

Bukhārī, 1, 5, 21, 40, 43, 93, 106, 130, 154, 182, and the editor's notes 268-71, 279, 280, 288, 301, 357, 382; idem, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1947, ii, 374-75, iii, 66, 466, v, 603, vi, 388, 431; vii, 182, 201-2, 206; idem, *Rasā'il*, Cairo 1964, ii, 38-39, 261-2, 303-4; al-Ḥuṣrī al-Kayrawānī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1969, 97, 109, 117, 151, 302, 365, 545, 576-8, 831, 949; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Ikd al-farid*, Cairo 1940-53, ii, 123, 136, 137, 207, 295, 338, iii, 7, 302, 311, iv, 179, 189, 198, v, 58-65, 69, 339, vi, 180, 196, 200-4; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *al-Taḥkīra al-ḥamdūniyya*, Beirut 1983, i, 253, 299, 348, 374, 416-17, ii, 17, 325, 382. For studies, see 'Īsā 'Akūb, *Ta'ḥrīr al-hikam al-Fārisiyya fi 'l-adab al-'Arabī fi 'l-'Asr al-'Abbāsī al-awwal*, Damascus 1989, 183-8, 294-6; M.-G. Balty-Guesdon, *Le Bayt al-Hikma de Baghdād, in Arabica*, xxxix (1992), 131-50; J.H. Kramers, *Et' art. s.v.*; M. Kurd 'Alī, *Sahl b. Hārūn*, in *Madjallat al-Maḥima* al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī, vii (1927), 5-27, repr. in his *Umarā'* al-bayān, Cairo 1937, 159-90; Shawkī Dayf, *Sahl b. Hārūn*, in his *al-'Asr al-'Abbāsī al-awwal*, Cairo 1966, 526-40; A. Muhamed Yāgī, *Sahl ibn Hārūn. Edition des fragments avec traduction précédée d'une introduction sur cet auteur et ses œuvres*, diss. Paris, Sorbonne 1956, unpubl. (MOHSEN ZAKERI)

SAHL AL-TUSTARĪ, ABŪ MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. Yūnus b. 'Īsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Rafīf, an influential Ṣūfī of mediaeval Islam, was probably born in 203/818 in Tustar, Khūzistān, and died in 283/896 in Baṣra. The essential course of his life can be reconstructed on the basis of fragmentary hagiographical accounts, included in the Ṣūfī primary sources, and incidental references of Islamic historical literature.

Until a short time after his pilgrimage to Mecca in 219/834, al-Tustarī received his basic education from his maternal uncle Muḥammad b. Sawwār (who transmitted *ḥadīth* on the authority of Sufyān al-Thawrī [q.v.]) and Ḥamza al-'Abbādānī, an obscure spiritual instructor residing at the *ribāṭ* of 'Abbādān [q.v.], where al-Tustarī had a vision of God's supreme name (*ism Allāh al-a'zam*) written in the sky with green light from east to west (al-Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17, 24; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 116). Al-Tustarī met his Ṣūfī forebear Ḍhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī [q.v.] at least once in his life, but it is not certain whether he became his direct disciple. After spending some twenty-odd years in his hometown, engaged in austere practices, especially fasting, al-Tustarī emerged with a teaching of his own about the time of Ḍhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī's death in 245/860 and gathered a group of disciples around himself. Prominent among his disciples were Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 297/909), said to have served al-Tustarī for sixty years, and al-Hallādj [q.v.] who stayed with him for about two years. About the time when the Zandj [q.v.] occupied Tustar for a short time in 263/877, al-Tustarī was summoned from Tustar to the camp of the Ṣaffārids to cure their ailing leader, Ya'kūb b. al-Layth [q.v.] (cf. Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, x, 210), who had been wounded in his defeat by the caliphal regent al-Muwaffaq at Dayr al-'Ākūl [q.v.] in 262/876. Expelled from his home town for political or doctrinal reasons (al-Sarrādj, *Luma'*, 407, cf. Arberry, *Pages*, 9), al-Tustarī took up residence in Baṣra early in 263/877, though another strand of source evidence would suggest that he had settled there as early as 258/871 when the Zandj sacked the town (al-Makkī, *Kūt al-kulūb*, iii, 104). In Baṣra, al-Tustarī was welcomed by Abū Dāwūd al-Sidjīstānī (d. 275/889 [q.v.]) but, because of his claim to be "the proof of God" (*ḥudūdāt Allāh*), became involved in religious

controversy with Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā' al-Sādī (d. 307/909) and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī (d. 317/929), two leading Ṣhāfi'ī scholars of the city (al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 67).

Shortly after his death in Baṣra, al-Tustarī's direct disciples split into two groups (cf. Bowering, *Mystical vision*, 75-99). One group selected Baghdād as the centre of activity, either joining the Ṣūfī circle of al-Djunayd [q.v.], as did Abū Muḥammad al-Djurayrī (d. 312/924) and Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Muzayyin al-Tirmidhī (d. 328/939), or associating with the Ḥanbalis in the Muḥawwal quarter of Baghdād, as did Abū Muḥammad al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941 [q.v.]) and two crucial transmitters of al-Tustarī's teachings, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Aṣḥ'ath al-Sidjī and Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Umar b. Wāṣil al-'Anbarī (d. 312/924). The other group of al-Tustarī's disciples stayed on in Baṣra and found acceptance among the local Mālikīs. It formed the nucleus of a theological school, known as the Sālīmiyya, that was organised by Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 356/967), who is frequently confused in the sources with his father, al-Tustarī's life-long associate. The most famous exponent of the Sālīmiyya, however, was Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996 [q.v.]) who, in his *Kūt al-kulūb*, frequently cites Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sālim as "our *shaykh*" and al-Tustarī as "our *imām*". The Sālīmiyya, who also adopted ideas propagated by Abū Ḥulmān al-Fārisī al-Dimashkī (d. ca. 340/951), became the target of a lost refutation (*ar-Radd 'alā Ibn Sālim*) written by the Ṣhāfi'ī (or Zāhiri) Ibn al-Khaffī (d. 371/981). Possibly on the basis of this refutation, a list of eighteen objectionable propositions was drawn up in Ḥanbalī circles by Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1065 [q.v.]) in his *Mu'tamad* (217-21), of which 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī [q.v.] copied and rejected twelve propositions in his *Ghunya* (i, 106-7). The last major exponents of the Sālīmiyya were Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1055; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xviii, 13-8), Abū Shakūr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Sālimī (d. shortly after 470/1077; see *GAL*, I, 419; S I, 744) and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Zabīdī (d. 555/1160; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, xx, 316-9).

Beginning with Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, 186, quite a number of treatises have been ascribed to al-Tustarī in Islamic bibliography. All of these appear to be lost under their titles, but two works attributed to al-Tustarī are extant. They are a Qur'ān commentary, *Kitāb Fahm al-Kur'ān* (published as *Tafsīr al-Kur'ān al-karīm*, Cairo 1326/1908 and 1329/1911), and a collection of al-Tustarī's sayings in three parts with the commentary of Abū 'l-Ḥāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣikillī (d. ca. 386/996), preserved in the collective ms. Köprülü 727 (one part of which, *al-Mu'araḍa wa 'l-radd*, was published by M.K. Gaafa, Cairo 1980). Many fragments of al-Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ānic verses are cited in Sulamī's *Ḥakā'ik al-tafsīr*, which is accessible only in manuscript (for a table of references and the parallel citations in Rūzbihān al-Baklī's *Arā'is al-bayān*, see G. Bowering, *Mystical vision*, 113-24). Al-Tustarī's extant works are not his own writings, but were compiled by his followers who based themselves on the core of his teachings. The other tracts attributed to al-Tustarī (see *GAS*, i, 647) are marginal or spurious (for an annotated list of Tustarī's works, see Bowering, *op. cit.*, 11-18, and add *Tafsīr al-Kur'ān*, ms. Azhar, *Riwāk al-atrāk* 7, and the excerpts included in ms. Zāhiriyya 9595, fols. 35-43). The two works attributed to al-Tustarī and the considerable body of anecdotes and sayings quoted on

his authority in the Šūfī primary sources give a fragmentary yet substantive picture of al-Tustarī's mystical theory and practice.

The central idea of al-Tustarī's mysticism is the Šūfī recollection of God (*dhikr* [q.v.]), which he put on a firm theoretical basis. All his life he observed the method of recollecting God by repeating a mental prayer, "God is my witness" (Allāhu *shāhidī*, cf. al-Kushayrī, *Risāla*, 83) and understanding it as his daily sustenance (*kūf*). He interpreted it experientially as the break-through to God, who effects His own recollection within the mystic's heart (*dhikr Allāh bi'llāh*: *al-dhikr bi'l-madhkūr*, cf. al-Tustarī, *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān*, 25-6, 80). Anchoring *dhikr* in the self-revelation of God at the primordial covenant in pre-existence (*a-lastu bi-rabbikum*, Kurʾān, VII, 172), al-Tustarī understood *dhikr* as anamnesis. The mystic rediscovers the primaevial moment before God in the inmost recesses of his soul (*sirr al-nafs*) when he listens to Pharaoh's blasphemous proclamation of his own lordship, "I am your Lord Most High" (*anā rabbukum al-ʿālā*, LXXIX, 24). Listening to God, the true speaker of the Kurʾān, the mystic ironically perceives the actual essence of belief flowing from the tongue of unbelief and remembers in his experience the moment when God, in pre-existence, affirmed His oneness and lordship before all humanity. There is only one who can truly say, "I am" (*anā*), God, giving expression to the secret of divine lordship (*sirr al-rubūbiyya*) captured by the mystic in the experience of *dhikr* (cf. Böwering, *Mystical vision*, 187-207). Al-Tustarī's practical Šūfī ideal was incessant repentance (*al-tawba fariḍa ʿalā ʾl-ʿabd maʿa kulli nafas*, al-Sarrādj, *Lumaʿ*, 407, cf. Arberry, *Pages*, 9) and complete trust in God (*tawakkul*) which he understood as handing oneself over to God like the corpse in the hands of the undertaker (al-Kushayrī, *Risāla*, 368).

Al-Tustarī's thought is deeply intertwined with Kurʾānic exegesis. He proposed a pattern of Kurʾān interpretation that theoretically distinguished four meanings for each verse, literal (*ẓāhir*), allegorical (*bāʾin*), moral (*hadd*) and anagogical (*maʿlaʿ*, *muʿtalaʿ*). In fact, however, he consistently employed only two levels of meaning, a literal and an allegorical sense, combining *ẓāhir* and *hadd* as opposed to *bāʾin* and *maʿlaʿ*. In his theology, al-Tustarī understood God under the symbol of light (*nūr*) on the background of the light verse (*āyat al-nūr*, XXIV, 35) and chose the phrase of "the light of Muḥammad" (*nūr Muḥammad*) to designate the primal man and prototypical mystic, apparently in vague association with logos speculations and Shīʿī terminology. In interpretation of II, 30, and LIII, 13-18, he conceived of Muḥammad as the column of light (*ʿamūd al-nūr*) standing in primordial adoration of God, the crystal which draws the divine light upon itself, absorbs it in its core (*kalb Muḥammad*) and projects it unto humanity in the Kurʾān.

In his psychology, al-Tustarī played on the double-entendre of *nafas* (breath; life-breath) and *nafs* (soul, self), and perceived the human soul as the theatre of a struggle between two antagonistic tendencies, that of the God-centred orientation of the human heart (*kalb*), his spiritual self (*nafs al-rūḥ*), and that of the self-centred inclination of the carnal soul (*al-nafs al-ammāra bi'l-sūʾ*), his natural self (*nafs al-ṭabʿ*). Interpreting Kurʾān, XXXIX, 42, al-Tustarī traced the two selves to the notion of *tawaffī* (God's taking the souls unto Himself in death, sleep and mystic ascent) and understood each of them as a subtle substance (*latīf*), one luminous, the other coarse. Al-Tustarī's notion of faith (*īmān*) did not only include profession

with the tongue (*kawf*), conformity of action (*ʿamal*) and intention (*niyya*) but also the light of certitude (*nūr al-yakīn*), by which the mystic is enabled to anticipate God's final self-revelation (*taḍallī*) experienced in the beatific vision. Al-Tustarī found the basis for his idea of *taḍallī* in Kurʾān, XLIII, 70-2, a reference to the people of paradise, rather than in the Kurʾānic reference to Moses, who was unable to bear the sight of God's revelation (VII, 143).

There are only fragmentary source texts illuminating al-Tustarī's resolution of the central problem of Muslim theology concerning the interrelation between divine omnipotence and human responsibility. Al-Tustarī's thought attempts to achieve a conjunction of opposites and foreshadows Aṣḥʿarī themes. However, these themes may have been introduced into his *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān* by his disciples in the aftermath of al-Aṣḥʿarī [q.v.]. God creates both good and evil and possesses two kinds of will, volition (*maṣḥīʾa*) and an express will (*irāda*). Since human action is caused by the divine agency, God has to possess divine foreknowledge (*ʿilm Allāh al-sābiq*) of it prior to its occurrence. God's providence (*tadbīr*), made explicit in His command (*amr*) and interdiction (*nahy*), runs parallel to God's guidance (*hidāya*), made explicit in His help (*maʿūna*, also termed *wilāya*) and protection (*ʿisma*). When man performs an action in conformity with the divine Command and Interdiction, he is granted the divine succour of God's *maʿūna*, i.e. divinely given success (*tawfīq*). Should he commit an action in opposition to the divine Command and Interdiction, man places himself outside the divine custody and is deserted by God, who withdraws His *ʿisma* and forsakes man (*khiḍhlān* [q.v.]). It is man's duty to turn to God with thanksgiving when he performs a good deed (*hasana*) and to seek God's succour through repentance when he commits an evil deed (*sayyiʾa*). Whether man conforms to or opposes the divine Command and Interdiction, in each case the action comes from God although it is executed through man and by man (*minhu bihim wa-lahum*, see Böwering, *Mystical vision*, 175-84).

Bibliography: Tustarī, *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān al-karīm*, Cairo 1329/1911 (this edition cited); Sarrādj, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, ed. R.A. Nicholson, Leiden 1914; Makki, *Kūl al-kulūb fī muʿāmalāt al-mahbūb*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932; Sulamī, *Ṭabakāt al-sūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 199-205; Kūshayrī, *al-Risāla al-kūshayriyya*, Cairo 1385/1966; al-Anṣarī al-Harawī, *Ṭabakāt al-sūfiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Habībī, Kābul 1341 *sh.*/1961; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ wa-ṭabakāt al-aṣfiyāʾ*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351-7/1932-9; Shāʿrānī, *al-Ṭabakāt al-kubrā*, 2 vols., Cairo 1315/1897; Ibn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Beirut 1974; ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Djīlānī, *al-Ghunya li-tālibī tarīk al-haqq*, 2 vols., Cairo 1322; A.J. Arberry, *Pages from the Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, London 1947; G. Böwering, *The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam*, Berlin-New York 1980; M.K. Gaafer, *Min al-turāth al-sūfī*, Cairo 1974; I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG*, xli (1907), 73-80; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1968; C. Tunc, *Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī und die Sālīmīya*, Bonn 1970. (G. BÖWERING)

AL-SAHM (A.) "arrow". For the use of arrows in archery, see KAWS.

1. In science.

a. Geometrical term. If one erects a perpendicular *c* b in the middle of a chord of an arc, which reaches to the arc, this is called *al-sahm*, the versed sine (*al-djāyb al-maʿkūs*) of the arc *a* b; the sine (*al-djāyb al-mustawī*), which corresponds to our sine, is *a* c (see—in