

Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*

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Abstract

Khargūshī (d. Nishapur, 407/1016?), *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, is a fairly large collection of sayings in the renunciant/Sufī tradition, comprising over twice as many items as Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* and Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-sufiyya*. A first printed edition appeared in 1999. Examination of the *Tahdhīb* confirms that Khargūshī was Shāfiʿī in law, Ashʿari in theology, but mainly a preacher devoted to piety. It also tends to confirm current common wisdom about the history of Sufism: that it developed out of the earlier renunciant tradition, that Malāmātism was a distinctive Nishapur school of mystical piety with such affinities to Baghdadi Sufism as make it easily assimilable to it, and that Khargūshī's time was still that of the teaching master, the training master not appearing till half a century later. Its similarities to Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* and Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* make both of those appear more mainstream than has sometimes been feared.

In the late 1930s, A. J. Arberry published a short survey of a manuscript in Berlin, the *Tahdhīb al-asrār* of al-Khargūshī (d. 407/1016?), which provides an exposé of Sufism.¹ It has now been published twice. The first edition came from Abu Dhabi on the basis of a local manuscript dated at the end 608/1211, regrettably ignoring the Berlin and Istanbul manuscripts.² I first heard of it at a conference in Lyons, where Sara Svirī strongly praised it as equal in importance to Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt* and other standard sources for the early development of Sufism. The second edition is from Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya.³ Some respectable editions have come from this publisher, but this one of Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb*, appears to be a simple retyping of the first edition with even fewer notes and, still, no index of names. Its only recommendation is that it is easier to find through normal commercial channels. Page references to come are to the Abu Dhabi edition in roman, then Beirut in *italic*. The significance of the *Tahdhīb* turns out to be mostly to confirm what we thought we knew about the early history of Sufism.

Al-Wāʿiz al-Kharkūshī is the *ʿurf* by which Brockelmann and, after him, Sezgin, have proposed to know him, his full name being Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Malik ibn

- 1 A. J. Arberry, "Khargūshī's manual of Ṣūfism", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9, 1937–39, 345–9.
- 2 Al-Kharkūshī, *K. Tahdhīb al-asrār*, ed. Bassām Muḥammad Bārūd (Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaʿ al-Thaqāfi, 1999). For MSS, v. Sezgin, *GAS* 1: 670, no. 1. Berl. 2819 290 ff., 848 H.; Şehid A. 1157 231 ff., 863 H.; Feyz. 280, 292 ff., 863 H.
- 3 Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2006/1427).

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb.⁴ His *nisba* refers to an avenue in Nishapur, presumably spelt with *gāf* in the Persian.⁵ No source tells us just when he was born; however, it was probably in or before 340/951–2, for al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and al-Sam‘ānī provide overlapping lists of his shaykhs in hadith, of whom Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Shaybānī of Nishapur died the earliest, in 348/959–60, while al-Ṣayrafīnī mentions another Nishapuran, al-Aṣamm, who died already in 346/957.⁶ He studied Shāfi‘ī law under Abū ‘l-Ḥasan al-Māsārjisī (d. Nishapur, 384/994?), who had studied in turn under Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (d. 340/951) and Ibn Abī Hurayra (d. 345/956), two chiefs of the Baghdadi school.⁷ Ibn ‘Asākir includes him among the Ashā‘ira but does not name his teacher in *kalām* (dialectical theology).⁸ Express declarations in the *Tahdhīb* (most often at the beginning of a section) indicate that he gathered material for it in Mecca, Fustat, Alexandria, Jerusalem, the land of Canaan, Sidon, and Nishapur. He heard hadith in Iraq after 370/980–1.⁹ He made the pilgrimage by way of Baghdad in 393/1002–3. After spending three years in Mecca, he passed through Baghdad again in 396/1005–6 on his way back to Nishapur.¹⁰ ‘Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī reports that he died in Jumādā I 407/October–November 1016, but the alternative date of 406/1015–16 is reported elsewhere.¹¹

- 4 Brockelmann, *GAL* 1: 218 (200); S 1: 361; Sezgin, *GAS* 1: 670–1. The fullest modern study is Aḥmad Ṭāhirī ‘Irāqī and Naṣr Allāh Pūrjavādī, “Abū Sa‘d-i Khargūshī-yi Nīshābūrī”, *Ma‘ārif*, 15/3, 1377/1999, 2–33. *V.* also now the first and last sections of Sara Sviri, “The early mystical schools of Baghdad and Nīshāpūr”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 30, 2005, 450–82.
- 5 C. A. Storey *et al.*, *Persian Literature*, 5 vols (London: Luzac, 1927–99), 1: 175. Cf. al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb*, s.n. *kharjūshī*.
- 6 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 14 vols (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānī, 1349/1931), 10: 432 = *Tārīkh madīnat al-salām*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf, 17 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1422/2001), 12: 188; Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, s.n. *kharkūshī*; al-Ṣayrafīnī, *al-Muntakhab min* K. al-Siyāq li-*Tārīkh Naysābūr*, ed. Khālid Ḥaydar (Beirut: Dār al-Fīkr, 1414/1993), 357. On Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, v. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, ed. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī, 52 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1407–21/1987–2000), 25 (A.H. 331–50), 409; on al-Aṣamm, v. *ibid.*, 362–9. *V.* also Ṭāhirī and Pūrjavādī, “Abū Sa‘d”, 7–8, for an annotated list of Khargūshī’s principal shaykhs in hadith. In the eleventh century, it was normal in Nishapur to begin hearing hadith at five, for which v. Richard Bulliet, “The age structure of medieval Islamic education”, *Studia Islamica*, 57, 1983, 105–17. My guess is that it was normal a little later, probably eight to ten, in the mid-tenth century. For example, Khargūshī’s illustrious contemporary, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014), born 321/933, first heard hadith in 330/941–2 at nine according to Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* 5: 473 = ed. Ma‘rūf, 3: 510.
- 7 Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, s.nn. *kharkūshī* and *māsārjisī* (alt.: *māsirjisī*); Ṣayrafīnī, *Muntakhab*, 357; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī* (Damascus: al-Qudsī, 1347), 234, 236 = ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1416/1995), 232. On the importance of Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī and Ibn Abī Hurayra, v. Christopher Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law* (Islamic Law and Society 4, Leiden: Brill, 1997), 103–6.
- 8 Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 233–6 = ed. Saqqā, 231–4.
- 9 Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 234 = ed. Saqqā, 232; Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, s.n. *kharkūshī*; both evidently drawing on al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī.
- 10 Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* 10: 432 = ed. Ma‘rūf, 12: 188.
- 11 For al-Fārisī, v. Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 236 = ed. Saqqā, 233; al-Ṣayrafīnī, *al-Muntakhab min* K. al-Siyāq li-*Tārīkh Naysābūr*, ed. Khālid Ḥaydar (Beirut: Dār al-Fīkr, 1993/1414), 357. For the year 406, v. Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* 10: 432 = ed. Ma‘rūf, 12: 188; Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, s.v. *kharkūshī*, although Sam‘ānī also confirms Jumādā I 407 s.n. *kharjūshī*.

Apropos of *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, it is especially interesting that the biographers stress Khargūshī's piety. Al-Ḥākīm al-Naysābūrī declared, "I have never seen anyone who better united knowledge (of hadith), renunciation (*zuhd*), humility, and guidance toward God and the revealed law of his chosen prophet".¹² He secretly made headgear (*qalansuwa*, pl. *qalānis*) in order to "live by the gain of his hand", although he had evidently inherited enough to endow a *madrasa*, a large library and a hospital, among other public works.¹³ We are not told of his having any particular master in Sufism, but the list of his shaykhs in hadith does include Ibn Nujayd (d. 365/975?), one-time disciple to Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī (d. 298/910), through whom we may therefore connect him directly with the Malāmāti school of Nishapur.¹⁴ More certainly, the biographical tradition indicates that he was primarily, personally committed to the pious life; contrast contemporary collectors of Sufi sayings Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) a little before him, who may have been something of an outside observer, and Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1038), whose principal interest was certainly to collect hadith.¹⁵

The literary works of Khargūshī of which (complete or incomplete) copies survive are apparently three: *Tahdhīb al-asrār*; *al-Bishāra wa-'l-nidhāra*, on the interpretation of dreams; and *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā*, a long biography of the Prophet, of which *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa* appears to be an extract.¹⁶ Kātib Ḥalebī mentions each of these three and two others besides, *Shi'ār al-ṣāliḥīn* and *al-Lawāmi'*.¹⁷ Dhahabī states that Khargūshī wrote *K. Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*,

- 12 *Apud* Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 235 = ed. Saqqā, 232–3; slightly abridged *apud* Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* 28: 162.
- 13 Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, 234 = ed. Saqqā, 232–4; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* 28: 163; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī and 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Ḥulw, 10 vols (Cairo: 'Īsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1964–76), 5: 223.
- 14 On Ibn Nujayd's connection with Abū 'Uthmān, v. Sulamī, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Johannes Pedersen (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 476. On the Malāmātiyya, v. esp. Jacqueline Chabbi, "Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan", *Studia Islamica*, 46, 1977, 5–72; Sara Sviri, "Ḥakīm Tirmidhī and the Malāmāti movement in early Sufism", *Classical Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1993), 583–613; and Christopher Melchert, "Sufis and competing movements in Nishapur", *Iran*, 39, 2001, 237–47. The last makes out Abū 'Uthmān to have virtually founded the Malāmāti school (238–9).
- 15 Extant sources preserve very little on the life of Sarrāj. Ahmet Karamustafa comments, "It appears . . . that although Sarrāj most likely lived as a Sufi, he was in the first instance a scholar of Sufism rather than a Sufi master": Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (New Edinburgh Islamic Surveys, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007). On Abū Nu'aym, v. for now *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. "Abu Nu'aym al-Eṣfahānī", by W. Madelung.
- 16 *GAL S* 1: 361; *GAS* 1: 670–1. *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā* has recently been published: *Manāḥil al-shifā' wa-manāḥil al-ṣafā' bi-tahqīq* Kitāb Sharaf al-muṣṭafā, ed. Abū 'Aṣim Nabīl ibn Hāshim al-Ghamrī, 6 vols (Mecca: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya, 2003). A 1967 Egyptian edition of *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa* is mentioned by Ṭāhirī and Pūrjavādī, "Abū Sa'd", 19–20.
- 17 Kātib Ḥalebī, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Şerefettin Yalıtıkaya and Rifāt Bilge, 2 vols (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941–43), 1045, 1047, 1569. Storey notes an extant Persian translation of the first with the alternative title of *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa* (*Persian Literature* 1: 175–6). Brockelmann evidently identifies *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā* with *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa* (*GAL S* 1:361, no. 3), so it is possible that Storey is talking about a Persian abridgement of it,

K. al-Tafsīr, and *K. al-Zuhd*.¹⁸ The second is regrettably lost (it would make a most useful comparison with the commentaries of his Nishapurian contemporaries, al-Sulamī and al-Thaʿlabī),¹⁹ while the third may be *Tahdhīb al-asrār* under another name. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī evidently stated that he composed books on *ʿulūm al-sharʿa* (the sciences of the revealed law), the indications of prophethood (*dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*), and the lives of the worshippers and renunciants (*siyar al-ʿubbād wa-ʿl-zuhhād*). These works spread everywhere and provided “a history of Nishapur and its scholars past and present”.²⁰ This last work sounds most like a biographical dictionary, perhaps the same as that which Dhahabī calls *K. al-Zuhd*. However, Kātib Çelebī gives the full title of the work with which this article is concerned as *Tahdhīb al-asrār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār*, so even though it is organized topically and gives few biographical details, it conceivably acquired the reputation of serving as a biographical dictionary of pious Nishapurians. On balance, I tend to think that al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī was referring to proper biographies (possibly published as independent fascicles, never gathered into a book) now lost.²¹

Tahdhīb al-asrār is mainly a collection of short sayings, altogether about 3,700 items. By contrast, there are approximately 1,500 items in Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ*, 1,750 in al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, and 16,500 in Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* (14,800 excluding repeats). The earliest are sayings of pre-Muḥammadan prophets: in descending order of frequency, ʿĪsā, Dāwūd, Luqmān, Yūsuf, and others, making up altogether less than 2 per cent of all items. (For comparison’s sake, ʿĪsā is by far the most-quoted pre-Muḥammadan prophet in the extant abridgements of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal’s *Kitāb al-Zuhd*, followed by Luqmān, Ayyūb, Dāwūd, and others.) A good many are anonymous (about 15 per cent of all items). More are from women (7 per cent) than in similar collections. Figure 1 shows a simple graph (showing percentages of random samples) comparing the chronology of Khargūshī’s quotations with those of Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* and Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. I suspect that those unidentified are predominantly from the later fourth/tenth century, likewise the anonymous contemporaries whom Sarrāj and Khargūshī would have refrained from naming in agreement with widespread custom.

also that what Kātib Çelebī refers to as *Sharaf al-nubuwwa* is an Arabic abridgement of *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā*.

18 Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* 28: 162.

19 On the commentary of Sulamī (d. 412/1021), v. Gerhard Böwering, “The Qurʾān commentary of al-Sulamī”, *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, ed. Wael B. Hallaq and Donald K. Little (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 41–56. It has now been published as *Ḥaqāʾiq al-tafsīr*, ed. Sayyid ʿImrān, 2 vols (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1421/2001). On the commentary of Thaʿlabī (d. 437/1035?), v. Walid A. Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition: The Qurʾān Commentary of al-Thaʿlabī* (Texts and Studies on the Qurʾān 1, Leiden: Brill, 2004). As Saleh’s title indicates, he wishes to make out Thaʿlabī’s place in the tradition, at which he is severely hampered by our lack of extant commentaries between those of al-Ṭabarī and Thaʿlabī.

20 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 234 = ed. Saqqā, 232; Subkī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-wuṣṭā*, *apud* *Ṭabaqāt* 5: 223fn; also without direct attribution *apud* Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v. *kharkūshī*.

21 Similarly, Pūrjavādī and Ṭāhirī, observing how seldom later writers quote any history of Nishapur by Khargūshī: “Abū Saʿd”, 15.

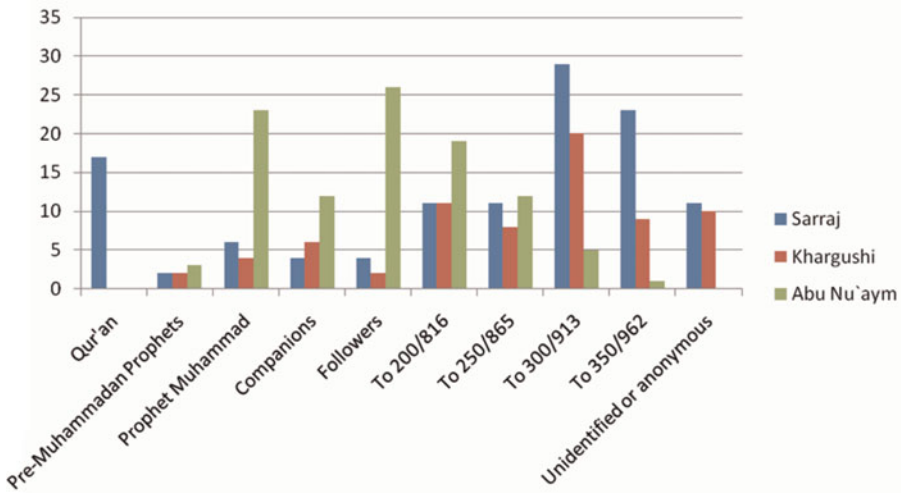


Figure 1. A comparison of the chronology of Khargūshī's quotations with those of Sarrāj, *al-Luma'* and Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*

The graph confirms that Abū Nu'aym is disproportionately interested in earlier figures, especially the Prophet and Followers, while Sarrāj disproportionately quotes the Quran (that is, quotes it directly to support his contentions, as opposed to quoting pious figures who gloss the Quran, which is found in all three). The distribution of quotations in *Tahdhīb al-asrār* is more similar to that in *al-Luma'* than to that in *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, but Khargūshī has the most even distribution of the three authors here compared and often falls in the middle between Sarrāj and Abū Nu'aym. Thus, he makes Abū Nu'aym's concern with the second century A.H. seem less aberrant. (It might seem still less aberrant if two other biographical works of Sulamī's were extant, the full *Tārīkh al-ṣūfiyya* and *K. al-Zuhd*.)²²

It is easy to characterize Khargūshī's position on some issues, more difficult on others. He is clearly Sunni, not Shii, as witness §§29–30 on sayings of and about the first four caliphs in order (224–9 201–6). Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is quoted fairly often but never as *Abū 'Abd Allāh II*, as in Imami sources, nor ever as sounding like a Shii; e.g. (322 291):

God's speech is four things: allusion (*ishāra*), direct expression (*'ibāra*), esoterica (*latā'if*), and truths (*ḥaqā'iq*). Expression is for the general, allusion is for the élite, esoterica are for the saints, and truths are for the prophets.

Conspicuously missing, from a Shii point of view, is any reference to the imams alongside the saints and prophets. (This is to disagree with Sara Sviri, who

22 On *Tārīkh al-ṣūfiyya*, v. Johannes Pedersen, introduction to Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 50–9 (Fr.). For *K. al-Zuhd*, v. Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5 (Ar.).

apparently characterizes quotations of Shii imams as “Shī‘ī material that became included in Šūfī literature”. It is possible that some of this had Shii origins, inasmuch as their interest in finding the imams in the Quran predisposed the Shia to esotericism; however, it has quite lost its Shii character by the time it shows up in Khargūshī. Neither need we suppose that every ‘Alid was a Shii.)²³ Khargūshī is ambivalent about the Umayyads, as a Shii would not be, sometimes quoting criticism of them (e.g. a Khārijī woman’s taunt to their lieutenant ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, 426–390) but also quoting them with approval (e.g. ‘Abd al-Malik’s prayer, 405–371).

Khargūshī is also evidently Sunni, not Mu‘tazili. Several sections are devoted to miracles, in which the Mu‘tazila tended to disbelieve: §47 on disembodied voices heard, §§48–9 on *karāmāt*, §50 on the difference between *karāmāt* and *mu‘jizāt*, §51 expressly arguing that *karāmāt* are possible, and §52 on those who kept secret their *karāmāt* (352–78 322–46).²⁴ Those who restricted miracles to the prophets tended to identify Maryam as one of them, since she was addressed by God through an angel and the date palm bore for her out of season (Q. 19: 16–26). Khargūshī argues that Q. 12:109 (*wa-mā arsalnā min qablīka illā rijālan*) restricts prophecy to men, so that the miracles associated with Maryam prove the possibility of *karāmāt* (375–343).²⁵

Confirming the report of his Shāfi‘ism, Khargūshī nowhere mentions Abū Ḥanīfa and several times mentions al-Shāfi‘ī, quoting poetry he declaimed on his deathbed and once making him a spectator to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal’s embarrassment at receiving a devastatingly insightful answer from a renunciant whose ignorance he had sought to expose (550, 524–509–486). Weakly confirming the report of his Ash‘arism, he approvingly quotes one of *mutakallimī aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth wa-aṣḥāb Ibn Kullāb* (43–27). It was the accomplishment of al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and Hujvūrī (d. 465/1072–3?) to reconcile the *kalām* perspective with the Sufī, but here we see Khargūshī anticipating their work by adducing a *kalām* proposition in a Sufī context, rather like his older contemporary Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) had done.²⁶

Works on the renunciant tradition came in turn out of three literary traditions: hadith, *adab* and Sufism. Hadith works insist on full *asānīd* to document the provenance of every saying. Khargūshī seldom provides full *asānīd* in *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, even going back to the Prophet, so this is plainly a work not mainly in the hadith tradition. For the most part, it rather exemplifies the

23 Sviri, “Early mystical schools”, 457–62 (quotation from 457).

24 On Mu‘tazili disbelief in post-prophetic miracles, particularly the *karāmāt* of the *awliyā’*, v. provisionally Florian Sobieroj, “The Mu‘tazila and Sufism”, *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts 29, Leiden: Brill, 1999), 68–92, at 90–1, also Richard Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes* (Freiburger Islamstudien 11, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1987), 98–110.

25 On the controversy in Andalusia, v. Maribel Fierro, “Women as prophets in Islam”, *Writing the Feminine: Women in Arab Sources*, ed. Manuela Marín and Randi Deguilhem (The Islamic Mediterranean 1, London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 183–98. Khargūshī’s polemics somewhat weaken Fierro’s hypothesis that the Andalusian controversy was specifically related to conversion from Christianity.

26 On Qushayrī and Hujvūrī, v. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 97–103.

Sufi tradition, first in projecting later, mystical values back onto the early renunciants, secondly in making out renunciation as an early stage in the formation of a mystic as well as in the historical formation of Sufism. The *adab* tradition is distinguished from the hadith by its attraction to elegant locutions, also, more subtly, to humorous material and often to miracle stories. There is a good deal of the *adab* tradition about *Tahdhīb al-asrār*. Outstandingly, Khargūshī quotes poetry, including some of his own. It actually makes up a small proportion of all items in the *Tahdhīb*, less than 2 per cent, but Khargūshī makes it conspicuous by concluding thirty out of 107 sections with poetry (admittedly, he is more consistent about beginning each section with a prophetic hadith report), also by devoting one long section entirely to poetry (§103, *fī dhikr ba'd mā yunshadu min ash'ārihim*, 498–512 457–74). A long section on marriage seems notably light-hearted (§63, *fī dhikr ādābihim fī 'l-tazwīj*, 417–33 382–97). It begins with examples of correct behaviour; for example, the upright man who decides to divorce his wife but will not explain why, saying “A rational man does not expose his wife”, then after divorcing her still refuses to explain why, saying “What have I to do with someone else’s wife?” (419 383). Before long, though, it drifts into droll sayings and stories; for example, a slave girl, overhearing her master rebuke his wife for ill-naturedness, says, “If not for the ill natures of free women, slave girls would enjoy no special favour” (427 391, reading *ḥuḏwa* for printed *khuḏwa*). Perhaps telling such stories evinced an attitude of ironic detachment that attracted Sufi writers to *adab*.

Where Khargūshī expressly mentions disagreement, his sympathies are usually clear. The first section is called *ikhtilāf ahl al-ṣafwa* and defends Sufism in general. It quotes Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, among others: on being told that “Those Sufis sit in the mosques as *tawakkul* without knowledge” (meaning without any basis in hadith), he answered, “Knowledge is what has stationed them in the mosques”. On being told that their concern is with fragments of bread (*al-kisra*), he said, “I know no people on the face of the Earth whose concern is greater than one whose concern is fragments of bread”. On being told that they get up and dance, he said, “Leave them to rejoice with God for a while” (26 12). The early Ḥanbali tradition quotes Aḥmad more probably as decrying such *tawakkul* as entails depending on others, but there is admittedly some uncertainty in the Ḥanbali tradition about his hostility towards audition and dance.²⁷

Khargūshī’s second section is about the Malāmātiyya, whom he plainly ranks above the Sufis, although he respects both parties. He distinguishes them first by geography, the people of Khurasan following the way of the Malāmātiyya. He thus enumerates their differences as to the pious life (40 25):

Among the differences between them and the Sufis is that the roots of the Malāmātiyya are built [his mixed metaphor] on knowledge (*ilm*), whereas the roots of the Sufis are built on the state (*hāl*). The Malāmātiyya encourage gain (*kasb*) and desire it, whereas the Sufis encourage leaving gain and are indifferent to it. The Malāmātiyya dislike publicity (*shuhra*) by way of clothing and making manifest patched garments (*muraqqa'āt*),

27 V. Christopher Melchert, *Ahmad ibn Hanbal* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006), ch. 5.

whereas the Sufis incline to that. The Malāmātiyya repudiate dancing and audition, crying out and ecstasy in the way one finds among the Sufis.

The persons he quotes in this section to expound Malāmāti doctrine are Ibn al-Manāzil (d. 331/942?; four times), Abū Ḥafṣ al-Naysābūrī (d. 270/883–4?; twice), Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār (d. 271/884–5; twice), Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 371/982; twice), 'Abd Allāh al-Khayyāt (d. 388/998), and the Prophet (twice).²⁸ There are also seven anonymous sayings, I suppose from contemporaries. Khayyāt, of Nishapur, may have been an additional member of the tenth-century school, but Ḥuṣrī was a Baghdadi, whose presence therefore surprises.²⁹ Even more surprising is the absence from this section of Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī, earlier identified as the virtual founder of the Malāmāti school.³⁰ Fritz Meier thought only Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār should be counted a Malāmāti, not Abū Ḥafṣ al-Naysābūrī or Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī, a list no better confirmed by Khargūshī.³¹ What Khargūshī's quotations strongly suggest, anyway, is that he thought of Malāmātism as a tendency, mainly but not exclusively found among Khurasanis, not distinguished by any particular succession of chiefs or other features of a school. The Malāmātiyya have hitherto attracted attention mainly because of Sulamī, *Risālat al-Malāmātiyya*.³² It is gratifying to have Sulamī's testimony to such a distinct group corroborated by Khargūshī, but his account is also a further caution against making too much of it.

The question of working for gain recurs, introduced by the assertion that it is another matter of disagreement between the people of Iraq and the people of Khurasan (§38, *fī 'l-kasb*, 298–300 270–2). The collection of quotations that follows does not confirm that there was any clear dichotomy between Iraqi and Khurasani approaches, several Iraqis (although not Baghdadis) being quoted in favour of gain and none against. Other sources confirm that there was considerable feeling in Baghdad against the pursuit of gain, among other things the arguments of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923) the Ḥanbali in favour of pursuing gain specifically against Sufis of the previous generation.³³ However, Khargūshī evidently could not bring himself to relate the Baghdadis' arguments.

28 The first name appears in both editions as “Ibn al-Mubārak”, but Sara Sviri clearly shows that this is a mis-reading: “Early mystical schools”, 465–8. She refers to “Ibn al-Munāzil” with *u*, but I prefer to follow the recommendation of Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-muntabih*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Najjār and Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār, 4 vols (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya, 1964?–7, repr. Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Ilmiyya, n.d.), 4: 1247.

29 For 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khayyāt, v. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, s.v. *khayyāt*. For Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī, v. Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 516–22.

30 See note 14 above.

31 Fritz Meier, “Khurāsān and the end of classical Sufism”, *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism*, trans. John O'Kane (Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts 30, Leiden: Brill, 1999), 189–219, at 216.

32 Abū 'l-'Alā' 'Aḥfīfī, *al-Malāmātiyya* (Mu'allafāt al-jam'iyya al-falsafiyya al-miṣriyya 5, n.p.: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1364/1945), which includes an edition of *R. al-Malāmātiyya* at 86–120; also Roger Deladrière (trans.), *La lucidité implacable* (Retour aux grands textes, Domaine arabe, Paris: Arléa, 1991).

33 Al-Khallāl, *K. al-Ḥaṭḥ al-'alā 'l-tijāra*, ed. Abū 'Abd Allāh Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād (Riyadh: Dār al-'Āshima, 1407), 143–5.

It is no Iraqī but Shaqīq al-Balkhī (d. Kulan, 194/809–10) who is associated early in the tradition with extreme teachings about *tawakkul*, calling for the complete renunciation of any purposeful activity in pursuit of one's provision.³⁴ Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Khargūshī's contemporary, relates this story pitting Shaqīq al-Balkhī against Ibrāhīm ibn Ad'ham (d. 163/779–80?):³⁵

< Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad al-Makhrāmī al-Baghdādī *al-ṣūfī* < Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khuzā'ī < Ḥudhayfa al-Mar'ashī: "We entered Mecca with Ibrāhīm ibn Ad'ham and lo, there was Shaqīq al-Balkhī, who had made the pilgrimage in that year. We met to one side of the circumambulation. Ibrāhīm said to Shaqīq, 'Where have you put down your root?' He said, 'We have put down our root here: that when provision comes our way, we eat, whereas if it is denied us, we have patience.' Ibrāhīm said, 'This is how the dogs of Balkh behave.' Shaqīq said to him, 'So where have you put down your root?' He said, 'We have put down our root here: that when provision comes our way, we prefer (others to ourselves), whereas if it is denied us, we give thanks and praise.' Shaqīq got up, then sat down before Ibrāhīm and said, 'Teacher (*ustādh*), you are our teacher.'"

Khargūshī tells it the other way around (291 262):

Ibrāhīm ibn Ad'ham and Shaqīq al-Balkhī met in a certain city. Shaqīq asked Ibrāhīm, "What do you do?" He said, "Concerning what?" He said, "Concerning *tawakkul* (complete dependence on God to provide)." He said, "If we are given, we give thanks. If we are not, we are patient." Shaqīq said, "With us, the dogs are like that in Balkh. If they are fed, they wag their tails. If they are rebuked, they accept it and are patient." Ibrāhīm said, "So how do you do?" He said, "If we are given, we prefer (others to ourselves). If we are not, we give thanks." Ibrāhīm arose and kissed his head, saying "You are the teacher (*ustādh*)."

Ibrāhīm is one of the early figures onto whom one most suspects back projection, so neither story need actually go back to the eighth century. Khargūshī's version clearly makes Shaqīq, not Ibrāhīm, the representative of the Khurasani tradition. In adding the positive virtue of generosity to the negative one of patience, Shaqīq emerges as the superior of Ibrāhīm. Still, Khargūshī avoids quoting Shaqīq directly in favour of living only on alms, a position he personally opposed.

A section on audition (§43, *fī dhikr al-samā'*, 332–6 301–5) begins, after a dubiously relevant story of the Prophet, with a quotation from al-Junayd (d. 298/911?), distinguishing the effects of audition on those more or less

34 Al-Muḥāsibī, *al-Makāsib*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1987), 61 = *al-Masā'il fī a'māl al-qulūb*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Cairo: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1969), 194.

35 Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, 10 vols (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1352–7/1932–8), 8: 37–8.

prepared for it. Of the forty quotations that follow, only one is negative: Abū Bakr ibn Ṭāhīr (d. c. 330/941–2) states, “Audition is a pleasure like others, so avoiding it is better, without a doubt” (333 301). Despite his earlier identification of audition with the Sufis as opposed to the Malāmatiyya, Khargūshī quotes a number of Khurasanis in defence of it, including Abū ‘Uthmān al-Ḥīrī, who prefers outward saturninity but defends the demonstrative response of the penitent to audition inasmuch as it signals to people that he is repentant (332 301).

It is very difficult to make out Khargūshī’s opinion of the Sālīmiyya of Basra, a school he never mentions.³⁶ He often quotes Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896?), once a Basran named Ibrāhīm ibn Sālim (Muḥammad and Aḥmad ibn Sālim are usually named as eponyms of the Sālīmiyya) in defence of pursuing gain, the same saying attributed to Ibn Sālim (no first name) by Sarrāj.³⁷ Nicholson remarks a similar reticence on the part of Sarrāj in *al-Luma’*.³⁸ Khargūshī quotes al-Ḥallāj just twice, but many times Ibn ‘Aṭā’, who was put to death in the same year (309/922) on refusing to denounce Ḥallāj.³⁹

Another famous figure about whom the early Sufi tradition seems ambivalent is al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. c. 295/907–8?). We have the text of a letter he wrote to Abū ‘Uthmān al-Ḥīrī, and Sulamī included him in his short biographical dictionary; however, Sulamī also quotes Ja‘far al-Khuldī (d. 348/959–60), the leading Baghdadi collector of Sufi sayings, as denying that he was a Sufi.⁴⁰ I have noticed one apparent quotation by Khargūshī (532 493):

Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī was asked about the *abdāl*. He said, “They are called *abdāl* only because they substituted for every trait that distances one from God a trait that joined them to him”.

This has a partial parallel in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī’s *Nawādir al-uṣūl*, in which he states,⁴¹

36 On the Sālīmiyya, v. for now Louis Massignon, *Essay on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism*, trans. Benjamin Clark (Notre Dame, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1997), 199–203, probably overcorrected by *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn, s.v. “Sālīmiyya”, by L. Massignon and B. Radtke, and Gerhard Böwering, “Early Sufism between persecution and heresy”, *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, 45–67, at 61–3.

37 Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb*, 299 271; Sarrāj, *The Kitāb al-Luma’ fi ‘l-taṣawwuf*, ed. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Ser. 22, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1914, repr. London: Luzac, 1963), 195–6.

38 Nicholson, Introduction, *Luma’*, x–xi. Louis Massignon went so far as to assert that Sarrāj was the third head of the Sālīmiyya: *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj*, trans. Herbert Mason, 4 vols (Bollingen Series 98, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 2: 130.

39 For a letter from Ḥallāj (al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr) to Ibn ‘Aṭā’, v. Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb*, 538 499; noted by Massignon, *Passion* 3: 337. Massignon also quotes a couplet from the Berlin MS (*lā kuntu in kuntu adrī kayfa ‘l-sabīlu ilaykā . . .*) that Khargūshī attributes to himself in the printed edition, 386 354; Massignon, *Passion* 3:348. On the death of Ibn ‘Aṭā’, v. Sarrāj, *Luma’*, 211, and Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* 8: 128 = ed. Ma‘rūf, 8:706–7.

40 Sviri, “Ḥakīm Tirmidhī”; Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 454.

41 Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *Nawādir al-uṣūl* (Istanbul, 1294; repr. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), 70–1.

They are called *abdāl* for only two reasons. One reason is that every time a man dies, another takes his place to complete the forty. The other reason is that they have substituted for their bad traits . . . until their comely traits have become an ornament to their works.

He sounds considerably more mystical in *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, but then, first, the *Nawādir* is probably an early work and certainly hadith-oriented, not mystically; secondly, Tirmidhī undoubtedly wrote as a mystic later in life. Therefore, the quotation may be accurate. Khargūshī does not discuss one thesis over which al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī was condemned, mainly that saints were superior to prophets.

The most famous conflict between ascetical and mystical Muslims was the persecution of Ḥallāj and his followers, which Khargūshī omits to mention. Perhaps the most momentous for the shaping of the Sufī tradition (*pace* Massignon) was the Inquisition of Ghulām Khalīl in 264/877–8.⁴² Khargūshī does mention this one, relating an account of it from Ibn ‘Aṭā’ previously known from Ibn al-Jawzī.⁴³ But it is a curiously inexact account, mentioning Junayd’s saving himself by identifying with Abū Thawr the jurist but not naming Ghulām Khalīl, the caliph al-Mu‘tamid, or the qadī Ismā‘īl ibn Iṣḥāq: plainly, Khargūshī included it mainly to extol the Sufī al-Nūrī (d. 295/907–8).

Occasionally, Khargūshī allows renunciants to show up traditionists and jurists. The example of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal’s embarrassment has been mentioned already. Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/777?) has the last word in an exchange with the Medinese traditionist Ibn Abī Dhi‘b (d. 159/775–6?): Ibn Abī Dhi‘b advised Sufyān, “Have many friends in order to escape with one”, to which Sufyān replied, “Leave friends and you will escape with one”, meaning yourself (533 494). I have noticed one example of a prominent renunciant’s disparaging another. Abū Yazīd al-Baṣṭāmī (d. 261/875?) is told how Yaḥyā ibn Mu‘ādh al-Rāzī (d. 258/872) had worn wool and rags early on but taken to wearing silk and linen later in life. Abū Yazīd comments, “Poor man: he hadn’t patience with want (*al-dūn*) – how will he have patience with good fortune” (*bakht*; 260–1 234).⁴⁴ Khargūshī often quotes Yaḥyā ibn Mu‘ādh with approval, but he was marginal to the Nishapurian Malāmatī line to which Khargūshī

42 So Christopher Melchert, “The transition from asceticism to mysticism at the middle of the ninth century C.E.”, *Studia Islamica*, 83, 1996, 51–70, esp. 65–6. For this Inquisition, v. also Massignon, *Passion* 1: 80–1; Carl Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 101; Richard Gramlich, *Alte Vorbilder des Sufitums 1: Scheiche des Westens* (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 42/1, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 383; and Sebastian Günther and Maher Jarrar, “Gulām Ḥalīl und das *Kitāb Sharḥ as-sunnā*”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 153, 2003, 11–36, at 23–5.

43 Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb*, 286–7 258–9; cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Naqd al-‘ilm wa-l-‘ulamā’* (n.p.: Idārat al-Ṭibā‘a al-Muniriyya, 1368), 167 = *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. Khayr al-Dīn ‘Alī (Beirut: Dār al-Wa‘y al-‘Arabī, n.d.), 193 = *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. ‘Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1414/1994), 225.

44 Almost the same *apud* Sarraj, *Luma‘*, 188, suggesting that Khargūshī was quoting from memory.

adhered: he was disciple to Aḥmad ibn Ḥarb (d. 234/849?), who was apparently master to Ibn Karām (d. 255/869), for whom the Malāmātiyya's main local rivals were named, and a school of the Murji'a were later said to have been named for him, suggesting that he was also a Ḥanafī in law, like Ibn Karām and his followers.⁴⁵ Abū Yazīd was not from Nishapur, but Khargūshī quotes him from time to time, Sulamī does precisely to illustrate Malāmāti doctrine, so evidently Khargūshī thought it appropriate to have him express contempt for Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh.⁴⁶ (Qushayrī likewise quotes Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh often but also another rebuke from Abū Yazīd.⁴⁷) On the whole, however, Khargūshī's outlook must be termed irenic.

It has been noted already that our biographies do not tell us expressly who was Khargūshī's master in Sufism. It was famously in the eleventh century that regular methods of training disciples were formalized.⁴⁸ Qushayrī's *Risāla* concludes with a full account of the new training programme (*bāb al-waṣīyya lil-murīdīn*), with rules for such steps as the master's assignment of divine names for different novices to recite when each is ready and according to each one's particular need. By contrast, Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb*, like Sarrāj, *Luma'*, knows little of the new concern. This is a point on which Sulamī seems only somewhat more advanced. On the one hand, he is careful to point out whose disciples most of the subjects of his biographical dictionary were, usually using the verb *ṣaḥiba*. On the other hand, his *Adāb al-ṣuḥba* is mainly about relations with fellows (*ikhwān*), partly with inferiors (women, the people of the market, servants), and not relations between master and disciple.⁴⁹ Perhaps the best illustration of Khargūshī's unconcern is a quotation of Junayd (27 13):

Sufism is built on eight characteristics: generosity (*sakhā'*), contentment (*riḍā*), patience (*ṣabr*), allusion (*ishāra*), estrangement (*ghurba*), wearing

45 On the question of his discipleship, v. Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* 19 (A.H. 251–60): 310, quoting al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī; also Chabbi, "Mouvements", 30, inferring the same from his being buried next to Aḥmad ibn Ḥarb; cf. Massignon, *Essay*, 180–2, identifying him directly with Ibn Karām himself. For the opposition of the Karāmiyya to the Malāmātiyya, see note 14 above. Medieval sources are indecisive between "Ibn Karrām" and "Ibn Karām". Recent scholars have usually chosen the former, but I incline towards the latter because of two lines of poetry that demand *takḥfīf* for metrical consistency: al-Zarkashī, *al-Kitāb 'alā Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*, ed. Zayn al-'Ābidīn ibn Muḥammad Bilā Furayj, 4 vols (Riyadh: Maktabat Aḍwā' al-Salaf, 1419/1998), 2: 288–9. For the Murji' connection, v. al-Maqdisī, *Le livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. and trans. M. Cl. Huart, 6 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1919), 5: 153 (Fr.) = 145 (Ar.).

46 For quotations of Abū Yazīd, v. 'Affī, *Malāmātiyya*, 91–2, 94–5, 96–7 (twice), 101–2, 106 (twice), 115.

47 V. Qushayrī, *al-Risāla, bāb al-ṣaḥw wa-'l-shukr = Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism*, trans. Alexander D. Knysh, rev. Muhammad Eissa (Great Books of Islamic Civilization, Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2007), 95. Qushayrī also relates how Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh once spoke on the superiority of wealth to poverty, whereupon he was given 30,000 dirhams, which provoked an unnamed shaykh to pray that God not bless him in it, the 30,000 then being stolen (biography of Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh = Knysh, trans., 35).

48 The classic account is Meier, "Khurāsān". V. also Karamastufa, *Sufism*, ch. 5.

49 Sulamī, *Kitāb Adāb al-ṣuḥba*, ed. M. J. Kister (Oriental Notes and Studies 6, Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society, 1954).

wool, wandering (*siyāha*), and poverty (*faqr*). Generosity belongs to Ibrāhīm, contentment to Ishāq, patience to Ayyūb, allusion to Zakariyyā', estrangement to Yaḥyā, wearing wool to Mūsā, wandering to 'Īsā, and poverty to our prophet Muḥammad

Two centuries later, these had evidently evolved into Junayd's eight rules: constant ritual purity, constant withdrawal (*khalwa*), constant fasting, constant silence, constant recollection of God, constant rejection of stray thoughts, constant binding of the heart to the master, and constant non-opposition to God and the master.⁵⁰ The later version of Junayd's eight rules is plainly the one suited to systematic training under a master, comprising mostly exercises a master might assign a novice. Khargūshī's quotation is more in the old line – as old as renunciation – of putting moral qualities above technique.

Khargūshī is sometimes guilty of projecting back (or accepting earlier Sufis' projecting back) later attitudes on early authorities. For example, he quotes al-Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803) in the section on audition: "It is meet for the auditor to be absent as a witness but not to be a witness absent from its meaning" (332 301). In other words, it is acceptable that a Sufi should lose consciousness of himself as he listens but not that he should consciously attend without experiencing the inward transformation to which audition properly conduces. The institution of Sufi audition can scarcely be made out earlier than the middle of the ninth century, and biographies of Fuḍayl elsewhere indicate no propensity to mystical psychologizing in this fashion.⁵¹

There is a certain ineluctable anachronism in Khargūshī's habit of beginning sections with quotations of the Prophet. But it usually drives him not to invent, rather to stretch points. For example, a section on mystical union (*jam'*), a concept from the second half of the ninth century, begins with the Prophet's telling the story of a wicked man who thought he could evade God's judgement by commanding his body to be burnt on his death and the ashes scattered over land and sea. God commanded the land and sea to gather (*jama'a*) what was in them, so the man was reconstituted. But when the man answered that he had done this from fear of God (*min khashyatika yā rabbī*), God forgave him (379 347).⁵² This does not make out the Prophet as discussing mystical union, and there is nothing anachronistic in the quotations that follow, from al-Rūḍhabārī (d. 322/933–4), Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Muzayyin (d. 328/939–40; twice), Abū 'Uthmān, Bundār ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 353/964–5; three times), Khayr al-Nassāj (d. 322/933–4), Nūrī, al-Abharī (d. 330/941–2), Junayd, and Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. after 320/932), besides one of whose identity

50 Bernd Radtke, "The eight rules of Junayd", *Reason and Inspiration in Islam*, ed. Todd Lawson (London: Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2005), 490–502, particularly 492.

51 On the origins of *samā'* in the mid-ninth century, v. Jean During, "Musique et rites: le *samā'*", *Les voies d'Allah*, ed. Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Fayard, 1996), 157–72, esp. 159; Arthur Gribetz, "The *samā'* controversy", *Studia Islamica*, 74, 1991, 43–62, esp. 44. On Fuḍayl, v. Jacqueline Chabbi, "Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ, un précurseur du Ḥanbalisme", *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 30, 1978, 331–45.

52 Cf., among other parallels, Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, k. *aḥādīth al-anbiyā'* 50, *bāb mā dhukira 'an Banī Isrā'īl*, no. 3452, also 3479; more distant variants at k. *al-riqāq* 25, *bāb al-khawf min Allāh*, nos. 6480–1.

I am not sure, Abū Sa‘d al-Qurashī, unless he is Abū Sa‘īd ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 340/952?).⁵³

Usually, the principle of difference confirms what Khargūshī quotes of early figures, even if, like other Sufī writers, he usually eschews *asānīd*, documenting his sources. That is, his polemical interest lies in exaggerating the continuity between eighth-century renunciant piety and the Sufism of his own day. Therefore, quotations to the contrary, showing historical change from the eighth century to the tenth, gain credibility. For example, his implicit acknowledgement that early figures did not discuss mystical union (*jam‘*) is credible, his lone ascription of a comment on audition to someone from the eighth century is not credible, his listing only eighth-century figures in a short section on those for whom no bedding was laid is credible (470–431). In general, this criterion makes works in the hadith tradition (e.g. Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’* and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Zuhd*) appear to be the most reliable testimony to eighth-century piety.

I recall no attempt to explain why Sufī authors such as Khargūshī preserved so much of the pre-Sufi renunciant tradition despite its disagreeing with theirs. In part, presumably, the austerities and attitudes of eighth-century renunciants served to illustrate and inspire those of novices in their day. In part, presumably, it also served to justify odd behaviour of their own. For example, I point to a short section devoted to preparations for spending all night in devotions (469–430). First is a story of the Companion ‘Imrān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, after whose death it transpired that he had been in the habit of dressing in wool and praying all night, then changing it for cotton at daybreak. Next is a story of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s having a hairshirt and iron collar in a basket, which he would pull out and wear for the second half of the night, weeping and crying out in a special chamber until daybreak, then putting them away to go out. Finally, we hear of an anonymous Khurasani who would put on his best clothes at night-fall. His wife observed that other people would put on their best clothes in the morning, before they went to their places of trade (*aswāq*). He answered, “I am going to my place of trade” and proceeded to his place of worship (*miḥrāb*). There are many stories in other sources establishing that secret worship, uncomfortable clothing, and night-time devotions were common features of eighth-century devotional life, although the assignment of these particular devotions to a Companion and a caliph may be doubted. Khargūshī’s contemporary likewise performs devotions at night, not surprising in a Sufī. (The Sufis were known, after all, for little food, little sleep, and little speech.) But he dresses well for his devotions, in exact opposition to the earlier figures in this section. (Also, what he does in his fine clothes is presumably to praise God, not to abuse himself.) The stories of the two early figures justify social nonconformity in the recent one, however different many details.

53 Where I have *al-Nūrī*, the printed editions have rather *al-Thawrī*, which does sound anachronistic. Cf. Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 153, where the same quotation (“Joining with the truth is parting with all else, while parting with all else is joining with it”) is attributed to Nūrī. On Ibn al-A‘rābī, v. *GAS* 1: 660–1 and Dhahabī, *Tārīkh* 25 (A.H. 331–50): 184–6, with additional references. Khargūshī cites him seldom but he admittedly does use the form *Abū Sa‘īd ibn al-A‘rābī*, e.g. 395–362.

Some points are admittedly difficult to call. I have noticed more quotations here than elsewhere about fear in connection with prescribed rituals. For example, here are three from a section on the pilgrimage (§31/5, *ft dhikr al-hajj*, 241–9 217–24). Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795) is quoted as saying (244 219),

I was with Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad al-Šādiq. When he wished to say *labbayk*, his face changed and he shook with fear (*irta‘adat farā’iṣuh*). I asked him, “What is wrong with you, son of the Messenger of God . . .?” He said, “I wished to say *labbayk*”. I said, “Why have you stopped?” He said, “I fear to hear a bad answer”.

Al-Fuḍayl ibn ‘Iyāḍ was asked, “What do you say of someone who wishes to say *labbayk* but is unable from fear that he should be told *lā labbayk*?” He said, “I should say that no one would say *labbayk* at that place as he said it” (244 219). Ja‘far ibn Sulaymān al-Ḍuba‘ī (Basran, d. 178/794–5) relates being with Mālik ibn Dīnār (Basran, d. c. 130/747–8) in Mecca, “When he went to say *labbayk*, he fell down. We said to him, ‘Abū Yahyā, what is the matter with you?’ He said, ‘I feared to be told *lā labbayka lā labbayk*’” (247 222). Then we have a story from Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Jallā’ (Syrian, d. 306/918; 247 222):

I was at Dhū ‘l-Hūlayfah with a youth who wished to enter the sacral state. He would say, “My Lord, I wish to say *labbayka Allāhumma labbayk*, but I fear that you will answer me *lā labbayk* and *lā sa‘dayk*”. He repeated that many times. Then he said, *labbayka Allāhumma*, stretching out his voice. Then his spirit departed.

Shall we suppose that fear to speak to God belongs to the early tenth century, while the other stories, especially the one about the celebrities Mālik and Ja‘far al-Šādiq, are back projections? Or shall we suppose that the most extravagant story, of someone’s death from sheer terror of being condemned, is most likely fictitious, an attempt to top stories of earlier figures that had circulated for many years before? It would seem safest to me to consider all three to be stories, doubtfully documenting the actual personalities of Mālik ibn Dīnār and Ja‘far al-Šādiq but historically valuable as expressing real ambivalence about addressing God in the periods in which they are set.

Khargūshī’s influence was not great. Not he but his contemporary Sulamī is the one continually quoted by the most prominent later writers; for example, Abū Nu‘aym and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in the hadith tradition, Qushayrī in the Sufi. However, Khargūshī was evidently a major source for the author of *‘Ilm al-qulūb*, a work dubiously attributed to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī.⁵⁴

54 Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (attrib.), *‘Aṣmāl al-nabiyyīn wa-’l-salaf wa-’l-ṣāliḥīn min thamarāt ‘ilm al-qulūb*, ed. Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm Ḥamza and ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Duqr (Damascus: Maktabat al-Fārābī, 1998/1419) = *‘Ilm al-qulūb*, ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad ‘Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2004/1424); Naṣr Allāh Pūrjavādī, “Bāzmāndahā’yi kitāb-i *al-Ishāra wa-’l-‘ibāra*-yi Abū Sa‘d-i Khargūshī dar kitāb-i *‘Ilm al-qulūb*”, *Ma‘ārif*, 15/3, 1999, 34–41.

Arberry points out Khargūshī's dependence on Sarrāj, *al-Luma*^c. Khargūshī offers fewer explanations than does Sarrāj, and some of his explanations, as Arberry shows, are repeated from the *Luma*^c verbatim, although without acknowledgement. Arberry states that there is no need to publish the *Tahdhīb*, at least on the sole basis of the Berlin manuscript, on account of its adding so little to what we know from Sarrāj. We must agree with him that Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-awliyā'* and Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* were more useful texts to edit and publish. Even Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-islām*, adds more to our knowledge of the early history of Sufism than *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, thanks to its copious quotations from Ibn al-A'rābī and al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, whose biographical dictionaries are otherwise mostly lost.

The value of *Tahdhīb al-asrār* is still considerable. First, it does provide us with much additional evidence of Islamic piety from the first Islamic century to the end of the fourth. That evidence must be treated with caution, especially concerning the first two centuries, but the *Tahdhīb* appears to be as reliable as other Sufi sources. Secondly, it broadens our knowledge of Khurasani Sufism at the turn of the eleventh century. In particular, it makes Sarrāj's outlook appear less unconventional than has been suspected and reduces our dependence on Sulamī to inform us of Sufi thought in Nishapur at that time. From the historian's point of view, Khargūshī's unoriginality is not troubling, for we need evidence of what was commonplace as well as evidence of the extraordinary. Indeed, as Arberry concludes, "no complete history of Ṣūfism will ever be written that does not take into account the manual of Khargūshī".⁵⁵

55 Arberry, "Khargūshī's manual", 349.