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SUFFISM AND ITS SPREAD IN CENTRAL ASIA AND IRAN

The article deals with the concept of Sufism, as well as its elements and philosophical influence. The significance of Sufism in the formation of Muslim society, as well as the expansion in Central Asia and the stage of development of this trend are analyzed. The role of Sufi orders in the formation of answers to the challenges of the Muslim faith in the modern era is explored. It emphasizes the openness of Sufism for external influence and its end of the Sufi order in modern times. It also mentions the widespread dissemination of mystical ideas through the poetry of Sufi literatures among Muslims, the continuation of Sufi's responsibility for large-scale missionary activity and political activity of leaders.

Key words: Sufism, Tariqats, Sufi order, current, deity, forms of Islam, influence.

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Орталық Азия және Ирандағы суфизмнің пайда болуы және таралуы

Аталмыш мақалада суфизм тұжырымдамасы, оның элементтері және философиялық өсері қарастырылады. Суфизмнің мұсылман қоғамын қалыптастырудағы рөлі, сондай-ақ Орталық Азиядағы таралуы және осы ағымның даму кезеңі талданады. Суфизмнің сыртқы дүниеде етек алуына және қазіргі замандағы суфи тәртібінің аяқталуына баса назар аударылады. Қазіргі заманғы мұсылман дінінің сын-қатерлеріне жауапты қалыптастыру жолында суфий ордендерінің рөлі зерттеледі. Сонымен қатар, мұсылмандар арасындағы суфи әдебиетінің поэзиясы арқылы мистикалық ойларды кеңінен тарату, сопылықтың ауқымды миссионерлік қызметі мен көшбасшылардың саяси белсенділігі үшін жауапкершілігінің жалғасы ескеріледі.

Түйін сөздер: суфизм, тарикаттар, суфи ордені, ағым, сенім, ислам бағыттары, өсер.

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Корни суфизма и его распространение в Центральной Азии и Иране

В статье рассматривается концепция суфизма, а также его элементы и философское влияние. Анализируется значение суфизма в становлении мусульманского общества, а также распространение в Центральной Азии и стадии развития этого течения. Исследуется роль су-

суйских орденов в формировании ответов на вызовы мусульманской вере в современную эпоху. Подчеркивается открытость суфизма для внешнего влияния и его конец для суфийского ордена в современное время. А также упоминается широкое распространение мистических идей через поэзию суфийских литератур среди мусульман, продолжение ответственности Суфии за ширококомасштабную миссионерскую деятельность и политическую активность лидеров.

Ключевые слова: суфизм, тарикаты, суфийский орден, течение, божество, формы ислама, влияние.

Introduction

Sufism is a mystical Islamic belief and practice in which Muslims seek to find the truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God. It consists of a variety of mystical paths that are designed to ascertain the nature of humanity and of God and to facilitate the experience of the presence of divine love and wisdom in the world.

Islamic mysticism is called *taṣawwuf* (literally, “to dress in wool”) in Arabic, but it has been called *sufism* in Western languages since the early XIX century. An abstract word, *sufism* derives from the Arabic term for a mystic, *sufi*, which is in turn derived from *suf*, “wool,” plausibly a reference to the woolen garment of early Islamic ascetics. The Sufis are also generally known as “the poor,” *fuqara'*, plural of the Arabic *faqir*, in Persian *darvish*, whence the English words *fakir* and *dervish*. It may also have connections with the word for ‘purity’ and another suggestion is that it has links with the Greek ‘*sophia*’ or wisdom.

However throughout history a Sufi was most often understood to be a person of religious learning who aspires to be close to Allah. They understand their purpose in life from the verse of the Qur'an:

“I created the Jinns and humankind only that they may worship me” (Quran 51:56).

In pursuit of this goal of worshipping Allah, Sufis belong to *Tariqas*, or orders, established in the first few centuries after the Prophet's death. These orders have a master who will teach sacred knowledge to others in the group. Sufi orders started appearing at the beginning of 12th century and have established strong links with the state apparatus since then. This connection became apparent when Sufis were actively encouraged by Sunni dynasties in their struggle against Ismaili Shia.

Although *Tariqas* have a long history, in recent times some Muslims have questioned the necessity of *Tariqas* arguing that they were alien to the Prophet himself. Sufis make a convincing defense from the Qur'an and Sunna (what the Prophet said, did, agreed to or condemned).

Sufis acknowledge that *Tariqas* were not established at the time of the Prophet. They consider

that the Prophet his companions and their immediate successors, the first three generations, embodied Islamic mysticism but the phenomenon was too general to have a specific name. Later generations of Muslims became distracted by worldliness and so those, now in the minority, that were dedicated to worshipping Allah were given the name Sufi. This turn of events was eloquently described in the X Century by Abu l-Hasan Fushanji who said: “Today Sufism is a name without a reality. It was once a reality without a name”.

Islamic mysticism had several stages of growth, including the appearance of early asceticism, the development of a classical mysticism of divine love, and the rise and proliferation of fraternal orders of mystics. Despite these general stages, however, the history of Islamic mysticism is largely a history of individual mystic experience.

The stages of *sufism* and the followers of this flow

The first stage of *sufism* appeared in pious circles as a reaction against the worldliness of the early Umayyad period (661–749). From their practice of constantly meditating on the words in the Quran about Doomsday, the ascetics became known as “those who always weep” and those who considered this world “a hut of sorrows” [1]. They were distinguished by their scrupulous fulfillment of the injunctions of the Quran and tradition, by many acts of piety, and especially by a predilection for night prayers.

Classical mysticism - the introduction of the element of love, which changed asceticism into mysticism, is ascribed to Rabiah al-Adawiyah, a woman from Basra who first formulated the Sufi ideal of a love of Allah that was disinterested, without hope for paradise and without fear of hell. In the decades after Rabiah, mystical trends grew everywhere in the Islamic world, partly through an exchange of ideas with Christian hermits. A number of mystics in the early generations had concentrated their efforts upon *tawakkul*, absolute trust in God, which became a central concept of Sufism. An Iraqi school of mysticism became noted for its strict self-control and psychological insight. The Iraqi school was initiated by al-Muhasibi - who believed that

purging the soul in preparation for companionship with God was the only value of asceticism. Its teachings of classical sobriety and wisdom were perfected by Junayd of Baghdad, to whom all later chains of the transmission of doctrine and legitimacy go back. In an Egyptian school of Sufism, the Nubian Dhu al-Nun reputedly introduced the technical term *marifah* (“interior knowledge”), as contrasted to learnedness; in his hymnical prayers he joined all nature in the praise of God—an idea based on the Quran and later elaborated in Persian and Turkish poetry. In the Iranian school, Abu Yazid al-Bisṭami is usually considered to have been representative of the important doctrine of annihilation of the self, *fana*; the strange symbolism of his sayings prefigures part of the terminology of later mystical poets. At the same time the concept of divine love became more central, especially among the Iraqi Sufis. Its main representatives are Nuri, who offered his life for his brethren, and Sumnun “the Lover.”

Slightly later, mystical orders (fraternal groups centring around the teachings of a leader-founder) began to crystallize. The XIII century, though politically overshadowed by the invasion of the Mongols into the Eastern lands of Islam and the end of the Abbasid caliphate, was also the golden age of Sufism: the Spanish-born Ibn al’Arabi created a comprehensive theosophical system (concerning the relation of God and the world) that was to become the cornerstone for a theory of “Unity of Being.” According to this theory all existence is one, a manifestation of the underlying divine reality. His Egyptian contemporary Ibn al-Farīd wrote the finest mystical poems in Arabic. Two other important mystics were a Persian poet, Farid al-Din Aṭṭar, one of the most fertile writers on mystical topics, and a Central Asian master, Najmuddin Kubra, who presented elaborate discussions of the psychological experiences through which the mystic adept has to pass.

The greatest mystical poet in the Persian language, Jalal al-Din al-Rumi (1207–73), was moved by mystical love to compose his lyrical poetry that he attributed to his mystical beloved. At that time, the basic ideals of Sufism permeated the whole world of Islam; and at its borders as, for example, in India, Sufis largely contributed to shaping Islamic society. Later some of the Sufis in India were brought closer to Hindu mysticism by an overemphasis on the idea of divine unity which became almost monism—a religio-philosophic perspective according to which there is only one basic reality, and the distinction between God and the world (and humanity) tends to disappear.

Wisdom is the ultimate power. In wisdom is rooted religion, which connotes law and inspiration. But the point of view of the wise differs from that of the simple followers of a religion. The wise, whatever their faith, have always been able to meet each other beyond those boundaries of external forms and conventions, which are natural and necessary to human life, but which none the less separate humanity.

People of the same thought and point of view are drawn to each other with a tendency to form an exclusive circle. A minority is apt to fence itself off from the crowd. So it has been with the mystics. Mystical ideas are unintelligible to the generality of people. The mystics have, therefore, usually imparted their ideas to a chosen few only, to those whom they could trust, who were ready for initiation and discipleship. Thus great Sufis have appeared at different times and have founded schools of thought. Their expression of wisdom has differed to suit their environments, but their understanding of life has been one and the same. The same herb planted in various atmospheric conditions will vary in form accordingly, but will retain its characteristics.

The European historians sometimes trace the history of Sufism by noticing the actual occurrence of this word and by referring only to those schools which have definitely wished to be known by this name. Some European scholars find the origin of this philosophy in the teaching Of Islam, others connect it with Buddhism. Others do not reject as incredible the Semitic tradition that Sufism’s foundation is to be attributed to the teachings of Abraham. But the greater number considers that it arose contemporary to the teaching of Zoroaster. Every age of the world has seen awakened souls, and as it is impossible to limit wisdom to any one period or place, so it is impossible to date the origin of Sufism.

The Sufis are ancient spiritual freemasonry whose origins have never been traced or dated; nor do they themselves take much interest in such researches, being content to point out the occurrence of their own way of thought in different regions and periods. Though commonly mistaken for a Moslem sect, the Sufis are at home in all religions: just as the “Free and Accepted Masons”[2] lay before them in their Lodge whatever sacred book—whether Bible, Koran, or Torah—is accepted by the temporal State. If they call Islam the “shell” of Sufism, this is because they believe Sufism to be the secret teaching within all religions. Yet according to Ali el-Hujwiri, an early authoritative Sufi writer, the Prophet Mohammed himself said: “He who hears the voice of the Sufi people and does not say aamin [Amen] is recorded

in God's presence as one of the heedless"[3]. Numerous other traditions link him with the Sufis, and it was in Sufi style that he ordered his followers to respect all People of the Book, meaning those who respected their own sacred scriptures—a term later taken to include Zoroastrians.

Nor are the Sufis a sect, being bound by no religious dogma however tenuous and using no regular place of worship. They have no sacred city, no monastic organization, no religious instruments. They even dislike being given any inclusive name which might force them into doctrinal conformity. "Sufi" is no more than a nickname, like "Quaker," which they accept good-humoredly. "We friends" or "people like us" is how they refer to themselves, and they recognize one another by certain natural gifts, habits, qualities of thought. Sufi schools have indeed gathered around particular teachers, but there is no graduation and they exist only for the convenience of those who work to perfect their studies by close association with fellow Sufis. The characteristic Sufi signature is found in widely dispersed literature from at least the second millennium B.C., and although their most obvious impact on civilization was made between the eighth and eighteenth centuries A.D., Sufis are still active as ever. They number some fifty million. What makes them so difficult to discuss is that their mutual recognition cannot be explained in ordinary moral or psychological terms—whoever understands it is himself a Sufi. Though awareness of this secret quality or instinct can be sharpened by close contact with Sufis of experience, there are no hierarchical degrees among them, only a general undisputed recognition of greater or lesser capacity.

Sufism has gained an Oriental flavor from having been so long protected by Islam, but the natural Sufi may be as common in the West as in the East, and may come dressed as a general, a peasant, a merchant, a lawyer, a schoolmaster, a housewife, anything. To be "in the world, but not of it," free from ambition, greed, intellectual pride, blind obedience to custom, or awe of persons higher in rank—that is the Sufi's ideal.

Sufis respect the rituals of religion insofar as these further social harmony, but broaden religion's doctrinal basis wherever possible and define its myths in a higher sense—for instance, explaining angels as representations of man's higher faculties. The individual is offered a "secret garden" for the growth of his understanding, but never required to become a monk, nun or hermit, like the more conventional mystics; and he thereafter claims to be enlightened by actual experience - "he who tastes, knows" - not by philosophic argument.

Sufi orders were characterized by central prescribed rituals, which involved regular meetings for recitations of prayers, poems, and selections from the Quran. These meetings were usually described as acts of "remembering God" or dhikr. In addition, daily devotional exercises for the followers were also set, as were other activities of special meditation, asceticism, and devotion. Some of the special prayers of early Sufis became widely used, while the structure and format of the ritual was the distinctive character provided by the individual who established the tariqah. The founder was the spiritual guide for all followers in the order, who would swear a special oath of obedience to him as their shaykh or teacher. As orders continued, the record of the transmission of the ritual would be preserved in a formal chain of spiritual descent, called a silsilah, which stated that the person took the order from a shaykh who took it from another shaykh and so on in a line extending back to the founder, and then usually beyond the founder to the Prophet Muhammad. As orders became firmly established, leadership would pass from one shaykh to the next, sometimes within a family line and sometimes on the basis of spiritual seniority/mastery within the tariqah. At times, a follower would reach a sufficient degree of special distinction that his prayers would represent a recognized sub-branch within a larger order; at other times, such a follower might be seen as initiating a whole new tariqah.

Within all this diversity, it is difficult to provide a simple account of the development of Sufi orders, but at least some of the main features of the different types of orders and their development can be noted.

Different types of orders developed in the early centuries of tariqah formation. These provide important foundations for the Sufi orders of the modern era.

The large inclusive tariqah tradition has a clearly defined core of devotional literature. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some major figures emerged as the organizers of orders that were to become the largest in the Islamic world. In some cases, the orders may actually have been organized by the immediate followers of the "founders," but these teachers represent the emergence of large-scale orders. The most frequently noted of these early orders is the Qadiriyyah, organized around the teachings of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani of Baghdad; it grew rapidly and became the most widespread of the orders. Two other major orders originating in this era are the Suhrawardiyah, based on the teachings and organization of Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi and his nephew, Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi; and

the Rifaiyah, representing the tariqah of Aḥmad al-Rifai. By the thirteenth century, increasing numbers of tariqahs were being organized in the traditions of great teachers. Many of these were of primarily local or regional influence, but some became as widespread as the earlier orders. Among the most important of these are the Shadhiliyah (established by Abu al-Ḥasan al-Shadhili) in Egypt and North Africa, and the Chishtiyah in Central and South Asia. These large tariqahs are an important type of order representing a coherent tradition based on a central core of writings by the founder. Within these broad traditions over the centuries, later teachers would arise and create their own particular variants, but these would continue to identify with the main tradition. For example, throughout the Islamic world there are distinctive branches of the Qadiriya, but these are generally identified as part of the Qadiriya tradition, as is the case with the Bakkaiyah established by Aḥmad al-Bakkai al-Kunti in West Africa, or the various branches of the Ghawthiyah originating with Muhammad Ghawth in South Asia. This process of creating independent suborders continues to the present and can be seen in the variety of relatively new tariqahs in the traditions of the early orders, often identified with compound names, such as the Hamidiyah Shadhiliyah of contemporary Egypt.

A second major style of Sufi order developed within less clearly defined traditions that appealed to the early Sufis and used some of their prayers and writings but developed their own distinctive identities. Many tariqah organizers thus traced their inspiration back to early Sufis like Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd or Abu Yazid al-Bisṭami. One may speak of the Junaydi tradition and the “way of Junayd” as insisting on constant ritual purity and fasting, or of the more ecstatic mood in the tradition of al-Bisṭami. However, the great Junaydi or Bisṭami orders are independent and have their own separate traditions. Among the most important Junaydi orders are the Kubrawiyah and the Mawlawiyah; orders such as the Yasawiyah and Naqshbandiyah are seen as being more in the Bisṭami tradition. Within the broader framework of affirming inspiration and instruction by a chain of teachers that stretches back to the early Sufis, new orders continue to be created.

A third type of major order is the tariqah that develops as a result of the initiatives and teachings of a later teacher and has its own clear identity. These teachers usually affirmed their ties to earlier teachers and tariqahs, but in some significant ways they proclaimed the unique validity of their particular tariqah. Sometimes this took the form of

an affirmation that the new tariqah was a synthesis of preceding tariqahs; sometimes the claim for authority was based on direct inspiration from the Prophet Muhammad, in which case the order might be called a tariqah Muhammadiyah, or from some other special agent of God, for example al-Khiḍr orders of this type have been very important in the modern Muslim world and include the Tijaniyah, the Khatmiyah, and the Sanusiya.

The concept of the tariqah and the sufi orders

Local orders centered on particular shrines or families represent another very important type of tariqah. Teachers with special reputations for sanctity might develop significant followings during their lifetime, but their writings and work might not provide the basis for the development of for a larger order. Tombs of such pious teachers throughout the Muslim world have been important focuses of popular piety, and the rituals surrounding the ceremonies of remembrance and homage become a local tariqah. Sometimes these might be indirectly identified with some more general Sufi tradition, but the real impact and identity is local. The special centers of popular piety in North Africa that have developed around the tombs of the marabouts, or the various centers of pilgrimage that developed in Central Asia and even survived the policies of suppression by the former Soviet regime, provide good examples of this style of tariqah.

Many observers have proclaimed the effective end of the Sufi orders in the modern era. A major French authority on medieval Sufism, for example, announced in the middle of the twentieth century that the orders were “in a state of complete decline” and that they faced “the hostility and contempt of the elite of the modern Muslim world”. This reflects both the long historical tension between the Muslim urban intellectual elites and the tariqahs and also the specifically modern belief that mystic religious experience and modernity were incompatible. However, by the end of the twentieth century it was clear that Sufi orders remained a dynamic part of the religious life of the Islamic world; moreover, they were at the forefront of the expansion of Islam, not only in “traditional” rural areas but also in modern societies in the West and among the modernized intellectual elites within the Muslim world. These apparently contradictory views reflect the complex history and development of tariqahs since the eighteenth century [4].

There is an underlying continuity of experience in the Sufi orders that provides an important backdrop to specific modern developments. The rituals of popular piety among Muslims—educated and uneducated,

rural and urban—cannot be ignored. Although over the past three centuries educated Muslims have paid less attention to the more miraculous and magical elements of saint visitation and other aspects of popular Sufi piety, the intellectual appeal of Islamic mysticism has remained strong, and the sense of social cohesion provided by the Sufi organizations has been important, especially in areas like the Muslim Central Asian societies of the former Soviet Union. Popular participation in regular Sufi gatherings and support for various types of tariqahs remain at remarkably high levels throughout the Muslim world. Estimates of membership in Sufi orders in Egypt, for example, are in the millions, in contrast to the hundreds or thousands in the more militant Islamic revivalist organizations.

Popular Islamic piety among all classes of people remains strong throughout the modern era and shows little sign of decline at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This popular piety frequently is expressed participation in the activities of tariqahs or other groups reflecting Sufi approaches to the faith. However, the activities of the organizations of this popular piety do not usually attract much attention, despite their long-term importance. This situation provides the proper background for examining the specific experiences of the more visible Sufi orders of the modern era.

The history of tariqahs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides an important foundation for understanding the dynamics of the recent development of orders. Sufi organizations and leadership from this period remain significant in setting the discourse and defining the issues of Islamic piety in the modern era.

Some modern scholars argue that a number of new initiatives can be seen in the development of the Sufi organizations and thought of the early modern era. Among some Sufi teachers there were efforts to remove the more ecstatic and pantheistic elements of the Sufi tradition and to create more reform-oriented Sufi organizations and practices. Fazlur Rahman called this tendency “neo-Sufism”, a term that came to be used by other scholars as well. “Neo-Sufism” referred to a mood rather than making any claim that the term represented a monolithic school of Sufi thought. Other scholars have tended to reject the term because it seemed to ignore important continuities in Sufi traditions and seemed to assume a greater degree of similarity among movements than might exist.

Regardless of the details of the debate, in the eighteenth century the broad spectrum of Sufi orders and practices extended from the local varieties of

popular folk religion to a more sober and sometimes reformist Sufi leadership that did not approve of the popular cultic practices. Whether or not one calls the latter approach “neo-Sufism” is less important than it is to recognize that the less ecstatic and more shariah-minded Sufism existed and that it provided the basis for emerging tariqahs important in the modern era. These orders represented a “new organizational phenomenon” of orders that were “relatively more centralized and less prone to fission than their predecessors”[5].

In the context of Islamic societies in the eighteenth century, immediately before the major encounter with the modernizing West, Sufi orders were a significant part of the social fabric throughout the Islamic world. They provided vehicles for the expression of the faith of urban elites, served as networks for interregional interaction and travel, acted as an effective inclusive structure for the missionary expansion of Islam, and in some ways shaped the context within which movements of puritanical reform or spiritual revival developed.

In the large urban centers in regions where Islam was the established faith of the overwhelming majority of the population, the orders were vehicles for the expression of piety among both the masses and the elites. New presentations of the old traditions, such as the Qadiriyyah, Shadhiliyyah, and Khalwatiyyah, were important in places like Cairo. By the eighteenth century the larger orders of all types were expanding into many different regions.

The history of the Naqshbandiyah in the Middle East provides an important example of this development. It spread from Central and South Asia into Ottoman lands in at least two different forms—that of Aḥmad Sirhindi, called the Mujaddid or Renewer of the second millennium, and the earlier line of Ubaydullah Aḥrar. By the eighteenth century, notables in the tariqah were prominent in Istanbul and other major Ottoman cities like Damascus, where the great Hanafi mufti and historian Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi was a scion of a family associated with the Naqshbandiyah. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shaykh Khalid al-Baghdadi of the Mujaddidi line led a major movement of revival in the lands of the Fertile Crescent; the activities of the Khalidi branch established the Naqshbandiyah as “the paramount order in Turkey”[6].

The Naqshbandiyah also presents a good example of how the orders provided structures for interregional networks among the ‘ulama’ and commercial classes. Students, pilgrims, and travelers could move from city to city, finding shelter and instruction in the Naqshbandi centers. One such

person was a Chinese scholar, Ma Mingxin, who traveled and studied in major Naqshbandi centers in Central Asia, Yemen, and Mecca and Medina. Combined networks of commercial activities and pious instruction can be seen in the activities of family-based tariqahs like the 'Aydarusiyah, the order of an important family in the Hadramawt region in the south Arabian Peninsula, the 'Aydarus, with branches in the islands of Southeast Asia, India, South Arabia, and Cairo. The lists of teachers of scholars in the eighteenth century show that major intellectual figures often received devotional instruction in broad interregional networks of Sufi masters.

Sufi orders had long been vehicles in the missionary expansion of Islam. The less legalistic approach to the faith of Sufi teachers often involved an adaptation to specific local customs and practices. This helped Islam to become a part of popular religious activity with a minimum of conflict. At the same time, the traditions of the Sufi devotions represented ties to the broad Islamic world that could integrate the newer believers into the identity of the Islamic community as a whole. In this way, orders like the Qadiriyyah played a significant role in the expansion of Islam in Africa.

Sufi orders also helped to provide concepts of organization for groups actively engaged in efforts to "purify" religious practice and revive the faith. Although the best-known eighteenth-century revivalist movement, Wahhabiyah, was vigorously opposed to the Sufi orders, most revivalists in fact had some significant Sufi affiliations. At the other end of the Islamic world of the eighteenth century, the reformist movement called the "New Teaching" that swept through Northwest China in the late eighteenth century was the Naqshbandiyah as presented by Ma Mingxin. In many other areas as well, Sufi orders were associated with the development of reformist and jihadist movements of purification.

The developments of the eighteenth century provide important foundations for later events in Islamic life in general and in the history of Sufi orders in particular. It was the Islamic world as it existed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, not some classical medieval formulation, that encountered the expanding and modernizing west. In those encounters the Sufi orders played an important role, which sometimes does not receive as much attention as do the activities of more radical movements or movements more explicitly shaped and influenced by the West.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the different Sufi traditions were involved in many

different ways in helping to shape Muslim responses to the West and also in defining Islamic forms of modernity. At the same time, although in changing contexts, many of the main themes of the older experiences of the orders continue. Among the many aspects of the history of Sufi orders in the modern era, it is important to examine a number more closely: the Sufi orders continued to serve as an important basis for popular devotional life; they were important forces in responding to imperial rule; they helped to provide organizational and intellectual inspiration for Muslim responses to modern challenges to the faith; and they continued to be an important force in the mission of Muslims to non-Muslims.

Tariqahs remained very important in the life of popular piety among the masses; however, this important level of popular devotional life is not as visible in the public arena as the more activist roles of the orders. New orders continued to emerge around respected teachers and saintly personalities important in the daily lives of common people. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century it is possible to identify such orders in virtually all parts of the Islamic world. It is especially important to observe that these new devotional paths were not simply the products of rural, conservative, or so-called "traditional" people [7].

Across the Islamic world, similar groups have emerged as a pious foundation for devotional life at all levels of society. Similarly, intellectuals and professionals as well as the general population continued in significant numbers to participate in activities of the older established orders. Although the contexts had changed since the beginning of the nineteenth century, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, new orders that served popular devotional needs continued to be created and to flourish in ways that provide a sense of both great continuity and significant adaptability to changing conditions.

Sufi orders provided significant organization and support for movements of resistance to foreign rule. This was especially true in the nineteenth century, when many of the major wars against expanding European powers were fought by Muslim organizations that originated with Sufi orders.

Some other Sufi orders that came into conflict with expanding European imperialism also reflect the development of distinctive, new tariqah traditions. Perhaps the most important of these orders are those established by followers of Aḥmad ibn Idris and others influenced by this Idrisi tradition. Ibn Idris was a North African scholar who taught for

several years in Mecca; some of his major students established tariqahs that became important orders throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Another independent Sufi tradition developed as a result of the work of Aḥmad al-Tijani. The Tijaniyah was an exclusive order that claimed to be a synthesis of major tariqah traditions inspired and instructed initially by the Prophet Muhammad himself. The order became an important force in North Africa but did not get involved in opposition to French expansion in the Mediterranean countries. However, the Tijaniyah expanded rapidly into Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa. Al-Ḥajj ʿUmar Tal organized a major holy war under the Tijaniyah banner in the regions of Guinea, Senegal, and Mali; ultimately his successful movement was restricted and then ended by the consolidation of French imperial control in the region.

Major orders like the Sanusiyah and Tijaniyah, which were established in the nineteenth century, were not simply anti-imperialist movements in Sufi form. They represented an important style of cohesive social organization based on the traditions of tariqah structures. They were not necessarily alternatives to emerging modern state structures but were autonomous within the developing polities defined as sovereign nation-states. This alternative mode is also seen in the developments of distinctive orders whose self-definition was more closely identified with older Sufi traditions. Thus the Naqshbandiyah suborder established by Said Nursi in Turkey in the twentieth century became an important vehicle for the articulation of a revivalist Islamic worldview in the context of an officially secular state. Similarly, a number of orders provided important foundations for the unofficial, “underground” Islam that was so essential for the survival of the Muslim sense of community in Central Asia under Soviet rule.

Sufi orders also were important in helping to shape the responses to the challenges to Muslim faith in the modern era. In the nineteenth century this was more in terms of providing organizational bases for opposition to European expansion and in the direct continuation of the traditions of activist reformist movements such as the Naqshbandiyah. In the twentieth century, tariqahs responded to specific societal needs in a variety of ways. In some countries orders provided the direct organizational basis for modern-style political parties. In the days of Soviet communist rule in Central Asia, the popular local tariqahs and the established traditional ones like the Naqshbandiyah provided the framework within which Islamic communal identity could be maintained in the face of the

official efforts to suppress religion. In the holy war in Afghanistan after the Soviet occupation in 1979, leaders of established orders like the Qidiriyyah and Naqshbandiyah Mujaddidiyah were among the most important organizers of mujahidin groups. These examples affirm the fact that in many different areas, the organizational traditions of the Sufi orders provided important bases for responding to specific challenges.

In the twentieth century, however, the role of the orders was sometimes different. The established tariqahs might seem ineffective in meeting particular challenges of modernity, but the basic structures or the general approach might still provide models for new Islamic revivalist and reformist movements.

The Sufi orders continued in the modern era to serve as important vehicles for the expansion of Islam in basically non-Muslim societies. In many areas, this is simply a direct continuation of past activities. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, under colonial rule the Sufi orders were among the few types of indigenous social organizations that imperial administrators would allow. As a result, they became important structures both for the expression of indigenous opinion and for the expansion of Islam. It was under colonial rule in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that Islam was able to make significant advances in areas south of the Sudanic savannas.

Sufi orders are active organizationally in Western societies. They provide a clearly satisfying and effective vehicle for the expression of religious life and values in modern Western societies and have an appeal among professionals and the general population. The communities established by orders in Western Europe and the Americas have been strengthened in the second half of the twentieth century by the significant growth of the Muslim communities through immigration and conversion. A good example of this tariqah activity is the expansion of the Nimatullahi order, which by 2007 had centers in thirteen major cities in North America, published a magazine, Sufi, and worked with academic institutions in organizing conferences on Sufism. In ways like this, Sufi orders continue to serve as an important means for the modern expansion of Islam.

The current interest in Sufism can be largely explained by pointing to the same factors which account for the popularity of several diverse Eastern mystical traditions among Westerners. These factors include a hunger for lifetransforming spiritual experience, and an attraction to monistic belief systems. British orientalist Martin Lings comments: “A Vendantist, a Taoist, or a Buddhist can find

in many aspects of Islamic mysticism, a ‘home from home,’ such as he could less easily find in Christianity or Judaism.”

Not only is Sufism making an impact on Western shores in its own right, it has also profoundly influenced such notable founders of new religious movements as George I. Gurdjieff and Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. Also, several personalities who have made their mark outside of the field of religion acknowledge the influence of Sufism on their lives, including novelist Doris Lessing, actor James Coburn, poets Ted Hughes and Robert Graves, psychologists Erich From and Robert Ornstein, and the late Secretary-General of the United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld.

Elements of sufism and its philosophical influence on the outside world

Based on experience rather than doctrine, Sufism has always been more open to outside influence than other forms of Islam. Because it took root and developed in the centrally located Middle East, it has quite naturally absorbed ideas and practices from several of the world’s notable religious and philosophical systems. In addition to early influences from Christianity, one can find elements of Zoroastrianism, Neoplatonism, Hinduism, and other diverse traditions, around its Islamic kernel. As we proceed to examine Sufi beliefs and practices, these non-Islamic influences will be abundantly evident.

In the Quran, Allah (God) is not only absolutely singular (barring the Trinity of Christian theology), he is also radically transcendent—separate from his creation. How then can anyone claiming to be a Muslim possibly hold to a pantheistic conception of God in good conscience? Martin Lings, himself a practicing Sufi, gives us an example of how such reasoning is typically carried out:

It is necessary to bear in mind that each of the Names of the Divine Essence comprises in Itself, like Allah, the totality of Names and does not merely denote a particular Divine Aspect. The Names of the Essence are thus in a sense interchangeable with Allah, and one such Name is al-Haqq, Truth, Reality. We can just as well say that there is no truth but the Truth, no reality but the Reality as that there is no god but God. The meaning of all these is identical. Every Muslim is obligated to believe in theory that there is no reality but the Reality, namely God; but it is only the Sufis, and not even all those who are affiliated to Sufi orders, who are prepared to carry this formulation to its ultimate conclusion. The doctrine which is based on that conclusion is termed “Oneness of Being,” for Reality is that which is

opposed to that which is not; and if God alone is Real, God alone is, and there is no being but His being [8].

As do all pantheists, Sufis run into a morass when they attempt to resolve the problem of evil. In their effort to reconcile the existence of evil with belief that God is all there is, they end up associating evil with the process of creation. E.G. Browne illustrates:

A thing can only be known through its opposite – Light by Darkness, Good by Evil, Health by Sickness, and so on.... Thus Eternal Beauty manifests itself, as it were, by a sort of self-negation; and what we call “Evil” is a necessary consequence of this manifestation, so that the Mystery of Evil is really identical with the Mystery of Creation, and inseparable therefrom. But Evil must not be regarded as a separate and independent entity: just as Darkness is the mere negation of Light, so Evil is merely the Not-Good, or, in other words, the Non-Existent. All Phenomenal Being, on the other hand, necessarily contains some elements of Good, just as the scattered rays of the pure, dazzling white light which has passed through the prism are still light, their light more or less “coloured” and weakened. It is from this fall from the “World of Colourlessness” that all the strife and conflict apparent in this world originate.

Corresponding to their pantheistic denial of actual evil, the Sufis affirm the inherent goodness of man. The human soul is the microcosm of the Universal Macrocosm (God), related to God as rays are to the sun. It is restless because of its unnatural relation with matter and seeks union with its origin.... Its weakness is in its being tempted by the wrong notion of its being material.”²¹

With such a gnostic-like definition of man’s problem (the spirit’s false identification with matter), we might appropriately expect a gnostic solution, and this is precisely what we find. Commenting on the most standard Sufi text, the Gifts of the (Deep) Knowledge, by Shaikh Suhrawardi, Idries Shah affirms: “By divine illumination man sees the world to be illusion.” Browne adds:

Evil is, as we have seen, illusion; its cure is to get rid of the ignorance which causes us to take the Phantoms of the world of Sense for Realities. All sinful desire, all sorrow and pain, have their root in the idea of Self, and Self is an illusion.

Conclusion

To the above summary of Sufi doctrines we can add belief in both the preexistence of the soul, and

the soul's survival of physical death. Unlike Indian mystical systems, this is not generally viewed in terms of reincarnation. The soul's sojourn on earth is one stage in a long progression through various worlds of existence. Sufis believe that their homeland is beyond the stars, and to there they will ultimately return. For their time here on earth they purposefully submitted themselves to a state of forgetfulness, although one of the aims of Sufi discipline is to awaken from this sleep. At various points in the soul's evolutionary journey it may take on the nature of an angel, a jinn, a human, a Master, etc.

The Sufis' understanding of human sinfulness is painfully deficient. Ultimately, the true nature of man's dilemma was lost sight of amid the rapture of intoxicating mystical experience. This blindness can be discerned in Nasrollah Fatemi's affirmation that Spiritual perfection leads to the gnosis of the divine unity and the bridging of the gap between God and man when the latter's soul transcends the confines of personality by losing the conditioned self in the intuition of the one."

Such talk of attaining spiritual perfection (typically mystic) is self-delusion, resulting from a bankruptcy of authentic "gnosis" (self-knowledge). The unpleasant but necessary truth was pointedly stated by the prophet Jeremiah: "The heart is more

deceitful than all else and is desperately sick: who can understand it?"

If the Sufi trusts so strongly in his subjective 'intuition of the one' that he does not sense his desperate need to take advantage of God's merciful provision in Christ, he has not begun to attain useful knowledge. "The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge", and such a one needs a healthy dose of it.

By educating the masses and deepening the spiritual concerns of the Muslims, Sufism has played an important role in the formation of Muslim society. Opposed to the dry casuistry of the lawyer-divines, the mystics nevertheless scrupulously observed the commands of the divine law. The Sufis have been further responsible for a large-scale missionary activity all over the world, which still continues. Sufis have elaborated the image of the Prophet Muhammad—the founder of Islam—and have thus largely influenced Muslim piety by their Muhammad-mysticism. Without the Sufi vocabulary, Persian and other literatures related to it, such as Turkish, Urdu, Sindhi, Pashto, and Punjabi, would lack their special charms. Through the poetry of these literatures, mystical ideas spread widely among the Muslims. In some countries Sufi leaders were also active politically.

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