

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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'Abd al-Wāhid b. Zayd al-Başrī, with the *kunya* Abū 'Ubayda, a *wā'iz* (preacher) and *muḥaddīth* (traditionist), was an ascetically inclined Sufi from Başra who lived in the 2nd/8th century. He was one of the most important and distinguished followers of the school of al-Ḥasan al-Başrī (d. 110/728), who became famous both as a forerunner of the Sufis and for his sermons. He was known as one of the *a'immat al-shar'* (leaders of the Law), *akābir al-Şūfiyya* (great figures of the Sufis) and as one of the *bakkā'ūn* (weepers). He was also given the noble titles of *shaykh al-'ubbād* (leader of the worshippers) and *qudwā* (model) (see Abū Nu'aym, 6/155, 161; Anşārī, 130; Ibn al-Jawzī, 3/322; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 7/178; al-Nabhānī, 2/132; al-Munāwī, 1/135).

In spite of all this, our information about his life is very limited and is based

on scattered accounts. Even these facts derive from reports which are scattered throughout biographical (*rijālī*) literature concerning the reliability of traditionists, or Sufi sources. In the former, which mostly focus on him as a *muḥaddīth*, he is largely regarded as an untrustworthy traditionist, *ḥadīths* transmitted by him being regarded as unreliable. In the Sufi sources, however, he is mentioned as one of the leading Sufis and ascetics (*zuhhād*, sing. *zāhid*): his sayings are quoted with respect and approval, and there are accounts describing his spiritual states (*ahwāl*, sing. *ḥāl*) and spiritual teachings.

It can be surmised from his *nisba* 'al-Başrī', as well as his relationship with al-Ḥasan al-Başrī, that he was born in Başra. This event occurred some time in the second half of the 1st century/last decades of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century. Nothing is known of his youth apart from what is said in the account given by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, that 'Abd al-Wāhid was an unruly, reckless and headstrong young man, who repented after listening to a sermon of Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn and took to the path of asceticism and piety ('Aṭṭār, 386). He then joined the circle of disciples of al-Ḥasan al-Başrī, and made every effort to acquire both spiritual knowledge and *ḥadīths*. Apart from that, he studied with a number of other traditionists. Significant among these were: 'Ubāda b. Nusayy al-Kindī, 'Abd Allāh b. Rāshid, al-Aslam al-Kūfī, 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāh and 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Qays. 'Abd al-Wāhid also kept company with the leading ascetics and Sufis of his time such as Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, Farqad al-Sabakhī, Mālik b. Dīnār, Muḥammad b. Wāsī', Şāliḥ al-Murrī, 'Utba b. Ghulām and Salama al-Uswārī, as well as the famous female Sufi, Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya. He also attended the *majālis* (gatherings) where Mālik b. Dīnār gave his sermons, and transmitted traditions from him (see al-Bukhārī, *al-Du'afā'*, 154; idem, *al-Ta'rikh al-kabūr*, 3 (2) 62; Ibn Abī Ḥatīm,

MADDE YAYINLANMIŞTAN  
SONRA GELEN DÜZELTİR

\***ABD-AL-VĀḤED B. ZAYD**, d. 177.793.  
 Sufi, the leading personality among the ascetics trained  
 in the school of Ḥasan Baṣrī (*Lesān al-mizān* IV, p.  
 80). He established at ʿAbbādān (modern Ābādān) a  
 Sufi house (*rebāt*) which Abu'l-ʿAtāhīa praised as a  
 "beneficent innovation" (*Dīvān*, Beirut, 1909, p. 218).

E. Ir. I. c (s. 2), s. 167 - 168, 1982  
 (LONDON)

Hilyat al-awliya, V, 155

- (Abd-al-Ḥakīm al-ʿAbbādī)

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There Sufis gathered in a more or less stable community dedicated to prayer "in renunciation of the world" and, no doubt, in assemblies for recollection of God's name (*majāles al-ḍikr*, Abū Noʿaym Eṣfahānī, *Hilyat al-awliāʾ*, Cairo, 1932-38, VI, p. 157). ʿAbd-al-Vāḥed went on to travel in Fārs and to Jerusalem. A persuasive preacher, he came to be regarded as a miracle-worker and efficacious in his intercession (*mojāb al-daʿwa*).

ʿAbd-al-Vāḥed is among the theologians whose propositions are cited by Aṣʿarī (*Maqālāt*, ed. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden, 1963, pp. 214, 216, 286; see Massignon, *Essai*, p. 219). Those relevant to Sufism include the following: In the hereafter, a person's vision of God will be in proportion to the value of his works. At the last judgement, God will manifest himself through a visible image (*ṣūra*) by which he will address his servants. Saints are honored with miraculous gifts (*moʿjizat*) and, already in this world, enjoy the rewards of paradise, behold angels, and enjoy houris. The last point was denied by Sarrāj (*Lomaʿ*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Leiden, 1914, p. 429); but it is based on dream visits to ʿAbd-al-Vāḥed by beautiful slaves (*Hilya*, pp. 157-58, 161). It may be noted that the *Hilya* shows he used the word *maḥabba* for "love" and did not prefer ʿeṣq (as stated by Massignon, *Essai*, p. 214).

*Bibliography*: Given in the text.

erage mystics than the other two, had a broader influence. From the end of the third century, Tustarī and various Sufis of Baghdād were adopting Miṣrī's process of formal classification.<sup>439</sup> It would be amended and perfected by Wāsiṭī, Sarrāj,<sup>440</sup> Qushayrī, and Ghazālī.

Here is one of Miṣrī's characteristic passages:<sup>441</sup>

There were some men who, being faithful to God, planted the trees of their sins where they could see them and showered them with the water of their penitence; the trees bore the fruit of sorrow and regret; and they, the eloquent, the gracious in speech, the wise in God and His Prophet — they became madmen without madness, idiots without stuttering or dumb silence. They drank from the cup of purity, and the length of their suffering gave them patience.

Then their hearts began to burn for the Kingdom; their thoughts, to wander among the palaces and under the veils of the Majesty. They hid in the shadows under the portico of regret, and there they read the book of their sins. They made anxiety their own legacy to themselves, until, through complete abstinence (*wara*<sup>c</sup>), they attained the summit of denial (*zuhd*). That is how the bitterness of renouncing the world became so sweet to them, and the hard couch so soft, that they won love of salvation and the way to peace.

Then their spirits were cast into the heights of Heaven, fell adoring into the gardens of Paradise, and plunged into the river of life. They closed the locks of anguish and crossed the bridges of desire; they stopped for the annihilation of knowledge (discursive knowledge) and drank from the *ghadr*<sup>442</sup> of wisdom (the wisdom of union); they embarked in the ship of grace and opened their sails to the wind of salvation on the sea of peace, until they reached the gardens of Rest and the mine of Glory and Mercy.<sup>443</sup>

And this prayer:<sup>444</sup>

O God, give us a place among those whose spirits have flown to the Kingdom; for whom the Majesty's veils have been lifted; who have plunged into the river of certainty; who have walked among the flowers in the garden of the pious; who have embarked in the boat of resignation (*tawakkul*) and unfurled the sail of the plea for intercession; whom the wind of love has blown to each port, nearer and nearer to the Glory, until they reached the coast of right intention

439. *ʿAwārif*, IV, 253, 198. Miṣrī is considered a saint by the Sālamiyya (Makki, *Qūt*, II, 76).

440. *Luma*<sup>c</sup>, 42.

441. Yāfi<sup>c</sup>, *Nashr*, II, 334–35 [*Recueil*, p. 17].

442. Allusion to the *ghadr Khumm* (Passion, Fr 3:42/Eng 3:34).

443. The excessive esthetic care lavished on the comeliness of the images so reduces this *itinerarium mentis ad Deum* that it almost resembles the "Map of the Land of Tender" drawn by a disciple of Honoré d'Urfé.

444. Yāfi<sup>c</sup>, *Nashr*, II, 335.

(*ikhilās*) and left their sins behind, carrying with them only their acts of obedience; and all this is through Your mercy, O You Who are most merciful!

## 5. THE END OF THE ASCETIC SCHOOL OF BAŞRA

### A. ʿAbd al-Wāhid ibn Zayd, Rabāh, and Rābi<sup>c</sup>a

At the beginning of the second century A.H., Muslim circles in Başra<sup>445</sup> were characterized by intense religious fervor in exceedingly diverse forms, with no unity among disciplines or theological doctrines. Ḥasan's disciples would introduce these unities little by little. Even if they did not transmit precise oral "constitutions" (let alone a habit, a special garment, as it was later believed), the master's method was passed down. In the first generation, Mālik ibn Dīnār (d. 127)<sup>446</sup> instigated an attempt to regularize the tradition. Anṭākī allows us to understand that Ibn Dīnār was reacting against certain ascetic excesses, especially inconsistency and exaggeration of dress: Abān's sometimes luxurious, sometimes repulsive clothing,<sup>447</sup> and the *ṣūf* and chains of Ibn Wāsi<sup>c</sup>, Farqad, and ʿUtba. Ibn Dīnār also reproached Abān for adding to the number of reassuring stories already in Ḥasan's tradition, on the acts of devotion that would obtain indulgences, just as he reproached Ibn Wāsi<sup>c</sup> and Farqad for giving all their possessions to the community without a care for the future.

In the second generation, thanks to the powerful organizational mind of Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd al-Wāhid ibn Zayd (d. 177),<sup>448</sup> a unification of the school

445. See Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, L.

446. Monograph on him by Ibn abī'l-Dunyā (d. 281); extracts in Tha<sup>c</sup>labī, *Qatlā*.

447. Dhahabī, *Iʿtidāl*; *Huffāz*, IV, 39.

448. Not to be confused with the Zaydī traditionist ʿAbd al-Wāhid ibn Ziyād (d. 179). Ibn Zayd transmitted from Ḥasan Başrī, whose true successor he is, two *ḥadīth* of fundamental importance to Sufism: (a) the *ḥadīth al-ʿishq* (*Hilya*, VI, 165), "*ʿashiqānī wa ʿashiqtuhū*," transmitted by Muḥammad ibn Faḍl ibn ʿAṭīyya Marwazī (d. 180) to Ibrahim ibn Ashʿath, the *khādim* of Fuḍayl ibn ʿIyād; (b) the *ḥadīth al-ikhilās* (Qush., 113), transmitted by Hudhayfa to Ḥasan Başrī, ʿAW ibn Zayd, Aḥmad ibn ʿAṭā Hujaymī, Aḥmad ibn Ghassān Hujaymī Tamīmī (d. 240), Aḥmad Yaʿqūb Sharīfī, Aḥmad ibn Bashshār, to Nasawī and Qushayrī (cf. Kāzarūnī, *Musalsalāt*, 9a-b). Note that Ibn Zayd's disciple Abū ʿUmar Aḥmad ibn ʿAṭā Hujaymī (d. 200; see *Lisān*, I, 221), who compared Abū Bakr to Abraham, was rejected by Zak. Sāji (student of Dāwūd Zāhirī, *Lisān*, I, 422) and by Ashʿarī (*Maq*). One of Hujaymī's disciples was Muḥammad ibn Zak. Ghilābī (d. 281), a friend of Ibn abī'l-Dunyā, the teacher of the historian of Sufism, Ibn al-Aʿrābī (d. 341). Ibn Zayd trained Abū Saʿīd Mudar al-Qārī (*Hilya*, VI, 156, 157, 160, 163, 164), who is quoted by Muḥāsibī and who transmitted Ibn Zayd's doctrine of the *ruʿya* to Kalābādī and Ibn Manda through Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad Tirmidhī, Khalaf Bukhārī (d. 350; *Lisān*, II, 404; cf. Kalābādī, *Akhbār*, 155b), Dāwūd ibn Muḥabbir (author of the *Kitāb al-ʿaql*), and ʿUthmān ibn ʿUmāra (*Iʿtidāl*, II, 187). Ibn Zayd himself, admitted as a *rāwī*, by Wakī<sup>c</sup>, Muslim, Ibn abī'l-Dunyā, Fuḍayl ibn ʿIyād, and Dārānī, is "weak" for Z. Sāji and Nasaʿī, and rejected (*matrūk*) by Bukhārī. Abū Bishr Ḥawshab ibn Muslim, who was older than Ibn Zayd, seems to have taught him about Ḥasan Başrī (*Hilya*,

ʿĪsā b. Ṣabīḥ al-Mudrār (d. 227/841), were often reverently referred to as “the monks of this community.” From Kūfa and Baṣra the practice of wearing wool and the style of piety, which it had come to symbolize, spread to Syria and Baghdad. Eventually it gave name to the ascetic and mystical movement that gained momentum in the early third/ninth century.

In the eastern lands of the Caliphate, the spread of Baghdad-style Sufism was delayed by almost one century by the resistance of local ascetic groups, notably the Karrāmiyya of Khurāsān and Transoxania, whose leaders discouraged their followers from adopting the “foreign” custom and name. Little is known about the style of piety peculiar to these groups, which were later suppressed by, or incorporated into, the Sufi movement.

*ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd*

Among al-Ḥasan’s numerous followers ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd (d. ca. 133/750) gained special prominence through his public sermons that emphasized humility and scrupulosity in food and conduct. A professional preacher (*qāṣṣ*) famous for his eloquence, he painted vivid pictures of the Judgement Day, calling upon his listeners to prepare themselves for a face-to-face encounter with God. Each person’s righteousness and record of good works, he argued, will determine the clarity of this beatific vision. Some of his statements imply that the righteous may actually experience the delights of paradise in this life as a reward for their sincere and disinterested worship of God.<sup>25</sup> According to ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, God imparts to his righteous friends (*awliyāʾ*, sing. *walī*) the “internal,” secret knowledge (*ʿilm al-bāṭin*) of himself and of the world, which he conceals from the rest of his creatures, including the angels. This sacred trust elevates God’s friends above other mortals, placing them just beneath the prophets.<sup>26</sup> Later Sufi theorists juxtaposed this “internal” knowledge with the so-called “external” one (*ʿilm al-ẓāhir*), that is, traditional Islamic sciences, such as the Qurʾān and its commentary, the authoritative tradition (*ḥadīth*) and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). The “external” knowledge was viewed by

<sup>25</sup> Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilya*, vol. 6, pp. 157–158.

<sup>26</sup> B. Radtke (ed.), *Adab al-mulūk: Ein Handbuch zur islamischen Mystik aus dem 4./10. Jahrhundert*, Beirut, 1991, pp. 34–35 (Arabic text).

the Sufis as inferior to *ʿilm al-bāṭin*—an assumption that aroused the ire of many Muslim traditionalists who revered the letter of the Divine Law. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid belonged to the category of ascetics whom the sources describe as “weepers.” These were the people who wept profusely over their sins or out of fear of God (*khashayt Allāh*) and uncertainty about the divine verdict to be passed on them on the Judgement Day.<sup>27</sup> On the more personal level, weeping could be caused by one’s feeling of weakness and humility before God as well as compassion for those who strayed from the right path or for the dead who are no longer able to better their fate in the afterlife. Through constant mourning, these “beggars of the spirit” hoped to obtain the good will of God in remitting, at least partly, their future punishments. Their weeping finds a striking parallel in the early Christian concept of *gratia lacrimarum*, which characterized many Coptic and Syrian monks, such as Shenute (Shenoudi), Ephraem the Syrian, John of Ephesus and Isaac of Nineveh.<sup>28</sup> Unsurprisingly, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid’s pietistic exhortations occasionally mention Christian monks whose deep disdain for this world and its sinful inhabitants he found praiseworthy and encouraged his followers to emulate.<sup>29</sup> Like the Christian monks, they should keep themselves entirely apart from the world by forming a closely-knit community that was united by the common desire to pursue the path of God in very truth.<sup>30</sup>

It was with this goal in mind that ʿAbd al-Wāḥid founded the first Sufi “cloister” (*duwayra*) on the island of ʿAbbādān at the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab.<sup>31</sup> Whether ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was indeed its founder or simply occasional resident, ʿAbbādān indeed became a chief training ground for Iraqi ascetics. Originally a military outpost against sea raiders, it was manned mostly by pious volunteers for the religion (*ghuzāt*; sing. *ghāzī*), who combined military service with acts of worship and supererogatory piety. ʿAbbādān’s commandant, Rabīʿ b. Ṣabīḥ, was a famed fighter for religion who perished on a military

<sup>27</sup> L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l’histoire de la mystique en pays d’Islam*, Paris, 1929, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> F. Meier, “Bakkā”, EI, vol. 1, p. 960; Margaret Smith, *Studies*, p. 25, and 126–127.

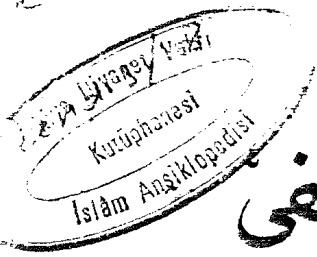
<sup>29</sup> *Hilya*, vol. 6, p. 155.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, *Studies*, p. 185.

<sup>31</sup> The existence of the first Sufi “monastery” (*khānaqā*) at Ramla (Palestine), which was allegedly constructed by Abū Ḥāshim al-Ṣūfī in the first decades of the second/eighth century, is impossible to ascertain, see F. Meier, *Abū Saʿīd-i Abū l-Ḥayr (357–440/967–1049): Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Leiden and Tehran, 1976, pp. 302–304.

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# نشأة الفكر الفلسفي في الإسلام

الزهد والصوف في القرنين الأول والثاني الهجريين

الجزء الثالث

Abdülhakîm b. Zeyd

تأليف

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Ph. D. Cantab

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN  
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الطبعة السابعة

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دارالمعارف

وبجالسونه ، فنهته أمه - وكانت امرأة عابدة ، وقد لزمها كهمس للخدمة ، فامتنع عن <sup>(١)</sup> مجالستهم . وقد خرج كهمس مع أمه إلى مكة ، وعاش فيها حتى مات ولم يكن هذا المحدث الثقة <sup>(٢)</sup> - كما يدعوه الذهبي - يغلب بالحب ، كما يغلب بالخوف . بل إنه لم يطمئن إلى هذه الحجة ، كما اطمأن إليها معاصره حبيب العجمي أو سابقوه من أمثال عامر بن عبد قيس أو خلد بن عبد الله العصري .

١ - عبد الواحد بن زيد : أول محب حقيقي من الزهاد

غير أن فكرة الحب ما تلبث أن تسود الحياة الروحية لعابد من أكبر عباد البصرة ووعاظها الزهاد ، وهو عبد الواحد بن زيد (توفي عام ١٧٧ هـ) . وقد عبر أبو نعيم عنه بأبلغ تعبير . . . حين قال « المنفلت من القيد ، المتصيد للصيد » . . . انفلت من قيود الفكرة العذائية النارية متصيداً للوجه الإلهي . . . ولعل هذا ما دعا ابن تيمية إلى اعتباره أول صوفي على وجه الحقيقة . وذكر الذهبي أنه « شيخ الصوفية وواعظهم » <sup>(٣)</sup> . وتردد ذكره كثيراً على لسان أبي سليمان الداراني شيخ مدرسة الشام وتلميذه أحمد بن أبي الجوارى <sup>(٤)</sup> والفضيل بن عياض ، تخرج عبد الواحد بن زيد في مدرسة الخوف والبكاء والعبادة ، وكان يحضر حلقة مالك بن دينار في المسجد ، وكان الناس لا يفهمون كلام مالك لكثرة بكاء عبد الواحد <sup>(٥)</sup> ولزم المشايخ الكبار من تلاميذ الحسن وحضر وفاة أكثرهم : حبيب العجمي . وحوشب ، وقد فجع به موت هذا الأخير وخاطبه - وهو يدفن : يا أبا بشر . لقد كنت حذراً من مثل هذا اليوم رحمتك الله يا أبا بشر . فلقد كنت من الموت جزعاً . أما والله لئن استطعت ، لأعملن رحلي - بعد مصرعك هذا « ثم شمر للعبادة واجتهد <sup>(٦)</sup> . وكان يردد « ما يسرفني أن لي جميع ما حوت البصرة من الأموال والثروة بفلسين » .

ثم بدأ سياحته فذهب إلى فارس مع فرقد السجني ، ومحمد بن واسع ومالك بن دينار . ورأوا في الطريق ضوءاً في سفح جبل ، فذهبوا لاستطلاع الأمر ، فرأوا خصاً لمجذوب يقطر قيحاً ودماً ، وآلمهم أمره ، فطلب منه أحدهم : أن يذهب إلى البصرة يتداوى ويتعالج من بلائه هذا . فأجاب

(١) نفس المصدر ج ٦ ص ٢١١ ، ٢١٥ وابن الجوزي : صفة ج ٣ ص ٢٣٤ ، ٢٣٥ .

(٢) الذهبي : ميزان الاعتدال ج ٣ ص ٤١٥ - ٤١٦ .

(٣) نفس المصدر السابق ج ٢ ص ٦٧٣ .

(٤) وأبو نعيم : حلية ج ٦ ص ١٥٥ .

(٥) أبو نعيم : الحلية ج ٦ ص ١٥٩ وابن الجوزي : صفة ج ٣ ص ١٤١ .

(٦) أبو نعيم : الحلية ج ٦ ص ١٥٦ وابن الجوزي : صفة ج ٣ ص ٢٤١ .

Abdul Kahid b. Zeyd

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Parikunt-Tasavvuf, 208 vol

The only work attributed to ‘Abd al-Qādir is his translation of the Qur’ān into Urdu. His brother Raff’ al-Dīn had completed, around 1201/1786, a first word-by-word rendering in the Urdu language. ‘Abd al-Qādir wrote a literary translation entitled *Mūzih-i Qur’ān* (“Exposition of the Qur’ān”), a chronogram for 1205/1790–1, in a simple language easily accessible to a large popular audience, with clear, brief notes in the margins. This text marks the beginning of the production, by reformers, of books in the vernacular languages of India, which were later collectively known as “Wahhābī literature” and were widely disseminated through printing—first typography, and later lithography—beginning in the early 1820s. ‘Abd al-Qādir’s translation was first published in Calcutta in 1829, through the efforts of a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad Barelwī, Sayyid ‘Abdallāh, who revised it, printed it between the lines of the Arabic text, and made additions to the marginalia. This was the first publication of a translation of the Qur’ān in a vernacular Indian language, and, most remarkably, the first printing of its Arabic text by Muslims in an Eastern country.

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## ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd

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‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd (d. c.133/750) was a disciple of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (21–109/642–728, a deeply pious and ascetic Muslim), who was one of the most important religious figures in early Islam. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd gained special prominence for his public sermons, which emphasised humility and scrupulous conduct, including eating habits. A professional preacher (*qāṣṣ*), who was famous for his eloquence, he painted vivid pictures of Judgement Day, calling upon his listeners to prepare themselves for a face-to-face encounter with God. Each person’s righteousness and record of good works, he argued, would determine how clear this otherworldly beatific vision will be. Some of his statements imply that the righteous might actually experience the delights of Paradise already in this life, as a reward

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