AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM: FROM ISLAMIC ASCETICISM TO ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

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Abstrak

Lazimnya, tasauf dilihat oleh para pengkaji dan peminat sebagai suatu disiplin ilmu yang muncul semenjak zaman Rasulullah s.a.w. dan seterusnya berkembang pesat sehingga sekarang. Artikel ini bertujuan melihat semula proses perkembangan tasauf tersebut dengan memberi penekanan terhadap peralihan cara hidup kaum sufi daripada yang bercorak zuhud kepada bentuk tasauf yang ada sekarang. Ianya mengambil kira tentang period dan tokoh-tokoh sufi yang terlibat dalam proses peralihan dan perkembangannya.

INTRODUCTION

The writer resolved in this article to undertake a chronological examination of the development of sufism. Nevertheless, the subject is too large to be treated adequately in a few pages, so that the following sketch will only discuss the early development of sufism that began with the period of asceticism. The writer tends to support the view saying that the early period of Islamic mysticism in reality is the period of asceticism and only after that the Islamic mysticism or real sufism was taking place.[1] Therefore the article will analyse a transition from Islamic asceticism to Islamic mysticism which now become a scholarly commonplace.[2] This article attempts to show just where and

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[1] Commonly, "asceticism" is used to translate "*zuhd*" and "Islamic mysticism" or "sufism" to translate "*taṣawwuf*". Although "asceticism" is commonly used to denote a program of self-discipline and austerity, and is always regarded as one of the practice of sufism, the writer would like to make used this word in contrast to the word Islamic "mysticism" or "sufism" in order to show the differences between the classical sufism in the middle ninth century a.d. and before and and contemporary sufism in the late ninth century a.d.. And the writer use "asceticism" rather than "*zuhd*" for the sake of precision.

[2] E.g. see Peter J. Awn, "Sufism", ***The Encyclopedia of Religion***, (ed.) Mircea Eliade, New York: Macmillan, 1987, p. s.v.

when the transition took place. Moreover it will discuss the sufis' literature in order to examine the sufis' saying, looking for evidence of the ascetical or mystical worldview.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM

Although some have maintained that there is nothing of the mystic about the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.), yet his early religious practices, as recorded in the Qur'ān, contradict that contention. Essentially it is the realization of the Prophet Muḥammad's spiritual message[3] through the interiorization of the content of the Qur'ānic revelation.[4] Duncan B. Macdonald states that "Muḥammad was a sufi when on his way to be a prophet".[5] It also reflects the aspirations and religious practices of the Prophet and his companions[6] and their successors[7] who chose the hard ascetic life at a time when most of their contemporaries had chosen the softer life of the world. It used to develop a

[3] Al-Ghazālī, ***Kitāb-i Kimiyā-yi Sa'ādat***, (ed.), Aḥmad Aram, Tehran, 1955, p. 280; Henry Corbin, ***History of Islamic Philosophy***, (tr.) Liadain Sherrard with the assistance of Philip Sherrard, London, 1993, pp. 187 - 188.

[4] See for example sūrah 7:171; 5:59; 50:16; 2:109; 51:21, etc. However, there are many views about the origin of sufism such as that it is of Qur'ānic origin, from an independent source whether a Neo-Platonic, or an Aryan reaction to Semitic Religion, or Buddhist, of Christian, of Hindu, etc. Its origin has been asserted by some scholars such as Massignon in his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1928 and questioned by others such as Nicholson in his book, ***The Mystic of Islam***, London, 1914, Introduction, pp. 1 - 27, and R. C. Zaehner in ***The Hindu and Muslim Mysticism***, London, 1960, pp.111f; *Cf.* T. Burckhard, ***An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine***, D. M. Matheson (tr.), Lahore, 1959, p. 5; Majid Fakhry, ***A History of Islamic Philosophy***, London, 1983, p. 234.

[5] ***Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*** New York, 1903, p. 227.

[6] Among them were 'Alī ibn Abū Tālib (d. 40/661) the fourth of the righteous caliphs who has been regarded as the head of almost all the sufis (al-Sha'rānī, ***Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā***, Vol. 1, Beirut, p. 19), Ḥudhayfah (d. 50/657) and Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (d. 45/653) who appears as the prototype of the true poverty. Others were Uways al-Qaranī, Salmān al-Farisī (d. 36/656), a Persian born Muslim whose spirituality is therefore considered a decisive element in the history of Persian sufism, etc. (Annemarie Schimmel, ***Mystical Dimensions of Islam***, North Carolina, 1975, p. 28; Margaret Smith, ***Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East*** Oxford, 1995, p. 153f; Anawati and Gardet, ***Mystique Musulmans***, Paris, 1961, p. 23f; Majid Fakhry, ***op. cit.***, p. 235; R. A Nicholson, ***Literary History of the Arabs***, London, 1907, p. 292; Ibn Kathīr, ***al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyah***, Vol. 1, Beirut, 1971, pp. 298 - 308.

[7] The most important figure in the history of early Muslim sufis is a venerable divine of the first century of the Muslim era, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. For further information about his ascetic life see al-Sha'rānī, ***op. cit.***, Vol. 1, pp. 29 - 30; H. Ritter, "al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī", ***EI(2)***, Vol. 3, pp. 247 - 248; P. K. Hitti, ***History of the Arabs***, London, 1940, p. 178; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, ***Tārikh al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī***, Kuwayt, 1978, p. 8.

detailed technique of spiritual ascetic, whose stages, progress and aims require the existence of an entire metaphysical system which goes by the name of gnosis (*al-irfān*).[8] Almost without exception, the earliest figures seem pronouncedly ascetical. Ibn Khaldūn writes:

> The sufis came to represent asceticism, retirement from the world and devotion to divine worship. Then, they developed a particular kind of perception which comes about through ecstatic experience.[9]

Al-Qushayrī in his work explains them as "those who were most deeply concerned with matters of religion, objected to all indulgence which could entangle the soul and avoided luxury and ostention," and "whose souls were set on God, and who guarded their heart from the disasters of heedlessness."[10] The ascetics figure at that time discussed issues such as the value of celibacy, poverty and retreat which were summed up in the word "asceticism" (*zuhd*). Their lives were marked by fear of God, fear of heedlessness, temptation, sin and other things. Beside that, some of them were yearning for paradise and some of them were practicing the doctrine of love of God (*al-ḥubb*).[11] Among them were al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/738), Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 131/748), Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 161/779), Rabī'ah al-'Adawiyah (d. 169/787), Dāwud al-Ṭā'ī (d. 165/783), al-Fuḍayl ibn al-'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803) and Shaqīq al-Balkhī (d. 194/810), while al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī has come down through Muslim history as the examplar of ascetic engagement in the world. He was also deeply steeped in sadness and fear. One historian said, "It was as if hellfire had been created for him..."[12] It is also reported that a Bedouin said to al-Baṣrī: "You are an ascetic; I never saw anyone more ascetic than you are." "O Bedouin!" cried al-Baṣrī, "my asceticism is nothing but desire, and patience is nothing but lack of fortitude." The Bedouin begged him to explain his saying,"for [said he] you has shaken my belief." Al-Basri replied: "My pa-

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[8] Henry Corbin, ***op. cit.***, p. 188.

[9] Ibn Khaldūn, ***The Muqaddimah, An Introduction to History***, (tr.) Franz Rosenthal, Vol. 3, London, 1958, p. 76.

[10] Al-Qushayrī, ***al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah***, Cairo, 1867, p. 25; *cf.* E. G. Browne, ***A Literary History of Persia***, Vol. 1, London, 1902, pp. 297 - 298; D. L. O'Leary,***Arabic Thought and Its Place in History***, London, 1954, p. 191.

[11] See Martin Lings, ***What is Sufism?***, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 104 - 106; I. M. Lapidus, ***A History of Islamic Societies***, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 109f.

[12] Al-Hujwīri, ***The Kashf al-Maḥjūb, The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism***, (tr.), R. A. Nicholson, New Delhi, 1991, pp.86 - 87; Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahānī, ***Ḥilyah al-Awliyā'***, Vol. 2, Cairo, 1932, pp. 131 - 161; A. J. Arberry, ***Muslim Saints and Mystics***, excerpts from ***Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*** of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, London, 1966, pp. 19 - 26; Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, ***al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā***, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1299 A. H. pp. 29 - 30; H. Ritter, *EI(2)*, Vol.3, pp. 247 - 248.

tience in misfortune and my submission proclaim my fear of Hell-fire, and this is lack of fortitude (*jazā'*); and my asceticism in this world is desire for the next world, and this is the quintessence of desire. How excellent is he who takes no thought of his own interest! So that his patience is for God's sake, not for the saving of himself from Hell; and his asceticism is for God's sake, not for the purpose of bringing himself into Paradise. This is the mark of true sincerity."[13]

Mālik ibn Dīnār al-Sāmī was the son of a Persian slave from Sijistan and became a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. He was owner of woolen patched frocks and was well-known for his repentance and abstinence.[14] Another figure is Ibrāhīm ibn Adham who was born in Balkh in Afghanistan of pure Arab descent. He was a prince who renounced his kingdom to live a life of complete asceticism until he died in 165/782 and most of whose sayings indicate an otherworldly but ascetical outlook. He said for example, "Love of meeting people is part of the love of the world, while leaving them is part of leaving the world."[15] Informations of the way he lived further suggest an ascetical life such as austerities like continual fasting, winter clothing of only a fur with no undershirt, and no shoes or headcover.[16] In addition, he is reported died fighting in Upper Mesopotamia as he was a frontier raider. The report suggests him as a man of struggle.[17]

The piety of Rabī'ah al-'Adawiyah too is overwhelmingly ascetical. She is recorded as living in poor condition and proclaiming celibacy and also taught about the importance of divine love (*al-ḥubb*) and celebrated by scholars for many sayings about the love of God.[18] She has been reported as inventor of a new love mysticism, though, her sayings plainly express just the common, ascetical concern for single minded devotion.[19] It is related that Rabī'ah never ask anything from anyone for begging to an-

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[13] Al-Hujwīri, ***op. cit.***, p. 86.

[14] See, 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, pp. 26 - 31; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp .89 - 90; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, pp. 357 - 388.

[15] Al-Sulamī, ***Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyah***, (ed.), N. Shariba, Cairo, 1953, pp. 13 - 22; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 103 - 105; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 7, pp. 367 - 395, 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, pp. 62 - 79; Russell Jones, "Ibrāhim Ibn Adham", ***EI(2)***, Vol. 3, pp. 985 - 986.

[16] Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 7, p. 373; see also Christopher Melchert, "The Transition from Asceticism to Mysticism at the Middle of the Ninth Century C. E.", ***Studia Islamica***, Vol. 83 (1), 1996, p. 54.

[17] Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 8, p. 9.

[18] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, pp. 39 - 51; Ibn al-'Imad, ***Shadharāt al-Dhahab***, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1350 A.H.,p. 193; see also Margaret Smith, ***Rabi'a the Mystic and her Fellow-saints in Islam***, Cambridge, 1928.

[19] Peter J. Awn, ***op.cit.***, p. s.v; Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 61.

other than God involves turning away from God to another. She believes that when a man turns away from God there is danger that God may leave him in the predicament. Someone is reported as said to her: "O Rabī'ah, ask something of me that I may procure what you wish." "O Sir," she replied, "I am ashamed to ask anything of the Creator of the world; how then, should I not be ashamed to ask anything of a fellow-creature?"[20]

Dāwud al-Ṭā'ī of Kufah was a companion of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, and an ascetic of whom many anecdotes are told in the early works of sufism. He is said as was converted to the ascetic life by Ḥabīb al-Ra'ī. He practised poverty *(al-faqr)* as an aid to the struggle against the lower self.[21] It is related that he said to one of his disciples: "If you desire welfare, bid welfare to this world, and if you desire grace, pronounce the *takbīr* over the next world," i.e. both are places which prevent one from seeing God.[22] It is also related that Ma'rūf al-Karkhī said about him: "I never saw anyone who held worldly goods in less account than Dāwud al-Ṭā'ī; the world and its people had no value whatsoever in his eyes, ..."[23]

Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ was also an ascetic whom is said to have been converted highwayman and then became a most popular sufi. He was well-known for his sermons on the worthlessness of the world. It is reported that his servant Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ash'ath said: "When he heard mention of God or heard the Qur'ān, fear and sadness overcame him, his eyes filled up, and he wept". His disciple, Abū 'Alī al-Rāzī also mentioned about his asceticism as he said:

> I was a disciple to al-Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ for thirty years and never saw him laugh or smile save the day his son 'Alī died. I asked him about that, so he told me, "God loved this matter, and I have loved what God loved."[24]

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[20] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 358.

[21] Al-Khāṭib al-Baghdādī, ***Tārikh al-Baghdād***, Vol. 8, Cairo, 1931, pp. 347 - 355; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 7, pp. 335 - 367; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, ***Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb***, Vol. 3, Cairo, 1325 A.H., p. 203, al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 109 - 110; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 1, p. 256; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 14 - 15; 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, pp. 138 - 145.

[22] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 109.

[23] ***Ibid.***, p. 110.

[24] Al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 7 - 12; al-Dhahabī, ***Kitāb Tadhkirāt al-Huffāz***, Vol. 1, Hyderabad, 1955, pp. 225 - 227; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 97 - 100; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 8, pp. 59; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 1, pp. 316 - 318; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p.10; 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, pp. 52 - 61; Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 54.

Faṣl ibn Rābi' who accompanied the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn al-Rashīd to see Fuḍayl relates as follows: "... Hārūn asked the latter whether he had any debts. He answered: "Yes, the debt which I owe to God, namely, obedience to Him, woe is me, if He calls me to account for it!" Hārūn said: "O Fuḍayl, I am speaking of debts to men." He replied: " God be praised! His bounty towards me is great, and I have no reason to complain of Him to His servants."[25]

Shaqīq al-Balkhī, one of the founder of Khurasani school of sufism and was a disciple of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham. He was known for his discourses on the imminence of the Last Day of Judgement and the doctrine of reliance on God *(al-tawakkul)*. Shaqīq was said to be the first to speak of the states (*aḥwāl*) in Transoxania, dealing with the usage of mystics. His sayings however, showing an ascetical life, for example:

One who is self-possessed never departs from these three particles: first, that he be afraid on account of sins that have gone before; second, that he know not what will be made to come to him from one moment to the next; and third, that he fear the obscurity of the outcome.[26]

Ma'rūf al-Karkhī was a prominent Persian ascetic who accepted Islam at the hands of Imam 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā. He lived in Karkhi, Baghdad and thus was called Ma'rūf al-Karkhī and died there in 200/815. His saying that one cannot learn love for it is a divine gift and not an acquisition, has had a great impact on mystical thought. His saying that can be regarded as a definite and thoroughly ascetical emphasis on good works, for example, he says:

> Seeking paradise without works is one of the sins. Awaiting intercession without a cause is a species of delusion. Hoping for mercy from one who is disobeyed is ignorance and stupidity.[27]

And he said about generosity as follows:

> There are three signs of generosity - to keep faith without resistance, to praise without being incited thereto by liberality, and to give without being asked.[28]

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[25] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 100 - 101.

[26] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 111 - 112; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 8, pp. 58 - 73; al-Sulamī, ***op. cit.***, pp. 54 - 59; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 1, p. 341; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p. 15.

[27] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 113 - 115; al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 74 - 79; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p. 11; al-Khāṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 13, pp. 199 - 209; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 8, pp. 360 - 368; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 1, p. 360; R. A. Nicholson, ***"Ma'rūf al-Karkhī"***, ***EI(1)***, Vol. 3, p. 307.

[28] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 114.

In fact, there were many other ascetics around this century together with the above figures such as the Basran preacher Manṣūr ibn 'Ammār (d. 200/825), the Kufan immigrant to Antioch 'Abd Allāh ibn Khubayq (d. 200/825), Aḥmad ibn 'Aṣim al-Anṭākī (d. 220/845), the prominent Baghdadi ascetic Bishr al-Ḥāfī (d. 227/852) and the Syrian Ibn Abī al-Hawārī (d. 230/855). At this phase, the asceticism was highly individual in practice. However, sometimes they gathered to recite the Qur'ān and to sit in the presence of great masters and discuss spiritual matters. By this period, the ascetics were completely asceticism and it was only developed on a practical basis and had yet to be written in the books as a theoretical basis.

Then around the middle of the third century A.H./nineth century A.D., the phase of asceticism gradually changed to the theosophical phase. However, some of the figures are still predominantly ascetical, like the earlier, but the same number are mystics. The mystical teachings and religious experiences of the sufis were expressed in various forms and styles.[29] During this phase, several doctrines of sufism were developed by the most eminent and famous sufis. During this time, two broad tendencies had emerged within the sufi movement, which have come to be known today as the schools of Khurasan[30] and Baghdad.[31] However, this was not really a contention between the Arab and Persian expressions of sufism along ethnic lines, but rather reflects intellectual and spiritual aspects.[32] Infact they had no organizational coherence,[33] but they held together through the influence of the great masters and informal communication.

The two schools differed from each other. The School of Baghdad's main topic was *tawḥīd*. They developed this doctrine, but they used to formulate their teachings and ideas in special subtle allusions (*ishārāt*). Therefore, the members of this school were called "the Masters of *Tawḥīd*" (*Arbāb al-Tawḥīd*). The School of Baghdad's tendency placed heavy stress on asceticism and renunciation of worldly things combined with the cultivation of practical virtues such as patience, trust, gratitude and love of God. They were associated with sobriety (*ṣaḥw*) and believed that beyond annihila-

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[29] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 41.

[30] Shaqīq al-Balkhī was one of the founders of this school. See Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 7, p. 98.

[31] Sarī al-Saqaṭī was the founder of this school, and his house was a meeting place for sufis, where they could discuss their problems. (See A. H. Abdel-Kader, ***The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd***, London, 1962, p. 18).

[32] See, S. H. Nasr, "*The Rise and Development of Persian Sufism*" in ***Classical Persian Sufism: from its Origins to Rumi***, (ed.) Leonard Lewisohn, London, 1993, p. 3.

[33] Anyhow some scholars does not regard them as schools for they had no organizational coherence. See, Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, pp. 111 - 112.

tion (*fanā'*), there was sober persistence of self in the ordinary world in never-failing devotion to the fulfillment of God's will as expressed in the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Prophet of Islam.[34]

As opposed to the School of Baghdad, the School of Khurasan's tendency was characterised by emphasis on trust in God (*tawakkul*). Resignation to God's will expressed through voluntary poverty and renunciation of *'amal*. They were more associated with intoxication (*sukr*) and believed that the sufi seeks *fanā'* and union with the Divine names or attributes. The sufi's identification with God is expressed in secret utterances (*shataḥāt*).[35]

Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861)[36] who lived in Egypt was generally accepted as the first exponent of sufi doctrine, especially the theory of gnosis (*ma'rifah*) and the doctrines of states (*aḥwāl*) and stations (*maqāmāt*).[37] From his sayings, he can be reagarded as the earliest clearly more mystical than ascetical. Many sayings about love and intimacy (*al-'uns*) are attributed to him.[38] Annemarie Schimmel who followed Edward G. Browne considers him "the first to give to the earlier asceticism the definitely pantheistic bent and quasi-erotic expression which we recognize as the chief characteristics of sufism".[39] His saying which showed as the mystical outlook, for example:

> Let him direct his soul to the greatness of God, for then it will dissolve and become pure. Whoever regards the power of God, his own power goes away, for all souls are poor next to his awesomeness.[40]

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[34] Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, pp. 112 - 113; Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, p. 17.

[35] Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, p. 112.

[36] Abū al-Fāiz Thawban ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī, called Dhū al-Nūn was born at Ikhmim in Upper Egypt in 180/796. He travelled to Makkah and Damascus, and became a leading exponent of sufism. He studied under various teachers including the jurist, Mālik ibn Anas. A number of fine poem are attributed to him. (Al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 23 - 32; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 100 - 103; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p. 10; al-Khāṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 8, pp. 393 - 397; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 5, p. 4).

[37] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 43.

[38] ***Ibid.***, p. 43. He is said to have been arrested and taken to Baghdad by the order of the Caliph because of his sayings in which he spoke in allusions without divulging the secret of his loving intimacy with God. See 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, pp. 91 - 92.

[39] E. G. Browne, ***A Literary History of Persia***, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 1957, p. 505; Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 43.

[40] Al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, p. 25; Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 57.

And he also said: "The gnostic (*'ārif*) is more lowly every day, because he is approaching nearer to his Lord every moment." [41] According to Christopher Melchert that it does not appear that Dhū al-Nūn applied the term "sufi" to himself, but R. A. Nicholson appears justified in regarding him as the founder of theosophical sufism.[42] Dhū al-Nūn however, is reported as giving a definition of the word sufi as he said:

> The sufi is he whose language, when he speaks, is the reality of his state, i.e. he says nothing which he is not, and when he is silent his conduct explain his state, and his state proclaims that he has cut all worldly ties.[43]

Another early sufi who has been almost completely transformed from asceticism to mysticism[44] was Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874 or 264/877). He was contemporary of Abū Ja'far Yaḥyā ibn Mu'adh ibn Ja'far al-Rāzī (d. 258/876) who was famous for his teachings on *ma'rifah* and through him al-Junayd knew al-Bisṭāmī and recognised his spirituality and appreciated his status as a sufi. Al-Junayd said of al-Bisṭāmī: "He is amongst us like Gabriel amongst the angels".[45] He is famous for his doctrines of annihilation (*fanā'*), *waḥdat al-wujūd* and intoxication (*al-sukr*) and well-known for his secret utterances (*shaṭaḥāt*), for example he says: " There is nothing in this garment but God."[46] Al-Bisṭāmī believes that human nature is more prone to ignorance than to knowledge, and while many things can be done easily with ignorance, but not a single step can be made easily with knowledge. Therefore, he is recorded that he said:

> For thirty years I was active in self-mortification, and I found nothing harder than to learn divinity and follow its precepts. But for the disagreement of divines I should have utterly failed in my endeavour. The disagreement of divines is a mercy save on the point of unification.[47]

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[41] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 100.

[42] Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 57; R. A. Nicholson, ***A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism***, London, 1906, p. 309.

[43] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 36.

[44] Martin Lings, ***op.cit.***, p. 107; Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 47.

[45] Al-Bisṭāmī was born in Bistam in north-eastern Persia. (Al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 67 - 74; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 106 - 108, 184 - 188; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p. 16; H. Ritter, "al-Bisṭāmī", ***EI(2)***, Vol. 1, pp. 162 - 163; A. H. Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.*** pp. 31 - 32; A. J. Arberry, ***Revelation and Reason in Islam***, London, 1957, pp. 90 - 103; R. C. Zaehner, ***op.cit.***, pp. 93 - 134, 198 - 218).

[46] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 109; see also Carl W. Ernst, ***Words of Ecstasy in Sufism***, Albany, 1985, part 1.

[47] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 106.

Although a change can be seen throughout this century as mentioned above, some of the figures are still predominantly ascetical, such as Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 251/869).[48] He was regarded as one of the most eminent sufis from the School of Baghdad. Al-Muḥāsibī was born in Basrah but then removed to Baghdad[49] and settled there. He became one of the greatest figures in the history of Islamic sufism. He laid much emphasis in his teaching on asceticism and quietism, which he also practised assiduosly throughout his life. His teachings combined the quest for interior moral perfection with observance of Muslim law and theological clarification of the principles of belief. He believed that service to God was the principal object of a human life and love of God should be expressed in love of his commandments and acceptance of their sovereignty in daily life.[50] Al-Muḥāsibī pursued through self-purification with the object of knowing only God and he says:

> When love is made firm in the servant's heart, he has nothing left over for remembering man or jinn, heaven or hell-nothing but the recollection of the beloved.[51]

Another sufis who can be placed among the ascetics are Abū Ja'far al-Kurunbī, Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh (d. 258/876),Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muslim 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qanṭārī (d. 260/878) and Abu Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Qa'ab (d. 275/893).Al-Kurunbī was an 'Iraqian who lived in Baghdad. He was well known for his patched garment (*muraqqa'ah*). He is recorded as living in humble seclusion and reached a high stage as a sufi by *riyaḍāt*, by conquering his desires and by true purification of his soul.[52] His teacher was Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Burathī[53] and an intimate teacher of al-Junayd. Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh was one of the first to teach sufism in mosque and he seems to emphasis on the doctrine of hope (*rajā'*); the hope for Paradise and the hope for God's forgiveness. He was also renowned for his perseverance in worship and his

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[48] For his life see, al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, p. 56 - 60; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, pp. 73 - 109; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 13 - 14; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 108 - 109, 176 - 183; al-Khāṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 8, pp. 211 - 216; al-Subkī, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, pp. 37 - 42; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, pp. 103.

[49] In Baghdad he studied Traditions and theology and was closely involved with the leading personalities and prominent events of his time as he was one of the members of al-Saqaṭī's group. See, 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, pp. 143 - 145.

[50] Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, p. 112.

[51] Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, p. 78; see also Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 55.

[52] See, al-Khāṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 14, p. 414; Ibn al-Jawzī, ***Talbīs Iblīs***, Cairo, n.d. p. 191; Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, pp. 26 - 28.

[53] For his life see, Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, p. 224.

great scrupulousness in religious' matters.[54] Al-Qanṭārī was among the sufis of Baghdad and he was associated with Ma'rūf al-Karkhī and Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith and was well-known for his piety and ascetic life.[55] Al-Qaṣṣab who al-Junayd regards as his real teacher was one who can be put among the ascetic. He lived in seclusion and has a high spirituality.[56]

Among the sufis in this phase, there are many of them who might be interpreted as either an ascetic or a mystic. Sarī al-Saqaṭī (d. 253/867) is placed among them and he who introduced the popular doctrines of *tawḥīd* and love of God (*ḥubb Allāh*) which gave a great influenced to the next stage.The writer does not agree with Christopher Melchert who categorised al-Saqaṭī among those who nearer to the ascetical pole without mentioning his mystical view. Melchert quotes his saying which shows his ascetical life that his concern for pure devotion to God alone makes him anti-social: "Do not ask anything of anyone, do not take anything of anyone, and have nothing of which to give anything to anyone." And he says: "A little according to the Sunnah is better than much of heresy."[57] Because of these sayings Melchert puts him among the ascetics without looking at his sayings such as, for example:

> O God, whatever punishment You may inflict upon me, do not punish me with the humiliation of being veiled from You, because if I am not veiled from You, my torment and affliction will be lightened by the remembrance and contemplation of You, but if I am veiled from You, even Your bounty will be deadly to me.[58]

This saying can be considered as more mystical than ascetical. Beside that he is regarded as the first to present sufism in a systematised fashion. He was the first in Baghdad to teach the doctrine of *tawḥīd* through the way of mysticism, the first who devoted his attention to the arrangement of stations (*maqāmāt*) and the explanations of spiritual states *(aḥwāl)*. Al-Saqaṭī was also the leader of the Baghdadis in symbolic

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[54] Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, pp. 51 - 70; al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 98 - 104; al-Hujwīri, ***op. cit.***, pp. 122 - 123; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, pp. 138 - 139; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p.19; Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, pp. 31 - 32.

[55] See, Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, p. 305; al-Khāṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 3, p. 256; Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, p. 28.

[56] See, al-Khāṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 3, p. 62; Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, p. 26.

[57] Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 57. The sayings are quoted from al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 49 & 52.

[58] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 111.

utterances (*al-ishārāt*). He left nothing in writing, although his sayings have come down to us from al-Junayd, who was one of his influential disciples.[59]

Towards the end of this century, sufis began to compose books regarding the doctrine of sufism. One of them who wrote many books during those years was al-Muḥāsibī himself. Among his works is *Kitāb al-Ri'āyah li Ḥuqūq Allāh* which Annemarie Schimmel regards it as a "fine psychological treatise of early Islam".[60] The other books are *Kitāb al-Ṣabr wa al-Ridā'* and *Kitāb al-Tawahhun*, all of which have been edited.[61] As a great figure who composed many books on sufism, he had a great influence on later sufis, among whom was al-Ghazālī himself.[62] Al-Ghazālī fully accepted and used al-Muḥāsibī's idea of sufism as the foundation of his doctrine. That is why he describes al-Muḥāsibī as "outstanding for his contributions in the field of human conduct, as recognizing both the inherent weakness of the soul and the evil of human action".[63]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.H./ TENTH CENTURY A.D.

By the early fourth century A.H./tenth century A.D., the development of sufism was grounded in philosophical and metaphysical conceptions of God's being.[64] The sufis combined ascetic renunciation with the spiritual development leading toward union with God.[65] Al-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (295/907-908) who lived in Baghdad is plainly in the mystical camp. The suggestion is proposed because he was reported as saying: "I love

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[59] Abū al-Ḥasan Sarī b al-Mughallis al-Saqaṭī was born in the first period of Abbasid dynasty and the maternal uncle of Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd. Al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 48 - 55; 'Aṭṭār, ***op. cit.***, pp. 166 - 172; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 110 - 111; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, pp. 116 - 126; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 11 - 12; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, pp. 127 - 128; L. Massignon, "Sarī al-Saqaṭī", ***EI(1)***, Vol. 4, p. 171.

[60] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 251.

[61] According to A. J. Arberry, ***Kitāb al-Ri'āyah*** has been edited by Margaret Smith in Gibb Memorial Series, no, 15, published in London, 1940; ***Kitāb al-Ṣabr wa al-Riḍā'*** has been edited by Otto Spies, published in ***Islamica***, Vol. 6, 1932, and ***Kitāb al-Tawahhun*** has been edited by A. J. Arberry, published in Cairo, 1937.

[62] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 143; Margaret Smith, ***op.cit.***, p. 225.

[63] Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, p. 20.

[64] John Obert Voll, ***Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World***, London, 1982, p. 136; A. M. M. Mackeen, ***The Sufi Qawn Movement***, London, 1963, p. 217; Qāsim Ghanī, ***Tārikh al-Taṣawwuf fī al-Islām***, (tr.) Ṣādiq Nash'ah, Cairo, 1970, pp. 71, 81.

[65] Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, p. 115.

God and God loves me".[66] And he also expressed a typical mystical saying: "Joining with the truth is parting from everything else, as parting with everything else is joining with it".[67] It can be seen that al-Nūrī is the earliest figure in al-Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyah* whom speak about "joining" (*jam'*), whilst others might speak of longing (*shawq*) for God.[68]

Another sufi figure of the School of Baghdad was Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad al-Khazzāz al-Nihawandī[69] who was a Persian,[70] at a time when it was regarded that in Persian hands the doctrine of sufism developed and turned towards pantheism. However, he lived all his life in Baghdad where he died in 298/910. Al-Junayd was a nephew of Sarī al-Saqaṭī who initiated him into sufism and was a disciple of al-Muḥāsibī.[71] Among al-Saqaṭī and al-Muḥāsibī, al-Junayd's teachers were Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, Ibn al-Kurunbī, Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh, al-Qanṭarī, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād (d. 267/873)[72] and Muḥammad al-Qa'ab. He was put into the front rank of the sufism of the School of Baghdad and was also called by the title of *Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah* (The master of a group). In his works al-Junayd plainly refers to mystical experience. For instance, he speaks about "being transported by gnosis (*ma'rifah*) whither knowledge (*'ilm*) never transported them to an infinite aim."[73] He was also known as the greatest exponent of the Sober school of sufism and was the one who recorded and systematized Dhū al-Nūn's teaching. As al-Muḥāsibī's disciple,[74] al-Junayd continued his efforts to intergrate sufism with other aspects of Islamic religious life. He laid stress upon renunciation and purification of the heart by the fulfillment of God's will in daily life.[75] His influence on the subsequent development of sufism was very great, particu-

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[66] Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, ***Pages From the "Kitāb al-Luma*** (ed.), A.J. Arberry, London: Luzac, 1947, p. 5.

[67] Al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, p. 153.

[68] Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 60.

[69] Majid Fakhry, ***op.cit.***, p. 237.

[70] Al-Khāṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 7, p. 242.

[71] Al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p. 10; Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, pp. 9 - 10.

[72] Abū Ḥafṣ 'Amr ibn Salama al-Ḥaddād of Nishapur, the Shaykh of the School of Khurasan, visited Baghdad and met al-Junayd. Beside a sufi, he was a Mu'tazilite and had written several books on scholastic theology. He did not practised asceticism, but rather on a gentle and noble attitude to life as he was rich and had a beautiful furnished house. (See, al-Khaṭib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 12, p. 220; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 124; al-Sarrāj, ***op.cit.***, p. 188; Abdel Kader, ***op.cit.***, pp. 28 - 31).

[73] Al-Junayd, *"The Book of the Cure Souls"*, (ed. 7 tr.), A. J. Arberry, ***Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society***, 1937, p. 226.

[74] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 199; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, pp. 255 - 256; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p. 51.

[75] Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, p. 112

larly in his teachings which are regarded as moderation while his elaboration of the theosophical doctrine determined the whole course of classical sufism in Islam.[76] His teachings were expounded in a series of letters written to various contemporaries which have survived[77] and are universally venerated by others from al-Sarrāj and al-Qushayrī to al-Ḥallāj and Sa'īd ibn Abū al-Khayr.[78] Al-Ghazālī also singled him out as one of his chief spiritual masters.[79]

Despite his moderation, al-Junayd venerated al-Bisṭāmī. His influence can be seen in al-Junayd's teachings in the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, annihilation (*fanā'*) and also eternity (*baqā'*). He professed these two-stages in the concept of sufi union and taught that beyond *fanā'*, he found *baqā'*.[80] However, as a moderate sufi, he knew very well that the deepest mystical experience and thought cannot be exposed to the public who do not understand its secrets.[81] in speaking who he praised as a leader of the mystical experience.[82]

Al-Kharrāz is the author of brilliant compositions of sublime sayings and allegories[83] and was known by his popular book *al-Ṭarīq ilā Allāh aw Kitab al-Sidq*.[84] According to al-Hujwīri, he was the first to explain the formulation of the mystical doctrine of annihilation (*fanā'*) and eternity (*baqā'*) and was renowned for the emphasis he placed on the doctrine of passionate love (*'ishq*). He also wrote *Kitāb al-Faraqh*

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[76] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 199.

[77] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 199 and see Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, pp. 121f, who had made a translations of al-Junayd's letters to his contemporaries.

[78] Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, pp. 34ff; al-Qushayri, ***op.cit.***, p. 18; Louis Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hosayn ibn Mansour Al-Ḥallāj, Martyr Mystique de l'Islam execute a Bagdad le 26 Mars 922* Vol. 2, Paris, 1922, p. 34; Majid Fakhry, ***op.cit.***, p. 237.

[79] Al-Ghazālī, ***al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalal***, (ed.) Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Abū al-'Ulā and Muḥammad Muḥammad Jabir, Cairo, 1973, p. 35.

[80] 'Attār, ***op.cit.***, p. 199; O'Leary, ***op.cit.***, p. 191, Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, p. 113.

[81] That is the reason for his rejection of al-Ḥallāj, Annemarie Schimmel, *al-Nun, and was a pupil of Sarī al-Saqaṭī and Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Hafī (d. 227/842). (For al-Harith's life see, al-Sulamī,* ***op.cit.***, pp. 33 - 40; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 8, pp. 336 - 360; F. Meier, "al-Harith", ***EI(2)***, Vol. 1, pp. 1244 - 1246). He was one of the earliest sufis to write books on sufism. See, al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 143, 241 - 246; al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 228 - 232; al-Qushayri, ***op.cit.***, p. 29; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, pp. 132 - 133; al-Khatib, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 4, pp. 276 - 278.

[82] Abdel-Kader, ***op.cit.***, p. 41.

[83] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 55; 'Attar, ***op.cit.***, p. 218.

[84] This book has been translated by A. J. Arberry into English under the title ***"The Book of Truthfulness"***, published in London, 1937. It also has been edited in Cairo without date by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd.

regarding mystical psychology which has recently been analysed.[85] According to 'Aṭṭār, al-Kharrāz composed over a hundred books on the theme of *fanā'* and *baqā'*, but only a few of these books have came down to us.[86]

Al-Junayd's teachings therefore were boldly preached by his pupil, Abū Bakr al-Shiblī of Khurasan (d. 334/940).[87] He became a leading figure of pantheistic doctrine and was notorious for his eccentric behaviour which led to his committal to an asylum. He left behind a considerable number of utterances and paradoxes.[88] He says, for example: "I am running to set fire to the Ka'bah, so that men may henceforward care only for the Lord of the Ka'bah".[89] It is seem that he can be placed among mystical sufis.

Another figure who became the most controversial figure in the history of sufism was Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/915). He was born around 244/858 near al-Baida' in the province of Fars, but then lived in Baghdad.[90] His sufi teachers included al-Shiblī and al-Junayd,[91] 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī (d. 279/903)[92] and also Sahl ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 282/900)[93] who made important contributions to the develop-

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[85] This book has been analysed by Paul Nywia under the title *Exegese Coranique et Langage Mystique*, Beirut, 1970 as cited by Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p .55.

[86] Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 218.

[87] Abū Bakr Dulāf ibn Jahdar al-Shiblī was from Khurasan by origin but was born in Baghdad where he died. He was originally Governor of Dimavand, but then converted to sufism and became al-Junayd's disciple. He was also an authority on the Malikite school of law. (See, 'Aṭṭar, ***op.cit.***, p. 277 - 286; al-Sarrāj, ***op.cit.***, pp. 395 - 406; al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 337 - 348; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, p. 338; al-Qushayri, ***op.cit.***, p. 29; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, pp. 366 - 375).

[88] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 277; The sufis had their own feelings about Shiblī, and al-Junayd for example called him as "the crown of these people". Maulānā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-**Uns***, (ed.), Mahdī Tawḥīdipūr, Tehran, 1947, p. 180, whereas others regarded him as not a proper interpreter of *Tawḥīd*. ***Ibid.***, p. 145 as quoted by Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 78.

[89] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 281.

[90] ***Ibid.***, p. 264.

[91] Louis Massignon, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 1, pp. 24ff; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 150 - 151.

[92] Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī a disciple of al-Junayd who lived in Baghdad in 297/916. (See, 'Aṭṭar, ***op.cit.***, pp. 214 - 217; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 138 - 139; al-Sulamī, ***op. cit.***, p. 200 - 205; al-Qushayri, ***op.cit.***, p. 25; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, p. 225, Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, pp. 291 - 296; O'Leary, ***op.cit***, pp. 192 - 193).

[93] He was born at Tustar in 200/818, became a disciple of Sufyān al-Thawrī and met Dhū al-Nūn. He then removed to Basrah and died there. He was the founder of the Salimiyah school of mystical theology. (See, al-Sulamī, ***op.cit.***, pp. 261 - 270; 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 153 - 160; al-Qushayrī, ***op.cit.***, p. 16; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, pp. 139 - 140; Abū Nu'aym, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 10, p. 189 - 212; Ibn al-'Imād, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, pp. 182 - 184).

ment of sufi theory and was influential through his pupil Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Salīm (d. 297/908)[94] the founder of the Salīmiyah school. Al-Ḥallāj was an intoxicated votary of sufism and had a strong ecstacy and lofty spirit. There are differences of opinion about him because of his pantheistic doctrine. The majority of the earlier religious scholars approach him from a classical stand-point which leads them to reject him. But later sufis like 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī, Abu Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr and others accept him with favour and regard him as a saint and martyr who suffered because he disclosed the great secret of the union between the soul and God.[95] Others like al-Junayd and Shiblī suspend their judgement about him.[96] Al-Ḥallāj was arrested by the Government on a charge of pantheism when he made a bold preaching of union with God. He then was condemned to death and cruelly executed in 309/915.[97] Al-Ḥallāj is the author of brilliant compositions and allegories, and al-Hujwiri claimed to have seen fifty works of his at Baghdad and in the neighbouring districts and some in Kurdistan, Fars and Khurasan.[98] However his famous work that has had a great influenced on later sufis is *Kitāb al-Ṭawasīn*, probably written during his imprisonment.[99]

Another figure of this period who made a great contributions in sufis writings was Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (370/988), from Tus in eastern Iran, whose ***Kitāb al-Luma' fī al-Taṣawwuf***[100] is an excellent exposition of the sufis' doctrines, with numerous quotations from the sources. This book has also been used in this article to show the transition of asceticism to mystical.

A near contemporary to al-Sarrāj was Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalābādhī (d. 371/990) who died in Bukhara and wrote a book entitled ***Kitāb al-Ta'arruf***[101] in an effort to find a middle ground between Islamic asceticism and Islamic mysticism.

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[94] The second founder of the Salīmiyah school and the principal teacher of Abū Ṭalib al-Makkī. (See, Louis Massignon, ***op.cit.***, p. 297).

[95] O'Leary, ***op.cit.***, p. 193.

[96] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 150; O'Leary, ***op.cit.***, p. 193.

[97] 'Aṭṭār, ***op.cit.***, p. 264.

[98] Al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 151.

[99] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 69. This book has been edited and translated by Louis Massignon with the title, ***Kitāb al-Ṭawāsin, texte arabe ... avec la version persane d'al-Baqlī*** published in Paris, 1913.

[100] This book has been edited by Reynold A. Nicholson and published by Leiden and London in The Gibb Memorial Series, no. 22, 1914 and then by A. J. Arberry under the title *Pages from the Kitāb al-Luma'*, published in London, 1947.

[101] This book has been edited by A. J. Arberry under the same title ***al-Ta'aruf li- Madhhab Ahl al-Tasawwuf***, published in Cairo, 1934 and has been translated by Arberry under the title***The Doctrine of the Sufis***, published in Cambridge, 1935.

Abū Tālib Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Aṭiyah al-Ḥārithi al-'Ajamī al-Makkī (d. 386/996)[102] was one of the sufi figures at the end of the century who had a great influence on later sufis, especially al-Ghazālī. Al-Makkī obtained a mystical knowledge in Makkah where he had been brought up under Abū Sa'id ibn al-A'rabī.[103] He also probably was influenced by the teachings and ideas of al-Junayd, especially concerning the doctrine of *tawḥīd*.[104] When he was in Basrah, he became a loyal adherent of the Salīmiyyah school of thought[105] under the guidance of Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Salīm (d. 350/960).[106] As al-Makkī was one of members of the Salīmiyah, he was also influenced by the teachings of al-Tustarī who was the founder of the school. Al-Makkī seems to have used strange utterances such as those of the pantheistic sufis. He is reported to have spoken these utterances publicly. Therefore, he was rejected by the public and was accused of being a heretic.[107] He was one of the earliest sufis who wrote about the doctrine of sufism comprehensively. His book *Qūt al-Qulūb* is regarded by Annemarie Schimmel as the first comprehensive manual of sufism.[108] Al-Makkī's teachings exerted great influence on later sufis including al-Ghazālī.[109] It is seem that al-Makkī makes used of Islamic mysticism instead of asceticism through out his life.

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[102] His date of birth is unknown. (See Ibn Khallikān, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 3, pp. 23 - 24). However, his early education was under Abū Sa'id ibn al-A'rabī who died in 341/950.(***Ibid.***, Vol. I, p. 330). That means he was born before 341/959.

[103] Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ziyād ibn Bishr ibn al-A'rabī. Born in Basrah, he lived in Baghdad and joined the circle of al-Junayd before he went to Makkah. He wrote many treatises on mysticism and history. See, Abū Nu'aym, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 375; al-Subkī, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 93; al-Makkī, ***Qūt al-Qulūb, fī Mu'amalat al-Maḥbūb wa Waṣf Ṭarīq al-Murīd ilā Maqām al-Tawḥīd***, Vol. 1, Cairo, 1961, p. 330.

[104] Ibn al-Khallikān, ***Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' al-Zamān***, (ed.) Iḥsān 'Abbāsī, Vol. 3, Beirut, 1968, pp. 23 - 24; al-Makkī, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 2, p. 294; Ibn al-Jawzī, ***al-Muntaẓam fī Tārikh al-Muluk wa al-Umam***, Hyderabad, 1358, Vol. 3, p. 89.

[105] The first founder of this Salīmiyyah School was Sahl al-Tustarī. See "Salīmiyyah", ***EI (1)***, Vol. 4, p. 115.

[106] He became a leader of the Salīmiyyah School after the death of his father Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Salīm who was the second leader of the Salīmiyyah. See "Salīmiyya", ***EI (1)***, Vol. 4, p. 115; W. M. Watt, ***The Formative Period of Islamic Thought***, Edinburgh, 1976, p. 23; ***Idem, Islamic Philosophy and Theology***, Edinburgh, 1985, p. 62.

[107] Ibn Khallikān, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 4, p. 303.

[108] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, pp. 56, 85.

[109] Al-Ghazālī, ***al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl***, (ed.), Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Abū al-'Ulā and Muḥammad Muḥammad Jabir, Cairo, 1973, p. 55.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM IN THE FIFTH CENTURY A.H./ ELEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

In the fifth century A.H./eleventh century A.D., the sufis made more efforts to compose books about sufism. Ibn Khaldūn writes in his ***Muqaddimah*** about this effort:

> When the sciences were written down systematically and when the jurists wrote works on jurisprudence and the principles of jurisprudence, on speculative theology, Qur'ānic interpretation, and other subjects, the sufis too, wrote on their subject. Some sufis wrote on the laws governing asceticism and self-scrutiny, how to act and not act in imitation of model [saints]. That was done by al-Muḥāsibī, in his ***Kitāb al-Ri'āyah***. Other (sufi authors) wrote on the behaviour of [sufis] and their different kinds of mystical and ecstatic experience in the states. Al-Qushayrī in his ***Kitāb al-Risālah***, and al-Suhrawardī in the ***Kitāb 'Awārif al-Ma'ārif***, as well as others, did this.[110]

In the early part of this century, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 410/1028)[111] wrote his work ***Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyah*** which constituted a source for later hagiographers.[112] Al-Sulamī divides the sufis up to his time into five generations each comprising twenty names. He gives name, dates, a short characterization, a sample of the prophetic hadiths reports he related and therefore a collection of his sayings which usually attached to chains of transmitters for each sufi. It is said that al-Sulamī's main tendency composing these works have been to demonstrate continuity between the sufis of his present day and the ascetics with whom he mentions at the beginning.[113] His contemporary Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 419/1037) wrote ***Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'***[114] which was composed in ten volumes. His work less often in other standard biographical dictionaries and dividing the sufis into classes belonging to succeeding periods. Al-Sulamī influenced successive generations mainly as a teacher and biographer. One of his spiritual disciples was al-Qushayrī (d. 456/1074)[115] who wrote ***al-Risālah*** which

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[110] Ibn Khaldūn, ***op.cit.***, p. 80.

[111] Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn was known for his asceticism and died in 410/1028. He was an eminent sufi writer who also wrote a commentary on the Qur'an. (See Ibn al-Jawzī, ***Ṣifāt al-Ṣafwah***, Beirut, Vol. 2, pp. 33).

[112] This book was published in several places, one of them in Leiden, 1960, which has an extensive introduction. It was edited by Johannes Pedersen.

[113] Christopher Melchert, ***op.cit.***, p. 53.

[114] This book was published in Cairo in the years 1932 - 1938.

[115] Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥawāzin al-Qushayrī was born in 376/986 at Istiwa'. He was a prominent sufi author of many sayings and exquisite works all of which are profoundly theosophical in every branch of science. (See 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Asnawī, ***Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah***, ed by Kamāl Yusūf al-Ḥūt, Vol. 2, Beirut, 1978/1407, pp. 157 - 158; al-Hujwīri, ***op.cit.***, p. 167; A.J. Arberry, ***Sufism***, London, 1963, p. 77).

describes sufi teachings and practices from the viewpoint of a fully-fledged Ash'arite theologian.[116] His other works on sufism are *al-Risālah fī 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf* and *Tartīb al-Sulūk*.

The most eminent and greatest figure in the history of sufism, who had great influence on his contemporaries and later periods until nowadays, was Abu Hamid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī. He was born in Khurasan.[117] Through his teachings and writings, he is considered as the greatest and most original thinker, not only in the history of Muslim philosophy but also in the history of human thought.[118] It is reported that al-Ghazālī began his study of sufism under one of his father's sufi friends whom his father enjoined to give him a thorough and liberal education and a firm grounding in the doctrines of Islam.[119] After that he was studying it under several other sufis where he learned the sufi path, duties and good works, frequent devotions and an earnest striving to attain the states of higher consciousness.[120] Only after he was appointed to a professorship in 484/1091 to teach in the Niẓāmiyyah College in Baghdad and after studied philosophies of al-Farābī and Ibn Sinā,[121] he then finally turned seriously to sufism. He claims to have mastered the doctrines and teaching of sufism through the writings of several outstanding sufi figures such as al-Muḥāsibī, al-Bisṭāmī, al-Junayd and al-Shiblī as well as oral teachings.[122] Consequently, he therefore, says that through his study of sufism, he had come to realize that knowledge of the way to God was not the same as experience of that way. Moreover, he adds that sufism consisted not of words, but actual experience. He also says that the attainment of the world to come depends on one's detachment from this present world

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[116] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, p. 88.

[117] For his life see Che Zarrina Sa'ari, "A Chronology of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's Life and Writing", ***Journal of Usuluddin***, No. 9, Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya, July 1999, pp. 57 - 72.

[118] 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, ***Mu'allafāt al-Ghazālī***, Kuwait, 1977, p. 21; M. S. Sheikh, ***Studies in Muslim Philosophy***, Lahore, 1962, p. 112.

[119] Margaret Smith, ***al-Ghazali: The Mystic, a Study of Life and Personality of Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Tusi al-Ghazali, Together with an Account of His Mystical Teachings and an Estimate of His Place in the History of Islamic Mysticism***, London, 1944, p. 11.

[120] W. M. Watt, "Al-Ghazālī", ***E.I.(2)***, Vol. 2, p. 1038; ***Idem***, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazali*, London, 1953, p. 21; Margaret Smith, ***op.cit.***, p. 16.

[121] See, R. J. Mc Carthy, ***Freedom and Fulfillment: An Annotated Translation of al-Ghazali's Munqidh min al-Dalal and Other Relevant Works of al-Ghazali "al-Munqidh"***, sec.35, Boston, 1980, p. 72; "al-Ghazālī", ***The Encyclopaedia of Britannica***, Vol. 8, p. 145; W. M. Watt, "al-Ghazzālī", ***The Encyclopaedia of Britannica***, Vol. 9, p. 145; H.A.R. Gibb & J.H. Kramer, "al-Ghazālī", ***Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam***, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1953, p. 111.

[122] Che Zarrina Sa'ari, ***op.cit.***, pp. 66ff.

and the directing of one's whole life to God.[123] At his time he composed his greatest work on sufism, ***Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn***,[124] a comprehensive work of forty chapters. He dealt systematically with the laws governing asceticism and the imitation of models. Then he explained the behaviour and customs of the sufis and commented on their technical vocabulary.[125] Annemarie Schimmel regards the teachings in this work as a marriage between sufism and law that made even traditional theologians take the sufi movement seriously and the moderate sufi outlook began to colour the life of most average Muslims. His struggle against Neo-platonic philosophy was probably instrumental in refuting the doctrine of pantheism for a while.[126]

It is said that al-Ghazālī's father had two sons, al-Ghazālī himself and Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad, whose surname is "The Glory of Religion" (*Majd al-Din*).[127] This sufi was a popular preacher who made his way via Hamadan to Baghdad, and took his brother's place when he retired from teaching at the Niẓāmiyyah College. He wrote an abridged version of the ***Iḥyā'*** of al-Ghazālī which has not survived, and ***al-Tajrīd fī Kalimāt al-Tawḥīd***, an exposition in sermon form of his confession of faith[128] and others. He died in 520/1138 in Qazwin.[129]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM FROM SIXTH CENTURY A.H./ TWELFTH A.D. TO SEVENTH CENTURY A.H./THIRTEENTH A.D.

From the end of the fifth century A.H./tenth century A.D. to the seventh century A.H./ thirteenth century A.D., important changes in sufi concepts once again reinforced the trend towards coherent religious groups. A changed concept of the relations between masters and disciples paved the way to a more formal type of organization.[130] In the fourth century A.H./ninth century A.D. and fifth century A.H./tenth century A.D., a sufi novice was someone who gathered with others in the presence of a master to take

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[123] ***Ibid.*** See also Margaret Smith, ***op.cit.***, p. 23; W.M. Watt, ***op.cit.***, p. 76.

[124] G. F. Hourani, "A *Revised Chronology of Ghazali's Writings*," ***Journal of American Oriental Studies***, 104 (1984), p. 296.

[125] Ibn Khaldūn, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 3, p. 80.

[126] Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, pp. 95 - 96.

[127] Margaret Smith, ***op.cit.***, p. 10.

[128] This book has been translated into Turkish by M. Fewzi, ***el-Tefrīd fī Terdjemēt el-Tedjrīd***, Istanbul, 1285.

[129] For detail see al-Subkī, ***op.cit.***, Vol. 4, p. 54; Kaḥālah, ***Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn***, Vol. 3, Beirut, 1957, p. 147; R.H. Ritter, "Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ghazālī", *EI(2)*, Vol. 2, pp. 1041 - 1042.

[130] R. A. Nicholson, ***op.cit.***, pp. 392 - 393; Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, p. 169.

lessons from him. By the sixth century A.H./eleventh century A.D. he was a disciple who owed total obedience to his master and considered him as a healer of the soul.[131] These groups had their own pious methods, rules, practices and doctrines which were attributed their famous earlier master to whom they were connected by a spiritual chain.[132] During these centuries many sufi orders and fraternities appeared not only in the Arab and Persian world but also throughout the Islamic world,[133] such as the Suhrawardī order attributed to 'Abd al-Qāhir Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 550/1168)[134] who is the author of *Adāb al-Murīdīn*.

Another great memorable name in the history of sufism after al-Ghazali is Muhyi al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-'Arabī who was born in Spain but finally settled in Damascus, in which city he died (638/1256).[135] He was a prolific writer who wrote about three hundred works in number according to his computation. By the year 1201, he had already completed nearly 60 works. Another 50 works were composed between then and 1222. He wrote many mystical wōrks which cover a whole range of subjects and are based on the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) and the perfectability of man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) which was embodied in his two major works, *Futuḥāt al-Makkiyah* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikām*. These two works are especially celebrated, and have caused Ibn al-'Arabī to be regarded by some scholars as the greatest of all sufis.[136]

According to Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine, he believes that there is no real difference between the Essence and its attributes or between God and the universe. All created beings exist eternally as ideas in the knowledge of God. Since being is equal with knowledge, their creation only means His knowing them or Himself.[137] His doctrines have aroused much controversy and even direct opposition right up to our own time. Therefore, some religious scholars have accused him of being a pantheist or a heretic, but he said that his knowledge came from God:

> In what I have written I have never had a set purpose, as other writers. Flashes of divine inspiration used to come upon me and almost

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[131] R. A. Nicholson, ***op.cit.***, pp. 392 - 393; Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, pp. 237 - 241; Lapidus, ***op.cit.***, p. 169.

[132] See Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, pp. 228f; Abū al-Wafā al-Ghanīmī al-Taftazānī, ***Madkhal ilā al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī***, Cairo, 1976, pp. 235 - 236.

[133] See ***First Encyclopeadia of Islam 1913 - 1936***, "*Tarika, Ṭarīqah Muktabar al Maeam*", pp. 668, which listed the name of many orders appeared in Islamic world.

[134] He was a pupil of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, al-Ghazālī's brother. Annemarie Schimmel, ***op.cit.***, pp. 244-245.

[135] R. A. Nicholson, ***op.cit.***, p. 399.

[136] R. A. Nicholson, ***op.cit.***, p. 400.

[137] ***Ibid.***, p. 402.

> overwhelm me, so that I could only put them from my mind by commiting to paper what they revealed to me. If my works evince any kind of composition, that form was unintentional. Some works I wrote at the command of God, sent to me in sleep or through a mystical revelation.

CONCLUSION

As a conclusion, the development of sufism can be seen as starting with individual practices on sufis doctrine of asceticism and only in a practical way, so that they were not involved themselves in any writing activity. By the fourth century A.H./tenth A.D. and fifth century A.H./eleventh A.D. the sufis made a big effort to express and systematize their various doctrines in writing, which shows that their treatises were written to show all those who read these works what sufism really meant, to describe the doctrines, principles, aims and path of sufism with the main ideas derived from their experiences. Specifically, the changes in the development of sufism here can be regarded as a transition from asceticism to mysticism which occurs in the late of the third century A.H./ninth century A.D. Then afterwards, the practices of sufism changed once again from individual practices to the organization of sufi orders. The reality can be seen through their works which explained their biographies which linked the novices of any given time with a chain of teachers leading back to their original master through spiritual chains. Then in the seventh century A.H./thirteenth century A.D., Ibn al-'Arabi made a great change in the history of sufism when he expressed his controversial doctrine.