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RENUNCIATION (*ZUHD*) IN THE EARLY SHI'I TRADITION

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Both the Sunni and Shi'i parties will tend to see themselves as coherent bodies from the time of the First Civil War. Actually, the people who called themselves *ahl al-sunna wa-al-jamā'a* were one party among many till the later ninth century. Indeed, as Marshall Hodgson has observed, the term *sunni* continued to have multiple applications (opposition to Shi'ism, opposition to *kalām*, and opposition to Sufism) long after it became the majority party in the later ninth century, each of these multiple applications a vestige of its time as a minority party before then.¹ Shi'ism, on the other hand, had a natural principle of self-identification according to which imam any group supported. Here as well, though, lines were much blurred compared with later; for example, consider the 'Abbāsids' various tacks, first supporting 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiya on the Zaydi principle that the proper ruler was whichever member of the House was militarily successful, then themselves on the same principle, later still invoking rather the Rāfiḍi principle of *naṣṣ* designation.²

From the eleventh century CE, Sunni-Shi'i interaction takes the familiar form of the Sunni majority ignoring the Shi'i minority while the minority pays wary attention to

¹ Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam* (Chicago, 1973), 1:278fn. The formation of Sunnism across the ninth century still awaits a specialist monograph, but v. provisionally John B. Henderson, *The construction of orthodoxy and heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and early Christian patterns* (Albany, 1998), esp. p. 53 on the chronology of Sunnism.

² V. Patricia Crone, 'On the meaning of the 'Abbasid call to *al-riḍā*', in C. E. Bosworth, et al., eds., *Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 95–111, and Claude Cahen, 'Points de vue sur la revolution 'abbāsīde', *Revue historique*, 230 (1963), pp. 295–338.

the majority.³ Again, however, there was much blurring of lines before then. The depth of support for the House of the Prophet forced mature Sunnism to recognise 'Alī as fourth caliph and fourth best Companion, an impressive list of Sunni heroes were remembered as preferring 'Alī to 'Uthmān, and Sunni *rijāl* criticism did not rely on a single category of 'Shi'i' but distinguished between *tashayyu* ', which had to be overlooked, and *rafḍ*, which usually rendered someone's testimony unacceptable.⁴ Not only is the ninth-century split between traditionalists and semi-rationalists observable within both Sunni and Shi'i camps, it appears to be continuous with tenth-century Ḥanbali-Shi'i strife, at least in Baghdad.⁵

The present study is concerned with the early development of Islamic piety, particularly renunciation (*zuhd*).⁶ In the later ninth century, this issued into classical

³ e.g. Sunni views are included in al-Ṭūsī Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa (d. 460/1067?), *al-Khilāf*, ed. 'Alī al-Khurāsānī, et al. (Qum, 1416-1421), but Shi'i views are not in, among others, al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 507/1114), *Ḥilyat al-'ulamā' fī ma'rifat madhāhib al-fuqahā'*, ed. Yāsīn Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Darādaka (Amman, 1988).

⁴ On 'Alī as fourth best, v. Christopher Melchert, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 94–98. Ibn Qutayba provides a long list of Sunni heroes remembered as Shī'a (i.e. preferring 'Alī to 'Uthmān): *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, 6th ed. (Cairo, 1992), p. 624. On *rijāl* criticism, v. among other studies Liyakatali Takim, 'Evolution in the biographical profiles of two ḥadīth transmitters', in L. Clarke, ed., *Shī'ite heritage* (Binghamton, N.Y., 2001), pp. 285–299. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal said that all Kufans had preferred 'Alī to 'Uthmān except two: Ṭalḥa ibn Muṣarrif (d. 112/730–731?) and 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs (d. 192/807–808): Aḥmad, *K. al-'Ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Waṣī Allāh ibn Muḥammad 'Abbās (Beirut, 1988), 2:535 = *K. al-Jāmi' fī l-'ilal wa-ma'rifat al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusām Bayḍūn (Beirut, 1410/1990), 2:47 (references to the latter ed. henceforth in *italic*). Kufans comprise a little more than two-thirds of the names on Ibn Qutayba's list.

⁵ Christopher Melchert, 'The Imāmīs between rationalism and traditionalism', in *Shī'ite heritage*, pp. 273–283.

⁶ I prefer 'renunciation', proposed by Michael Cooperson, to the more conventional 'asceticism' because I consider it useful to maintain a consistent distinction between *asceticism* and *mysticism*, as sketched in Christopher Melchert, 'The transition from asceticism to mysticism at the middle of the ninth century C.E.', *Studia Islamica*, 83 (1996), pp. 51–70. Actually, it is

Sufism, which the Shi'is were slow to take up.⁷ The traditional explanation has been that Shi'is were reluctant to recognise the Sufi master as a charismatic figure for fear that he would rival the imam. That is why the present Colloquium has sections for Law, Qur'an, and Hadith but not Sufism, as a survey of Sunni Islam surely would. The present study will mainly address not Shi'i attitudes toward classical Sufism, rather toward the renunciation that went before. My principal finding is that this also is an area where lines were blurred. There is little to distinguish professed Shi'i ideas of renunciation from early Sunni ideas. It is only with the Sufi era in Sunnism, from the late ninth century forward, that Sunni and Shi'i ideas about piety appear to significantly diverge.

Sources.

My main source on the Shi'i side is al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941?), *al-Kāfī*, the first large Twelver collection of hadith, secondarily al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974), *Da'ā'im al-islām*, the principal handbook of Ismaili law. (Citation of this source may justify inclusion of this article in the section on Law. Furthermore, juridical handbooks such as the *Da'ā'im* are concerned mainly with identifying actions as required, recommended, indifferent, discouraged, or forbidden. Inasmuch as renunciant literature is about identifying the recommended and discouraged, it also is juridical.) My main sources on the Sunni side are Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), *al-Zuhd*, in the recension of al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 246/860-1); Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849), *al-Muṣannaf*, in the recension of Baqī ibn Makhlad (d. 276/889) but without additions from him; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), *al-Zuhd*, in the recension of his son 'Abd Allāh; and Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1038), *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*. The first three obviously predate my main Shi'i sources by one to three generations. The last is from a century later. However, Abū Nu'aym always names his sources and frequently quotes these earlier collectors, along with a few others such as Wakī' ibn al-Jarrāḥ, which quotations can be checked and continually prove accurate. Therefore, I am inclined to consider Abū Nu'aym a

Arabic *ijtihād* that corresponds most closely to Greek *askēsis*, while Arabic *zuhd* corresponds most closely to Greek *apatheia*.

⁷ For an up-to-date historical survey, v. Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism* (Edinburgh, 2007).

faithful transmitter of earlier knowledge, as reliable a guide to renunciation as it was remembered in the ninth century as the ninth-century collectors themselves whose works are extant. How reliably he and our ninth-century sources represent renunciation as it was thought of and practised in the early eighth century and before is of course a separate question.

It is regrettable that we have so little Shi‘i material from the ninth century. I have consulted two collections specifically of renunciant sayings, al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa‘īd al-Ahwāzī (*fl.* earlier third/ninth cent.), *al-Mu‘min*, and Muḥammad ibn Hammām al-Iskāfī (d. 336/947-948), *al-Tamhīṣ*.⁸ Both are short and specialised (Ahwāzī offers encouragements of fraternal love, Ibn Hammām disparagements of this world) and will not be further cited. They do both confirm that the Twelver tradition attributed renunciant sayings especially to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. From Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī we have two modern studies with very interesting titles: *al-Fikr al-shī‘ī wa’l-naza‘āt al-ṣūfiyya* (‘Shi‘i thought and Sufi tendencies’) and *al-Ṣila bayna al-taṣawwuf wa’l-tashayyū‘* (‘the relation between Sufism and Shi‘ism’).⁹ For the most part, I have found him to offer interesting although often doubtful characterizations of Sufism and its antecedents (for example, valiant attempts to identify styles of renunciation peculiar to Syria, Kufa, and Basra) but little on early Shi‘ism.

The community defined by piety.

The early Shī‘a certainly professed themselves to be interested in piety. They were defined, of course, by their recognising the correct imam. ‘He who dies without knowing the imam of his time dies a Jāhili death’ was a leading principle of theirs, although one that Sunni Muslims might also accept.¹⁰ But we are also told that

⁸ Al-Ahwāzī, *al-Mu‘min* (Qum, 1404/1363 sh.) and Ibn Hammām, *al-Tamhīṣ* (Qum, n.d.).

⁹ Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Fikr al-shī‘ī wa’l-naza‘āt al-ṣūfiyya* (Baghdad, 1386/1966); *al-Ṣila bayna al-taṣawwuf wa’l-tashayyū‘* (Baghdad, 1382-1383/1963-1964).

¹⁰ Hodgson, *Venture* 2:348. Cf. al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, k. *al-rawḍa* = ed. ‘Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, corr. Muḥammad al-Ākhundī (Tehran, 1389-1391), 8:146, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad imām al-muḥaddithīn* (Cairo, 1313/1895), 4:96 = *Musnad al-imām*, ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arna’ūt, et al. (Beirut, 1413-21/1993-2001), 28:88–89 (references to the latter ed. henceforth in *italic*).

Muḥammad al-Bāqir declared, ‘Our party (*shī‘a*) is nothing but whoever obeys God (mighty and glorious is he).’¹¹ More elaborately, he is given as explaining,¹²

Does it suffice for one who adheres to *tashayyu‘* that he speak of his love for the people of the house? By God, our party is nothing but whoever fears God and obeys him. They are known by humility, submissiveness, honesty, much recollecting God, fasting, prayer, filial piety, keeping faith with poor neighbours and the indigent, debt-ridden, and orphans, truthful speech, reciting the Qur’an, and speaking only good of people Whoever is obedient to God is our friend and whoever is rebellious toward God is our enemy.

This is actually going a little further than definitions of Sunnism. Before Sunni and Shi‘i were distinct, ‘the Muslims’ and ‘the pious’ might be identified, as in a saying ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728): ‘The good has gone and the bad remains. Whoever is left of the Muslims is dejected.’¹³ Even more often, ‘believer’ is equated with ‘pious’; e.g. when the Companion Ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 32/652–653?) is quoted as saying, ‘The believer (*mu‘min*) sees his sins as if he were sitting at the foot of a mountain, fearing that it should fall over onto him, whereas the reprobate (*fājir*) thinks his sins are like a fly that passes by his nose.’¹⁴ But note also express reluctance to identify Sunnism with

Admittedly, Sunni collections usually stress versions that warn ‘whoever dies apart from the *jamā‘a* dies a Jāhili death’; e.g. Aḥmad, *Musnad* 1:275, 297, 2:70, 3:445–446, 5:387 4:290–291, 9:284–286, 24:452, 459–463, 38:319–320, 324–325. Aḥmad himself glossed ‘the imam of his time’ as ‘he of whom all the Muslims say “This is an imam”’: Ibn Hānī, *Masā’il al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh (Beirut, 1400), 2:185.

¹¹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-īmān wa’l-kufr*, *bāb al-tā‘a wa’l-taqwā*, 2:73.

¹² *Ibid.*, 2:74–5.

¹³ Aḥmad, *al-Zuhd*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Qāsim (Mecca, 1357), p. 258 = (repr. Beirut, 1403/1983), p. 316 (references to the latter ed. . henceforth in *italic*).

¹⁴ Ibn al-Mubārak, *al-Zuhd wa’l-raqā‘iq*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘ẓamī (Malegaon, 1386; repr. with different pagination Beirut, 1419/1998), no 69; also in Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, k.

a renunciant lifestyle, also anxiety over heretical renunciants; for example, in another saying attributed to Ibn Mas‘ūd, ‘Moderate exertion (*iqtiṣād*) in the Sunna is better than strenuous exertion (*ijtihād*) in innovation.’¹⁵ Sunnism crystallised in the late eighth century and across the ninth, by which time the Muslims were no longer a tiny minority at the top of society living off tribute, hence by which time no majoritarian party could demand a style of life that would interfere with making a living or, indeed, that would disqualify ordinary persons. On this point, Kulaynī apparently preserves the outlook of an earlier generation of Muslims better than his Sunni contemporaries. He could afford to when Shi‘ism remained safely minoritarian.

Fear of God.

Muḥammad al-Bāqir begins his definition of the righteous Shi‘a by describing them as those who fear God. According to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, ‘God spoke to Moses saying, “My servants have not approached me by anything that I like better than three characters.” Moses said, “O my lord, what are they?” He said, “Moses, renunciation of the world, precaution regarding sins, and weeping from fear (*khashya*) of me.”’¹⁶ The literary form is certainly familiar. As for dialogue between God and an early prophet, I might mention a typical report from Abū Fazāra Rāshid ibn Kaysān, a late Kufan Follower: ‘I have heard that Dāwūd asked his lord, “My lord, indicate to me a work that will bring

al-da‘awāt 4, *bāb al-tawba*, no 6308; Ibn Mas‘ūd < Prophet in Aḥmad, *Musnad* 1:383 6:131–632.

¹⁵ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 159 198. *Iqtiṣād* means literally sticking to the middle of the road. *Ijtihād*, with which it is here contrasted, is the Arabic term that corresponds most closely to Greek *askēsis*. A similar statement is attributed to another Companion, Ubayy ibn Ka‘b (d. 32/652–653?), in Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 8 among additions from Nu‘aym ibn Ḥammād, also Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’* (Cairo, 1352–1357/1932–1938), 1:252. An Ismaili source admittedly attributes a similar statement to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq: ‘A little work in the *sunna* is better than much work in innovation’ (al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im al-islām*, k. *al-ṣalāt* 24, *dhikr ṣalāt al-sunna wa’l-nāfila*, ed. Asaf Ali Asghar Fyzee [Cairo, 1379–1383/1960–1963, repr. Damascus, n.d.], 1:216).

¹⁶ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-du‘ā’*, *bāb al-bukā’*, 2:482–483.

me into Paradise.” He said, “Prefer my fancy (*hawā*) to yours.”¹⁷ As for the number three, Muḥammad ibn Ka‘b al-Quraṣī (Medinese, also l. Kufa, d. 120/737–738 or bef.) said, ‘If God wishes well for a servant, he puts three characters in him: discernment in the faith, renunciation of the world, and sightedness concerning his faults.’¹⁸ There are many Sunni descriptions of weeping from fear of God. Sometimes the Prophet, sometimes Abū Hurayra (d. 58/677–678?), is quoted as saying, ‘He will not enter the Fire who weeps from fear (*khashya*) of God, until the milk returns into the teat.’¹⁹ ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Amr (d. Mecca? 63/683?), seen weeping, said, ‘Do you wonder that I should weep from fear of God? If you are not weeping, pretend to weep, until one of you says *ayh, ayh*. This moon weeps from fear of God (be he exalted).’²⁰ Many more such quotations could be cited in addition to these.

Both Shi‘i and Sunni literatures are concerned with balancing hope and fear. Kulaynī quotes Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq as saying the believer has both hope and fear in his heart. ‘If this were weighed, it would not outweigh that, and if that were weighed, it would not outweigh this.’²¹ Compare Muṭarrif ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Shikhhīr (Basran, d. 95/713–714): ‘If the believer’s fear and hope were weighed, neither would outweigh the

¹⁷ Al-Khuttalī, *K. al-Maḥabba lillāh*, in Bernd Radtke, ed., *Materialien zur alten islamischen Frömmigkeit* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 108–109; sim., Ibn Qutayba, *al-‘Uyūn wa’l-akhbār* (Cairo, 1343-1349/1925-1930), 2:263.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 282.

¹⁹ From the Prophet: Aḥmad, *Musnad* 2:505 16:330–331; Hannād, *K. al-Zuhd*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Faryawā’ī (Kuwayt, 1406/1985), 1:268, Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, k. *al-zuhd* 8, *bāb mā jā’a fī faḍl al-bukā’ min khashyat Allāh*, no 2311. From Abū Hurayrah: Wakī‘, *K. al-Zuhd*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Faryawā’ī (Riyadh, 1415/1994), 1:249–250; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 178 222–223; al-Nasā’ī, *al-Mujtabā*, *bāb faḍl man ‘amila fī sabīl Allāh ‘alā qadamih*.

²⁰ Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, k. *al-zuhd* 92, *mā qālū fī ‘l-bukā’ min khashyat Allāh*; ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Jum‘a and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Luḥayḍān (Riyadh, 1425/2004), 12:425.

²¹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-īmān wa’l-kufr*, *bāb al-khawf wa’l-rajā’*, 2:67.

other.’²² Similarly, Maṭar ibn Ṭahmān (Basran, d. 125/742–743?) is quoted as saying, ‘If the believer’s fear and hope were weighed in the balance, neither would be found to exceed the other at all.’²³ The Sunni literature provides some sayings in favour of letting fear outweigh hope, more in favour of letting hope outweigh fear, but the predominant sentiment seems to be that hope and fear should be evenly balanced. The wise man Luqmān is quoted as saying to his son, ‘Hope in God without feeling safe from his trickery (*makr*). Fear God without despairing of his mercy.’ His son said, ‘How can I do that, father, when I have only one heart?’ Luqmān replied, ‘My son, the believer is like one with two hearts, one heart with which to wish and one heart with which to fear.’²⁴ The Prophet is quoted as saying, ‘If the unbeliever knew all that God has of mercy, he would not despair of Paradise, while if the Muslim knew all that God has of torment, he would not feel safe from Hellfire.’²⁵

Weeping, no laughing.

To this day, weeping is a prominent feature of Shi‘i devotions. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is quoted as saying, ‘If you are not weeping, pretend to weep.’²⁶ He is also quoted as approving a specific technique to stimulate weeping. One Ishāq ibn ‘Ammār told him, ‘It happens that I pray and wish to weep but it does not come. Often, I have recollected some of my family who have died. Then I soften and weep. Is that permissible?’ Ja‘far answered, ‘Yes, remember them, and if you have softening, then weep and pray to your lord (blessed and exalted is he).’²⁷ In Sunni literature, the Prophet is quoted as saying,

²² Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, pp. 238–239 293; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, k. *al-zuhd* 66, *Muṭarrif ibn al-Shikhkhīr*, 12:344.

²³ Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 3:76.

²⁴ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 912; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, pp. 106–107 132.

²⁵ Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, k. *al-riqāq* 19, *bāb al-rajā’ wa’l-khawf*, no 6469.

²⁶ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-du‘ā’*, *bāb al-rahba wa’l-rahba*, 2:483.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:483.

‘Weep. And if you do not weep, pretend to weep (*fa-in lam tabkū fa-tabākaw*).’²⁸ So is Abū Bakr (d. 13/34): ‘Weep! And if you are not weeping, pretend to weep.’²⁹ Another Companion, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī (d. 50/670–671?), is quoted as saying the same with an explanation: ‘O people, weep. If you do not weep, pretend to weep. The people of the Fire are weeping tears till they are cut off, then they weep blood such that if boats were sent among them, they would float.’³⁰

To the contrary, the Sunni tradition also records doubts about demonstrative weeping. In a book devoted to weeping, Ibn Abī al-Dunyā cites nine examples of disapproval of weeping in public.³¹ The Companion Abū Umāma (d. 100/718–719) reproached someone for weeping and praying in prostration (i.e. in the course of the ritual prayer in the mosque): ‘If only this were in your house.’³² Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was notable for looking always sad, but when a man began to weep loudly in his session, he said, ‘Satan is now making this one weep.’³³ He warned a man who sobbed at a sermon of his, ‘God will surely ask you what you meant by this.’³⁴ A number of other sayings are directed against deliberately induced weeping. Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Kattānī (fl. early 2nd/8th c.?) said, ‘I have heard that weeping is nine-tenths hypocrisy, one-tenth for God, so if it comes to someone for God once a year, that is a lot.’³⁵ Shu‘ayb

²⁸ Ibn Māja, *al-Sunan*, k. *al-zuhd* 19, *bāb al-ḥuzn wa’l-bukā’*, no 4196; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān*, ed. Marwān al-‘Aṭīyya, Muḥsin Kharāba, and Wafā’ Taqī al-Dīn (Damascus, 1415/1995), p. 135; Hannād, *Zuhd* 1:270; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 27 36.

²⁹ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 131; Wakī’, *Zuhd* 1:254; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 108 135; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-zuhd* 92, *mā qālū fī’l-bukā’*, 12:424.

³⁰ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 199 247; sim., Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 1:261.

³¹ Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *al-Riqqa wa’l-bukā’*, ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Beirut, 1416/1996), pp. 53–54.

³² Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 156.

³³ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 274 334.

³⁴ Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 6:305, quoting a lost § of Aḥmad, *Zuhd* (< ‘Al.).

³⁵ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 229 279 (< ‘Al.).

al-Jubbā'ī (Yemeni, *fl.* 1st/8th cent.?) said, 'When a man's reprobation is complete, he gains control of his eyes so that whenever he wishes to weep, he weeps.'³⁶ Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (Basran, d. 110/729), on being asked about those who sobbed on hearing the Qur'an, proposed a test: 'If they were to sit on a wall and the Qur'an was recited to them from beginning to end, if they fell off, then they would be as they say.'³⁷ 'Isā ibn Zādhān (*fl.* earlier 2nd/8th cent.?) predicted, 'There will befall the people a time when Satan lives in people's eyes and whoever wishes to weep will weep.'³⁸ Mālik ibn Dīnār (Basran, d. 130/747–748?) said, 'When a slave has reached perfection in debauchery, he gains control of his eyes.'³⁹ This is explained in an extension attributed to Sufyān al-Thawrī (Kufan, d. 161/777?): 'When a slave has perfected debauchery, he gains control of his eyes so that he weeps with them whenever he wills.'⁴⁰ Weeping at the recitation of the Qur'an is still considered appropriate in Sunni circles today, but weeping is of course much more conspicuous in the course of Shi'i ceremonies such as visiting tombs.

Unsurprisingly, the early Shi'i and Sunni traditions are both sceptical of laughter. In the former, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is quoted as saying, 'The believer's laughter is smiling.'⁴¹ There are many Sunni parallels. Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (Syrian, d. 215/830–831) said, 'The laughter of the knower (*ʿārif*) is smiling.'⁴² Jābir ibn Samura is remembered as saying of the Prophet after the dawn prayer, 'They would converse, taking up the matter of the Jāhiliyya. They would laugh while he would smile.'⁴³ In the

³⁶ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 129; Wakī', *Zuhd* 2:788.

³⁷ Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 2:265.

³⁸ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 275 335.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 322–323 390.

⁴⁰ Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 7:72.

⁴¹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-ʿishra*, *bāb al-duʿāba wa'l-daḥik*, 2:664.

⁴² Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 9:267.

⁴³ Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, k. *al-masājīd* 52, *bāb faḍl al-julūs fī muṣallāh*, no 1525, Kufan *isnād*; *ibid.*, k. *al-faḍā'il* 17, *bāb tabassumuh*, no. 2322; Aḥmad, *Musnad* 5:91 34:431. G. H. A. Juynboll

Shi'i tradition, again, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is quoted again as saying, 'Much laughter kills the heart', also, 'Much laughter dissolves faith as water dissolves salt.'⁴⁴ Compare, in the Sunni tradition, the saying of the Prophet: 'Do not laugh much, for much laughter kills the heart.'⁴⁵ There are many other discouragements of laughing in the Sunni tradition similar to Ja'far's discouragement in the Shi'i. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, 'Much laughter kills the heart.'⁴⁶ Sufyān al-Thawrī said, 'Do not overeat, for it hardens the heart; suppress laughter and do not laugh much, for it kills hearts.'⁴⁷

Kulaynī balances sayings against laughter with encouragements of moderate laughing. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq asked Yūnus al-Shaybānī how their jesting (*mudā'abah*) was. He said, 'Little.' Ja'far said, 'Do not do it. Jestings is part of goodnaturedness (*ḥusn al-khuluq*). It conveys pleasure to your brother. The Messenger of God . . . would jest with a man he wished to please.'⁴⁸ Muḥammad al-Jawād said, 'God (mighty and

ascribes this to Simāk ibn Ḥarb (Kufan, d. 123/740–741): Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of canonical ḥadīth* (Leiden, 2007), p. 566. Jābir ibn Samura is also quoted as describing the Prophet so: 'He would be long silent and laugh little. His companions would mention before him things of poetry and their affairs. They would laugh, while he would often smile' (Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, *al-adab* 70, *bāb mā jā'a fī inshā' al-shi'r*, no 2850; Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad Abī Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī* [Hyderabad, 1321, repr. Beirut, n.d.], no 771; Aḥmad, *Musnad* 5:86 34:405–406). And again from Jābir ibn Samura: 'The Messenger of God's thighs were slender. He did not laugh, only smile' (Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, *al-zuhd* 12, *bāb qawl Ibn Samura*, no 3645; Aḥmad, *Musnad* 5:97, 105 34:466–467 511). V. also Wakī', *Zuhd* 1:266–267.

⁴⁴ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al- 'ishra*, *bāb al-du 'āba wa 'l-ḍaḥik*, 2:664.

⁴⁵ Hannād, *Zuhd* 2:501, 553 (shortened version of same), Basran *isnād*; Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, k. *al-zuhd* 2, *man ittaqā al-maḥārim*, no 2305, Basran *isnād*, different from Hannād's; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, k. *al-zuhd* 19, *bāb al-ḥuzn wa 'l-bukā'*, no 4193, Medinese *isnād*, also k. *al-zuhd* 24, *bāb al-wara' wa 'l-taqwā*, no 4217; Aḥmad, *Musnad* 2:310 13:458–459 with *isnād* like Tirmidhī's; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 1:167.

⁴⁶ Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 2:152.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 7:36.

⁴⁸ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al- 'ishra*, *bāb al-du 'āba wa 'l-ḍaḥik*, 2:663.

glorious is he) likes jesting in a group without indecency (*rafath*).⁴⁹ According to Mūsā al-Kāẓim, ‘Yaḥyā ibn Zakarīyā’ would weep but not laugh, while ‘Īsā ibn Maryam would laugh and weep.’ The narrator’s comment is preserved: ‘It was as if what ‘Īsā did was better than what Yaḥyā did.’⁵⁰ Similarly in the Sunni tradition is to be found praise of laughter over some things. Al-Ḥasan quoted the Prophet as saying,⁵¹

There are two kinds of laughter, laughter that God loves and laughter that God despises. As for the laughter that God loves, it is that a man bare his teeth in the face of his brother on first recognising him, from longing to see him. As for the laughter that God despises, it is that a man speak harshly or meaninglessly, to laugh or to provoke laughter.

Likewise, there is Sunni praise for alternate laughing and weeping. Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn was heard weeping by night, laughing by day.⁵² He would laugh over poetry he recited, then blanch on hearing hadith about the Sunna.⁵³ He often laughed until tears ran.⁵⁴ Ibn al-Mubārak reports a Companion’s observation, ‘I never saw anyone who smiled more than the Messenger of God’, although also observations that the Prophet never laughed, only smiled.⁵⁵ Sometimes, to be sure, the emphasis is on secret weeping, presumptively sincere. Mu‘āwiya ibn Qurra (Basran, d. 113/731–732) said, ‘Who will lead me to one who weeps by night but smiles by day?’⁵⁶ Muḥammad ibn Wāsi‘

⁴⁹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-‘ishra*, *bāb al-du‘āba wa’l-ḍaḥik*, 2:663.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:665.

⁵¹ Hannād, *Zuhd* 2:552.

⁵² Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 2:272.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 2:274, quoting a lost § of Aḥmad, *Zuhd* (< ‘Al.).

⁵⁴ Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 2:274.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, nos 145, 146, 148.

⁵⁶ Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 2:299.

(Basran, d. 123/740–741) would weep by night, then grin in his friends's faces in the morning.⁵⁷

Recollection.

The devotional exercises that Muḥammad al-Bāqir describes begin with 'much recollecting God, fasting, prayer'. 'Recollection' (*dhikr*), so regularly appears in early renunciant literature as something audible that it seems this ought to be taken as its primary meaning. Kulaynī quotes Jaʿfar al-Šādiq as saying, 'Lightning will not strike one who recollects (*al-dhākir*).' On being asked, 'What is a *dhākir*?', he said, 'One who recites one-hundred verses.'⁵⁸ More often, *dhikr* refers to reciting not the Qur'an but short phrases. For example, Jaʿfar al-Šādiq reports that the Prophet would say *astaghfiru 'Llāh* seventy times a day and *atūbu ilā 'Llāh* seventy times a day.⁵⁹ 'Alī al-Riḍā said one-hundred times after the morning prayer and again one-hundred times after the sunset, 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, there is no power or strength save by God, the High, the Great.' He urged that no one quit sunset prayer till he had said this one-hundred times.⁶⁰ According to Jaʿfar al-Šādiq, Fāṭima would say on going to bed *Allāhu akbar* thirty-four times, *al-ḥamdu lillāh* thirty-three times, *subḥāna 'Llāh* thirty-three times, then recite the throne verse, the last two chapters of the Qur'an, and the first and last ten verses of Q. 37 (*al-Šāffāt*).⁶¹ Jaʿfar quoted the Prophet as saying that 'The one who recollects God among the neglectful (*al-dhākir lillāh*, *al-ghāfilīn*) is like the one who fights to protect the ones fleeing (*al-muqātil 'an al-fārrīn*).'⁶² It is easy to find Sunni parallels. The Prophet is quoted as

⁵⁷ Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Riqqa*, p. 70.

⁵⁸ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-du 'ā*, *bāb anna al-šā'iqā lā tuṣību dhākiran*, 2:500.

⁵⁹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, *bāb al-istighfār*, 2:505.

⁶⁰ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-du 'ā*, *bāb al-qawl 'inda al-iṣbāḥ wa-al-imsā*, 2:531–532.

⁶¹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, *bāb al-du 'ā* 'inda *al-nawm*, 2:536.

⁶² Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-du 'ā*, *bāb dhikr Allāh . . . fi 'l-ghāfilīn*, 2:502. A slightly different version on the same page is attributed to Jaʿfar.

saying, 'I ask God's forgiveness and repent to him 100 times a day.'⁶³ A Kufan Follower, 'Awn ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. bef. 120/738), is credited with saying, 'The one who recollects God among the neglectful (*al-dhākir Allāh, al-ghāfilīn*) is like the fighter behind the fleers (*al-fārrīn*).'⁶⁴ Almost the same statement, 'The one who recollects God among the indifferent is like the fighter behind those who have turned to flee (*al-mudbirīn*)', is also attributed to the Basran Ḥassān ibn Abī Sinān (fl. first half 2nd/8th cent.).⁶⁵

The Shi'i tradition expects believers to pray in groups, probably repeating verbal formulae. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is quoted as saying,⁶⁶

There is no group of forty men who meet and pray to God (mighty and glorious is he) concerning a matter save that God will answer them. If they are not forty, then four will not pray to God ten times (mighty and glorious is he) save that God will answer them. If they are not four, then one will not pray to God forty times save that God the mighty and all-powerful will answer him.

He foresees prayer by a designated leader, with his followers to respond by 'Amen' at the end: 'The one who prays and the one who says *āmīn* share in the reward.'⁶⁷

We have abundant evidence from the Sunni tradition of a similar expectation of group prayer. The Prophet is supposed to have said, 'There is no group who have met to recollect God, desiring by that nothing but his face, save that a crier from Heaven cries

⁶³ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-du'ā* 49, *mā dhukira fī l-istighfār*, 10:87.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 357; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* 4:241, quoting a lost § of Aḥmad, *Zuhd*; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-zuhd* 54, *kalām 'Awn ibn 'Al.*, 12:307.

⁶⁵ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 328 396.

⁶⁶ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, K. *al-du'ā*, *bāb al-ijtimā'*, 2:487.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 2:487.

“Arise forgiven: your bad characters have been replaced by good (*sayyi'āt*, *ḥasanāt*).”⁶⁸

Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī related from the Messenger of God, ‘When a group gather to recollect God (mighty and glorious is he), God tells his angels, “I have forgiven them, so wrap them with mercy.” The angels say, “Our lord, among them is so-and-so.” God says, “They are a group who will not be lost by one sitting with them.”’⁶⁹ Khulayd al-‘Aṣārī (Basran, fl. early 2nd/8th cent.) said that the adornment of mosques is men who help one another at recollecting God (*dhikr Allāh*).⁷⁰

At the same time, the Sunni tradition also reports considerable suspicion and disparagement of group chanting. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd (d. Medina, 32/652–653?) reproached someone for sitting in the mosque, having his circle repeat *Allāhu akbar*, *subḥān Allāh*, and so on, for set numbers of times.⁷¹ People came to al-Rabī‘ ibn Khuthaym (Kufan, d. 63/682–683?) ‘for you to praise God and for us to praise him with you, and for you to recollect God and for us to recollect him with you.’ He told them, ‘God be praised — why don’t you come to us saying “We have come for you to drink and for us to drink with you and for you to commit adultery and for us to commit adultery with you”?’⁷² Aḥmad (d. 241/855) was himself asked whether it was discouraged for a group to meet to pray to God and raise their hands: ‘I do not dislike it for brothers so long as they have not met deliberately, unless they are many.’ Ishāq ibn Rāḥawayh’s gloss shows the reason: ““Unless they are many” means that they should not make a habit of it such that

⁶⁸ Aḥmad, *Musnad* 3:142 19:437; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 3:108. Sim. attributed to Sahl ibn Ḥanzala, Companion, by Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-du‘ā* 50, *fī thawāb dhikr Allāh*, 10:95; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 205 254.

⁶⁹ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 395 472.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 237 291 (< ‘Al.); Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 2:233 (quoting a lost § of Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, < Aḥmad).

⁷¹ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 358 428–429 (< ‘Al.).

⁷² Ibid., p. 331 399 (< ‘Al.).

they become known for it.⁷³ Devotions should be directed toward pleasing God, not the people.

The Shi'i tradition certainly shows concern that devotions be practised for the sake of God alone. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is quoted as saying, 'Our *shī'a* are those who, when they are alone, recollect God often.'⁷⁴ 'Alī al-Riḍā is quoted as saying, 'The servant's prayer in secret is worth seventy in public.'⁷⁵ Compare some sayings in the Sunni tradition. The Prophet himself is quoted as saying, 'The best recollection is the hidden, the best provision that which suffices.'⁷⁶ 'Ā'isha (d. 57/676–677?) is quoted as saying, 'The hidden recollection that the guardian angels do not record is multiplied over other prayers seventy times.'⁷⁷ 'The hidden recollection (*al-dhikr al-khaft*)' is evidently the one spoken in such a subdued voice that the guardian angels do not notice. 'Uqba ibn 'Abd al-Ghāfir (Basran, d. 83/702–703) said, 'One prayer (*da'wah*) in secret is preferable to seventy in public.'⁷⁸ Ḥassān ibn 'Aṭiyya (Damascene, d. 120s/738–748) said, 'A secret prayer (*du'ā*) is seventy times preferred over a public.'⁷⁹ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is quoted as saying, 'There is no Muslim who resorts to his bed to recollect God save that his bed becomes a mosque for God and he is written in God's view among those who recollect (*al-dhākirīn*).'⁸⁰

In a leading early Ismaili work, I have found a number of recommendations of recollecting not exactly God but death. Here, it seems that 'recollection' must refer to

⁷³ Al-Kawsaj, *Masā'il al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh*, ed. Abū al-Ḥusayn Khālīd ibn Maḥmūd al-Rabāṭ, Wi'ām al-Ḥawshī, and Jum'a Fathī (Riyadh, 1425/2004), 2:598, no 3499.

⁷⁴ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-du'ā*, *bāb dhikr Allāh kathīran*, 2:499.

⁷⁵ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-du'ā*, *bāb ikhfā' al-du'ā*, 2:476.

⁷⁶ Aḥmad, *Musnad* 1:72, 180, 187 3:76, 131–132, 168–169.

⁷⁷ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-du'ā* 94, *fī raf' al-ṣawt bi'l-du'ā* 2, 10:143.

⁷⁸ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 311 377.

⁷⁹ Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 6:73.

⁸⁰ Ibid., *Hilya* 6:271.

something like ‘contemplation’ rather than the repetition of phrases. The Prophet is said to have told one of the *anṣār*, ‘I commend to you the recollection of death, for it will make you forget the matter of the world.’⁸¹ Likewise, the Prophet commented that ‘the one who most recollects death is the readiest for it.’⁸² Muḥammad al-Bāqir is quoted as saying, ‘Recollect death often, for no man recollects death often without renouncing the world.’⁸³ There is much talk of contemplating death in Sunni renunciatory sources, as well. Al-‘Alā’ ibn Ziyād (Basran, d. 94/712–713) recommended imagining oneself on the point of death, hence acting in obedience to God.⁸⁴ Shumayṭ ibn ‘Ajlān (Basran, *fl.* early 2nd/8th cent.) said, ‘Whoever sets up death before his eyes will not care about the narrowness or wideness of the world.’⁸⁵ Al-Rabī’ ibn Abī Rāshid (Kufan, *fl.* early 2nd/8th cent.) said, ‘If the recollection of death departs from me for an hour, it corrupts my heart.’⁸⁶

‘Recollection’ in this sense more often goes by the name of *tafakkur*. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq says, ‘The best worship is prolonged contemplation (*tafakkur*) of God and his power.’⁸⁷ Ja‘far is told, and evidently approves, contemplation for an hour is better than staying up all night (in ritual prayer and Qur’anic recitation).⁸⁸ This is exactly what Abū al-Dardā’ and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are quoted as saying: ‘Contemplation for an hour is

⁸¹ Al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im* 1:224 = ed. ‘Ārif Tāmīr (Beirut, 1416/1995), 1:264.

⁸² *Ibid.* 1:224 = ed. Tāmīr, 1:264.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 1:224 = ed. Tāmīr, 1:264.

⁸⁴ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 255 312.

⁸⁵ Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 3:129.

⁸⁶ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 266; Ibn Abī Shayba, *k. al-zuhd* 84, *bāb al-Sha‘bī*, 12:405; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 5:75–76. Also attributed to Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī (Basran, d. 172/788–789?): Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 260.

⁸⁷ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, *k. al-īmān wa’l-kufr*, *bāb al-tafakkur*, 2:55.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:54.

better than staying up all night.’⁸⁹ The Companion Ibn ‘Abbās is quoted as saying, ‘Two moderate sets of bowings (*rak‘atān muqtaṣidatān*) with contemplation are better than staying up all night with a straying mind (*wa-al-qalb sāhin*).’⁹⁰ Umm al-Dardā’ (Syrian, d. after 81/700–701) is often quoted as saying *tafakkur* and *i‘tibār* (observing things and taking warning) had been the best work of her husband, Abū al-Dardā’ (d. early 30s/650s?).⁹¹

Restricted eating and drinking.

Second among the devotional exercises that Muḥammad al-Bāqir describes is fasting. Fasting during Ramaḍān is a duty for all Muslims, likewise as atonement for various offences. Apart from encouragements of formal fasting, Kulaynī also reports many injunctions to eat little. He quotes Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq as saying, ‘Much eating is hateful’, ‘The servant is closest to God when his stomach is light, while the servant is most despised by God when his stomach has been filled’, ‘The servant is closest to God when his stomach is light, while the servant is most despised by God when his stomach has been filled’, and ‘God despises much eating’, and ‘There is nothing God despises more than a full stomach.’⁹² Adding to a tradition going back to Christian renunciants centuries earlier, Ja‘far is quoted as observing, ‘The son of Adam has no alternative to eating in order to maintain his body. When one of you eats food, let him make a third of his stomach for food, a third of his stomach for drink, and a third of his stomach for his soul. Do not fatten yourselves as swine are fattened for slaughtering.’⁹³

Many recommendations and examples of eating little are to be found in the

⁸⁹ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, k. *al-zuhd* 13, *kalām Abī al-Dardā’*, and k. *al-zuhd* 72, *kalām al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, 12:219, 365; also Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 272 332 (al-Ḥasan).

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 288, with ‘moderate’ presumably referring to their length.

⁹¹ Ibid., no 286; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 135 168; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 1:208, 4:253, 7:300; *tafakkur* alone *apud* Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ*, k. *al-zuhd* 13, *kalām Abī al-Dardā’*, 12:219.

⁹² All Kulaynī, *Kāfi*, k. *al-aṭ‘ima*, *bāb karāhiyat kathrat al-akl*, 6:269 except the last, 6:270.

⁹³ Ibid. 6:269–270.

Sunni tradition. Al-Qāsim ibn Mukhaymira, who lived in Syria (d. 100/718–719), quoted the advice of Luqmān to his son: ‘My son, beware of satiety, for it betrays you by night and humiliates by day.’⁹⁴ ‘Umar (d. 23/644) is said to have reproached ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Amr, a Hijazi Follower, for gnawing on a piece of meat. ‘It is excess enough that a man should eat everything he desires.’⁹⁵ Samura ibn Jundub, a Companion who settled in Basra (d. 58/677–678), was told that his son had not slept the night. He asked, ‘Is it overeating (*basham*)?’ Told that it was, he said, ‘If he died, I would not pray over him’, suggesting that overeating was virtual apostasy.⁹⁶ The Kufan al-Aswad ibn Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī (d. 75/694–695?) fasted till he had turned green and yellow and lost an eye.⁹⁷ Al-‘Alā’ ibn Ziyād (d. 94/712–713) was a Basran who lived on one loaf a day and fasted till he had turned green.⁹⁸ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said that a Muslim did not eat with all his belly.⁹⁹

More generally, we have the theme of licit eating. Early Muslims seem to have been deeply concerned not to take into their bodies what had not been rightly purchased. A man told Abū Ja‘far (Muḥammad al-Bāqir) that he was weak of work (worship) but hoped to eat only what was licit. The imam commented, ‘What devotion (*ijtihād*) is better than chastity of the belly and genitals?’¹⁰⁰ Sunni sources often report concern for eating only what is licit. For example, ‘Āmir ibn ‘Abd Qays (*fl.* 1st/7th cent.) would eat fat (*samn*) only from *ard al-‘arab*, the pre-conquest territory of the Arabs, since it was

⁹⁴ Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 6:82.

⁹⁵ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 769.

⁹⁶ Wakī‘, *Zuhd* 1:302; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 199 248; Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (attrib.), *Kitāb al-Wara‘*, ed. Zaynab Ibrāhīm al-Qārūṭ (Beirut, 1403/1983), 102 = ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut, 1409/1988), 84.

⁹⁷ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-zuhd* 43, *kalam al-Aswad*, 12:294; multiple reports, Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 2:103–104.

⁹⁸ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 965; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 2:243.

⁹⁹ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 271.

¹⁰⁰ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-īmān wa’l-kufr*, *bāb al-iffa*, 2:79. Comment repeated twice, *ibid.* 2:80.

unknown what other fat had been mixed with anything from elsewhere.¹⁰¹ Yūsuf ibn Asbāṭ, a Kufan who lived in Antioch (d. 195/810–811), would eat only what was licit and make do with dust if he found none.¹⁰² But this concern for eating only the licit seems to have died out in the early ninth century. Wakīʿ (Kufan, d. 197/812?) declared, ‘If a man swore to eat nothing but the licit, wear nothing but the licit, and not walk except in the licit, we would tell him, “Take off your clothes and throw yourself in the Euphrates.” . . . The purely licit we do not know today The world has the status of carrion: take from it what will sustain you.’¹⁰³

Kulaynī encourages eating cold food over hot. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq quotes ʿAlī as saying, ‘Lay by what is hot in order for it to cool off, for the Messenger of God . . . had some hot food brought near him but said, “Lay it by for it to cool off. God has not fed us what is hot. Blessing is in the cold.”¹⁰⁴ Then we are told,¹⁰⁵

Supper was brought for Abū ʿAbd Allāh (Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq) in the summertime. A table was brought with bread on it. He was also brought some soup and meat. He said, ‘Let me have this food’ and approached, then put his hand on it but raised it again, saying, ‘I take refuge with God from the Fire; I appeal to God to preserve me from the Fire; I appeal to God to preserve me from the Fire. We have no patience for this, so how the Fire?

¹⁰¹ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, 220–270. Cf. Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 866, where he says he eats fat from some places but not others, and Ibn Saʿd, *Biographien*, ed. Eduard Sachau, et al. (Leiden, 1904–1940), 7/1:74–5 = *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1957–68), 7:104–105, where he says that he eats fat from the desert.

¹⁰² Ibn Ḥibbān, *K. al-Thiqāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Hyderabad, 1393–1403/1973–1983), 7:638; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1325–1327, repr. Beirut, n.d.), 11:408.

¹⁰³ Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* 8:370.

¹⁰⁴ Kulaynī, *k. al-aṭʿima, bāb al-ṭaʿām al-ḥārr*, 6:321–632, followed by three more prophetic hadith reports with almost the same words, 6:322.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 6:322.

We are not strong enough for this, so how the Fire? We cannot bear this, so how the Fire?’ He kept on saying that until the food had cooled. Then he ate and we with him.

The idea is evidently that hot food makes it akin to Hellfire — better, then, to avoid it. There is no Sunni parallel that I have remarked, except for the archaic discussion of calling for ritual ablutions after touching anything touched by fire.¹⁰⁶

Supererogatory ritual prayer.

Third among the devotional exercises that Muḥammad al-Bāqir describes is the ritual prayer. This refers, of course, not to the required five daily prayers but to additional, supererogatory prayer. *Ijtihād* in renunciant literature refers especially to ritual worship (corresponding more closely than other terms to Greek *askēsis*). This is what Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq refers to when he warns that ritual performance must be accompanied by right action: ‘I enjoin on you fear of God, *wara‘*, and *ijtihād*. Know that there is no benefit to *ijtihād* without scrupulosity.’¹⁰⁷ Scrupulosity (*wara‘*) means avoiding not only what is plainly forbidden but anything remotely likely to be forbidden. In the Sunni tradition, it is said of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Aswad (Kufan, d. 99/717–718) that he would pray 700 bowings a day. ‘They used to say he was the least of the people of his house in *ijtihād*. I have heard that he became bone and skin. They used to say the Aswad family were among the people of Paradise.’¹⁰⁸ Recalling the heightened piety of an earlier generation, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is quoted as saying, ‘They used to exert themselves (*yajtahidūna*) in prayer (*du‘ā*), and you would hear nothing but whispering.’¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ For which v. Marion Holmes Katz, *Body of text: the emergence of the Sunnī law of ritual purity* (Albany, 2002), pp. 102–123.

¹⁰⁷ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-īmān wa-al-kufr*, *bāb al-wara‘*, 2:76.

¹⁰⁸ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 360 430.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-du‘ā* 94, *fī raf‘ al-ṣawt bi-l-du‘ā*, 10:144; Wakī‘, *Zuhd* 2:616.

Unsurprisingly, the Shi‘i tradition recommends supererogatory ritual prayer. According to an Ismaili source, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. Medina, 95/714) would pray 1,000 sets of supererogatory prayer per day.¹¹⁰ There are very many reports in the Sunni literature of prodigious routines of supererogatory prayer. For example, the Kufan *mukhaḍram* Murra ibn Sharāḥīl (d. 76/695–696?) is said to have prayed 500 bowings a day in his youth, 250 in old age.¹¹¹ ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās (Medinese, d. 118/736–737) prayed over 500 bowings a day.¹¹² The Palestinian Rajā’ ibn Abī Salama (d. 161/777–778) prayed a thousand prostrations a day.¹¹³

Kulaynī also reports advice on how to pray apart from the ritual prayer. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq demonstrated gestures: ‘Mention of a desire [at this he showed the insides of his palms to heaven]; thus is fear (*rahba*) [at this he put the backs of his hands to heaven]; thus is self-abasement (*taḍarru’*) [at this he moved his fingers right and left]; thus is chastity (*tabattul*) [at this he raised his fingers once and put them down once]; thus is supplication (*ibtihāl*) [at this he extended his hand before his face to the *qibla*]. One does not supplicate until a tear flows.’¹¹⁴ Someone once presumed to correct the imam¹¹⁵:

A man passed by me as I was praying in the course of my ritual prayer with my left. He said, ‘Abū ‘Abd Allāh, with your right.’ I said, ‘O

¹¹⁰ Al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, *Da‘ā’im* 1:211 = ed. Tāmīr, 1:261.

¹¹¹ Al-‘Ijlī, *Tārīkh al-thiqāt*, arr. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, ed. ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī Qal‘ajī (Beirut, 1405/1984), 424; sim., al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa’l-tabyīn*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo, 1367–1369/1948–1950), 3:129.

¹¹² Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 3:207; cf. Abū Dāwūd, *K. al-Zuhd*, ed. Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd Ḥusayn (Tanta, 1424/2003), 231, nos. 451–452.

¹¹³ Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 6:91.

¹¹⁴ Kulaynī, *Kāfi*, k. *al-du‘ā’*, *bāb al-rahba wa’l-rahba*, 2:480.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 2:480. Also, ‘*Mas’ala* is extending the palms; *isti‘ādha* is raising (*ifḍā’*) the palms (toward the *qibla*—ed.); chastity is indicating with the finger; self-abasement is moving the finger; supplication is extending both of one’s hands’ (ibid. 2:481).

servant of God, God (be he blessed and exalted) has a claim on this as he has on this.’ Desire is that you extend your hands and show their insides. Fear is that you extend your hands and show their backs. Self-abasement is that you move the right pointing finger to right and left. Chastity is that you move the left pointing finger and raise it to heaven slowly (*rislan*), then put it down. Supplication is that you extend your hands and arms to heaven, supplication coming when you see the occasions of weeping.

Compare the Prophet from the Sunni tradition: ‘If you ask God (for something), ask him with the palms of your hands; do not ask him with their backs.’¹¹⁶ Shahr ibn Ḥawshab (Syrian, d. 112/730–731) gave this recommendation: spread the hands toward the face for *mas’ala* (asking for a good), palms reversed for *ta’awwudh* (taking refuge with God from some danger).¹¹⁷

Concern for the poor.

Muḥammad al-Bāqir’s recommendation of filial piety seems completely unremarkable, so that there can be no need to demonstrate Sunni parallels. As for the next on his list, ‘keeping faith with poor neighbours and the indigent, debt-ridden, and orphans’, it is not particularly prominent in the rest of Kulaynī’s collection of pious recommendations and it has some but not very numerous parallels in the Sunni literature. The Kufan Khaythama ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. after 80/699–700), willed that he be buried in the cemetery of the poor of his tribe.¹¹⁸ The Basran Muṭarrif ibn ‘Abd Allāh (d. 95/713–714) wore wool and sat with the poor for the sake of humility.¹¹⁹ People attended the session of

¹¹⁶ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-du‘ā* 45, *al-rajul idhā da‘ā bi-baṭn kaffih*, 10:78; *isnād* Kufan in lower part, Basran upper.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 10:79.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-zuhd* 60, *Khaythama ibn ‘Ar.*, 12:321; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 359 429 (< ‘Al.).

¹¹⁹ Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 2:200.

the Kufan Sufyān al-Thawrī in rags, and the rich there were said to be humbled, the poor exalted.¹²⁰

Qur'anic recitation.

Next on Muḥammad al-Bāqir's list is truthful speech, again unremarkable. 'Reciting the Qur'an' overlaps with recollection, as observed above. This devotional form is apparently more prominent in Sunni renunciant literature than Shi'i. It is sometimes described as being superior to participation in the Holy War or other pious activities. 'Abd Allāh ibn Mas'ūd said that one who recollects God, glossed as 'a man who recites the Book of God' (*rajul yatlu kitāb Allāh*) is better than a man who rides on the Holy War.¹²¹ Salmān (d. Medina, 34/654–655) said, 'If one man stayed up all night giving eggs to slave girls (*qaynāt*) while another stayed up reciting the Qur'an and recollecting God, I think the one recollecting God would be the better.'¹²² Sufyān al-Thawrī said it was better to recite the Qur'an than to go frontier raiding.¹²³ There are as many reports in the Sunni literature of prodigious routines of Qur'anic recitation as there are of supererogatory prayer. 'Uthmān would recite the Qur'an in a single *rak'a* by night.¹²⁴ 'Alqama (Kufan, d. after 70/689–690?), recited the whole Qur'an in a night around the Ka'bah.¹²⁵ Murra ibn Sharāḥīl (Kufan, d. 76/695–696) recited the Qur'an daily and so

¹²⁰ Ibid. 6:364–365.

¹²¹ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *faḍā'il al-Q.* 29, *man qāla qirā'at al-Q. aḡḡal min siwāh*, 10:241.

¹²² Ibid. 10:241–242.

¹²³ Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* 7:65.

¹²⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien* 3/1:153 = *Ṭabaqāt* 3:75–76; Aḡmad, *Zuhd*, 127 158; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* 1:57.

¹²⁵ Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. *ṣalāh* 851, *man kāna yuḡibbu idhā qadima an yaqra'a al-Qur'ān*, 3:618–619. Also, 'He recited the Qur'an in a night': *ibid.*, k. *al-zuhd* 44, *kalām 'Alqama*, 12:295.

was safe from the *fitna* of Ibn al-Zubayr.¹²⁶ Sa'īd ibn Jubayr (Kufan, d. 95/714) entered the Ka'ba and recited the entire Qur'an in a single *rak'a*, also daily during Ramadan, every three days during the rest of the year.¹²⁷ Al-Zuhrī (d. 125/742–743?) recited the Qur'an before breakfasting on the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, and 29th of Ramadan.¹²⁸ Thābit al-Bunānī (Basran, d. 127/744–745?) recited the Qur'an daily as well as fasting perpetually.¹²⁹ And so on and so on.

Other austerities.

Nighttime devotions are recommended in a saying from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in the Ismaili tradition: 'I despise that a servant should recite the Qur'an, then awaken in the night and not get up until morning is near, only then getting up and beginning to pray.'¹³⁰ The idea is that he should rather recite the Qur'an after the evening prayer, go to bed, then get up for further devotions as soon as he wakes up, whenever that is. Compare the example of Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī (Kufan, d. 129/746–747?), who would not go back to sleep if he awoke at night.¹³¹ Sufyān al-Thawrī told his disciples it was all right to sleep at any length but not to go back to sleep after one had once woken up.¹³²

Hostility to music is a common theme of pious literature, Sunni and Shi'i. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is said to have glossed Q. 22:30, 'Avoid the abomination of idols, and avoid the speaking of falsehood', as 'Singing'; likewise Q. 6:31, 'Among the people are those who buy diverting tales to lead [people] away from the path of God without any

¹²⁶ Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 4:162–163.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 4:273.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 3:170.

¹²⁹ 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, *ʿIlal* 1:486 1:181.

¹³⁰ Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im* 1:213 = ed. Tāmir, 1:264.

¹³¹ Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 4:340, quoting a lost § of Aḥmad, *Zuhd*.

¹³² Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* 7:60.

knowledge'; and likewise Q. 25:72, 'And those who will not bear false witness.'¹³³ He said, 'Playing lutes (*ḍarb al-ʿīdān*) makes hypocrisy spring up in the heart as water makes verdure spring up'; alternatively, 'Listening to singing and idle talk (*lahw*) makes hypocrisy spring up in the heart as water makes plants spring up.'¹³⁴ And he said, 'Whoever strikes strings (*rubṭ*) in his house for forty days, God gives a devil power over him When he is in that state, the life drops from him and he does not care what he says or what is said of him.'¹³⁵ On the other side, Sunni denunciations of music are plentiful. The Prophet is quoted as saying, 'Singing plants hypocrisy in the heart.'¹³⁶ Pouring out wine and smashing musical instruments are often paired as prime examples of *al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*.¹³⁷ Zubayd al-Yāmī, a Kufan worshipper (d. 122/739–740 or after), seized and broke the reed flute he saw one slave girl carrying, the tambourine of another.¹³⁸ Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. Baghdad, 241/855) said of singing, 'It establishes hypocrisy in the heart. I dislike it.'¹³⁹ He approved of breaking a lute or mandolin and denied that the breaker owed anything to the owner in compensation.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-ashriba*, *bāb al-ghināʾ*, 6:431–433.

¹³⁴ Ibid. 6:434.

¹³⁵ Ibid. 6:434.

¹³⁶ Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, k. *al-adab* 60, *bāb karāhiyat al-ghināʾ wa'l-zamr*, no. 4927. Further examples *apud* al-Ājurī, *Taḥrīm al-nard wa'l-shaṭranj wa'l-malāhī*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā (Beirut, 1408/1988), pp. 93–102.

¹³⁷ As in Ghazālī's exemplary discussion of the duty, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, book 19. Many examples are cited by Michael Cook, *Commanding right and forbidding wrong in Islamic thought* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹³⁸ Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilya* 5:32.

¹³⁹ ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad, *Masāʾil al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. Zuhayr al-Shāwīsh (Beirut, 1401/1981), 316.

¹⁴⁰ Abū Dāwūd, *K. Masāʾil al-imām Aḥmad*, ed. Muḥammad Bahja al-Bayṭār (Cairo, 1353/1934, repr. Beirut, n.d.), p. 279.

Kulaynī quotes Ja‘far al-Šādiq as relating of the Messenger of God, ‘Leaning in the mosque is the monasticism (*rahbāniyya*) of the Arabs. The believer’s session is his mosque and his cell is his house.’¹⁴¹ The Sunni tradition more often recommends the Holy War as the new monasticism; for example, the Companion Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī (d. Medina, 64/683–684) is quoted as saying, ‘I enjoin you to fear God, for it is the chief of everything. Incumbent on you is *jihād*, for it is the *rahbāniyya* of Islam.’¹⁴² But sitting in the mosque is certainly encouraged in the Sunni tradition and sometimes identified with monasticism. ‘Uthmān ibn Maẓ‘ūn came to the Prophet and asked, among other things, ‘O Messenger of God, permit us monasticism (*tarahhub*).’ He said, ‘The *tarahhub* of my community is sitting in the mosque waiting for the ritual prayer.’¹⁴³ Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī (Syrian, d. 80/699–700) is quoted as saying, ‘The mosques are the nobles’ places of sitting (*majālis al-kirām*).’¹⁴⁴ Note how, similarly to Ja‘far with Arabism, he conflates concepts of right religion and social status. The Muslim’s house is identified with a monk’s cell in a number of sayings in the Sunni tradition. Abū al-Dardā’ is supposed to have said, ‘What a good cell for a man is his house. In it, he restrains his sight and tongue. Beware of the market, for it negates and distracts (*tulghī, tulhī*).’¹⁴⁵ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said, ‘The believers’ cells are their houses.’¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. al- ‘ishra, *bāb al-ittikā’ wa’l-iḥtibā’*, 2:662.

¹⁴² Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 840.

¹⁴³ Ibid., no 845.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., no 840.

¹⁴⁴ Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 380 455.

¹⁴⁵ Wakī‘, *Zuhd* 2:516; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 135 168; Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no. 14 among add’ns < N.; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* 3:132.

¹⁴⁶ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no. 15 among add’ns < N.; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, k. al-zuhd 72, *kalām al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, 12: 380; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilya* 3:19, quoting a lost § of Aḥmad, *Zuhd*.

Some Shi‘i advice on clothing is very similar to Sunni. Kulaynī quotes the Prophet as saying, ‘Wear white, for it is better and purer. Shroud your dead in it.’¹⁴⁷ Sunni hadith collections report exactly the same words.¹⁴⁸ But Kulaynī’s repeated discouragement of wool seems unlike the Sunni tradition. He reports that Ja‘far said, ‘Linen (*kattān*) is the dress of the prophets and makes the flesh grow.’¹⁴⁹ He reports that Ja‘far said, ‘Do not wear wool or hair save in illness (*min ‘illa*).’¹⁵⁰ He reports that ‘Alī said, ‘Wear clothes of cotton (*quṭn*), for it is the dress of the Messenger of God and our dress. He did not wear wool or hair save from illness (*min ‘illa*).’¹⁵¹ A section of hadith relating to clothing comprises only encouragement to wear the best clothing one can.¹⁵²

The contrary tendency can also be found. Kulaynī quotes someone as saying,¹⁵³

I saw Abū ‘Abd Allāh (Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq) wearing a rough shirt under his clothes, on top of it a woollen *jubba*, on top of it a rough shirt. I felt it and said, ‘God make me your ransom: the people dislike to wear wool.’ He said, ‘On the contrary: Abū Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (al-Ḥasan) wore it and ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (Zayn al-‘Ābidīn) wore it. They would wear their

¹⁴⁷ Two versions: Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-zī wa ‘l-tajammul*, *bāb al-libās*, 6:445.

¹⁴⁸ Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘*, k. *al-adab* 46, *bāb mā jā’a fī lubs al-bayāḍ*, no 2810; Aḥmad, *Musnad* 5:10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20–21 33:297, 318–319, 327–328, 354–355, 364, 372–373, 381–382; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī (Johannesburg, 1390–1392/1970–1972), 3:428–429 (3 versions). Similar advice is to be found *apud* Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, k. *al-ṭibb* 14, *bāb fī ‘l-amr bi ‘l-kuḥl*, no 3878, repeated k. *al-libās* 13, *bāb fī ‘l-bayāḍ*, no 4061; Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘*, k. *al-janā‘iz* 18, *bāb mā yustaḥabbu min al-akfān*, no 994; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, k. *al-libās* 5, *bāb al-bayāḍ min al-thiyāb*, no 3567; Aḥmad, *Musnad* 1:247, 274, 328, 355, 363 4:94, 282, 5:161–162, 352–353, 398.

¹⁴⁹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-zī wa ‘l-tajammul*, *bāb al-kattān*, 6:449.

¹⁵⁰ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-zī wa ‘l-tajammul*, *bāb lubs al-ṣūf wa-al-sha‘r*, 6:445.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 6:450.

¹⁵² Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-zī wa ‘l-tajammul*, *bāb al-libās*, 6:441–444.

¹⁵³ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-zī wa ‘l-tajammul*, *bāb lubs al-ṣūf wa ‘l-sha‘r*, 6:450.

roughest clothing when they got up to perform the ritual prayer. That is what we do.'

A Sunni source reports in rough conformity with this last report that Sufyān al-Thawrī discovered Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq to be wearing wool underneath a silken *jubba*.¹⁵⁴ More generally, the Sunni tradition seems overwhelmingly friendly to the wearing of wool. Mūsā never wore anything but wool, likewise ʿĪsā.¹⁵⁵ Ibn Masʿūd (d. 32/652–653?) said, 'The prophets milked sheep, rode asses, and wore wool.'¹⁵⁶ According to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the Prophet Muhammad rode an ass (not a horse), wore wool, licked his fingers, and ate on the floor.'¹⁵⁷ It was a mark of humility.¹⁵⁸ Strictures against wearing wool are also to be found, but they belong to the category of sayings against outward humility and inward pride; for express example, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, quoted as saying of those who wear wool, 'They have hidden pride in their hearts while outwardly showing humility in their clothing. By God, one of them is more proud of his dress than the wearer of a silken robe in his.'¹⁵⁹ Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is not alone in being reported to have worn wool underneath more comfortable clothing, hence to avoid making any show of humility; likewise, among others, the Basran Hārūn ibn Rabāb (*fl.* early 2nd/8th cent.), the Kufan ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd (*fl.* early 2nd/8th c.), and the Mesopotamian

¹⁵⁴ Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilya* 3:193.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī on Moses, Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilya* 2:137; Zuhri on ʿĪsā, Abū ʿUbayd, *al-Khuṭab wa-al-mawāʿiẓ*, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (Cairo, 1406/1986), p. 163; also Khaythama ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. after 80/699), Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilya* 4:117.

¹⁵⁶ Kufan *isnād*; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 60 78.

¹⁵⁷ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 995 (not < Ibn al-Mubārak).

¹⁵⁸ For further discussion and examples, v. Christopher Melchert, 'Baṣran origins', pp. 223-225. Shaybī believes that wool-wearing originated with Kufan renunciants who took it up as a sign of their opposition to al-Ḥajjāj (*Ṣila* 1:280–286), but I believe there is equal evidence of it in other centres, most notably (in the generation of the Followers) Basra.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Saʿd, *Biographien* 7/1:123 = *Ṭabaqāt* 7:169; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* 3:153; Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* 2:372.

Maymūn ibn Mihrān (d. 117/735–736) wore wool under other clothes to hide their renunciation.¹⁶⁰

Kulaynī also reports various encouragements of notably modest austerity. One is a long story of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s being approached by Sufis who bid others to join them. He tells them that it is best to give away some of one’s wealth but not all of it. It would be impossible for everyone to join them, lest women, the elderly, and the sickly perish. And if everyone joined them, no one would be left to receive charity as atonement or *zakāh*.¹⁶¹ Ja‘far is also quoted as identifying proper renunciation not with outward austerity but entirely an inward attitude: ‘Renunciation of the world is not wasting money or forbidding what is licit. Rather, renunciation of the world is that you be no more sure of what is in your hand than of what God has.’¹⁶² Kulaynī quotes ‘Alī to similar effect: ‘Renunciation of the world is shortness of hope, thankfulness for every blessing, and scruple before everything God (mighty and glorious is he) has forbidden.’¹⁶³

Sunni parallels can be found. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 32/652–653?) went to some Kufans who had withdrawn and established themselves somewhere in the vicinity to worship: ‘What induced you to do what you have done?’ They said, ‘We wished to go away from the crowd (*ghumār al-nās*).’ Ibn Mas‘ūd told them, ‘If the people did what you have done, who would fight the enemy? I will not go away till you return.’¹⁶⁴ ‘Alī is quoted as saying that he was most fearful of length of hope and following fancies

¹⁶⁰ Hārūn ibn Rabāb, Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 3:55; ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd, *ibid.* 6:232; Maymūn ibn Mihrān, *ibid.* 4:91–92.

¹⁶¹ Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-ma‘īsha*, *bāb dakhala al-ṣūfiyya ‘alā Abī ‘Abd Allāh*, 5:65–70. The express reference to Sufis is probably anachronistic, inasmuch as the first to be called a Sufi was an Iraqi contemporary of Ja‘far’s—perhaps, though, not by much, for the term was used to designate disreputably extreme renunciants before about the mid-ninth century. V. further Melchert, ‘Baṣran origins’, pp. 229–230.

¹⁶² Kulaynī, *Kāfī*, k. *al-ma‘īsha*, *bāb ma‘nā al-zuhd*, 5:70–71.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 5:71.

¹⁶⁴ Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 1104 (not < Ibn al-Mubārak).

(referring especially to heresy), since length of hope makes one forget the Afterworld, while following fancy turns one away from the truth.¹⁶⁵ Sufyān ibn ‘Uyayna (d. Mecca, 198/814) said, ‘Renunciation of the world is shortness of hope, not eating what is rough or wearing a hood (‘*abāya*).’¹⁶⁶ I have provisionally located this inward redefinition of renunciation (emphatically not the same thing as calling for inward attitudes to match outward appearances) in the last third of the eighth century CE (just the time of Sufyān ibn ‘Uyayna). The Imāmiyya seem to have embraced exactly this tendency, presumably for similar reasons: that they now included Muslims of all social classes, so that the rich among them needed to be shielded from complaints from the middling while the middling had to be offered a style of piety that would not prevent them from earning a living.¹⁶⁷

Comments in Twelver literature on Sufis are uncommon. I have mentioned the Sufis whose call for withdrawal from society is rejected by Ja‘far al-Šādiq. In the biographical literature, I have remarked Aḥmad ibn Hilāl al-‘Abartānī (*fl.* early 3rd/9th cent.), an Imami, who made 54 pilgrimages, 20 on foot, but whom the imam nonetheless denounced as a deceiving Sufi (*šūfī mutaṣanni*).¹⁶⁸ Wool-wearing occasionally turns up also in the record of early non-Imami Shi‘ism. I have earlier mentioned the Sufis who, in alliance with the local Zaydiyya, took over Kufa for a few weeks on behalf of two Ḥasanids in 255/869.¹⁶⁹ Although he was not called a Sufi, the ‘Alid ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mu‘āwiya clothed himself in wool when he commenced his open

¹⁶⁵ Wakī‘, *Zuhd* 2:439–441; Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, no 255; Aḥmad, *Zuhd*, p. 130 162–163; Hannād, *Zuhd* 1:291; Ibn Abī Shayba. *Muṣannaf*, k. *al-zuhd* 11, *kalām ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 12:200.

¹⁶⁶ Wakī‘, *Zuhd* 1:222; also Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya* 6:386, citing Ibn Abī Shayba, with ‘wearing wool’ instead of ‘wearing a hood’.

¹⁶⁷ Melchert, ‘Baṣran origins’, pp. 230, 234.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Kashshī, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Karbala, n.d.), 449–450.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Šūlī, *Kniga listov* (i.e. *K. al-Awrāq*), ed. Anas Khalidov (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 366; Melchert, ‘Baṣran origins’, p. 232.

rebellion against the Umayyads (127/744).¹⁷⁰ Ḥallāj, executed in 309/922, sometimes identified himself with the Shi‘a and is included among them by, among others, Ibn al-Nadīm.¹⁷¹ Provisionally, I propose that Kulaynī is markedly more hostile to wool-wearing than Sunni hadith collectors in part because it was the badge of non-Imami Shi‘a.

Conclusions.

There is evidently considerable overlap between reported Shi‘i sayings about renunciation and Sunni. The Sunni sayings are attested earlier. Moreover, reattributions seem more likely to cluster around a few very prominent figures (such as the imams on the Shi‘i side, the Prophet on both Shi‘i and Sunni) than be dispersed among many individuals. On both counts, *it seems probable that the Sunni literary tradition is the earlier, and that influence ran primarily from the Sunni side to the Shi‘i rather than the other way around.* At the same time, sayings seem to float from person to person in the Sunni literature, so that it seems more certain that these sayings were current among proto-Sunnis of the eighth century than that they must be attributed to exactly the individuals to which our sources of the ninth century attribute them. Whichever way influence flowed, overlap between Sunni and Shi‘i sayings about renunciation seem to indicate a common piety. I have looked for evidence of geographical specialisation in the Sunni record without success — this in contrast to the record of opinions about law, where evidence of geographical specialisation is abundant. This suggests to me that the renunciant tradition has its origin at an earlier point than the legal tradition. It must have continued in the Shi‘i tradition as much as the Sunni, so that although Shi‘i tradition

¹⁷⁰ Noticed by Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1991–1995), 2:88. This and three other examples from the next century noticed by Shaybī, *Fikr*, 68 and *Ṣila* 2:12–13.

¹⁷¹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, fann 5, *maqāla* 5; *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel, with Johannes Roedigger and August Mueller (Leipzig, 1872), 190–192. For Ḥallāj interpreted principally as a Shi‘i rather than Sufi, v. Said Amir Arjomand, ‘The crisis of the imamate and the institution of occultation in Twelver Shi‘ism’, *International journal of Middle East studies*, 28 (1996), pp. 506–508.

attributes all sayings to imams, Shi‘i opinions and practices concerning renunciation must have been similar to Sunni throughout the eighth and ninth centuries.

Of special interest, then, are the parts of the Sunni renunciant tradition that do not appear in the Shi‘i record, such as preference for wearing wool. Divergence between Sunni and Shi‘i attitudes toward renunciation constitute further evidence of Sunni-Shi‘i differentiation, presumably in the course of the ninth century. It may be that sayings about wool were not taken into the Shi‘i tradition as documented by Kulaynī just because of Shi‘i resistance in the late ninth and early tenth centuries to taking up the Junaydi Sufi synthesis. This is the usual argument for the long-delayed development of Sufism in the Shi‘i tradition, namely that loyalty to the Imams, the defining character of Shi‘ism, conflicted with loyalty to the *awliyā*, a defining character of Sufism.¹⁷² However, it appears also that *the Imami rejection of wool-wearing reflects earlier disquiet with non-Imami Shi‘i wool-wearers*.

Two questions concerning the development of Sufism seem most salient. First is the degree to which the emergence of Sunni Sufism reflects Shi‘i influence. This has often been alleged, as by Annemarie Schimmel: ‘The thoughts of Ja‘far and other early mystical thinkers must have been at work beneath the surface, permeating the mystical life until they appeared in the sayings of a number of Sufis.’¹⁷³ But this depends on taking attributions to Ja‘far al-Šādiq at face value, a rash move for any scholar today. More modestly, with better documentation, Sara Sviri has characterised quotations of Shi‘i imams in Sufi sources of the tenth century as ‘Shī‘ī material that became included in Šūfī literature.’¹⁷⁴ I am inclined to doubt whether much of the material to which Sviri refers, none of which is distinctly Shi‘i, actually has Shi‘i origins. More likely, like sayings about renunciation that Kulaynī attributes to various imams, earlier Sunni collectors to various renunciants of the early eighth century and before, it had circulated

¹⁷² V. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, pp. 18, 20.

¹⁷³ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, 1975), p. 42.

¹⁷⁴ Sara Sviri, ‘The early mystical schools of Baghdad and Nīshāpūr’, *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam*, 30 (2005), pp. 457–462 (quotation from p. 457). Cf. Christopher Melchert, ‘Khargūshī, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 73 (2010), pp. 33–34.

from the start among proto-Sunnis. The thesis that Shi‘i esoterism, looking for Qur’anic allusions to the house of the Prophet, gave rise to Sufi esoterism depends also on supposing that the esoterism of tenth-century Shi‘i texts such as (above all) *Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’* was not a development of the tenth century but already a character of eighth-century Shi‘ism. I doubt this can ever be more than a supposition in the absence of eighth-century Shi‘i texts, or at least ninth-century. Inasmuch as it is a matter of tenth-century attributions to famous imams, not a multitude of lesser names, it doubtfully deserves the presumption of greater reliability than Sunni attributions. *The present study of renunciant sayings weakly supports the larger argument that Sufism did not flow from an earlier Shi‘i tradition.*

The second great question is why Sufism was for so long exclusively Sunni. Although I offer here no answer, the absence of sayings about wool in Kulaynī’s collection of renunciant sayings seems likely to document active resistance in his generation and the one before to the Junaydi synthesis. Among the Sunnis, ‘Sufi’ moved from a term for disreputable marginal figures to one for respectable orthodox ones at about the middle of the ninth century.¹⁷⁵ Shi‘a of some sort had worked closely with primitive Sufis, just before Sufism became respectable, but the Twelvers seem to have been opposed to them from the start. As, then, there seems to be a measure of continuity between Ḥanbali opposition to would-be Sunni *mutakallimīn* in the ninth century and to Shi‘a in the tenth, *there seems to be a measure of continuity between Imāmi opposition to would-be Shi‘i Sufis in the ninth century to a refusal to develop a form of Sufism in the tenth.* It was a part of Twelver consolidation and an important aspect of conscious Sunni-Shi‘i differentiation in the tenth century.

¹⁷⁵ *EP*, s.v. ‘Taṣawwuf’, by B. Radtke; Melchert, ‘Baṣran origins’, esp. pp. 222-223, 234-240.