufi thought and


2. ibid. For a detailed and colourful account about Hallâj see: Zarin Kûb, op.cit, PP.62-65.

3. Camb. ibid.; Arberry, ibid.
benefiting from Basra school, Sufism spread extensively from the middle of 3rd/9th century and throughout the whole of 4th/10th century. In fact the whole of Central Asia and Persia and particularly Khurasan, which exactly came to be known as the "land whose product in saints", produced men of eminence in Sufism.¹ A contemporary of Junaid and an outstanding Sufi of 3rd/9th century was Ibn Karram, who was born in Sistan around 190/806. Ibn Karram was both a Sufi and a theologian and in his writings he revised the technical vocabulary of both Sufism and Kalâm.²

A contemporary of Ibn Karram who dominated the spiritual horizon of Sufism in Khurasan at that time is Bayazid of Bistam, one of the most famous of all Sufis who died near the present day city of Shahrud in 261/874.³

¹. Camb. P.456; for details see: Zarin Kub, Justaju op.cit., P.31 ff.
². ibid.
For thirty years Bâyazîd wondered in the deserts of Syria, leading a life of extreme asceticism with scanty sleep, food and drink. He reached his goal only through blindness, deafness and dumbness.¹ He would strictly follow the Islam in functions and would not tolerate any deviation, however small or insignificant it might be.²

Bâyazîd advocated the theory of Tajrid (Abstraction). He tries to reach the divine unity by the same process till he is devoid of all personal attributes and feels himself as well as others submerged in the one. His utterance "Glory be to me" (سُبْحَانَهُ) remind us of the "an-al-Haq" of Hallâj.³

Another Sufi from Khurasân whose expositions of Sufism had a definite

¹ 1. Attâr, op.cit, PP.90,92,110.
² 2. ibid., P.90; Hujwiri, op.cit P.217.
intellectual and gnostic character was Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ali al-Trimidhi, known in the history of Sufism as Hakim Trimidhi. He was born during the first quarter of the 3rd/9th century and died some where around its end in Trimidh.¹ He was well versed in Hadîth and his writings reveal his profound knowledge of this science. He is known as Hakim because of his deep interest in gnostic and theosophical discussions. Of his approximately sixty five works a large number are devoted to the strictly religious sciences such as Qurânic commentary, hadîth, Kalam and jurisprudence or Fiqh.²

At the end of the 4th/10th century and beginning of the 5th/11th century Sufism spread widely throughout the Islamic world and with it there spread a large number of works dealing with its doctrines, practices and history. One of the monumental works is the encyclopedic history of Sufism.

¹ Camb, P.459.
² ibid.
Tabaqat of Abu Na`im al-Isfahani (d. 430/1039). What is more important and significant we now for the first time meet with systematic and documented histories of Sufism—a sure sign that the task of building was felt to be complete and the movement was now sufficiently established and organized to be capable of description and discussion.2

1. ibid., P.463; cf. Arberry, op.cit., P.70.

The service of Sufis to human society in general and to Muslim Ummah in particular can not be underestimated in spite of the criticism of the researchers on the wars of Sufi life. No doubt, the Sufis played a role in checking and, at times, eliminating the sectarian prejudices and their unending evil influences on human society, but the fact remains that the Sufi influences are more prominently visible on the aspect of 'freedom of thought'.

During a period when the power of Caliphs and Salātīn was disintegrating and drying out and the possibilities of propagating the faith of Muhammad⁴⁷, through holy wars (jihād), were bleak, Sufis came to the rescue of Islam in carrying on the mission of preaching and propagating the faith of Islam. The Sufis belonging to the Chishti, Shattārī, Naqshbandi and other orders are a testimony to such kind of activities in India and Far Eastern countries. Naqshbandi Sufis among the Turk
nations and Qadiris and Tarjhanis among the people of Sudan, Nigeria and other parts of Africa have particularly worked as preachers. In performing their duties of 'dos and donts' Amr bil-M`arûf and Nahi `anîl Munkar, the Sufis, in these countries, often came to confrontations with the existing power structures; thereby risking their lives even. They virtually replaced the conquering armies and Ghâzis in winning over the hearts of the people to Islam. The diffusion of the spirit of brotherhood, fraternity and sacrifice among the Muslim community is their best service to Ummah. Sufis have been preferring the benefit of their fellow inmates to the benefit of their own selves.

Sufis, during the Saljûq period, had perfectly made a place in the hearts and minds of the society and were acceptable to the community as a whole, in preference to every other group of society. The Ismâ`îlî fidâî who had stabbed to death the Saljûq Prime Minister Nizâm ul-Mulk Tûsî and his son Fakhr ul-Mulk, is said to have pretended to have been a Sufi, in order to escape the wrath of the people.
During the period under review, Sufis were committed to persuade the people to follow the 'Right Religion'. The Sufi discourses were more appealing and popular than the philosophic tunes of philosophers in explaining the monotheism.

The teachings of Sufis helped in broadening the social and religious outlook of the masses. They motivated the people to shun the false pride, prejudice and sectarian considerations. Thus, by stressing upon universal brotherhood, they made the religion genuinely flexible and leaving aside the rigidity, advocated the equality and fraternity as the essentials for the upliftment of human society.

Sufis explored the disadvantages of philosophical consciousness and worldliness. Usuf bin Husain Razi described them as the 'disasters'. Ibrahim Adham provided a model for the Sufis by shunning the worldly power and wealth and Shagiq Balkhi rejected the vast gains of profitable trade and commerce. The same is true about Abu Mohammad Sumbaki, Sheikh Ahmad Zindapil and many other Sufis.
APPENDIX - III.

Ismāʿīli movement was aimed at overthrowing the whole Saljūq power, since the Ismāʿīlies were not willing to accept the Turkish Amirs as a necessary evil for want of a true Caliphal Government. The attempted to introduce religious reform precisely in opposition to the whole Sunni system.

In the decentralised political mood of the time the Ismāʿīlies were often able to gain a temporary advantage by helping one Amir against the other. Perhaps the chief political result of the Ismāʿīli revolt, apart from the fear of independent State was to discredit the Shiʿi opposition generally and to assure the cooperation of moderate men like Ithna-ʿAsharies to the Saljūq Amirs and the Sunni society they maintained. But at the same time the Ismāʿīli movement had certain intellectual and imaginative consequences as well. Their doctrine helped to form the intellectual synthesis of the great Sunni thinker Al-Ghazāli, who in turn helped the Sunni ideology to find itself in the new age.