

Religious Developments in Central Asia: A Study of Saljûq Period.

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Saljûq period marks an important phase of the religious history of Islâm. The period is remarkably interesting for the revival of Sunnism after a fairly long span of Islmâ'ilî domination. It witnessed the ferment of Shi'î ideas and above all it is the period of the growth of Sufism. In fact during the years between the death of Al-Ash'ari (935) to that of Al-Ghazâli (1111) the entire theological system of Islâm found its final systematization. The period is equally known for an extremely interesting Shi'î-Sunni polemics. Most important feature of this period is that it patronized, in 12th century, the organization of the oldest Sufi *Tarîqats/Silsilâs* (fraternities). In view of these facts Saljûq period can be reckoned as one of the most formative periods in the religio-cultural history of Islâm. In the following pages an attempt has been made to highlight some main religious trends of the period under review. It is only with the background of the Saljûq religious ethos in mind that one can understand the subsequent religious and cultural history of Irân, Central Asia and Indian subcontinent.

Sunnism:

The period of the Saljûqs in Central Asia is generally considered as the period of Sunni revival. While examining the religious and political history of the period two things strike us. First, that the revival was not simply Sunni, it was

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traditionalist too. Certain articulate forces of traditionalism are seen reviving in some measures during the period of Saljûqs. Second, the 'revival' has not been attributed sharply with the Saljûqs' entry into Baghdâd in 447/1055. The 'revival', in fact, was gaining momentum quite at the beginning of the century¹.

At the end of 4th/10th century and the beginning of 5th/11th century the Ghaznavid Sultân Mahmûd was pursuing a traditionalist Sunni policy under the Caliph al-Qâdir in his newly conquered territories with the patronage of the Caliph, Sultân Mahmûd followed a traditionalist view of religion which was more prominently anti-Shi'î, anti-M'utazili and also anti-Ash'ari.²

The Caliph proclaimed a decree in 408/1017 necessitating the retraction of all prospective officials to Hanafite theology. As a result of this policy the great Hanafi *Qâdi* Al-Saymari dramatically retracted from the M'utazilite philosophy in order to get the post of *Qâdi* in Baghdâd. The Ghaznavids were implementing this policy of the Caliph from a distance in Khurasân and obviously the Saljûqs had not as yet appeared on the scene.³

Tughril Beg, 429/1038 the first of great Saljûqs ordered the public cursing of Al-Ash'ari from the pulpits of Khurâsân. We also find him exiling the great Ash'ari 'Ulama' from the province. This was the deliberate policy of Turkish sunni Sultân which he pursued during the decade after his triumphant entry into Baghdâd and after assuming the title of Sultân and 'Right Arm' of the Sunni Caliph. The anti-Ash'ari policy of Tughril Beg was well felt and implemented from 445/1053 to 455/1063 till the death of the Sultân. Interestingly the total shift in the anti-Ash'ari policy of Saljûqs is witnessed immediately after the death of Tughril Beg and his *wazîr* 'Amîd al-Mulk al-Kundûri. With the accession of Sultân Alp Arsalân to the Sultanate and that of Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi to the *wazîrate*, the exiled Ash'ari 'Ulama' were welcomed back and the victimization of Ash'arîs came to an end. Even M'utazilites were equally tolerated and accommodated. The tolerant policy towards the alienated sects - Ash'arites and M'utazilites was the result of Nizâm al-Mulk's policy of foresight and administrative wisdom, which was dictated primarily by political expediency.

Both Tughril Beg and Kundûri were Hanafis and they supported Hanafi 'Ulamâ of M'utazilite leanings. Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi, on the other hand, was Shafi'î and supported Shâfi'î 'Ulama' of Ash'arite ideology. But at the same time he did not alienate the M'utazilîs too. Instead, he befriended them and bestowed financial support on them.⁴

Qazvîni, in his famous book *Kitâb al-Naqd*, that is a Shi'î polemic work of the first half of the 12th century, observes that population of Khurâsân and Transoxiana and parts of Irâq practised Hanafi and M'utazili theology.⁵ A later work *Tabsirat al-'Awâm* also by a Shi'î author, written during the beginning of the thirteenth century, shows us the division of the Saljûq domain on religious basis. The author of the book has mentioned the following six Sunni sects:

1. Dâudî:
2. Hanafi: Theologically divided into M'utazila, Najjâriya, Karâmiya, Murjia and Jabriya. The people of Khwârizm are Hanafi-M'utazili, the people of Bukhâra and the "Peasants" of Kashân are Hanafi-Najjârî; in Ghûr and Sind there are Karâmîs, whereas the Hanafis of Khurâsân, Transoxiana and Farghâna are Jabri, as are the Turks.
3. Mâliki: Theologically divided into M'utazilites and Ash'arites.
4. Shafi'î: Theologically divided into six groups: Mushabbiha (anthropomorphists), Salafis, Khârijîs, M'utazilîs, Ash'aris and Yazidîs.
5. Hanbalîs: and
6. Thawrîs:

The most interesting thing in the religious history of the Saljûq period, especially during the primeministership of Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi, is the religious tolerance that was showed towards different sects. Yaqût Hamavi while discussing Sîstân, informs us that there were many Khârijites in Sîstân and they were not afraid of declaring openly their Khârijism, and they wore a special garb.⁶

As all formative ages of religions, the Saljûq period too did not go without

religious debates and discussions. But towards the period of the decline of Saljûqs that was also a prelude to the downfall of the Muslim Civilization, these debates sometimes ended in massacres. In Nishapûr after the terrible onslaught of the Ghuzz (1154 A.D.) every night one sect would assault a quarter of the town inhabited by members of another sect; they would resort to loot, arson and burning. Similar things happened in Shîrâz between Hanafis and Shafi'is, in Rayy between both of them and the Shi'is and between all of them and Ismâ'ilis.⁷

The revival of Sunnism can be far more betterly understood by peeping into the expositions of Ghazâli. He is one of the best representatives of Central Asian Sunni ideology that has remained for centuries the religious milieu in which the greatest Iranian geniuses, literary and otherwise have been bred. It is a fact that along with his Sunni philosophy, Ghazâli, like his master Juwayni became pillar of the state religion, at a troubled time in its history.⁸ Al-Ghazâli, in a way, the resume and practical end of this Sunni philosophy. After him Sunnis did not produce much, that could be reckoned as significant in the theological field. Thus, Ghazâli's radical mistrust of human reason, his consequent condemnation of Philosophy and his intellectual aristocratism (he discouraged the common people from studying theology, saying that they must only believe) strengthened the trends of orthodox Sunni thought. Al-Ghazâli also strived hard to introduce a moderate mysticism into orthodoxy. He wished to make jurisprudence mystical and mysticism juridical. In this way the conviction of Al-Ghazâli and the moderate Sufis was compatible with orthodox Sunnite belief and respect for Islâmic Law. In deed, Al-Ghazâli himself did a lot more than any other writer to reinforce the intellectual content of Sunnite dogma.

A more trusted testimony to the Sunni revival is the final destruction of M'utazilism and the triumph of Ash'arism during the period of Saljûqs. The most famous figures of this movement were Juwayni (d. 1085), the master of Al-Ghazâli known as *Imâm al-Haramayn*. He was the greatest Shâfi'i-Ash'ari theologian of Khurâsân during this period. Another Shafi'i-Ash'ari scholar of the Saljûq period was al-Shahristâni (d. 1153), who served Sultân Sanjar and is chiefly famous as

the author of the great heresiographical manual *Al-Milal wal'-Nihal*. He lived in Khurâsân and Khwârizm. The growing influence of the orthodox Ash'arite school brought with it, of course, a decline in the speculative sciences. Ghazâlî's *Tuhâfat al-Falâsifa* (destructum philosophorum) is the only most authoritative example of this attitude.

The importance of the Sunni revival especially lies in the fact that Sunni religious learning was organised in great teaching institutions, which might be considered to be amongst the first universities of the civilized world. These institutions were founded and aided by the famous Saljûq *Wazîr* Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi- hence called the *Nizâmiyyas*. These institutions were like colleges, with scholarships, good salaries for the professors and traditional and well organised courses of studies. Prominent among these were the *Nizâmiyyas* of Baghdâd and Nishapûr.⁹

In fact, *Nizâmiyyas*, with their Shafi'ite professors, represented the success of the resurgence of the dogmatic theological movement, known by the name of Ash'arism. In the opinion of Goldziher, who holds in high esteem the services of *Nizâmiyyas* in the history of Muslim educational thought, "... for a long time it was not possible for (the Ash'arites) to teach theology in public. It was not until the middle of eleventh century, when the *wazîr* of the Saljûqids, Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi, created public chairs in the great schools founded by him in Nishapûr and Baghdâd for the new theological doctrine, that the Ash'arite dogmatic theology could be taught officially and could be admitted into the system of orthodox theology... It is, therefore, here that the fate of the Ash'arite school was decided in its struggle against M'utazilism on the one hand, and intransigent, orthodoxy (Hanbalism) on the other. The era in which these institutions flourished is, therefore, important, not only in the history of education, but also in that of Muslim dogmatic theology (Sunni thought)".¹⁰

Ash'arism is claimed to have won its victory in Baghdâd in the middle of eleventh century and the credit for this victory is assigned to *Nizâmiyya* colleges, Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi and Al-Ghazâlî whose genius, as professor of Theology, made

possible the acceptance by Muslim orthodoxy of not only sufi mysticism, but Ash'arism as well. Since the Nizâmiyya was claimed to be an official institution for the teaching of Ash'arism, it followed that Ash'arism was accepted as the official theology of Islâm at this period. Thus we are reasonably sure that the *madarssas* (Nizâmiyyas) symbolised the victory of orthodox Sunni theology over speculative and natural philosophy.¹¹

The Shî'is:

The Shî'a movement began as a political protest against the conferring of the Imâmate or leadership of Islâm on men like Abu-Bakr, Umar and Uthmân, who were not kinsmen of the Prophet (ﷺ). Soon after the death of the Prophet (ﷺ) there arose a difference among the Muslims as to who should succeed the Prophet (ﷺ) as leader of the *Ummâh*. Then the question of *Imâmate* formed the principal point of difference between those who believed that it was the right of Prophet's (ﷺ) family (*ahl al-Bayt*) and those who believed that it belonged to *Ummâh* as a whole. Those who supported the cause of the Prophet's (ﷺ) family were called *al-Shi'at li-ahlil-Bayt* (Adherents of the people of the house). Since 'Ali was the most prominent figure among the family of the Prophet (ﷺ), therefore, he became the rallying point of the supporters of the said cause and the latter came to be known as *Shî'a-tu'Ali* hence Shî'a or Shî'is.

The controversy of *Imâmat* (leadership) continued to grow, although not at an explosive level, during the period of first two Caliphs: Abu Bakr and Umar. However, when Uthmân became the Caliph, the above controversy had gained sufficient ground and momentum. Uthmân accepted the office of the Caliph on the condition that he would uphold and follow strictly the policies of Abu Bakr and Umar. But when 'Ali became the Caliph he insisted that he should be allowed to use his own judgement as the occasion demanded. 'Ali's insistence on the necessity for new policy to meet new circumstances automatically made him the leader of the forces of change, and the hero and rallying point for the opposition. He, as a sincere member of the *Ummâh* played a significant role in strengthening the hands

of Caliph Uthmân to preserve the unity and integrity of the infant empire and Ummâh. He also expostulated several times with the Caliph on the manner in which he allowed the government to fall into the hands of his unworthy favourites. In the course of time, 'Ali's remarkable foresight came to be realised by one and all and the same was acclaimed as a semi-divine "knowledge", the corner stone of Shi'ite ideology and policies.¹²

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

The Shi'is held fast to the hope that the high Islamic ideals of equality and Godliness among the faithful can be ensured and an equitable order throughout the mankind could be realized in practice only if the Muslims would accept divinely approved leadership. Loyalty to the house of 'Ali had only become identified with such hopes and the true Imâms (leaders of the Ummâh) were specially designated descendents of 'Ali. The civil authority of Muhammad should have been inherited, it was argued, by *Ahl al-Bayt* (The family of the house of Prophet (ﷺ)).

The exponents of this theory were mostly Yemenite Arabs, who were perhaps influenced by the memory of hereditary succession of the Kings of ancient Saba and Himyar. In Irâq there was a long tradition of divine kingship, and it would, therefore, be natural for the Arameans¹³ in particular to adhere to that religio-political group within Islâm which emphasised charismatic leadership. Most significantly the Shi'is associated their ideology with the Prophet's (ﷺ) declaration of 'Ali as his successor at Ghadîr-i-Khum in 632 A.D., whereupon Shi'is recognise the Imâmah as essentially a divine institution which aims for the continuing guidance of the human races after the Prophet (ﷺ).

The event of Karbala gave a strong sectarian and religio-political orientation to the Shi'is. It had a number of other far-reaching consequences. It decided not only the fate of Caliphate, but also menaced, once for all the prospects of unity

among the Muslims. The blood of Hussain, even more than that of his father, proved to be the seed for the Shî'ite church. The Shî'i movement was born a fresh on the field of Karbala. It ultimately proved one of the main causes of the downfall of the Umayyads and lastly it divided the Muslims into two main sects - Sunnis and Shî'is.

However, the rising of Al-Mukhtâr in Kufa during 685-678 A.D. was of great significance so far as the Shî'i sect is concerned. It was through the revolt of Al Mukhtâr that many *Mawâlis* (non-Arab converts) joined and supported Shî'i movement. These were mostly Persians, who hated the Umayyad regime as a symbol of Arab domination and used the 'Alid movement as a means of fighting for social and racial equality.

The source of the idea of the Hidden-Imam and his divine knowledge that was espoused during Mukhtar's revolt is obscure. But turns the Shî'is from a political party into an eschatological sect.¹⁴ However, during the later years of the Umayyad reign and the early period of the Abbâsids, Shî'i Imâms such as Muhammad al-Bâqir and J'afar al-Sâdiq gained remarkable stature amongst their followers. In spite of being politically quiet, they played an important role in the articulation of a specific Shî'i support in legal and theological terms. As a result the process of crystallisation of the Shî'ite view point around the personality of J'afar took place at this time.¹⁵ Imâm J'afar also appears to have significantly influenced the development of the mystical interpretation of Islâm.

Before becoming the official religion of Safâvids of Iran in sixteenth century Shî'is had resisted at a number of places the onslaught of Saljûqs. Therefore, it is difficult to assign a well defined geographical area in which they carried out their activities. The sect continued to flourish in various areas of Saljûq realm with its numerous sub-sects. It is, however, a reality that during the Saljûq period it passed through many phases of tough antagonism which, at times, varied in nature. Of numerous Shi'î sects, only following four were prominent during the Saljûq period: - (1) Nasîrîs (2) Zaidîs (3) Imâmîs (twelvers) and (4) Ismâ'ilîs.

However, inspite of the first two Saljûq rulers anti-Shî'i policies, Shî'i centres were flourishing in Iran and elsewhere during this period.¹⁶ Shî'is had their own libraries, madrassâs and mosques and even succeeded in penetrating into court life. Thus Hibatullâh Muhammad bin 'Ali (Known as Ibn-al-Muttalib) was a minister of Caliph al-Mustazhir. S'ad al Mulk Âvji was *wazîr* to Sutlan Muhammad bin Malikshâh and Sharf al-Dîn Anushirvân Khalid Kashâni was *wazîr* both to Caliph al-Mustardshid and Sultân Muhammad bin Malik Shâh.¹⁷ The extent of Shî'i influences and their penetration into official circles can be judged by yet another fact that orthodox Sunnis feared the alliance between the Saljûq ruling class and the Shî'is. The author of *Fadâih al Rawâfid* expresses this fear in these words, "now there is no *Sarâi* of Turks that has not at least ten or fifteen *rawâfid*,¹⁸ and many of them are employed as *dabîrs* in the *diwâns*". The Shî'i author of *Kitâb al-Naqd*¹⁹ even has words in praise of the Turks who sometimes used to protect the Shî'is in the period following the death of Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi and Malik Shâh.²⁰

Shî'i influences were particularly strong in Khwârazm which happened to be an old stronghold of Shî'as. The Khwârazm Shâh Muhammad, at the beginning of 13th century, is reported to have proposed to declare the Abbâsids unworthy of the Caliphate and Hussainîs ('Alîds) legitimate heirs of the Caliphate.²¹

Among the features of the methodology for spreading their beliefs and influences the Shî'a, during the post Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi period, took recourse to *Manâqibis* or *Manâqib Khwâns*. The *Manâqibis* are said to have existed in Irâq even during the Buyid period but due to the fear of persecution by early Saljûqs they kept their activities secret and often migrated from place to place. But after the death of Malik Shâh the *Manâqib Khwâns* used to sing *qasidâs* (panegyric) in praise of the Shî'i Imâm because he had attacked the Sunni userspers. These *qasidâs* also contained doctrinal and theological elements. In their fantastic tales the *manâqib khwans* extolled the military exploits of 'Ali and his paladins.

In order to counter balance the *Manâqib Khwans*, the Sunnis employed *Fadâ'il Khwâns* (singers of virtues), who exalted the superior virtues of Abu

Bakr and Umar and insulted the Shī'is. The author of *Kitāb al Naqd* says that instead of singing the true holy wars of 'Ali and his companions, they (sunnis) invented false wars and unfounded stories concerning Rustam, Suhrāb, Isfandyār, Kaūs, Zāl etc. and sent their singers to spread these idle tales in the bazars of the country, as a confutation (*radd*) of the bravery and virtue of 'Ali.²²

It is also during the period under review that *Tāziyas* (not in the modern sense of theatrical plays) were revived. These mourning ceremonies of the martyrdom of Hussain at Karbala seem to have started or developed first under the Saljūqs. They were sometimes practiced by the Sunnis too, and even in strong Sunni towns, like Hamadân. According to some religious literature of the period the prominent Shi'ī centres during the Saljūq period were Kashân, Tafrīsh, Aveh, Qum, Ray, Qazvîn, Mazandarân, Nishâpûr and Sabzavâr. The famous Shams-al din Laghâri has been quoted in *Râhat al-Sadûr* testifying the same fact.²³

Oh Khusraw! The abode of Bâtinites is at Qum, Kâshân, Abeh and Tabâs.
Burn down all these four abodes to keep the grace of four companions [of the Prophet SAW. Then burn down Farahân and Muslehkân to raise your virtues to six from four.

The important Shi'ī *Madrassâs* of this period were in Rayy, Khurâsân and Sabzvâr. The *Madrassâ* at Ray was founded by Sayyid Taj al-Dîn Muhammad Gīlaki, a contemporary of Tughrīl Beg and the *Madrassâs* of Shams al-Islâm Haska Bâbuya and many others are worth mentioning. Some of these *Madrassâs* had two to four hundred students. In Kashân these *madrassâs* were called Safâwiya, the Najdiya, the Sharafiya etc. and had on their staff learned masters like Imâm Zia al-Dîn Abul Rida Fadl ullâh bin 'Ali al-Hussain.

In Sabzwâr there were good *madrassâs* and teachers, which from generations to generations taught the law of Islâm. At about the beginning of the century a Shī'a scholar Abu J'afar Tûsi (d. 1068 A.D.) composed, the important

Qurânic commentary and its summary was also written in the 12th century by Ibn-i-Idris al-Hilli (d. 1182 A.D.). Again during the first half of this century the Shî'as produced a Qurânic commentary in Persian, that of Jamâl al-Din Râzi. Yet another venerated Shî'a scholar Sheikh Tabari (d. 1153 A.D.) composed three Qurânic commentaries, the most important of which is *Majm'a al-Bayân* in Arabic. The basis of a complete Shî'a theology was laid down during this period which produced only in the next century Nâsir al-Din Tûsi the greatest of all Shî'a theologians.

Thus, as pointed out earlier, the latter Saljûq period provided a lease to the Shî'as and their protogonists. The writings of Shî'a authors in various disciplines of religious and philosophical thought bear a testimony to this. Amongst such polemical works mention can be made of Sheikh Tûsi's *Ithbât al-Wâjib* and *Talkhîs al-Shafi'e*, a summary of a work by Sayyid Murtada (d. 1045 A.D.) written against *Al Mughni fil' Imâma* by Qâdi Abdul Jabbâr al M'utazili of Hamadân (d. 1023 A.D.). Another polemical writer was Abul Qâsim Hussain bin Muhammad of Isfahân known as Râghib Isfahâni (d. 1108 A.D.). The famous *Kitâb al-Naqd* was also composed around 1165 A.D.

The Saljûq period produced a number of those compositions, partly heresiographic and polemical, partly theological and historical, which could be defined as forerunners of our modern handbooks of comparative religion.²⁴ The oldest one in Persian was written in 1092 by a Shî'a, Abul Ma'âli Muhammad Ubaidullah with the title *Bayân al-Adyân* (An Explanation of Religions). During the early period of 7th century A.H was produced the *Tabsirat al 'Awâm* by Sayyid Murtada Dâ'i Hussaini of Rayy, also a sort of encyclopaedia of religions containing useful data. The book contains of twenty one chapters.

Ismâ'ilîs : A Brief History

The study of Islamic civilization and culture would not be complete without a careful consideration of the role of Ismâ'ilism in Islamic History. There is hardly an aspect of the life of the Islamic community, especially in its earlier period, which was not touched in one way or another by the presence of

Ismâ'ilîsm. The history of the Persian Gulf as well as of North Africa was altered appreciably by Ismâ'ilî activity in the third/ninth century. Then the founding of the Fâtimid Caliphate changed the whole course of history in a region ranging from Tunisia to the gates of Baghdad itself. It also played an important role in Persia especially with the advent of the "resurrection of Alamût" which grew out of the earlier phase of Ismâ'ilîsm. Subsequently, Ismâ'ilîsm had an important role in the historical development of Yemen, the Indian sub-continent and more recently East Africa.

As far as various intellectual and artistic aspects of Islamic civilization and culture are concerned, the presence of Ismâ'ilîsm is even more evident. Early Islamic theology, both Sunni and Ithnâ 'Ashari, bears the imprint of its debates with Ismâ'ilîsm. Ismâ'ilî philosophy stands as one of the richest school of thought in early Islamic history. The esoteric doctrines of Ismâ'ilîsm were related to certain schools of Sufism, while the Ismâ'ilî espousal of intellectual sciences in general was instrumental in the development of the religious sciences. This is particularly evident in Fâtimid Egypt which was witness to the activity of some of the greatest Islamic scientists. Likewise, members of the same dynasty became patrons of the Arts and made possible one of the most creative periods of Islamic Arts. Even in juridical, social and political thought, Ismâ'ilîs produced works of appreciable importance which had an impact upon the community as a whole.

After the death of Imâm J'afar al-Sâdiq, the body of his followers who remained faithful to the line of his descendent through his elder son and designated heir, Imâm Ismâ'il, came to be known as Ismâ'ilîs. Ismâ'il predeceased his father. But Ismâ'ilîs declared him not to be dead but hidden, and recognized him as the seventh Imâm being in consequence known as seveners (*Sab'iya*).²⁵

According to the Ismâ'ilî sources the next four Imâms who succeeded Ismâ'ilî were hidden or concealed and taught their message to people through their agents. These Imâms were expected to reappear to inaugurate the reign

of justice and truth. The later Ismâ'ilî sources speak of this period as constituting a *Dawr al-Satr* (period of concealment). During this period the Imâm's settled at Salâmiya in Syria, but their identity and whereabouts were known only to a few completely trusted disciples. They continued to engage themselves in creating a remarkable network of emissaries (agents) which came to be known as *dâ'is*.²⁶

A *dâ'î* was carefully selected and expected to subject himself to a rigorous training and discipline. The *dâ'î* in Ismâ'ilî circles, was expected not only to lead ethically an exemplary life, but also to be in possession of a keen knowledge of the highest intellectual sciences of the day. Thus, the *dâ'î* had not only summoned the people to allegiance to the rightful Imâm, but also to promote the social moral and spiritual welfare of the Imâm's followers. They attempted to introduce a religious reform precisely in opposition to the whole pattern of Sunnis.²⁷

After living in concealment for many years like a sub-terranean stream, Ismâ'ilism suddenly burst out in a number of widely separated regions in the closing decades of the 9th century. In 879 A.D. a mission under Ibn Hawshab was dispatched to Yemen and brought a large part of that province under control. In 893 A.D. Abu Abdullah al-Shî'i, a native of the Yemen, set off to North Africa to work under the Berbers and provoke them against the Aghlabids in Tunisia and the Idrisides in Morocco. In 909 A.D. Abu Abdullah, having overturned the kingdom of the Aghlabids produced the hidden Imâm and proclaimed him Mahdi and Caliph at Raqada near Qairwan, thus inaugurating the Fâtimid Caliphate, which was to survive down to the time of Salah al-Dîn.²⁸ This dynasty of Imâm's which established effective power initially in North Africa and then in Egypt, lasted for over two centuries and adopted the title of al-Fâtimiyûn (commonly rendered as Fâtimid) after Fâtima, the Prophet's (ﷺ) daughter who was married to 'Ali.

Almost all Ismâ'ilis rallied to the Fâtimid line. Throughout Iran they recognized the Egyptian Fâtimids as the true 'Alid Imâm's, descendents of Ismâ'il and entitled as the custodians of the spiritual inheritance of the Prophet (ﷺ), to exclusive obedience among all Muslims. With the successes in Syria and Hijâz and with their growing prestige as navel power and having ensured the new Caliph's recognition

from Sicily to Sind, Ismâ'ilîs could hope that the promised days were at hand when the Imâm was to re-unite the Muslims, overwhelm the infidels and fill the world with justice" - the long standing dream of all Shî'is.²⁹

The Ismâ'ilî *da'wah* (call) was steadily gaining momentum and consolidation of its influence was being realized chiefly in Iran, India and Transoxiana. These regions provided material and moral support to the Ismâ'ilî sentiments which was practically manifested in Egypt where the ruling Fâtimid dynasty was established.

Around the middle of the century, Africa too was lost to the Fâtimids as a result of a local rebellion in favour of the Abbasids, which was once again accompanied by the massacre of several Ismâ'ilî communities in the area. But, still due to the untiring efforts of *Da'i*'Ali bin Muhammad al-Sulayhi, sufficient support and allegiance was secured in Yemen. Similarly attempts were made to re-establish control amongst the communities had survived the massacre carried out by Mahmûd. *Da'i*'s also went out to Gujrat and along the western coast of India. In the upper Oxus region, the eminent *Dâ'i* Nasiri-i-Khusraw carried out a sustained exercise of preaching the Ismâ'ilî faith.

In Iran and Transoxiana the *d'awa* was carried out under cover particularly after the rise of Saljûqs who were bent upon exterminating the Ismâ'ilî supremacy. However the Ismâ'ilî influence continued to grow inspite of the anti-Ismâ'ilî policies of the Saljûqs. Ismâ'ilîs seem to have been numerous in towns in all parts of the Saljûq kingdom. Many are reported to have been craftsmen and some are merchants. The workers and artisans of craft guilds of the big cities are said to have been especially receptive of Ismâ'ilî propaganda. One theory has it that the Islamic *sinf* or guild was the creation of Ismâ'ilîs.³⁰ It is also alleged that an Ismâ'ilî *fidâi* Abu Tâhir Arrâni stabbed the famous *wazîr* Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi to death in 485 A.H. at Nihavend in revenge for his ill treatment of a carpenter.³¹

However with the increasing Saljûq power the Ismâ'ilîs obviously found themselves in an increasing hostile environment which prevailed not only in the political and military sphere but also at an intellectual level. The most

well known attempt to combat Ismâ'ilîs through the articulation of a rival theology and Shari'a was exemplified in the work of al-Al-Ghazâli (d. 1111 A.D.), which was undertaken at the behest of *wazîr* Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi. The Ismâ'ilîs attempted to introduce a religious reform precisely in opposition to the whole pattern of Sunnis. During the 1080's the Ismâ'ilîs of the Saljûq lands were preparing active insurrections on an unprecedented pattern. They are said to have killed a *mu'azzin* at Saveh lest he should leak out their secrets. They were looking to multiplicity of risings every where at once, to overwhelm the established social structure from within.³²

The centre of the militant activities of Ismâ'ilîs was the fortress of Alamût, in the district of Rudbâr in the Alburz mountains south of the Caspian sea. The fortress was captured by Hassan-i-Sabbâh, in 1090 A.D. The capture of Alamût and the establishment of a settlement there which was to prove remarkably strong, viable and long lasting, was followed by the consolidation of the Ismâ'ilî power in the surrounding area of Rudbâr. At about the same time and at last partly inspired from Alamût, the Ismâ'ilîs of small towns in Kuhistân and the arid lands south of Khurâsân, declared their independence from the Saljûqs, and became the subsidiary centres of Ismâ'ilî power and influence.³³ By the end of the century, Ismâ'ilîs had established strongholds in a number of mountain zones in the Iranian highlands.

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

In the years following 485/1092 while the frequent Saljûq quarrels gave the Ismâ'ilîs a respite, Hasan-i-Sabbâh made Alamût as impregnable as possible. He strengthened the fortifications and built up great store of provisions. He also got prepared vast store rooms to be hallowed out in the rock, in which large amounts of food could be kept in good condition for a long time. He took care to arrange irrigation for the fields immediately around Alamût. He tried to make Alamût physically selfsufficient and ready to resist any indefinite siege. Likewise the mood of Alamût became martial. Once Hassan took up

his residence there, he spent his whole time writing and directing operations.³⁴

The Attack on Ismâ'ilîs

The Saljûq Sultân Malik Shâh assigned the task of raiding Alamût to Urantâsh one of his trusted Amîrs. After giving a tough fight to the Saljûq forces and losing a large number of supporters, Hassan-i-Sabbâh ordered for mass migration from the fortress and continued to hold that fort along with some of his followers. Again in the beginning of 484 A.H. Malik Shâh sent his another general Qizil Sawag to invade the Ismâ'ilî settlements of Kuhistân and another re-inforcement was sent to crush Alamût in 485 A.H., under the command of Amîr Arsalân Tâsh. The desperate Hassan-i-Sabbâh was fortunate to receive re-enforcement of three hundred Ismâ'ilîs from Abu 'Ali, the *Dehdâr* (town leader) of Qazvîn, Ardsistân and Rayy. This re-inforcement, supported by Ismâ'ilîs from other parts of Rudbâr, was able to make a sally against the Saljûq forces.³⁵

Within a few years the Ismâ'ilîs held strongholds in a number of mountain zones in the Iranian highlands, including the fortress of Gird Kuh and Lamyar (Iamsar). Along with Alamût and some neighbouring places at the western end of the Alburz, they seized at least two other places of defence at the eastern end of that range. In the Zogros range, especially in the south around Arajân, they seized several fortresses at key posts.

In Daylamân and Kuhistân, large parts of both provinces remained solidly under Ismâ'ilî control. In the following years, the Ismâ'ilîs of Syria, in addition to Aleppo, acquired strongholds in the mountains north of the Lebanon. These several widely scattered and seemingly defenseless little districts, formed a single state, marked for a century and a half by outstanding solidarity and stability as well as independent local spirit and loyal, under the most various vicissitudes, to the dâ'îs of Daylmân established at Alamût.

In almost every town of the Saljûq kingdom there was an Ismâ'ilî cell. Such cells seem to have become the nucleus for armed bands. It was such

armed bands that seized key fortresses as defence headquarters. Even in the Saljûq garrisons it was not clear whether the troops belonged to Ismâ'ilî or Sunni faith because Ismâ'ilî kept their allegiance a top secret. Any member of Ismâ'ilî recruits and volunteers could have intruded in to the Saljûq fortresses as a part of their military strategy.³⁶

To eliminate their enemies and to achieve military and political aims, the Ismâ'ilîs resorted to an important auxiliary technique of assassination. They made a frank policy of it, even insinuating their men among a political enemy's servants in advance. Their assassinations were aimed at those prominent enemies who damaged the cause of Ismâ'ilîs. At the same time they avoided bloodshed among ordinary people. They thought that the elimination of one man in time could avoid a bloody battle. The assassinations were made as publicly and dramatically as possible in order to make them as warnings. The zealous Ismâ'ilî youth (*fidâ'is*) gladly sacrificed their lives in such acts. Mothers used to weep in grief whenever they found their sons returning home safely after the accomplishment of murders assigned to them. After murdering wazîr Nizâm al-Mulk, they murdered all of a sudden Abd al-Rehman Sumayrami the wazîr of the mother of Sultân Berkyaruk in the month of safar 490/1097. In the end of Ramdhân 493/1100 two *fidâis* assassinated Amir Bulkabak Sarmaz, the Shahnâ of Isfahân, in the palace of Sultân Muhammad although the victim always used to wear a coat of mail and was never without a large bodyguard. In the year 499/1105-6 Abul-'Ala Sa'îd Abu Muhammad, Qâdi of Nishapûr was murdered by an Ismâ'ilî *fidâi* in the *Jâm'ia Masjid* of Isfahân. Abul Muzzafar al-Khajandi was murdered by an 'Alid Batini at Rayy, as soon as he left the chair after preaching a sermon in 497/1103. Ibn al-Athîr mentions the murder of Fakhr al-Mulk, the eldest son of Nizâm al-Mulk, by an Ismâ'ilî in 500/1105.

In Safar 502/1108 they murdered 'Ubaid Allah bin 'Ali the Qâdi of Isfahân, at Hamdân on Friday. The *Qâdi* was a bitter antagonist of the Ismâ'ilîs. They also ambushed and wounded Barkyaruk the Sultân designate. Having got encouraged by the deaths of Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi and Sultân Malik Shâh, the *fidâis* created a

havoc and rampus by killing all over the empire, a large number of 'Ulamâ and *fuqaha* (Theologians) and those who opposed them. Prominent among the victim of Ismâ'ilî wrath were Amîr Argush who was killed by Abdul Rehmân Khurâsâni in the year 488 A.H. In the same year Abu Muslim, *Ra'is* of Rayy and Amîr Tarsûn also fell to their dagger. The latter was killed by one Rafîq Kuhistâni. In *Muharam*, 489 A.H. Amîr Atruk was stabbed to death by one Hussain Khwârizmi. Amîr Siyah Pûsh too met the same fate and Amâr Kaijîsh who had succeeded Argûsh died due to a fatal wound given to him by Ibrahîm Damâwandi. On 23rd of *Rajab* 490 A.H. a rival Ismâ'ilî Imâm Hâdi 'Alavi was assassinated by some Ibrâhîm and Muhammad on 28th of the said month. Abul Fath Durdâna Dihistâni, the *wazîr* of Berkyârûk, was stabbed to death by a Roman slave.

In the month of *Shawal* in the same year Amîr Baryzûn was assassinated by a *fidâi* Ibrâhîm Khurâsâni and on 24th of *Sh'abân* 491 A.H. Once again, Rafîq Kuhistani stabbed to death a prominent public figure and scholar Iskander Sufi Qazvîni. In the same month Abul Muzzafar Khujandi Mufti who was the most versatile and renowned preacher of Isfahân, and was from the progeny of famous Sahâbi Muhallab bin Abi Sufrah, was killed by a *fidâi* Abul-Fath Sanjari. Again in the same year Sanjûr the Wâli of Dihistân was assassinated at Amul by Muhammad Dihistâni on 27th of *Ramadan*. Another famous Mufti, Abul Qâsim Karkhi was killed by a *fidâi* Damâwandi. On 27th of *Ramadan* in the same year Abul Farj Qaratakin too was killed by yet another *fidâi*. The other personalities who were assassinated in the same year i.e. 491 A.H. include, Abu 'Ubaida Mustawfi and Abu J'afar Shatibi Râzi. The two were killed by Rustam Damâwandi and Muhammad Damâwandi respectively. In *Muharam* 493 A.H., the Qâdi of Kirmân, and in the month of Safar the same year Qâdi Abdullah Isfahâni were stabbed to death respectively by the Ismâ'ilî Hasan Sirâj Ru'î and Abul Abbâs Naqîb Mashhadi. On the day of *Ashura* (20th Muharram) the famous *wazîr* of Sultân Sanjar, Fakhr ul-Mulk bin Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi was assassinated by a *fidâi*.³⁷

During the civil war between Muhammad and Berkyaruk, Ismâ'ilîs got a comfortable chance to extend the area of their influence. Due to the missionary

efforts of Ahmad bin Abdul Malik Attâsh, who seems to have reduced all his followers for extreme moral laxity, at least thirty thousand people were converted, in the fortress of Diz-kuh (Isfahân), to Ismâ'ilism. All these converts took recourse to ruthless loot, plunder and killings of the Muslims.³⁸

In the same period in Isfahân an Ismâ'îlî, pretending to be blind, used to stand at the end of the day, in a street begged to people to guide him to his destiny. Taking his guide by perfidy to a place where the former was thrown into a deep trench. For about five months the pretending blind man and his wife continued to deceive the Muslims in the same way and got hundreds of Sunni Muslims put to death in exquisite and gradual tortures. A large number of people were reported to have been missing in the city which caused widespread perplexity and astonishment among the population. Finally a sunni lady was lured to meet the same fate. But incidentally she managed to escape from the hands of killer Ismâ'ilis and reported the whole story to the people. The hideout was attacked and about five hundred people were seen dead in the trench; some had been pinned deep against the walls of the trench. The people of Isfahân rose in wrath and burnt the blind man and his wife alive in the bazaar.³⁹

Similarly Sultân Mas'ûd bin Muhammad bin Malik Shâh was also killed by the Bâtinis at Maraghah on his way to Azerbaijân, on 18th of *Zul-Q'adah* 529 A.H. S'aid al-Daula, Wâli of Isfahân was also stabbed by one of his servants who happened to be an Ismâ'îlî. The incident took place on 26th of *Ramadân* 532 A.H.

At first, doubtless, the Ismâ'ilis resorted to the assassinations as an occasional convenience. But before they made a systematic use of it, they of course did not rely solely, on assassination or the threat of it, nor did they always bring it into play even in case of notorious enemies. But they used it sufficiently often so that almost any assassination was likely to be ascribed to them and many prominent Sunni figures took precautions against it - even to wear armor beneath their regular clothes. The fidâis who would accomplish the missions of assassination were received with special honour. If they were killed in action, they would be declared as martyrs.⁴⁰ The Ismâ'ilis generally thought that Sunnis were traitors. But they

however felt that it was better to kill one great man who caused trouble to their interests than to slaughter many ordinary men on a battlefield. While as the Sunnis, who thought that the death of a great man on whom the social order depended was more disastrous than the death of many peasants. Certainly the risky action of killing a great man, who was normally surrounded by armed servants, was glorified as heroic. The Ismâ'ilîs preferred to do it in as public a setting as possible, since part of the purpose was to intimidate others, who took strong position against them. Many of the assassins did not often escape with their lives. The assassinations were always counter reacted by massacres. The assassination of a popular leader or preacher generally provoked the people and incited action. The champions of such massacres would in turn themselves become the targets of assassination attempts. The Ismâ'ilîs were accused of bearing on indiscriminate hostility against, mankind, or at least against all Muslims. At Isfahân the Ismâ'ilî suspects were thrown alive on a bonfire in the centre of the town.⁴¹

In 494/1101 Berkyaruk (in western Iran) and Sanjar (in Khursâsân), made an agreement regarding Ismâ'ilîs who were considered a general threat to Saljûq power. The main result of this agreement of reconciliation was a grand massacre of suspected Ismâ'ilîs at Isfahân, Baghdad and elsewhere. Army officers were especially affected and several of them fled. Sanjar sent an expedition against the Ismâ'ilîs of Tabas in Kûhistân. Three years later he sent another force which wrecked Tabas and destroyed it as much as possible. The second expedition as a *Jihâd* (holy war) was joined by many Sunni volunteers in addition to the regular troops, and the Ismâ'ilî captives, as apostates, were enslaved.⁴²

Sufism:

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

Being the period of emergence of Saljûqs in Central Asia, whose Islamic society and culture has its own story to tell, Sufism witnessed a remarkable growth in the history and development of its institutions.

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

With the advent of Saljûqs, Sufism had already undergone through a phase of considerable developments and modifications as the Muslims had long been into contact with people of other races and cultures in the course of their history. Again, with the coming of Saljûqs many intellectual and political transformations took place which changed completely the direction of the development of philosophy, the Science (*'Ulûm*) and the *Kalâm*.

Also the development of Shî'a gnosis, both *Ithna 'Ash'ari* and *Ismâ'îlî* altered its pattern with the advent of Saljûqs. A new trend of pacification and assimilation between Sufism and Shari'âh came to be realized. Qushairî in his *Al-Risâla* and Hujvîri in his *Kashf al-Mahjûb* are seen as the champions of this new trend. In fact this period witnessed a broad measure of agreement on the meaning of Sufism and the details of Sufi experience and theory.

The great Sufi teachers of those times came to the rescue of Islâm which was in dire need of reform and revival. These teachers choose to reform the faith from within by uniting the fragmented and breakaway religious thoughts. The last obstacle in the part of assimilation was set aside by the great efforts of Al-Ghazâli the great theologian and jurist who rejected the philosophers and philosophising *Ismâ'ilîs* and advocated a complete reconciliation between orthodoxy and Sufism which immensely fortified Islâm against the challenges that had threatened even the very existence of Islâm. It

was in the Saljûq domains that some of the greatest impulses were given to a reorientation of the piety of Islâm on the basis of Sufism. The orientation of Muslim piety to historical consideration had gradually become less intense with the end of high Caliphal age. At the same time the less temporarily insistent pattern of Sufism gained increasing respect. The formation of the new international society based on popular Sufism is the achievement of the same period.⁴³

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

With the beginning of 6th/12th century, Islâm persistently presented two faces: one Sharî'ah minded, concerned with outward behaviour of the individual, accepted as their care by the 'Ulamâ, the other mystical-minded, concerned with the inward, personal life of the individual accepted as their care by the Sufis. Although often the same religious leader was at once pîr and Shar'i scholar and took both sides of Islâm very seriously, yet there were those who followed the one face of Islâm as genuine and mistrusted the other, or even rejected it as spurious. This period saw the beginning of the full development of the Institution of *silsilas* (orders) which thereafter dominated the Sufi movement and increased its mass appeal. The organized silsilas of Sufism were founded and some important parts of tariqat ritual were introduced. Doubtless, the Sufi orders had been existing for a pretty long period but the organisational history of these orders is found only after the emergence of Saljûqs to power.⁴⁴ Massignon is of the opinion that the *Ijâza* (initiation) ritual of the Sufi *ikhwân* (brotherhoods/fraternities) was first created in the 12th century. It is, in fact, not the perceptive preaching alone that won for sufism its leading role but the institutional form that it took. This popular appeal of Sufism in this period and its social role in the earlier middle period were most enduringly based on a particular form of Sufi ministry (*pîr-murîdî*) the relationship of the teacher (*pîr*) and disciple (*murîd*).⁴⁵

With the introduction of pîr-murîdî chain the convents (*ribâts/khankahs*)

were founded and endowed, where a celebrated saint would reside with a group of his followers, who studied under him and worshiped with him for a shorter or a longer period. Initiation (*ijāza*) into the Sufi ministries was marked by the investiture of a special dress (*Khirqā*) symbolising his acceptance of and entry into a tradition of divine service mounting back stage by stage to the Prophet Muhammad saw. The *ijāzat nāma* was also issued by the *pîr* to his *murîd* (*Shaghriid*) attesting the true spiritual descent (*silsilā*).

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

Sufis tended to be as naturally tolerant of local differences as the 'Ulamâ tended to be generally not so. The 'Ulamâ had to concentrate on matters of external conformity while as for the Sufis, on the contrary, externals were secondary especially in respect of their relations vis-à-vis the non-Muslim communities and itself with the community of Muslims. The differences that marked the social divisions of humanity were of secondary importance for the Sufis. What mattered for them was the inner disposition of the Heart for God. Therefore, the Sufis were prepared to tolerate to some extent the differences that existed in the mere customary behaviour of day to day life.

The line of Sufi *Tariqas* at once deepened the moral resources and tied them up into a system of universal brotherhood that was the trait of high Caliphal times. The Sufism supplemented the shari'âh as a principle of unity and order. Offering the Muslims a sense of spiritual unity which came to become stronger than ever before. They developed a picture of the world which united the whole *Dâr-al-Islâm* and even the lands of the *Dar-al-Harb* (infidels) under a comprehensive spiritual hierarchy of *pirs* which was all the more effective. They could replace even the Caliph himself with a supreme *pir* -

master, whose authority was felt though his name was unknown. The individual *Khanqahs* and saints' tombs to which the faithful would come for spiritual guidance and consolation from God. Dedicated men were part of an inclusive holy order not merely the order of a given *tariqah*, but of God's chosen men throughout the world.⁴⁶

The four main orders which flourished during the period of Saljûqs are generally known in the East are: The Chishtî, the Qâdirî, the Suhrawardî and the Naqshbandî.

References:

1. 'The Sunni Revival' in *Islamic Civilization*, G. Makdisi, ed. D.S.Richards, Oxford, p. 155; *Cambridge History Of Islâm*, Vol. 2B, Cambridge, 1979, pp. 570, 599, 602. Islamic Surveys, W.M. Watt, I, Edinburgh, 1962, p. 91.
2. *Ibid*; cf. W. M. Watt, op.cit, p. 106 ff.
3. Makdisi calls it a 'traditionalist sunni revival'. In his opinion it was a religious revival in which the forces of traditionalism fought against the forces of rationalism of all shades. (Makdisi, op.cit, p. 157).
4. *Ibid*.
5. *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5, Cambridge, 1968, (hereafter *Camb*), pp. 283. The author has given a complete sectarian geography of Central Asia and Iran see: *Ibid*.
6. *Ibid*.
7. *Râhat al-Sudûr*, Râwandi, ed. M. Iqbal, London, 1921, p. 182.
8. *Nasîhat al-Mulûk*, Ghazâli, tr, F.R.C. Bagley, Oxford, 1964, p. .34.
9. *Camb.*, *Ibid.* ; *Nasîhat*, *Ibid*.
10. *Ibid*.
11. *Islamic History, A New Interpretation*, Shaban, M.A., Vol. II, Cambridge, 1971, p. 62.
12. *Ibid*.
13. The older strata (stock) of the population of Irâq are called Arameans.
14. The soil of Syria and Irâq was saturated with ancient legends and superstitions; no region other than this in the world has been more prolific in religion. Gnostic and Manichean cosmology may have contributed something in this regard. (A History of Medieval Islam, J.J.Saunders, London, 1972, p. 126).
15. *Ismâ'îli Contributions to Islamic Culture*, S.H. Nasr, Tehran, 1977, p. 231, see also: Watt, *Ibid.* ; *The Venture of Islam*, Hodgson, Vol.II, Chicago, 1974, pp. 1-13.; Watt., op.cit., pp. 23-26.
16. *Camb.*, p. 292. It is pertinent to mention that after the period of first two Saljûq rulers Tughril Beg and Alp Arsalân, the Shi'ities enjoyed a relatively better religious freedom. (See: *Siyâsat-Nâma*, Nizâm al-Mulk Tûsi, tr. H.darke 2nd ed., London, 1978, pp. 164-165).
17. Râwandi, op.cit, p. 204; *T'arikh-i-Salâjiqa wa Khwârazm Shâhân*, Abbâs Parwez, Tehran, 1930, pp. 447.
18. One fails to understand the apathy of the medieval authors to distinguish between extremist sects like Ismâ'ilis and the Shi'a. The term '*Rawâfid*' to be used for Shi'a is, however, neither proper nor historically correct.

19. *Tabsirat al-'Awâm fi M'arifa Maqâlât al-Anâm*, Syed Murtada Razi, ed. A Iqbal, Tehran, 1313/1934; cf. *Camb.*, *Ibid.*
20. *Kitâb Asâr al-Bilâd wa Akhbâr al-'Ibâd*, Qazvini, ed. Muhadith, Tehrar 1331/1952, pp. 318.
21. *T'arikh-i-Jahân Gusha*, Juwaini, tr. J. A. Boyle, Manchester, 1958, Vol. I p. 96-97.
22. *Camb.* p. 293.; *Manâqib* means virtues and *Manâqib Khwân* is a singe who extols the virtues of 'Ali and his descendents in streets and bazars.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Camb.*, *Ibid.*
25. S.H. Nasir, op.cit, pp. 227, 231-2; *Az Salajiqâ Ta Safawiya*, Nasratulla Mashkawti, Tehran, 1363, p. 20; for more details see: *T'arikh-i-Guzîd* Hamdullah Mustawfî, ed. Nawai, Tehran, 1915-18, pp. 518-21, *Habîb a Siyyar*, Khawnd Mir, Vol.III, ed. Humai, Tehran, 1932. pp. 450, 460-8; *Lu al-Tawârikh*, Qazvini Yehya bin Abdul Latif, Tehran, 1363 A.H., pp. 206-18 *Tarikh-i-Salajiqâ wa Khawarzon Shahân*, Abbas Parwez, Tehran, 1930 p. 172-204. The Order of Assassins, Hodgson, M.G. Hague, 1955, pp. 22 f *The Origins of Ismâ'ilism*, Bernard Lewis, Cambridge, 1949, pp. 1-23 an History of the Assassins, London, 1967, pp. 1-20; *A Brief Survey of th Evolution of Ismâ'ilism*, W.Ivano, London, 1952 pp. 1 ff; *Cambridge Histor of Iran*, Vol. IV ed. R. N. Frye, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 520-3; *Encyclopaedi of Islâm*, art. 'Ismâ'ilîa'.
26. *Dâ'is* (propagandists formed a trained hierarchy; each dâ'i who commonl disguised himself as a merchant or artisan, was assigned a particular territor where he sought to increase the converts and initiated those who joined th movement into its secret doctrines and ritual. (Saunders, op.cit., p.128).
27. *The Venture of Islâm*, op.cit., p. 58.
28. See: *Habîb al-Siyyar*, p. 452; Saunders, op.cit., p. 129; S. H.Nasr, op.cit., p. 233-34.
29. *Ibid.* ; cf. Mashkawti, op.cit, pp. 20-24.
30. Saunders, op.cit., p. 129.
31. *Camb. Ibid.* p. 427. The author of *Habîb al-Siyyar* has mentioned the narr of the *fidâi* as Abu Tâhir Awâni (p. 467); cf., Râwandi, op.cit., p. 135; Abbi Parwez, *Ibid.*
32. *Camb. Ibid.*
33. S. H. Nasr, *Ibid.* ; *Camb.*, *Ibid.* ; Hodgson, *Ibid.* , p. 58.
34. *Camb.*, p. 437. Hasan had his two sons executed, one on the charge of murdi (which later proved false) and the other on that of drinking; he sent away h wife and daughters to Spain along with other women in a distant fortress at

time of difficulty, and never brought them back. It is said that Ismâ'ilî chiefs followed his precedent and never had their women with them while they were executing military operations, in contrast to usual Muslim practice., *Ibid.* , p. 432; Abbâs Parwez, *op.cit.*, p. 195.

35. *Habîb al-Siyyar*, *op.cit.*, p. 466. Abbâs Parwez, *op.cit.*, p. 188; *Camb.* P. 430.

خسروا ہست جائے باطنیاں قم و کاشاں و آہ و طبرش
 آبروئے چہار یار ہمدرد و اندریں چار جائے زن آتش
 یں فراہاں بسوز و مصلحہ گاہ تا چہارت ثواب گردوشش

36. *Ibid.* , p. 440.
 37. *Habîb al-Siyyar op.cit.*, p. 467; Râwandi, *op.cit.* p.159.
Ibid. ; For more details of assassinations see; *Ibid.* , pp. 468-71.
 38. *Ibid.*
 39. *Ibid.*
 Hodgson, *op.cit.*, *Ibid.*
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. Hodgson, *op.cit.*, p. 203.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. Hodgson, *op.cit.*, p. 203.
 44. Sufi fraternities on the pattern of 'tariqa' were started by the first Caliph Abu Bakr. He was the founder of the first 'tariqa' which explained into three orders of Bistamiya, Naqshbandiya and Bektashiya between the 9th and the 15th centuries. The rest of the orders had their origin from the fourth Caliph 'Ali. But the real development of Sufi orders started in the 2nd half of the 8th century. A.D. Alwâniya was the first sufi order, founded by Shiekh Alwân (d. A.D. 766). Afterwards Ibrahim bin Adham (A.D. 777) founded Adhamiya order. The Saqatiya order was established by Shaikh Sari Saqati (d. A.D. 867). Abu Yazîd Bistâmi (d. A.D. 874) founded the Bistamiya order. The Qadiriya, Yasaviya, Rafaiyya and Madyaniya orders came into existence in the 12th century A.D.
 45. *Ibid.*
 46. *Ibid.*

