RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS

Saljûq period marks an important phase of the religious history of Islam. The period is remarkably interesting for the revival of Sunnism after a fairly long span of Ismâ'îli domination. It also witnessed the ferment of shi'i ideas and above all it is the period of the growth of Sufism. If we realize that in this period the entire theological system of Islam found its final systematization, and shi'i-Sunni conflicts also came to surface and finally, in the 12th century, the oldest Sufi orders (Sîsilâs) were organized. It was certainly, one of the most formative periods in the religio-cultural history of Islam.

In order to understand the aspects of religion during the period under review, it is more appropriate to discuss briefly the main religious trends of the period separately.

Sunnis.

The period of the Saljûqs in central Asia in generally
considered as the period of Sunni revival. While examining the religious and political history of the period two things strike us. First, that the Revival was not simply Sunni, it was traditionalist too. Certain articulate forces of traditionalism are seen reviving in some measures during the period of Saljuqs. Second, the Revival has not to be attributed sharply with the Saljuq's entry into Baghdad in 447/1055. The revival in fact, was gaining momentum quite at the beginning of the century.

At the end of 4th/10th century and the beginning of 5th/11th century the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud was pursuing a traditionalist Sunni policy under the Caliph al Qadir in his newly conquered territories. Under the patronage of Caliph, Sultan Mahmud followed a traditionalist view of religion which was more prominently


anti-Shi'i, anti-M'tazili, and also anti-Ash'ari.¹

The Caliph proclaimed a decree in 408/1017 necessitating the retraction of all prospective officials to Hanafite theology. As a result of this policy the great Hanafi Qadi Al-Saymari dramatically retracted from the M'tazilite philosophy in order to get the post of Qadi in Baghdad. ² The Ghaznavids were implementing this policy of the Caliph³ from a distance in Khurasân and obviously the Saljûqs had not as yet appeared upon the scene.⁴

Tughril Beg, 429/1038 the first of great Saljûqs ordered the public cursing of al-Ash'ari from the pulpits of Khurasân. We

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¹ 1. Maqdisi, op.cit, P.156; see also W.M.Watt, op.cit, P.91-92; see: R.W. Bulliet, 'Nishapur In the Eleventh Century', Islamic Civilization, op.cit, P.175.
³ 3. Makdisi calls it a 'traditionalist Sunni Revival'. In his opinion it was a religious revival in which the forces of traditionalism fought against the forces of rationalism of all shades. (Makdisi, op.cit. P.157).
also find him exiling the great Ash'ari 'Ulama from the province.¹ This was the deliberate policy of Turkish Sunni Sultān which be pursued during the decade after his triumphant entry into Baghdad and after assuming the title of Sultān and 'Right Arm' of the Sunni Caliph.² The anti-Ash'ari policy of Tughril Beg was well felt and implemented from 445/1053 to 455/1063 till the death of the Sultan. Interestingly the total shift in the anti-Ash'ari policy of Saljūqs is witnessed immediately after the death of Tughril Beg and his wazīr 'Amid ul-Mulk Al-Kundūrī. With the accession of Sultan Alp Arsalān to the Sultanate and that of Nizām ul-Mulk to the wazirate, the exiled Ash'ari 'Ulama are welcomed back from exile and the victimization of Ash'aris comes to an end³. Even M'tazilites were equally tolerated and accommodated.⁴ The tolerant policy towards the alienated sects— Ash'arites and M'tazilites was the result of Nizām ul-Mulk's political foresight and administrative wisdom. His

¹ 1. ibid.

² 2. Rawandi; P.105; Habib us-Siyyar, P.485; See also: R.W.Bulliet, op.cit. PP.81-82.

³ 3. Watt, ibid. R.W. Bulliet, op.cit, 85 (the Exiled Ashari-Shafi'i leaders, Imam ul-Haramayn al Juwayni returned from exile to assume that post of professorship at Nizāmuyyia. ibid.).

tolerant policy was dictated primarily by political expediency. Both Tughril Beg and Kundüri were Hanafis who supported Hanafi Ulama who happened to be M'atāzili. Nizām ul-Mulk, on the other hand, was Shaf'ei, who supported Shaf'ei Ulama who happened to be Ash'ari. But at the same time he did not alienate the M'atāzilis too. Instead, he befriended and bestowed financial support on them.

Qazvini, in his famous book Kitāb un Naqd which is a Shi'i polimic work of the first half of the 12th century, observes that Khorasan and Transoxiana and part of Iraq were Hanafi and M'atāzili in theology. A later work Tabsirat ul 'Awām also by a Shi'i author, written during the beginning of the thirteenth century, shows us the division of the Saljuq domain on religious basis. The author of the book has mentioned the following six Sunni sects.

1. Dāudi.

1. ibid.
2. ibid.; C.F. Bulliet. P.85 ff.
3. Camb. P.203. The author has given a complete sectarian geography of the central Asia and Iran see: ibid.
4. ibid., P.284.
2. **Hanafi**: Theologically divided into *M'utazila, Najjāriya, Karāmiya, Murjia* and *Jabriya*. The people of Khwārizm are Hanafi-Mutizili, the people of Bukhāra and the "Peasants" of Kashān are Hanafi-Najjāri; in Ghūr and Sind there are Karānis, whereas the Hanafis of Khurāsān, Transoxiana and Farḡāna are Jabri, as are the Turks.

3. **Mālikī**: Theologically divided into *M’tazilītes* and *Ash’arīties*.

4. **Shafī’ī**: Theologically divided into six groups: *Mushabbiha* (anthropomorphists), *Salafis, Khārijīs; M’tazīls Ash’arīs* and *Yazidīs*.

5. **Hanbalis**, and

6. **Thawris**.

The most interesting thing in the religious history of the Saljūq period, especially during the prime ministership of Nizām ʿul-Mulk Ṭūsī, is the religious tolerance that was showed towards different sects. Yaqūt Hamavi while discussing Sistān informs us that there were many Khārijītes in Sistān and they were not afraid of
declaring openly their Khārijījism, and they wore a special garb.¹

As all formative ages of religions, the Saljūq period too did not go without religious debates and discussions. These debates sometimes ended in massacres. In Nishāpur after the terrible onslaught of the Ghuzz (1154 A.D.) every night one sect would assault a quarter of the town inhabited by members of another sect; they would resort to loot arson and burning.²

Similar things happened in Shīrāz between Ḥanafis and Shafis, in Rayy between both of them and the Shi‘is and between all of them and Isma‘ilis.³

Ideologically the Sunnis tended to assimilate all forms of Shi‘i philosophy to that of Isma‘ili. "Shi‘i ideology is the corridor leading to heresy", wrote an ex-Shi‘i convert to Sunni ideology before 1161 A.D. in his anti-Shi‘i book B‘adu Fada‘h al Rawāfid.⁴ The same author says that the Shi‘is are Zorastrians under Muslim garb. The

¹ 1. ibid.
² 2. Rawandi, P.182.
author also accuses the Shi'is of propagandising especially in the lower classes and amongst ignorant artisans and that they are *dahriyya* (materialists).¹

The revival of Sunnism can be for more betterly understood by peeping into the expositions of Ghazālī. He is one of the best representatives of Central Asian Sunni ideology that has remained for centuries the religious milieu in which the greatest Iranian geniuses, literary and otherwise have been bred.² It is a fact that along with his Sunni philosophy, Ghazālī, like his master Juwaynī became pillar of the State religion, at a troubled time in its history ³ Ghazālī is, in a way, the resume and practical end of this Sunni Philosophy. After him Sunnis did not produce much, that is significant in the theological field.⁴ Thus, Ghazālī's radical mistrust of human reason, his consequent condemnation of Philosophy and his intellectual aristocratism (be discouraged the common people from studying theology, saying that

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¹ 1. ibid.

² 2. ibid. P.206.

³ 3. *Nasihat ul Mulūk*, op. cit, P.34.

⁴ 4. Camb. ibid.
they must only believe) strengthened the trends of orthodox Sunni thought. Ghazâli also strived hard to introduced a moderate mysticism into orthodoxy. He wished to make jurisprudence mystical and mysticism juridical. In this way the conviction of Ghazâli and the moderate Sufis was compatible with orthodox Sunnite belief and respect for Islamic law. In deed, Ghazâli himself did more than any other writer to reinforce the intellectual content of Sunnite dogma.

A more trusted testimony to the Sunni revival is the final destruction of M'tazilism and the triumph of Ash'arism during the period of Saljûqs. The most famous figures of this movement were Juwayni (d. 1085), the master of Ghazâli known as İmâm ul Haramayn. He was the greatest Shaf'ei-Ash'ari theologian of Khurâsân during this period. Another Shaf'ei-Ash'ari scholar of the Saljûq period was al Shahristâni (d.1153), who served Sultan Sanjar and is chiefly famous as the author of the great heresiographical manual Al-Milal wal-Nihal. He

1. Ghazâli was of the opinion that use of intellect (ijtihad) in religious and legal should be reserved only to qualified persons. (Nasihat ul-Mulûk op. cit, P.37).

2. Camb, ibid.; Nasihat, ibid.


lived in Khurāsān and Khawarizm.¹

The growing influence of the orthodox Ash'arite school brought with it, of course, a decline in the speculative sciences. Ghazālī's *Tuhafat ul Falāsifa* (Destructum Philosophorum) is the only most authoritative example of this attitude.²

The importance of the Sunni revival especially lies in the fact that Sunni religious learning was organised in great teaching institutions, which might be considered to be amongst the first universities of the civilized world. These institutions were founded and aided by the famous Saljūq wazīr Nizām ul-Mulk Tūsī— hence called the Nizāmiya. These institutions were like colleges, with scholarships, good salaries for the professors and a traditional and well-organised course of studies. Prominent among these were the Nizāmiya of Baghdad and Nishāpūr.³

In fact, Nizāmiya, with its Shi'aite professors, represented the success of the resurgence of the dogmatic theological

1. ibid.
2. ibid. P.287.
3. 143. ibid., P.289.
movement, known by the name of Ash’arism.\(^1\) In the opinion of Goldziher, who has held in high esteem the services of Nizâmmiyas in the history of Muslim educational thought, "... for a long time it was not possible for (the Ash’arites) to teach theology in public. It was not until the middle of eleventh century, when the wazir of the Saljûqids, Nizâm ul-Mulk, created public chairs in the great schools founded by him in Nisabûr and Baghdad for the new theological doctrine, that the Ash’arite dogmatic theology could be taught officially and could be admitted into the system of orthodox theology.... It is therefore, here that the victory of the Ash’arite school was decided in its struggle against M’tazilism on the one hand, and intransigent, orthodoxy (Hanbalism) on the other. The era in which these institutions flourished is therefore important, not only in the history of education, but also in that of Muslim dogmatic theology (Sunni thought)\(^2\)

Ash’arism is claimed to have won its victory in Baghdad in the middle of eleventh century and the credit for this victory is assigned to Nizâmiya collages, Nizâm ul-Mulk and Ghazâli whose genius, as professor of theology, made possible the acceptance by Muslim


\(^2\) ibid.
orthodoxy of not only Sufi mysticism, but Ash'arism as well.¹ Since the
Nizāmiya was claimed to be an official institution for the teaching of
Ash'arism, it followed that Ash'arism was accepted as the official
teology of Islam at this period.² Thus we are reasonably sure that the
madrasa (Nizāmiya) symbolised the victory of orthodox Sunni theology
over speculative and natural philosophy.³

The Shī'īs:

The Shīa movement began as a political protest against
the conferring of the Imamate or leadership of Islam on men like
Abu-Bakr, Umar and Uthmān, who were not kinsmen of the Prophet⁴
Soon after the death of the Prophet⁴ there arose a difference among

¹ 1. ibid.
² 2. ibid.
⁴ 4. Saunders, P.125; see also, M.G.S. Hodgson, "When Did the Early Shi`ia Became Sectarian?" Journal of the American Oriental society, Vol. 75, 1955, PP.1-13, Numerous studies about the origin
and emergence of Shi`ia are mentioned in the bibliography of the article.
the Muslims as to who should succeede the Prophet saw as leader of the Ummah. Then the question of Imamate formed the principal point of difference between those who believed that it was the right of Prophet's saw family (ahl ul-Bayt) and those who believed that it belonged to Ummah as a whole. Those who supported the cause of the Prophet's saw family were called al-sh'iat li- ahlil-Bayt (adherents of the people of the house). Since 'Ali was the most prominent figure among the family of the Prophet saw therefore he became the rallying point of the supporters of the said cause, and the latter came to be known as Sh'ia-tu'Ali hence shia or Shi'is.

The controversy of Imamat (leadership) continued to grow, although not at an explosive level, during the period of first two Caliphs: Abu Bakr and Umar. However, when Uthman became the Caliph, the above controversy had gained sufficient ground and momentum. Uthman accepted the office of the Caliph on the condition that he would uphold and follow strictly the policies of Abu Bakr and Umar. But when 'Ali became the Caliph he insisted that he should be allowed to use his

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2. Ibid. P. 61
own judgement as the occasion demanded.\textsuperscript{1} \textquote[Ali]{'Ali's insistence on the necessity for new policy to meet new circumstances automatically made him the leader of the forces of change, and the hero and rallying point for the opposition.\textsuperscript{2} He, as a sincere member of the Ummāh played a significant role in strengthening the hands of Caliph Uthmān to preserve the unity and integrity of the infant empire and Ummāh. He also expostulated several times with the Caliph on the manner in which he allowed the government to fall into the hands of his unworthy favourites. \textsuperscript{3} In the course of time, \textquote[Ali]{'Ali's remarkable foresight came to be realised by one and all and the same was acclaimed as a semi-divine "Knowledge", the corner stone of Shi`ite ideology and policies.\textsuperscript{4}}

Thus the Shi`i philosophy, obtained the organised response of an ideological group towards the end of Uthmān's Caliphate. The social, political and economic policies of Uthmān's Caliphate made this group only more political.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1} Shaban, ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{2} ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{3} Amir `Ali, \textit{A Short History of The Saracenes}, Delhi, 1979, PP.48-49. \\
\textsuperscript{4} Shaban. ibid.
\end{flushleft}
The Shi'is held fast to the hope that the high Islamic ideals of equality and Godliness among the faithful can be ensured and an equitable order throughout the mankind could be realised in practice only if the Muslims would accept divinely approved leadership. Loyalty to the house of 'Ali had only become identified with such hopes and the true Imam (leaders of the Ummah) were specially designated descendents of 'Ali.1 The civil authority of Muhammad should have been inherited, it was argued, by Ahl ul-Bayt (the family of the house of Prophet).2

The exponents of this theory were mostly Yemenite Arabs, who were perhaps influenced by the memory of hereditary succession of the Kings of ancient Saba and Himyar.3 In Iraq there was a long tradition of divine kingship, and it would therefore be natural for the Arameans4 in particular to adhere to that religio-political group

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2. S. Ilubsuin Nusr, ibid.
4. The older strata (stock) of the population of Iraq are called Arameans.
within Islam which emphasised charismatic leadership. Most significantly, the Shi'is associated their ideology with the Prophet's declaration of 'Ali as his successor at Ghadir-i-Khum in 632 A.D., whereupon Shi'is recognise the Imāmah as essentially a divine institution which aims for the continuing guidance of the human races after the Prophet. 2

On the death of 'Ali in 661 A.D. his followers (now generally known as Sh'ia) showed marked inclinations to support the claims of Al-Hassan, the son of 'Ali. But after the surrender of Hassan, the ruling clan of Umayyads cashed the murder of their fellow clan-leader Uthmān for their political ambitions. One of their prominent leaders was Muawiah, the son of Abu Sufyān, who held the government of Syria and who had, with the wealth of the province, collected a large force of mercenaries, bound to him by love of pay. 3 But the long reign of Mu'awiah could not expel the Shi'i sentiment inspite of crude and unworthy attitude shown by the ruling regime towards them.

In the troubled period following the death of Mu'awiah in 680 A.D. the younger son of 'Ali, Al-Hussain was encouraged to lead a

2. cf. *Ency. of Islam*, II, PP. 993-994, art. 'Ghadir Khum'.
revolt in Iraq. The small band of Hussain's army could not be prevailed on to surrender and were eventually martyred by a vastly superior army of Yazid (the son of Mu'awiah) at Karbala in October, 680 A.D.

The event of Karbala gave a strong sectarian and religio-political orientation to the Shi'is. It had a number of other far-reaching consequences. It decided not only the fate of Caliphate, but also menaced, once for all the prospects of unity among the Muslims. The blood of Hussain, even more than that of his father, proved to be the seed for the Shi'ite church. The Shi'i movement was born a fresh on the field of Karbala. It ultimately proved one of the main causes of the downfall of the Umayyads and lastly it divided the Muslims into two main sects—Sunnis and Shi'is.

However the rising of Al-Mukhtar in Kufa during 685-687 A.D. was of great significance so far as the Shi'i sect is concerned. It was through the revolt of Al Mukhtar that many Mawalis (non-Arab converts) joined and supported Shi'i movement. These were mostly Persians, who hated the Umayyad regime as a symbol of Arab domination and used the 'Alid movement as a means of fighting for social and racial equality. ¹ Mukhtar espoused the cause of Muhammad bin al

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¹ Shaban, op.cit., PP. 94-95; Saunders, ibid; Hossain Nast, ibid.; Watt, op.cit. P.22.
Hanafiya, ‘Ali’s son by a woman of Hanafite tribe, and apparently hailed him as the Mahdi (the guided one) who would usher in the millennium, and after Muhammad’s death it was widely believed that he had been hidden by God and would return in the last days. Such was the origin of the belief in the Hidden-Imams, which was henceforth incorporated in the Shi‘ite system and which produced a variety of pretenders and impostors.  

Notwithstanding the number of candidates claiming the leadership of the Sh‘ia, and the diverse doctrinal attitudes expressed by different groups within the broad movement there were certain common, unifying features, the fundamental being their common recognition of ‘Ali as both the religious and political leader of all Muslims after the death of the Prophet. 

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2. Saunders, P.126.


The source of the ideas of the Hidden-Imam and his divine knowledge is obscure. But it turned the Shi'is from a political party into an eschatological sect. However during the later years of the Umayyad reign and the early period of the Abbasids, Shi'i Imams such as Muhammad al-Baqir and J'afar al-Sadiq gained remarkable stature amongst their followers. Inspite of being politically quite, they played an important role in the articualtion of a specific Shi'i support in legal and theological terms. As a result the process of crystallisation of the Shi'ite viewpoint around the personality of J'afar took place at this time. Imam J'afar also appears to have significantly influenced the development of the mystical interpretation of Islam.

Before becoming the official religion of Safavids of Iran in sixteenth century Shi'is had resisted at a number of places the

1. The soil of Syria and Iraq was saturated with ancient legends and superstitions: no region in the world has been more prolific in religion. Gnostic and Manich arean Cosmology may have contributed something. they Mehdi ideas has obvious offer with the Jewish-Christain Messish (Saunders,P.126).


onslaught of Saljuqs. Therefore it is difficult to assign a well defined geographical area to them. The sect continued to flourish in various areas of Saljuq realm with its numerous sub-sects. It is, however, a reality that during the Saljuq period it passed through many phases of tough antagonism which, at times, varied in nature. Of numerous Shi'i sects, only following four were prominent during the Saljuq period: 1. Nasiris 2. Zaidis 3. Imāmis (twelvers) and 4. Ismā'īlīs.

1. The Nasiris: A Name given in the 12th century to those extremists who attributed to 'Ali divine or quasi-divine powers. But all other Shi'i sects considered them heretic and kāfīr (infidels).

2. Zaidis: They were the followers of Zayd, grandson of Al-Husain, whom they regard as the founder of their sect. Of all Shi'i sects they are nearest to the Sunnis in ideology and in some respects the most tolerant. Contrary to other Shi'ite groups the Zaidis believe in no hidden-Imām. They do not practise muta' (temporary marriage) and allow no tagiyyah (dissimulation).

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2. ibid.
3. Hitti, op.cit, P.449.
Theologically the Zaidîs were M'utazila and in jurisprudence they were practically identical with the Sunnis in as much as they considered *qiyās* (analogical deduction/reasoning), *ray* (arbitrary opinion), *ijtihād* (independent judgement) and *istihsān* (preference) to be the sources of Shari'ā. They regarded as invalid all *Imāms* after ʿAli, son of Hussain. They declared all those as Kāfirs (infidels) who did not accept Zayd as the true successor of ʿAli the son of Hussain.¹

During the Saljuq period Zaidîs were still strong in the regions of Daylam, Gilân, Tabaristān and Gurgān. In these areas the Zaidîs read the *Khuṭba* (Friday sermon) in the name of their *Imāms* and struck coins in their name.²

Apart from the Isma’îlis, the strongest Shi’ite sect of the Saljuq period was Ithna Ash'ariya (Twelvers as the western orientalists call them).

The orthodox Shi’ites (Ithna Ash'ariya), believed that the *Imāmate* had descended from Prophet MuhammadSAW to ʿAli and his descendants according to the genealogy is given below:

1. 152. Camb., ibid.
2. ibid.
According to Shi'iite traditions, the twelfth Imam, namely Mahdi (the expected one), was born in Samarra in 255/868 or 256/869. At the time of the death of his father he would have been only four or five years of age. He was designated as Imam a few days before the
death of his father and very soon after his death he disappeared or
sent into concealment which consists of two periods, short (ṣughūl) and
long (kubra).

The political theories of the Ithna Ash'ariya Shi'ites
depend on three fundamental percepts, namely, (i) the divine right of
the descendants of 'Ali to succeed to the Imāmate, (ii) the sinlessness
of all the Imāms, and (3) the return of Mahdi, the twelfth Imām.

The first precept means that democratic election, i.e.
consent of the people, or any other method of choosing successor to
the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) is manifestly and palpably wrong and, as a
matter of fact, sinful. Sovereignty, with all responsibilities that it
entails for its holder as a temporal ruler and duties that it entails for
him as a religious chief, is a right from God which is conferred only on
those who have descended from Muhammad through 'Ali and Fātimah. The
Shi'ite theologians obviously contend that the divine right of the Imām
to become the commander of the faithful depends on the word of God
as conveyed by the Prophet (SAW) to 'Ali and by 'Ali to his descendants.

The Ithna Ash'ariyah Shi'ites contented themselves with
saying that it is not possible for the Imām to commit a sin or a crime.
The concept of sinlessness is a logical corollary of the acceptance of the
first precept. The Shi'ite theologians believe that the Imām, being
divinely ordained, is incapable of committing a sin or crime and will
exercise his authority in a benevolent manner and although he will be sovereign in every sense of the word, he will be bound by the restrictions imposed upon him by the Qurān, the traditions of the Prophet saw as narrated by the Imāms, and the examples of the Imāms lives.

The belief that the twelfth Imām, Mahdi, is bound to return is most significant in the sense that the Shi‘īte theologians are in a position to encourage their adherents whenever they are passing through dangerous or chaotic periods and ask them to stand fast since the advent of the Mahdi will be the end of all tyranny, despotism, suffering, misery, wretchedness, and sinfulness and the beginning of a new era of prosperity, bliss happiness, and ecstasy never experienced before the humanity.

However, inspite of the first two Saljuq rulers anti-Shi‘ī policies, Shi‘ī centres were flourishing in Iran as elsewhere during this period.¹ Shi‘īs had their own libraries, madrassas and

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¹ Camb., P.292. It may be noted that after the period of first two Saljuq rulers Tughril Beg and Alp Arslan the Shi‘ites enjoyed a relatively better religious freedom. (See: Siyāsat-Nāma, P.164-165.)
mosques and even succeeded in penetrating into court life. Thus Hibatullâh Muhammad bin 'Ali (known as Ibn al-Muttalib) was a minister of Caliph al-Mustazhir. S’ad ul Mulk Avji was wazîr to Sultan Muhammad bin Malikshâh, and Sharf ud din Anushirvân Khalid Kashâni was wizir both to Caliph al-Mustarshid and Sultan Muhammad b. Malik Shâh. The extent of Shi‘i influence and their penetration into official circles can be judged by yet another fact that orthodox Sunnis feared the alliance between the Saljûq ruling class and the Shi‘is. The author of Fadâih al Rawâfîd expresses this fear in these words, “now there is no Sarâ’i of Turks that has not at least ten or fifteen rawâfîd, and many of them are employed as dabîrs in the diwâns. The Shi‘i author of Kitâb un-Naqd even has words in praise of the Turks who sometimes used to protect

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1. ibid.
2. Rawandi, p.152.
3. Rawandi, p.204; Abbâs Parvîz, op. cit, p.147.
4. One fails to understand the apathy of the medieval authors to distinguish between extremist sects like Ismâ‘îlîs and the Shi‘a. The term ‘Rawâfîd’ to be used for Shi‘a is, however, neither proper nor historically correct.
the Shi'is in the period following the death of Nizām ul-Mulk and Malikshāh.¹

Shi'ī influences were particularly strong in Khawārizm which happened to be an old stronghold of Shi'īs. The Khawārizm Shah Mohammad, at the beginning of 13th century, is reported to have proposed to declare the Abbāsids unworthy of the Caliphate and Hussainis ('Alids) legitimate heirs of the Caliphate.²

Among the features of the methodology for spreading their beliefs and influences the Sh'īa, during the post Nizām ul-Mulk period, took recourse to Manāqibis or Manāqib Khwānīs. Manāqib means virtues and Manāqib Khwān is a singer who extols the virtues of 'Alī and his descendants in streets and Bazzars.³ The Manāqibis are said to have existed in Iraq even during the Buyid period but due to the fear of persecution by early Saljūqs they kept their activities secret and often migrated from place to place.⁴ But after the death of Malik

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¹ Qazvini, ed. Muhadith, Tehran, 1331/1952.
³ Camb. P.293.
⁴ ibid.
Shah.....the Manâqib Khwâns used to sing qasîdât (panegyric) in praise of the Shi'i Imâm because he had attacked the Sunni usersers. These qasîdât also contained doctrinal and theological elements. In their fantastic tales the manâqib khawns extoled the military exploits of 'Ali and his paladins.¹

In order to counter-balance the manâqib Khawns, the Sunnis employed Fadâ'il Khawâns (also means singers of virtues), who exalted the superior virtues of Abu Bakr and Umar and insulted the Shi'is. The author Kitâb un Naqd says that instead of singing the true holy wars of 'Ali and his companions, they (Sunnis) invented false wars and unfounded stories concerning Rustam, Suhrâb, Isfandyâr, Kâús, Zâl etc. and sent their singers to spread these idle tales in all the bazars of the country, as a confutation (radd) of the bravery and virtue of 'Ali.²

It is also during the period under review that Ṭâziyâs(not in the modern sense of theatrical plays) were revived. These mourning ceremonies of the martyrdom of Hussain at Karbala seem to have started or developed first under the Saljûqs. They were sometimes practised by the Sunnis too, and even in strong Sunni towns, like

² 1. ibid.

² 2. ibid., P.294.
According to some religious literature of the period, the prominent Shi'i centres during the Saljuq period were Kashan, Tafrish, Aveh, Qum, Ray, Qazvin, Mazandaran, Nishapur & Sabzavār. The famous Shamsud Din Laghari has been quoted in Rāhat us-Sudur testifying the same fact.\(^2\)

Oh Khusraw! The abode of Batinites are at Qum, Kashan, Abeh and Tabars. Burn down all these four abodes to keep the grace of four companions (of the Prophet\(^{saw}\)). Then burn down Farahān and Muslekhān to make four virtues from six from four.

The important Shi'i Madrassās of this period were in Rayy, Khurasān and Sabzvār. The Madrassās at Ray was founded by Sayyid Tajud din Muhammad Gilaki, a contemporary of Tughrīl Beg and

\(^1\) ibid.
\(^2\) Rawandi, P.495.
\(^3\) Yaqut Hamavi, in Mu`jim-ul-Buldan, has named the place as 'Maslehnā')(مطلب). this has been a locality in Rayy (ibid.).
the Madrassās of Shams ʿul-ʿIslām Haska Bābuya and many others. Some of these madrassās had 200 to 400 students.¹ In Kashān these madrassās were called Safāwiya, the Najdiya, the Sharafiya etc and had learned masters like ʿImām Zia ud-din Abul Rida Fadl ʿullāh bin ʿAli al-Hussain, on their staff.

In Sabzwar there were good madrassās and teachers, which from generation to generation taught the law of Islam.² At about the beginning of the century a Shiʿī scholar Abu Jʿafar Tūṣi (d.1068 A.D.) composed, the important Qurānic commentary and its summary was also written in the 12th century by Ibn-i-Idris al-Hilli (d.1182 A.D.). Again during the first half of this century the Shiʿīs produced a Quranic commentary in Persian, that of Jamāl ud-din Rāzi. Yet another venerated Shiʿī scholar, Sheikh Tabri (d. 1153 A.D.), composed three Quranic commentaries, the most important of which is Majmʿa ʿl Bayān in Arabic.³ The basis of a complete Shiʿī theology was laid down during this period which produced only in the next century Nāsir ud-din Tūsī

¹³ 1. ibid., P.289.
²⁴ 2. Qazvini, ibid.
Thus, as pointed out earlier, the latter Saljuq period provided a lease to the Shi'ias and their protagonists. The writings of Shi'i authors in various disciplines of religious and philosophical thought bear a testimony to this. Amongst such polemical works mention can be made of Sheikh Tusi's Ithbat ul Wajib and Talkhis al-Shafe'i, a summary of a work by Sayyid Murtada (d.1045 A.D.) written against Al Mughni fil Imama by the Qadi Abdul- Jabbâr al M'tazili of Hamadân (d. 1023 A.D.). Another polemical writer was Abul-Qasim Hussain bin Muhammad of Isfahan known as Raghib Isfahani (d. 1108 A.D.). The famous Kitab un Naqd was also composed around 1165 A.D. The Saljuq period produced a number of those compositions, partly heresiographic and polemical, partly theological and historical, which could be defined as forerunners of our modern handbooks of comparative religion.\textsuperscript{2} The oldest one in Persian was written in 1092 by a Shi'i, Abul Ma'ali Muhammad Ubaidullah with the title Bayan ul-adyan (An explanation of Religions).\textsuperscript{3} During the early period of 7th century A.H. was produced the Tabsirat ul Awam by Sayyid Murtada Dâ'i Hussaini of Rayy, also a

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\textsuperscript{1} ibid.

\textsuperscript{2} Camb., ibid.

\textsuperscript{3} Camb., ibid.; Abbâs Parviz, P.422.
sort of encyclopaedia of religions containing useful data. The book contains of twenty one chapters.¹

Ismā‘īlīs— A Brief History:

The study of Islamic civilization and culture would not be complete without a careful consideration of the role of Ismā‘īlīsm in Islamic history. There is hardly an aspect of the life of the Islamic community, especially in its earlier period, which was not touched in one way or another by the presence of Ismā‘īlīsm. The history of the Persian gulf as well as of North Africa was altered appreciably by Ismā‘īlī activity in the third/ninth century. Then the founding of the Fātimid Caliphate changed the whole course of history in a region ranging from Tunesia to the gates of Baghdad itself. It also played an important role in Persia especially with the advent of the "resurrection of Alamūt" which grew out of the earlier phase of Ismā‘īlīsm. Subsequently Ismā‘īlīsm had an important role in the historical development of Yemen, the Indian sub-continent and more recently East Africa.

As far as various intellectual and artistic aspects of Islamic civilization and culture are concerned, the presence of Ismā‘īlīsm is even more evident. Early Islamic theology, both Sunni and

¹ Abbās Parviz, p. 424.
Ithnā 'Ashari, bears the imprint of its debates with Ismā'īlism. Ismā'īlī Philosophy stands as one of the richest school of thought in early Islamic history. The esoteric doctrine of Ismā'īlism were related to certain schools of Sufism, while the Ismā'īli exposition of intellectual sciences in general was instrumental in the development of the religious sciences. This is particularly evident in Fātimid Egypt which was witness to the activity of some of the greatest Islamic scientists. Likewise, members of this same dynasty became patrons of the arts and made possible one of the most creative periods of Islamic Art. Even in juridical, social and political thought, Ismā'īlis produced works of appreciable importance which had an impact upon the community as a whole.

After the death of Imām Jāfar al-Ṣādiq, the body of his followers who remained faithful to the line of his descendent through his elder son and designated heir, Imām Ismā'īl, came to be known as Ismā'īlis.¹ Ismā'īl predeceased his father. But Ismā'īlis

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declared him not to be dead but hidden, and recognized him as the seventh Imâm, being in consequence known as sevèners (sab'îya).¹

According to the Ismâ'îlî sources the next four Imâms who succeeded Ismâ'îl were hidden or concealed and taught their message to people through their agents. These Imâms were expected to reappear to inaugurate the reign of justice and truth². The later Ismâ'îlî sources speak of this period as constituting a dawr us-Satr (period of concealment). During this period the Imâms settled at Salâmiya in Syria, but their identity and whereabouts were known only to a few completely trusted disciples.³ They continued to engage themselves in creating a remarkable network of emissaries (agents) which came to be

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Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. IV. ed R.N. Frye, Cambridge, 1975, PP. 520-3; Encyclopaedia of Islam, art. 'Ismâ'îlia'.


known as dā`i As.

A dā`i was carefully selected and expected to subject himself to a rigorous training and discipline. The dā`i, in Ismāʿili circles, was expected not only to lead on ethically exemplary life, but also to be in possession of a keen knowledge of the highest intellectual sciences of the day. Thus, the dā`i had not only to summon the people to allegiance to the rightful Imām, but also to promote the social moral and spiritual welfare of the Imām's followers. They attempted to introduce a religious Reform precisely in opposition to the whole pattern of Sunnis.

After living in concealment for many years like a

1. Dā`is (propagandists formed a trained hierarchy; each dā`i who commonly disguised himself as a merchant or artisan, was assigned a particular territory where he sought to increase likely converts and initiated those who joined the movement step by step into its secret doctrines and ritual. (Saunders, p.128).


3. ibid.; for the areas of the activity of dā`is see: Camb. PP.427-28.

subterraneous stream, Ismā‘ilism suddenly burst out in a number of widely separated regions in the closing decades of the 9th century. In 879 A.D. a mission under Ibn Hawshab was dispatched to Yemen and brought a large part of that province under control. In 893 A.D. Abu Abdullah al-Shi‘ī, a native of the Yemen, set off to North Africa to work under the Barbers and provoke them against the Aghlabids in Tunisia and the Idrisides in Morocco. In 909 A.D. Abu Abdullah, having overturned the kingdom of the Aghlabids produced the hidden Imām and proclaimed him Mahdi and Caliph at Rakkada near Qairwan, thus inaugurating the Fātimid Caliphate, which was to survive down to the time of Salahud-din. This dynasty of Imāms which established effective power initially in North Africa and then in Egypt, lasted for over two centuries and adopted the title of al-Fātimiyūn (commonly rendered as Fātimid) after Fātima, the Prophet’s Saw daughter married to ‘Ali.

Almost all Ismā‘īls rallied to the Fātimid line. Throughout Iran they recognized the Egyptian Fātimids as the true ‘Alid Imāms, descendents of Ismā‘īl and entitled as the custodians of the spiritual inheritance of the Prophet Saw, to exclusive obedience among all

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1. Saunders, P. 128.
2. See: Habīb as-Sīy¯ar, P. 452; Saunders, P. 129; S. H. Nasr, PP. 233-34.
3. Ibid.
Muslims.¹ With the successes in Syria and Hijāz and with their growing prestige as naval power and having ensured the new Caliph’s recognition from Sicily to Sind, Ismā‘īls could hope that the promised days were at hand when the Imām was to re-unite the Muslims, overwhelm the infidels, and with justice”—the long standing dream of all Shi‘is.²

The Ismā‘īli D‘awah (call) was steadily gaining momentum, and consolidation of its influence was being realised chiefly in Iran, India and Transoxiana. These regions provided material and moral support to the Ismā‘īli sentiment which was practically manifested in Egypt where the ruling Fātimid dynasty was established.³

But in the eleventh century, the Ismā‘īlis suffered a number of severe political and military setbacks. The force of Mahmūd of Ghazna, who was fiercely anti-Ismā‘īli, caused considerable havoc and destruction in Sind, where large number of Ismā‘īlis were brutally massacred.⁴

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¹. Cibb., P.426.
⁴. ibid.
Around the middle of the century, Africa too was lost to the Fatimids as a result of a local rebellion in favor of the Abbasids, which was once again accompanied by the massacre of several Ismāʿīlī communities in the area¹. But, still due to the untiring efforts of Daʿi ʿAli bin Muhammad al-Sulayhi, sufficient support and allegiance was secured in Yemen. Similarly attempts were made to re-establish control amongst the communities as had survived the massacre carried out by Mahmūd. Daʿī’s also went out to Gujiat and along the western coast of India. In the upper oxus region, the eminent daʿī Nasiri-i-Khusraw carried out a sustained exercise of preaching the Ismāʿīlī faith.

In Iran and Transoxiana the dʿawa was carried out under cover particularly after the rise of Saljuqs who were bent upon exterminating the Ismāʿīlī supremacy ² However the Ismāʿīlī influence continued to grow inspite of the anti-Ismāʿīlī policies of the Saljuqs. Ismāʿīlīs seem to have been numerous in towns in all parts of the Saljuq kingdom. Many are reported to have been craftsmen and some as merchants.³ The workers and artisans of craft guilds of the big cities are said to have been especially receptive of Ismāʿīlī propaganda. One

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¹ Camb. T.J., 27.
² Camb. ibid.; Hodgson, The Venture, op. cit., p. 58.
theory has it that the Islamic Sīn or guild was the creation of Ismāʿīlīs. It is also alleged that an Ismāʿīli fidāʾī Abu Tāhir Arrānī stabbed the famous wazīr Nizām-ul-Mulk Tūsī to death in 485 A.H. at Nihavend in revenge for his ill treatment of a carpenter.²

However with the increasing Saljuq power the Ismāʿīlīs obviously found themselves in an increasing hostile environment which prevailed not only in the political and military sphere but also at an intellectual level. The most well known attempt to combat Ismāʿīlīs through the articulation of a rival theology and sharʿīa was exemplified in the work of al- Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D.), which was undertaken at the behest of wazīr Nizām ul-Mulik³ The Ismāʿīlīs attempted to introduce a religious reform precisely in opposition to the

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1. Saunders, P.129.

2. Camb. ibid.,P.427 The author of Habīb as-Siyyar has mentioned the name of the fidāʾī as Abu Tāhir Arrānī(P.467); cf. Bundārī, P.62; Ibn ul-Athīr, Vol.X.,P.37; Rāwandī, P.135; Abbas Parviz, ibid

whole pattern of Sunnis. During the 1080's the Ismā'īlis of the Saljūq lands were preparing active insurrections on an unprecedented pattern. They are said to have killed a mu`azzin at Saveh lest he should leak out their secrets. They were looking to multiplicity of risings every where at once, to overwhelm the established social structure from within.

The center of the militant activities of Ismā'īlis was the fortress of Alamūt, in the district of Rudbār in the Alburz mountains south of the Caspian Sea. The fortress was captured by Hasan-i-Sabbāh, in 1090 A.D. The capture of Alamūt and the

1. ibid. (The Valley of the Suynni madrasas. (Camb. ibid)).

2. Camb. ibid.


4. A figure of legendary fame, Hassan-i-Sabbāh was the champion of Ismā'īli cause throughout the most of Saljūq period. He is said to have been the school fellow of Nizām ul-Mulk and Umar Khayyām. Apart from other qualities as a leader, his organisational capacities kept the Saljūq rulers always on guard. He is the key figure in Ismā'īli history. For his biography see: The Order of Assassins, op. cit. PP.43-51; For Hassan-i-Sabbāh and the developments at Alamūt see: Habib us-Siyar PP. 460-66.
establishment of a settlement their which was to prove remarkably strong, viable and long lasting, was followed by the consolidation of the Isma'ili power in the surrounding area of Rudbir. At about the same time and at last partly inspired from Almut, the Isma'ilis of small towns in Kuhistan the arid lands south of Khurasan, declared their independence from the Suljuqs, and became the subsidiary centers of Isma'ili power and influence. By the end of the century, Isma'ilis had established strongholds in a number of mountain zones in the Iranian highlands.

The Isma'ilis extended their power by striking up alliances with local princes or Amirs, by persuading the people to come into the fold of their d'awa and by resorting to military action.

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1. For more details see: Tarikhi- Guzida, PP.518-19; Abbäs Parviz op.cit, PP.485-88; Hodgson, The Venture, PP.58-61; Camb. P.426 ff.
2. Habib us-Siyar, P.466.
4. Abbäs Parviz, op.cit, P.183; S.M.Nasr, P.248; for details of Nizāri-Ismā'ili organisation see: The Order of Assassins op.cit, PP.45,64 and 69.
The Isma'ili is changed their political and military strategy in obtaining their goal. They followed a policy of dealing with the enemy on a piecemeal basis, each campaign being aimed at a selected local target and the consolidation of Isma'ili power in that specific area. All the Isma'ili settlements showed a remarkable internal cohesiveness, and their campaigns as a result, were characterized by great solidarity and discipline on the part of the adherents of the faith. Almut was the nerve center where from all directives, administrative as well as strategic, were issued. If a particular settlement fell prey to the hostile attacks, the other remaining strongholds were ready to give shelter to the inhabitants of the former settlement.¹

In the years following 485/1092 while the frequent Saljuq quarrels gave the Isma'ili's a respite, Hasan-i-Sabbah made Almut as impregnable as possible. He strengthened the fortifications and built up a great store of provisions. It is said that he caused vast store

¹ C.H. Nasr, ibid.; for more details of Isma'ili conquests of towns and fortresses and their rule thereof see; Abbás Parviz, P. 189 ff.
rooms to be hallowed out in the rock, in which large amounts of food could be kept in good condition for a long time. He also took care to arrange irrigation for the fields immediately around Alamut. He tried to make Alamut physically self sufficient and ready to resist as indefinite siege. Likewise the mood of Alamut became martial. Once Hasan took up his residence there, he spent his whole time writing and directing operations.1

THE ATTACK ON ISMĀ'ILIS

The Saljuq Sultan Malik Shah assigned the raid of Alamut to one of his trusted Amirs Urantash. After giving a tough fight to the Saljuq forces and loosing a large number of supporters, Hasan-i-Sabbah ordered for mass migration from the fortress and

1. Camb., P.437. Hasan had his two sons executed, one the charge of murder (which later proved false) and the other on that of wine drinking; he sent away his wife and daughters to Spain along with other women in a distant fortress at a time of difficulty, and never brought them back. It is said that Ismā'īl chiefs followed his precedent and never had their women with them while they were executing military operations, in contrast to usual Muslim practice., ibid., P.432, Abbâs Fārîd, P.195.
continued to hold the fort along with some of his followers.\textsuperscript{1} Again in
the beginning of 484 A.H. Malik Shāh sent his another general Qizil
Sarwag to invade the Ismā'ili settlement of Kuhistān and another
reinforcement was sent to crush Alamūt in 485 A.H. under the command
of Amir Arsalān Tash.\textsuperscript{2} The desperate Hssan-i-Sabbāh was fortunate to
receive reinforcement of three hundred Ismā'illis from Abu 'Ali, the
Dehdār (town leader) of Qazvin and Ardsistān and Rayy. This
reinforcement, supported by Ismā'illis from other parts of Rudbār, was
able to make a sally against the Saljūq forces.\textsuperscript{3}

Within a few years the Ismā'illis held strongholds in a
number of mountain zones in the Iranian highlands, including the
fortress of Gird Kuh and Lamyr (lamsar).\textsuperscript{4} Along with Alamūt and some
neighboring places at the western end of the Alburz, they seized at

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} Habib us-Siyar, P.466.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Habib us-Siyar, P.466. Abbās Parviz, P.188; Camb. P.430.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Habib us-Siyar, P.467.
\end{itemize}
least two other places of defense at the eastern end of that range. In
the Zagros range, especially in the south around Arajān, they seized
several forts at key posts.¹

In Daylāmān and Kūhistān, large parts of both
provinces remained solidly under Ismā‘īlī control. In the following years,
the Ismā‘īlīs of Syria, in addition to Aleppo, acquired strongholds in the
mountains north of the Lebanon. These several widely scattered and
seemingly defenseless little districts, formed a single state, marked for a
century and a half by outstanding solidarity and stability as well as
independent local spirit and loyal, under the most various vicissitudes, to
the dā'īs of Daylāmān established at Alamūt.²

At almost every town of the Saljūq kingdom there was
an Ismā‘īlī cell. Such cells seen to have become the nucleus for armed
bands. It was such armed bands that seized key fortress as defensible
headquarters. Even in the Saljūq garrisons it was not clear that
whether the troops belong to Ismā‘īlī faith or Sunni because Ismā‘īlīs
kept their allegiance a top secret. Any member of Ismā‘īlī recruits and
volunteers could have intruded in to the Saljūq fortress on account of

² 2. ibid., P.69.
To eliminate their enemies and to archive military and political aims, the Isma'ili resorted to an important auxiliary technique: assassination. They made a frank policy of it, even insinuating their men among a potential enemy's servants in advance. Their assassinations were aimed at those prominent enemies who caused the Isma'ili cause special damage, and were seemingly calculated to avoid bloodshed among ordinary people. They thought that the elimination of one man in time could avoid a bloody battle. The assassinations were made as publicly and dramatically as possible as warnings. The zealous Isma'ili youth (fida'is) gladly sacrificed their lives in such acts. Mothers used to

1. ibid., P.440.

2. Hodgson, op. cit, P.60.

3. ibid.; Camb. PP.440-41.

4. Hodgson, ibid. the Isma'ili's called by many names, notably 'Batinijja' (men who emphasised more on the hidden meaning of the Quranic texts); 'Nolahida'(heretics); and in Syria 'Hashishiyja' (Smokers of hashish narcotic hemp). The latter name was sufficiently current locally to be picked up by the crusaders, under the form Assassin (from Hassassin). It became the normal accidental designation of the Nizari Isma'ilis, and was as a
weep for grief whenever they found that their sons returned home safely after the accomplishment of murders assigned to them. After murdering wazir Nizām ul Mulk, they murdered all of a sudden Abūr-Rehman Sumayrami the the wazir of the mother of Sultān Berkyaruk in the month Safar 490/1097. In the end of Ramadhān 493/1100 two fidāis assassinated Amir Bulkabal Sarmaz, the Shāhna of Isfahān, in the palace of Sultān Muhammad at Isfahān, although the victim always used to wear a coat of mail and was never without a large bodyguards. In the year 499/1105-6 Abul-ala Sa'id Abu Muhammad, Qādi of Nishāpūr

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common noun for anyone who committed public murders. (Camb. P.443). For the name Assasian sec; Hodgson, The order of Assasins, op. cit, pp. 135-37; Cahen, P.45; Saunders, PP.160-61. Literally 'Fidāi' means one who sacrifices himself for a certain cause. In the modern sense of the terms we can also give them the name of 'death squads'.

2. Ibi. ul-ALhir, op.cit. P.112.
3. ibid., P.125; Rawandi, P.141.n.
was murdered by an Ismā'īlī fīdā'ī in the Jām'ī masjid of Isfahān.\footnote{1} Abūl Muzzafar al-Khajandī was murdered by an 'Alīd Batīnī at Ra'y, as soon as he left the chair after preaching a sermon in 497/1103.\footnote{2} Ibn ul-Āthīr mentions the murder of Fakhru'l-Mulk, the eldest son of Nizām ul Mulk,\footnote{3} by an Ismā'īlī in 500/1105.\footnote{4}

On Safar 502/1108 they murdered 'Ubd-ullāh bin 'Alī, the Qādi of Isfahān, at Hamdān on Friday. The Qādi was a bitter antagonist of the Ismā'īlīs.\footnote{5} They also ambushed and wounded Barkyaruk, the Sultān designate.\footnote{6} Having got encouraged by the deaths of Nizām ul-Mulk Tūsī and Sultān Malik Shah, the fīdā'īs created a havoc and rumpus by killing all over the empire, a large number of 'Ulāmā and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{1} ibid., P.163.
  \item \footnote{2} ibid., P.153.
  \item \footnote{3} He was the Wazīr of Sultān Berkyark and later on of Sultān Sanjār. (ibid., p.174).
  \item \footnote{4} ibid., P.175.
  \item \footnote{5} ibid., P.199. Rawandi, P.159.
  \item \footnote{6} ibid. P.143.; Ibn ul-Āthīr also mentions the episode while discussing the happenings of 488 A.H.
fuqaha' (Theologians) and those who opposed them. Prominent among the victim of Ismā'ili wrath were Amīr Argūsh who was killed by Abdul-Rehmān Khurāsānī in the year 488 A.H. In the same year Abū Muslim, Ra'is of Rayy and Amīr Tarsūn also fell to their dagger. The latter was killed by one Rafiq Kuhistānī. In Muḥaram, 489 A.H. Amīr Atruk was stabbed to death by one Ḥusain Khāwarizmi. Amīr Siyāh Pūsh too met the same fate and Amīr Kajīsh who had succeeded Argūsh died due to a fatal wound given by Ḥabīb Damāwandi. On 23rd of Rajab 490 A.H. a rival Ismā'ili Imām Ḥādī 'Alāvī was assassinated by some Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad on 28th of the said month. Abūl-Fath Durdāna Dihistānī, the wāżir of Berkyārūk, was stabbed to death by a Roman slave.

In the month of Shawal in the same year Amīr Bayrūn was assassinated by a fidā'i Ibrāhīm Khurāsānī and on 24th of Sh`abān

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2. ibid.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. ibid.
491 A.H. Once again, Rafiq Kuhistani stabbed to death a prominent public figure and scholar Iskander Sufi Qazvini.\(^1\) In the same month Abul-Muzaffar Khujandi Mufti who was the most versatile and renowned preacher of Isfahan, and was from the progeny of famous Sahabi Muhallab bin Abi sufrah, was killed by a fidai Abul-Fath Sanjari.\(^2\) Again in the same year Sanqir the Wali of Dihistan was assassinated at Amul by Muhammad Dihistani on 27th of Ramadan.\(^3\) Another famous Mufti, Abul-Qasim Karkhi was killed by a fidai Damawandi.\(^4\) On 27th of Ramadan in the same year Abul-Farj Qaratakin too was killed by yet another fidai.\(^5\) The other personalities who were assassinated in the same year i.e. 491 A.H. include, Abu Ubaida Mustawfi and Abu J'afar Shatibi Razi. The two were killed by Rustam Damawandi and Muhammad Damawandi respectively.\(^6\) In Muharam 493 A.H., the Qadi of Kirmân, and in the month of Safar the same year Qâzi Abdullah Isfahani were

\(^1\) ibid.
\(^2\) ibid.
\(^3\) ibid.
\(^4\) ibid.
\(^5\) ibid.
\(^6\) ibid.
stabbed to death respectively by the Ismā'īlī Hasan Sirāj Ruṣī and Abūl-Abbās Naqīb Mashhādi. On the day of 'Ashura (10th Muḥarram) the famous wazīr of Sūltān Sanjar, Fakhr ul-Mulk bin Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated by a ṭiḍā.2

During the civil war between Muhammad and Berkyaruk, Ismā'īlis got a comfortable chance to extend the area of their influence.3 Due to the missionary efforts of Ahmad bin Abdul-Malik Attāsh, who seems to have reduced all his followers for extreme moral laxity, at least thirty thousand people were converted, in the fortress of Dizkūh (Isfahān), to Ismā'īlism. All these converts took recourse to ruthless loot, plunder and killings of the Muslims.4

In the same period in Isfahān an Ismā'īlī, pretending to be blind, used to stand at the end of the day, in a street begging to people to guide him to his destiny was caught by Batinis, ambushing the new comer, and thrown into a deep trench. For about five months

1. ibid.
2. ibid.; For more details of assassinations see: ibid., PP.468-71.
3. ibid., P.467.
the pretending blind man and his wife continued to deceive the Muslim
in the same way and got hundreds of them put to death in exquisite
and gradual tortures. A large number of people were reported to have
missing in the city which caused widespread perplexity and
astonishment among the population. Finally a Sunni lady was lured to
meet the same fate. But incidentally she managed to escape from the
hands of killer Ismā'īlis and reported the whole story to the people. The
hideout was attacked and about five hundred people were seen dead in
the trench; some had been pinned deep against the walls of the trench.
The people of Isfahān rose in wrath and burnt the blind man and his
wife alive in the bazaar.¹

Similarly Sultān Mas'ūd bin Muhammad bin Malikshāh
was also killed by the Batinūs at Marghah on his way to Azerbaijan, on
18th of Zul-Q'adah 529 A.H.² S̱ad ud-Daula, Wāli of Isfahān was also
stabbed by one of his servants who happened to be an Ismā'īli.³ The

¹ 1. Rawandi, PP.157-58.
² 2. ibid., P.223; see also: Ibn ul-ATHIR, Vol. XI, PP.16-17; Lundari,
   PP.177-78.
³ 3. Rawandi, P.229.
incident took place on 26th of Ramadān 532 A.H.¹

At first, doubtless, the Ismāʿīlī's resorted to the assassinations as an occasional convenience. But before they made a systematic use of it, they of course did not rely solely, on assassination or the threat of it, nor did they always bring it into play even in the case of notorious enemies. But they used it sufficiently often so that almost any assassination was likely to be ascribed to them, and many prominent Sunni figures took precautions against it — even to wear armor beneath their regular clothes.² The fidāis who would accomplish the missions of assassination were received with special honour. If they were killed in action, they would be declared as martyrs.³ The Ismāʿīlīs generally thought that Sunnis were traitors. But they however felt that it was better to kill one great man who caused trouble to their interests than to slaughter many ordinary men on a battlefield. Whileas the Sunnis, who thought that the death of a great man on whom the social ordered depended was more disastrous than the death of many

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¹. Bundari, P.180; Ibn ul Athir, op. cit., P.40-41.
². Camb., P.441.
³. ibid.
peasants.¹ Certainly the risky action of killing a great man, who was normally surrounded by armed servants, was glorified as heroic. The Ismāʿīlis preferred to do it in as public a setting as possible, since part of the purpose was to intimidate others, who took strong position against them. Many of the assassins did not often escape with their lives. ² The assassinations were always counter reacted by massacres.³ The assassination of a popular leader or preacher generally provoked the people and incited action. The champions of such massacres would in turn themselves become the targets of assassination attempts.⁴ The Ismāʿīlis were accused of bearing on indiscriminate hostility against mankind, or at least against all Muslims.⁵ At Isfahān the Ismāʿīli suspects were thrown alive on a bonfire in the center of the town. ⁶

In 494/1101 Berkyaruk (in western Iran) and Sanjar (in Khurāsān), made an agreement regarding Ismāʿīlis who were considered

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¹ ibid.
² ibid.
³ Hodgson, *The venture*, op.cit. P.60; Camb. P.442.
⁴ Hodgson, ibid.
⁵ Camb. ibid.
⁶ Hodgson, ibid.
a general threat to Saljuq power.\textsuperscript{1} The main result of this agreement of reconciliation was a grand massacre of suspected Ismā'īlis at Isfahān, Baghdad and elsewhere. Army officers were especially affected and several of them fled.\textsuperscript{2} Sanjar sent an expedition against the Ismā'īlis of Tabas in Kūhistān. Three years latter he sent another which wrecked Tabas and destroyed as much as possible.\textsuperscript{3} The second expedition as a Jihad (holy War) was joined by many Sunnis Volunteers in addition to the regular troops, and the Ismā'īlī captives, as apostates, were enslaved.\textsuperscript{4}

\textbf{Sufism:}

It is neither possible nor necessary to discuss here the history and growth of Sufism before our period of study. However, the period between the second half of the 11th century upto the beginning of the thirteenth century is considered as one of the most important

\textsuperscript{1} It may be noted that Darīkārūk was earlier accused of having been in league with the Ismā'īlīs which later proved false since he was himself attempted by Ismā'īlīs (Rā'wandī, p.143).

\textsuperscript{2} ibid.

\textsuperscript{3} ibid.

\textsuperscript{4} ibid.
periods in the history of Sufism. Being the period of emergence of Saljuqs in Central Asia, whose Islamic society and culture has its own story to tell, Sufism witnessed a remarkable growth in the history and development of institutions.

The two historical developments viz 'the emergence of the Saljuqs' and 'the development of Sufism' can not be studied in isolation from each other. The socio-political life during the period of Saljuqs bears deep imprints of Sufi ethos. Sufism, too, seems to have found the great patrons and sincere protectors among Saljuq administrators, princes and powerful personalities. This, perhaps was the main cause of the unceasing development of Sufism in that period. Sufis, during this period were fairly free to teach their doctrines and carry out their practices.\(^1\)

With the advent of Saljuqs, Sufism had already undergone through considerable developments and modifications as the

\[\text{\underline{\text{\textsuperscript{1}} Camb., P.300. One of the greatest patrons of sufis in Saljuq era was the great wazir Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi himself. Tusi had himself been in his youth a pupil of the famous sufi Abu Sa'id Abul Khair, and for that saint, he is said to have remarked: "All that I have, I owe to Shaikh Abu Sa'id." Tusi found many khanqahs and gave much money to the embryonic sufi organizations of his age." (ibid.).}}\]
Muslims had long been into contact with people of other races and cultures in the course of their history.\(^1\) Again, with the coming of Saljuqs many intellectual and political transformations took place which changed completely the direction of the development of philosophy, the science and the \textit{kalâm}.\(^2\)

Also the development of Shi'i gnosis, both Ithna'Ashari and Isma'ili altered its pattern with the advent of Saljuqs.\(^3\) A new trend of pacification and assimilation between Sufism and Shari'ah came to be realised. Qushairi in his \textit{Ar-Risâla} and Hujviri in his \textit{Kashf ul-Mahjûb} are seen as the champions of this new trend. In fact this period witnessed a broad measure of agreement on the meaning of Sufism and the details of Sufi experience and theory.\(^4\)

The great Sufi teachers of those times came to the rescue of Islam which was in dire need of reform and revival. These

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2. Camb., P.463.

3. ibid.

teachers chose to reform the faith from within by uniting the fragmented and breakaway religious thoughts. The last obstacle in the path of assimilation was set aside by the Himalyan efforts of Ghazâli, that great theologian and jurist who demolished and rejected the philosophers and philosophising Isma'îlis and completed a reconciliation between orthodoxy and Sufism which immensely fortified the Islam against the challenges that were soon to threaten even the very existence of Islam. It was in the Saljuq domains that some of the greatest impulses were given to a re-orientation of the piety of Islam on the basis of Sufism. The orientation of Muslim piety to historical consideration had gradually become less intense with the end of the high Caliphal age. At the same time the less temporarily insistent pattern of Sufism gained increasing respect. The time of formation of the international society was a formative age for a new popular Sufism


2. ibid. cf. Hodgson, op.cit., P.201.; see also Rafiqi, op.cit., P.40,73; For details of Ghazâli's role in reconciling shari'a and Tasawwuf see: Zarin Kúb, Justuju dar Tasawwul-i-Iran, op.cit., P.85 ff.

Thus, in a period of the transposition of intellectual life into middle period forms, Sufism was being prepared to play a larger role, both social and intellectual, than it had played in high Caliphal times and it was ready for whatever tasks might be required of it.2

With the beginning of 6th/12th century, Islam persistently presented two faces: one Shariah-minded, concerned with outward behavior of the individual, accepted as their care by the ‘Ulama; the other mystical-minded, concerned with the inward, personal life of the individual accepted as their care by the Sufis. Although, often the same religious leader was at once pīr and Shara‘ī scholar, at least took both sides of Islam very seriously, yet there were those who followed the one face of Islam as genuine and mistrusted the others, or even rejected it as spurious.3 This period saw the beginnings of the full development of an institution which thereafter dominated the Sufi


2. ibid., P.201,203.

3. ibid.
movement and mediated its mass appeal: The *silsilis/orders*. The organised *silsilis* of Sufism were founded and some important parts of *tariqat* ritual were introduced. Doubtless, the Sufi orders had been existing for a pretty long period but the organisational history of these orders is found only after the emergence of Saljuqs to power.

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3. Sufi fraternities on the pattern of "*tariqa*" were started by the first Caliph Abu Bakr. He was the founder of the first "*tariqa*" which explained into three orders of Bistamiya, Naqshbandiya and Bektashiya between the 9th and the 15th centuries. The rest of the orders had their origin from the fourth caliph *Ali*. But the real development of sufi orders started in the 2nd half of the 8th century A.D. Alwaniya was the first sufi order, founded by Shiekh Alwan (A.D. 766). Afterwards Ibrahim bin Adham (A.D.777) founded Adhamiya order. The saqatiya order was established by shaikh Sari Saqati (A.D.867). Abu Yazid Bayzid Bistumi(A.D. 874) founded the Bistamiya order. The Qadiriya, Yasaviya, Rifa'iyya and Madyaniya orders came int existence in the 12th century A.D. (Bhatnagar.
Massignon is of the opinion that the initiation (ijāza) ritual of the Sufi brother-hoods (ikhwān) was first created in the 12th century. It is, in fact, not the perceptive preaching alone that won for Sufism its leading role but the institutional form that it took. This popular appeal of Sufism in this period and its social role in the earlier middle period were most endurably based on a particular form of Sufi ministry (pīr-murīdi) the relationship of the teacher (pīr) and disciples (murīd).

With the introduction of pīr-murīdi chain the convents (ribāts/khankahs) were founded and endowed, where a celebrated saint would reside with a group of his followers, who studied under him and worshiped with him for a shorter or a longer period. Initiation (ijāza)

Continued...

op. cit. PP.175-76; Camb. History of Islam, op. cit, PP.620-22; Camb., PP.296-97).

1. see: Massignon's article 'Tariqa' in Encyclopaedia of Islam.
3. ibid.
4. Arberry, ibid.; Camb. History of Islam, op. cit, P.621; cf: Cahen, op. cit, P.44; see also: Rafiqi, ibid.; Zarin Kōb, op. cit, PP.76-80.
into the Sufi mysteries was marked by the investiture of a special dress 
(khirqa) symbolising his acceptance of and entry into a tradition of 
Divine service mounting back stage by stage to the Prophet 
Muhammad [saw]. The ijazat nama was also issued by the pir to his murid 
(shaghrid) attesting the true spiritual descent (silsilas).

During the Saljūq period the silsila system was more concretised. Most of the silsilas were international. At first there was a 
certain subordination of Pirs and Khānkahās at a distance of the 
headquarters of the head of the order—usually at the founders tomb. In 
this way the several silsilas formed a flexibly interlocking network of authorities which 
political frontiers of the movement and was readily 
expandable into new areas.

Sufis tended to be as naturally tolerant of local 
differences as the 'Ulamā tended to be generally not so. The 'Ulamā had

1. ibid.; For more details see: Hodgson, op.cit., P.210; Bhatnagar, 
op.cit., P.156; Baldick, op.cit. P.76.

2. Camb. History of Islam, ibid.; cf: Baldick, op.cit, Brotherhood 
chains (Silsila), P.75 ff.

3. ibid.
to concentrate on matters of external conformity while as for the Sufis, on the contrary, externals were secondary. In respect of their relations vis-a-vis the non-Islamic communities and itself with the community of Muslims. The differences that marked the social divisions of humanity, were of secondary importance for the Sufis. What mattered for them was the inner disposition of the heart of God. Therefore, the Sufis were prepared to tolerate to some extent the difference the in the mere customary behaviour of day-to-day life.¹

The line of Sufi Tariqas at once deepend the moral resources and tied them up into a system of universal brotherhood that was the trait of high Caliphal times. The Sufism supplemented the shari'ah as a principle of unity and order. Offering the Muslims a sense of spiritual unity which came to be stronger them ever before. They developed a picture of the world which united the whole Dār-ul-Islam and even the lands of the infidels (Dar-ul-Harb) under a comprehensive spiritual hierarchy of pirs which was all the more effective.² They could replace even the Caliph himself with a supreme pīr-master, whose

¹ ibid.
² ibid. P.221.
authority was felt though his name was unknown.¹ The individual khangahs and saint's tombs to which the faithful could came for spiritual guidance and consolation from God—dedicated men were part of an inclusive holy order not merely the order of a given Tariqah, but of God's chosen men throughout the world.²

The four main orders which are generally known in the East are: The chishti order, the Qadiri order, the Suhrawardi order and the Naqshbandi order.

The Chishti Order:

The Chishti order owes its origin to khaja Abu Ishaq Shami Chishti (d.A.D.966)³ He was a descendent of the Prophet Muhammad⁴⁵, and claimed as his "spiritual pedigree" the inner teachings of the family of Hashim.⁴⁶

1. ibid.
2. ibid.
The Chishti community, originating at Chisht in Khurasan, specialised in the use of music in their exercises. The wandering dervishes of this order, who were also known as chist or chisht, would enter a town and play a rousing air with flute and drum to gather people around them before reciting a tale or legend of initiatory significance.¹ Like other Sufi orders, the specialised methodologies of the chishtis soon became crystallised into a simplified love for music.²

The following four saints, spiritually descended from Abu Ishāq Chishti, are regarded as the pillars of the order in particular:

(i) Khawaja Abu Ahmad (d. A.D. 966), vicegernt to Abu Ishāq became an abdāl,³

(ii) Khawaja Abu Muhammad (d.A.D.1020) son and successor of Abu Ahmad,

(iii) Khawaja Abu Yūsuf (d. A.D. 1067), Vicegerent of Abu Muhammad,

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¹ Idries Shah, ibid.; See also: Rastogi, op.cit. P.13.
² ibid.
³ Abdāl is a saint of distinctive qualities.
Other branches emanating from the town of Chisht in modern Afghanistan did not survive for long in the Perso-Islamic world. Instead, this order flourished in the Indian sub continent. Thus one may conveniently say that the chishti order of Sufism is essentially an Indian one. The deaths of Khawaja Madud's disciples marked the end of the great spiritual peak in Sufism which had occurred in Chisht. Some of their disciples dispersed insignificantly as wandering dervishes.

The emergence of Gurids in 10th century proved less favorable to the peaceful existence of the followers of this order. It was in these circumstances that Khawaja Mu'inud-din chishti, one of the greatest Sufis of the middle ages, decided to settle in the east in Ajmer, on the borders of the Gurid empire. The order was spread by his

1. Rastogi, op.cit, P.11; Camb., P.297.
2. Rizvi, op.cit, P.114.
3. ibid.
4. See: Rizvi, op.cit, P.115.
5. ibid.
followers Khawaja Qutb ud din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Khawaja Farid ud-din Ganj Shakar, Makhdum Alau-ud-din Ali Ahmad Sabir, Khawaja Nizam ud-din Auliya and Khawaja Nassir ud-din Mahmud. The followers of this tariqah are mostly Shi'a Muslims. They believe in audible method of performing prayers and regarded sam'a or music as the food of soul.

The Qadiri Order:

Qadiri order of Sufism was organised by its founder Abdul Qadir of Gilan who was born at Nif, in Gilan District, to the South of the Caspian Sea, in A.D.1077. He died in Baghdad in 1166 A.D.

Abdul Qadir became the most widely revered of all Sufi pirs as a preacher to the population. He set out for Baghdad as a poor boy to acquire more knowledge of religion. At Baghdad he selected his spiritual guide a man who was a syrup vender by trade and who was extraordinarily severe in disciplining him. After completing his studies he would often stay the whole night in worship or sometimes he went off wandering in desert areas. He continued a long course of spiritual

2. ibid.
3. Hodgson, op.cit, P.207; Shah, op.cit, p. 138; Rastogi, op.cit, P.30; Bhatnagar, op.cit, P.176; Zarin Küb, op.cit, PP.80-81.
austerities first at a town in Khûzistân and then back in Baghdad.¹

After achieving the spiritual maturity he set out to teach the people. He was provided a madarassâ college where he lectured on all the standard subjects like Quran, Hadîth, Fiqh and the Jurisprudence etc. Now he got married and from his four wives had a total of forty nine children, among whom four of his sons became known as religious scholars like himself. Despite his public life, he continued a part of his austerities, thus he normally fasted in the daytime according to the rule set for the month’s fast of Ramadan, all year round.²

As a teacher and especially as a public preacher Cilání became extraordinarily popular at Baghdad. His madrassah college had soon to be enlarged and he took preaching sessions on Friday and Wednesday mornings in the mass prayers grounds (Id Gâh/Mussala) outside the city for, there was no other place enough to hold the crowds.³

² Hodgson, op.cit. P.200.
³ Ibid; cf. Sharief, ibid.
Every visitor to Baghdad made it a point to hear him.\(^1\)

Gilānī is said to have converted a number of persons to Islam, and to have won many Muslim sinners to repentance. The writings, prayers and sermons of Gilānī have been preserved in his most celebrated book al-Ghuniya li- Talib-i-tariq il-haq.\(^2\)

The followers of this order believe in \textit{dhikr-i-Khafi} (silent recollection) of the names of God as well as \textit{dhikr-i-Jali} (vocal recollection) of the Divine names. They wear a white Turban with white rose. The rose as a symbol of the unity of Shari'a (Religious law), Tarīgah (Divine journey) and \textit{ma'rifat} (divine knowledge) whereas its witness indicates complete surrender of the follower of the path to his Shaykh or pīr or spiritual master.\(^3\) Members of this silsila (order) lay emphasis on the realisation of moral attributes like charity.\(^4\)

The Qadri order found followers in numerous parts of Islamdom and was especially powerful in India, where its influence is

\(^{1}\) ibid. 287.; Arberry, op.cit, P.85.

\(^{2}\) ibid. Arberry, op.cit, P.85.

\(^{3}\) Bhatnagar, op.cit, P.176.

\(^{4}\) ibid.
widespread to the present day.\(^1\) A determining factor in the success of this and other similar orders was their faithful adherence to the religious laws and practices of orthodoxy, and their strong condemnation of antinomianism and incarnationist tendencies.\(^2\) The teachings of Ghunya are firmly based on the Quran and Traditions; the religious exercises it recommends are unobjectionable.\(^3\)

The Suhrawardi Orders:

The Suhrawardi order was established by Shihāb ud-din Suhrawardi (539-632/1144-1234). Shihāb ud-din was born at a time when fate of the whole Muslim world was hanging in the balance. The last king of the Saljūqs Sultan Sanjar, died in 552/1157 and it was immediately followed by the rampant devastations of Chingiz Khan which started in 615/1218.\(^4\) The insecurity, fear, massacre, loot, arson and other evils must have certainly influenced the mind of Shihāb ud-din. That is why a note often met within his work 'Awārif ul-Ma'ārif' in which he expresses with a sad heart the decline in moral character of

\(^1\) Arberry, ibid.

\(^2\) Bhatnagar, ibid.

\(^3\) ibid.

\(^4\) Zarin Küb, op.cit, PP.81-82.
his contemporaries. He passed the major part of his life at Baghdad where he now lies buried. His 'Awārif ul-Ma'ārif' is a standard treatise on mysticism extensively used in all mystic circles.\(^1\)

India, Persia and Africa have all been influenced in their mystical activity by the methods and personages of the Order.\(^2\) The instructional materials of the order are very carefully to be undertaken and a disciple must eventually undergo the all the instructional devices. Without them, it is believed, there is a possibility that the student may simply develop altered states of mind which render him unfit for ordinary life.\(^3\)

The Suhrawardi order was brought to India by a number of the disciples of Shaikh Shihāb ud din Suhrawardi who migrated from Iran and Transoxiana. The prominent among those who introduced this order in India was Shaikh Bahā'ud-din Zakariya.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Sharief, op.cit. P.354. (the author has reproduced a very detailed article on the sufi beliefs of the order).

\(^2\) Arberry, P.148.

\(^3\) ibid.

\(^4\) Rizvi, op.cit, P.190.
Subsequently the order widely spread in the Punjab and Sindh.\(^1\)

The Sufis of this order believe in Shar'ia and theological form of Sufism. The \textit{silsila} was further expanded into the Sufi sects of Makhhdumiya (by Jala ud-din Makhdum d. A.D. 1435), Zainiya (by Zain ud-din d. A.D. 1435), Jalaliya (by Muhammad Shah `Alam d. A.D. 1475) etc. \(^2\)

The Naqashbandi Order:-

The Naqshbandiya silsila was originally established by Abu Y`aqub Yusuf al Mamadani (d. A.D. 1140) but the order is now known by the name of Muhammad Bah`ud-din Naqshband (d.A.D. 1389)\(^3\). According to Turkish work of antiquity entitled \textit{Rashahat-`Ain al Hayat} (Drops from the Fountain of Life) Khawaja Bahaud-din gave the order those spiritual doctrines which

\(^1\) Dhatnagar, op. cit, P.178.

\(^2\) ibid. For a detailed account about the order see Rizvi, op. cit, P.190 ff and Sharief, op. cit, P.350 ff.

\(^3\) Shah, op. cit. p. 155; Bhatnagar, op. cit. 179; Rastogi, op. cit, P.37.
distinguish it from other cults. Some sources say that Naqshband was his sir name, and that he was the author of a work called Maqāmāt-(stations) and another one written under his own name as the prayers of Baha. He died in 791/1389.

The order, also known as the school of khawajgān (Masters) rose in Central Asia and greatly influenced the development of the Indian and Turkish empires. The order gave rise to many special schools, which adopted individual names. Many authorities regard this as the earliest of all the mystical\' chains of transmission. In India, this order spread through Bāqī Billah Berang (d.A.D.1633), who was a sincere follower of Tariqāl- Muhammadi. The followers of this order are orthodox Sufis who firmly believe in Islamic traditions. They discard sam'a or music and accept dhikr-i- khafi or silent recollection of God. They lay emphasis on the worship of the "Shaykh" who illuminates the soul to attain marifa or divine knowledge. The main ceremonies of this

1. Sirdar Iqbal Ali shah, Islamic Sufism, Delhi, 1979, P.97.
2. ibid.
3. Shah, op.cit, P.155; cf. Rastogi, ibid.; Rizvi op cit, P.95
4. ibid.
5. Rastogi, P.179.
Tariqah are regular recitation of prayers and organisation of weekly assembly of the members of the order.¹

The followers of this order have not identified themselves with any particular dress and they have carried on their pietist activities quite unassumingly, therefore it is a bit difficult to reconstruct the history of this order. It is equally difficult to identify its members because the Khawâjgan have worked entirely within the social framework of the culture in which they live and in central Asia and middle East they are known mainly as Muslim pietists.²

"This community (Taifâ) polish the exterior of their minds and intellects with pictures, and being free from the rust and wiles of life are not of those who are captivated by the vain colorings of the world as varied as those of the changeful chameleon; and as Naqshband drew incomparable pictures of the Divine science, and painted pictures of the external invention, which are not imperceptible, his followers have become celebrated by the title of the Naqshbandis, 'The painters'".³

¹  ibid.
²  see: Shah, op.cit, P.155.
To trace the history of the order further the link is connected with Abu 'Ali al Fazl bin Muhammad al-Famadh, whose account is found in *Kashf ul-Mahjub* and who died in 470/1078.¹ The *khalifa* of Abu 'Ali was Khawaja Abu Yusuf Hamadani (1048-1140). According to the *Rashhat*,² Yusuf Hamadani had three Khalifas (i) Khawaja Abdullah Barqi, (ii) Hassan Andaqi, (iii) Ahmad Yasawi, who died around 1166-67 A.D., is said to have been a saint of great repute and Muhammad 'Ata Ibrâhim better known as Haji Bektâsh was a pupil of the disciples of Ahmad Yasawi. Another renowned student of Ahmad Yasawi was Khawaja Abdul Khaliq Ghujduwani. He was born in Bukhâra in the 12th century and died in 575/1179.³ He has laid down eight rules which constitutes the *Tariqa* of the Khawajas. Again three more rules were added to the *Tariqa* later; thus raising the number of the principles of Naqashbandi *Tariqa* to eleven.⁴ These are as follows:-

a. *Hosh dar dam* (consciousness in breathing). This means that the

¹ ibid.
² See: ibid., P.100.
³ ibid.; see also: Camb., P.298.
follower of the path should remain aware about his breathing in state of rememberance of God.

b. Nazar bar Qadam (Watching over the steps). It implies that the aspirant has to keep a watch over his footsteps on the mystic path. It implies that he should concentrate upon his outwards as well as inwards behavior.

c. Safar dar watan (inward journey). This means that the Sālik (Seeker of the path) should concentrate on his inner life, renouncing the transient.

d. Khalwat dar Anjuman (Retirement in gathering). It means that the seeker of God has to adopt an attitude of loneliness in the midst of his fellow men.

e. Yad kard (recollection). This signifies that then pilgrim should remember God and recollect His names.

f. Bāz Gard (restraining thought). It means that the aspirant has to control his thoughts if his heart is engaged with anything else, he should return to God.

g. Nigāh Dāsht (watching thought). This principle means that the follower of the mystic path should keep an eye over his spiritual attitude and should not allow any evil thought to enter his mind.
h. Yād dāsht (enduring recollection). This means that the servant of God has to concentrate upon him unceasingly.

i. Wugūf-i- Zamānī (a pause for duties). It means that the seeker of God should settle down for the assessment of his spiritual duties on his way to god.

j. Wugūf-i-Adadi (a pause for performing recitation). It signifies that the pilgrim needs an intermission while performing the recitation of Divine names.

k. Wugūf-i- Qalbi (pause for experiencing God's presence). This means that the seeker after God has to pause for sometimes for the realisation of his fellowship with God in his hearth.¹

Another important Sufi order of the epoch was known after its founder Abul- Janāb Nizām ud -din al -khiwāqī known as Kubra, who was killed in 1221 A.D. during the invasion of his native country khawarizm by the Mongols.²

A number of branches of his order, the Kubrawiya spread to Baghdad, Khurasān and India. The two branches of this order

1. For details see: Rizvi, op.cit, PP.95-97.

2. Camb, op.cit, P.298; Rizvi, op.cit. P.93.
that spread in India are known as Fridausiya and Hamadāniya, while as it branches that spread in Baghdad and Khurasān are known as Nuriya and Rukniya.\textsuperscript{1} He is also known as Shaikh-i-wali Tarāsh (the Carver of saints), because of the great number of Sufis who surrounded him as disciples and follower his teachings.\textsuperscript{2}

Kubra was a follower of Shafi school of thought. Among his first disciples were Abu Sa‘id Majd ud-din Sharaf bin Mu‘ayyad Baghdadi (d.1211 or 1219) a native of Baghdadak in Khawārīzm not to be confused with Baghdad, and Sa‘id ud-din Muhammad bin Mu‘ayyad Hamuya (d.1252).\textsuperscript{3} Yet another disciple of Kubra was Saif ud-din Bākharazi (d.1260) who was active in Bukhāra. The other reputed Sufis of this silsila were Jamāl ud-din Jillī, Baba Kamāl Jundi, Najm ud-din Rāzi, the author of the famous mystical work Hirāsād ur ibād (d.1223) and Baha‘walad (d. 1230), father of the greatest Sufi of Iran Jalāl ud-din Rūmī.\textsuperscript{4} Kubra was one among the thousands who fell victim to

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{1}] Rizvi, op.cit, P.93.
\item[\textsuperscript{2}] Camb., ibid.; Rizvi, ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{3}] Camb, ibid.; Rizvi, ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{4}] ibid.; Camb, ibid.
\end{itemize}
the gruesome massacre of khawārizm by Mongols in 618/1221.

Apart from various works which Kubra wrote in Arabic and Persian special mention can be made of Al-usūl al-‘Ashra (in Arabic). In this book the author makes mention of the ten guidelines principles of Sufism: repentance, renunciation, trust in God, resignation, the final stage (rīza) etc. Another of his Persian books the Sīfāt ul-‘adab contains rules of Sufism. yet again his famous Minhāj us-sālikin (an open road for traveler on the Sufi path) is a celebrated manual of the principles of Sufism.

Apart from the orders mentioned above there were many others too which either could not make their identity prominently or were known only as sub-orders. Some of them are Yasaviya, Rifā’iya and Madyāniya. These came into existence in the 12th century. The Yasāviya order, established by Ahmad al- Yāsavi (A.D.1166), became popular in Turkistan. The Rifa’iya order was founded by the great theologist Ahmad ibn Rifa’i of Baghdad (A.D.1182). It was mainly followed

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1. ibid.; Rizvi has given a brief account of the event (ibid.).

2. ibid.

3. ibid.

by the dervishes of Turkey, Egypt and Syria. Its members perform the miracles like cutting the human body into different parts and then connecting them. They wear turban and dress of black colour and eat snakes, glass and burning coal. This order was further expanded into branches of Alwāniya (by Ahmad ibn Alwān A.D.1266), Sayyediya (by Ahmad al-Sayyed A.D.1273), Dasūqiya (by Ibrahim al-Dasūq A.D. 1288), Saʿdiya (by Saʿd ud-din A.D. 1335) and Hanafiya (by Shamsud-din al-Hanafi A.D. 1443). The Madyāniya order was founded by Abu Madyān (A.D. 1197). This order was further expanded into some main branches viz: Shādhiliya (by Abul Hasan Shādhili d. A.D.1258), Wafāiya (by Ali Wafa A.D.1404), ʿArusiya (by Ahmad bin al-ʿArus d.A.D. 1463), Khawatiriya (by Saʿid ibn Yusuf A.D. 1702).

There is yet another order which was founded in the 13th century in Persia and spread into India and Syria, known as Qalandariya. We are obliged to deal with the history of this order since it doesn't fall with in the purview of the Saljuq period. There are

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1. ibid.
2. ibid.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
many other prominent Sufi orders which were found after the Saljūq period. Prominent among them are Mawlaviya established by Jalāl ud-din Rūmi (d. A.D. 1273) and flourished especially in Turkey. In addition to these Bektāshiya, Jalāliya and Khalwatiya are the main Sufi orders of the fourteenth century.¹

¹ ibid.