CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SÜFISM

Süfis are the name given to the mysticism of Islam. Süfis are those who search for the true knowledge of God. They renounce the worldly pleasure and engage themselves in finding the Truth.

1. Derivation of the Term Süfis

There is considerable discussion on the origin of the word 'Süfis'. Some Süfis derive it from the Arabic Saff meaning 'purity'. "The Süfis were only named Süfis, because of the Purity (Saff) of their hearts and the cleanliness of their acts". Sibhi ibn al-Marrāth, derives it from Saff meaning 'sincere'. "The Süfī is he whose heart is sincere (Saff) towards God", says he. The author of Kitab al-Luḥbat says that Saffa was the name of a tribe of Arabs, who separated from the world and engaged themselves exclusively in the service of the Moslem temple. Abu'l Hasan Nūrī tries to derive it from Saff meaning 'first rank'. He says, "The Süfis are they whose souls have become free from the defilement of humanity and pure from the taint of self and have obtained release from lust, so that they are at rest with God in the first rank and in the highest degree and having fled from all besides Him. They are neither masters nor slaves". Another view is that
the term 'Ṣūfī' is derived from ṣūfī meaning 'bench', because of their qualities which resemble those of the people of the bench who lived at the time of the Prophet.

Khaja Khan says, that the author of Ḥanafi al-Nafisī (Shaykh Shababuddin Subairwardi, 632 A.H.) thinks that this name (Ṣūfī) did not come in existence for two hundred years after the Prophet's death. This statement is borne out by the fact that the word Ḥanafi does not find a place either in the Ṣūfī compiled in 392 A.H. or even in the Ḥanafi, the standard Arabic Dictionary compiled in 817 A.H.

The Ṣūfīs are known in the qurān by the terms Ḥanafī-bin (friends of God), Ṣahīrin (patient men), Ḥabrīr (virtuous men), Ṣubḥān (pious men), says, Sirjār Ikbal Ali Shah in his book In amin Ṣūfīm.

Hujdūrī says, "The name has no derivation answering to etymological requirements in as much as Ṣūfīm is too exalted to have any genus from which is might be derived; for the derivation of one thing from another demands homogeneity."  

However, it is generally accepted that the term 'Ṣūfī' is derived from ṣūf meaning 'wool', and signifies a woolen dress, which forms the costume of the Ṣūfīs. Abū Bahr al Kalābodhi says, that the word 'Ṣūfī' at the sometime has all
the necessary meanings such as withdrawal from the world, inclining the soul away from it, leaving all settled abodes, keeping constantly to travel, denying the soul its carnal pleasures, purifying the conduct, cleansing the conscience, dilation of the breast, and the quality of leadership". Ibn Khaldūn also says that the word 'ṣūfī' is derived from ṣūf. The author of the oldest ṣūfī text Kitab al-Imārah, Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj of the same opinion.

The ṣūfīs are called by various names, wālī, ṭālih or novice i.e., he who desires to become a ṣūfī; and abī, he who devotes himself to His service; ṭālih, the one who walks in a spiritual path; ērif, or he who knows, is a devout contemplatory wālī or one who is brought near to God which usually signifies a 'saint'.

(2) Definition of the term ʿṢūfīʿ

Ṣūfīsm is defined in various ways by the ṣūfīs. Some of the important definitions given by the ṣūfīs may be cited in this connection.

According to Ḥasan Nūrī, "Ṣūfīsm means renunciation of all the pleasures of the world and the allurement of one's "Kafa". Ṣūfīs are thus above all worldly desires and evil born of greed and selfishness. Again he says, "The ṣūfī is he who has nothing in his possession nor is himself possessed
The end and aim of Sufism is God. "The Sufis are people who prefer God to everything and God prefers them to everything else", says Abū 'Umar-Misrī. Harufal-Karkhi defines Sufism as "the apprehension of divine realities and renunciation of human possession".

The Sufis love God; his thinking, his meditation and prayer is only for God. He is ignorant of everything other than God. As Junayd says, "he is dead to self and alive in God". BALLAJ says "he neither accepts anybody nor does anybody accept him".

Sufism was first popularised and explained by Abū Sa'īd Ibn Abī'l-Khayr. The true Sufi according to him holds the following belief and lives it.

"To lay aside what thou hast in thy head,
to give what thou hast in thy hand,
and not to recoil from whatsoever befalls thee."

That is, to give all and expect nothing in return, to possess nothing, and to be possessed by nothing, and to live a life of supreme resignation to the will of God is the essence of Sufism.

In order to understand the nature of Sufism one must combine the theory with practice. As Čhasali says, "to
define drunkenness, to know that it is caused by vapours that rise from the stomach and cloud the seat of intelligence is a different thing from being drunk. So I found that 
20 Sufism consists in experience rather than definition.

Then again Khaja Khan in his The Philosophy of Islam says, "Tasawwuf (Sufism) is the name of a state of mind - a state of ecstasy, which you cannot describe any more than you can describe the sweetness of honey to one who has not tasted it. This state can only be realised by personal experience."  
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Abu Bakr Shibli has said: "Tasawwuf is renunciation, i.e., guarding oneself against seeing 'Other-than-God' in both the worlds."  
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Khajif defines it as an observance of the existence of God at the time of neglectfulness. Abu Said Baslullah thinks that it is concentrating the mind on God.  
23 24

Thus Sufism has been defined in various ways by the Sufis.

(3) The Beginning of Sufism

The Islamic idea of the Unity of God was accepted by the Sufis as the starting point. Qur'an is the supreme authority to which Sufis look for guidance and justification. It is the book of Allah. It comes from Him. He is the basic theme of
the Qurān. The words of the Qurān are the cornerstone for all mystical doctrines. The ṣūfīs support their doctrines from the verses of the Qurān and they interpret them in terms of their doctrines. As Massignon says, "It is from the Qurān, constantly recited, meditated, practised, that Islamic mysticism proceeds, in its origin and in its development. Based on the frequent reading and recitation of a text considered as sacred, Islamic mysticism derived therefrom its distinctive characteristics."

"About God, the Qurān says, "We are near to him than his jugular vein". And the scripture itself asserts that everything is perishing (būlik) except the face of reality (Allah)". "Everyone on the earth is passing away (fāni), but the glorious and honoured face of thy Lord abideth forever."

From these verses, the ṣūfīs derive their inspiration and illustrate their fundamental teaching. They say, there is no reality but the reality (God), and that all other realities are relative to and dependent upon this reality.

"Wheresoever you turn, there is the face of God". The ṣūfīs claim that all cosmic determinations, whether formal or formless, subtle or gross, are nothing but indications (fīrah) of the reality from which they stem by a process of creation or self-manifestation.
The Sufis follow the path (tariqah) which leads them to the realization of their identity (ibadat-e-muimul) with God in order to recognize the truth "that there is no refuge from God but in Him". This aspiration is inspired by an overwhelming consciousness that God is the Absolute Reality and by an annihilating awareness of man's nothingness and unworthiness, which together produce a desire to seek direct knowledge of that reality and to remove all obstacles and veils which obscure that knowledge.

"Guide us along the straight path". "Verily we are for God and verily unto Him we are returning". The Sufis claim that the whole of Sufism is summed up in these verses. Union with Him (God) is the main aim of the Sufis. And for this they have taken a path which leads them to their goal. And they have also expounded the doctrine of fana, i.e., passing away of the self in God.

"Invoke the Name of thy Lord and devote yourself to Him with complete devotion". According to the Sufis, the main purpose of the remembrance or Invocation of God's Name (shikaah-i-Allah) is to turn man's thoughts, feelings and sensation towards God.

"Prayer indeed prevents lustful acts and great sin, but the Invocation of God is greater". The Sufis say that consciousness of the real is nothing other than the constant
remembrance of God, and all else promotes nothing but illusion. As the Prophet said, "This world and all it contains is accursed except the Invocation of God". The Sufis say, "since there is no reality save the reality (lailaha illa allah), the world and all it contains is nothing other than a manifestation of God, which, to those advanced in the way is no longer, a veil and an obstacle, but a revelation of His truth.

Hence from this we can say that Qur'an is the source of the Sufi doctrines and that the doctrines originated not from any other thing but from Quranic verses.

Moreover, it is asserted that Sufism had its rise in Mohammed himself. He is said to have been the recipient of the two-fold revelation, the one embodied in the contents of the Qur'an and the other within his heart. So the teachings of the Prophet are capable of two kinds of interpretation. (1) Ṣāhib i.e., plain or apparent (2) Batin i.e., hidden. The former is meant for all and they are called by the Sufis Ṣāhib-i-Ṣāhib and the latter for those who understand the inner meaning. They are called Ṣāhib-i-Batin. Therefore Mohammed's knowledge is described both as 'ilm-i-tableegh' i.e., book-knowledge and 'ilm-i-nima' i.e., heart-knowledge, which comprises the strictly sectarian and mystical teachings of the Sufis.

There is no doubt that the Prophet has in him a good deal of mystical tendency and a few passages in the Qur'an also
reveal it. Though such references are not many, it would be wrong to say that the Qurān offers no basis for the mystical interpretation. The Prophet said: “Of the interpretations of the Qurānic text, one is plain and the other is hidden and secret. We the Prophets are directed to speak to the people according to their understanding”.

The Sūfis quote anecdotes from the life of the Prophet and his companions, particularly Ali, to support the view that the doctrines of ecstasy and rapture originated in the days of the Prophet and his companions. Indeed, the mystical tendencies manifested in them inevitably resulted in a life of detachment, poverty and mortification. The Prophet’s simplicity, goodness, and devotion gave a deep spiritual significance to all terms of ordinary meaning. He is reported to have defined goodness or ‘Ihsān’ as a mode of worshipping Allah, a complete absorption in praying to Him. “Thou shouldst pray to God, he said as if thou sawest Him; and if thou canst not see Him, He sees thee”. It is on this definition of Ihsān many Sūfis have built their theory of devotion. It represents the Prophet’s theory of spiritual good and was rightly made a starting point for spiritual theories of the Sūfis.
(4) Phases in the development of Sufism

(a)

Sufism passed through several phases in the process of its development. It is already stated before that Sufism had its rise in Mohammed himself and Quranic verses are cited in order to prove it. Hence Sufism is nothing but part and parcel of Islam. The early phase of Sufism covers the end of the first and second century A.H. i.e., (7th and 8th century A.D.)

Early Sufism can be termed philosophical, because in this period we do not find any speculation or discussion regarding the nature of God, soul, states of salvation. But it can be called ethical, because the Sufis of this early phase were characterized by the renunciation of worldly pleasure and intense fear of Allah and His judgement. They are simple and had adopted a life of poverty (fakir). The outstanding figure in this early ascetic movement was Hasan Basra. He says that "It was as if hell-fire had been created exclusively for him."

The Sufis of this phase were not mere ascetics but something more, i.e., with them asceticism and poverty were not the means to a material end, i.e., reward in the next world. They were only means to the supreme end of life, i.e., union with God. Hence most of the later Sufis hold that asceticism is necessary only as long as the final goal had not
been reached. To them poverty means not only absence of worldly possessions but also the absence of any desire for it. These ḥāris were very orthodox people both theoretically and practically. They believed in the teachings of the Qurān and the Traditions. They followed the rites and rituals of Islam. The most prominent ḥāris of this period were Ibrāhīm Aḥdām, Abu al-Shaqq, Fudayl b. Iyad and Sabia al-‘Askāriyya.

A brief account of these ḥāris is as follows.

Ibrāhīm Aḥdām belonged to the royal family of Balkh. He was very fond of luxury. He gave up all the worldly pleasures and renounced his throne when he heard an unseen voice warning him to give up all these. He became an ascetic. One of his sayings is as follows: "O God, thou knowest that in mine eyes the eight paradises weigh no more than the wing of a gnat compared with that however which thou hast shown me in giving me Thy love, or that familiarity which thou hast given to me by the concomitance of Thy name, or that freedom from all else which thou hast vouchsafed to me when I meditate on the greatness of Thy glory".

Shaqq is also from Balkh. He is the contemporary of Hassan Basra. A true devotee, according to him, should do nothing, not even try to earn his bare livelihood, but must dedicate himself wholly to God alone. He says, "Nine-tenth
of devotion, consist in flight from mankind and the remaining tenth in silence". Al-Shāqīq introduced the term ʿtawakkul in ṣūfī phraseology which means complete dependence on God and submission to His will.

Fudayl b. Iyād was the captain of banditti, but on hearing a verse from Qurʾān, he repented and became a hermit. One of his sayings is as follows: "When God loves His servant, He afflicts him, and when He loves his very much He takes hold of him and leaves for him neither family nor wealth".

The saintly woman, Ḥabība, introduced an exaltation in early ṣūfism by her concentration on God, simply for the love of Him, and not for the sake of any reward, or for fear of Him. A selfless attitude is expressed in one of her prayers which she used to pray in the night. "O my Lord, if I worship thee for fear, burn me in the Hell, and if I worship thee for thine own sake, then withhold not from me thine Eternal Beauty". In such a perfect love, the mystic has ceased to exist and passed out of self. "I am one with Him and altogether His", say Ḥabība. With her the element of selfless love was introduced into ṣūfism.

(b) Second Phase:

The second phase of ṣūfism begins from the latter part of the second century A.H. i.e., (9th cent. - 10th cent. A.D.)
This phase is called Neoc-Sufism, because it is influenced by the other religious systems viz., Indian, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism etc.

This phase is called the speculative phase. As A.J. Subhan says, "while Sufism was thus gaining ground and attracting the pious by its promise of escape from formalism and its encouragement of ideals of personal devotion, it was soon subjected to a further modification, the beginning of which may be traced to the time of Ma'mun in the eighth century. That was an age of speculation of various creeds and in this manner speculative elements were soon assimilated into Sufism. So the old ascetics with their ascetic ideal turned their attention towards Gnosticism, i.e., after renouncing all sorts of luxury and enjoyment, abandoned themselves to the Supreme Being, to whom alone they can ask for help. They took their stand on those verses of the Qur'an which characterize the world as transient, and devotion to God as the highest good.

Hence the old asceticism and quietism were subordinated to theoretical and gnostic speculation. A Sufi no longer remained a mere ascetic (Zahid) but also a mystic and gnostic (Zakir).

Because of this gradual change in Sufism, it is said by the modern writers that early Sufism was directly based
on the Qur'an, while the later Sufism was nothing but the result of foreign influences. As A.J. Subhan says, "Neo-
Platonism played its part in this change but not exclusively.
Persian, Indian and Buddhistic thought each had its share,...
— It would be a mistake to conclude that Sufism in its specula-
tive was derived solely from one source or that it contains no original elements".

Whatever it be, however, all agree that some important non-Islamic elements exercised a good deal of influence on this new phase of Sufism. Of these the relationship between Sufism and Indian thought will discussed in detail after the discussion on the third and the 4th phases of Sufism. The great teachers of this new phase of Sufism were Dhu'il-Nun Misri, Abu Nasir-Mistami, Ma'ruf-al Karkhi, Sari as-Saqati, Abu Sulayman ud-Darani, Muhasabi and Hallaj.

Dhu'il-Nun Misri is reputed to be a great scholar, a mystic having direct communion with God. He is said to be the first who systematised Sufism. In one of his statements quoted by Atbar, he says, "the more a man knows God, the more is the lost in Him". He has formulated the theory of mara'if, intuitive knowledge or gnosis, as opposed to 'ilm, discursive knowledge.

Abu Nasir Mistami is another famous Sufi of this period. His master in Sufism is Abu Ali of Sind. Abu Nasir is the first
to propound the doctrine of Ḥāfiẓ. He is considered to be a
monist, because some of his sayings show the true monistic
ideas. For example, Abu Yaqūd is reported to have said, "God
raised me up and placed me before Him, and said to me: 'O Abu
Yaqūd verily, my creation longs to see thee'. And I said,
"Adore me with thy unity and clothe me in thine I-ness and raise
me up unto thy oneness, so that what the creatures see me, they
may say: 'We have seen thee (i.e., God) and 'thou art that'.
Yet I (Abu Yaqūd) will not be there at all'. He says that
unless a man loses himself in God, he cannot obtain a clue to
the Divinity.

Ma'ruf al-Karkhi is a contemporary of Fudayl b. 'Iyad
and Shaqiq of Balkh. He is considered as the leading figure
of this period. He is the first to give expression to the
gnostic and theosophical ideas of the new Sufism. He claimed
a direct communion with God, as it is revealed from one of his
sayings. He says, "When you desire anything of God, swear to
Ris by me".

Ma'ruf's disciple Barsa'an Saqati is the first to discuss
the various mystical states abu'l). He is the one who defines
the real mutual love between man and God. Also attributed to
Sufi, are sayings about the problem of Iqbal, the declaration
that God is one, which is later elaborated by his disciple
Junayd.
Abu Sulayman al-Darānī is also a famous ṣūfī of this time. He propounded the doctrine of gnosticism (marā at) and stressed the intuitive knowledge of God through spiritual insight "when the gnostic's spiritual eye is opened his bodily eye is shut, they see nothing but God", he says.

Mubāsābī was born at Bagrā. He is the author of some of the earliest works on Ṣūfīsm. He is well known for his method of examining the conscience.

Another famous mystic of this period is Hallāj. He travelled as a missionary in Khurasan, India, Persia and Turkistan. "He was a man of original genius and vehement spirit, a profound mystic and a daring metaphysician", says A. J. Scholem. He was put to death because of his famous utterance: Anā Bāna - 'I am the Truth'. He is considered as a pure monist because of this sentence.

In the first three or four centuries of Islamic era, (7th - 9th) there was no external differences between a secular scholar and a mystic. Both groups were equally prompt to observe all the injunctions of Islam in theory and practice. Junayd of Bagdad, one of the most celebrated Ṣūfīs, was very anxious to see that the Believers, one and all, were following the secular and spiritual aspects of Islam alike. He emphasized that the external path (Sharī'at) and internal path (Hakīmat) of Islam are essentially the two sides of the same thing. It
was Junayd who systematised the mystical doctrine.

The creative thinkers of the tenth century A.D. are Abul Qasim al Junayd, Shibli, Niffari, Abu Naqr – as Sarraj, Al-Kalabadihi, Hujafari, Qushayri and Al-Ghazzali. The most interesting and curious figure was Niffari, who left behind his famous books, Kitab al-Mavauf and Kitab al-Muhatta-Ra\.

The oldest authority is Abu Naqr as Sarraj, whose Kitab al-Luma at-tasawwuf is an excellent exposition of the doctrine of the Sufis.

The contemporary of Sarraj, Al-Kalabadihi wrote his Kitab al-Ta\'luf with a view to find a common ground between orthodoxy and Sufism.

The Kitab al-Fik\'a at-tasawwuf of Abu'l Qushayri gives the broad frame work of Sufism. It describes the Sufi teachings and practices.

Hujafari's Kashi al-Kabir, "Unveiling of the Hidden", is a famous Sufi manual, in which he tried to reconcile a modified type of mysticism with theology. He came to India and settled down in Lahore, where he is famous as Dara Ganj Baksh.
"Sufism found a new impetus with the works of Ghazzali whose prestige as an all-enhanced respect for Sufism among orthodox Muslims". Ghazzali's Ḥikmat al-Ḥikmat in Arabic and his Kanz al-Imām in Persian settled many controversies about reality, the nature of being etc. His another important book is Risāla al-anwar, "The Niche for Lights". It was Ghazzali who popularised mysticism among various groups of Muslim community by reconciling it with the eternal laws of the religion (Shari'a). He was the one who harmonised the esoteric and exoteric forms and succeeded in bringing about cordial relations between the two.

(c) Third Phase

In the eleventh century A.D., there flourished a famous mystic philosopher Ibn'Arafi. The basic doctrine of Sufism especially as interpreted by him and his school, is that of the transcendent unity of being (shabdat al-wujud). His philosophy is usually described as pantheistic but in recent years some scholars have been calling Arabi a monist. His doctrine adds a new dimension to Sufi thought which has far reaching practical influence.

During the thirteenth century A.D., three great Persian Sufis flourished viz., Faridu'd-Din'Attar, Jalaluddin Rumi and Sadi.
Fariduddin Attar was a druggist by trade, but later on gave up his trade and became an ascetic. He has written nearly one hundred and fourteen books. Of these, the most well-known are, *Badnamah* or the Book of Counsels, and *Nantiquite-Tavv* or the Language of the Birds. *Nantiquite-Tavv* is a mystical allegory in which the ascending stages of the mystic's progress to unity with God is explained. The idea of self-annihilation is also clearly propounded in it. He stresses on the unity of all existence.

Jalaluddin Rumi was the great Ṣūfī poet of Persia. His great mystical poem *Maani* is commonly called the 'Persian Qurān'. His father was his teacher. He enlightened his son who was in search of mystical knowledge. According to him, the secret of truth is found in love (Lāhu). He believed that the source of all love is absolute Love (Lāhu-i-Hukmā). According to him *Lāhu* is the highest stage of attainment.

Burhan-ud-Din, his teacher initiated him into the high mysteries of the Ṣūfī way. He taught him that it is necessary to improve the inner self for achieving the immortal soul, because he said, the eternal soul is different from the common soul. All dualism must be abandoned so that the lover becomes one with the Beloved and there remains neither any 'thou' nor 'I'. Hence he also followed the path of his master.
Sa'di of Shiraz is the third great mystic poet of this period. He was also held in a very high esteem not only in Persia, but throughout the world. His best known works are \textit{Gulistan} (Rose Garden) and \textit{Bustan} (Orchard).

\textbf{(d) Fourth Phase}

The last phase of the development of \textit{Gulistan} is associated with the poets, Shabistari, Hafiz, Jami, Jili and famous Prince Dara Shikoh.

Mohammed Shabistari is the author of the famous Persian \textit{qul}i treatise \textit{Gulistan} (the mystic rose garden). It deals with the perfect man, the stages of development, and mystical terminology. Shabistari describes the divine beauty that is hidden under the veil of every single atom, because "the absolute is so nakedly apparent to men's sight that it is not visible."

Khaja Shamsu'd-Din Hafiz is another famous poet of the latter date. His collection of poems, the \textit{Shams-i-Ha} is has won him a high reputation.

Mulla Nurud-Din'Abdur Rahman Jami is also a great scholar, a poet and a writer. \textit{Nafshat-ul-ins} is the famous Sufi text. One of the central and fundamental conceptions in
his mystical doctrine is that of the Absolute as the Eternal
Beauty. The purpose of creation is to manifest the Beauty of
God. The passion for beauty is a means to link the soul to
God. This thought is brought out in his commentary in that
favourite proverb of the Sufis, 'The Phenomenal is the bridge
to the Real'.

Another mystic writer Abdul Karim Jili, who came to
India, has written many books. Of these, his 'Tünanul Kamil,
the Perfect Man, is a famous treatise.

Aara Shikoh, the prince, and the eldest son of Shahjahan,
is also another famous Sufi of this period. He is a writer and
also a poet. He has written many books on Sufism, viz., Sa imāt-
ul-Awliya, Vainul-Fahrain, Sāhinat-ul-Awliya, Khic-e-Alla-Hum-A
Shabiyat or Hasrāt-ul-Arfin, etc. Shabiyat is a collection
of Sufi aphorisms, containing the ecstatic utterances of the
mystics.

(5) Sufism and Indian Thought:

The purpose of this section is to show the relationship
between Sufism and the Indian thought. It has already been
stated that Sufism in its second phase came under the influence
of foreign elements including Indian thought. Various views
have been put forward regarding this. Many eminent scholars
have stressed the importance of Vedantic influence upon the
development of Sufism. A.J. Arberry in his book
to the History of Sufism, has referred to the different views regarding the relationship between Sufism and Vedanta. He says that probably Sir William Jones was the first European to be impressed by the similarities between the Vedanta philosophy and the theosophy of the later Sufis.

As William Jones says, "A figurative mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their Beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in Asia; particularly among the Persian theists, both Husians and modern Sufis, who seem to have borrowed it from the Indian philosophers of the Vedanta school; and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but pietistic, theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old Academicks".

According to Malcolm, the nature and origin of Islamic mysticism is this. "The Persian Sufis, though they have borrowed much of their belief and many of their usages from India, have not adopted, as a means of attaining beatitude, the dreadful austerities common among the visionary devotees of the Hindoos".

Tholuck says, "For considering the multitude of Magians that has remained especially in northern Persia, and apprehending that many of the most eminent Sufi doctors were born in the
northern province of Khorasan; having in mind also how the language had formerly passed from India to Persia, as well as how, amid the variety of opinions, which even in the time of Agathias had divided Persia, some portion of Indian doctrine had also migrated thither; I came at one time to the view that Sufism had been thought out in about the time of al-Ma'mun by Magians in Khorasan surviving imbued with Indian mysticism.  

Dutch scholar Bosy says, "...It is much more natural to believe that mysticism came from Persia; it actually existed in that country before the Muslim conquest, thanks to influence from India; even before this period the idea of emanation and of the return of everything to God had wide currency in Persia, and it was commonly said that the world has no objective and visible existence, that all that exists is God and that, a part from God, nothing is."

Hartmann opined "that developed Sufism is in a certain way permeated by Indian theosophy cannot in any way be doubted. The Muslims themselves felt this later". There remains the very important question whether this Indian influence made itself felt also in the earliest stage of Sufi development. Hartmann asserts that the doctrine of dhikr (mysticism) reflects a genuine Indian idea, says A.J. Arberry.
Von Kremer is also of the opinion that Ṣūfism is influenced by Vedānta. He says that the Ṣūfīs of Hallāj are of Indian origin. He equated the Ṣūfīs' work with that of Vedic doṣāna.

A.J. Subhan says, "The Ṣūfīs claim that their doctrines are derived solely from the Qurān and the Traditions, but a closer examination of Ṣūfism reveals the fact that several extraneous influences have been at work in its development... Further, it will be noticed that in some of its doctrinal features and some practical teaching it bears a close resemblance to Indian thought."

According to Dr. Navalakrishnan, "The Indian form of Islam is moulded by Hindu beliefs and practices. Popular Islam shows the influence of Hinduism... Ṣūfism is akin to Advaita Vedānta. It believes in the non-dual Absolute and looks upon the world as the reflection of God, who is conceived as light."

These quotations point out the influence of Indian philosophical thought on Ṣūfism.

After the conquest of Sīra by Mohamed bin Qasim in 712 A.D., Islam came into closer contact with Indian thought. Steps were taken by the Caliphate of Mansūr, Harun, and Kāsim to understand the Indian thought. Sanskrit books on various subjects such as medicine, astrology, philosophy etc., were translated into Arabic. Arab Scholars were sent to India to study the
Indian thought and the Indian Pandits were invited to Arab, to expand the Hindu philosophy. In this way they borrowed elements from one another and expounded their doctrines.

In the 11th century, before the Muslim dynasty was formed in India, Al-Beruni and Al-Muwaqqiq came to India for the purpose of studying Indian thought. It was Al-Beruni who translated Bhāṣavad-gītā and some of the Sanskrit books into Arabic.

By the thirteenth century, a number of important ḍūfī orders established their branches here, with monasteries presided over by a Pir (leader), guiding the murid (disciple) along the path (īhān) and whose goal is self-realization. Of these orders, four hold a prominent place in India. They are Chishtīya, the Qadiriya, the Suhrawardīya, and the Naqshbandiya. These will be discussed under the section of religious Orders.

Mention has already been made about Baha Shikoh, who made an attempt to reconcile Islam and Hinduism. He gave himself up to the task of acquiring knowledge about the religion and philosophy of the Hindus and for this purpose, he not only read and translated the Sanskrit books into Persian but also became friendly with the Hindu ascetics. He translated Bhāṣavad-gītā, Ānāvāna, and the Upam ānada into Persian. He says that in the higher plane of realization of Truth there is no difference between the two religions. He attempted to show the point of
identity between the two religions. As Mabfuzul-Haq remarks, "He is concerned with facts and puts them as they are. His is rather a comparative study of Hinduism and Islam with an attempt to point out the various points on which they meet".

(6) Religious Orders

The origin of the religious orders is traced to the twelfth century A.D. During this period they were fully organized and each was named by distinguishing features in its teachings and practice. As Professor E.s. MacCallum says: "The earliest Muslims were burdened, with fear of terrors of an avenging God. The world was evil and fleeting; the only abiding good was in the other world; so their religion became an ascetic other-worldliness. They fled into the wilderness from the wrath to come. Wandering, either solitary or in companies, was the special sign of the true Sufi. The young men gave themselves over to the guidance of the older men; little circles of disciples gathered round a venerated shaykh; fraternities began to form. So we find it in the case of al-Junayd, as in that of Sari-as-Saqqāti. Next would come a monastery, rather a rest-house, for only in the winter and for rest did they remain fixed in a place for anytime. Of such a monastery there is a trace at Damascus in 150 (767 A.D.) and in Khurasan about 200 (815-16 A.D.)."
Hence they formed religious orders of their own. The founder of each order is known as a Pir or Guide, who is considered to be a spiritual heir and his immediate successor is known as murid or the disciple. The teachings of the guide is handed down through the disciple in a chain of succession. Such a chain is called the nizam.

It is already said that Sufism is not a later development of Islam but is as old as Islam itself. Hence all the orders trace their chain of succession back to Muhammad. The Sufis consider him as the head of Sufism. Next to the Prophet comes Ali and Abu Bakr in the order of succession. Three important orders trace their origin to Abu Bakr vis., Naqshbandiya, Tekke Sufis and Bektas. The remaining orders were the offshoots of 'Ali. The Sufis give importance to 'Ali and they place him next to Muhammad. Hasan of Basra holds, next to 'Ali, the most prominent place in the 'chain' of the religious orders. He is considered as the spiritual head of those lines of succession which gave rise to three famous orders vis., the Qadiriyya, the Chishtiyya and Shadidiyya.

The following is a brief account of the orders which trace their origin to 'Ali'.

(1) Khusrawiyya - founded by Abdulla Barith Khususibi of Basra. He distinguished Hal from Kalam, the spiritual stages of the Sufis. He says that Hal is secured by practice and Kalam by
constant overshadowing of 

according to his knowledge 
is superior to action. We know God by knowledge and not by action, he says.

(2) Lajnawirya - founded by Shaykh Qaysara-ibn Hamdan. This sect was Malamati, i.e., they covered themselves with opprobrium and calumny, while inwardly at heart they are pure.

(3) Murriyyah - founded by Abi Harun ibn Muhammed Nurî. He is the disciple of Abu'l-Kum Misri. His principle is self sacrifice. He says "You cannot reach happiness, until you give up the best of what you have." 69

(4) Subayliyyah - founded by Subayl ibn Abdulla Tustari. He who understands his 'nafs' as transitory, understands his God as eternal. He who understands his 'nafs' as 'abd', understands his God as 'Rab', i.e., God is eternal and everything transitory and there is no difference between 'abd' and 'Rab'.

(5) Yâlayatâ - founded by Abi Abdulla ibn Haiim Tirmiği. Vilayat is derived from Vila, "Victory". He used to say "Beware", there is no fear for the friends of God and they shall not be sorry.

(6) Khunasiyyâ - founded by Abu Sa'id Khunnas. According to his Fâhî and Fana are the attributes of God.
(7) **Siva-yra** - founded by Abi Abbas of Siyar. He identified attributes (the *that*) of God and differentiated His actions from Him. This is known as the doctrine of *Isra* and *Tafriqa* - i.e., assimilation and differentiation.

(8) **Khari Ilya** - founded by Abi Abdulla Khalif. His doctrine is *Ghayb* and *Husur* i.e., to make the mind oblivious to other-than-God (Haswallah). He says "so much so, you become oblivious to your own existence, your own thoughts and your own will; which in turn become the existence, thought and will of God. when you disappear from yourself (Ghayb) you appear before God (Husur)."

(9) **Zadiyya** - founded by Khvaja 'Abdul Wahid b-Sayyid. He is the disciple of Hasan Basra. The doctrine of this sect consisted of "Detachment" and "Separation". The meaning of "Detachment" is that, one should be detached outwardly from accidents, and inwardly from compensations; that is, that one should not take anything of the accidents of this world, nor seek any compensation for what one has thus foresworn, whether it be of temporal or eternal, but rather that one should do this because it is a duty to God, and not for any other reason or motive. The meaning of "Separation" is that one should separate oneself from all forms and be separated in the states and one in the acts; that is, that one's action should be wholly unto God, and that there should be in them no thought of self, no respect
of persons and no regard for compensation.

The four orders that sprang from Ḥaydīyya are (a) Ḥaydīyya, (b) Adhamiyya, (c) Ḥubayriyya and (d) Chishtiyya.

(a) Ḥaydīyya - is founded by Ḥaḍīṣ b. Ḥayd. Reference has already been made to him earlier as one of the early šūfīs.

(b) Adhamiyya - is founded by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb, a successor of Ḥaḍīṣ b. Ḥayd. His name is also mentioned in the discussion on the early phase of ṣūfīsm. Junayd called him the "Key of Knowledge".

(c) Ḥubayriyya - founded by Ḥaḍīṣ b. Ḥabīb. He is one of the companions of Junayd.

(d) Chishtiyya - founded by Ḥaḍīṣ Abu Ishaq Shāhī Chishti. He is the ninth in spiritual succession from 'Alī. Ḥaḍīṣ Madudīn of Ajmer is the most renowned saint in the history of the Orders in India. He is regarded as the founder of the Chishti Order in India. Qutb-ud-din Sahītīr Kākī, Fadlul-ud-din Shākān-ganj, Risāl ud-dīn Auliya, Makhūn Sābir of Pirān-Kalār, Abdul Quddus Gangoī, Salīn Chisti, Amir Khusārār are the important saints, belonging to this order, who flourished and propagated in India. The cornerstone of Chishti ideology is the concept of wahdāt-illā -wujūd (unity of Being). Abdul Quddus Gangoī wrote a commentary of Ibn al-Arabi's books.
(10) Habibiyyah: founded by Habib 'Ajami. He is the disciple of Hasan Basra. His doctrines consisted of "abstinence" and "patience". Abstinence is "when the hands are void of possessions, and the heart of acquisitiveness". Eight orders have originated from him. They are as follows (a) Karkhiyya,
(b) Saqatiyya, (c) Taykuriyya, (d) Junaydiyya (e) Qazwiniyya 79
(f) Tusiyya, (g) Subkariyya and (h) Firdausiyya.

(a) Karkhiyya - founded by Matruh Karkhi, famous Sufi of the early Sufism.

(b) Saqatiyya - founded by Farid as Saqati. The chief doctrine of this order is the doctrine of recollection. Real recollection consists in forgetting all but the One.

(c) Taykuriyya - founded by Abu Yaqid Tawfik of Bistan. Reference has already been made to him in the previous section. He is said to have received the spiritual doctrines from Habib 'Ajami. The doctrine of this sect consists of ada, intoxication, the love of God and waqf, rapture. The following is the explanation of this as given by Aliu'l Nijdri. "You must know that intoxication and 'rapture' are terms used by spiritualists to denote the rapture of love of God, while 'sobriety' expresses the attainment of that which is desired. Some place the former above the latter and some hold the latter to be superior. Abu Yaqid and his followers prefer 'intoxication' to 'sobriety'."
(d) Junaydiyya - founded by Abu'l-Qasim Al-Junayd of Baghdad. He is said to have received the spiritual teachings from Habib Ajami. His doctrine is based on sobriety and is opposed to that of 'Avurid. He is the first Ṣūfī who systematised the esoteric teachings of Ṣūfism.

(e) Subhawardiyya - founded by Dqa'uddin Majib Subhawardi. His disciple, Shihab-ud-Din Subhawardi is a great exponent of Ṣūfism and is the founder of this order. His famous work is 'A'ami al-Ḳanun'; gifts of Divine Knowledge, which has been used as a manual for the study of Ṣūfism by Ṣūfī of all orders. Sahe-ud-Din Zakria of Multan, who is a dispute of Shihab-ud-Din spread this order in India. Makhdun Jahanian, Burhan ud-Din Qutub-ral-Ālam are the important daires of this order.

The other three orders are not of importance and nothing much has been said about them.

(11) Ḥadīyya - founded by Abol Qadir Jilāni of Baghdad. He is known as Pir-i-Ẓiran or Chief of the Saints. This order is the off-shoot of Junaydiyya. He was a contemporary of Shihab-ud-Din Subhawardi and in the fifteenth century A.D., it was brought to India by one of his successors, Syed Bandagi Muhammad Ghous. Mian Mir and Sada Bhikoh hailed from this order and wielded great influence among the non-Muslims.
Of the three important orders which trace their origin from Abu Bakr, Naqshbandiya Order is well-known in India. The founder of this order is Khwaja Baha'ud-Din Naqshband. Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah is founder of this Order in India. Ahmad Sirhindii and Jami are the most important Sufis, of this Order.

The Center of Naqshbandi teachings is the silent dhikr. Another characteristic of this order is suhbat, the intimate conversation between master and disciple, on a very high spiritual level.

The aim of all the orders is to lead men along the path whose goal is the realization of the unitive state. Man's deepest longing is to remove the veils between him and God and attain the truth. The advancement in spiritual life is a journey (jalalud) and the seeker after God is a traveller (zlik). The first stage is that of preparation by repentance and obedience to law (shari'at); the second stage is that of discipline by renunciation, purification and remembrance (dhikr). The third stage is that of gnosis (marifat) attained through meditation and ecstasy, so that the sense of individuality and separateness of self is annihilated and the Universal Self is found. This leads to the final goal of Reality (hakimat) and Unity (waqi).
The difference between the qawwals, so far as the philosophical foundations of their paths are concerned, are reduced to two. Some hold the doctrine of absolute unity (wahdat illa) and others that of modified unity (shuhd illa). The first is advocated by the followers of Ibn al'Arabi and his school and the second by the followers of Shayk Sirhindui.