

## CONCLUSION

As we have demonstrated herein, Sufi writings of the premodern period (i.e. the eleventh to seventeenth centuries) composed in Arabic and Persian are consistent in their interpretation of jihad as both an inner spiritual struggle with the lower self and the passions and an outer martial struggle with unbelievers. We have read examples of Sufi discourse in treatises, hagiography, didactic as well as more esoteric poetry, and letters, concerning the various aspects of jihad. These Sufi writings were composed during Sufism's formative period (roughly the late tenth till the early thirteenth centuries); the period after the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century (when it could be said that many of the prominent Sufi orders crystalized); and from the Timurid period in Central Asia till the Mughal period in India. On the basis of these many Sufi compositions we can say with confidence that from the earliest period of its elaboration, Sufi writings have set forth and elaborated a complementary understanding of jihad. While early Sufi writers did develop a spiritual, or inner, interpretation of jihad—an interpretation that does not appear to have existed before the historical advent of Sufism—they also embraced and encouraged the communal duty of fulfilling the martial jihad in accordance with the Islamic scriptural and legal traditions. In this regard, Sufis have also developed and, we may add, have consistently employed specific terminology to refer to the two primary aspects of jihad according to the Sufi tradition, that is, *mujahada*, to designate the spiritual struggle against the lower self, and, in accordance with Islamic doctrine, jihad, to designate the military struggle against non-Muslims—either for

the defense of Islamic territory or the expansion thereof. Though premodern Sufi writings generally emphasize the greater exertion necessary to combat and overcome the lower self through carrying out the spiritual jihad, they do not claim that the spiritual jihad overshadows the duty of carrying out the martial jihad, and they certainly do not contend that the spiritual jihad supersedes or abrogates the martial jihad. Such an interpretation of jihad would be contrary to the Sufi ethos, which holds that Islamic doctrine and practice have an inner aspect and outer aspect that are always complementary. Indeed as we have read, rather than denying or downplaying the outer, martial aspect of jihad, Sufi writings often insist that it is Sufis who make the ideal warriors for the faith, for they have overcome the lower self and are thus free of desire for personal gain or glory. It is equally true that Sufi writings—especially hagiography—cannot be considered accurate historical documents in terms of establishing whether or not a given Sufi friend of God and his *murids* took part in a particular military activity. Certainly many hagiographical anecdotes portraying Sufis as *mujahids* or *ghazis* say as much about the time and place of their composition as they do about the historical or semi-historical events in which they situate Sufi warriors. At times they also no doubt mirror the idealized early military campaigns of the Prophet and his Companions in Islamic sacred history. Such an association served to connect the Sufis to their spiritual forebears by portraying them as exemplars of the piety and bravery the Prophet and his Companions exhibited in the narratives that related the burgeoning Muslim community's martial endeavors. Nevertheless, on the basis of the many examples of Sufi writings we have considered in this study, we may conclude that Sufis of the premodern period espoused and encouraged military activity and warfare to defend the Muslim community and expand the dominion of Islam. Moreover, on the strength of the consistent and virtually universal support for the martial jihad and *ghazw* found in the Sufi treatises we have read, as well as the many depictions of Sufis as warriors that occur in premodern Sufi hagiography and Muslim historiography, we may reasonably conclude that the Sufi discourse concerning the martial jihad was not confined to theoretical support for military activity and that Sufis did indeed fight in military campaigns and wars with non-Muslims during the premodern period. Though beyond the scope of this study, Sufis of the modern period (late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries)—especially during the era of European colonialism—played a decisive role in many of the struggles against European powers (e.g. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri's jihad against the French in Algeria). It is certain that the Sufi *mujahids* of the colonial period

were inspired to a certain extent by the writings and deeds of their Sufi forebears, many of which we have considered in the foregoing chapters.

Having read the conclusions of contemporary Muslim scholars—writing in Arabic and Persian—regarding Sufis and jihad, we may state that the discourse of Sufi jihad these scholars present differs significantly from the Sufi jihad discourse of scholars writing in European languages. Indeed this Western Sufi jihad discourse can be said to be the outcome of over 200 years of Western scholarship concerning Sufis. From the outset, European scholars defined Sufism as a purely mystical and esoteric phenomenon, which they distinguished from outward Islamic practice, with some even going so far as to say that Sufis rejected formal adherence to the *sharia* and outward Islamic practice. While it may be said that scholarship in European languages has changed considerably over the last half century, with many scholars abandoning the narrow definition of Sufism as nothing more than Islamic mysticism, the idea that Sufis are primarily concerned with inner spiritual matters—to the exclusion of involvement in social or worldly matters—persists in scholarly discourse concerning Sufis and Sufism in European languages. As we mentioned previously, there is a clear tendency among both contemporary scholars writing in European languages and Muslim scholars writing in Arabic, Persian, and so on to idealize Sufis and portray them in ways that are agreeable to their respective audiences. This tendency to present Sufis in a certain light may, in some cases, be deliberate, though it is most likely the result of a combination of cultural, historical, and epistemological factors. In any event, there is no creed of Sufism or one school of Sufi practice. The Arabic term *tasawwuf* has designated many modes of spiritual and religious conduct and practice since the historical advent of Sufism in the ninth and tenth centuries; the subsequent appearance of the first Sufi order (i.e. the Kazaruni order) in eleventh-century Fars; the crystallization of the great Sufi orders in the period following the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century; the elaboration of theoretical Sufism till the end of the premodern period (roughly the seventeenth century); Sufi involvement in the struggle against European colonial powers; and Sufism in the present era.

Regarding Sufis and the martial jihad, there remain many areas for further research. A comprehensive study of the military role of Sufis in the anti-colonial struggles of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would be especially enlightening. The Sufi understanding of jihad and Sufi involvement in military activity during the premodern period still offer abundant topics worthy of exploration. For example, studies dealing with

jihad in Sufi writings in Turkic languages, or the martial role of Sufis during the Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula, which are topics this study does not address, would both do much to increase our knowledge of the doctrine of jihad in the various Sufi traditions.

As for the greater jihad *hadith*, it is clear that it ultimately owes its current and ever-increasing importance in contemporary Islamic discourse to Sufism. We have established that the textual history of this *hadith* and its variants is not older than the eleventh century, whereas the canonical *hadith* compendia of Sunni Islam were compiled in the ninth century and do not contain any reference to a greater or lesser form of jihad. However, as many contemporary Muslims *do* interpret the doctrine of jihad to encompass any selfless struggle that benefits the Muslim community or propagates Islam, it is possible that the greater jihad *hadith* will eventually become a generally accepted scriptural source.

The subject of Sufism will undoubtedly continue to hold a particular fascination for scholars, regardless of the language they write in or their intended audience. Thus, we may hope that scholarship regarding Sufis and their place in Islamic history and Muslim society will continue to develop a more nuanced approach to understanding the multifarious roles Sufis have played, especially regarding the Sufi interpretation of jihad.

## APPENDIX A: ANECDOTES REGARDING SUFIS AND WARFARE FROM HAGIOGRAPHY

FROM *HILYAT AL-AWLIYA'*

### *Ibrahim al-Adham*

Abu'l-Walid [said]: Ibrahim and I were raiding and I had two horses with me while he was on foot. I wanted him to mount one of them but he refused so I swore an oath [entreating him]. He mounted [the horse] until he was seated on the saddle then he said: "I have fulfilled your oath." Then he dismounted. We traveled with that raiding party thirty-six miles with him on foot. When we dismounted he went to the sea and soaked his feet and then he came and threw himself down and rested his feet on the wall. This is the most difficult thing I saw him do.<sup>1</sup>

Ahmad b. Bakkar said: Ibrahim went on two raiding expeditions with us, each raiding party was harsher than the other, the raid of 'Abbas al-Antaki and Ibrahim's raid with us. [Ibrahim] would not take any share of the spoils and he would not eat of the goods of Rūm. We brought exquisite things, and honey, and chicken but he would not eat of them, saying: "they are religiously licit but I am abstaining from them." He would eat [only] what he had brought with him and he would fast. He would go raiding on a nag whose price was one dirham and he also had a donkey that he would compare to that nag and if I had given him a horse of gold or silver he would not have accepted it. He would not drink water. He went on two raiding expeditions on the sea and would not take his share of the spoils nor would he receive his soldier's stipend.<sup>2</sup>

Khalaf b. Tamim relates: I was in a mosque with Abu Raja' al-Harawi when a man on horseback came and dismounted. They greeted each other and Abu Raja' informed me that [the man] had been on a ship with Ibrahim on a raiding expedition when the wind began blowing violently. They were close to drowning when they heard an unseen voice proclaiming loudly: "You are afraid and yet with you is Ibrahim?"<sup>3</sup>

*Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak*

'Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak related that Hamid informed us by way of Anas b. Malik that the Prophet said: "I have been commanded to fight the people until they testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God. And when they testify ... their blood and possessions will be unlawful for us."

'Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak related ... from Abu Hurayra who heard the Prophet say: "the *mujahid* in the path of God is like he who fasts and concerns himself with God's *ayat* (signs/verses of the Qur'an) day and night ...."

FROM *TADHKIRAT AL-AWLIYA'*

*Malik al-Dinar*

It is related that Malik said: for some years I had the desire to go on a military expedition. When it so happened that I could go, I came down with a fever on the day of battle so that I was unable to go. I went to bed and said to myself: "O body! If you were only nearer to God this fever would not have come." I fell asleep and heard an unseen voice that said to me: "If you had gone forth to battle today you would have been captured and [the unbelievers] would have given you pork. If you had eaten the pork you would have become an unbeliever. This fever was a great blessing to you." I rose from sleep and gave thanks to God.<sup>4</sup>

*Shaqiq al-Balkhi*

Hatim al-Asamm related: I went on a raid with Shaqiq. The day was difficult and they were fighting so much that one could see nothing save one's spearhead while arrows were flying through the air. Shaqiq said to me: "O Hatim! How do you find yourself? Are you imagining that it's last night when you were in your bed clothes sleeping with your wife?" "No," I said. "By God!" said he. "I find my body just as you [found yours when you] were in your bed clothes last night." Night came and he lay down

between the battle lines, used his patched cloak (*kbirqah*) for a pillow and slept, passing the night among such foes, owing to the confidence he had in God.<sup>5</sup>

It is related that one day [Shaqiq] was holding audience when a voice was heard in the town, [saying]: “the unbelievers have come!” Shaqiq ran out and defeated the unbelievers and then came back. A *murid* placed some flowers before the Shaykh’s prayer rug. The Shaykh was smelling [the flowers] when some ignoramus saw this and said: “an army is at the town’s doorstep and the Shaykh is smelling flowers!” “Hypocrites,” said the Shaykh, “see everything as smelling flowers but the defeat of an army they see not.”<sup>6</sup>

#### *Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak*

It is related that once [‘Abd Allah b. al-Mubarak] had gone on a raid (*ghazw*) and was fighting with an unbeliever [when] the time for the prescribed prayer came. [‘Abd Allah] asked the unbeliever for a respite [from the fighting] and performed the prayer. When it was the unbeliever’s prayer time, he also asked for a respite [from ‘Abd Allah]. When the [unbeliever] faced his idol Abd Allah said: “This hour I have achieved victory over him.” With sword drawn, he made for the [unbeliever’s] head in order to slay him. He heard a voice [saying]: “O ‘Abd Allah, Fulfill the covenant! Indeed the covenant [is that about which, one] will be questioned.”<sup>7</sup> ‘Abd Allah began to weep. The unbeliever raised his head and saw ‘Abd Allah with drawn sword, weeping [so] he said to him: “What has happened to you?” ‘Abd Allah told him: “On your behalf I have been chastised.” The unbeliever let out a cry and said: “It would be mean to be a rebel and sinner against such a god who chastises a friend for the sake of a foe.” [The unbeliever] became a Muslim and was mighty in the path of religion.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Ahmad Khidrawayh-i Balkhi*

It is related that Ahmad said: “for a long time I subjugated my *nafs*. One day, a group left [to go] on a raid. A great desire [to go with them] arose in me and my *nafs* brought to my attention *hadiths*, in which the merits of raiding are expounded. I was amazed and said: obedience issues not from a lively *nafs*. This is a trick. I said: [the base soul’s] trick concerns my keeping him in a state of continual fasting and [thus] his patience is exhausted. He wants to travel so that his fast may be broken [so] I said [to him]: ‘I will not break the fast while traveling!’ ‘That is fair [said my *nafs*].’ I was amazed. Was he saying this because I commanded him to pray at night? [My *nafs*] wanted to go on the journey so that he would [be allowed to]

sleep at night and rest. I said: ‘I will keep you awake till morning!’ ‘That is fair [said my *nafs*].’ I was amazed and pondered whether he was saying this so that he could mix with people because he had grown tired of being alone. ‘Wherever I alight I will isolate you and I will not sit with people!’ ‘That is fair [said my *nafs*].’ [At this] I became helpless, unable to do anything. I turned to God—may He be exalted—beseeching [Him] that He might [both] preserve me from and make me aware of the wiles of [my *nafs*]. [God] reduced [my *nafs*] to confession so that he said: ‘contrary to my wishes you slew me one hundred times every day and the people knew it not, [while] here I might be killed at once while raiding and find release and the whole world would proclaim: ‘well done, Ahmad Khidravyh, they slew him and he attained the honor of martyrdom!’ ‘Praise be to God who creates a soul that in life is a hypocrite and after death is a hypocrite. [My *nafs*] will not submit in this world nor in the Hereafter.’ I had imagined that [my *nafs*] was seeking obedience, I did not know that he was girding himself with the *zunnar*, so I opposed him violently.”<sup>9</sup>

### *Bayazid-i Bastami*

It is related that once the army of Islam became weak in Rūm and was on the point of being defeated by the unbelievers. They heard a voice [saying]: “O Bayazid become aware [of their plight]!” Forthwith from the direction of Khurasan a fire became manifest so that fear fell upon the army [of the unbelievers] and the Muslim army gained the victory.<sup>10</sup>

## FROM *HAZAR HIKAYAT-I SUFIYAN*

### *The First Tale*

Abu al-Hasan al-Tusi—may God’s mercy be upon him—was a man among the *mujahids* and worshippers and his life was completely devoted to worship and jihad. It happened that a group of Muslims was going to Tarsus to engage in jihad in accord with him. Abu al-Hasan and his *murids* went out to meet them and then went on jihad with them. Five *murids* in particular would always accompany him in warfare and jihad. It so happened that they were martyred while engaged in warfare and jihad, save one. When they returned to Tarsus, that *murid* would sit and weep every day. One day, [Abu al-Hasan] said to him: “If you weep on account of separation from your companions, they have achieved martyrdom, so what is your weeping for?” The *murid* said: “O Shaykh! I weep for myself

and bewail my bad luck, for no one has beheld that which I have beheld and that which I am bereft of, no one has been bereft of, lest it be from wretchedness.” “What did you see?” said the Shaykh. The *murid* said: “When the unbelievers and the Muslims were arrayed in formation and waging war, I looked aloft and beheld a dome of white pearl with five hours seated upon it, each of my companions who had been martyred was with attended by them. One [hour] would come and take [a companion] and another would attend him holding an ewer and a cloth; she would take him and bathe him and would cleanse him with the cloth and would then carry him to that pearl dome till they had borne away all four of my companions. When it was my turn, one houri remained and I said to myself: ‘There is no doubt that this houri is mine and that I will also be among my companions.’ When I clashed with the unbelievers’ line, suddenly, a youth from among the unbelievers came out and drew near to me, saying: ‘Expound the declaration of faith to me!’ Forthwith he became a Muslim, turned to face the unbelievers and began fighting until they slew him and he was martyred. That [last] houri came and took him and vanished. O Shaykh, if I weep with envy it is on this account.” At this moment a trumpet was sounded and the people came forth to face the unbelievers. Shaykh Abu al-Hasan says: “I looked aloft and beheld that very dome and those four Muslims as well as that new Muslim and another houri with a ewer and cloth. That *murid* came nigh to me and said: ‘O Shaykh, look aloft so that you will see what I saw!’ ‘I see.’ Said I. That *murid* spoke thus, entered the fray, and was martyred. They bore his soul to that dome and he was saying while leaving: ‘We found that which we sought and attained that which we desired, blessed be the martyr!’”<sup>11</sup>

### *The Second Tale*

Abu al-Hasan al-Dam’i—may God’s mercy be upon him—says: “I went to warfare for a year with the army of Islam. When we reached the abode of the unbelievers, their army came forth and they arrayed themselves before the Muslims. One of [the unbelievers] came out, desiring to fight. That unbeliever cast down everyone who went out from the army of Islam and fought with him. The Muslims were discouraged. A man came out from the army of Islam with a veil over his mouth; he turned toward that unbeliever, pulled him from his horse, and sundered his head from his body. The Muslims cried: ‘God is great!’ and were glad, though no one knew who [the champion] was. I went down to him and swore an oath and he removed the veil, it was ‘Abd Allah b. Mubarak. I said: ‘O ‘Abd Allah!

Why have you hidden yourself in a time and place such as this, when such a victory has come from your hands?’ ‘Abd Allah said: ‘O Abu al-Hasan! I pledged my life so that the one who created my body and soul in eternity without beginning should know me. All who deal with [God] are among his elite, and his elite have no business with fame among the people. O Abu al-Hasan! Return and divulge not my secret, for He for Whom I offered my spirit knows me and knows that which is in my breast.’”<sup>12</sup>

### *The Eighth Tale*

A *murid* asked Bayazid—may God’s mercy be upon him—who among those on earth ranked highest. Bayazid said: “Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Nibaji—may God’s mercy be upon him.” [The *murid*] said: “O Shaykh! Through what manner of worship did he attain this rank?” Bayazid said: “Through *tawakkul* and jihad.” That *murid* asked [Bayazid’s] leave and went to visit Abu ‘Abd Allah. When he arrived there, he asked where [Abu ‘Abd Allah’s] *zawiyya* was. They showed him a palace with a lofty door, but he did not see Abu ‘Abd Allah. [The *murid*] asked where he was and they told him he was at the mill. The [*murid*] said to himself: “Bayazid does not speak idle words, but what is this I see? This is not the sign of those who rely completely on God. If he were truly relying on God, what business would he have with a mill? And this palace does not have the mark of a *zawiyya*, indeed it has the mark of a king.” While the *murid* was pondering all this, Abu ‘Abd Allah arrived, holding the reins of a camel and near him was an old woman. He caused the camel to kneel at the door of that old woman’s palace and then went to the *murid* and greeted him, saying: “Shaykh Bayazid did not speak idle words, this palace belongs to that old woman, who was at the mill for several days with no one to bring her back, so I carried out [the words of the hadith:] ‘Compassion is incumbent upon God’s people.’” Then Abu ‘Abd Allah said: “This palace door is elevated, for we possess the same craft as the Prophet and there may come a time when we will suffer affliction from the enemy, thus, I made this door high so that a horseman could enter.” When the [*murid*] heard this he began to quake and said: “Have you a divine inspiration, O Abu ‘Abd Allah?” Abu ‘Abd Allah said: “There is no divine inspiration; however, the *mujahids* are the confidants of God (*khasagan-i haqq*); whoever is [God’s] confidant his heart’s eye has insight so that he beholds the enemies’ secrets in their breasts.” [The *murid*] said: “O Abu ‘Abd Allah! How did you attain this rank?” [Abu ‘Abd Allah] said: “Through the two professions of the Prophet of God: poverty and jihad.”<sup>13</sup>

*The Tenth Tale*

Da'jal al-Khaza'i—may God's mercy be upon him—said: “One year, I was engaged in warfare, I went to face the ranks of unbelievers and we lined up on two sides facing one another, the unbelievers and the Muslims. Someone came out from the ranks of unbelievers, wishing to do battle. Whoever came out from the ranks of the Muslims, [this unbeliever] would kill. The Muslims became discouraged on his account and feared that they would be routed. All at once, a youth came out from the Muslims' ranks; I had never beheld a face as handsome as his, with his long black tresses thrown loosed so that they reached the bow of his saddle. He went before that unbeliever and clung to him till he defeated him; he slew every unbeliever who came forth, he then hurled himself against the ranks of [the unbelievers] and put them to flight. The Muslims rejoiced and took much plunder; however, the youth went and withdrew [from the others]. I drew near to him and lauded him, but I saw that he was unhappy and shedding a river of tears. I said to him: ‘O young man! God-may He be exalted-has caused a victory such as this to occur by your hand and He made you the cause of Islam's triumph; the Muslims gained the upper hand over the unbelievers on account of your strength and gained plunder and spoils, so why do you weep?’ The youth replied: ‘O Da'jal! If you knew what the matter was with me you would weep for me.’ ‘Tell me about your condition!’ Said Da'jal. The youth replied: ‘I captured the army of the enemy, while I am the prisoner of my passions.’ He said this, uttered a mournful sigh from his breast and said again: ‘How fortunate he who has an obedient heart.’ He then faced the road and went into the wilderness.”<sup>14</sup>

FROM *FIRDAWS AL-MURSHIDIYYA*

Know that the first person from Kazarun who undertook a raid and mobilized for that purpose was Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Judhayn and this was when the Shaykh, our guide, may God have mercy on his dear soul, manifested Islam and threw down the fire temples of the Zoroastrians<sup>15</sup> all at once. The Zoroastrians and fire worshippers were brought to bay and rendered helpless and so it was that every day the Muslims were becoming the majority over the unbelievers as the Shaykh, our guide, may God have mercy on his dear soul, had foretold: “Today one can reckon the number of Muslims among the unbelievers but a day will come when the Muslims will become the majority and then it will be possible to reckon the number of unbelievers among the Muslims, owing to their paucity.

And the situation was such that when the Muslims became the majority over the unbelievers, the latter began coming group by group and became Muslims at the hand of our Shaykh, may God sanctify his dear spirit. Thus it happened until all the Zoroastrians of these districts became Muslims. After that, the Shaykh... kept exhorting the Muslims to undertake a raid until a host of the people of Kazarun came before the Shaykh, our guide, and asked that they might prepare an army for a raid and go to Sar Band on the border with the Byzantines, a place where the unbelievers dwelled on one side and the Muslims on the other. They requested that the Shaykh arrange that one of his companions be their general and they would not stray from his command. The Shaykh heard their words and every Friday he would ask [for contributions] for their sustenance and he was able to collect a great abundance of gold, silver, and other things for them and from among his companions he made Muhammad b. Judhayn their general.

One Friday they all assembled with their weapons so that the Shaykh would preach to them. Muhammad b. Ibrahim and some of the Shaykh's companions said that that Friday when the warriors were resolved to undertake a raid and came with their weapons all in order and the Shaykh was delivering a sermon to them and encouraging them, the Shaykh was so intent upon their task and was showing such zeal and earnestness that he snatched a naked sword from one of the warriors and became impassioned and leaped about brandishing the sword over his head and yelling, and he said to the entire host: "By the Lord whom I worship in his oneness! If I should behold anyone in this moment who professed *shirk* towards God, may He be exalted, I would sunder his head from his body with this sword, although I have never killed even a sparrow!" When the Shaykh had spoken these words to the assembly the door that was near to him burst asunder, owing to his awesome might, and the sound of it reverberated through the mosque. When the people in the assembly beheld this they cried out and wept much and a host from the army rose and repented. When the Shaykh had finished with the assembly the army rose and bade farewell to the Shaykh and then left for the border to fight with the unbelievers. When they reached the army of the unbelievers they formed ranks, beat the drums, and, all at once, attacked. They routed the unbelievers and defeated them. They pursued them, slaying many of them, and plundered them, taking many spoils and slaves. They returned in safety and came before the Shaykh, laden with spoils, owing to the blessings and effort of the Shaykh.

Thus the Shaykh, our guide, would prepare provisions for them every year and send them on a raid while he would remain behind and render them help through his efforts, and if ever they were at a disadvantage he would come to their aid and help them. Thus, once he had dispatched the army of Islam to Rūm in order to fight the unbelievers and he was watching over them. One day, the Shaykh rose suddenly, picked up a staff and went to the roof of the mosque. There he became impassioned and began flailing the staff that he had in his hand around his head as if he were fighting with an army; his companions witnessed this. After a while the Shaykh finished with this endeavor and became himself again. His companions asked him about the state he had been in. The Shaykh answered: "At that hour the army of Islam had become trapped in Rūm at the hands of the unbelievers and they were calling to me for help. I rendered them aid and assistance." His companions recorded the hour in which this had happened. After the army of Islam had returned from the war with the unbelievers the Shaykh's companions asked them to relate what had happened. They said: "When we reached the army of the unbelievers and stood before them in battle formation the army of the unbelievers was great and ours was small but we took heart and strove with them. We fought them on all sides and were slaying them but they were many and each one of us faced one hundred unbelievers. All at once they attacked and surrounded the Muslims and it was feared that they would destroy us in one fell swoop. We raised our voices and called out to the Shaykh to aid us and we asked for his intercession and help. Suddenly, we beheld a horseman of majesty and terrifying mien who had come to give us succor. He stood before our ranks, unsheathed his sword and, greatly stirred, faced the unbelievers. With ardent furor, he sundered the heads, arms, and legs of the unbelievers. No one among the unbelievers had the courage to challenge him and he sundered the heads of the unbelievers from their bodies like cucumbers. In one hour he routed the entire army of the unbelievers and defeated them and pursued them and then he left our side and was gone and we did not recognize him. After that we became victorious over the army of the unbelievers and slew many of them." When the warriors had told this tale, the companions of the Shaykh looked and found that this had happened during the same hour that the Shaykh had begun brandishing his staff on the roof of the mosque.<sup>16</sup>

FROM *NAFAHAT AL-UNS*

When the Tatar unbelievers arrived in Khwarazm, Shaykh [Najm al-Din Kubra] assembled his companions, who numbered more than sixty; Sultan Muhammad Khwarazmshah had already fled. The Tatar unbelievers imagined that [Sultan Muhammad] was still in Khwarazm, which is why they came there. Shaykh [Najm al-Din] summoned some of his companions... and said to them: "Rise quickly and return to your lands! For a fire has been kindled in the East and will burn till it reaches the West. This is a great catastrophe the like of which this *umma* has never witnessed." ... Some of his companions then beseeched [Najm al-Din]: "A horse is ready, if the Shaykh will agree to make for Khurasan as he has insisted his companions do." The Shaykh replied: "I will be martyred here and I am not permitted to leave." Then his companions left for Khurasan. When the unbelievers entered the city, the Shaykh called his remaining companions to him and said: "Rise in God's name and let us fight in His path!" [Najm al-Din] then entered his home, donned his *khirqah*, girded his loins, and filled both armpits of his *khirqah*, which was open in the front, with stones, took up his spear, and went forth. When he faced the unbelievers, he began throwing stones at them till none remained. The unbelievers rained arrows upon him. One arrow pierced his blessed breast, he drew it out, cast it aside and then expired. They say that at the time of his martyrdom, he had taken the standard of the unbelievers and ten men could not release it from the Shaykh's hand; in the end, they had to cut the standard from [his hand].<sup>17</sup>

FROM *THAMARAT AL-QUDS*

During the time when Sultan Mahmud the Ghazi turned to Somnath to battle the unbelievers, [Khwajah Muhammad b. Khwajah Abu Ahmad Chishti] was also present at that battle in the company of the Sultan with the intention of fighting. When it appeared that the victory of the unbelievers was at hand, [Khwajah Muhammad] called out to one his *murids*, by the name of Kaku, who was in Chisht. [Kaku] appeared and the unbelievers were defeated. They say that those who were in Chisht that day saw Kaku, who had picked up a stove-striking doors, walls, and [various other] things—and they wondered at this state. In the end, it became known that [Kaku's] intention in this was [aiding] the Sultan's conquest.<sup>18</sup>

[Shaykh Nizam al-Din] was also the son of Ganj-i Shakar. When Ganj-i Shakar no longer remained, one year, the unbelievers were victorious over [the city of] Ajudhan. [Nizam al-Din] girt himself with a sword, mounted a horse, and came before the unbelievers. He fiercely resisted [the unbelievers] and sent many of them to Hell. In the end, he fell from a wound he received from one of the unbelievers. When the war was over, they sought his corpse but found no trace of him.<sup>19</sup>

[Shaykh ‘Aziz Allah] heard that the unbelievers were victorious in Gujarat over the army of Islam. He went to that land to drive away the unbelievers and there he slew many of those sinful unbelievers and then remained there for a time. For a time, the unbelievers gained the upper hand, so he went to drive them away; he fought unceasingly and was martyred in that battle.<sup>20</sup>

Suddenly, a [cloud] of dust appeared from the direction of those unbelievers and Khan Ghazi mounted his horse at the same time, while giving the sign that all the horses, servants, and those in his retinue should, according to the injunction “Fight the unbelievers collectively” [Qur’an: 9:36], form ranks one hundred times stronger than Alexander’s barrier ... The Tatar unbelievers-curse them-forded the waters of Lahore and arranged themselves before the ranks of the Muslims ... the warriors of Islam...arranged themselves for prayer on the battlefield of jihad, for Mustafa-upon whom be peace-likened jihad to prayer, saying: ‘We have returned from the lesser jihad to the greater jihad.’ Saying Allahu akbar, they raised their hands and caused many ranks of the Mongols’ horses to fall under their swords ...<sup>21</sup>

## APPENDIX B: SOME NOTES ON FORM-THREE VERBAL NOUNS IN ARABIC

With the exception of form one, the morphology of the Arabic verbal noun is, for the most part, predictable. Most form-three verbs form their verbal nouns on the feminine form of the passive participle, that is, the *mufā'ala* pattern, owing to the semantic ambiguity of *fi'āl*; however, some form-three verbs retain a verbal noun on the older pattern *fi'āl* (originally *fi'āl*), either in addition to a verbal noun on the *mufā'ala* pattern or to the exclusion thereof. Where both forms are in use, the *mufā'ala* pattern tends to express the verbal sense, while the *fi'āl* pattern is more nominalized.

One of the functions of form-three verbs is to denote the attempt or action necessary to achieve the result of form-one verbs. To illustrate this concept further, the example of the distinction between forms one and three of the root *Q-T-L* is especially helpful. Form one, *QaTaLa*, means “to kill”, whereas form three, *QāTaLa*, means “to fight”, or, in other words, “to try to *kill* by means of fighting.”

Form-three verbs that have a verbal noun on the older *fi'āl* pattern, rather than the much more common *mufā'ala* pattern, often express some kind of violent or contentious action or use of force. This is not to say that all form-three verbs that denote violent action have a verbal noun on the *fi'āl* pattern (e.g. *muhājama*, to attack, to assail, to raid); however, the majority of form-three verbs that express some kind of violent or contentious action do have a verbal noun on the *fi'āl* pattern. The premodern grammarians do not mention the preponderance of form-three verbs with

verbal nouns on the *fʿāl* pattern that denote violent action, nor, to my knowledge, have any Arabists or Semiticists discussed this aspect of form-three verbal nouns.

The following are examples of forceful actions expressed by form-three verbal nouns on the *fʿāl* pattern:

<i>DiFāʿ</i>	<i>Resist, withstand, oppose, defend</i>
<i>DiGHāṬ</i>	<i>Press against</i>
<i>DiRāB</i>	<i>Exchange blows; contend with someone in a fight</i>
<i>DiRāR</i>	<i>Harm or injure someone in requital</i>
<i>GHILāB</i>	<i>Attempt to overcome someone; fight</i>
<i>HiJāJ</i>	<i>Contend with someone using an argument or plea</i>
<i>HiQāQ</i>	<i>Dispute, litigate, contend with someone for the right to something</i>
<i>HiRāB</i>	<i>Wage war, battle someone</i>
<i>HiRāSH</i>	<i>Quarrel, wrangle with</i>
<i>HiṢāR</i>	<i>Besiege, beleaguer, restrain</i>
<i>ʿiQāB</i>	<i>Infliction of punishment</i>
<i>ʿiTāB</i>	<i>Censure, blame, rebuke</i>
<i>JiHāF</i>	<i>Push or press one against another in war; striving, struggling, contending</i>
<i>JiDāL</i>	<i>Quarrel, dispute, debate</i>
<i>JiLāD</i>	<i>Fight</i>
<i>JiRāʿ</i>	<i>Contend with someone in running (or any other affair)</i>
<i>KiFāḤ</i>	<i>Fight, battle</i>
<i>KHiLāF</i>	<i>Contradict, oppose, clash with</i>
<i>KHiNāQ</i>	<i>Quarrel, have a fight</i>
<i>MiRāʿ</i>	<i>Wrangle, argue, dispute with, resist, oppose</i>
<i>NiDāL</i>	<i>Fight, battle, defend</i>
<i>NiZāʿ</i>	<i>Fight, struggle, contend, dispute, combat</i>
<i>QiTāL</i>	<i>Fight, battle</i>
<i>RiBāṬ</i>	<i>Being ready for combat, having gathered the horses</i>
<i>RiMāʿ</i>	<i>Throw or shoot arrows at or with someone in competition or contention</i>
<i>SiFāḤ</i>	<i>Contend with someone in shedding blood</i>
<i>ṢiMāD</i>	<i>Contend with someone in a fight</i>
<i>ṢiRāʿ</i>	<i>Wrestle or struggle</i>
<i>ṬiRāD</i>	<i>Charge upon or assault one's adversary</i>
<i>WiQāʿ</i>	<i>Attack, fight; have sexual intercourse with a woman</i>

## NOTES

1. Isfahani, *Hilyatu'l-‘awliya’* Vol. 7, p. 349.
2. Ibid., p. 350.
3. Ibid., Vol. 8, p. 7.
4. ‘Attar, *Tadhkiratu'l-awliya’*, p. 43.
5. Ibid., 202–03. A slightly different version of this anecdote is also related in Isfahani’s *Hilyatu'l-awliya’*, Vol. 8, p. 55.
6. Ibid.
7. Qur’an: 17:34.
8. ‘Attar, *Tadhkiratu'l-awliya’*, pp. 188–189.
9. Ibid., pp. 304–305.
10. Ibid., p. 157.
11. *Hazar hikayat-i Sufiyan*, pp. 457–458.
12. Ibid., pp. 458–459.
13. Ibid., p. 464.
14. Ibid., pp. 465–466.
15. The pejorative, *gabr*, is the term used to refer to Zoroastrians in most pre-modern Persian texts. For discussion of the origin of this term see Harry Neale, “Zoroastrians in Farid al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār’s *Tadhkiratu'l-awliya’*,” *Middle Eastern Literatures*, Vol. 12: 2, 2009, note 13, pp. 153–154.
16. Mahmud b. ‘Uthman, *Firdaws al-murshidiyya*, pp. 181–182.
17. Jami, *Nafahat al-uns*, pp. 426–27.
18. Badakhshi, *Thamarat al-quds*, pp. 112–113
19. Ibid., pp. 293–294.
20. Ibid., p. 297.
21. Ibid., p. 564.

## GLOSSARY

*Aya* verse of the Qur'an; also sign

*Dhikr* remembrance of God; often either through repeating His name vocally or silently

*Ghazal* lyric poem

*Ghazi* originally, raider, warrior; sometimes synonymous with *mujahid*

*Ghazw* originally, raid; military campaigns of early Muslim community; later, religiously sanctioned warfare

*Hadith* tradition or saying attributed to Muhammad; body of *hadith* considered scripture

*Jihad* originally, to struggle; in traditional Islamic law, primarily denotes religiously prescribed “just war” to defend or expand Islam and the Muslim community. The legal tradition stipulates many requirements for undertaking jihad. Incorrectly defined as “holy war.”

*Mathnawi* extended didactic narrative in rhyming couplets; early genre of New Persian literature that developed in the tenth century; first used by Hakim Sana'i in the twelfth century for presenting Sufi concepts

*Mujahada* originally alternate form of verbal noun jihad; in Sufism almost exclusively designates the struggle against the lower self (i.e. the spiritual jihad), whereas jihad in premodern Sufi texts generally denotes the “just war” of Islamic law

*Mujahid* one who fights in jihad against the foes of Islam; a warrior for the faith

- Murid** literally, one who desires or aims with a purpose; in Sufism designates an aspiring Sufi under the guidance of a Sufi elder
- Nafs** originally, soul, life; in Sufism *nafs* designates the lower self, or the ego that the Sufi must overcome in order to tread the Sufi path
- Qasida** originally, ancient pre-Islamic Arabic tripartite poem; ode
- Riyada** the spiritual and physical exercises necessary for mortification of the *nafs*; often paired with *mujahada* in Sufi texts
- Sharia** originally, a path leading to a water hole; Islamic canonical law as derived from scripture
- Shaykh** (also *pir* in Persian) originally, elder, tribal leader; in Sufism denotes a recognized Sufi authority or the head of a Sufi order who guides *murids* on the Sufi path
- Sira** originally, conduct, way of life; biography of Muhammad concentrating on his military campaigns in Arabia
- Sufi** mostly likely from *suf* (wool), referring to the patched wool cloak of the Sufi with clear ascetic connotations; one who follows the Sufi path (*tasawwuf*); though often defined as the mystics of Islam, Sufis have followed a wide variety of practices and fulfilled manifold roles in their respective communities, which transcend this rather limiting designation. Sufis generally profess a complementary understanding of Islam that embraces an inner spiritual and an outer active interpretation of all aspects of the faith
- Sunna** originally, custom, norm; in the Islamic context, *Sunnat al-Nabi* (i.e. the behavior of the Prophet, including his deeds and sayings—*hadith*) is second source of Islamic law and practice
- Sura** chapter of the Qur'an
- Tafsir** literally, explanation; traditional commentary and interpretation of the Qur'an
- Umma** nation; the Muslim community
- Wali** (plural: *awliya'*) literally, near; often translated as “friend of God” in Sufism, which is preferable to “saint” with its Christian associations. In Sufi hagiography, the *awliya'* are the Sufi archetypes whose wonders and deeds bespeak their spiritual status; while not of the same spiritual stature or authority of the Prophet, the *awliya'* are believed exemplify his teachings and conduct

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