

# MA'ALI AL-HIMAM OF AL-JUNAID<sup>136</sup>

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THE earliest known work on Islamic mysticism is *Kitabal-Luma'* by Abu Nasr Sarraj, who died in 378/988. Next to it in chronology are *Hilyat al-Anliya'* by Abu Nu'aim of Isfahan who died in 430/1039, *al-Risalah* of al-Qushairi which was written in 437/1046, and the *Kashf al-Mahjub* of al-Hujwiri who died in 465/1073. All these works belong to the last quarter of the fourth and the fifth centuries of Hijrah. But the book which I propose to discuss in this article, i.e. *Ma'ali al-Himam* by al-Junaid Baghdadi, is a work of the third Hijrah century and, consequently, it is now the earliest known work on Muslim Sufism. I had the privilege of working on a manuscript of this book in 1929-30 under the auspices of the Allahabad University. I found the MS. in the Rampur Library. This MS is one of the two, the other being in the Mawsil Library, Iraq.

The Rampur MS. bears No. 313 of Suluk (Arabic Section). It is in *naskh* and seems to have been written by two scribes at least, the first of whom is a careful scribe, whose writing is clear and legible and contains very few slips of very slight nature, while the other is less careful and makes comparatively a larger number of mistakes. But on the whole the MS. is legibly written.

The colophon contains neither a date nor the name of the scribe. In the margin of folio 9b, however, there is to be found a note by one Shah 'Abd al-Rasul which runs:

فعلم من هذا ان اهل النار اكثر من اهل الجنة معرفة وكمال المعرفة التامة لاهل  
الاعراف والكثيب و فوقه مقام المحمود و هو لرجل واحد و ذات الحق المتعل و ما بعده  
الا العدم و الظمة المحضمة- من شاه عبدالرسول نور الله قبله-

["From this it is known that God's recognition by those in Hell is clearer than those in Paradise. And the recognition by those in the Purgatory is the most profound. And above this there is the 'illustrious place' which

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<sup>136</sup> The catalogue and the slip bear the title "Ma 'ani al-Himmah" which is based apparently on incorrect reading.

is reserved for one man only. And above it there is God and beyond Him there is nothing but nothingness and complete darkness.

"By Shah 'Abd al-Rasul — may God enlighten his heart!"

To this Shah 'Abd al-Rasul, I could find only one reference in a pedigree preserved in the private collection of Baqir Rida Khan of Rampur. It contains 54 folios and was written by the order of one Ahmad 'Ali Shah, alias Fida 'Ali Shah, in 1250/1834 and was handed over to his disciple Qurban 'Ali Shah, alias Nabi Bakhsh. The name of Shah 'Abd al-Rasul occurs ten times, on folios 9, 12, 17, 21, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34. and 35. The whole genealogy runs thus: (1) Ahmad 'Ali Shah, (2) Muhammad 'Ali Shah, (3) Ghulam Pir, (4) Ghulam Nabi, (5) Makhdum 'Alam, (6) Shah 'Abd al-Rasul, (7) 'Abd al-Rahman Chishti, (8) Shaikh Hamid Qutb al-Din, (9) Pir bin Awliya', (10) Muhammad 'Arif, (11) 'Arif Ahmad, (12) Ahmad 'Abd al-Haqq, (13) Jalal al-Din Turk of Panipat, (14) Shams al-Din Turk, and (15) 'Ala' al-Din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir.

It is known with certainty that Sabir, the progenitor, flourished in the early eighth/fourteenth century, while Ahmad 'Ali Shah, the last of the line, lived in the early thirteenth/nineteenth. It means that fifteen generations covered the period of five centuries — three generations to a century. Calculating on this datum, it may be asserted that Shah 'Abd al-Rasul must have flourished in the early eleventh/seventeenth century. If the marginal note was made by the same Shah 'Abd al-Rasul, for which little doubt may be entertained as no other person of the same name is traceable, we can conclude that the MS. was written in the latter half of the tenth/sixteenth century and not later than the beginning of the eleventh/seventeenth.

Another copy of the *Ma'ali al-Himam* is in a library at Mawsil,<sup>137</sup> which was written in 1050/1640. This copy has not been available to me.

The book is ascribed to al-Junaid of Baghdad, who flourished in the third century of the Hijrah, and notices of whose life are to be found in the works of Ibn Khallikan and Yafi'i, both of whom are reliable authorities. Their accounts of his life are brief and also contain a few anecdotes. The Sufi writers al-Qushairi, al-Hujwiri and Jami have also given short accounts

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<sup>137</sup> Dawud Chalipi, *Makhtutat Mawsil*, p. 89.

mostly of a historical character. 'Attar gives in his *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'* a number of anecdotes and disconnected sayings of Junaid.<sup>138</sup>

*Life of the Author.* Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid b. Muhammad b. al-Junaid of Baghdad is said to have been a silk-merchant, for which reason he was known as *al-Khazzaz*. His father was a dealer in glassware, and so al-Junaid was known as *al-Qawariri*<sup>139</sup> and as al-Zajaj<sup>140</sup> also. The date of his birth is not known.<sup>141</sup> He must have been born some time before 220/835 for he was already past twenty<sup>142</sup> in 240/855 when his teacher Abu Thawr died.<sup>143</sup>

The biographers of Junaid have credited him with indications of a great future before him in his boyhood, and a number of stories are related to prove that. To mention only one of the many, Junaid, when a boy of seven, had accompanied his maternal uncle, al-Sari, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where they happened to attend an assembly of four hundred Sufis who were holding a discussion on "Gratitude." Every one of them expressed his views on the subject, but they could not agree on a suitable definition of the term. Al-Sari referred the matter to his young nephew, who defined it in these words: "Do not make Providence's gifts the means of disobeying Him." All present appreciated the definition and praised the boy, while al-Sari predicted that al-Junaid had a great future before him.<sup>144</sup>

Junaid must have been an intelligent youth to have acquired all the necessary knowledge of jurisprudence in the prime of his life.<sup>145</sup> According to

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<sup>138</sup> There is also a book in Urdu by Muhammad Hasan Qadiri of Rampur, entitled *Tawarikh A'inah-i Tasawwuf*, in which some space has been given to al-Junaid, but the book is a mixture of ignorance and whim and has no historical value. According to this book, al-Junaid must have lived for 178 lunar years.

<sup>139</sup> *Fibrih*, p. 18 ; al-Qushairi, p. 18 ; Hujwiri, p. 103 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>140</sup> Jami, p. 53.

<sup>141</sup> Sharar, however, records it (p. 20) as about 218/833 which is probable. According to Muhammad Hasan Qadiri (p. 31) it was the 11th of Sha'ban 157/774, but this can hardly be accepted, as it is too early and makes him live for about 200 years.

<sup>142</sup> Al-Qushairi, p. 18.

<sup>143</sup> *Fibrih*, p. 211, but Ibn Khallikan (Vol. I, p. 3) says that Abu Thawr died in 246/860. If the latter date be correct, Junaid's birth may be placed some time before 226/840

<sup>144</sup> Attar, Vol. II, p. 7 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 236 ; Jami, p. 53 ; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat* ; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 368.

<sup>145</sup> Qushairi, p. 18 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231 ; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 366.

al-Qushairi, his tutor, Abu Thawr, had permitted him to deliver *fatwas* and decrees even before he had completed his twentieth year<sup>146</sup> He is said to have studied the system of al-Thawri's jurisprudence.<sup>147</sup> But this is highly improbable as al-Thawri did not live so long as to teach al-Junaid his system. This assumption is probably based on the confusion between Abu Thawr and al-Thawri.

When he had completed his education in jurisprudence his uncle placed him in the charge of Harith al-Muhasibi — one of those five distinguished men of that age who are famous saints and theologians<sup>148</sup> — for spiritual discipline and guidance in the early stages of his career. When al-Harith died in 243/858,<sup>149</sup> Muhammad b. ‘Ali al-Qassab took charge of the young Junaid,<sup>150</sup> who also profited for some time in the learned company of Abu al-Kuraini.<sup>151</sup> His instruction in the domain of Sufism was at last consummated by his uncle al-Sari.<sup>152</sup> In quite a short period of time the young protege had attained a position superior to that of his teacher, who maintained that it was possible for a disciple to surpass his spiritual guide and quoted the case of al-Junaid as an instance in support of his statement.<sup>153</sup>

Although fully equipped to function as a pulpit-preacher, Junaid seems to have been too modest to adopt that profession. Repeatedly his uncle and spiritual guide al-Sari advised him to take to preaching, but every time he declined. In the end, however, he undertook to preach publicly on being commanded to do so by the Prophet himself, whom he believed to have seen in a dream. Once while he was addressing the public, a Christian inquirer came forward and asked him to explain the Prophet's saying: اتقوا فراسة المؤمن

الله فإنه ينظر بنور الله ["Beware of the believer's insight, because he looks with

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<sup>146</sup> Qushairi, p. 18.

<sup>147</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>148</sup> These five men were al-Muhasibi, al-Junaid, Abu Muhammad, Abu al-‘Abbas b. ‘Ata’ and ‘Amr b. ‘Uthman al-Makki (*Shadharat*).

<sup>149</sup> Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>150</sup> Qushairi, p. 18.

<sup>151</sup> Ibn al-Jawzi, p. 477.

<sup>152</sup> ‘Attar, Vol. II, p. 6 ; Qushairi, p. 18.

<sup>153</sup> Qushairi, p. 18 ; Hujwiri, p. 103.

Divine Light"]. Junaid meditated for a minute and then offered Islam to him. The Christian accepted the offer and joined the fold of the faithful.<sup>154</sup>

Junaid is said to have been very punctual in attending the mosque for all the five congregational prayers, so much so that for twenty years he never missed a single *Takbir*<sup>155</sup> Besides the prescribed and obligatory prayers, he used to offer four hundred *ruk'ats* a day as supererogatory prayers, and carried on this practice continually for thirty years. Once he was asked how he had attained that saintly position and reputable honour in the world. He made no reply, but pointed to the place where he had worshipped God for thirty years.<sup>156</sup>

Al-Junaid made thirty pilgrimages to Mecca on foot.<sup>157</sup> For twenty years he took food only once a week.<sup>158</sup> At the time of his death Muhammad al-Hariri<sup>159</sup> asked Junaid to express his will. He said, "After I am dead, wash my body, put my corpse into a coffin, offer prayers and bury it." All the persons present were touched by the remarks and began to weep bitterly. Abu Muhammad asked him if he had anything else to add. "Keep the food ready," replied Junaid, "as rich and sumptuous as if at a wedding feast, so that those who carry my bier may not go hungry after their return from the graveyard."<sup>160</sup>

Then al-Junaid resumed to recite the verses of the Holy Qur'an. Abu Muhammad said to him, "Show mercy and do leniency to your soul." He replied, "Have you ever come across anyone more needy of God's mercy than myself?"<sup>161</sup> Then he began to recite the Qur'an, and when he had completed it once, he began it again from the beginning. When he had reached the seventieth verse of the second Surah, al-Baqarah, he breathed his last. It was late on Friday that he died and his burial was delayed till the following

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<sup>154</sup> Hujwiri, p. 103 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 10-11 ; Jami, p. 53 ; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>155</sup> 'Attar, Vol. 11, p. 10.

<sup>156</sup> Al-Qushairi, p. 19.

<sup>157</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>158</sup> Al-Man'awi, Vol. I, p. 267.

<sup>159</sup> Al-Sha'rani, p. 100 ; Abu al-Falah calls him al-Jaziri.

<sup>160</sup> Sha'rani, p. 100.

<sup>161</sup> Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

morning. He was buried in the famous graveyard Shuniziyyah in old Baghdad by the side of his uncle and spiritual guide, al-Sari al-Saqati.<sup>162</sup>

There is difference of opinion regarding the exact date of his

19. Hujwiri, p. 103 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 10-11 ; Jami, p. 53 ; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.
20. 'Attar, Vol. 11, p. 10.
21. Al-Qushairi, p. 19.
22. Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.
23. Al-Man'awi, Vol. I, p. 267.
24. Al-Sha'rani, p. 100 ; Abu al-Falah calls him al-Jaziri.
25. Sha'rani, p. 100.
26. Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.
27. Ibid. ; al-Qushairi, p. 19 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 35-36.

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid. ; al-Qushairi, p. 19 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, pp. 35-36

death. Al-Yafi'i places it in 298/911 though he considers 296 or 297 as possible.<sup>163</sup> Ibn Khallikan gives 297 and 299<sup>164</sup> According to Jami, it was 297, or 298, or 299.<sup>165</sup>

Junaid's chief disciples were Shibli, Abu al-'Abbas b. Surajj (a Shafi'i jurist),<sup>166</sup> Abu 'Ali al-Daqqaq<sup>167</sup> and Abu Bakr al-Wasiti.<sup>168</sup> He never seems to have put on the coarse garment of the Sufis. Once somebody objected to his wearing the gown of theologians. He met the objection by saying, "It is the burning of the heart, and not the coarse garment that counts."<sup>169</sup>

A few anecdotes so often mentioned by Junaid's biographers may be found interesting and helpful by way of illustrations of his thought and ways of life.

Once a person offered him a purse of 500 dinars. Junaid asked him if he had anything besides that money. On the man's replying in the affirmative, he asked him if he required anything more. "Yes," was the reply. Thereupon Junaid returned the money to him and said, "Although I do not possess anything, yet I required nothing, while in spite of your having something you require still more. Therefore, you are better entitled to keep this money with you than anybody else, as you need it more than anyone else."<sup>170</sup>

Once a thief stole away Junaid's shirt, and went to the market to sell it. Junaid happened to pass that way, and recognised his shirt while a broker was bargaining with the thief. The broker asked the seller in good faith to produce someone to prove that the shirt belonged to him. A man came forward and testified that the shirt was the vendor's property. And lo! the testifier was no less a person than Junaid himself.<sup>171</sup>

Junaid was accustomed to keep a rosary in his hand. Once a person remarked that he had passed the stage when people required rosaries. He

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<sup>163</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231.

<sup>164</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117.

<sup>165</sup> *Nafahat*, p. 53.

<sup>166</sup> Al-Qushairi, p. 19.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 231.

<sup>169</sup> 'Attar, Vol. II, p. 9.

<sup>170</sup> Sha'rani, p. 99 ; 'Attar, Vol. II, p. 16.

<sup>171</sup> Attar, Vol. II, p. 18.

replied, "The rosary has been a means of my approaching God; and it will be unfair on my part to discard it after reaching the final goal."<sup>172</sup>

Junaid had an intense desire of having an interview with Satan. His wish was after all realised when once Satan appeared before him in the garb of a saint. Junaid asked him why he had not prostrated himself before Adam. "God alone is worthy of being worshipped; this was the reason why I did not prostrate myself before Adam," was the reply. Junaid seemed to be satisfied with this answer at first, but after a while his inner self prompted him to say: "Thou art wrong. Hadst thou been an obedient servant, thou wouldst have carried out His orders."<sup>173</sup>

Once Junaid noticed a stout and sturdy man begging for alms in the streets. He felt disgusted at this and thought the man must be too lazy to take to work. In the night he saw in a dream that he was offered a dish of human flesh and was asked to eat it. He refused the offer, whereupon he was informed that traducement and eating human flesh were equally condemnable. When the morning dawned, he hurried to tender his apologies to the beggar. As Junaid approached him, the beggar recited the following verse of the Qur'an:<sup>174</sup> "And it is He who accepts the repentance of His servants and forgives their evil actions."<sup>175</sup>

Once, while passing through a street of Baghdad Junaid heard a slave-girl singing these lines:

اذا قلت اهدى الهجرلى حل البلى

تقولين لولا الهجر لم يطب الحب

و ان قلت هذا القلب احرقه الهوى

تقولى بنير ان الهوى اشرق القلب

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<sup>172</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117; Yafil, Vol. II, p. 231.

<sup>173</sup> Hujwiri, p. 104.

<sup>174</sup> xlii. 25.

<sup>175</sup> 'Attar, Vol. II, p. 16.



و ان قلت ما اذنت مجيبة

حياتك ذنب لا يقاس به ذنب

["When I say: 'The separation has presented to me the garments of distress,' thou sayest (to me): 'Were there no separation, love would not have been sweet.' And when I say: 'Love has burnt this heart (of mine),' thou sayest: 'It is with the flames of love that heart is brightened.' And when I ask: 'What sin have I committed ? ' thou sayest in reply: 'Thy very existence is a sin with which no sin can be compared.' "]

This was enough to throw Junaid into ecstasy. A short while after, the master of the slave-girl came out of the house and offered the girl to him. He accepted the offer with thanks, declared the slave-girl free, and introduced her to one of his friends, who took her in marriage.<sup>176</sup>

*Junaid's Mystic Theory.* All the authorities are silent on this point, but Junaid's sayings and writings and the anecdotes connected with his life-story afford a fair field of information in this connection.

A close study of his writings and of his sayings that are found scattered throughout the Sufistic literature lead one to the inevitable conclusion that he was more a pious devotee than a mystic. For twenty years he never missed a single congregational prayer and was unfailingly present in the mosque at the first call to prayer ; he made thirty pilgrimages to Mecca on foot ; every day he used to offer four hundred *rak'ats* of prayer. All these things lead one to the same conclusion. He believed in practice rather than in theory. "One's share in this world," says he, "is in proportion to one's endeavours for it, and in the next world one will get as much as one strives for it."<sup>177</sup> He seems to have possessed a correct notion of Fate and Destiny, his motto being: "Keep yourself busy with your undertakings, and do not think of what is to happen." He always exhorted the people to adhere to the right path of Islam. "There is no way to God," he used to say, "except to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet."<sup>178</sup> That he attached great importance to a sound knowledge

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<sup>176</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 117 ; Yafil, Vol. II. p. 232; Abu al-Falah,, *Shadbarat*.

<sup>177</sup> The Mean, MS., f. 2b.

<sup>178</sup> Ibn al-Jawzi, pp. 10-11; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 369.

of the Qur'an and the Traditions and to strictly following the orders and injunctions of those religious sources, is evident from his sayings

like the following:

(1) "One who does not attend lectures on Traditions and has never been in the society of Faqihs misleads his followers."<sup>179</sup>

(2) "One who does not memorise the Qur'an and does not narrate Traditions shall not be followed, as our creed is based on the Qur'an and the Traditions."<sup>180</sup>

(3) "The Qur'an and the Traditions are two lamps in the light of which one may go along the path safely."<sup>181</sup>

(4) According to Junaid, Muslim mysticism lies in "constant hunger and abstention from the world, and not in a complicated discourse."<sup>182</sup>

(5) "Ecstasy busy in search of knowledge is better than knowledge sunk in ecstasy."<sup>183</sup>

In short, he seems to have combined in himself the qualities of a theologian and a Sufi. He talked in terms of theology but practised asceticism. He used to put on a theologian's costume and would take food only once a week.<sup>184</sup> He laid so much stress on the study of the Qur'an and the Traditions, but wrote on Mysticism alone, and believed in the miraculous powers of saints.<sup>185</sup> Although he was a distinguished disciple of Abu Thawr, yet, instead of evolving a juristic system, he founded an order of mystics, called Junaidis after him,<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 367.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>181</sup> Attar, Vol. II, p. 8.

<sup>182</sup> Qushairi, p. 19.

<sup>183</sup> Jami, p. 53.

<sup>184</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 367.

<sup>185</sup> Junaid, *Ma'ali*, Chap. IX.

<sup>186</sup> Hujwiri, p. 104.

In latter days this system was termed as *Sabw*, "Sobriety," as against *Suker*, "Drunkeness," of Bayazid.<sup>187</sup> These terms were applied in contradistinction to denote that the people of *Sabw* used to follow the precepts of Islam as laid down in the books of religion, while others were absorbed in deep meditation and hence in communion with God.

Criticism of the Book. (a) Title of the Book. As already stated, the Catalogue of the State Library of Rampur gives the title of the book as Ma'ani al-Himmah. The book, however, opens with these words: الحمد لله الذى

اصفيا ["Parise be to God who has heightened the aspirations of His true friends"] which contain the figure (براعة الاستهلال) thus hinting that the title should be Ma'ali al-Himam. This is supported by the words (i) يطالع على

188 معالى هم العارفين ["He knows the heights of the gnostics' aspirations"], (ii)

189 ان اصنف كتابا فى معالى الهممة

فى فيما ذكرنا (iii) ["that I write a book on the heights of aspiration"] and

فى هذا الكتاب من معالى الهممة و شرفها ["of what we have related in this book of the heights of aspiration and its nobility"]. Amore conclusive proof of this assertion than all these passages is the concluding passage of the book in which the scribe says: تمت<sup>190</sup> [sic.] كتاب معالى الهممة: Ma'ali al-Himmah".

Thus the first word of the title is Ma' ali and not Ma' ani. As regards the second part of the title, there is again a difference of opinion. According to the scribe of the Rampur MS. it is Himmah (in singular), while according to

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<sup>187</sup> Attar, Vol. II, p. 5.

<sup>188</sup> MS., f. la.

<sup>189</sup> Ms., f. lb,

<sup>190</sup> Ms., f. 19a.

Junaid himself <sup>191</sup> the scribe of the Mawsil MS. <sup>57</sup> and Haji Khalifah it is *Himam* (in plural). I, therefore, regard it as *Himam* instead of *Himmah*.

(b) *Authenticity of the Book*. Scribes of the Rampur and the Mawsil MS <sup>192</sup>. along with Haji Khalifah <sup>193</sup> ascribe the book to Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid while Ibn al-Nadim, the earliest and the most reliable authority ascribes no book to him. <sup>194</sup> This omission on the part of Ibn al-Nadim may cast some doubt on the authenticity of the *Ma'ali* and its ascription to Junaid. This doubt is strengthened by the study of the text itself. There is one quotation from Abu Bakr al-Wasiti <sup>195</sup> who was Junaid's disciple and who survived him for more than twenty years; and there is an anecdote of Hammad al-Qurashi who was a younger contemporary of Junaid. Similarly, there are quotations and anecdotes of Sari introduced in a way that shows that the writer had no relation with him, while as a matter of fact Junaid was his nephew and disciple. On the other hand, we find that he devotes a full chapter to an account of Bayazid and showers praises on him. All these facts go to prove that the book was written by someone else in the name of Junaid, and a long time after him. Allowing due credit to these objections one may say that the text contains the anecdotes and sayings of persons who had preceded Junaid or were contemporary with him, a fact which leads one to the probability of its having been written in the days of Junaid. And as long as the authorship is not contested and the real author, if there be any, is not known, we cannot but ascribe it to the famous Muslim saint Junaid of Baghdad. As regards the omission on the part of Ibn al-Nadim it may be explained thus. Most probably the book remained for some time in the form of notes by the author which were not known to anyone but a very few of his disciples, and it was not till after the death of Ibn al-Nadim that those notes were given the shape of a book. This omission is, however, sufficient proof of the fact that no book had been publicly ascribed to Junaid till about the end of the fourth century of the Hijrah. Also the manner in which Sari has been mentioned in the book indicates that the book was arranged and edited by someone long

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<sup>191</sup> Junaid, *al-Maqsad*, f. 78.

<sup>192</sup> Dawud Chalipi, *Makhtutat Mawsil*, p. 89.

<sup>193</sup> Haji Khalifah, Vol. V, p. 613.

<sup>194</sup> On the other hand he mentions the *Amthal al-Qur'an* and the *Rasa'il* by another Junaid, and describes Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid as a "talker on the subject" (*al-Fihrist*, p. 186).

<sup>195</sup> MS., f. 9b.

after the death of al-Junaid. Taking all these facts into consideration, one is led to believe that the author of the book was al-Junaid, although it was arranged and published at a later date. *Another Work Ascribed to al-Junaid*. I was surprised to find another book *al-Maqsad Ilallah* ascribed to another al-Junaid al-Hanafī of Baghdad, by Haji Khalifah,<sup>196</sup> but I venture to think that *al-Maqsad* and the *Ma'ali* were written by one and the same man, and, after a careful study of the materials available to me, I cannot but say that both the books are by the famous saint, Abu al-Qasim al-Junaid of Baghdad.

A MS. copy of *al-Maqsad* is in possession of Mawlana Qutb al-Din 'Abd al-Wali of Firangi Mahall, Lucknow, who very kindly placed it at my disposal for a short period. It consists of 79 folios and contains an interlinear translation of the Arabic text. Like the *Ma'ali*, it comprises of ten chapters and the ninth chapter is devoted to a description of Bayazid's ascension. The last lines of the book, which led me to conclude that it was also written by the author of the *Ma'ali*, run as follows:

فان وقفتم معاشر اخوانى كلما ذكرنا لكم في هذا الكتاب فبخ و الافى كتاب  
معالى الهمم لكم كفاية ان تعرفوا بيان ما ذكرنا بيه من لطائف الاشارات و جواهر مكنون  
العبارات فان وقفتم في ولاية الله تعالى و نظتم فيه بعين التحقيق و قفتم عليه انشاء الله  
تعالى!

["O brethren! a good fortune, very good fortune, if you are acquainted of what we have put in this book. Our exposition, in this book *Ma'ali al-Himam*, suffices you, provided that you comprehend it and capture those subtle points and jewels which are hidden in its expression. If you are familiar with the companionship of God and go through it with a searching eye, God willing, you will be successful in understanding it."]

(c) *Importance of the Book*. Besides the antiquity of the book, its importance lies in its comprising the theories of Junaid, one of the greatest Sufis of Islam, who is unanimously called Shaikh alMasha'ikh ["Chief of the Chief"] and Sayyid al-Ta'ifah ["Lord of the Party"]. At the same time it gives a correct and vivid idea of the mysticism that was in vogue in those days.

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<sup>196</sup> Haji Khalifah, Vol. VI, p. 90.

Consequently the theories the modern scholars have framed about Sufism will have to be modified and changed accordingly, as the angle of vision must change after the study of the *Ma'ali*.

The book also introduces mystics and Sufis of that age the importance of whom has been overshadowed by their successors, and consequently their memory has gone into oblivion. Their works and words, which have been recorded in the book, will help us to widen our range of vision in the field of early development of mysticism.

(d) *Summary of the Book.* The book contains ten chapters, which bear the following headings:

(i) Of grades of aspiration and the different kinds of people in them.

(ii) Of one who feels contented with the Lord regardless of this world and the hereafter.

(iii) Of the jealousy of Allah (Holy and Exalted is He), regarding His pure ones and His favourite lovers.

(iv) Of the youthful vigour of the gnostics with Allah the Mighty, the Great.

(v) Of the manly courage of the gnostics with Allah, and the heights of their aspirations.

(vi) Of the charity of the gnostics, their ways and the heights of their aspirations.

(vii) Of whatever is necessary for everyone who desires to talk in the idiom of the men of aspiration.

(viii) Of the excellence of the utterance of the Great and the Leaders of Guidance regarding the heights of aspiration.

(ix) Of the utterance of Abu Yazid al-Bistami (may God's mercy be on him), his good days, and the heights of his aspiration.

(x) Of the state of the secret evils of self-delusion and conceit.

What the author proposes to say is briefly this. All the people of the world may be divided into three kinds, viz. those who are people of this world,

those who are of the next, and those *who are devoted body and soul to the worship of God*. Again, there is another division of the people who worship God — first those who worship Him for fear of Hell, secondly those who worship Him in hope of a happy abode in Paradise, and lastly those who worship neither for fear nor for favour *but for His love*. It is obvious that Junaid as a true mystic should give preference and allot a high rank to the persons who devote themselves to the worship of God for His love alone.

He adds: "One who is fortunate enough to receive favours from God should not communicate them to the worldly men but remain silent and quiet, and keep what favours he receives a secret. Everyone should adapt himself to the circumstances, and one should not use a language unintelligible to the addressee and of a subject beyond his understanding."

In support of these theories he has quoted sayings and anecdotes of the Sufis who had preceded him.

It must be noted, however, that the work has certain shortcomings. The author has quoted freely the sayings of a number of saints but in mentioning the authorities for them he has unfortunately been not careful. In his narration one almost invariably fails to find the chain of the authorities, and has to be content with the name of the first in the link. He always begins with "It is related" which does not by any means seem definite enough. Besides this, he does not seem to have taken the trouble of giving the evidence thoroughly. Again and again one comes across such anecdotes as one has reason to disbelieve. As an illustration may be quoted the story of the Caliph Abu Bakr, who is admittedly the first of all the Muslims to join hands with the Prophet when he commenced his mission. But Junaid says that Abu Bakr was asked about the means of his attainment of the high position he held, in reply to which he is made to state that before he joined the fold of Islam he had observed that the Muslims were then divided into two classes: those after this world and those after the next, while he himself desired to have communion with God alone, and was thereby able to attain the glorious position he held.<sup>197</sup> This story reflects that at the time Abu Bakr joined the fold of Islam there were numerous Muslims. But this is not a fact.

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<sup>197</sup> MS., f. 7

A similar story is related about Husain, the son of 'Ali b. Abi Talib. According to Junaid's version of it, he was studying a book with Abu 'Abdillah, a companion of less repute, and had to rectify a mistake.<sup>198</sup> This seems highly incredible, as no written books were in vogue in those days.

*Authors and Divines whose Names Occur in the Text.* 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-'Umari heard Traditions from Ibn Tiwalah, an unknown person as a narrator of Traditions.<sup>199</sup> He used to pass his time in graveyards, and upon being asked why he did so, replied: "A grave is a great warner and seclusion provides a good protection for faith." He died in 184/800 at the age of 66.<sup>200</sup>

Abu 'Abdillah, a companion, an authority of al-Bukhari in his *al-Adab al-Mufrad* and also in the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud. There is another companion of the same Kunyah who appears as an authority in the *Sunan* of al-Nasa'i.<sup>201</sup>

Abu 'Abdillah Sa'id b. Yazid al-Nabbaji belonged to the first generation of Sufis such as Dhu al-Nun and Ibrahim b. Adham.<sup>202</sup> Thus he must have flourished during the first half of the third century of the Hijrah. Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Musa<sup>203</sup> al-Wasiti, known as Ibn al-Farghani, was a disciple of al-Junaid of Baghdad. After having travelled extensively through many lands, he finally settled at Merv. It appears that he wanted to develop his faculties to enable him to perform miracles, but was admonished by al-Junaid who sent him a letter, commencing with these words: عافانا الله و اياك ["May God keep you and us away (from miracles)"]. He died some time before 320/932. Abu al-'Abbas was his disciple.<sup>204</sup>

Abu Said Ahmad b. 'Isa, known as al-Kharraz ["the Cobbler"],<sup>205</sup> an inhabitant of Baghdad, was a disciple of Muhammad b. Mansur of Tus, and had also enjoyed the company of Dhu al-Nun of Egypt, Abu 'Ubayd, al-Sari

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<sup>198</sup> MS., f. 21.

<sup>199</sup> Al-Manawi, p. 226.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p.227 ; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 396.

<sup>201</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 427. There also appears (only once) the same Kunyah in Abu Dawud's *Fadl al-Ansar* but, as Ibn Hajar points out, it is an incorrect reading for Abu 'Ubayd Allah.

<sup>202</sup> Jami, p. 60.

<sup>203</sup> Hujwiri, p. 122; Jami, p. 112.

<sup>204</sup> Jami, p. 112.

<sup>205</sup> Hujwiri, p. 114 ; Jami, p. 49.



al Saqati and Bishr al-Saqati and Bishr al-Hafi.<sup>206</sup> He died in 286/899 or 287/900.<sup>207</sup>

Abu Sulaiman ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Ahmad b. ‘Atiyyah al-`Ansi al-Darani,<sup>208</sup> a resident of Darayya, a village in the suburbs of Damascus,<sup>209</sup> was a disciple of Ma'adh b. Jabal. He would accept a view only after careful scrutiny according to the Qur'an and the Traditions.<sup>210</sup> He was called Raihan al-Qulub ["Perfume of the Hearts]."<sup>211</sup> Yafi'i places his death in 205/821,<sup>212</sup> while al-Manawi<sup>213</sup> and Jami<sup>214</sup> give 215/831 as the year of his death. Ibn Khallikan gives both the dates.<sup>215</sup> He was buried at his native place.<sup>216</sup>

Ahmad b. Harb,<sup>217</sup> born in 176/793 at Nishapur, heard Traditions from the contemporaries of Sufyan b. `Uyana, and was considered to be one of the Abdal.<sup>218</sup> His spiritual guide was Yahya b. Yahya.<sup>219</sup> Traditionists regard him as a weak, though not altogether rejectable, authority. Ibn Kidam lived in his company. He died in 234/849 when he is said to have been fifty-eight years old.<sup>220</sup>

Al-Ala' b. Ziyad, a *Tabi'i* (تابعي) is said to have heard Traditions from Imran b. Husain, Abu Hurairah, Ma'adh b. Jabal, Qatadah and ‘Ubadah b. al-Samit.<sup>221</sup> Once a person informed him that he had seen in a dream that he

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<sup>206</sup> Al-Sha'rani, p. 107; Jami, p. 49.

<sup>207</sup> p. 23; al-Sha'rani, p. 107.

<sup>208</sup> Al-Qushairi, p. 15; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 271; but Jami omits the word "Ibn" between ‘Abd al-Rahman and Ahmad.

<sup>209</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 29 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 276. Jami (p. 27) gives the name of the place as Daran.

<sup>210</sup> ‘Attar, Vol. I, p. 236.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 29.

<sup>213</sup> Al-Manawi, p. 425.

<sup>214</sup> Jami, p. 27.

<sup>215</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 276.

<sup>216</sup> Not to be confounded with his contemporary Ahmad Bazargan, a rich merchant of Nishapur. See ‘Attar, Vol. I, p. 241.

<sup>217</sup> Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 42.

<sup>218</sup> ‘Attar, Vol. I, p. 242.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 42.

<sup>221</sup> Abu Nu‘aim, f. 195.

(al-Ala') had entered the paradise. "It was a Satanic dream," replied al-Ala'.<sup>222</sup> According to another version of the same story, al-Ala' betook himself to a small chamber where he wept for three days. Then Hasan of Basrah got the door opened, and asked him to rejoice and not to be sad.<sup>223</sup> He died in 94/713.<sup>224</sup>

Bayazid al-Bistam, Abu Yazid Taifur b. `Isa b. Surushan,<sup>225</sup> an inhabitant of Bistam, a town in the suburbs of Qumas, the frontier town of Khurasan on the Iraq side,<sup>226</sup> is very much respected by Sufis; and al-Junaid has devoted one full chapter in the *Ma'ali* to an account of his life,<sup>227</sup> and in a full chapter in *al-Maqsad* he gives a detailed description of his ascension.<sup>228</sup> Bayazid died at the age of seventy-three in 261/875 or 264/878.<sup>229</sup>

Abu Wuhaib Buhlul b. Amr al-Sairafi of Kufah<sup>230</sup> attended the lectures of Aiman b. Nabil, Amr b. Dinar and Asim b. Abi al-Najwad.<sup>231</sup> He died *circa* 190/806.<sup>232</sup>

Abu Sulaiman Dawud b. Nusair al-Tai<sup>233</sup> heard Traditions from Abd al-Malik b. `Umair, `Urwah b. Hisham and al-A`mash, and narrated them before Ibn `Iliyyah, Ishaq al-Saluli, Abu Nu`aim and Musa'b b. al-Muqaddam.<sup>234</sup> In *fiqh* he was a disciple of Abu Hanifah and was not on good terms with Abu Yusuf, because of the latter's appointment as the Chief Qadi. He was one of the greatest ascetics and Habib Ra'i was his spiritual guide.<sup>235</sup> His mother left

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., f. 194; al-Sha'rani, p. 41; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 246.

<sup>223</sup> Al-Junaid, *Ma'ali* (MS.), p. 17; Abu Nu`aim, f. 195.

<sup>224</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 246.

<sup>225</sup> Sam`ani, f. 81a. Ibn Khallikan (Vol. I, p. 240) inserts in the chain of lineage `Adam b. `Isa b. `Ali after `Isa, but this cannot be correct as he himself says that Bayazid's grandfather was the first of the family to embrace Islam.

<sup>226</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 173.

<sup>227</sup> Al-Junaid, *Ma'ali al-Himam*, Chap. IX.

<sup>228</sup> Al-Junaid, *al-Maqsad Ilallah*, Chap. IX.

<sup>229</sup> Al-Qushairi, p. 14; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 240; Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 175; Jami, p. 38; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 422.

<sup>230</sup> Hasan, p. 67; Ibn Shakir, Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>231</sup> Ibn Shakir, Vol. I, p. 82.

<sup>232</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 175; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 177; Ibn Hajar, p. 117. Jami (p. 28) has Nasr which appears to be a misprint for Nusair.

<sup>233</sup> Al-Manawi, p. 185.

<sup>234</sup> Hujwiri, p. 88; Jami, p. 28.

<sup>235</sup> Qushairi, p. 12; Hujwiri, p. 87; `Attar, Vol. I, p. 219; Jami, p. 28.

to him a legacy of 20 dinars<sup>236</sup> or 300 dirhams<sup>237</sup> which he spent in twenty years.<sup>238</sup> He died in 162/779 or 165/782.<sup>239</sup> Ibn Hajar gives 160/777 also as the year of his death.<sup>240</sup>

Dhu al-Nun al-Misri, Abu al-Faid<sup>241</sup> Thawban (surnamed Dhu al-Nun) b. Ibrahim<sup>242</sup> was born at Ikhmim,<sup>243</sup> a town in upper Egypt, and took his permanent residence at Nuba.<sup>244</sup> He heard Traditions from Malik b. Anas, al-Laith al-Misri, Ibn Luhai'ah, Fudail b. 'Ayad, Ibn 'Uyainah and Aslam al-Khwass.<sup>245</sup> He was a disciple of Shaqran al-'Abid,<sup>246</sup> though Jami would have us believe that he received his light direct from the archangel Saraphel.<sup>247</sup> Al-Hasan b. Musa`b al-Nakh'i, Ahmad b. Sabbah al-Fayyumi and Ta'i obtained Traditions from him.<sup>248</sup> He died in Dhu al-Qa'dah 245/860<sup>249</sup> (according to some in 246 or 248<sup>250</sup>) and was buried at Qurafat al-Sughra.<sup>251</sup>

The name of Abu Muhammad<sup>252</sup> al-Fath al-Mawsili's father was either Sa'id<sup>253</sup> or 'Ali.<sup>254</sup> He was a contemporary of Bishr al-Hafi (who died in 227 A.H.) and Sari al-Saqati (who died some time after 250 A.H.), hence the date of his death cannot be 120/738 as given by al-Manawi.<sup>255</sup> The scribe has

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<sup>236</sup> Qushairi, p. 12; 'Attar, Vol. I, p. 227.

<sup>237</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>238</sup> See notes 4 and 5.

<sup>239</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 35; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 177; al-Manawi, p. 162; Jami, p. 28.

<sup>240</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 117.

<sup>241</sup> Jami, p. 23.

<sup>242</sup> Qushairi, p. 8; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 101; al-Manawi, Vol. 1, p. 384; Jami, p. 23.

<sup>243</sup> Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

<sup>244</sup> Jami, p. 23.

<sup>245</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 384.

<sup>246</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 110.

<sup>247</sup> Jami, p. 23.

<sup>248</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 384.

<sup>249</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 110; Sam'ani, 22a; Qushairi, p. 8; al-Manawi, *al-Kawakib*, Vol. I, p. 390.

<sup>250</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 101.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>252</sup> Sha'rani, p. 93.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 270.

<sup>254</sup> Jami, p. 33.

<sup>255</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 269.

written the word مائة on the margin which appears to be a mistake for مائتين  
In fact he died in 220/835.

Hamid al-`Arif. All the authorities are silent about him.

Hammad al-Qurashi. There have been two persons of this name. One of them, who died in his eightieth year in 201/817,<sup>256</sup> was a traditionist. He, therefore, cannot be the person meant in the text. The other Abu `Amr Hammad, who was contemporary with al-Junaid and a resident of Baghdad, was a Sufi.<sup>257</sup> It seems, therefore, very probable that he is the person meant in the text.

Al-Hasan al-Basri, Abu Sa`id al-Hasan, was the son of Abu al-Hasan Yasar<sup>258</sup> (a client of Zaid b. Thabit al-Ansari<sup>259</sup>) and Khairah (a clientess of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife),<sup>260</sup> and had enjoyed the company of several companions, seventy of whom were those who had attended the Battle of Badr.<sup>261</sup> He was noted for the fluency of his language,<sup>262</sup> and is accused of relating traditions on apocryphal authority.<sup>263</sup> Zabban b. al-`Ala,<sup>264</sup> Shaiban b. `Abd al-Rahman<sup>265</sup> and Wasil b. `Ata', the founder of the Mu'tazilite sect, were his disciples. He died of diarrhoea on Thursday, the 1st of Rajab 110/10 October 728.<sup>266</sup>

Al-Hasan al-Yawajiri. All the authorities are silent about him. Ibn Sirin, Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Abu `Umara Sirin,<sup>267</sup> commonly known as Ibn Sirin was born in 33/655.<sup>268</sup> Sirin was an inhabitant of Jarjarayah, whence he came to `Ain Tamar where he was made a war captive, and ultimately a war slave

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<sup>256</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 101.

<sup>257</sup> Jami, *Nafahat*, p. 52.

<sup>258</sup> Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 245; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128; Ibn Hajar, p. 87.

<sup>259</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> `Attar, Vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>262</sup> Al-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 245; Ibn Hajar, p. 87.

<sup>263</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 230; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>264</sup> Yaqut, Vol. IV, p. 217.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>266</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 128; Ibn Hajar, p. 87; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 179.

<sup>267</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 103; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453; Ibn Hajar, p. 323.

<sup>268</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453; *Sharh Majani*, p. 308.

by the famous general of Islam, Khalid b. al-Walid. Sirin fell in the lot of Anas b. Malik who promised to set him free, if he paid him 20,000 or 40,000 dirhams.<sup>269</sup> Ibn Sirin's mother Safiyyah was a clientess of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq.

Ibn Sirin was a great traditionist and related Traditions to Qatadah b. Da'ama, Khalid and Ayyub<sup>270</sup> on the authority of the Companions Abu Sa'id al-Khadri, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-'Abbas, Abu Bakrah,<sup>271</sup> Abu Hurairah, 'Imran b. Husain, Anas b. Malik<sup>272</sup> and 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair. He was a cloth-merchant, and, on account of the defect in his *sense* of hearing, was known as al-Asamm ["the Deaf"<sup>273</sup>]. He had thirty children, of whom only 'Abd Allah survived him.<sup>274</sup> A spendthrift that he was, he always stood in debt, and for his inability to pay off his debts he had even to bear the hardships of imprisonment.<sup>275</sup> He died at the age of seventy-eight on the 9th of Shawwal 110/18 January 729, a hundred days after the death of his contemporary al-Hasan of Basrah.<sup>276</sup> Al-Yafi'i and al-Manawi do not seem to be correct when they assign him an age exceeding eighty.<sup>277</sup>

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Adham b. Mansur belonged to the tribe of Banu 'Ajal, a clan of Asad, whence he derived his *nisbah* al-'Ajali.<sup>278</sup>

It is also said that he belonged to the tribe of Tamim, whence he derived the *nisbah* al-Tamimi.<sup>279</sup> He was a prince of Balkh and was born at Mecca where his parents had gone on a pilgrimage. At the time of his birth his mother prayed to God to make him a righteous person.<sup>280</sup> He narrated traditions to Abu Ishaq al-Qarari, Baqiyyah and Shaqiq of Balkh on the authority of Yazid al-Raqqashi, Yahya b. Sa'id al-Ansari and Malik b. Dinar.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 223.

<sup>271</sup> Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, p. 368.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453.

<sup>273</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 103; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453.

<sup>274</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 223.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 153; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 453; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 232; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 285; *Sharh Majani*, p. 308.

<sup>277</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 233; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 285.

<sup>278</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 15; al-Shakir, *Fawat*, Vol. I, p. 3.

<sup>279</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 15.

<sup>280</sup> Al-Shakir, Vol. I, p. 3; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

<sup>281</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 144.

He enjoyed the company of Fudailb. ‘Ayad and Sufyan al-Thawri, and lived on what he earned by cutting wood and keeping gardens, and used to take food every fourth day.<sup>282</sup> He learnt *Qir’at* under Abu ‘Ammarah Habib b. Hamzah al-Zayyat al-Kufi (80-156 or 158 A.H).<sup>283</sup> It is a credit to him that al-Bukhari accepts Traditions on his authority in his book *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, as also Tirmidhi in his *Sunan*.<sup>284</sup> He died in 161/778<sup>285</sup> or 162/779.<sup>286</sup> The year 166, as given by Jami,<sup>287</sup> is probably a mistake for 162. He was buried in an island<sup>288</sup> in the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>289</sup> It is also said that in his last days he migrated to Syria,<sup>290</sup> and died at Jubail,<sup>291</sup> a village in the suburbs of Damascus.

Ja'far, Abu ‘Abdillah Ja'far al-Sadiq b. Muhammad al-Baqir b. Zain al-‘Abidin 'Ali b. ‘Abi Talib, was born in 80/700.<sup>292</sup> His mother Umm Farwah was the daughter of Abu Bakr's grandson Qasim b. Muhammad and granddaughter of ‘Abd al-Rahman.<sup>293</sup> He narrated Traditions to the two Sufyans,<sup>294</sup> Malik and Qattan, on the authority of his father al-Baqir, ‘Urwah, ‘Ata', Nafi.` and al-Zuhri.<sup>295</sup> Al-Bukhari accepted Traditions on his authority in his book, *Khalq Aral al-'Ibad*, but not in his *Sahib*;<sup>296</sup> while other writers on the subject have accepted them on his authority and included them in their *Sahibs*.<sup>297</sup> The Shi‘ah considered him to be their sixth Imam, and the major portion of their Traditional literature is based on his narration. Hamzah b. Habib al-Zayyat al-Kufi,<sup>298</sup> al-Dahhak b. Mukhallad<sup>299</sup> and Jabir b. Hayyan

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<sup>282</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>283</sup> Yaqut, Vol. I, p. 151.

<sup>284</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 15.

<sup>285</sup> Jami, p. 28; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

<sup>286</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 15; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>287</sup> Jami, p. 28; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>289</sup> Ibn Shakir, Vol. I, p. 3.

<sup>290</sup> Jami, p. 28; *Sharh Majani*, p. 6.

<sup>291</sup> *Sharh Majani*, p. 7.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid. p. 45; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>293</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>294</sup> Sufyan al-Thawri and Sufyan b. ‘Uyainah.

<sup>295</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>296</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 68.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>298</sup> Yaqut, Vol. IV, p. 150.

(the famous Gaber), who collected Ja`far's works in a book of 1,000 folios comprising 500 booklets,<sup>300</sup> were his disciples. He died in his sixty-eighth year in 148/766<sup>301</sup> and was buried in al-Baqi, the famous grave yard of Medina.<sup>302</sup>

Abu al-Harith al-Laith b. Sa`d b. `Abd al-Rahman al-Fahmi al-Misri was born at Qarqashanda, a village in Lower Egypt,<sup>303</sup> in 94/714.<sup>304</sup> He heard Traditions from `Ata',<sup>305</sup> Ibn Mulaikah,<sup>306</sup> Nafi and al-Zuhri.<sup>307</sup> Shafi'i testifies that he was a greater jurist than Malik b. Anas.<sup>308</sup> He held the office of Qadi,<sup>309</sup> and died at the age of eighty-one<sup>310</sup> in 176/792.<sup>311</sup> According to Sam'ani he died in the month of Sha`ban 174/791<sup>312</sup> at Fustat.<sup>313</sup> All the compilers of the Traditions accept them on his authority.<sup>314</sup>

Abu Yahya Malik b. Dinar al-Basri, a client of Banu Sama' b. Luwayy al-Qurashi,<sup>315</sup> heard Traditions from Anas b. Malik, Husain, Ibn Sirin, Qasim b. Muhammad and Salim b. `Abdillah.<sup>316</sup> He lived on whatever he earned from copying the Qur'an.<sup>317</sup> He died in 131/749.<sup>318</sup> Al-Manawi gives 181/797.<sup>319</sup> It

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>300</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 304; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

<sup>301</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 304; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 173; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib*, p. 68; Amir Khwand, *Rawdat al-Safa'*, p. 16; *Sharh Majanl*, p. 45.

<sup>302</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>303</sup> Sam'ani, f. 434b.

<sup>304</sup> Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 369.

<sup>306</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 369.

<sup>307</sup> Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

<sup>308</sup> Sam'ani, f. 434b.

<sup>309</sup> *Shadbarat*.

<sup>310</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 369; Ibn Hajar, p. 311; *Shadbarat*.

<sup>311</sup> *Shadbarat*.

<sup>312</sup> Sam'ani, f. 434b.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>314</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 311; *Shadbarat*.

<sup>315</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 440.

<sup>316</sup> Abu Nu`aim, Vol. I, f. 427.

<sup>317</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 440; Abu al-Falah, *Shadbarat*.

<sup>318</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 440; al-Sha`rani, p. 43. Ibn Hajar (p. 344) gives *circa* 130; Abu al-Falah gives 128 A.H.

<sup>319</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 277.

appears that ثمانين was probably by mistake substituted for ثلاثين by the scribe.

Abu ja'far Muhammad b. al-Baghdadi al-Dulabi was born in 150/767<sup>320</sup> and studied Traditions under Shuraik and his contemporaries<sup>321</sup> and died in 277/842.<sup>322</sup> He also compiled a book of Traditions under the title of *Sunan Saghir*.<sup>323</sup> It seems that he is the person mentioned in the text, although there are two persons besides him bearing the same name. One is Muhammad b. al-Sabah al-Jarijarai<sup>324</sup> included among the traditionists only, and is, therefore, excluded. The other is Muhammad b. al-Subh, who died in 130/748 at Kufah, but he cannot be the man referred to, because al-Manawi<sup>325</sup> says that he related Traditions from the Tabi'is, while he is not included among the narrators of Traditions in any of the sources. It is possible, however, that 130 is a mistake for 230 in which case he may also be identified with al-Dulabi.

Abu Bakr (or Abu 'Abdillah) Muhammad b. Wasi' al-Azdi was a *qari* of the Qur'an and his title was Zain al-Qurra', "Ornament of the Readers."<sup>326</sup> He saw a large number of the Tabi'in (تابعين) and obtained Traditions from them. Among them were Mutarrif b. 'Abdillah b. Shikhkhir al-'Amiri (d. 95 A.H.)<sup>327</sup> Ibn Sirin, Salim al-Ghata-fani, 'Abd Allah b. al-Samit and Abu Burdah.<sup>328</sup> He narrated Traditions on the authority of Anas b. Malik also.<sup>329</sup> He spoke very little and mostly remained quiet, and used to put on coarse woollen garments.<sup>330</sup> Ibn Hajar,<sup>331</sup> Yafi'i<sup>332</sup> and Abu al-Falah<sup>333</sup> record his

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<sup>320</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 323.

<sup>321</sup> Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid.; Ibn Hajar, p. 323 ; f. 233b.

<sup>323</sup> *Shadharat*.

<sup>324</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 323.

<sup>325</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 288-90.

<sup>326</sup> Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 404; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 239; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 286.

<sup>327</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 340.

<sup>328</sup> Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 409.

<sup>329</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 288.

<sup>330</sup> Al-Sha rani, p. 42.

<sup>331</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 288.

<sup>332</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 259.

<sup>333</sup> Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.



death in the year 123/741, while Ibn Qutaibah<sup>334</sup> and al-Manawi<sup>335</sup> put it three years earlier in 120/739.

Umm al-Khair Rabi'ah, daughter of Isma'il al-'Adawi al-Qaisi of Basrah, was a clientess of 'Ali 'Atiq<sup>336</sup>. She was born about 55/675. As long as she remained in the service of 'Ali, she used to work for him in the day and offer prayers in the night. Once he awoke and saw a flash of celestial light falling upon her, so he set her free the next morning.<sup>337</sup> Muhammad b. Sulaiman, who was a rich man and was reputed to have hoarded up 80,000 dirhams, asked her hand in marriage. But she rejected the offer and wrote to him: "Asceticism in the world keeps the body comfortable and the desire of the world begets sorrow. It is your grave, get prepared for the Resurrection. Do not be an object of your legatees' wish who want to distribute your heirloom. Observe fast in this world, and break it when you die. If God bestows upon me wealth equal to your or more than that, I will not like to be busy but with him. Adieu!"<sup>338</sup> There are anecdotes which show that Rabi'ah was of an advanced age before al-Hasan al-Basri died. It seems, therefore, probable that her death occurred in 135/753<sup>339</sup> and the year 180<sup>340</sup> or 185<sup>341</sup> is incorrect. She was buried at al-Tur,<sup>342</sup> a village in the suburbs of Nisibin.

Rubah b. 'Amr al-Qaisi flourished during the second century of Islam,<sup>343</sup> and used to pass his time mostly in weeping.<sup>344</sup> Helived on saltish bread only,<sup>345</sup> and used to say, "Too much of meat hardens the heart, and the wise are not to look after their belly alone."<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 164.

<sup>335</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 288.

<sup>336</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 182; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 195.

<sup>337</sup> 'Attar, Vol. I, p. 60.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid., p. 66; al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 195-96.

<sup>339</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 182; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 281; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>340</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 199.

<sup>341</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 182; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 281; *Shadharat*.

<sup>342</sup> As for 206.

<sup>343</sup> Al-Manawi has not given any dates, but has included his account among the second-century men. Besides, al-Junaid says that he was contemporary with Rabi'ah of Basrah, *vide* Ma'ali MS., f. 13.

<sup>344</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 190.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

Abu al-Hasan (or Abu al-Husain) Sari al-Saqati b. Mughallis al-Siqi was a disciple of the saint Ma`ruf al-Karkhi,<sup>347</sup> and heard Traditions from Fudail, Haitham, 'Ali b. Ghurah, Abu Bakr b. 'Ayyash and Yazid b. Harun, and related them before al-Junaid, Abu al-'Abbas b. Masruq and Ibrahim al-Mahrabi.<sup>348</sup> His death occurred some time between 251/865 and 257/871. There is much difference of opinion on this point. Al-Sha`rani gives 251 A.H. alone.<sup>349</sup> Ibn Khallikan gives 251, 256 or 257 A.H. as the year of his death.<sup>350</sup> Yafi'i and Jami give 253/867.<sup>351</sup> Considering the comparative merits of these authorities, 253 A.H. seems to be the correct date. Again, there is an irreconcilable difference in fixing the week-day of his death. Jami writes that it was Tuesday the 30th,<sup>352</sup> while Ibn Khallikan gives 6th<sup>353</sup> of the month of Ramadan. He was buried in the Shuniziyyah, the famous graveyard of Baghdad.<sup>354</sup>

Abu `Abdillah Sufyan b. Sa'id b. Masruq al-Thawri belonged to the tribe of Thawr b. 'Abd Manat, whence he derived his *nisbah* al-Thawri.<sup>355</sup> A story is current that once, when entering a mosque, he first put his left foot on its floor instead of the right,<sup>356</sup> whereupon a divine voice called him Thawr, "a bull."<sup>357</sup> This can hardly be anything but a fable. He obtained Traditions from his father (d. 126/477),<sup>358</sup> and from Simak b. Harb<sup>359</sup> (d. 123/741),<sup>360</sup> 'Amr b. Murra al-Kamali<sup>361</sup> (d. 118/736),<sup>362</sup> Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i<sup>363</sup> (d. 129/747),<sup>364</sup> al-

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<sup>347</sup> Hujwiri, p. 88.

<sup>348</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 393-96.

<sup>349</sup> Al-Sha`rani, p. 86.

<sup>350</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 200.

<sup>351</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. II, p. 158; Jami, p. 36.

<sup>352</sup> Jami, p. 86.

<sup>353</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 200.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>355</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 170; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 210.

<sup>356</sup> It is considered bad manners to begin an act with the left hand or foot.

<sup>357</sup> 'Attar, Vol. I, p. 345.

<sup>358</sup> Sam'ani, f. 117a; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib*, p. 149.

<sup>359</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

<sup>360</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 160.

<sup>361</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

<sup>362</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 288.

<sup>363</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 210.

<sup>364</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 286.

A'mash<sup>365</sup> (d. 147/765),<sup>366</sup> and Ibn Juraij (d.150/767),<sup>367</sup> and narrated them before al-Awza'i<sup>368</sup> (d, 157/774),<sup>369</sup> Muhammad b. Ishaq and Malik b. Anas<sup>370</sup> (d. 179/796).<sup>371</sup> Sufyan had evolved a jurisprudence, but it did not survive him long.<sup>372</sup> He died in 161/788 at Basrah.<sup>373</sup> He had no issue; therefore his sister inherited the 150 dinars he had left at the time of his death.<sup>374</sup>

Abu Ayyub Sulaiman al-Khwass obtained Traditions from Sa'id b. `Abd al-`Aziz<sup>375</sup> and died in 162/779.<sup>376</sup> Ibn Hajar mentions numerous Sulaimans with the *kunyah* Abu Ayyub;<sup>377</sup> but none of them can be identified with al-Khwass. As regards Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Ibn Hajar records his death in 167/784.<sup>378</sup>

Abu Muhammad Thabit b. Aslam al-Bunani belonged to the Bunana tribe, which took its name from a woman Bunana who was a clientess of Sa'd b. Luwayy b. Ghalib, to whom she had borne children.<sup>379</sup> He heard Traditions from the Companions, Ibn 'Umar. Ibn al-Zubair and Anas,<sup>380</sup> and narrated them to 'Ata' b. Rubah, Qatadah, Ayyub, Yunus b. `Ubaid, Sulaiman al-Taimi, Humaid, Dawud b. Abu Hind, 'Ali b. Zaid b. Jad'an and al-

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<sup>365</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

<sup>366</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 160.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid., p. 246, marginal note.

<sup>368</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 345.

<sup>369</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 235.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid., p. 344.

<sup>372</sup> *Sharh Majani*, p. 217.

<sup>373</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 170 ; Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 347 ; Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, D. 210; Ibn Hajar, p. 15 ; al-Sha'rani, p. 54; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 509; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>374</sup> Ibn Qutaibah, p. 170.

<sup>375</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 211.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>377</sup> Ibn Hajar, pp. 155ff.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>379</sup> Sam'ani, f. 91; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*; *Qamus*.

<sup>380</sup> Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 396; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 169. Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

A`mash.<sup>381</sup> The date of his death is variously given as 123<sup>382</sup> and 127,<sup>383</sup> while Ibn Hajar says that he died some time after 120A.H.<sup>384</sup>

Thawban al-Hashimi was a client of the Prophet. After his death Thawban migrated to Syria and died at Hims (Emessa) in 54/673.

Al-Bukhari in his *al-Adab al-Mufrad* and al-Muslim in his *Sabih* have related Traditions on his authority.<sup>385</sup>

Abu Hafs `Umar b. Salama al-Haddad was a blacksmith of Nishapur. In the prime of his youth he fell in love with a girl, and retired into a jungle lest his love-story may be known to the people. He became a disciple of al-Hiri (?) and had enjoyed the company of alAbiwardi and died in 264/878 or 267/881.<sup>386</sup>

Abu Zakariyyah Yahya b. Ma'adh al-Razi was a pulpit preacher, and was, therefore, known as al-Wa'iz, "the Preacher."<sup>387</sup> His brothers Isma'il and Ibrahim were also ascetics.<sup>388</sup> He was an optimist, while his namesake Yahya Zakariyyah was a pessimist.<sup>389</sup> He died in the month of Jumada 1,<sup>390</sup> 258/872<sup>391</sup> at Nishapur.<sup>392</sup>

Yusuf b. Asbat heard Traditions from al-Thawri, Zaidah and Mukhallad b. Khalifah, and related them to al-Musayyib b. Wadih and `Abd Allah b. Hasan al-Antiki.<sup>393</sup> He inherited 70,000 dirhams which he did not spend on his person, but earned his livelihood by weaving palm-leaves, and for forty

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<sup>381</sup> Abu Nu'aim, Vol. I, f. 396.

<sup>382</sup> Yafi'i, Vol. I, p. 259; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 168; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>383</sup> A1-Dhahabi, Vol. I, p. 168; al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 168.

<sup>384</sup> Ibn Hajar, p. 59.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>386</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, pp. 230-33.

<sup>387</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 224; al-Sha'rani, p. 94.

<sup>388</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 224.

<sup>389</sup> Hujwiri, p. 98; `Attar, Vol. I, p. 298.

<sup>390</sup> Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 224; Abu al-Falah, *Shadharat*.

<sup>391</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 459; *Shadharat*.

<sup>392</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol. I, p. 459; *Shadharat*; Hujwiri, p. 99; Jami, p. 38.

<sup>393</sup> Al-Manwari, Vol. I, p. 323.

years he put on ragged clothes <sup>394</sup> He died in 192/808 when there were left bones only on his body and no flesh.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> ‘Attar, Vol. II, p. 76.

<sup>395</sup> Al-Manawi, Vol.I, p. 323. Al-Sha'rani (p. 71) writes that he died sometime after 190 A.H.