

Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra

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Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra

A History of Religious Thought in Early Islam

VOLUME 1

By

Josef van Ess

Translated from German by

John O'Kane



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In memory of Hans Peter Ruger
(d. 2. 11. 1990)



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John O'Kane

Preface

Theologians come up with some strange ideas. This gives them their charm even today. Islamic theologians are no exception. However, the epoch that I wish to deal with had two further advantages to offer them: they stood in the openness of the beginning, and the society they lived in made extensive use of theological categories in interpreting its existence. The grace of recent birth predisposed them to a multiplicity of undertakings and a freedom from axioms that they would never again attain at a later time. The willingness of society to listen to them put them at the centre not only of shaping everyday life but of high-level politics as well. For this reason, in what follows there will be talk of caliphs and heretics, as well as of rent or of sexuality; “theology” is understood in the widest sense as religiously determined discourse about reality, which took its direction from a revelation that was still young.

But it is difficult for us to grasp clearly the two poles of this interrelationship; society and theology were still searching for their identity. The history of their effect on one another is likewise a description of the emergence of “orthodoxy”; because only a fundamentalist can be deceived by the picture our sources sketch for us from a later perspective: namely, that from its inception Islam had always been what it was later. One found oneself by making choices from numerous models and suggestions that were laid out in revelation and in tradition. But this process of *trial and error* which every religion goes through, was played out in Islam in a truly complex manner, given that its followers, during the wars of conquest, were dispersed over vast territories of the old world and there, as a class of overlords, dominated the substrata of the old population; this led to special provincial developments which, only with the passage of time, were levelled out by a general Muslim consciousness. One will have to examine the process, more than has previously been the case, by focusing on separate individual regions and cities.

The present study has been carried out with this priority in mind. In the first part, an attempt is made to reconstruct the religious situation in the individual cultural provinces; only later, in the second part, is attention more narrowly focused on a centre, namely on the caliph's court in Baghdād. When one surveys the provinces, phenomena enter the picture that until now, in compliance with the viewpoint of the Islamic sources, have for the most part been described as sectarian; on the other hand, in each particular locality they were often what one considered to be “orthodox” at the time. Only when, due to the attraction of the newly-founded capital, intellectual forces were increasingly lured from the old centres and met one another in Baghdād, did a the-

ology arise among the Mu‘tazila which laid claim to being generally binding. We wish to observe this process over approximately a century and a half, from the end of the Umayyad period until the second half of the 3rd century *hijrī*. Several chapters of the first part will indeed reach back to the 1st century; but this century will only be treated coherently in a brief overview at the beginning. In the final sections of the second part, one or another of the thinkers will be dealt with who only reached the high point of their creative work in the later decades of the 3rd century; but basically the description breaks off before the Mu‘tazila entered into their first scholastic phase with Jubbā‘ī among the Baṣrans, and Khayyāṭ and Ka‘bī among the inhabitants of Baghdād.

This chronological delimitation, as unusual as it may at first seem, is explained by the nature of the transmitted sources and the present state of research. Everything we learn about the 1st century in Islamic texts is under the suspicion of projection; Western scholarship, as far as the reliability of the sources and the method of their interpretation are concerned, is more disunited than ever. Only if one sees more clearly what occurred later, may one gain firmer ground under one’s feet for judging the first beginnings. The present work aims to provide the prerequisites for that goal but without being able to reach the goal itself; no one could be more aware than I of how much that which I have set in motion with earlier studies (*Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie*, Berlin 1975; *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977) is in need of precise proof. By comparison, the chronological end point of this study may appear much more justified by the parameters of the problem itself. But here as well the findings in the sources have played their part; because in the case of Jubbā‘ī and Ka‘bī the materials increase so greatly and attain such subtlety that, given the lack of preliminary studies, one cannot yet assume responsibility for undertaking a summary. The reconstruction of theological systems completely depends on establishing the correct emphasis; it is a matter of recognizing the *nervus rerum*. But this is scarcely possible on the basis of intuition when scholastic thought loses itself ever further in details – or only such details are graspable in the later tradition.

Of course, the same problem also arises for the era dealt with by us. Original texts in this period are almost equally scarce as in the 1st century; the doxographical reports on which we mostly must rely are incoherent and only single out particular points. On the other hand, doxographical reporting leads us to hope that these points, notwithstanding the distortion that can never be ruled out, were perceived to be typical and most of the time indicate the essential deviation concerning the thinker, which can also be a possible entrance into his “system”. The crux of the matter is whether these points can be effectively combined so that despite all the lacunae a convincing overall picture results.

One is often scarcely able to gauge how much in this game of mosaic building one is working with hidden hypotheses; only when a new piece of evidence emerges, does one become aware of one's own subjectivity. The less material one has, the more quickly the hermeneutic circle fails.

Greater certainty, for the time being, can only be gained here by surveying the tradition as completely as possible. But this is easier said than done. Up to now the relevant texts have neither been collected nor philologically made accessible. For this reason, it seemed advisable first of all to collect them and to present them separately in translation with a concise commentary.¹ In this way, the body of footnotes in the work could be generally relieved of purely philological problems; moreover, the non-specialist reader also acquires the possibility of forming a picture of the state of the transmitted sources for himself and of critically examining the overall view offered in the present study. But it is likewise assumed that the user of the book regularly compares the accompanying texts while reading the work and ideally has previously looked through them; they could not be cited in the work over again *in extenso* without repetitions being introduced. Likewise, the question why in each case they were combined one way and not another could not always be explicitly raised and answered. Basically, an attempt has been made only sparingly to fill in gaps in the tradition with speculation, and as much as possible to help each source to play its due part. This may have led to occasional sections appearing somewhat incoherent or, in contrast to tracking down problems and contradictions, an impression of a certain harmonization is given. But here too the reader is advised to form a picture for himself on the basis of the texts.

These last remarks apply chiefly to the second part; it is there that systems are first reconstructed on a larger scale. The first part deals with implicit rather than explicit theology; from the sources there drawn upon – the biographical literature, the *Ḥadīth*, Koranic exegesis – the religious or theological views of a scholar often can only be gauged in very general terms. Hence a structural decision ensued which has given the whole work its profile: we have not divided the materials according to subject matter but have proceeded prosopographically. This research technique, compared with other methods more recently applied in Islamic Studies, is relatively conventional and rather unassuming. However, it has the advantage of corresponding to the nature of the Arabic sources; it thus offers the best guarantee, in the beginning stage in which we

1 These Texts are referred to especially in the footnotes and can only be consulted in Vols. v and vi of the German original of this work. Likewise, in the footnotes the word *Werkliste* appears a few times which refers to a list of the known works by the author under discussion which is also only to be found in Vols. v and vi.

still find ourselves, of mastering the unmanageable and disordered mass of source materials. Meanwhile, in the first part of the book, by sifting through "collective biography" (as one sometimes calls the prosopographical method) insight will be gained into the significance that religious movements of the early period, i.e. "the sects", had in each of the different regions. By contrast, in the second part, for which we disposed over considerably more systematic materials, we have attempted, in accordance with the scheme "life and works", to sketch the profile of individual personalities.

Of course, this method is also known to have its drawbacks. What one arrives at through it is a history of scholars; the religion of the simple people can scarcely be grasped this way. The biographical literature which here provides the basis conveys a static picture; it generalizes very broadly and offers little possibility of grasping developments. Relationships based on practicalities are torn apart by the progression from name to name. It is not clear in every case where certain persons belong geographically; as is well known, the *nisba*, which is often one's only clue, is anything but unambiguous. Yet what one can especially reproach us with is that beyond all the Qadarites, Murji'ites, etc., whom we have discovered following the sources, "normal" figures, who perhaps actually make up the majority, have been forgotten. These objections cannot be entirely eliminated; we can only affirm that we have tried to take them into account as much as possible. At the end of the work, a short summary structured according to specific topics is intended to provide an opportunity to restore to view some of what has been left aside due to the method's constraints. In any case, may the reader throughout bear in mind it was not our intention to write a general intellectual history of the regions dealt with and the time period in question. Our subject is the relationship between theology and society, nothing more and nothing less.

One will have to ask oneself whether this as well is not too pretentious for the century and a half that we have chosen. The work as it now stands comprises four volumes; and two volumes with translations of texts have been added. This betrays a certain recklessness and is surely out of keeping with the times. People who think in terms of aeons will ask whether it would not have been better to publish the collection of texts and let matters rest there; this would have been useful and could have been carried out in the rather mechanical manner which nowadays has become usual for projects. In effect, the danger is great that I have overextended myself. Whoever tears down the fences between the garden allotments of the specialists will hardly escape with impunity. Only how fortunate that in the case of early Islamic theology these garden allotments have scarcely been laid out yet; in several places the ground has still to be divided into plots. Thus, when making many statements, one cannot avoid

walking on tiptoe and employing the subjunctive mood; but for precisely this reason one can permit oneself to perform a little ballet.

Consequently, what is here presented is not a “synthesis”; the overview stands at the beginning and not at the end. The general picture, for the most part, is not put together on the basis of results of earlier research but is a sketch intended to serve as a means of orientation for later monograph works. Perhaps in the future someone will dispense a great sum of money to tackle this subject with a group of willing hands – through team-work. I have no wish to spoil the fun for him by my solo effort. However, it seems to me of capital importance that work of this kind, given out in assignments, is in need of a concept. Yet up to now that is exactly what we have not had concerning Islamic theology of the period dealt with here. What has served as a guiding principle up to now, without our always being aware of it, has been the scheme of divisions used by the Islamic heresiographers. If one wishes to break free from this, one must first know the source materials precisely. It is not useful to confine oneself to one particular corner; one then remains conservative with regard to the larger picture and, again without being aware of it, tends to orient one’s individual knowledge accordingly. It will never be possible to achieve a synthesis solely on the basis of individual studies; the whole is more than the sum of its parts. The general sketch, each time and at every stage, has the double function of offering a guideline and inviting criticism.

My adopting this perspective makes it easier to come to terms with the fact that there will be numerous errors regarding detail; in a work of this scope it cannot be avoided. If we associate a hope with this work, it is that the time may be coming to an end when only a few found their bearings in the sources of early Islamic theology and when academic dialogue was sometimes limited to occasions when scholars argued against one another on the basis of random findings. But it would be a shame if instead an era began in which glib speculators confined themselves exclusively to the two volumes of translations accompanying this work. The path should not be laid open for the patter-merchants. What one would wish for is that a broadening of informed discourse would take hold in the field.

It will not come as a surprise to anyone to learn that individual chapters, especially those of the first part, were originally written separately; nor were they composed in the sequence in which they now appear. Only in a second round of writing did they acquire their coherence. The structural ordering has been indicated by a system of numbering which in several chapters of the first volume becomes confusing through a plethora of digits. But one is free to ignore it; its sole function is to facilitate advance references to the later volumes. The reader should not forget that the system was only added subsequently; in the case of several subheadings, no doubt it is still noticeable

that originally the flow of the presentation was not meant to be interrupted there. A multi-volume work brings with it problems that are not posed in a monograph. Repetitions or inconsistencies in the style of citations cannot be wholly avoided; in the course of time contradictions will perhaps also turn up. Presumably they will first be exposed through the Indices and Bibliography. But I must ask the reader's indulgence regarding both of these; they will have their place at the end of the work, i.e. in volume IV. For the time being, it will not be easy to find one's way; here my only advice is to do what one did in times past with a scholarly book: to read it.

I am proud to have been able to do without the apparatus of a modern high-status scholar. I have not called upon the aid of research assistants throughout the decisive phase; all the while relevant materials had to be located and processed, I was solely dependent on myself. Only once the manuscript existed, did I delegate work with regard to checking the text, in preparing the Bibliography, etc.; I will have more to say about this at the conclusion of the work. For the time being, it remains for me to thank those who offered me advice on areas I am less familiar with: my late friend Konrad Gaiser and my colleagues Böhlig, Gerö, Rex, Rieger, Schramm and Ullmann. Wadād al-Qāḍī, in Chicago, and Heinz Gaube, in Tübingen, read the introductory chapter (Part A) with critical eyes; H. Jaouiche for a while checked quotations from Arabic sources. M. Behnstedt, the secretary of the Orientalische Seminar, in a devoted manner over the last ten years, and along with her regular duties, wrote out the whole of the first, and large parts of the second version of the work; A. Harwazinski, in cooperation with her, produced a computer-manuscript of a large part of the second version of the first and second volumes. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Volkswagenstiftung awarded me sabbatical leave for the years 1984/85 and 1987/88. The president of the University of Tübingen in the years 1987 and 1988 made possible the production of the fair copy through special funds. H. Gaube and St. Gerö, by their agreement to a rotating take-over of the Seminar directorship made valuable free time available to me. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft has supported the present volume with a subsidy to defray the printing costs. The thirteen-month period for editing which preceded their approval again demonstrated to me with what wisdom the Orient recognizes that haste is the devil's work; during this interim I had the opportunity to weed out errors and to add supplementary information. I wish to express my heart-felt thanks to all the above-mentioned here at the start of a conclusion which under the current circumstances will still require several years to be completed.

Josef van Ess

Tübingen, 1990

List of the Most Frequent Abbreviations (Excluding Journals)

<i>Agh.</i>	<i>K. al-Aghānī</i>
<i>Anfänge</i>	van Ess: <i>Anfänge muslimischer Theologie</i>
AZ	Abū Zur‘a: <i>Ta‘rīkh</i>
Bukhārī	Bukhārī: <i>al-Ta‘rīkh al-kabīr</i>
CHAL	<i>The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature</i>
CHI	<i>The Cambridge History of Iran</i>
<i>Conc.</i>	Wensinck: <i>Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane</i>
DSB	<i>Dictionary of Scientific Biography</i>
EI ¹	<i>Enzyklopädie des Islam</i>
EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition</i>
EIran	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i>
EJud	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
ER	<i>Encyclopedia of Religion</i>
Faḍl	Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār: <i>Faḍl al-i‘tizāl</i>
Fasawī	Fasawī (or Basawī): <i>al-Ma‘rifā wa’l-ta‘rīkh</i>
GAL	Brockelmann: <i>Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur</i>
GAP	<i>Grundriß der arabischen Philologie</i>
GAS	Sezgin: <i>Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums</i>
GdQ	Nöldeke: <i>Geschichte des Qurāns</i>
GIE	<i>The Great Islamic Encyclopedia Dā‘irat ul-ma‘ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī</i>
ḤKh	Ḥājī Khalīfa: <i>Kashf al-Zunūn</i> . Istanbul 1310
HT	van Ess: <i>Zwischen Ḥadīth und Theologie</i>
IAH	Ibn Abī Ḥātim: <i>al-Jarḥ wa’l-ta‘dīl</i>
IAW	Ibn Abī’l-Wafā’: <i>al-Jawāhir al-muḍī‘a</i>
IKh	Ibn Khallikān: <i>Wafayāt al-a‘yān</i> , ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās
IM	Ibn al-Murtaḍā: <i>Ṭabaqāt al-Mu‘tazila</i>
IS	Ibn Sa‘d: <i>Ṭabaqāt</i>
LexMa	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i>
LThK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>Maq.</i>	Ash‘arī: <i>Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn</i>
<i>Mizān</i>	Dhahabī: <i>Mizān al-i‘tidāl</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RCEA	<i>Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe</i>
ShNB	Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd: <i>Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha</i>
TB	al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī: <i>Ta‘rīkh Baghdād</i>

TD	Ibn 'Asākir: <i>Ta'riḫ Dimashq</i>
TH	Dhahabī: <i>Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz</i>
TT	Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī: <i>Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb</i>
TTD	Ibn 'Asākir: <i>Tahdhīb Ta'riḫ Dimashq</i>
WKAS	<i>Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache</i>

PART A

*Prelude: Characteristics of Islamic Religiosity
in the 1st Century*



Setting the Seal on Prophecy

The death of the Prophet was “the greatest misfortune”, so one frequently reads on Muslim tombstones.¹ For a little more than two decades heaven had opened; by means of His Messenger God had spoken directly to His new chosen people and, as it was soon to be believed, to human beings throughout the world. He was now no longer simply “the Merciful” (*al-Raḥmān*), as the Jews of South Arabia had already described Him,² but had manifested Himself in a special manner as “the Lord of Muḥammad”.³ One was, however, obliged to acknowledge that the occurrence of prophets had come to an end; all that remained of the Word was Scripture, and the charisma of God’s Messenger had to be “accommodated in everyday reality”.⁴ The liberating interpretation,

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- 1 *aʿzam al-maṣāʾib*; apparently found for the first time in an inscription from the year 71/691 (cf. El-Hawary in: *JRAS* 1932, p. 290). Additional material in Massignon: *BIFAO* 59/1960/260 ff. (= *Opera minora* 111, 303 ff.) and in Meier: *Der Islam* 62/1985/25, fn. 21. The formula and the idea come to be expressed in a *ḥadīth* (*Conc.* 111, 432a).
 - 2 J. Rijkmans in: *L’Orient cristiano nella storia della civiltà*, 436 ff.
 - 3 *rabb Muḥammad*, appears thus in early Islamic poetry (O. Farrukh, *Bild des Frühislams*, 21 f.), for instance by analogy with *rabb Mūsā wa-Hārūn* in the Koran (surahs 7/122 and 26/48). – One may speculate concerning to what extent this special relation already existed in pre-Islamic times. Occupying a key position in this regard is a late Sabaeen rock inscription Ja 1028 from the year 518, at the end of which the formula *rbhd / bmḥmd* is found (A. Jamme, *Sabaeen and Hasaeen Inscriptions from Saudi Arabia*, pp. 40 and 55, l. 12). Following on the invocation of “the Lord of the Jews”, i.e. Raḥmānān, is the invocation of a *mḥmd*; the lack of mimation appears to show it is a personal name. If one may translate this as “by Muḥammad”, it might be assumed that among Jews of South Arabia there were those who were waiting for the Messiah as “the Praised One”; and that the Prophet had laid claim to this epithet for himself. The compilers of the *Dictionnaire Sabéen* (A. F. L. Beeston, M. A. Ghul, W. W. Müller and J. Rijkmans) have not included the form and thereby indicate that they consider it a personal name. However, Beeston in his most recent treatment of the inscription to date (in: *BSOAS* 48/1985/42 ff.) has now judged otherwise; for him *mḥmd* is an epithet of Raḥmānān (Jamme also agrees, op. cit. 55, and similarly Rodinson in: *BO* 26/1969/28). Moreover, the question as to whether the Prophet subsequently adopted the name Muḥammad is generally answered in the negative (cf. F. Buhl, *Leben Muhammeds*, 112, fn. 7, with additional literature). I must thank W. W. Müller, Marburg, for information on this question.
 - 4 The expression “accommodation in everyday reality” (*Veralltäglicdung*) comes from Max Weber (*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, ⁵Tübingen 1976, pp. 142 ff., also 661 ff.). On the process itself cf. T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat*, 23 ff., who in this connection works with

as it came to be viewed later, was expressed by Abū Bakr: “Whoever honoured Muḥammad – Muḥammad is now dead; but whoever honoured God – God lives and will not die”.⁵ God had spoken through Muḥammad; but in fact Muḥammad was “nothing more than a messenger”, like other prophets before him.⁶ The message, however, which was sent to all those who understood “the Arabic Koran”, would last for eternity.

This is a topos; the optimism of the first caliph sprang from the hindsight of the transmitters. Abū Bakr’s faith may have been strong; but the breaking away of the bedouin tribes must have shown him that their loyalty was to the person of Muḥammad and not to the message. The thought which was put in his mouth occurs several times in the reports about the Ridda.⁷ Only with the wars of conquest did kerygma demonstrate its power;⁸ the criterion that confirmed the young religion was success. Only thus did the attempts to repeat the occurrence of prophets lose their appeal. In fact in Kūfa, up to the time of ‘Uthmān, Musaylima still found followers from among the Banū Ḥanīfa in whose midst he had emerged; they possessed their own mosque in the city.⁹ But this was scarcely anything more than an exotic epilogue. Perhaps there were efforts to describe Abū Bakr and ‘Umar as prophets; yet this was soon toned down to the effect that they were *muḥaddath*, “partners in conversation” with God, i.e. inspired but no longer mouthpieces of the divine Word. The old model only retained its force for a while where, as among the Shī‘ites in Kūfa, it was believed that the development of the early years was fundamentally wrong, or in places like Damascus where expectation of the Messiah had hung on for a long time; there during the days of ‘Abd al-Malik a certain Ḥārith b. Sa‘īd had passed himself off as a prophet and enjoyed some popularity among the native population until he was executed in the year 79/698. Otherwise, by this period even in chiliastic movements no one spoke of a prophet after Muḥammad but rather of the Mahdī who as a worldly ruler would restore the justice of early

the concept “replacement institution” (Ersatzinstitution); W. A. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam*, 9 ff.; Abdelfattah Kilito, *L’Auteur et ses doubles*, 42 ff.

5 IS II₂, 56, ll. 12 f., and Ṭabarī I, 1816, ll. 12 ff.; also cited in Shahrastānī II, ll. 14 ff./19, ll. 14 ff. (cf. transl. by Gimaret, *Livre des Religions*, 127, with additional material).

6 Surah 3/144. The passage is cited by Abū Bakr.

7 Evidence in Meier, *Abū Sa‘īd* 313 f., from the *K. al-Ridda* of Wathīma.

8 Dealing with this fundamentally and in detail, now F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton 1981).

9 Cf. the traditions in the *Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba, vol. XII, 268 f., no. 12788–9, and 272, no. 12799; similarly also Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* 2v, 231, no. 3837 (already noted in Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* 120). On Musaylima cf. E. Shoufani, *Al-Ridda and the Muslim conquest of Arabia* 154 f. and above all D. Eickelman in: JESHO 10/1967/17 ff.

times. For the sober majority the model of the caliphate was the only sensible alternative.

The idea that Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were prophets is combated in the old Ibādīte *‘aqīda* that Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Jumay‘, around the turn of the 9th/15th century, translated from a Berber dialect into Arabic under the title *Muqaddimat al-tawḥīd* (ed. Ibrāhīm Aṭṭīyāsh, Cairo 1353/1934, cf. p. 112, l. 1; on the work in general cf. EI² I, 121, and Cuperly, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Ibādisme*, 47 ff.). The information is isolated; the commentators of the text, Shammākhī (d. 428/1521–22) and Dāwūd b. Ibrāhīm al-Tallātī (d. 967/1560), have no idea what to make of it (ibid. 112, ll. 5 ff.). However, it could be precisely here that the age of this idea reveals itself. Muqaddasī came across it in the 4th century in Iṣfahān (see below Chpt. B 3.2.3.1). One must ask oneself whether a widely disseminated *ḥadīth* is not already addressing this issue: “The Israelites were ruled over by prophets; when one of them died, the next one always followed. After me, however, no other prophet will come. Instead there will be caliphs and many of them indeed...” (Muslim, *Imāra* 44 = no. 1842; for further instances cf. *Conc.* III, 24a). The concept *muḥaddath* is likewise already used in a *ḥadīth*, though only in connection with ‘Umar (*Conc.* I, 434a). On this in general Y. Friedmann in: JSAI 7/1986/202 ff. And M. Takeshita, *Ibn ‘Arabī’s Theory of the Perfect Man*, 135 ff.; see also below p. 324.

On the Kūfan “prophets” see below p. 269. They were not directly linked with Muḥammad; but their emergence shows that the concept in certain circles was not looked upon as inappropriate. The authoritative textual sources have been translated by H. Halm, *Islamische Gnosis*, 55 ff.; the relevant dissertation by W. F. Tucker, *Revolutionary Chiliasm in Omayyad Iraq* (PhD Bloomington, 1971) has unfortunately only been made accessible in some sections (*Arabica* 22/1975/33 ff., MW 65/1975/241 ff., and *Der Islam* 54/1976/66 ff.). The Mahdī model already existed at this time. Mukhtār, as is known, applied it to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya; in the same period it is found – even if not with the exact term – in Baṣra and under ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in the Ḥijāz (see Madelung in: EI² v, 1230 ff., and in: JNES 11/1981/291 ff.; as well as ‘A. Dūrī in: *Festschrift ‘Abbās*, Arabic Part, pp. 123 ff.).

Damascus, in the pre-Christian-Jewish conception, was the place where one expected the Messiah; for this reason it was there that Paul underwent his experience (cf. N. Wieder, *The Judaean Scrolls and Karaism*, 1 ff.). The Muslim idea that at the end of time Jesus will descend there on “the white minaret” to fight the Anti-Christ could also be explained on the basis

of this. Hārith b. Saʿīd whom the Muslim sources call al-Kadhdhāb, “the Arch-Liar”, emerged in Damascus but was crucified alive in Jerusalem; at the same time he had his side pierced with a lance. It appears that his followers stylized the account of his arrest and death in accordance with Christ’s Passion. One must ask oneself whether they did not in part originate from Christian or Judaeo-Christian circles. On the limited information that we possess about this event, cf. D. M. Dunlop in: *Studies in Islam* (New Delhi) 1/1964/12 ff. and my own *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, 228 ff. Dunlop goes back to Ibn ‘Asākir and Dhahabī; other sources to mention are Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 364, ll. 5 ff. from bot., and Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* XI, 254, no. 373. Everywhere the chief informant is the Damascene historian Walīd b. Muslim al-Umawī (d. 195/810); on him see GAS 1/293). That the tradition is old is shown by the fact that Mālik b. Anas refers to it: for him this was absolutely the only case of a crucifixion in Islam. As Saḥnūn explains, what was meant was in fact the crucifixion of a living person (*Mudawwana* VI, 299, ll. 5 ff.; on the form of crucifixion in Islam cf. O. Spies in: *Festschrift Mensching*, 143 ff.). In Balādhurī something similar is briefly narrated about a certain Khālīd; he also is said to have been crucified alive (*Anonyme Chronik*, ed. Ahlwardt, 253, ll. 4 ff.). The report may be referring to the same person; however, it is characteristic that here ‘Abd al-Malik already justifies the execution with a reference to surah 33/40 where Muḥammad is described as “the Seal of the Prophets” (more on this below pp. 34 f.).

The attitude towards life among the Christians in Syria at this time is reflected in an apocalypse which was apparently composed in Jazīra in the region of Sinjār but later attributed to the Byzantine Church Father, Methodius of Patara. It was deciphered for the first time by M. Kmosko and correctly localized (in: *Byzantion*, 6/1931/273 ff.). Upon his results P. J. Alexander then built further, having occupied himself several times with the text (cf. his posthumously published book *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. D. deF. Abrahamse, University of California Press 1985, but also his assembled articles in the collective volume *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire*, Variorum Reprints 1978, nos. XI–XIII). Recently H. Suermann in his dissertation *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenischen Apokalypik des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Bonn 1984) has once more printed the Syriac original and translated it (pp. 129 ff.; cf. also the translation by Alexander, 36 ff., and the edition of the Greek versions by A. Lolos, *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodius*, Meisenheim 1976, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 83). Since Kmosko, one has been accustomed

to date the text before 'Abd al-Malik (Suermann as well, 161); Alexander even considers whether one should go back to the time before the First Civil War. However, the period between 73/692 and 85/704 as the earliest *terminus ante quem* is obligatory. Consequently, S. Brock for good reasons has suggested the first half of 'Abd al-Malik's rule as the date of composition; at that time the caliph's power was limited to Syria and he was forced to pay tribute to the Byzantines. This would seem the likeliest moment for the hope expressed in the Methodius Apocalypse that the last "Roman" emperor would conquer Jerusalem and set down his crown on the cross of Christ ("Syrian Views of Emergent Islam" in: *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, ed. Juynboll, pp. 18 f.; similarly also Reinink in: *Byz. Zs.* 75/1982/339, fn. 19. On the figure of the final emperor now see Suermann in: *OC* 71/1987/140 ff.). It is interesting how much Jewish and Christian ideas are mixed with one another in the text; Alexander, who has drawn attention to this in his last work which appeared just after his death, wishes to attribute responsibility for this, among other factors, to a Judaeo-Christian environment in Upper Mesopotamia (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 41/1978/1 ff.). Brock, however, takes the author of the Apocalypse to be a Melkite (in: *BO* 44/1987/415).

To the time of 'Abd al-Malik also probably belongs the case of Yazīd b. Unaysa which is unique in the history of Islamic sects. He was a Khārijite who was awaiting the arrival of a new prophet; but he was active in Iran. For more about him see below Chpt. B 3.2.1.1.

The Awareness of Being Chosen and Identity Formation

There have continuously been chiliastic movements in Islam; frequently they were simply a form of expression through which a religious age reacted to political oppression and economic crisis. But they remained marginal phenomena; in its great majority Islam abandoned expectation of the imminent end of the world more quickly than did Christianity. Nonetheless, even when the Last Judgement was already no longer central in his preaching, the Prophet had believed so strongly in an impending end of time that when he dealt with the construction of the first mosque, he only thought it necessary for it to be “a hut like that of Moses” (*‘arīsh ka-‘arīsh Mūsā*).¹ However, events developed in such a linear manner and with such unexpected acceleration that later even magic dates like the year 100,² “the Year of the Donkey”,³ scarcely interrupted the course of history in the consciousness of contemporaries. The Abbasid

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- 1 On this *ḥadīth* cf. Kister in BSOAS 25/1962/150 ff.; also the *ḥadīths* in Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh* I, 10, ll. 3 ff. should also be consulted here.
 - 2 *Ḥadīths* on this in Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* 119, ll. 4 ff. = 99, ll. 1 ff./transl. Lecomte 111 f. § 139–140. Expectations were focused on the caliph Sulaymān and, after the latter’s surprisingly premature death, on ‘Umar II (on this cf. together with what Madelung has to say in EI² v, 1231, the evidence in Watt in: “Iran and Islam”, *Festschrift Minorsky* 569; also my *Anfänge* 125). Sulaymān’s expedition against Constantinople for a time attracted them to himself (on this summarizing, now R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion* 129 ff., whose scepticism on this point I do not entirely share). Especially typical for the time of ‘Umar II are the animal idylls in IS v, 285, ll. 16 ff.
 - 3 “The Year of the donkey” took its name from surah 2/259. By this is also meant the year 100; but looking back in this way the beginning of the Abbasid movement was designated (*Akhbār al-Abbās wa-wuldih* 193, ll. 10 ff., and Ya’qūbī, *Taʾrīkh* II, 357, ll. 9 f.; on this Nagel, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des abbasidischen Kalifats* 57 f. and Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory* 65 ff.). On the Umayyad side, one shifted the calculation and steered the expectation at the last minute to Marwān II; this is probably how he acquired his nickname al-Ḥimār (Tha’alabī, *Thimār al-qulūb* 372, no. 673 and *Latā’if al-ma’ārif* 43, ll. 6 ff./transl. Bosworth 61; following this source, H. von Mżik in: WZKM 20/1906/310 ff.). Ru’ba spoke of Marwān as the one who “rode past on his donkey” (Ahlwardt, *Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter* 174, last l.). Cf. also the passage in Sharon, *Black Banners* 188, fn. 97.

revolution had chiliastic roots;⁴ but even it would only usher in a temporal change (*dawla*).⁵ Calling to the faith and early political success had created within the community of Muslims an awareness of being chosen and having a mission, which proved to be enduring beyond all the crises.

Moreover, the most grave crisis had come early on, and one had experienced it painfully enough. Yet it had not arisen because of the delay of the Parousia,⁶ but because of the split within the community during the First Civil War. What was lost in the split was unity, not the sense of being different. A number of Muslims at the time did abandon their faith for Christianity;⁷ but most reacted in conformity with the system: they held onto the collective experiences such as the public prayers or attempted, in small social groups in which it was easy to maintain control over orthodoxy, to realize the ideal of Islam. The Khārījites saw in this retreat within themselves a second *hijra*; while one left behind the mass of former comrades in the faith as “unbelievers”, one could hope to lead the life of a community of saints.⁸ Among the early Shī‘a, the feeling of being the only chosen ones was at least as strong;⁹ but they were confident that a

4 Saffāh describes himself as Mahdī in an inscription that has been found in the chief mosque of Ṣan‘ā’ (text in Dūrī in: *Festschrift ‘Abbās* 124, and Serjeant-Lewcock, *Ṣan‘ā’* 348, but where on p. 324 in a remarkable slip *al-mahdī* is interpreted as the caliph al-Mahdī). The epithet Saffāh itself is a chiliastic attribute; the caliph had applied it to himself during his “accession-to-the-throne speech” in Kūfa (Ṭabarī III, 30, l. 2 from bot.; on this T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat* 91 ff. and *Untersuchungen* 93 ff., there pp. 101 f. also in argument with B. Lewis in: *Zakir Husain Presentation Volume = Studies in Classical and Ottoman Islam*, Variorum Reprints, no. II, pp. 16 f.).

5 On this now M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, passim; on the term *dawla* cf. also Lewis, *Political Language* 35 f.

6 Delay in the Parousia only occurs again in the Shī‘a in connection with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and already in connection with ‘Alī (cf. Halm, *Gnosis* 33 ff. and 48 ff.). One never expected the return of Muḥammad; after all one had the Koran.

7 Thus at least in the First Civil War (Wellhausen, *Arabisches Reich* 55 and 63).

8 I here and in what follows adopt categories that were developed by W. M. Watt. For the Khārījites cf. his article in: *Der Islam* 36/1961/215 ff. and his explanations in: *Islam and the Integration of Society* 94 ff.; critical of this, Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* 54. On the social background cf. also E. Ashtor, *Social and Economic History* 30 ff., as well as now H. Dabashi, *Authority in Islam* 121 ff. On the highly complex semantic history of the word *hijra* cf. R. Serjeant in: Serjeant-Lewcock, *Ṣan‘ā’* 40 ff. and Chelhod, *L’Arabie du Sud* III, 28 and 170; ‘Athamina in: SI 66/1987/225 ff.; Zafarul Islam Khan, *The Origins and Development of the Concept of Hijrah or Migration in Islam* (PhD Manchester 1987); Madelung in: REI 24/1986/225 ff. (*Festschrift Sourdel*, not yet published); Bosworth in JSS 34/1989/355 ff.

9 On this also below p. 318 f.

member of the Prophet's family, through his charisma, would show them the path to salvation.¹⁰ The Murji'a, which once more attempted to patch up the breach with an ecumenical compromise, to begin with was locally confined and, in emphasizing faith over works, counted on the general Muslim awareness of being chosen.¹¹ However one came to a decision, membership in the community, *ecclesia* as Wansbrough has called it,¹² is the oldest form of expression of Islamic soteriology. The single individual completely merged in the community; an individual sense of sin did not yet exist, and individual destinies, even when they were potentially so symbolically pregnant as the murder of three of the four caliphs who later became known as "the rightly guided", remained without influence on the image of history.

10 Watt, *Integration* 104 ff.

11 On them see below pp. 222 ff. Watt emphasizes the common intention among the Khārijites and the Murji'ites in his article "The Charismatic Community in Islam" in: *Numen* 7/1960/77 ff.

12 *The Sectarian Milieu* 132; cf. also the remarks *ibid.* 87 ff.

2.1 Symbols of Islamic Identity in the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik

It was easier for “the opposition parties” when it came to safeguarding internal solidarity; they remained within fixed boundaries, and they already found unity and identity in protest. The authorities, on the other hand, the Umayyad caliphs and their governors, first had to create unity and identity; they made use of religion as a binding tie within an area of rule that had expanded too rapidly, one in which the awareness of being chosen frequently only expressed itself in the “colonialist” attitude of superiority of the Arab settlers. At this point the intellectual achievement of 'Abd al-Malik reveals itself; formed by the experience of the second great civil war, he undertook to create a stronger consciousness of the distinctive character of the Islamic community as a whole. He did not do this with manifestos but with symbols. This was not something completely new; 'Umar by introducing the new calendar had already established such a marker. But during the two generations that had since elapsed a development had taken place; one now sees how theological thinking based on Koranic statements finds expression in these symbols.

There was first the reform of the administration. Its symbolic power was undoubtedly felt most strongly by the non-Muslim. Everyone now had to communicate with the chancellery in Arabic, in a language which many of the subject people still regarded as the odd gibberish of uneducated bedouins; a whole class of arrogant functionaries were thereby deprived of office and income or had to transform themselves most rapidly.¹ Along with the language also changed the repertoire of phraseology; unfortunately we no longer know much about this. Here the religious dimension of the measures revealed itself. It would have been more noticeable to an Arab and a Muslim; the language as such would already remind him of the victory of his revelation. For us the process becomes most clearly visible in the currency reform; here it is possible to demonstrate which texts were turned into symbols, and we also know the transitional stages that were followed. As with the reform of the administration, one must distinguish between the Iranian and the Greek sphere of influence. The traditional Sassanian coins were at first struck with an additional *bismi'llāh*;² later the image of the fire-altar framed by two attendants was replaced by the *shahāda* (still in Pahlavi),³ and then with the reform the

1 On this cf. M. Sprengling, “From Persian to Arabic” in: *AJSL* 56/1939/175 ff. and 325 ff.; summarizing, now L. Goodman in: *CHAL* I, 474 ff.

2 H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, illustration 1 and pp. 18 ff.

3 Thus on an Arabo-Sassanian dirham from the year 72, i.e. shortly before the beginning of the reform (Mochiri in: *JRAS* 1981, pp. 168 ff.).

coins acquired an Arabic legend⁴ on both sides. In the same way, early on, the cross was made unrecognizable in the images adopted from Byzantine coinage until, in the year 77/697, striking genuine Islamic images on coins became the norm.⁵ On the reverse side, the coins bore as an inscription the text of surah 112.⁶ This now likewise occurs as a watermark on the papyrus that was obtained from Egypt; until then it had borne a formula to do with the Trinity. The same occurred with textiles, glass weights, ceramics, etc.⁷ Even signposts and milestones were Arabicized and Islamicized.⁸

Nowhere, however, is the raising of awareness illustrated more clearly than on the Dome of the Rock. Contrary to what was previously assumed, the construction does not appear to belong to the period of the civil war but was only begun in the year 72/692 when, after the end of the campaign against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, resources started to flow more abundantly.⁹ The Dome of the Rock is a demonstration of power *vis-à-vis* Byzantium. For that reason it is located in Jerusalem, as a counterpart to the Anastasis Church (partly in ruin since the Persian invasion) and – perhaps – the Church of the Ascension. It is in fact not a mosque but an edifice built for pomp and prestige.¹⁰ The building's inscriptions underline its importance; their number and length show how much it mattered to the authorities who, after some time, were once more victorious and wished to proclaim their “ideology”. Once again surah 112 stands in the foreground; it makes up part of three out of the four inscriptions

4 On the development in detail cf. also Morony, *Iraq* 38 ff.

5 On the beginnings of Arabic coinage cf. M. L. Bates, *Islamic Coins* (New York 1982), pp. 6 ff. and now in greater detail in: *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 65/1986/231 ff.; concerning 'Abd al-Malik's reform of the coinage, with special emphasis on the metrological aspect, Ph. Grierson in: *JESHO* 3/1960/241 ff. On the iconography cf. Miles in: *Ars Orientalis* 3/1959/210 ff. and in: *Amer. Numism. Soc., Museum Notes* 13/1967/ 205 ff.; also A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasm byzantin: dossier archéologique* (Paris 1957), pp. 67 ff. with illustrations 62–66 and now in general R. J. Herbert in: *Proceedings Bilād al-Shām* IV₂, vol. 1, 133 ff. On the religious significance of the coinage reform cf. Paret in: *Kunst des Orients* 11/1977/177 f. (= *Schriften zum Islam* 267 f.). A general critical overview of the literature in Bates in: *MESA Bulletin* 13/1979/3 ff.

6 On this in detail Walker, *Catalogue* II, 84 ff.

7 Cf. the report of Kisā'i in R. Sergeant, *Islamic Textiles* 12 f.; also Goodman in *CHAL* I, 475. On glass weights cf. Morton in: *BSOAS* 49/1986/177 ff.

8 Sharon in: *BSOAS* 29/1984/117 f.; on this see the illustrations in Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie* II, 83.

9 Thus Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der Zweite Bürgerkrieg* 227 ff.

10 On this H. Busse in: *JSAI* 5/1984/117 f.; also already O. Grabar in *Ars Orientalis* 3/1959/ 55 ff., but still with the old early dating.

we possess.¹¹ But in one place¹² it is supplemented by the closing verse of surah 17 which in a similar manner was understood to be anti-Trinitarian.¹³ Jesus is mentioned but in the way the Koran understood him, as “a bondsman of God”,¹⁴ and on the north gate the prophetic mission of Muḥammad is emphasized with surah 9/33;¹⁵ the same Koranic passage is also found once again on coins.¹⁶ Muḥammad is above all also the one who will undertake intercession for his community at the Last Judgement;¹⁷ in this way all doubts about being chosen are set to rest. Moreover, this fact is already clearly expressed on earth; because God gives rule to whom He will and removes it from whom He will.¹⁸

What is here clearly an effort at image promotion, in the end transforms itself into fanaticism. ‘Abd al-Malik orders crosses to be forbidden throughout the whole empire;¹⁹ in Egypt at the command of his brother ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who was the local governor, churches had ribbons attached to them, upon which was inscribed surah 112 and where Jesus was described as a prophet of God.²⁰

11 One finds this best in M. Van Berchem, CIA, *Jérusalem “Ḥaram”* II, 228 ff.; in RCEA I, 8 ff., nos. 9–11, the commentary is left out, and the Koranic quotations are not given in full. A German translation now in H. Busse in: *Das Heilige Land 109/1977/8* ff., there nos. I–IV (in CIA and RCEA both inscriptions, which follow inside and outside under the moulding of the entire curve of the cupola, are dealt with as one). On the political significance already Grabar, op. cit., 52 ff.; now also G. R. D. King in: BSOAS 48/1985/274 and E. C. Dodd and Sh. Khairallah, *The Image of the Word. A Study of Quranic Verse in Islamic Architecture* I, 19 ff. Busse gives the most detailed interpretation in: *Theol. Quartalschrift* 161/1981/168 ff.; but I cannot follow his view that the inscriptions are “to be understood as a running commentary on the opening surah of the Koran”. In his most recent work on the subject (“Tempel, Grabeskirche und Ḥaram aš-šarīf”, in: H. Busse – G. Kretschmar, *Jerusalem Heiligtumstraditionen in altkirchlicher und frühislamischer Zeit*, pp. 1 ff.) he seems to distance himself from this interpretation (there p. 20). On my own view of the problem cf. *The Youthful God. Anthropomorphism in Early Islam* 1 f.; for more on the subject see below Chpt. D 1.2.1.3.

12 RCEA no. 9; Busse no. III.

13 That it was not necessarily meant this way originally is another matter (cf. Paret, *Kommentar* 26 f. on surah 2/116 f.).

14 Following surah 4/172 (RCEA no. 9; Busse no. IV).

15 RCEA no. II; Busse no. II.

16 Walker, *Catalogue* II, 84 ff.

17 RCEA no. 10; Busse no. I.

18 Ibid., as a quotation of surah 3/26; on this Sharon in: IOS 10/1980/123.

19 Hage, *Syrisch-jakobitische Kirche* 70 f.; in detail now R. Schick, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine* (see below p. 77, fn. 23) 266 f.

20 Severus b. al-Muqaffa’ in: PO 5/1910/25, 3 ff.; following him, King in: BSOAS 48/1985/274.

The Taghlib tribe, which until then had remained Christian, was persecuted.²¹ One year before the caliph's death, all pigs in Syria are supposed to have been killed.²² Due to its long rule, Christianity had become accustomed to promote itself aggressively: with musical and ornamental splendour. That was now over; the new "barbarians" showed they were not to be won over in such a manner. The Jews, who had long since adapted themselves to concealing their religion, remained unperturbed.

21 Hage, *ibid.* 72; for more see below pp. 76 f.

22 *Chronica minora* 232, ll. 22 f., Chabot. On all this cf. also the important collection of materials by S. Griffith in: *JAOS* 105/1985/62 ff. (on the coinage reform) and 68 ff. (on the iconoclastic measures).

2.2 Early Evidence in the Literary Tradition

The inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock together with the legends on coins provide our earliest evidence for the meaning of the Koran or, to put it more cautiously with Wansbrough, of “Koranic materials”.¹ We may well assume that surah 112 at the time also played an important role in the liturgy, i.e. the *qurʿān* in the sense of “recitation”. And yet what has been said above does not cover the full range of what people associated with hearing it recited and pronounced. The anti-Trinitarian accent reveals something, but by no means all, concerning the image of God that people at the time attached to Koranic recitation; here surprises await us about which we will have more to say later.² We do not know to what extent one was already aware of these implications in the period of ‘Abd al-Malik; as always, at the time it was easier to demonstrate what one did not want than to define one’s own standpoint in positive terms. But the sources as well leave us in the lurch; they say very little about this and, as is continually emphasized in the most recent scholarship, what they do say stands under the odium of projection.

This is not the place to enter into this debate. It is not a matter to be decided in the context of an introductory chapter; with the brash distinction between “fundamentalists” and critical minds³ is scarcely any insight to be won. However, caution is advisable; if we now search for literary evidence, we will have to limit ourselves to a few scant things. Certainly one has no reason to doubt that ‘Abd al-Malik made use of “the media”. In particular the *quṣṣās* played a role. Muʿāwiya had already given them a substantial function; ‘Abd al-Malik employed them officially in mosques.⁴ There was something like a hierarchy among them; we hear about a *raʾīs ahl al-masjid*.⁵ From the beginning their public was very mixed; in their lectures elements from Christian and especially Jewish tradition were worked in. On the other hand, among Arabs and outside

1 *Quranic Studies* 43 ff. and elsewhere.

2 See below pp. 405 ff. and summarizing, Chpt. D 1. 1–2.

3 M. Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* 88.

4 Abbott, *Arabic Papyri* II, 14 ff. In general on the *quṣṣās* cf. E1² IV, 733 ff. s. v. *Kāṣṣ* and the literature mentioned by L. A. Conrad in: Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing* 24, fn. d; specifically on the situation in the Umayyad period, Dannhauer, *Qāḍī-Amt* 36 ff. and Zarw, *Ḥayāt ʿilmīyya* 23 ff.

5 AZ 343, l. 7 in connection with the Koranic reciter ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Yahṣubī (d. 118/736; on him see below p. 122). Cf. also the *mashyakhat al-masjid* who according to AZ 345, l. 3 from bot., visited Muʿāwiya.

the cities, poetry most of all continued to exercise influence.⁶ The caliph himself had an effect on the community through his juridical competence; a few legal rulings of ‘Abd al-Malik are contained in Mālik’s *Muwattaʿa*.⁷ To what extent he concerned himself with religious development in the area he ruled over is disputed; we could judge with more certainty in this matter if we knew whether his letter to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and the latter’s response were authentic.⁸ In any case, the theological sketch on the basis of which an epistle composed by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya – or that can be traced back to him – the so-called *K. al-Irjāʿ*, which sought to intercede between the political parties in Iraq, may at least correspond to his wish for religious peace and internal unity.⁹

As much as this and other early prose texts, each one in its own right, need to be tested regarding the form in which they have been transmitted or their authenticity in general, nonetheless we find in them some common traits that certainly reflect the spirit of the period in question. First of all, there is what M. Cook has dubbed “the mission topos”,¹⁰ an exposé of the Prophet’s mission and the subsequent historical development with which many of these documents begin, and which through its stereotyped character and its noticeable size reveals how great a value was attributed to it. However, one must properly understand the term chosen by Cook: it is not a question of a mission to the outside world but rather of a corroborative representation of sacred history: the awareness of being chosen is soteriologically justified. It was by no means only an ideology of the state; we find this topos in the *K. al-Irjāʿ*,¹¹ as well as in Abū Ḥanīfa’s letter to ‘Uthmān al-Battī,¹² in an epistle of Walīd II¹³ and in Saffāh’s¹⁴ speech upon his “accession to the throne”, and also in a political

6 On this cf. for instance ‘Awn al-Sharīf Qāsim, *Shiʿr al-Baṣra fī l-ʿaṣr al-umawī* 149 ff.; Nuʿmān al-Qāḍī, *al-Firaq al-Islāmīyya fī l-shiʿr al-umawī* (Cairo 1970), passim; ‘Abd al-Majīd Zarāqīt, *al-Shiʿr al-umawī bayna l-fann wa l-sultān* (Beirut 1303/1983), passim.

7 Cf. I. ‘Abbās in: *Dirāsāt* (‘Ammān) 13/1986/105 ff.; now in general and with numerous examples also Crone/Hinds, *God’s Caliph* 43 ff.

8 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.

9 Thus my thesis in *Anfänge* 4 ff.; on this sceptically Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* 40 ff. On the text itself see below pp. 199 ff.

10 *Dogma* 7.

11 See below p. 200.

12 See below p. 221.

13 Ṭabarī II, 1756, ll. 15 ff.; now translated in Crone/Hinds, *God’s Caliph* 118 ff. A text of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (*Rasāʾil*, ed. ‘Abbās 210 ff.) has the same tenor only that here the subject is paraphrased more freely.

14 Ṭabarī III, 30, ll. 6 ff.

sermon of the Khārijite, Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ.¹⁵ In a manner that we would normally expect of the Jews, every Muslim at that time, with the exception of the Shī'ites, identified with his history. Already in the Koran "the theology of the historical tradition" plays an important role as a model for the interpretation of divine mercy.¹⁶

The second indication is a formula of the profession of faith which is attested for the first time with certainty in the inscription of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus from the year 87/706: "Our master is God alone, our religion is Islam and Muḥammad is our Prophet".¹⁷ Its germ cell is found in the Koran; the early followers of the Prophet in Mecca defended themselves against their enemies with the sentence "Our master (as well?) is Allāh".¹⁸ It occurs in the cited tripartite form, for example, in a text of the Koranic commentator Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723)¹⁹ or later among the Ibādites,²⁰ but also in a four-part version with the addition of "our leader is the Koran", for instance in the *K. al-Irjā'*.²¹ In both forms the words are likewise employed on tombstones.²² Here one should not take the reference to the Koran as a later extension; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā uses it in paraphrased form in one of his letters.²³ Yet it is interesting that as a symbol of identity the person of the Prophet had precedence over Scripture.²⁴ Again the formula is also used by "the sects": the Khārijites²⁵ and even the Shī'ites, in the latter case however,

15 See below Chpt. B 2.4.2.1 on Text VIII 7. Similarly also in the sermon of the Ibādite Abū Ḥamza Mukhtār b. 'Awf (transl. In Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph* 129 ff.; on him see below Chpt. B 4.1.1.2.1). Additional texts in Cook, op. cit.

16 On this now G. Müller in: WI 28/1988/347.

17 RCEA I, 16 f., no. 18.

18 Surah 22/40. Cf. with this the addition *rabbī Allāh* or similar phrases on early Islamic coins from Iran (Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik* 34; also 18 and 22 ff.).

19 Suyūṭī, *al-La'ālī al-maṣnū'a* I, 65, ll. 15 f.

20 Cf. the anonymous *Sīra* from 'Umān in: *al-Siyar wa'l-jawābāt* I, 231, l. 1.

21 Text II 1, m.

22 Cf. RCEA II, 80 f., no. 513 with 96 f., no. 536 (Egypt).

23 *Rasā'il*, ed. 'Abbās 200, ll. 10 f.

24 Countercurrents manifest themselves in *ḥadīths* such as the one that on the Day of Resurrection the Koran will resemble a human being and perform intercession for the person who appeals to it (Bukhārī, *Khalq al-af'āl* 165, last l. f.); similarly Text II 4 in the "Murjī'ite" poem of Muḥārib b. Dithār (verse 12; cf. commentary).

25 For the Ibādiyya cf. my statements in: *Arabica* 22/1975/ 48; also Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh bi'l-Maghrib* II, 288, ll. 2 ff. from bot., in an epistle of Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl (on this below Chpt. B 2.2.5.7). For Ḥamza b. 'Adharak cf. the latter's letter to Hārūn al-Rashīd in: *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* 167, last l. f. (on this Scarcia in: AIUON 14/1964/639; in general below Chpt. B 3.1.3.1.1).

supplemented with a distinctive statement typical of their own community.²⁶ One saw in it the profession of faith that the believer had to repeat during interrogation in the grave;²⁷ in the *Ḥadīth* it was already placed in the mouth of ‘Umar in a conversation with the Prophet.²⁸

A third point that draws our attention is a phrase frequently used at the time to introduce epistles of a religious content: the advice to adopt fear of God (*taqwā, taqwā’llāh*).²⁹ In this case, though, it still remains to establish how widespread its occurrence was; for the time being, it has only been attested with certainty in texts of Iraqi and ‘Umānī origin. *Taqwā* is a central concept in the Koran,³⁰ but the word is also already found in pre-Islamic poetry.³¹ In the later imagination, ‘Umar II embodied this virtue in an exemplary manner;³² Marwān II recommends it to a successor to the throne.³³ The pretender to the leadership of the Ibāḍites used the formula in the pulpit in the famous sermon he gave in the year 129 in Ṣana‘ā.³⁴ Even the Christian, Theodore Bar Kōnī, felt that the word was characteristic of the diction of his Muslim opponents.³⁵ But what precisely does it mean? Ringgren sees in it the humble attitude of the servant towards his master, the acknowledgement of

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- 26 Wiet, *Soieries persanes* 89, no. 18; on a white linen veil from Rayy. In the form of a poem, and allegedly early Islamic, in Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* IV, 401, ll. 1 ff./III, 377, ll. 5 ff. from bot.
- 27 Ibn Abī-l-Dunyā, *K. al-Mawt* 47, ll. 5 ff.; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ* III, 377, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; TB XIV, 347, ll. 4 f.; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief* II, 465; Smith/Haddad, *Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* 44.
- 28 Sic! Thus he speaks of the Prophet in the third person (cf. Kister in: IOS 2/1972/234). Within the framework of a prayer also in Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā’* I, 326, l. 3 from bot./transl. Nakamura, *Ghazālī on Prayer* 101.
- 29 *ūṣikum/nūṣikum bi’l-taqwā*; for the first time dealt with in Cook, *Dogma* 6 f.
- 30 On this H. Ringgren in: *Donum natalicium Nyberg* 123 ff.; Rahbar, *God of Justice* 181 ff.; Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran* 234 ff. and previously; F. Rahman, *Major Themes* 28 ff.; Jafri in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 3/1980, No. 3/15 ff.
- 31 Ringgren, *ibid.* 119 ff.; G. Müller, *Ich bin Labīd* 102 f.
- 32 Cf. for instance IS V, 274, ll. 10 ff. or Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz* 36, l. 6 f., and 59, ll. 5 f.; on this Hasan Qasim Murad, *Ethico-Religious Ideas of ‘Umar II* (PhD Montreal 1981), ll. 132 ff. The poet Sābiq al-Barbarī recommended *tuqā* in a paraenetic poem which he addressed to the caliph (transl. In Bellamy in: *Festschrift Watt* 159, verse 7).
- 33 In the well-known epistle composed by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā (*Rasā’il*, ed. ‘Abbās 218, ll. 8 ff./transl. Schönig 20).
- 34 *Agh.* XXIII, 227, l. 5; but perhaps it is only a matter of a later edition of the text. On this below B 4.1.1.2.1.
- 35 Griffith in: OCP 47/1981/187 following a scholion that was completed in Kaskar near Wāsiṭ in the year 792.

God's power and greatness;³⁶ Izutsu thinks that in it the eschatological experience of the Koran has gradually become generalized as a form of piety in the broader sense of the word.³⁷ Jafri emphasizes the coming together of faith and actions.³⁸ At this point the first theological reflections have in fact also begun. The early Murji'ite Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb³⁹ defines the word as "acting in obedience to God in the hope of God's mercy, and the avoidance of sins against God out of fear of God's punishment, both in accordance with a light (one) receives (from God)".⁴⁰ The light is evidently faith; according to Murji'ite conception, faith no longer belongs to *taqwā*.⁴¹ But this is now a secondary differentiation; originally *taqwā* is the fundamental virtue of a Muslim through which he demonstrates his having been chosen in the faith by following the commandments.⁴²

For the formula in the letter cf. besides the examples mentioned in Cook, op. cit. (on this see here Text II 1, *a*, and II 5, *b*) also Text IX 1, *e* (Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā') and I 1, *k*; IAH, *Taqdima* 87, l. 2, and 89, l. 13 (letters of Sufyān al-Thawrī); Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya* v, 110, ll. 9 f. (letter of Sa'īd b. Jubayr to the Murji'ite 'Umar b. Dharr); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* IV, 237, ll. 12 f. (letter to Yūsuf b. Asbāt). The passages are naturally by no means above any doubt, as is certainly not Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj* 86, l. 4; 88, l. 8; 89, l. 2, and 92, l. 3 (in sermons and sayings of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī), Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* XVI, 61, l. 2 ('Ā'isha to Mu'āwiya) or Balādhuṛī, *Ansāb* IV, 524, l. 6 from bot. (Walīd b. 'Uqba to the Kūfans); but they all originate from an Iraqi milieu. Saffāh, in his "accession to the throne speech", refers to the *kalimat al-taqwā* that God imposed on him (Ṭabarī III, 29, l. 5). For 'Umān one can compare the Ibāḍite texts in *al-Siyar wa'l-jawābāt*, ed. Kāshif, vol. 1; perhaps one may assume Iraqi influence in them as well. By contrast, Awzā'ī's letters that are preserved in Ibn Abī Ḥātim (*Taqdima* 187 ff.) do not contain the formula, nor does the letter of Mālik b. Anas to the Egyptian Layth b. Sa'd or the latter's response (on this see

36 Op. cit., 123.

37 Op. cit.

38 Op. cit., pp. 27 f.; similarly explained already in Ringgren 124 f.

39 On him see below pp. 181 ff.

40 Ibn Abī Shayba, *Imān* 33, no. 99; Ibn Mubārak, *Zuhd* 473 f., no. 1343, and elsewhere.

41 Madelung in: SI 32/1970/235; on this below pp. 224 ff.

42 Thus implicitly *Hilya* v, 158, ll. 1 f.; cf. F. Rahman, op. cit.: "fear of the consequences of one's actions, sense of responsibility" (29). With regard to all this one should perhaps bear in mind that for the Jews as well "the God-fearing" constituted a category of their own; in rabbinical texts by this heathens are meant who were linked to monotheism (cf. M. Simon in: RAC XI, 1060 ff., above all 1066).

below Chpt. B 5.2). If Ibn Ḥazm employs it in answer to a *quaestio*, this is probably a literary reminiscence (in: *al-Radd ‘alā Ibn Naḡhrilla* 229, l. 9). The oldest sure instance, for the time being, is found in a poem by the *mukhaḍram* ‘Abda b. al-Ṭabīb which he composed towards the end of his life (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 27, verse 7; on the poet cf. GAS 2/198 f.).

Community and Individual

The fact that this virtue is now recommended to a person likewise shows that in religious circles one believed it was necessary to counteract the idea that being chosen entailed no costs. Faith is actually a gift; for a long time one assumed that it was created by God.¹ But one must not let oneself become complacent, and one was meant to avoid sin. Here a counter-movement suggests itself which in subsequent generations will go on winning ground: an ever-deepening consciousness of sin emerges against the certainty of being chosen. But in the beginning this feeling still carries scarcely any individual characteristics. For the early Khārijites a believer is someone who belongs to their community, whereas by contrast every other Muslim is an infidel; by means of a grave sin one loses the privilege of belonging to the community of the saintly.² Among the Shī'ites, after the death of Ḥusayn, the *tawwābūn* join together around Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and they wish in common to atone for their failure to give assistance to Ḥusayn; G. Rotter has plausibly compared them to flagellants.³ They acted and thought as a collective. In doing so, they understood the collective primarily as the respective social group to which they already belonged; the concept of the *umma*, which is so highly prized today, scarcely played any role.⁴

This communal attitude based on a micro-organism, being a continuation of old Arab tribal mentality and a characteristic of “a segmented society”,

1 See below Chpts. C 1.4.3.1.1.3 and D 4. Included here is that almost universally in the beginning one considered the concept of God to be a priori (on this summarizing, Chpt. D 1).

2 On the development cf. Watt in: *Der Islam* 36/1961/220 f. and below Chpt. B 2.2.5.7 as well as 3.1.3.1.

3 *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 96 ff. – An attempt at a sociological classification of the early Khārijites and the Shī'a now also in R. al-Sayyid, *Mafāhīm al-jamā'āt fī'l-Islām* (Beirut 1984), pp. 47 ff.; cf. as well Muh. Qasim Zaman in: *JRAS* 1988, pp. 265 ff.

4 At any rate surah 5/48 stood in the way of its general application. If one wishes to investigate early ideas of unity, one should instead probably pay attention to the concept *jamā'a* (cf. for the time being EI² II, 411 f. s. v. *Djamā'a* and Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 257 ff.). The Muslims were collectively described as *ahl al-qibla* or *ahl al-ṣalāt* (see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.7); in an inscription of the year 71 from Aswan the expression *ahl al-islām* occurs (cf. El-Hawary in: *JRAS* 1932, p. 290). At the time, however, all this was still not very representative. – On the clash between the collectivity and the individual contained in the idea of the Last Judgement see below Chpt. D 3.

extensively set its stamp on the 1st century. Not only did the tribes have their own mosques but so did the Khārijites – in Baṣra for instance.⁵ One did not wish to perform the prayers behind a person with whom one was not in agreement regarding disputed religious questions.⁶ The *zakāt*, to all appearances, did not go to the state but remained within the respective community. This was for the sake of exercising control; one had no trust in the state – rightly so. In Bam the Khārijites installed collection boxes in their mosques;⁷ one of the commanders founded a cash fund to look after slaves.⁸ There were collection boxes in Medina as well; Mālik b. Anas railed against them – but simply because he preferred that the money be collected privately.⁹ The Shī'ites developed the system to perfection; wealthy agents administered the donations for the Imām, and monies were transferred from one province to another.¹⁰

But this is likewise already an expression of a tendency towards centralization which from the 2nd century eclipses the self-administration of the community. When the Fāṭimids had founded their counter-caliphate, because of this direct smuggling of money took place (Qāḍī Nu'mān, *Majālis* 426, ll. 2 ff.). By that time among the Shī'ites, the Sunnis had long since had the reputation of delivering their money to the government authorities even if the latter were tyrannical (Majlisī, *Biḥār* LXVII, 104, l. 7). But even within the Mu'tazila, the teacher obtained donations from his followers if he did not receive a government salary (see below Chpt. C 4.2.1 for Ja'far b. Mubashshir). Among the Iraqī Shī'ites in the 2nd century the donations generally went to the theology schools and not to the Imam (Kashshī, *Rijāl* 285, l. 4; also below p. 455). The subject still needs to be investigated in detail.

5 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 650, l. 1; in general Pedersen in EI² VI, 648 f. s. v. *Masjid*. On the mosques in Baṣra cf. Šālih Aḥmad al-'Alī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra* 253 f. and Index p. 279. Also below Chpt. B 2.2.8.2.1 for the Baṣran Mu'tazila. On "a mosque of the Khārijites" in Bam cf. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Masālik* 223, l. 4.

6 Cf. for instance Zayd b. 'Alī, *Corpus Iuris* 34, ll. 3 ff./35, ll. 2 f. from bot.; Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *Kifāya* 124, ll. 5 ff.; Ibn Alī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* I, 32, ll. 11 f. (for the Mu'tazila). Individual examples in TB X, 248, ll. 2 f. from bot., and XII, 183, ll. 7 f.

7 Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik* 167, l. 1.

8 See below Chpt. B 3.1.3.1 (Ma'bad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān). For the Ibāḍiyya cf. Schwartz, *Die Anfänge der Ibāditen in Nordafrika* 60 f.

9 Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Jāmi'* 164, ll. 6 f. from bot.

10 See below pp. 354 f. and 455 last l.

The smaller and more closed the group was, the stronger was the feeling of solidarity; for a long time “the sects” still thought and acted as a whole. Conversely, individualization occurs most easily where the inclusiveness of Islam was at its widest; there behaviour based on solidarity gave way to moral and juridical obligations. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is a good example of this.¹¹ Whoever did not wish to pray behind someone whose faith took a different form had to consider what his relationship was with the Friday prayers. More often than not, the social and political control was strong enough to get a person to come out of the house; but in times of crisis it did happen that one refused the communion of all Muslims.¹² This was taken to be just as reprehensible as neglecting to attend church on Sunday for the Catholics; whoever was absent four times, in the opinion of Sufyān al-Thawrī who cites Ibn ‘Abbās, had left Islam behind him.¹³ Unity and the continued existence of the community were safeguarded by means of rituals. Nonetheless, among the younger contemporaries of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī the number of those who withdrew completely into their personal piety grew very quickly.¹⁴

How collective and individual thought came into conflict with one another can be especially well observed in two points. There is firstly the discussion about “the child of a whore” (*walad zinā*). The belief that a child engendered through fornication could never enter Paradise was widely disseminated. The belief was spread in *ḥadīths* among Sunnīs as well as among Shī‘ites.¹⁵ This was originally the reflex of social ostracism; the mothers of these children were frequently slave women who had been forced into prostitution.¹⁶ Many thought that such children when adults were not allowed to bear witness or become prayer leaders. But at the same time this reveals that one was familiar with the concept of individual responsibility; one understood the sin of fornication as magical defilement which will pass from the parents to the child and even to later generations – according to the view of many, over generations. Through the dispute about predestination this standpoint becomes problematized.¹⁷ The second conflict, interestingly, breaks out among those who thought most strongly in communalistic terms, i.e. among the Khārijites. They began to

11 On him see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.

12 See below p. 117 ll. 3 f. from bot.

13 Fasawī, *Ma‘rifā* II, 329, ll. 1 f.; Khallāl, *Musnad* 406, ll. 11 ff.; for equivalent statements from the Shī‘ite side cf. Majlisī, *Bihār* LXXXVIII, ll. 1 ff.

14 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.

15 Suyūṭī, *La‘ālī* II, 192, ll. 1 ff.; also here Text XXII 254, 8 b with commentary.

16 Cf. the statement of ‘Ā’isha in Fasawī II, 808, ll. 3 f. from bot.

17 On this HT 96; in detail also E. Kohlberg in: BSOAS 48/1985/237 ff.

dispute whether, on a military campaign, in addition to “the infidels” – which meant in addition to the Muslims who thought differently – one should also kill their children. The most radical among them, the Azraqites, persisted in the old idea of collective guilt: the children bear the stigma of their group, even before they are capable of making up their mind.¹⁸ Conversely, in the other Khārijite “sects” a complete spectrum of different views reveals itself.¹⁹

18 Watt in: *Der Islam* 36/1961/228 ff.; Bosworth, *Sīstān* 89; Pampus in: *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam* VI, 84 f.

19 See below Chpt. B 3.1.3.1. On the handling of the problem in the *Ḥadīth* cf. Text XXII 254, 4.

3.1 Faith and the Promise of Paradise

From such beginnings, a discussion developed on the nature of faith and on the status of the sinner; it is accompanied by considerations about how in the case of grave religious aberration the community can exert an effect on individuals by calling them to repent (*istitāba*) or sometimes even by excommunication, as with the Khārijites.¹ However, this matter, at least as far as its theological acceptance is concerned, is a development of the 2nd century. To begin with, one only distinguished between *ahl al-janna* and *ahl al-nār*, the chosen and the damned; among the Khārijites and the Murji'ites traces of this terminology are still visible.² The *ahl al-nār*, those destined for Hell, were all who did not believe in Muḥammad, that is to say the Jews and Christians as well³ – or they in particular if one has before one's eyes the tendentious aspect of the inscriptions of the Rock of the Dome. A monk derives no benefit at all from his worship, so thought Maymūn b. Mihrān, an influential man of the government administration from the later Umayyad period who was known to be an adherent of predestination.⁴

By the same token, for the overwhelming majority it was already established who were the *ahl al-janna*. One wanted to confine the category of being chosen to one's own group, as the Khārijites or Shī'ites did; but scarcely anyone doubted that a person who did not turn away from the faith again (*ashraka bi'llāh*) would go straight to Paradise.⁵ Walīd II could refer to this in a poem on wine, and presumably he meant it not only in a blasphemous way.⁶ Of course, one knew that belonging to the *ahl al-janna* was supposed to be demonstrated through piety; but one did not yet think one was obliged to earn oneself Paradise by that means. Only individual contrition which the consciousness of sin induced in the ascetic milieu – especially in Baṣra – sharpened awareness of “the threat” (*wa'īd*) of the Koran, i.e. the possibility of eternal punishment for the Muslim as well.⁷ Whoever says: “I will enter

¹ For more details on this Chpt. D 41.

² For the Murji'ites see below pp. 226 and 230. For the early Khārijites cf. Ash'arī, *Maq.* 119, ll. 8 ff., and Watt, op. cit., 221; for the Ibādiyya cf. Schwartz, *Anfänge der Ibāditen* 56.

³ Thus in a *ḥadīth* in Ṭayālīsī (cf. R. M. Speight, *The 'musnad' of al-Ṭayālīsī*, PhD Harford 1970, p. 161).

⁴ Qushayrī, *Ta'rikh Raqqā* 27, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; on Maymūn b. Mihrān cf. *Anfänge* 203 ff. and Cohen in: JESHO 13/1970/26, now also Donner in EI² VI, 916 f.

⁵ Cf. the *ḥadīth Conc.* III, 109 a; treated in detail in Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār, Musnad Ibn 'Abbās* 624 ff., no. 930 ff. In this regard see the story below p. 228.

⁶ *Dīwān*, ed. 'Aṭwān 43, v. 7.

⁷ See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3.1.

Paradise”, is in reality damned, so Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is depicted as emphasizing in a characteristic reversal of the old principle.⁸ In Baṣra itself, the idea was developed as a compromise within the local Murji’a that a Muslim on the way to Paradise might perhaps have to spend a while passing through Hell – through purgatory as one might say in Catholic terminology.⁹ In this way the *ahl al-janna* lost their identity; the concept disappears from the theological vocabulary.¹⁰ Earlier one had essentially only raised up a single group from the mass of Muslims: the martyrs. People thought of them as being privileged because they enter Paradise even before the Last Judgement.¹¹ Here lives on the thinking of a warrior society which had found its goal in battle against the infidels.

Yet along with this there is still another case to take into consideration: *al-‘ashara al-mubashshara*. According to tradition, the Prophet had promised Paradise to ten of his closest Companions. The tradition is “majority Church”; it is not found among the Shi‘ites or the Khārijites.¹² This is for a good reason; the ten chosen ones are all Qurayshīs. They were all members of the electoral committee which ‘Umar appointed before his death – as many of them at least as were still alive at the time.¹³ They all also figure on a pro-Qurayshī list of the twelve “Apostles” (*ḥawārī*) which Muhammad is meant to have defined at the second ‘Aqaba meeting, once again excluding those who had already died

8 Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār* ibid. 681, no. 1025 f.

9 See below Chpt. B 2.2.4.1–2; in general also Chpt. D 3.

10 It is used as a term for the last time, but with a characteristic deviation, in Abū’l-Hudhayl (see below Chpt. C 3.2.1.3.3.2). The incipient differentiation reveals itself quite well in the story in Ibn Abī Shayba, *Īmān* 24 f., no. 76. Ibn Ḥanbal, with recourse to a Baṣran (!) *ḥadīth*, declared himself for the view that only a dead person should be reckoned among the *ahl al-janna*, not someone who is still alive (Khallāl, *Musnad* 146, ll. 3 ff. from bot.).

11 On this cf. Wensinck, “The Oriental Doctrine of Martyrs”, in: *Semietische Studiën* 90 ff.; on this below Chpt. D 2.2.1.

12 The Ibādites, however, developed a rival tradition in which feature 10 men and 10 women (!); the names are taken from the Koran. Yet this is late and certainly a secondary phenomenon (‘Umar b. Jumay’, *Muqaddimat al-tawḥīd* 64, ll. 4 ff.). But equally there is the Ibādite tradition that appears to be old to the effect that Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa’dī, a Companion of the Prophet who became a Khārijite after a glorious career and fell at Nahrawān, belonged to the *ahl al-janna* (Shammākhī, *Sīyar* 49, ll. 2 ff.). The black legend which formed around him in Sunnī circles, shows how much trouble one had to suppress his memory (on this cf. my *K. an-Nakt* 82 ff. and Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 368, fn. 8; on him in general L. Veccia-Vaglieri in: *EI*² III, 582 f.). For the Shi‘ites cf. Ash’arī, *Maq.* 471, l. 9.

13 Rotter, *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 12.

during the Prophet's lifetime.¹⁴ The series of ten is already found in a grafitto on a plaster table said to come from the palace of Hishām's governor, Khālīd al-Qasrī, in Iskāf Banī Junayd.¹⁵ However, there as well it shows a striking peculiarity: the last person on the list is Mu'āwiya. This is no surprise in a palace of Khālīd al-Qasrī; one continually attempted to confer on Mu'āwiya the title *khāl al-mu'minīn* because of his family tie with Umm Ḥabība, one of the wives of the Prophet.¹⁶ For obvious reasons this did not find acceptance; in many versions, since the position remained empty, the Prophet himself was counted as the tenth person. However, frequently in the same place one also finds Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ.¹⁷ Later the tradition was highly esteemed because the promise came to include 'Alī as well as 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥa and Zubayr, and thus one could prove that their guilt in the First Civil War could not have been great.¹⁸ By the time of Ibn Ḥanbal whoever denied the tradition ran the risk of being physically attacked.¹⁹ It was a different matter in the 1st century: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and Awzā'ī rejected it.²⁰ Others opposed it with the *ḥadīth* that the Prophet had only promised Paradise to 'Abdallāh b. Salām;²¹ since he was a convert from Judaism,²² a social-critical motive could be concealed behind this. The intention of *al-'ashara al-mubashshara* tradition needs further study.²³ However, given how the history of the early community developed, one could only read into the text that for someone who had been close to the Prophet Paradise was assured, no matter how implicated he was later on in party strife and thereby had perhaps "sinned".

The two monographs on the subject which are available up to now: Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), *Khaṣā'is al-'ashara al-kirām al-bashara* (Baghdād 1968), and Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1295),

14 I.e. without Ḥamza who had fallen at Uḥud, and Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib who had fallen at Mu'ta. On this cf. Wensinck in EI² III, 285, s. v. *Ḥawārī*, and Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca* 147 f.

15 *Texts in the Iraq Museum*, vol 8: *Arabic Texts* p. 14 and illustration p. 15; on this D. Sourdel in: REI 31/1963/111 ff.

16 Jāḥiz, *Risāla fī'l-ḥakamayn* in: *Mashriq* 52/1958/424 § 16.

17 Both versions already in the oldest known literary attestation to date, in Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt* III₁, 279, l. 11 ff.; cf. also Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ* XII, 12 f., no. 1195, and 15, no. 12001; on this the translation in E. A. Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang* 46 f.).

18 See below p. 275.

19 Khallāl, *Musnad* 144, ll. 8 ff.

20 Ibid. 145, ll. 10 f.

21 Wensinck, *Handbook* 181 a.

22 EI² I, 52.

23 On this cf. for the time being Rotter, op. cit.

al-Riyāḍ al-nāḍira fī manāqib al-aṣḥāb al-‘ashara (Cairo 1327/1909), do not yield much for the question that concerns us; they are too late. In Zamakhsharī’s case one feels that he is not a traditionist; he does not discuss the individual versions of the *ḥadīth*. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī does do this (for example I, 34, ll. 5 ff. from bot.); he also cites other related traditions. Typically, both of them only still know the orthodox list of ten; Mu‘āwiya does not occur among them.

3.2 Consciousness of Sin and Individual Responsibility

The intellectual currents that since the late Umayyad period worked against the certainty of attaining Paradise are primarily summarized in the sources under the heading Qadariyya. In this movement people came together who maintained that each person is himself responsible for the evil he does; one cannot attribute it to God. God calls man to do good; thus, He may also direct him towards good and give him help. Consequently, man is still chosen; but he is also free to reject being chosen. And above all he is addressed as an individual; he must fend for himself and as such is responsible before God. This approach, as already indicated, was especially refined upon in Baṣra; in Syria, where the Qadariyya likewise appeared, it had rather the character of a political party.¹ This is explained by the fact that in Baṣra the Qadarites were, for the most part, ascetics; consciousness of sin shaped the intellectual climate of the entire city. *Taqwā* as a religious ideal was there gradually replaced by *zuhd*, renunciation of “the world”. Even many Khārijites felt moved by an affinity with the spreading pietistic spirit; they believed that the children of the “infidels”, though they had to die, would enter Paradise.²

Here one must be on guard against separating too absolutely from one another the political and the religious Qadariyya. In Syria the Qadarites came to light especially during the short caliphate of Yazīd II and the confusion that followed it; at the time almost every religious statement carried with it political overtones. In Baṣra – and similarly in the Ḥijāz³ – such a state of affairs was perceptible for a considerably longer time; the early Abbasid period, however, was not quite so favourable to religiously motivated protest movements.⁴ Asceticism was on the whole well-suited to criticizing “the state”, which in Syria – at least according to the image one had in Baṣra of the Syrian Qadariyya – had also meant criticism of the luxury and extravagance of the Umayyads.⁵

1 More on this below pp. 82 ff. and Chpt. B 2.2.2 ff.

2 Ashʿarī, *Maq.* 126, l. 8. The Ibādīte Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb also presents in his *Musnad* a *ḥadīth* that expressly prohibits killing the children of the unbelievers (III, 8, no. 791).

3 On this see below Chpts. B 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.2.3.

4 All the same, a part of the Baṣran Muʿtazila and Medinan Qadariyya participated in the revolt of al-Nafs al-zakiyya (see below Chpts. B 2.2.6.3.2.2 and 4.1.2.3.1).

5 See below p. 153 for Ghaylān al-Dimashqī. Gibb rightly drew attention to the fact that at the time neither friend nor foe yet made a distinction between “the state” and the ruling dynasty (SI 4/1955/6).

3.3 Divine Grace and Predestination

Of course, criticism also made an impression because government authority advocated a different ideology. It made the claim for itself that God was on its side; the caliph was also in the literal sense “God’s deputy”.¹ He was regarded as *mahdī* “rightly guided” and probably had himself addressed as such before this word came to be used by the Umayyads’ opponents in the context of a historical Utopia.² Indeed, when shortly before his death in Ṭāʾif, Muʿāwīya had a dam built, he had himself modestly described in the foundation inscription as “God’s servant”;³ but the rulers’ consciousness of having a mission was indeed great.⁴ One could easily present and understand this as if divine predetermination guided everything they did; Jubbāʾī maintained that Muʿāwīya was the first adherent of predestination.⁵ But one should not too readily agree with this; in the statement Jubbāʾī’s Muʿtazilite-Qadarite image of history simply reveals itself. Muʿāwīya’s successor, Yazīd I, even stated in his accession speech that if God punished his father, He would do so because of the latter’s own guilt;⁶ divine grace and religious determinism do not necessarily have anything⁷ to do with one another. But from the second half of ʿAbd al-Malik’s rule both ideas continue to draw ever closer together. Under Walīd I a *ḥadīth* is supposed to have been in circulation according to which God only records the good and not the bad deeds of the ruler.⁸ Yazīd II, on his accession to government, allegedly had forty (!) *shuyūkh* confirm that a caliph does not have to give account of his behaviour before God.⁹ Walīd II, as pretender to the throne, excused his vices and frivolities, for which he was famous at the time, as being willed by God.¹⁰

1 The book of P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, passim, provides materials about this.

2 Ibid. 36 f.; on the conceptual environment also 34, fn. 57.

3 Published by G. C. Miles in: JNES 7/1948/236 ff.

4 Cf. Crone/Hinds 27 f. on the relationship between the caliph and the prophets or angels; also Donner in: JAOS 106/1948/236 ff., about “the royal imagery” on buildings and the idea of law and authority.

5 *Afānge* 241; on this the evidence in HT 181 f.

6 Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* II, 239, l. 1; on this Rotter, *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 249.

7 Strongly emphasized in Crone/Hinds 117 f.

8 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Iqd* I, 60, ll. 11 ff.; cf. with this the tradition according to which Walīd wanted to know from a court theologian whether at all the caliphs would be held to account by God (Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* VI, 55, ll. 16 ff.; Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* 223, ll. 5 ff. from bot.).

9 Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* IX, 232, ll. 7 f.

10 In a letter to Hishām (Ṭabarī II, 1746, ll. 11 ff.; on this also below pp. 96 f.). But in his case one must always reckon with the fact that his image has been demonized (see below p. 95 f.).

The doctrine of predestination adopts old Arab pre-Islamic ideas and reshapes them in accordance with an image of a personal God.¹¹ In the process, among other elements, a widely disseminated astral fatalism exercised an effect which probably also had adherents at the caliph's court; it may be more than a coincidence that the palace of Qusayr 'Amra alongside the large fresco of the subject kings in the reception hall in the caldarium of the bath also contained a representation of the zodiac.¹² In such a context one spoke very generally of *dahr* "destiny", but connected this most often with astrological ideas according to which the sphere of heaven by means of its eternal revolving determines events. The concept and idea are already found in pre-Islamic poetry; the Koran reacts to this, then later the *Hadīth* and popular literature.¹³ Likewise, the idea may have been prompted in its initial stages by Zurvanite speculations which in the late Sassanian period had become widespread. In Iraq the latter could even have had a direct effect on the thought of the new rulers.¹⁴ "Time (*zamān*) is the sovereign" is a saying transmitted from Ziyād, Mu'āwiya's governor.¹⁵ It was reported with perceptible mockery how Christians who frequented the court consoled themselves for an injustice they had suffered on the part of the caliph by attributing it to "destiny".¹⁶

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- 11 Still essential on this, W. M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination* 20 ff.; also H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism* 116 ff.; for particulars also HT, 1 ff. and 75 ff.
- 12 Illustrated in Almagro, among others, *Qusayr 'Amra*, plate XLVIII. But one must take into account that the zodiac was a widespread motif and for example also appears in Jewish synagogues as a mosaic decoration. What it meant to the Jews is disputed; but in Palestinian Judaism, which offers the most likely comparison with the Umayyad milieu, astrological speculation is found from the middle of the 3rd century after Christ (cf. for details G. Stemmerger, *Die Bedeutung des Tierkreises auf Mosaikfußboden spätantiker Synagogen*, in: *Kairos* 17/1975/23 ff., there above all pp. 32 ff.). On the iconography as such cf. R. Hachlili in: *BASOR* 228/1977/61 ff. with detailed bibliography; critically on this G. G. Guidi in: *Felix Ravenna* 118/1979/131 ff. For this information I am grateful to H. Rothe.
- 13 Nagel, *Koran* 149 ff.; Thomson in: *MW* 35/1945/297 ff.; HT 75 ff.; Nagel, *Alexander der Große in der frühislamischen Volksliteratur* 127 ff. Dusares can appear among the Nabataeans in connection with the sundial; his paredra is Manawat, the goddess of fate (J. Pirenne in: *Festschrift Henninger* 208).
- 14 Morony in: *JESHO* 17/1974/129 f. and *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* 288 ff.; on this Asmussen in: *CHI* III, 938 f.
- 15 Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* I, 5, ll. 9 f.
- 16 *Agh.* XI, 282, last l. and Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'* 40, l. 15, with almost identical verses but which are ascribed to different authors and placed in a different context. I incorrectly interpreted the first verse in HT 181 f. – On corresponding Greek ideas cf. now G. Zuntz, *Aion, Gott des Römerreiches* (Abh. Heid. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1989, no. 2); according to his thesis, it was Augustus who as an expression of the eternal permanence of his imperium made a god out of αἰών (ibid. 56 ff.).

Specific Religious Developments around the Turn of the 2nd Century

The conflict between determinists and adherents of predestination, on the one side, and Qadarites and advocates of free will, on the other, continued for generations. By contrast, other questions were already settled in the Umayyad period and later were scarcely ever raised again in a controversial manner. Already early on, the aversion to pictorial representation of a plastic or two-dimensional nature manifested itself. But Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, after the conquest of Ctesiphon, was not yet disturbed by the fact that in the audience hall of the Sassanian palace, the so-called Īwān Kisrā, where he had a prayer-niche installed, there were stucco ornaments of men and horses on the walls.¹ In Kūfa at the time of Ibn Mas'ūd, mosques existed that contained frescos (*masājīd munaqqasha*).² But the mosaics, with which Walīd I had the walls of the Great Mosque of Damascus decorated, already show only houses and gardens – an indication of Paradise but without its inhabitants; it has rightly been remarked that what in the Byzantine model provided the background has here been made into the foreground.³ Although at this same time in the Ḥijāz miracles of the Prophet are beginning to be spoken of,⁴ nonetheless these have never played a role iconographically, just as with his death. Instead, calligraphy blossoms to the same extent that the Koran – “Scripture” – embarks upon its triumphal march. The much discussed prohibition of images by Yazīd II here only adds an especially strong tone; it comes in the wake of the anti-Christian measures of 'Abd al-Malik, even though in this respect it remains no more than an episode.⁵

1 Ṭabarī I, 2443, ll. 16 ff.; on this Morony, *Iraq* 432.

2 Ṭurūshī, *al-Ḥawādīth wa'l-bida'* 95, ll. 2 f. from bot.

3 O. Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art* 92 f. On this in greater detail B. Finster in: *Kunst des Orients* 7/1972/83 ff., above all 117 ff.; differently H. Stern in: *Cahiers archéologiques* 22/1972/217 ff. Briefly also K. Brisch in: Akten XIX. DOT, ZDMG Suppl. III₂, p. 1574. Did 'Umar II himself have this decoration draped with fabrics? (cf. Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* I, 57, l. 1; unfortunately the passage is not entirely unambiguous.

4 On this R. Sellheim in: *Oriens* 18–19/1965–66/53 ff.

5 It was never later forbidden for the Christians to use images in worship; the aversion of the Muslims concentrated on the cross or the ringing of bells. The transition from 'Abd al-Malik to Yazīd II is very well portrayed by King in: BSOAS 48/1985/267 ff. On the literature about

One must reflect on the extent to which this was already connected to a rejection of anthropomorphism.⁶ It may be said, however, that God's image did not yet attract much interest. One still adhered to the historical symbols: the Prophet and, more and more, the Koran as well. Towards the end of the 1st century the apse-shaped prayer-niche became generally accepted, the *mīhrāb mujawwaf*, with which one marked the *sutra*, the place where the Prophet performed his prayers; in this way the believers would be reminded of his continued invisible presence.⁷ Already on a coin from the period of 'Abd al-Malik, before his reform, there appears, as it seems, the short-spear (*'anaza*) of the Prophet within an arch which is supported by two spiral-shaped columns.⁸ Whether, at the time on Friday, the preacher left free the highest step of the pulpit on which the Prophet had sat, cannot be inferred from the sources with certainty. In the Maghrib and on the Indian Subcontinent this usage has survived until today; for the early period, however, the evidence is not straightforward.⁹

iconoclasm in Byzantium and in Islam, and the old controversy about who started it, cf. *ibid.* 267, fn. 1, and R. M. Haddad in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27/1982/302, fn. 1. On the problem now also Griffith in: *JAOS* 105/1985/68 ff. in argument with P. Crone (in: *JSAI* 2/1980/59 ff.); on the archaeological findings R. Schick, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine* 296 ff. The authoritative Arabic texts on the prohibition of images are found in Paret, *Schriften zum Islam* 213 ff. The contribution by Nagel, "Die religionsgeschichtlichen Wurzeln des sogenannten Bilderverbots im Islam" (in: H. J. Klimkeit, *Götterbild in Kunst und Schrift* 93 ff.) only gives a general entry into the subject on the basis of the Koran.

6 On this in detail Chpts. D 1.2–1.2.1.5.

7 On this E. Whelan in: *IJMES* 18/1986/214 f.; similarly already O. Grabar, *Formation* 121.

8 On this C. E. Miles in: *Archaeologica Orientalia in memoriam E. Herzfeld* 156 ff.; also *idem* in: *EI*² 1, 482 s v. *Anaza*. On this now Whelan, *op. cit.*, 215 f. The *mīhrāb mujawwaf* is only attested since 95/714 (cf. the list in Whelan 221 f.).

9 F. Meier in: *Festschrift Spuler* 225 ff.

4.1 The Image of the Prophet

In a clearly discernible manner the belief spreads that after Muḥammad until the end of time there will be no other prophets. As we saw, the first beginnings of this were early; the idea is rooted in the way Islam sees itself. In any case, for a while one seems to have been satisfied with the vicarship of the caliph.¹ Gradually, however, in this regard one discovered the formula of “the seal of the prophets” which is applied in a quite special connection to Muḥammad in a passage in the Koran.² The first instance of this that we have from the Umayyad period is not yet wholly reliable: an alleged communication from Ḥajjāj to ‘Abd al-Malik.³ We are on considerably firmer ground when it comes to an edict of Walīd II from the year 125/743, especially as an interpretation is also provided in it; with the Prophet, so it states in this passage, God has “sealed (*khatama*) revelation and given him everything He bestowed on the prophets before him”.⁴ Moreover, this sounds like “seal” means what it presumably means in the Koran: confirmation but not necessarily end;⁵ one had understood the formula in this manner in Manicheism as well.⁶ However, it appears once again a few lines later in connection with the death of the Prophet;⁷ there scarcely any doubt is still possible. Then an attempt was soon made to supplement the words by the addition of *lā nabīyya ba’dahū*.⁸ This at first met with resistance; many objected that actually Jesus would still come back.⁹ The latter were presumably from Syria where this expectation

1 Thus the thesis of Crone/Hinds, *God’s Caliph* 27 ff.

2 Surah 33/40. It is there a question of Muḥammad’s marriage to the wife of his adopted son Zayd which needed a special justification.

3 Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *ʿIqd* V, 40, l. 6.

4 Ṭabarī II, 1757, 9 f.; on the text also Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 82 f. and now the translation in Crone/Hinds, *God’s Caliph* 119.

5 On the meaning in the Koran cf. Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen* 422 f. and Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies* 64 f.; in general F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis* (Paderborn 1911) and W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* 1577 s. v.

6 On this G. G. Stroumsa in: *JSAI* 7/1986/61 ff. Whether Muḥammad took it from Manicheism, as is often assumed, becomes doubtful because it is only met with in connection with Mani in Islamic sources (ibid. 70 ff.; also Colpe in: *Festschrift Rundgren* 71 ff.). On the development in general and on a possible beginning in Tertullian cf. Colpe in: *Berliner Theol. Zs.* 4/1987/2 ff.; now also idem, *Das Siegel der Propheten* (Berlin 1990).

7 Ṭabarī II, 1758, ll. 3 f.

8 *Conc.* II 9 b. A reflection of this already in Quṭāmī (d. 101/720?); cf. the *Dīwān*, ed. Barth, p. 6, verse 37.

9 Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaʿ* IX, 109 f., no. 6704 f.; also Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* 235, 3 ff. = 187, ll. 3 ff. from bot./transl. Lecomte 207 f. § 205–206.

was most widely disseminated.¹⁰ It then occurred there as well that somebody, once the supplementary words had gained acceptance, further added a quick *in shā'ullāh*. As it turned out, in the middle of the 2nd century he was executed at the order of Maṣṣūr.¹¹

Objections to this way of understanding the *khātām al-nabiyyīn* continue to be raised later on as well; but mostly they occur in a special context. Abū 'Abdallāh al-Shīrī, the champion of the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, is supposed not to have applied the formula to Muḥammad (Qāḍī 'Iyād in Talbi, *Tarājim aghlabiyya* 356, ll. 6 ff.); probably he thought of his Imam. For this reason, Abū Yazīd, "the man with the donkey", when he launched his revolt against the Fāṭimids in the Maghrib, had stamped on his coins the formula *Muḥammad khātām al-nabiyyīn* (A. Launois in: *Gedenkschrift Wiet* 121). Likewise, the mystic Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī expressly rejected the interpretation; but he actually introduced the theory of the *khātām al-awliyā'* (on this see now Takeshita, *Ibn 'Arabī's Theory of the Perfect Man* 145 ff. and previously). For him "the seal of the prophets" is a seal of prophethood which first appears to the Prophet in the Beyond and shines forth from him between his shoulders (*K. Khatm al-awliyā'* 338, ll. 10 f., and 341, ll. 10 ff.). Here he takes up an old idea; one also claimed to observe this sign of prophethood, for instance, on the 'Alid pretender al-Nafs al-zakiyya (van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 50, ftn. 10; cf. *ḥadīths* regarding this in *Conc.* II, 9 b). According to the *K. al-Ulūf* of Abū Ma'shar, every thousand years a new prophet comes; this stands within the framework of Iranian national expectations (Pingree in: *Elran* I, 338). Extensive materials on the question in general are offered by the previously cited article of Y. Friedmann in: *JSAI* 7/1986/177 ff. (now reprinted in *Prophecy Continuous* 50 ff.); there on p. 213 (= 81) he also states his position with regard to earlier explanations.

If there was not to be any other prophet after Muḥammad, then it was actually implied that his message was directed to all mankind; he is "a sign of mercy for people throughout the world", as Walīd II, along with surah 21/107, said in his edict.¹² On the other hand, if right at the outset it says that Islam is the religion of the best of God's creatures,¹³ the Arabs at the time will above all have taken

10 See above p. 5.

11 More on this below pp. 157 f.

12 Ṭabarī II, 1757, l. 9.

13 *Ibid.* 1757, l. 1; corrected with Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 118, ftn. 1.

this to mean themselves. As the Koran commentator Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723) related, Gabriel presented Muḥammad to the angels during his heavenly ascension with the words: “This is Muḥammad, the Prophet of mercy, whom God has sent as a prophet to the *Arabs*, the seal of the prophets and the lord of *mankind*”.¹⁴ The boundaries between the two conceptions were still fluid; they were only first clearly established once the social tension between Arabs and clients that stood in the background was resolved.¹⁵ That Muḥammad had spoken Arabic was the merit which distinguished him the most in the eyes of his first followers. But precisely this could easily turn into a sign of his limitations. When Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī, presumably in the first half of ʿAbd al-Malik’s caliphate, proclaimed the arrival of the Jewish Messiah in Fārs, he was able to make Muḥammad the latter’s precursor with the argument that after all he had only been sent as a prophet to the Arabs.¹⁶ Later, in the 2nd century, Iraqi Jews had attempted to escape the pressures for conversion with the same argument; for this purpose they referred to surah 62/2.¹⁷ The Apocalypse of Shimon ben Yoḥay, which was produced at the time of the Abbasid revolution, is based on the same assumptions.¹⁸ But whoever acknowledged Muḥammad as God’s Messenger for all mankind, for “the white and the black and the red”, to cite Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim again,¹⁹ if he had not grown up with the Arabic language, often had to submit to being told that he was not able to appreciate the beauty of the Prophet’s message. Apparently, in the early Abbasid period there was already conflict over this issue in the case of Ibn al-Muqaffa’.²⁰

It does not appear that this Prophet, who with his Arabic message had also addressed the non-Arab world, was at that time already considered to be illiterate; the framework of dogmatic conditions which led to this idea, especially the *ijāz* concept, was not yet on hand.²¹ The idea in itself is apparently attested for the period in question: it was said about Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī that

14 Suyūṭī, *Laʿālī* I, 67, ll. 3 f. from bot., in an extensive text which begins p. 63, l. 9 (on this below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1).

15 Does this issue also lie behind the idea that a whore’s child, i.e. the son of a female slave, can not enter Paradise? (See above p. 23). – For how Muḥammad stood regarding this question cf. Buhl in: *Islamica* 2/1926/135 ff.

16 On this see my contribution in: *Festschrift Gabrieli* 301 ff., there p. 308. For more see below Chpt. B 3.2.1.1.

17 Goldziher, *Ges. Schr.* III, 338 f., following Shaybānī; also Kister in: *JSAI* 5/1984/43.

18 Goitein, *Jews and Arabs* 170; on the text cf. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* 4v, 464 ff.

19 Suyūṭī, *ibid.* 75, l. 8 from bot.

20 See below Chpt. B 2.2.1.4.2.

21 More on this below Chpts. C 8.2.2.3.1.3,1 and D 4.2.1.

he was not able to read and write,²² and likewise later about the Kūfan gnostic Abū Maṣṣūr al-ʿIjlī, who was executed around 125/743.²³ But at least in the latter case this was meant pejoratively; obviously one did not copy this from the contemporary image of Muḥammad. Otherwise, generally speaking it was not deemed a compliment to be an illiterate.²⁴ The adjective *ummī* which is applied to Muḥammad in surah 7/157 f. and also in other passages in the Koran, is often still understood differently in the exegesis of the time, i.e. as a description of persons who until then had not had a divine book bestowed on them.²⁵ Moreover, no value was placed on the Islamic revelation for being new and direct because of its complete independence; one had no fear of exterior influences as the Isrāʿīliyyāt attest.²⁶ Nor was the reproach that Muḥammad took his revelation from someone else in any way refuted in the Koran by referring to his illiteracy but rather with a somewhat embarrassed admission that at any rate he had brought it forth in Arabic, whereas his teacher spoke another language (Hebrew? Aramaic?).²⁷

22 See above ftn. 16.

23 Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shīʿa* 34, l. 9; translated in Halm, *Gnosis* 86. Abū Maṣṣūr advocated the idea of *revelatio continua* (Ashʿarī, *Maq.* 9, ll. 14 f.).

24 Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie* II, 6.

25 On this I. Goldfeld in: *Der Islam* 57/1980/58 ff. Thereby one was still rather close to the original meaning (cf. Paret, *Kommentar* 21 f. on surah 2/78 and Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies* 53 f.).

26 On this also cf. below pp. 144 f.

27 Surah 16/103; on the situation cf. Buhl, *Leben Muhammeds* 164.

4.2 The Koran

The authority of the Prophet was based on his having transmitted the Koran and not in fact on what he had said himself. Nonetheless, since early on, opponents of the government authorities refer to “the Book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet”; but the formula in question was never filled in as to its contents. One used it simply to plead for justice; the *sunnat al-nabī* as a corpus of specific *exempla* did not yet exist.¹ Yet similarly with regard to the Koran itself, it is by no means certain whether it had already assumed its canonical form and when this definitively occurred. At any rate, Khārijites in Iran were able to raise doubts about surah 12 or surah 42,² and in one place in Egypt an ivory table from the year 70 was preserved on which surah 5/121 was recorded in a somewhat deviant form;³ likewise, the inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock paraphrase the Koran rather than citing it word-for-word.⁴ But these examples – to which others might be added – can be interpreted in various ways. At any rate, it is reported that in Damascus, at a time when the old Church of St John still existed, the Koran reciter ‘Atīyya b. Qays sat on its steps and recited from a standard Koran so that his listeners could correct their own copies (which were not necessarily complete).⁵ The inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock are provided with rudimentary diacritical marks, as they were expressly introduced at the time to safeguard the Word of God.⁶ As is known, for some years now the question of how the Koran was edited has been very controversial;⁷ nor is this the place to settle the matter. However, the question

1 Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph* 59 ff. and previously; also for one subject area see already HT 56 ff.

2 See below Chpt. B 3.1.3.1.

3 Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, *Tibyān* IV, 75, ll. 2 ff.

4 On Koranic quotations and allusions in the poetry of the Umayyad period cf. Zubaidi in: CHAL I, 322 ff.; for Farazdaq cf. also Bellamy in: *Festschrift Watt* 151 f.

5 AZ 346, no 699; Fasawī II 398, ll. 3 ff.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'* I, 513 f., no. 2125. His *nisba* is here given as al-Kilābī but elsewhere as al-Kalā'ī (cf. Khalifa, *Tab.* 798, no. 2955 and Fasawī II, 332, l. II; TT VII, 228, no. 418.

6 Moreover right inside the building, on the side of the arcade which faces towards the rock.

7 The points of view of the main opponents in the debate (J. Wansbrough, J. Burton, A. Neuwirth; without much evidence also Crone/Cook, *Hagarism* 17 f.) are well known. On the formulation of the problem cf. K. Rudolph in: ThLZ 105/1980/3 ff.; A. Neuwirth in: *Vorträge XXI. DOT* (ZDMG, Suppl. 5), pp. 183 ff. and A. Rippin in: *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies* (ed. R. C. Martin), pp. 151 ff. The dispute is essentially ongoing in the Anglo-Saxon world but in part is being fought out with categories that were developed in German Old-Testament research. It has remained unnoticed up to now that in more recent Soviet Arabist works the Koran has been viewed as the fruit “of collective effort” (cf. Batunsky in: *Religion*

is posed alongside a problem to do with the history of dogma which at this point we cannot pass over, i.e. the theory concerning the abrogation of certain scriptural passages.

Abrogation (*naskh*) is a typically Islamic theologoumenon. In the Old Testament there is only one known case that might be interpreted this way, and typically it had also only recently arisen in anyone's awareness.⁸ The Word of God was unalterable; yet one had to take precautions against the falsifying intervention of man. This one had done from time immemorial most emphatically with the so-called formula of Ptahotep, as it occurs in Deuteronomy for instance: "Do not add anything to what I order you, and do not remove anything, so that you observe the commandments of the Lord . . ."⁹ The Apocalypse had adopted the idea;¹⁰ thus it had become binding for the Christians.¹¹ It was likewise repeated in the Talmud;¹² and then it remained important for the Jews. The Christians claimed that they had left the law behind them; in so doing, for the first time they made the distinction that men should not tamper with the sacred text but God most certainly can abolish it.

Muslims were in the same position as the Christians; the Koran also abolished the earlier "laws". Yet this is not the reason why they developed the theory of abrogation; the dialectical-theological aspect only arose later in debate with Jews.¹³ For the Christians "the Word of God" had actually become a person; for Muslims, on the other hand, as in the case of the Jews it once more took on the form of a scripture. Consequently, it was not able to adapt itself so easily to different situations as was the message of Jesus; it was rather a decree. If the situation changed, it required another word. The canonization of the transmitted text continually stood in the way of this. The process of canonization was nothing new in itself for Muslims; for this reason they completed it more

12/1982/376 f.). Presumably new insights are to be expected from the Koran fragments that have been found in the chief mosque of Şan'ā' (on this H.-C. Graf von Bothmer in: *Pantheon* 45/1987/4 ff.; also *Maşāḥif Şan'ā'*, Cat. Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya Kuwait, 1985).

8 H. Donner, "Jesaja lvi 1–7", in: *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, vol 36, pp. 81 ff.

9 Deuteron. 4, 2: similarly *ibid.* 12, 32; Prov. 24, 29. On the ancient Egyptian model cf. A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Ägypter* 98: "Nimm kein Wort weg und füge keines hinzu und setze auch keines an die Stelle eines andern. [Do not add or remove a single word, nor replace one word with another.] More on this in J. Leipoldt/S. Morenz, *Heilige Schriften* 56 ff.

10 Apoc. 22, 18 f.

11 Irenaeus uses the formula in connection with one of his own writings (Eusebius, *Church History* v, 20, l. 2).

12 *bTalmud Sotā* 20 a; additional material in Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT* 1, 601.

13 See below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.4.1.2 for *Nazzām*.

quickly than the earlier “people with scriptures” who had shown them the way. But they handled the process too mechanically; they did not take into account that canonization does not precede recognition of scripture’s authority but follows upon it.¹⁴ This process of recognition was now still in flux; there where it should have become most important, in the field of jurisprudence, it had not yet really started. Legal practice, as has been repeatedly emphasized since Schacht, at the time oriented itself to a great extent according to other criteria, and if one had recourse to the Koran, one could not avoid confirming that it contradicted itself in important points. The Koran contained instructions for specific historical situations and questions with which the Prophet had been confronted; if one made it into a law book, one must be prepared to eliminate certain passages. But one was no longer in the position to do this in a radical sense because one had already accepted the concept of a canon. Thus the only way out was the assumption that God Himself had in part corrected Himself, precisely through abrogation.

In his dissertation J. Burton has shown by what complicated convolutions the theory developed and how much in individual cases it did violence to the facts and to tradition.¹⁵ Likewise, he makes it clear how early this process had already begun: namely, the documentation mostly consists of *ḥadīths* which later become recognized in their own right as canonical and scarcely can have been invented earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century. These materials are all the more important since otherwise we scarcely dispose over any early evidence on the subject. The theoretical treatises that were written before the time of Shāfi‘ī are either no longer extant or, as regards their authenticity, are not absolutely secure against the criticism of sceptics.¹⁶ On the other hand, Muḥāsibī, one generation after Shāfi‘ī has at his disposal the complete array of conceptual instruments of astounding subtlety; one can hardly explain this phenomenon other than by means of a long tradition.¹⁷ Already in the *Sīra* of the Ibāḍīte Sālim b. Dhakwān, which presumably cannot have been composed later than the beginning of the 2nd century, one finds a theoretical statement

14 This is rightly emphasized by Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies* 202.

15 *The Collection of the Qur’ān*; Cambridge 1977. Cf. now also Powers in: *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur’ān* (ed. A. Rippin), pp. 117 ff.

16 Cf. for instance A. Rippin in: BSOAS 47/1984/22 ff. on the *K. al-Nāsikh wa’l-mansūkh* of Zuhri there edited by him (the same text has now also been edited by Ḥātim Šāliḥ al-Ḍāmin in: MM’YI 38/1987/312 ff.).

17 The classification that he undertakes only deviates in details from the later usual one (see below Chpt. C 6.2).

concerning the problem.¹⁸ Thereafter one is not so surprised to see that Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’, towards the end of the Umayyad period, is already meant to have developed a distinction which since then, on the Sunnī side, has never again been questioned: namely, that only commands and prohibitions, i.e. legally relevant passages, can be abrogated, but not *akhbār*, narrative passages.¹⁹ Statements, in contrast to imperatives, are either true or false; consequently, if one of them is abrogated by another, this implies that the earlier one was “a lie”. But God cannot lie.²⁰ By contrast, He may well decree that from a particular moment onwards men should act differently than before. God has shown this most clearly in the change of the direction of prayer.²¹

On the other hand, if this distinction is really so old,²² one is tempted to assume that alongside – or even instead of – this epistemological discussion something else is concealed, something more relevant. Later sources actually place it in opposition to the teaching of the Shī‘ites.²³ Indeed, the latter, at least in Kūfa, early on held the view that parts of the Koran – nine-tenths of the text as their adversaries said²⁴ – had been suppressed by their Sunnī opponents. Here they were not thinking of legally relevant verses but statements about the rank of ‘Alī and his right to the caliphate. But whoever believed that many Koranic passages had been abrogated likewise felt compelled to admit the possibility that such statements could have completely disappeared from the

18 Cf. Cook, *Dogma* 93; on the dating see below p. 174. A theoretical preamble is also contained in *K. al-Nāsikh wa’l-mansūkh* of Abū ‘Ubayd (d. 224/838) who was about one generation older than Muḥāsibī; but this opening section is quite short, and the terminology is different (Ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III 143, now published in facsimile, Frankfurt 1985; with it cf. the edition by J. Burton, Cambridge 1987, and the analysis of the contents *ibid.*, Intro. 57 ff.). On the other hand, the text edited by Rippin simply enumerates the individual cases without any systematization. The same is true for the treatise by Qatāda (d. circa 117/735; on this below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3) and probably also for the treatise of ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī (d. 135/753) who is cited several times by Abū ‘Ubayd.

19 See below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.9.1.

20 Thus the later Mu‘tazilite justification (Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 206, ll. 12 ff.; also 53, ll. 10 ff.).

21 A list of abrogated verses still found in the Koran is provided by J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* I₂, 238 f.; in general cf. also ‘Abd al-Muta‘āl Muḥammad Jabrī, *al-Naskh fī’l-sharī‘a al-islāmīyya* (Cairo 1961).

22 It is likewise found in the treatise of Qatāda although there – as an addition? – it is traced back to Suddī who was perhaps younger than Qatāda (d. 128/748; cf. edition Beirut 1984, pp. 46 f.). Wansbrough notes it first for Naḥḥās (d. 338/950; *Quranic Studies* 197). But he does not know the Wāṣil-tradition nor the explanations of Muḥāsibī.

23 Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 478, ll. 12 ff. and 53, ll. 7 ff., also implicitly Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 227, ll. 1 f. and Shirāzī, *Tabṣīra* 251 ff.; on this cf. the material presented by Pines, *Atomenlehre* 127, fn. 2.

24 Thus according to the *K. al-Irjā’* (Text II 1, u).

Koran. Yet this was no more than a possibility; most of the abrogated verses, as it turned out, had remained in the Koran and were still used in recitation.²⁵ But it held true, for example, for the so-called verse on stoning (*āyat al-rajam*). The Azraqites, with consistency, had rejected stoning as a punishment for fornication because it is not mentioned in the Koran.²⁶ Whoever wished to retain this sanction and did not feel that the *sunna* was sufficient justification, could not avoid maintaining that it had once been in the Koran; here the situation was the other way round, the recited text was abrogated but the commandment had been kept in force.²⁷ Here was something the Shī'ites could point to: if a verse had disappeared in this case, then why not in the case of 'Alī as well? Wāṣil clarified the position with his distinction: historical statements could not be abrogated; if they are not found in the Koran, then they had never been there.

This situation in the discussion is reconstructed and, for the time being, is hypothetical in many respects. It assumes that the Shī'ites whom Wāṣil had in mind no longer spoke of a commonplace falsification or mutilation of Scripture but they accepted it as a closed canonical text; but then argument on the basis of abrogation was the only viable path. In fact, the Shī'ite testimonies from the 2nd century are already much more moderate than the above-cited – quite polemical – remark in the *K. al-Irjā'* (see below p. 326). Kalbī, on the basis of the transmitted text of the Koran, attempted to demonstrate that even straightforward statements in it had been abrogated (see below p. 347 f.). The Sunnīs saw in this assumption a justification of the Shī'ite doctrine of *badā'*; God, in their opinion, could not only abrogate a certain kind of verse in a calculable manner but at any moment He could change His mind (cf. the passages mentioned above in fn. 23; more on this below pp. 365 f.). However, this only led to the Shī'a actually using abrogation as an argument for *badā'* (Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 93, ll. 14 f.). The Sunnīs encouraged this further by understanding abrogation in connection with surah 2/106 as causing-to-enter-oblivion: God caused Muḥammad or the editors of the Koran to forget the verse

25 Here one later spoke of *naskh al-ḥukm dūna'l-tilāwa* (Burton 49 ff.).

26 Cf. Ash'arī, *Maq.* 89, l. 3, with 127, l. 3; Malaṭī, *Tanbih* 142, l. 4/185, l. 5 from bot.; on this E1² I, 811 a.

27 So-called *naskh al-tilāwa dūna'l-ḥukm* (cf. Burton 89 ff.). Naturally, the concept of abrogation does not entirely apply here; rather one had to speak of the suppression of a verse. The whole theoretical discussion suffers from the fact that different issues are included under the word *naskh*.

on stoning, without stoning having thereby become abolished. So why should the verses referring to ‘Alī also not have become forgotten?

One will have to examine the chronology of the assumed dialectical development of thought by means of an analysis of the *ḥadīths* used by Burton and their relationships of dependence. For his part, in his dissertation he unfortunately bases himself extensively on late compilations and lets himself be too strongly distracted by the scholastic classification scheme which we have also occasionally referred to above. Moreover, on “forgetting” cf. his article in: *Der Islam* 62/1985/5 ff. – It is interesting that in Spain still in the 4th century it was grounds for prosecution if one believed in *naskh*; Khushanī (d. 361/971 or 371/981) was thrown in prison when he brought back with him from a trip to the East the work of Abū ‘Ubayd (Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabas*, ed. Makki 254, ll. 7 ff.; on this subject see now Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus* 88 f. So up until then one had still not become acquainted with the idea.

The abrogation model belongs in the larger framework of a wide-ranging and quite complex discussion about authority.²⁸ Whoever allotted importance to the community’s tradition alongside the Koran did not have to make use of the fiction of “a verse on stoning”; ‘Umar II, when he was informed about the attitude of the Azraqites, referred to a *ḥadīth* in which stoning was prescribed.²⁹ Nor in these circles did one balk at the idea that the *sunna* could abrogate the Koran.³⁰ Here, to begin with, *sunna* did not so much mean the *sunna* of the Prophet but rather local usage or the newly established right of the caliph; the rulers for a while handed down rulings concerning general principles on the basis of their absolute power.³¹ Once again herein lay the seed of diverse conflicts. ‘Umar I is supposed to have warned against a new Mishna, the uncontrolled proliferation of the oral tradition; as caliph, he did not want to let himself be talked into this.³² By contrast, groups that kept their distance from the ruling dynasty or the authorities tended towards a fundamental scripturalism: the Khārijites and, to begin with, the Mu‘tazilites. They attempted a

28 According to Schacht, Wansbrough in an original manner has brought this subject back into the discussion (*Sectarian Milieu* 50 ff., but also in *Quranic Studies*, passim). Much of what has been published on this question in recent years in English is influenced by him.

29 TTD IV, 143, ll. 15 ff.; cf. also Burton, *Collection* 74 ff. The Khārijite polemic designated such *ḥadīths* as isolated (*khabar al-wāḥid*; Rāzī, *Maḥṣūl* II, 482, ll. 4 ff.).

30 Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 479, ll. 3 ff.

31 On this Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* 190 ff.

32 Goldziher in: ZDMG 61/1907/865 ff. = *Ges. Schr.* v, 91 ff.

completely new blueprint for society; where they were able to distance themselves sufficiently, like the Azraqites, they even rejected widely held customs such as stoning. In any case *Ḥadīth* experienced just as difficult a time with them as with ‘Umar I.³³ For a long time one still pleaded, even among traditionists, for *Ḥadīth* at least not to be written down; in a world where writing was still a luxury, only “Scripture” should enjoy this privilege.³⁴ On the other hand, whoever wished to urge caution with regard to the Koran referred to the fact that according to its own testimony (surah 3/7), there were likewise ambiguous verses in it; ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā already said that one should use one’s intelligence to distinguish between *muḥkamāt* and *mutashābihāt*.³⁵ The 2nd century brought all these beginnings to a flowering; but it was Shāfi‘ī who first established the valid standards for the later Sunnī awareness.

33 How tenacious this tendency was in maintaining itself among the Khārijites is shown by a subgroup of the Ibādites in the Tunisian Jarīd (cf. Cuperly in: BEO 32–33/1980–1/30). On this in general now Cook in: JSAI 9/1987/165 ff.

34 On this now cf. Schoeler in: *Der Islam* 66/1989/221 ff. Tradition by being written down naturally became rigid; “the letter kills” as Paul said (2 Corinthians 3.6).

35 *Rasā’il* 219, l. 6. On the interpretation of these terms cf. now Kinberg in: *Arabica* 35/1988/143 ff.

The Spread of the Faith

As long as one viewed Muhammad as the Prophet of the Arabs, assuming a mission beyond the Arabic-speaking regions made no sense. Whoever converted did so for social or economic reasons, and he made the effort to become an Arab himself by learning the language. This was a thorny path; neophytes became “clients” (*mawālī*) of the one who accepted their conversion and, to begin with, were regarded as second-class people in the tribe they were associated with. One did not take this upon oneself without a compelling reason and certainly not because of religious enthusiasm; for this reason it has rightly been assumed that the new Muslims mostly came from the lower classes of the respective indigenous pre-Islamic population.¹ Anyone whom the Arabs really had need of, they left to his own conviction; qualified personnel of the administration, physicians, astrologers, for a long time – in Egypt over centuries – remained Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, even Manicheans.² The great reservoir out of which the converts were drawn during the first decades of Islam were prisoners of war.³ They ended up in slavery and only as Muslims could they expect to be set free by their masters; setting free a slave was not simply an act of humanity but either atonement for a violation or a means to win access to Paradise. Later, farmers emigrating from the countryside made up an additional second large contingent.⁴

The biographical sources only take note of the successful classes; naturally, as always, they were the exception. But the conditions for advancement were in fact unusually favourable. Becoming a prisoner of war and the

1 Thus R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam* 41 ff. and previously; also summarizing in: *Conversion to Islam*, ed. N. Levtzion, pp. 33 f. The model is adopted in Th. F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain* 186 ff.; for Spain cf. also P. Chalmeta, “Le passage à l’Islam dans al-Andalus au X^e siècle”, in: *Actas XII Congreso UEAI*, Malaga, pp. 161 ff. Recently in general Lapidus, *History of Islamic Societies* 242 ff.; as a supplement to Bulliet with an overview of the *status quaestionis* Morony in: Gervers/Bikhazi, *Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands* 135 ff.

2 Examples see below pp. 491 f. and 497 f.

3 Examples see below pp. 87 f. and 179.

4 On this P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* 49 ff. and now in EI² VI, 877 f. s. v. *Mawlā*; also Cahen in: EI² IV, 1031 s. v. *Khārādj*; one should note that every convert became “a client” but not every client had to convert; above all, distinguished people who for whatever reason entered into a closer tie with an Arab tribe often remained in their old religion (cf. the examples in Crone 137, fn. 358).

client-relationship levelled out social differences that had been dominant in the society of the conquered; at least in this manner, from the beginning, Islam created equality. Whoever once succeeded in coming to one of the newly founded cities which arose in Iraq or was accepted into the army as this frequently happened in Syria and Iran, would quickly become literate and have the opportunity to make the most of the knowledge he brought with him from a superior culture. Sometimes, as in Iran for instance, the Arabs were in such a minority that they had no other choice but to secure for themselves the help and goodwill of their new Muslim brothers.⁵ Everywhere that “clients” appeared in large groups or in the majority they constantly came together beyond the confines of their tribe in the desire to break down the exclusivity of the Arabs in favour of a new Islamic solidarity. In this respect the future was now theirs because this was what the religion demanded; already the Prophet had taken the first steps to change the concept of clientele relations with a view to solidarity based on the faith – at the time, of course, only for the Arabs.⁶ So it happened that the clients in particular showed special interest in reflecting on religion and making religion the object of learning; once they had lost the ties to their old society, their identity was solely and exclusively based on Islam. Sha‘bī (d. after 100/719),⁷ a member of a South-Arabian tribe, was annoyed in his old age that “the have-nots” (*ṣa‘āfiqa*), “the lowest filth” (*banū stihā*, viz. *ist al-dunyā*) spread themselves about in his mosque and disturbed the peace with a lecture on law.⁸ Sometimes it seems as if Islam was invented by them.⁹

Naturally, many an individual among them became rich. This did not come about over night; but one can observe how in the third generation at the latest so much money had been accumulated that people found the leisure to sit in the mosque and pursue learning.¹⁰ The wars of conquest had created an enormous economic space in which long-distance commerce could freely

5 On this Bulliet 53 ff.

6 These connections are treated by J. Juda, *Die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte der Mawālī in frühislamischer Zeit* (diss. Tübingen 1983), pp. 53 ff.; cf. also D. Pipes in: *Slavery and Abolition* 1/1980/132 ff. and Lapidus, *History* 48 ff. On the juridical situation now in detail P. Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law*, there especially pp. 36 ff. The position of clients in a pure Arab environment can still be observed today in the Yemen (cf. T. Gerholm, *Market, Mosque and Mafraj* 140 ff., also 114 ff.; Crone, *ibid.* 44 ff.).

7 On him E1¹ IV, 260 f.

8 IS VI, 175, ll. 3 ff. Also Fasawī II, 592, ll. 7 ff.; *banūstihā* is a variant. For an additional disparaging remark of Sha‘bī about *mawālī* who pursue learning (this time grammarians) cf. Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 405, 7 ff.

9 On this cf. also the anecdote in Tawhīdī, *Baṣā‘ir* II, 414, last l. ff.

10 Examples see below p. 214 or Chpt. B 2.2.7.; also Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit* 141 f.

unfold;¹¹ it was only a matter of taking the initiative. But in general this initiative did not come from the Arabs; they lived from booty and later from state pensions.¹² The *mawālī*, by contrast, developed the single-mindedness of an oppressed minority that in reality was the majority. But wealth was not yet the only way to attain sought-after social prestige. In the value system of the Arab masters, fame and prestige stood at the very top. Money and possessions only served to win fame: by means of generosity and hospitality.¹³ The *mawālī* were neither able, nor did they desire, to stand this relationship on its head. But they brought about a transformation of the objective: possessions primarily serve to carry out pious works. In this way the required conditions came about for two phenomena that first fully manifest themselves in their importance for early Islam at the beginning of the 2nd century: the central position of the merchant within the religious intelligentsia and the rise of the internal mission.

Learned merchants were already characteristic for Judaism;¹⁴ the type developed early in religions that did not have a clergy. But in the beginning circumstances were different in Islam.¹⁵ Inherently, there was nothing that hindered the authorities themselves from managing the religion. And they had even done so: ‘Abd al-Malik, as we have seen, carried out a definite imperial religious policy, and the outstanding theologians of the Umayyad period, Ghaylān al-Dimashqī, Ja’d b. Dirham, Jahm b. Ṣafwān and even Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, were active in government service.¹⁶ Marwān II concerned himself with the orthodoxy of his successor; he advised him not to allow any “innovator” in his proximity.¹⁷ Making the *quṣṣāṣ* into “government employees” was nothing less

11 On this cf. for instance M. Lombard, *L'Islam dans sa première grandeur* 161 ff., especially 218 ff. For E. Ashtor this development only begins with the Abbasids (*Social and Economic History* 71 ff.).

12 On the wealth of the Arabs cf. Ashtor 23 ff.

13 On this in general Gurjevitch, *Das Weltbild des mittelalterlichen Menschen* 271 ff. A good example of a rich man who as a *mawālī* only enjoyed limited rights and if protection were withdrawn from him, could find himself in precarious positions is the Companion of the Prophet Ṣuhayb b. Sinān al-Rūmī (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb* 726 ff., no. 1226; Balādhurī, *Ansāb* I, 183, ll. 4 f.; IS III, 162, ll. 3 ff. and 19 f.

14 In general M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* 5292. For the Islamic period cf. N. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands* 35 ff.; also S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* 9 f.

15 For Max Weber in reality the warrior and not the merchant represents the ideal type in Islam (ibid 289 and 375). Analysis and discussion of this in B. S. Turner in: *Religion* 6/1976/13 ff.

16 See below p. 73 and Chpts. B 2.2.2, B 2.4.1.2 and B 3.1.1.

17 *Rasā’il* 225, ll. 10 f./transl. Schönig, *Sendschreiben* 28.

than an attempt to create a clergy. The change first came with the collapse of all public order after the assassination of Walid II. In each of the individual provinces it took place with its own dynamic; but everywhere the *mawālī* in the long term proved to be the representatives of a bourgeoisie that determined the scholarly and religious life of their environment.¹⁸ In his dissertation H. J. Cohen has examined the social position of the religious scholars and the traditionists during this period.¹⁹ On the basis of the sources it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between artisans and merchants. But the greatest portion of them consists of those who could most easily afford the luxury of study, i.e. the rich merchants, in a noticeably high proportion members of the cloth trade.²⁰ When Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, who was a typical representative of the old bureaucratic caste, once more suggested to the caliph Manṣūr the creation of a clergy, his counsel went unheeded.²¹

Jāḥiẓ had already emphasized that merchants were less dependent than government employees.²² Likewise, they were at least as mobile; business frequently required that one travel. Thus the opportunity presented itself to gather knowledge elsewhere as well as to disseminate it abroad oneself. Meanwhile, one might very quickly have acquired the impression that “the state” was scarcely concerned about religion; vast regions were only superficially Islamicized. The impetus of the conquests, so it seemed, amounted to nothing more than the mere acquisition of territory. On closer examination, this was not completely true. Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī, Ziyād’s governor of Sijistān, in

18 As a case study of such a merchant bourgeoisie, though at a much later period, one may consult the recently published monograph of E. N. Saad on Timbuktu (*Social History of Timbuktu*, Cambridge 1983). In general cf. Goitein, *Studies* 230 ff.; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities* 108 ff.; Lombard, *Islam* 149 ff.

19 Cf. the summary in: JESHO 13/1970/16 ff.

20 Ibid. 26 ff.; on this Ashtor, *Social and Economic History* 111. On the cloth industry cf. Lombard 181 ff.; especially on the spread of cotton A. M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation* 39 ff. The disproportionately high percentage in Cohen is in part explainable because the biographical sources that he bases himself on take especially strong account of scholars from Iraq, for instance from Baṣra where the cloth industry flourished (on Baṣra cf. for instance below Chpts. B 2.2.6.1.1 and 2.2.6.2.1). Also an important factor in this was that tax legislation favoured town-dwellers above the rural population and landowners; the merchants shirked paying *zakāt* on their wares (thus Jāḥiẓ in his *K. al-Luṣūṣ*; cf. Tanūkhī, *Faraj ba’d al-shidda* IV, 232, ll. 6 ff.).

21 *Risāla fī l-ṣaḥāba* 60 ff. § 55, Pellat.

22 *Risāla fī madḥ al-tujjār wa-dhamm ‘amal al-sultān*, in: *Rasā’il*, ed. Hārūn, IV 243 ff./transl. in Rescher, *Excerpte* 186 ff. and Pellat-Müller, *Arab. Geisteswelt* 436 ff.; on this Enderwitz, *Gesellschaftlicher Rang* 180 ff.

the year 46/667 had forced sections of the local population to accept Islam and to learn the Koran. Ḥasan al-Baṣṭī, who was still quite young at the time and had become his secretary, is meant to have provided assistance with this by means of his language knowledge.²³ But such measures had not penetrated the general awareness. Only the ideal caliph, ‘Umar II, retained the reputation of having promoted the spread of the faith through his policies;²⁴ he had ordered that religious instruction be given to the bedouins²⁵ and had dispatched a group of ten scholars to the Berbers.²⁶ Otherwise, people were convinced that “the rulers” were more interested in the proceeds from taxation than in ideal values.

A further observation can be added: Islam was still not sufficiently defined. Its followers often only knew very little about it; this continued to be the case among the bedouins until the recent past.²⁷ Ideas concerning the law were as different from one locality to another as the contents of the faith; Kūfan gnosis showed how far it was possible for the pendulum to swing. Here anyone who thought he knew what Islam really was found a wide open area and if he came from a centre of religious education, people were quite willing to listen to him. Consequently, the merchant might become a missionary; by strengthening and spreading the true faith, he could pay God back for the wealth God had bestowed on him. There where the Jacobite metropolitan Aḥūdemmeh (559–575) “performed miracles” by his acts of healing among the Arabs, i.e. had made good use of his medical knowledge to win them over to Christianity,²⁸ the cloth merchant, Hishām al-Dastuwāṭī, distributed amounts of cloth among the bedouin in order to make Qadarites out of them.²⁹

Naturally, there were also other things a merchant could do. He could remain at home and there win respect as a scholar. He could promote the spread of Islam by equipping several warriors for private *jihād*;³⁰ whoever financed a

23 *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* 91, ll. 4 f. from bot., and 88, last l. ff.; on this Bosworth, *Sīstān* 22 f. and below Chpt. B 2.2.2.

24 Lapidus in: IOS 2/1972/251 f. with references to older literature. For ‘Umar I cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj* 39 § 38/transl. Ben Shemesh 47.

25 M. Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 140 and 273/*Culture et éducation* 85 and 224.

26 U. Rebstock, *Die Ibādīten im Magrib* 13; W. Schwartz, *Anfänge der Ibādīten* 89 f.; M. Marin in: SI 54/1981/7, 16 and 36.

27 Cf. for instance Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* 224 ff.; Musil, *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien* 43; more nuanced Henniger, *Arabica Sacra* 19 f. and 32, n. 50.

28 Cf. the Vita in: PO 3/1909/24; on this F. Nau, *Arabes chrétiens* 15.

29 Around the middle of the 2nd century (see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.1).

30 Thus for instance ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak (see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.2) or already before him ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī (see below p. 113).

war-horse for waging war on behalf of the faith, the horse's droppings would be placed in the scales during the Last Judgement, according to a *ḥadīth*.³¹ When he travelled, he could limit himself to pure *ṭalab al-'ilm*³² or to doing other good works; we hear that at the turn of the 2nd century two Iraqi merchants, who had concluded a large business transaction in Mecca, used a considerable portion of their profit to confer gifts on the poor of the city.³³ But the connection between travelling for business and undertaking missionary work, be it internally or externally, certainly remained very characteristic. Later we find the same model among the Ismā'īlīs; the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal travelled as a merchant in their service.³⁴ China and Black Africa to a great extent became Islamicized in this manner.³⁵

The two movements within which this combination most clearly comes to light towards the end of the Umayyad period are the Ibādīyya and the Mu'tazila. Both sent out recruiters in the various provinces of the known Islamic world; both established "colonies" sent out from Iraq that were simultaneously trading offices and religious cells. Among the Ibādites the envoys were typically called *ḥamalat al-'ilm* "bearers of knowledge" by analogy with *ḥamalat al-Qur'ān*;³⁶ they had knowledge of salvation, so to speak, in their baggage. Moreover, their mission was also combined with a political objective. In fact, the Ibādites were moderate and quietistic by comparison with the Azraqites; nonetheless, they remained Khārījites. As the grip of the Umayyad dominion weakened, they attempted to dislodge the authorities by means of revolts; for this purpose the

31 Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* VII, 135, ll. 2 f. from bot.

32 On *ṭalab al-'ilm* cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II, 175 ff. and Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition* 66 ff.; especially for Syria M. Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 480 ff./*Culture et éducation* 280 ff. On this the monograph of Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* (ed. Nūr al-Dīn 'Itr, Damascus 1395/1975). In the domain of jurisprudence the phenomenon appears relatively late; it assumes the decline in power of the local tradition (on this Crone, *Roman law* 25 f.). *Ṭalab al-'ilm* played a special role in Islamic Spain; there one had to travel to the East in order not to lose contact with advances in learning (on this Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones* 1 ff., especially 9 ff.

33 Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v, 106, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

34 EI² III, 787 a s. n.; in general cf. also Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'* I, 45, l. 5.

35 J. Henniger in: *Festschrift J. Beckmann* 345 ff.; also Levtzion (ed.), *Conversion* 165, 209 and 239 ff. Moreover, Christianity and Manicheism likewise spread along the usual trade routes (cf. J. Teixidor in: Kappeler, *Apocalypses* 379 ff.; Lieu, *Manicheism* 70 ff.).

36 On the combination of words *ḥamala'l-Qur'ān* cf. most recently R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aṣ'at und die Koranleser* 281 f.

trade centres that they had built up offered a suitable infrastructure.³⁷ In the Maghrib, along with the closely related Šufrites, they were the very first who as Muslims understood how to gain a foothold within the native population.³⁸

The Mu‘tazila had close ties with them in Bašra³⁹ and seem to have followed upon their heels when it came to missionary work, for example in the Maghrib.⁴⁰ But in contrast to the latter they presumably had no subversive intentions. They advocated a compromise theology by means of which, in a time of dwindling governmental order and rising sectarian discord, they hoped to unite the most Muslims under themselves.⁴¹ The merchants who carried the Mu‘tazilite teachings to the different countries were likewise jurists; they offered their services in every respect as practitioners. Jurisprudence, *fiqh*, had always been a component of “instruction in religion” (*tafaquh fi’l-dīn*) about which the Koran had already spoken (surah 9/122);⁴² here it provided an ideal entry point for religious propaganda.⁴³

This missionary tendency hung on for a long time among the Mu‘tazila. Otherwise, later on it was apparently the Šūfis among them who headed out into the world.⁴⁴ But even a younger relative of Ibn Abī Duwād had provided religious instruction while he was engaged in doing business among the Iraqi rural population. He did not experience it as especially pleasurable; but that is what one expected it to be.⁴⁵ To begin with, in the wish to spread the faith a hardy dose of fundamentalism was contained; Mu‘tazilites, as well as Ibādites, could be quite intolerant. Naturally, recruiting was also practiced in other ways. Zayd b. ‘Alī had sent out agents to Raqqa, Mosul, etc.;⁴⁶ later, before his uprising, al-Nafs al-zakiyya dispatched four of his brothers to the chief

37 On this below Chpts. B 2.2.5.2 and 2.2.6.3.1.1. Cf. also Ashtor, *Social History* 33 and Morony in: JNES 40/1981/251.

38 See below Chpts. B 4.1.1.2 and C 7.7.1.

39 More details on this below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.7.2.

40 See below Chpt. C 7.7.1.

41 On this Chpts. B 2.2.6.1.7 and 8.

42 On the term cf. also below p. 239. Already ‘Umar is supposed to have ordered the Companion of the Prophet ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm “to give instruction in religion” to the population of Syria (*an yufaqqihahum fi’l-dīn*; Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 86/*Culture et éducation* 53).

43 On this Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.1.1.

44 See below Chpt. C 3.3.5 (end).

45 Ibid.; on this Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 303, ll. 7 ff.

46 Nagel, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des abbasidischen Kalifates* 133.

cities (*amṣār*).⁴⁷ The Abbasids developed the model to perfection.⁴⁸ However, as much as the patterns resemble one another,⁴⁹ the Abbasid model does not particularly belong here: it was political propaganda, and the merchants had no outstanding role in it. Only the spread of the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence is “bourgeois” and to that extent comparable; at first the disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa did feel like they were missionaries when they went to Khorāsān and Transoxania, before they acquired paid religious posts there. But then quite soon, in the time of Abū Yūsuf, the authorities presumably helped matters along.⁵⁰

47 Talbi, *Emirat Aghlabide* 365, fn. 4; on this below p. 396 and Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.2.2.

48 On this Sharon, *Black Banners*, passim.

49 The Abbasid *duʿāt* also passed themselves off as merchants in order to be able to go about their work undisturbed (Ṭabarī II, 1434, l. 10 and 1502, ll. 4 f.); on this Nagel, *Untersuchungen* 116.

50 On this below p. 246 and Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.3.

5.1 The Literary Instruments for Conveying the Faith

People with a religious education in the 1st century, especially in Iraq, were often simply designated as *qurrā'*.¹ Gradually, the *fuqahā'* (jurists), *mufasssīrūn* (Koran commentators), *mutakallimūn* (dialectical theologians) and *muḥaddithūn* (scholars of traditions from the Prophet) came to be differentiated so that the *qurrā'* in the real sense, the experts on Koranic recitation, were left over; in each case, when and where this came about still remains to be studied in detail. What is especially important in our context is how these individual sciences, which each in its respective way governed religious knowledge ('ilm), rendered service in the spread of the faith and internal missionary activity. How closely jurisprudence could be connected with certain religious conceptions and could take account of certain practical problems on the mission to pagans, best reveals itself in the example of the Ḥanafites in Eastern Iran and Central Asia.² That *Ḥadīth* could become a vehicle for inner Islamic disputes has already been demonstrated by Goldziher;³ in the course of the present study we will meet with numerous additional examples.

Older than both these disciplines is Koranic exegesis; here the activities of the *qurrā'* and the *quṣṣāṣ* flow together. Ḥajjāj had been the first in Iraq to give permission for individual persons to recite the Koran in mosques outside the times of worship;⁴ the *quṣṣāṣ* then did their part to surround the text with midrash-like exegesis.⁵ To begin with, this still met with resistance;⁶ later, however, one over and again referred to Koran commentaries that must have been composed around the turn of the century or shortly thereafter: the *Tafsīrs* of Mujāhid (d.104/722),⁷ of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728),⁸ of Qatāda (d. 117/735)⁹

1 On this in depth Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣā'ī* 277 ff.; there also on the dispute over whether the word is derived from the root *q-r-*' or from *q-r-y*.

2 See below Chpt. B 3.1.

3 *Muh. Stud.* 88 ff.

4 Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Jāmi'* 164, ll. 3 f.

5 On this type of exegesis cf. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies* 122 ff., who there uses the term "Haggadic". I will not here enter into the problem Wansbrough raises as to what extent the exegesis and the basic text could at the time already be separated (ibid. 145 ff.). Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī also refers to the role of the *quṣṣāṣ* (*Jāmi'* 164, l. 5).

6 On this H. Birkeland, "Old Muslim opposition against interpretation of the Koran", in: *Avh. Norske Videnskaps-Akad. Oslo* 2/1955, No. 1.

7 On this below Chpt. B 4.1.1.

8 On this below Chpt. B 2.2.2.

9 On this below Chpt. 2.2.3.3.

or Kalbī (d. 146/763).¹⁰ These were the starting point for local school traditions which continued to exist over generations; it is typical that later compilers like Ṭabarī always only cite these and not works produced during the intervening period.¹¹ As a result, the original and additional reworkings are frequently difficult to separate from one another.¹² Several of the early texts were very short and only dealt with a few selected verses; the *tafsīr* of a particular author is here not his Koran commentary but the exegesis that he provided in his lectures.¹³ Theological elements are on hand but anything but easy to recognize; similarly as in *Ḥadīth*, theology is there but for the most part implicitly, not explicitly. As long as Islamic doctrine was not firmly defined, one cannot really reckon on a targeted exegesis. Only a single work, which could belong to the 1st century, goes through the Koran systematically following a particular dogmatic perspective: a refutation of the Qadariyya which circulates under the name of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.¹⁴ But its authenticity is not securely established.¹⁵

One would expect that sermons as well would serve to convey specific religious and theological ideas. In Islam, however, they have an official character, and if a governor did not specifically proclaim his political program in it or ‘Alī was not cursed, then they remained quite stereotyped.¹⁶ They contained exhortations, not theoretical teachings; the *khaṭīb* was an orator, not a theologian. In the same way other ceremonial speeches that we hear about also amount to nothing more than moral generalities; even later when one tried to imagine what Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’ could have said during the ceremonies of accession to office of an Iraqi governor, one did not put in his mouth a single specifically Mu‘tazilite statement.¹⁷ About individual missionary sermons we know

10 On him below pp. 345 f.

11 Jubbā’ī, who composed his *Tafsīr* towards the end of the 3rd century, allegedly went back to Qatāda (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān* 1, 44, l. 4 from bot.). On his commentary in general cf. the dissertation of R. W. Gwynne, *The “Tafsīr” of Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā’ī. First Steps toward a Reconstruction* (Univer. of Washington 1982).

12 Cf. for instance below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1.2 on the *Tafsīr* of Muqātil b. Sulaymān.

13 Examples see below p. 260, last l. f., and B 4.1.1.1 (Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī); also GAS 1/39, no. 7.

14 *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie* 35 ff.

15 Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma* 137 ff.; on this below Chpt. B 4.1.2.3.2. – An overview of the secondary literature on Koranic exegesis, particularly in the English language, is provided by A. Rippin in: MW 72/1982/224 ff.

16 An impression of its usual content during the Umayyad period is conveyed by the *rajaz*-parody that Walid II is meant to have made of it (*Agh.* VII, 57, ll. 14 ff.). On its stylistic features cf. Beeston in CHAL I, 180 ff.; on the *khaṭīb* in general Blachère, *Histoire* 717 ff., Pedersen in EI² IV, 1109 ff. and Serjeant in CHAL I, 117 ff.

17 See below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.2.

nothing. The only examples one can think of are two dialectical-theological tracts by the Zaydī Imām, Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860): a refutation of the Christians and a criticism of a Manichean text which was attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'. They are distinguished by a sustained use of rhymed prose – and accordingly by a bouncy train of thought – and consequently may well have been intended for oral performance.¹⁸ The crucial instrument for the spread and acceptance of religious views, however, was debate (*munāẓara*); out of this there developed Islamic theology in the true sense, the *ilm al-kalām*.

5.1.1 *The Creation of Dialectical Theology*

The envoys of Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' were meant to make a good impression on their public by giving legal advice, but to drive from the field any possible competition by means of debates.¹ In the process, it was at least theoretically assumed that the defeated party would "convert"; numerous stories are based on this punch-line.² In later times the rules of such *disputationes* were precisely established; however, one will be right in assuming that from the outset they were carried out according to laws recognized by both sides.³ Naturally, the defeated were not always willing to undergo the expected consequences, and in the long run a principled opposition arose to the effect that one should not get involved in such lawyer's tricks.⁴ Nevertheless, in legal training the practice was retained for centuries. We hear of a professor of jurisprudence who used Fridays to compile questions as practice material and to have his students discuss about them.⁵ Above all, they had to learn how to present their views and to lose their shyness towards an opponent.⁶

18 On the two texts cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm* 90 f.; on the second also below Chpt. B 2.2.1.4. But against this hypothesis is that Qāsim also otherwise used rhymed prose.

1 See below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.1.1 for the meeting between Ḥafṣ b. Sālim and Jahm b. Ṣafwān. On the combination of both cf. the poem of Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī (*Text XII 1*), verses 8 ff.

2 See the Mu'tazilite report on the mentioned meeting (Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 237, ll. 5 ff.), as well as another on a discussion between Wāṣil and 'Amr b. 'Ubayd (see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.6). In general cf. my article in: *REI* 44/1976/ 46 f.

3 More detail on this *ibid.* 33 ff.

4 *Ibid.* 49 f.; on this cf. the collection of materials in von Grunebaum, *Studien zum Kulturbild* 337, ftn. 40. As part of an *'aqīda* of the *ahl al-sunna* in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 12, l. 2/15, l. 10. Quarrelsomeness (*jadal*) according to the Koran is a sign of the unbelievers (Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts* 154 f.).

5 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *al-Faqīh wa'l-mutaḥaqiqih* II, 131, ll. 2 ff.

6 *Ibid.* 133, ll. 8 ff. from *bot.*; in general cf. G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* 128 ff. On the role of *disputatio* in the Latin curriculum of the Middle Ages cf. A. Kenny and J. Pinborg in: *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* 21 ff.

When such debates were held for the first time by Muslims with people of a different faith or with their own coreligionists, is a difficult question to answer. But perhaps the question is simply posed the wrong way. The Koran already argues dialectically in direct debate with an opponent, and sometimes describes the situation of the discussion in individual steps: “Say: ‘Who bestows on you (your daily sustenance) from heaven and (from) earth . . .?’ They reply: ‘God.’ Then say: ‘So do you not wish to be God-fearing?’”⁷ Theological and legal thought in the Ancient World had for centuries been embedded in the practice of disputation, which Aristotle already knew from the older Academy and wrote about in his *Topics*.⁸ Not only the Christians, but the Jews and the Manicheans, had gone through the school of ancient rhetoric.⁹ Thus Muslims, both by the tone of argumentation of their Prophet as well as by the milieu that they encountered or from which they originated as neophytes, were prepared for the dialectical style of thinking. To begin with, now and then they may still have avoided confrontation, being aware of their inferiority; but John of Damascus in his *Διάλεξις Σαρακηνῶν καὶ Χριστιανῶν* already takes for granted that his “Saracen” opponent accepts the challenge and puts to him typical questions entailing a dilemma.¹⁰ The Khārijites, before they put someone to death, were known first to conduct “an argument” (*hujja*) with him.¹¹

But we only first have clear references to holding debates and specifically employing people schooled in debating, during the tumultuous times shortly before the collapse of the Umayyads, that is to say in the epoch when Wāṣil also first brought his missionary program before the public. Hārith b. Surayj, the Murjiʿite rebel in Eastern Iran, during battle tried to win over his opponents

7 Surah 10/31. The form of address *qul* “Say” is typical for such passages; the Prophet is, so to speak, shown by God how to argue correctly (on this cf. for instance surah 3/20 or 4/176). For additional passages cf. *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society* 112 with fn. 12 (pp. 232 f.).

8 On this H. J. Krämer, *Platonismus und hellenistische Philosophie* 25 ff.; also G. Ryle in: *New Essays on Plato and Aristotle* (ed. Bombrough, London 1965), pp. 39 ff. and in: *Proceedings of the Third Symposium Aristotelicum* (ed. G. E. L. Owen, Oxford 1968), pp. 69 ff.

9 On this in detail REI 44/1976/52 ff.

10 Cf. the translation in J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam* 142 ff., especially 149 ff. and in Ducellier, *Miroir de l’Islam* 115. But one version of the text circulates under the name of John’s student Theodore Abū Qurra (on the question of authenticity cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* 478 and Sahas 99 ff.). This also depicts a Muslim opponent in a similar manner (cf. the text treated by Griffith in: *Muséon* 92/1979/30 f.).

11 This is assumed in the anecdote TB III, 368, ll. 13 ff. But the anecdote is first found in Jāhīz.

with moral and religious arguments.¹² Naṣr b. Sayyār, the last great Umayyad governor of the province, engaged in a discussion during which two theologians, Muqātil b. Ḥayyān and Jahm b. Ṣafwān, functioned as referees.¹³ When Abū Muslim wished to settle in Marv, he sent into the city people experienced in discussion (*mutakallimūn*) who, with their dialectical art, were supposed to make clear that he “followed the *sunna* and acted in accordance with truth”.¹⁴ Pines has inferred from this passage that at the time *mutakallimūn* were “a fundamental political and social institution of Islam”, a kind of so-called militant clergy.¹⁵ However, one must place very serious limits on this remark. It is obvious that the debate was solely or primarily employed by opposition groups; they were the only ones who had problems regarding legitimation. Pines himself equates the *mutakallimūn* with the *du‘āt*.¹⁶ The closest parallels are therefore found in the Ibāḍiyya.¹⁷ Among the Umayyads at that time there is no proof for the existence of *mutakallimūn*.¹⁸

How did the designation *mutakallimūn* come about, and what exactly is meant by it? How much the contours can become blurred here is shown by a passage in the *Risāla fī l-ṣaḥāba* of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ where there is talk of “*mutakallimūn* among the generals (*quwwād*)”.¹⁹ This too is understood to be evidence for “an institution”,²⁰ since Ibn Muqaffa‘ later advises the caliph to have instruction on the Koran and the *sunna* given to the soldiers so that they do not fall prey to the heretics (*ahl al-hawā*);²¹ already in the Sassanian Empire it was the practice before battle for a general to exhort his army to do their religious duty against the infidels.²² But the context makes it obvious that *mutakallimūn* here is not at all a special term and as a participle

12 EI² III, 224 b.

13 See below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1.1.

14 *Akhbār al-Abbās wa-wuldiḥ* 310, ll. 7 ff.; following which, Daniel, *History of Khurasan* 57 and 192.

15 In: IOS 1/1971/224 ff.; taken up in: *Cambridge History of Islam* II, 789, fn. 1, and in greater detail in: *Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings* v 4/1973/105 ff. Pines did not yet know the original passage but used the Arabiskij Anonim (folio 269 b, ll. 3 ff.) edited by Gryaznevich which goes back to the *Akhbār al-Abbās*.

16 Ibid. 225.

17 On this *Studies on the First Century* 122 and below Chpt. B 2.2.5.2.

18 Here again I leave aside the refutation of the Qadarites that circulates under the name of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

19 Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ “Conseilleur” du Calife* 24 f. § 12.

20 Thus Pines in: IOS 1/1971/239, fn. 1.

21 Pellat 32 ff. § 25.

22 Rabbath, *L'Orient chrétien à la veille de l'Islam* (= *Les Chrétiens dans l'Islam* 1) 93.

should be translated with a verbal sense: “those among the generals who issue statements”, by way of giving orders, etc.²³ A *mutakallim* is first of all just “a speaker”; whether as such he had a function must be clarified in each particular case. And whether this function consisted of conducting debates or pursuing theology is another matter altogether.

There is no need for us to go into greater detail concerning *takallama* as an unspecific verb and *mutakallim* as its participle form.²⁴ By contrast, it is important that *mutakallim*, in the sense of “speaker with a defined function” or *takallama* in the sense of “to come forward to speak”, are documented quite early on. A *mutakallim* is the spokesman for a delegation or a group, as for instance Mūsā b. Abī Kathīr in his role as leader of a Murjī’ite legation sent to ‘Umar II.²⁵ Or ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-‘Anbarī as the representative of the city of Baṣra for the caliph al-Mahdī.²⁶ It was more natural to choose for such a role a *khaṭīb* or a poet, perhaps also a *ḥakam* or a *qāḍī*;²⁷ even a Christian could undertake the task.²⁸ The person was for this reason far from being a theologian, just as Abū’l-Nazar Bisṭām was not the first among the Ibādītes to pursue theology simply because he participated in teaching-sessions and was the first to speak there (*awwal man yatakallamu huwa*).²⁹ Even the Mu‘tazilite Bishr b.

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- 23 Pellat translates the passage like this. I have also converted to this interpretation (*Studies on the First Century* 240, ftn. 78). But it appears that these generals were close to the Rāwandīyya (see below Chpt. C 1.2.1); then they may well have had something to do with theology.
- 24 On this WKAS I, 329 b ff. On what follows cf. now also the examples which Frank has collected in MIDEO 18/1988/116 ff.; unfortunately I cannot go into the matter in greater detail.
- 25 See below p. 185.
- 26 TB X, 308, ll. 21 f., where only the verb *takallama* is found; on this below Chpt. B 2.2.3.4. Additional examples cf. WKAS I, 330 a; *Akhbār al-Abbās* 286, last l.; Ṭayfūr, *K. Baghdadād* 10, l. 3/6, l. 2; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār* XLVII 72, l. 3 from bot.; TT VI, 340, ll. 11; also Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership* 152 (*al-mutakallim ‘annā*).
- 27 Examples are for instance the poet ‘Amir b. Wāthila (Ṭabarī II, 1054, l. 6; on him see below pp. 338 f.) or the *khaṭīb* Khālid b. Ṣafwān (d. 135/752; on him EI² IV, 927) who “spoke” on the occasion of a peace settlement (Jāḥīz, *Bayān* I, 173, ll. 9 f.). ‘Ubaydallāh al-‘Anbarī was a *qāḍī*. An interesting case is Wāsil b. ‘Aṭā’. He was a *khaṭīb* and he appeared along with Khālid b. Ṣafwān during an audience as “speaker” (see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.2); but he was also a theologian. But in this capacity he was never referred to as a *mutakallim*. His missionaries appeared with the staff of a *khaṭīb* (see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.1.1).
- 28 Jāḥīz, *Ḥayawān* IV, 24, l. 3 from bot., and 24, l. 4.
- 29 Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt* 290, ll. 2 f. > Shammākhī, *Sīyar* III, l. 6 from bot. But he was originally a Ṣufrite and was won over for “Islam” by the Ibādītes – perhaps in a debate (Jiṭālī, *Qawā’id al-islām* I, 53, ll. 2 ff. from bot.). On *awwal mutakallim* as “the first to speak” cf. also Ṭabarī II, 1054, ll. 5 f. (above ftn. 27).

al-Mu‘tamir just used *mutakallim* in the sense of “orator”.³⁰ The close connection with the *khaṭīb* comes across when a preacher calling for repentance is described as *mutakallim*.³¹

When the meaning “theologian” first developed is difficult to say for the time being. One must look carefully at seemingly early instances of the word. “The religious scholars (*‘ulamā*) have departed, and only the *mutakallimūn* have remained”, so the Meccan Koranic commentator Mujāhid (d. 104/722) is meant to have said. But when he goes on to say: “Whoever among you forms his own view (*al-mujtahid*) is by comparison with those who preceded him merely a playing (child)”,³² one knows that what is meant here by *mutakallimūn* is simply “loud-mouths”. The same is true for the alleged saying of Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim (d. 105/723): “I once experienced how people only learned piety (*wara*) from one another. Nowadays one merely learns *kalām*”.³³ Here as well it should be translated “speech, smooth talk”. In the circle of Abū Ḥanifa, i.e. around the middle of the 2nd century, “theology” is still called *al-fiqh al-akbar*;³⁴ therefore at that time one could still describe both a theologian and a jurist as *faqīh*.

We are only first on firm ground with Jāḥiẓ. Yet his writings likewise show how broadly the concept was used at the time. Physicians also were *mutakallimūn* if they were interested in philosophy and expressed their view of it in public.³⁵ Sometimes for Jāḥiẓ a *mutakallim* is scarcely more than “an intellectual”.³⁶ But regarding theologians the word is used irrespective of their school, from Azraqites and extremist Shī‘ites to the Mu‘tazilites.³⁷ No wonder that he separates the wheat from the chaff: the plebeian among them (*ḥushwat al-mutakallimīn*) has bad manners and presents a serious challenge for the true representatives of the category (*ahl al-kalām*, “the theologians”);

30 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I, 138, l. 2 from bot.; but also there as well *mutakallim* = “theologian” (139, l. 3). On the text see below Chpt. C 1.4.3.1.

31 TB XIII, 73, ll. 10 and 13 for Manṣūr b. ‘Ammār (on him see below Chpt. C 1.4.2); also 74, ll. 15 f. Similarly *Mizān* no. 1195 for Bishr b. al-Sarī: *ṣāḥib mawā‘iẓ mutakallim*.

32 Nasā‘ī, *K. al-‘Ilm* in: *Arba’ rasā’il*, ed. Albānī 125, no. 69. *Lā’ib* in this sense is inferred; in WKAS II, 826 ff., it is not recorded with this meaning.

33 Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā’* (Cairo 1316) I, 57, ll. 17 f. / (Cairo, circa 1960) I, 66, ll. 5 f.; transl. in N. A. Faris, *Book of Knowledge* 173.

34 See below p. 239.

35 *Ḥayawān* II, 140, ll. 9 ff.; that not all doctors were *mutakallimūn* one learns *ibid.* v, 59, ll. 4 f. from bot.

36 Thus for instance *Bukhalā’* 4, ll. 20 ff., in the case of Ṣaḥṣaḥ (on him see below Chpt. B 3.2.8.4). On *takallama fīl-ṭīb* or *fīl-naḥw*, etc. cf. WKAS I, 330 b f.

37 *Ṣinā’at al-kalām* in: *Rasā’il* IV, 250, ll. 10 ff.

Thumāma, who to begin with had received them into his house as guests, finally showed them the door.³⁸ Jāḥiẓ had no illusions about the weaknesses of *kalām*.³⁹ Moreover, the *quṣṣāṣ* were also held to be *mutakallimūn*;⁴⁰ they likewise opened their mouths wide on every occasion. The ones who succeeded at the court owed their success perhaps more to their glib talk than to the depth of their theology; Nazzām is a good example of this.⁴¹ One imagined they waited before the door of the audience-hall like the poets so as to be called in at some time or other.⁴² In any case, early on, presumably under al-Mahdī, they acquired the function of a kind of police over orthodoxy; they were used against the *zanādiqa* who, it was believed, had an especially good mastery of debating.⁴³ Even the Ḥanbalites, who did not at all like *kalām*, imagined that Mu‘taṣim wanted Ibn Ḥanbal at court so the latter would keep the people of different faiths (*ahl al-milal*) off his back.⁴⁴

Thus arguing with non-Muslims was also the area in which the *mutakallimūn* most proved their worth; this was how Islamic theology in its method and to a considerable extent in its contents as well, acquired its profile. It is a development of the late second century; we will be speaking about this in detail. Whoever was so bold as to engage in discussion beyond the bounds of his own religion would have to renounce the authority of Scripture; he could only be convincing by means of generally applicable rational proofs. That people were prepared to do this was already attested by Theodore Abū Qurra.⁴⁵ Moreover, he stated that one could present an argument both ἀποδεικτικῶς as well as διαλεκτικῶς; by the latter form is meant the *kalām*-technique.⁴⁶ With contacts then also came influence; whoever wished to win over someone of a different faith or to refute him, for better or for worse had to adapt to the other’s categories. How far this went remains to be investigated in each individual case.⁴⁷ A transfer of ideas also came about in this way on an inter-Islamic level; one

38 *Bukhalā’* 199, ll. 17ff./transl. Pellat 287.

39 See below Chpt. C 4.2.4.1.2.

40 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Quṣṣāṣ* 67, ll. 6 f.

41 On this below Chpt. C 3.2.2.1.

42 Ma‘mūn asks: *man bi’l-bāb min aṣḥāb al-kalām* (TB III, 369, ll. 10 ff.).

43 This is the slant of the story in Kashshī, *Rijāl* 189, no. 332; on this in general below Chpt. C 1.2.2.

44 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib Ibn Ḥanbal* 323, ll. 15 f.

45 In his 24th dialogue in Migne, PG XCVII, col. 1556 B. On him see below Chpt. B 2.4. Cf. also Ḥumaydī, *Jadwat al-muqtabis* 101, ll. 5 ff. from bot. = Ḍabbī, *Bughyat al-multamis* 156 a, ll. 12 ff.

46 Griffith in: *La Vie du Prophète* 116.

47 Cf. for instance for Nazzām below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.7.

may assume that the “cross-fertilization” which is observable time and again in theology, as is especially clear for example in the Mu‘tazila after the death of Abū’l-Hudhayl and Nazzām,⁴⁸ not only goes back to relations between disciples but also to encounters at debates.

Provisionally, however, the question of influence poses itself differently for us. Besides the material exchange of ideas, one has also repeatedly attempted to trace the method by which Islamic theologians proceeded, including even the concepts *mutakallim*, *takallama* and (*‘ilm al-*)*kalām*, to models external to Islam. If one wishes to make progress, one must distinguish clearly between these two ways of looking at the problem. Concerning the concepts, a long time ago I collected the proposals for a solution that had been presented to date.⁴⁹ I myself decided at the time in favour of a kind of loan-translation (*calque*) based on Greek διαλεκτικοί (= *mutakallimūn*), διαλέγεσθαι περί τινος (= *takallama fi*) and διάλεξις (= *kalām*); along with being derived from one and the same root, the large degree of congruence in the semantic fields spoke in favour of this explanation. M. Cook, following upon D. B. Macdonald and G. Vajda, has refined upon this hypothesis by postulating Syriac intermediary links: διαλεκτικοί > *m^elīlāyē* > *mutakallimūn*, διάλεξις > *mamlā* or *mell^etā* > *kalām*.⁵⁰ This has the advantage that one can now also incorporate the second derivative that has been so long discussed, namely that from θεολογία; because “theology” in Syriac is expressed with the same verbal root: *mamlūt allāhūtā* or *mamlā allāhāyā*. The disadvantage is that *m^elīlāyē* are actually “logicians” and not theologians. But the theologian is called *m^emallel allāhāyātā*; it is not therefore difficult to assume a contamination.

Therefore, one will not necessarily have to rule out the reception of Christian influence. In Judaism theology based on dialectical argumentation only first arose under the influence of Islam.⁵¹ Among the Christians, by contrast, early on there were theologians who wrote in Arabic but certainly still spoke Syriac and participated in the game of *kalām*; one thinks of ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, the younger contemporary of Abū’l-Hudhayl.⁵² However, with such a hypothesis one must remain aware that for the time being borrowing of the term is not conclusively proven, will perhaps never be possible to prove and furthermore that even if it did occur, it was still accompanied by additional factors.

48 On this below Chpt. C 4.1.1.1 for Hishām al-Fuwaṭī or 4.2.2.2.1 for Iskāfī.

49 *Erkenntnislehre* 57 f.; on this now also Frank in: MIDEO 18/1988/131, fn. 58.

50 In: BSOAS 43/1980/42 f.

51 On this now C. Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy* 15 ff.

52 On him see below Chpt. C 3.2.1.3.4.2. One could also refer to the Patriarch Timothy who lived two generations before him (on him see below Chpt. C 1.2.3).

The attempts at explanation up until now have in fact always begun with the generic designation (*ilm al*)-*kalām*. But we saw that the participle *mutakallim* probably stands at the beginning; the participle is rooted in a genuinely Arabic tradition. Only once *kalām* in the sense of “dialectical discussion” and *ilm al-kalām* in the sense of “theology” are added to it can one speak of a *calque*.

A typical example for the change in the word *kalām* is again offered by Jāḥiẓ. In his *Risāla fī tafḍīl al-nuṭq ‘alā’l-ṣamt*, where without exception he uses *kalām* in the sense of “speech” as opposed to “silence”, at the end he introduces a description of *kalām* as “theology”, without indicating the difference: “*kalām* is a cause for recognizing the truths of religions, for rational deduction (*qiyās*) of proof of the divine greatness and the truth of the prophetic mission . . .” (in: *Rasā’il* IV, 240, 18 ff.). Moreover, there was still another application on the basis of which the word established itself terminologically. Mālik b. Anas said regarding the *Muwatta’* of his contemporary ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn al-Mājashūn: “If I had composed it, I would have begun with traditions and (only) then supported it with *kalām*” (Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment medinensischer Jurisprudenz aus Qairawān* 35 ff.). What he means is probably “discursive presentation” in contrast to argumentation consisting of a series of lined up *ḥadīths*.

Now as far as the method of *kalām* is concerned, the Koran already contains structures of argumentation that have their origin in debate. Provocative questioning and the pleasure of arguing with others about religious problems in a dialectical manner, were obviously old. “It is a wretched problem that every Muslim believes he is a *mutakallim*”, Jāḥiẓ later reflected.⁵³ But what is essential is that the instructive character, which the Koran possesses in many passages, in the long term spread itself more and more in the theological literature; the air of argumentation in debate turns into a literary form. In the 1st century theological ideas, if they even become formulated at all, are still set forth in the discursive form of the epistle.⁵⁴ But later the question-and-answer format is prevalent: *in qāla* (or *qultum*) . . . *qulnā* (or *yuqālu laḥū/lakum/lahum*). There are Greek parallels for this which von Grunebaum has referred to;⁵⁵ but they are not very representative. Much closer chronologically as well as stylistically are some Christological *quaestiones* of Maronite origin which are probably to be dated to the second half of the 7th century AD and are written in Syriac;

53 *Radd ‘alā’l-Naṣārā* in: *Rasā’il* III, 320, ll. 3 f. from bot.

54 Thus for instance in the *K. al-Irjā’* (cf. the translation in Text II 1).

55 *A Tenth-Century Document* 1, fn. 1; cf. also *Erkenntnislehre* 58.

M. Cook, relying on S. Brock, brought them to light and recognized their importance for our question.⁵⁶ He plays with the idea that such texts are characteristic for Syria in the 6th and 7th centuries AD where the conflict over Christology favoured their dialectical form and that from there the influence on Islam also emanated. Conversely, for Mesopotamia the genre is only rather weakly attested because there, under the Nestorians, the schism did not so strongly come to fruition.

Now this is rather awkward inasmuch as, according to everything we know till now, the *kalām*-technique in Islam belongs more in Iraq than to Syria. There, later on, the Christian theologians who wrote in Arabic also made use of this style of argumentation, for example the Nestorian ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī in his *Masā’il wa’l-ajwiba*⁵⁷ or the Jacobite Abū Rā’iṭa who wrote his tract about the Trinity *bi-hay’at al-masā’il wa’l-mujāwaba*.⁵⁸ It would be astonishing, if there were not actually examples in Syriac from Iraq. In fact, Theodore Bar Kōnī, who lived in the early Abbasid period in Kaskar near Wāṣīt, wrote the 10th chapter (*mēmra*) of his Scholion in the form of a debate (*d^erāšā*) in which he defends Christian doctrine against the Muslims. It is not exactly *kalām*-style but a didactic dialogue, yet closely enough related to make one think of an exchange in form.⁵⁹ Two texts mark a certain transition, which for the time being are the oldest evidence of anti-Islamic polemic in Arabic and are preserved on papyrus in Egypt; the first is composed in the form of a fictitious dialogue, while in the second the opponent is directly addressed by the author.⁶⁰ At the same time it becomes clear that along with Syria and Iraq one must also include Egypt in the considerations.

The phenomenon was therefore more widespread perhaps than one would like to accept. The *kalām*-technique did develop in a special manner in Iraq because in the Abbasid period, under the protection of the interested authorities, *kalām* itself at times found particularly good conditions there; but *kalām* was known elsewhere as well. Even in the Ḥijāz it would not be alien, if we wish to take into consideration the *Radd ‘alā’l-Qadariyya* of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b.

56 In: BSOAS 43/1980/34 ff.

57 Cf. the edition by M. Hajek, pp. 93 ff.

58 G. Graf, *Die Schriften des Jacobiten Ḥabīb Ibn Ḥidma Abū Rā’iṭa*, in: CSCO 131, p. 1. On the content of their polemic cf. Griffith in: *Proceedings of the PMR Conference 4/1979/63* ff.

59 Cf. the text in: CSCO, vol. 69, pp. 232 ff./transl. vol. 432, pp. 173 ff.; on this Griffith in: OCP 47/1981/158 ff. and *Muséon* 96/1983/152 f.

60 On this F. Bilabel and A. Grohmann, *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit* 9 ff. and 26 ff.; the editors date both texts to the time of Theodore Abū Qurra (circa 740–820).

al-Ḥanafīyya.⁶¹ In so doing, however, we would only be obscuring the issue, as long as the discussion of the work's authenticity has not been settled. Thus, for the time being it only remains for us to point out that signs of the *kalām*-style are already indicated both in the Koran and in the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq.⁶² There as well "the influence" may have come as an addition to a genuine proclivity; we are here dealing with a complex cultural environment where people had been learning from one another by osmosis for centuries.

5.1.2 *The Prospect*

The more Islamic theology became an activity of specialists, i.e. of the *mutakallimūn*, the more it cloaked itself in a technical terminology and became incomprehensible to the layman, even if he were well-educated.¹ The latter did not always react with the expected admiration but rather with the suspicion that *kalām* was nothing more than "empty talk". There where one had placed the greatest hopes in the new style, among the Mu'tazila, by the middle of the 3rd century it had already reached its limits. Others, such as the Shī'ites, after an initial enthusiasm, had shown their reserve much earlier.² Thus for the period we wish to deal with a history of Islamic theology is also a history of *kalām*. But the two terms are not identical; in many regions an implicit theology is prevalent.³ That the course of its development was everywhere different, was due to political and social reasons. Syria and the Ḥijāz were lifeless corners from the beginning of the Abbasid period; nor do they any longer play an innovative role in theology. Iraq and Eastern Iran were shaped

61 *Anfänge* 12 ff.

62 For instance a directive there on how to answer correctly p. 824, ll. 2 ff.

1 Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* 1, 92, ll. 7 ff. and 111, 368, ll. 9 ff.; *Khalq al-Qur'ān* in: *Rasā'il* 111, 285, ll. 5 f. from bot.; on this below Chpt. B 2.2.5.6 (Khalil b. Aḥmad). Kisā'ī designated as *zanādiqa* two *mutakallimūn* whose dispute he did not understand (IM 56, ll. 14 ff.).

2 For the early phase in Kūfa up to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam see below pp. 388 ff. From the subsequent period the bibliographies like the *Fihrist* of Tūsī only register a few dialectical-theological works. Not until the late 3rd century, when the Banū Nawbakht within the Imāmiyya accepted Mu'tazilite theology, did the picture change once again (cf. Madelung in: *Le Shī'isme imāmite* 13 ff.).

3 Naturally, the other way round, the *'ilm al-kalām* still had a long history ahead of it. It is worthwhile to investigate how the *mutakallimūn* themselves later understood the contents of their science. But this is a question on its own; R. M. Frank will be dealing with it in a forthcoming article.

by fruitful differences; here the battle of ideas was more and more carried out with the methods of *kalām*. At the caliph's court in Baghdad, where intellectuals from all regions flocked together, *kalām* refined itself into an aesthetic – or malicious – tournament. In order to follow this development we will have to examine separately the individual arenas of activity.

PART B

The Islamic Provinces in the 2nd Century



Introductory Remark on Methodology

The prosopographical approach which we have adopted for central sections of the next chapter relies on sparse materials that are by no means always uniform. Some fundamental issues have already been touched upon in the Preface. In what follows a particular point should be emphasized that has been of importance in the choice of persons.

The range of impact of individual denominations, apart from the information of the geographers, can best be gauged in the *al-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl* works. The science of *Ḥadīth* was interested in identifying the religious standpoint in order to establish whether a personal “sectarian” concern was involved in the transmission of a particular tradition. This took place according to criteria of the idea of orthodoxy that had spread under the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. Since their standards wholly coincided with those of the later literature on heresiography, what we find there in the way of a dogmatic viewpoint, we are able to fill out in terms of personnel. But generally speaking it does not emerge from this group of sources why someone was considered a Qadarite, Murjī'ite, etc. What we are confronted with is a label; in order to use it without scruple we would have to know what the source who attached it to the person in question understood by it. In addition, we cannot even be certain that the attribution to the source is really correct; since this is also only transmitted in the form of an opinion on the part of a later informant. As a mere expression of opinion, all the involved concepts fluctuate greatly as to their content. This clearly takes on an extreme form when it comes to the term “Qadarite”; in the early period it could be used, depending on the animosity in each case, to designate an adherent of predestination as well as a supporter of *liberum arbitrium*.¹ But this is no longer true of the sources we are using. Nonetheless, the perspective in them is likewise not yet entirely uniform: we do not know whether someone who is described as a Qadarite was not in reality a Mu'tazilite whose anti-predestinarian components are simply being emphasized or whether, the other way round, someone who – much less common – appears in these writings as a Mu'tazilite is not in reality simply a highly polemical Qadarite. Naturally, it is equally possible that someone was declared a “Qadarite” just because he did not explicitly come out in favour of the predestinarian position of the opposite side.²

People were aware of this lack of clarity; as a result, contradictory judgements were frequently reached. If one drew distinctions, it was only in accordance

1 HT 125.

2 I have already treated these problems in: S1 31/1970/269 ff.

with the authoritative criteria of the particular science. The credibility of a “sectarian” traditionist above all depended on whether his confessional conviction itself exerted an influence on the process of transmission, i.e. whether a bias could be determined in the *ḥadīths* he transmitted. If this were the case, he was taken to be “a propagandist” (*dāʿiya*); one then at the least had to rule out the corresponding materials.³ Naturally, it was best to avoid him completely;⁴ but sometimes this was no longer feasible. In fact, the classifications, like the whole science of *al-jarḥ waʿl-taʿdīl*, were relatively late; by that time many traditionists had long since acquired a firm position or because an important *ḥadīth* that only went back to them, for reasons to do with the system could no longer be ousted.⁵

Early sources like Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), Bukhārī (d. 256/870) in his *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Fasawī (d. 277/890) in his *K. al-Maʿrifa waʿl-taʾrīkh* and even Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 327/938) in his *K. al-Jarḥ waʿl-taʿdīl* frequently still treat the personal conviction of a *muḥaddith* with discretion. They have a relatively broad concept of orthodoxy; real “propagandists”, on the other hand, when possible, are simply not accepted at all. Others applied stricter standards, for example Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/889), the author of the *Sunan*; he allowed his disciple Ajurrī to interrogate him about the reputation of earlier authorities and repeated for him much scandalous gossip.⁶ It seemed reasonable to order the materials according to subject matter. The oldest extant text of this kind is apparently a short tract of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Madīnī (161/777–234/849), in which the author collected together the traditionists of Baṣra whom his contemporary, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (158/775–233/847), had described as Qadarites.⁷ Well known are the lists of Shīʿites, Murjiʿites and Qadarites in the *K. al-Maʿārif* of

3 On the use of the term among Qadarites see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.4, etc.; among Murjiʿites for instance Abū Dāwūd, *Masāʾil Aḥmad* 276, ll. 6 f., or Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* 126, ll. 4 f. from bot.; by a Shīʿite TT II, 97, ll. 10 f. (following Ibn Ḥibbān). On this in general Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ al-lumaʿ* 632, ll. 4 f.

4 Ibn Ḥanbal is supposed to have urged that one not speak with a *dāʿiya* and not perform the prayers behind him (Khallāl, *Musnad* 319, ll. 3 f., and 320, l. 3). On the problem cf. also Juynboll in: JSAI 5/1984/271.

5 On this cf. for instance the typical remark of Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn in Dhahabī, *Sīyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* VI, 387, ll. 1 ff. The Shīʿites were especially amazed that the Sunnis transmitted traditions from their ideological opponents (cf. for instance Faḍl b. Shādhān, *Īdāḥ* 502, ll. 9 ff.). How little a man like Ibn Ḥanbal was informed with regard to an individual case is shown by the example of Abū Qaṭan ʿAmr b. al-Haytham in Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.3.

6 GAS 1/165.

7 GAS 1/108; on this cf. the remark in TB XII, 184, ll. 14 ff. On the *Taʾrīkh* of Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn cf. now the edition of Muḥammad Muṭṭīʿ al-Ḥāfīz and Ghazwa Budayr, Damascus 1405/1985.

Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889);⁸ a generation later the lists with some additions and corrections were taken over by the geographer Ibn Rusta.⁹

In the meantime, the Muʿtazilites had also become aware of this source of information. They did not possess their own tradition of this kind; during the period of their greatest influence they had combated the *Ḥadīth* or simply despised it. But now, after the failure of the *miḥna*, they were determined to prove their rootedness within what had recently presented itself as orthodoxy; the numerous reports about Qadarites among their opponents, the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, suited them just fine for this purpose. Already Jāḥiẓ, towards the end of his life, had composed such a list in his *K. al-Amṣār wa-ʿajāʾib al-buldān* which he published in the year 248/862.¹⁰ Half a century later Kaʿbī had used it in his *K. al-Maqālāt*.¹¹ But he worked with a broader basis. Above all, Kaʿbī frequently cited a disciple of Shāfiʿī who had studied in Baṣra and later gave assistance to Ibn Abī Duwād during the trial against Ibn Ḥanbal: Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfiʿī,¹² the son of a Palestinian Qadarite,¹³ whose writings Kaʿbī had perhaps come to know through his fellow countryman Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī from Balkh.¹⁴ An additional source was a book by Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 270/884) that was aimed against the Sunnī theologian Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Karābīsī.¹⁵ The latter as well had already drawn up lists of weak traditionists ordered according to the sects they adhered to;¹⁶ Kaʿbī, this time evidently without the mediation of Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, made use of

8 P. 624 f.; cf. also the remarks in the *K. Taʾwīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* II, ll. 4 ff. = 10, ll. 4 ff./transl. 9.

9 *al-Aʿlāq al-naḥḥīya* in BGA VII, 219, ll. 8 ff./transl. Wiet 261 ff.

10 On the work cf. A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine* I, 57 ff.; the surviving fragments have been edited by Ṣ. A. al-ʿAlī in: *Kull. ʿĀdāb Baghdād* 13/1970/439 ff.

11 Cf. there 102, l. 3 from bot., and 106, ll. 6 ff.

12 *Maq.* 76, l. 4; on him see below Chpt. C 3.2.1.4. Kaʿbī later sometimes calls him simply al-Shāfiʿī (78, l. 1; 84, l. 9, etc.).

13 On him see below p. 140.

14 The remark *ibid.* 75, ll. 13 ff., appears to refer to the entire following paragraph, including the numerous quotations from Shāfiʿī as well. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm had died around the middle of the 3rd/9th century and could even have been personally known to him, given that he had likewise lived half in Baghdād and half in Balkh (TB IX, 404, no. 5008).

15 On this cf. *Werkliste* XXXIII c, *Widerlegungen* a). Kaʿbī cites the book p. 105, ll. 2 ff. from bot. and already 94, last l.

16 See below Chpt. C 6.3.

them in his *K. Qabūl al-akhbār*.¹⁷ Moreover, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi‘ī had been the teacher of Dāwūd.¹⁸

The Mu‘tazilites’ endeavour to acquire a solid past by referring to respected Qadarites has led to the creation of a broader base of documentation for the latter than for the other “sects”. However, here as well, one should not lose sight of the character of the sources. Ka‘bī, because of his apologetical objective, is even obliged to cite authorities like Ibn Ḥanbal whose criteria are entirely different from his own.¹⁹ He mentions names which in the later non-Mu‘tazilite literature have almost completely disappeared,²⁰ along with many others that were either highly esteemed there or at least do not directly occur with the Qadarite label. On the other hand, he is unaware that his list is incomplete and that he has overlooked some of the best witnesses for his thesis – namely persons who had already been entirely excluded from his sources.²¹ Nor are these added in the later Mu‘tazilite tradition. Ka‘bī’s writings were taken over by Muḥammad b. Yazdādḥ²² in his *K. al-Maṣābīḥ* which in turn served as a model for Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār.²³ In fact, Ibn Yazdādḥ includes some new names; but he bases himself on a false historical picture and commits spectacular errors.²⁴ From ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s *K. Faḍl al-‘itizāl*, via Ḥākīm al-Jishumī’s *Sharḥ al-‘Uyūn*,

17 On this GAS 1/623. The quotation begins in the manuscript Cairo, muṣṭalaḥ 14 m on folio 108 a (= p. 215), ll. 3 ff. from bot.; Karābīsī as well was already previously mentioned as an author (107 b, ll. 2 ff. from bot.). Moreover, for the Qadarites Ka‘bī here still goes back to the list of a certain Abū Ḥātim, probably Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Rāzī (d. 277/890, cf. GAS 1/153; on this folio 109 a, ll. 4 ff.).

18 Dhahabī, *Sīyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* x, 555, l. 10.

19 P. 85, l. 3. Perhaps he goes back to the latter’s *K. al-‘Ilal*.

20 Probably because one considered their *Ḥadīth* to be wholly unusable. For examples see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.1 in the list of Jāḥiẓ.

21 Thus for instance ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā (Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.3) or Ja‘far b. Jasn b. Farqad and Abū Ma‘mar al-Tamīmī (Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.4).

22 This author probably died in the first half of the 4th/10th century. His identity remains unclarified up to today (cf. the explanations of Madelung in: *Qāsim* 31 ff. and again in: *Der Islam* 57/1980/226, fn. 30). But we now know from the *Fakhrī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibīyyīn* of Ismā‘īl b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī that his full name was Abū Bakr (b.) Muḥammad b. Yazdādḥ al-Warrāq (there 248, ll. 7 f.). Thus presumably the connection to the vizier with this name is definitively excluded. The *kunya* Abū Bakr most likely refers to the scholar mentioned in Sahmī, *Ta’rīkh Jurjān* 380, no. 744; but the latter is introduced not as al-Warrāq but as al-Qaṭṭān.

23 *Faḍl* 334, ll. 7 ff.; there for example Jāḥiẓ is again also mentioned (343, ll. 4 ff. from bot.).

24 He mentions for example ‘Umar II and Awzā‘ī (*Faḍl* 339, ll. 8 ff.), Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (337, ll. 1 ff.), etc.

the material reaches the *Shāfi* of Manṣūr bi'llāh (d. 614/1217)²⁵ and the *Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazila* of Ibn al-Murtaḍā.²⁶

The Sunnī *al-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl* literature was no longer influenced by this Mu'tazilite parallel strand. The early "orthodox" works cited by Ka'bī were also eventually forgotten. However, the material itself was collected over and again, for instance in the biographical dictionaries on "weak" traditionists, but also in such compilations as the *Tahdhīb* of Mizzī (d. 742/1341) or its abridged version by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. Especially confusing from a later perspective was that many a "sectarian" even contributed to the *Ḥadīth* material found in the two most respected canonical collections, namely those of Bukhārī and Muslim. The names that appeared here were enumerated by Suyūṭī in his *Tadrīb al-rāwī* on the basis of older preliminary works.²⁷ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, in the introduction to his commentary on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, has done the same, confining himself to the latter work.²⁸

The continuous repetition of the same material easily tempts one to believe it is watertight evidence; one should not forget that this information, which with the passage of time appeared more "objective", for the most part only had a very narrow basis. But above all one should take account of the uneven distribution of weight. The science of *al-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl* developed first and foremost in Iraq and in Iran; for this reason it is also best oriented with regard to these regions. For other areas one might have had one's informants;²⁹ but then one could only judge them on a second-hand basis. The biographical material that one possessed for Syria and the Ḥijāz, and to a lesser extent for Yemen, is limited to a particular period, roughly speaking the first half of the 2nd century. Certain regions like Egypt, for instance, are complete blind spots; Iraq by comparison is over-represented. One must therefore be on guard against making up "statistics" or delineating curves; one should also not conclude from the drying up of information that "sects" have died out. How little the Iraqi categories were at home in Syria we know from the fact that they only turn up rather rarely in works of Syrian origin such as the *Ta'rikh* of Abū Zur'a (d. 280/893)

25 There I, 151, ll. 3 ff.

26 If here one or another name sometimes does not turn up, this is probably only due to an oversight.

27 Cf. the edition of 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Laṭīf (Cairo 1385/1966) I, 328 f. and previously.

28 *Hady al-sārī, Muqaddimat Faṭḥ al-bārī* (Cairo 1347/1928) II, 112 ff. But here not only are sectarians included but "weak" transmitters of every kind.

29 One should compare the role that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī, called Duḥaym (*qāḍī* of Ramla; d. 245/859), played for Syria (see below pp. 111 ff. or 127). He had come to Baghdād for the first time in the year 212/827 and he there passed judgement on the reputation of his compatriots (on him TB X, 265 ff., no. 5381; Sourdel in: REI 48/1980/164).

or the *Ta'rikh Dimashq* of Ibn 'Asākir or – as in the latter case – sometimes only through the introduction of imported Iraqi material. Given the current state of research, one should rather endeavour to break down the deceptive harmony of the sources and to restore the individuality of particular persons in the prosopographic representation.

Syria

1.0 General Basic Features

Syria in the eyes of its inhabitants was the land in which Jerusalem lay and where the prophets and the caliphs had their home.¹ Jerusalem meant: the rock of Mt Zion from which, when He had descended to earth, God once again returned to heaven.² As for the prophets, that was a reminder of the Jewish and Christian past. The caliphs, that was the present; as God's deputies they were in no way secondary to the prophets.³ They showed their respect for the past: Mu'āwiya received the oath of allegiance in Jerusalem and afterwards prayed on Golgotha and in the Garden of Gethsemane; at the time he also visited Mary's grave in the Valley of Kidron.⁴ In the year 107/726 when the plague prevailed in Syria, Hishām decided to sacrifice camels to Elias.⁵ Sulaymān, whose very name conjured up the succession to Solomon, appears to have made Jerusalem his capital.⁶

He did this, as we have seen,⁷ at a moment in time that was filled with expectations. When he laid siege to Constantinople, the Jews saw the fall of "Edom" as drawing near. A certain Severus (Sawīrā), who proclaimed himself the Messiah in the area around Mārdīn, carried these hopes over into the time

1 Cf. the *ḥadīth* in the *K. al-Fitan* of Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, translated by Madelung in: 51 63/1986/15.

2 More information on this below Chpt. C 1.2.1.3 and for the time being *The Youthful God* 14, fn. 4; also here p. 134. On the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam cf. Lazarus-Yafeh in: J. Oesterreicher and A. Sinai (ed.), *Jerusalem* 221 ff. (= *Some Religious Aspects of Islam* 58 ff.); also I. Hasson in his introduction to Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-muqaddas*, ll. 10 ff.

3 Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph* 27; on this above p. 30.

4 *Chronica minora* 71, ll. 5 ff./transl. Chabot 55; on this Tritton, *Non-Muslim Subjects* 102 and Hasson 18 f. Naturally, what is meant is not that on this occasion he only visited the Christian places of prayer; but this was simply what the Christian chronicler found to be noteworthy.

5 Theophanes 404, ll. 14 f., de Boor/transl. in: *Byz. Geschichtsschreiber* VI, 38.

6 R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion* 40 with fn. 18. The Umayyad-period building complex south of the Ḥaram, which was cleared away in Jerusalem in 1970, could go back to him (ibid. with additional literature). [Cf. now, with a different interpretation, M. Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* 8 ff.].

7 See above p. 8.

of Yazīd II.⁸ Along with him, a Muslim source,⁹ also for the period of Sulaymān himself, records a person who emerged in Damascus and had himself called *rōʿenū* “our shepherd” by his followers; Sulaymān locked him up, and one day he allegedly disappeared.¹⁰ In the given political situation the Jews and the Muslims might sometimes come quite close together; the Jews had only benefited under the new masters. They were again allowed to enter Jerusalem; after the Persian invasion, Heraclius had once more renewed Hadrian’s old edict of banishment.¹¹ The shift in the balance of power was very clear to the Christians. It is apparently no coincidence that they recorded “the dialogue” which around 680, i.e. before the time of ‘Abd al-Malik, a monk had conducted with a Jew in Damascus and, as was proper, awarded victory to himself;¹² Muslims, as we are informed, were also present.¹³

The Christians were still quite numerous in the country. Only the members of the top layer of the Majority Church, the Melkites, had cleared off, and there were even Quislings¹⁴ among them, as the example of John of Damascus shows; John’s grandfather, Maṣūm b. Sarjūm, probably an Arab to judge by his name, is supposed to be the one who surrendered Damascus to the Muslims according to some reports.¹⁵ The circumstances were complicated. A Christian was only in rare cases a Greek, often not even an Aramaic-speaking Syrian. In fact, the Romans, when they built paved roads at the edge of the desert

8 On this J. Starr in: REJ 102/1937/81 ff.; also Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* v, 193 f. and EJud xiv, 1199 f. The pretender was at first a Christian.

9 Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq in Abūʾl-Maʿālī, *Bayān ul-adyān* 56, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

10 He is evidently not identical with Severus. The title *rōʿenū* is reproduced in Arabic and is corrupt in the printed edition. But it was apparently also used in the circle of Abū ʿĪsā al-ʿIṣfahānī (Monnot in: Shahrastānī, *Livre des Religions* 605 f.; on this below Chpt. B 3.2.1.1). In the Old Testament David, from whose family the Messiah comes, is described as “shepherd” (Ezek. 34, ll. 23 f.; Jer. 23, ll. 1 ff.).

11 For the situation of the Jews before Islam cf. J. Starr in: JPOS 15/1935/280 ff. and M. Avi-Jonah, *The Jews of Palestine. A political history from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest*, Oxford 1976; for the time afterwards M. Gil, *Ereṣ Yisraʾel bat-teqūfāh ham-muṣlemūt ha-rīšōnāh (634–1099)*, 1–3, Tel Aviv 1983. Briefly now also St. Leder in: *Proceedings Bilād al-Shām* iv₂, vol. I, 175 ff.

12 G. Bardy, “Les Trophées de Damas: Controverse judéo-chrétienne du VII^e siècle”, in: PO 15/1920/171 ff.; on this now Suermann in: OC 71/1987/153 f.

13 Ibid. 233, ll. 9 ff. Cf. also the *disputatio* that Sergius the Stylite engaged in with a Jew about half a century later, between 730 and 750 (ed. and translated Hayman in CSCO 338–9 = Syri 152–3); even at that time the danger that Christians might convert to Judaism was still not entirely excluded (transl., pp. 74* ff.).

14 On this Sahas, *John of Damascus* 26 ff.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses* 237, fn. 358.

15 Ibid. 7 and 17.

against the Persians, had settled sedentary Arabs in the area that was opened up in this way,¹⁶ the latter got along well with the tribes who grazed in the desert itself, chiefly the Kalb¹⁷ or the Taghlib in the north, against whom ‘Abd al-Malik advanced.¹⁸ They had become Christians but, for the sake of their independence, had often preferred the Monophysite confession; for this reason, they were also not at all collaborators with the Byzantines.¹⁹ The Kalb had already sworn allegiance to Muḥammad; but this had been at least as much a political decision as a conversion. The poet Akḥṭal, a member of the Taghlib and a Monophysite,²⁰ was not discriminated against at the court because of his faith.

Under the Abbasids the climate worsened; the necessity for cooperation no longer existed. At the beginning of Manṣūr’s caliphate, in the year 138/756, the governor forbade the Christians to discuss their faith (δογματίζειν) with the Muslims;²¹ under al-Mahdī a new wave of conversions took place.²² Nevertheless, under al-Hādī, in the year 169–70/786, the recently discovered mosaic floor of the Church of St Stephen at Umm al-Raṣāṣ/Meḥā’at in Transjordan was laid down.²³ In the Biqā’ Valley, in the Lebanon and even in the city of Ḥimṣ, where Muslims had always felt at home, many Christians still lived.²⁴ But Ḥimṣ, Emesa in ancient times, was an important exception; the South-Arabian families that lived there had apparently moved there because

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- 16 On this H. Gaube in: ZDPV 95/1979/182 ff.; cf. especially the map p. 200. Also Trimmingham, *Christianity among the Arabs* 116 ff. with map p. 121; Dūrī, “Al-‘Arab wa’l-arḍ fi bilād al-Shām”, in: *Mu’tamar Bilād al-Shām* 25 ff.; ‘Athamina in: JSAI 8/1986/196 ff.
- 17 But they also lived in Salamiya (ancient Salamias), in the Jawlān, etc. (on this cf. Fück in: EI² IV, 492 b; Belyaev, *Arabs, Islam and the Arab Caliphate* 155 ff.; Rabbath, *L’Orient chrétien à la veille de l’Islam* 191 f.).
- 18 See above p. 14; on the Taghlib in general Trimmingham 173 ff. Later especially the Fazāra were added (cf. the map in Gaube). On a Fazārī among the early Islamic scholars of Syria see below p. 146.
- 19 On the complicated religious relationships in pre-Islamic Syria cf. now also Cl.-P. Haase, *Untersuchungen zur Landschaftsgeschichte Nordsyriens in der Umayyadenzeit* (Diss. Kiel 1975), pp. 101 ff.; on the tribes in the North ibid. 140 ff.
- 20 On him Blachère in: EI² I, 331; GAS 2/318 ff.
- 21 Theophanes 430, ll. 8 f./transl. *Byz. Geschichtsschreiber* VI, 74.
- 22 Fiey, *Chrétien syriaques sous les Abbasides* 34 f.
- 23 On this M. Piccirillo in: *Liber Annuus* 36/1986/353 and Plates 70–74. Now also R. Schick, *The Fate of the Christians in Palestine during the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, A. D. 600–700* (PhD Chicago 1987), pp. 698 ff.; in this work on the basis of excavations, especially of churches, the situation of Palestine is investigated in depth.
- 24 On this D. Sourdel in: REI 48/1980/163 f.

the city was an important base of operations for Holy War.²⁵ In the other old centres, aside from Damascus, the Muslims left only relatively weak traces; it is striking how few Boṣrawīs or Bayrūtīs are found among scholars at that time. Awzāʿī, who settled in Beirut, in fact also lived outside the late-antique city; the place where Awzāʿī's grave is pointed out today is at a distance of about five kms. from the harbor.²⁶

Beyond Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn the land became inhospitable in the long run. Year upon year, one gathered for the summer campaign in Dābiq, situated above Aleppo which was completely insignificant at the time, on the road from Hierapolis/Mambij to Antioch.²⁷ Here there was only security within the fortified "marches" (*ʿawāṣim*) and the advance guard posts (*thughūr*). In between lay no man's land that had become more and more depopulated; the "dead cities" beyond Aleppo today still bear witness to the situation.²⁸ Byzantium entrenched itself behind the rampart of the Taurus mountain range. And likewise certainly made use of its superiority on the sea. Thus the coastal cities also became *thughūr* which defended the heartland, i.e. Damascus, Ḥimṣ, etc.: coastal cities such as Jibla, Tortosa, Tripolis, Byblos, Beirut, Sarepta/Ṣarafanda, Tyre, ʿAkkā and Ascalon.²⁹ There, as in the north, one lived in garrison in

25 On this below p. 129.

26 On Beirut in the Roman period cf. J. Lauffray in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* VIII, 135 ff. – But one should also take note of the old Umayyad mosques in Boṣrā and Ḥamāt (on this Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* I, 484 ff. and 17 ff.). On the Islamization of Syria and Palestine in general Levzion in: Gervers/Bikhazi, *Indigenous Christian Communities* 289 ff.

27 EI² II, 72 b s. v.; on the subject in greater detail now Haase, *Landschaftsgeschichte Nordsyriens* 53 ff. and *8 f.; on Aleppo *ibid.* *17 f.

28 But they are perhaps already a consequence of the Persian wars at the time of Heraclius; moreover, in the Ayyūbid period they again experienced a new flowering (J. Sourdel-Thomine in: *Arabica* 1/1954/187 ff.). Fundamental on this Wellhausen, "Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umayyiden", in: *Nachr. Kön. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil-Hist. Kl.* 1901, no. 4, pp. 414 ff.; building on this and in a larger chronological framework E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* 39 ff.; also Haase, 39 ff. Summarizing, EI² I, 761 s. v. *ʿAwāṣim* and LexMa II, 1318 f. and 1325. A new primary source, but for the more recent time the relevant chapter is in Ibn Shaddād, *al-ʿAlāq al-khaṭīra*, ed. Eddé in: BEO 32–33/1980–1/ Arabic part 32 ff. On the economic aspects cf. P. von Sievers, "Taxes and Trade in the ʿAbbāsīd Thughūr", in: JESHO 25/1982/71 ff.

29 On this in detail cf. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī in: *Waqāʿi wa-muḥāḍarāt al-muʿtamar al-ʿālamī* 353 ff.

defense of the frontier; the cemetery of heroes in Ascalon receives praise in *ḥadīths*.³⁰

The intellectual life of the province acquired a particular character³¹ because of this. Syrian jurists are always concerned with *jihād* and did not know about much else, Maṣṣūr is supposed to have said in a conversation with Mālik b. Anas.³² Only in Syria did one consider *jihād* as a duty of every individual (*farḍ ʿayn*), by contrast with the later doctrine that spoke instead of a *farḍ kifāya*. The Syrian Makhūl described Holy War as obligatory (*wājib*); for inhabitants of the Ḥijāz, on the other hand, it was merely a good work.³³ It is no coincidence that for Awzāʿī questions to do with martial law occupy the foreground.³⁴ Likewise, one emphasized the sense of community among Muslims; as long as the ruler conducted the prayers and undertook *jihād*, solidarity with him could be taken for granted.³⁵ As Jāḥiẓ expressed it, for generations the old established Arab tribes knew “nothing other than obedience to kings and the great, and allegiance to the ruler”; they had always been “kings or the auxiliary troops of kings”.³⁶ But whoever saw more than mere duty in *jihād* conferred on it an inner meaning by means of devotional exercises and ascetic practices; Holy War was “the monasticism of Islam”, as one *ḥadīth* put it.³⁷

30 Suyūṭī, *Laʾālī* I, 460, ll. 6 ff. from bot. The historian Walid b. Muslim has described such a frontier camp (TD I, 261, ll. 14 ff.).

31 Ibn Saʿd lists the scholars from the *thughūr* separately (*Ṭab.* VII₂, 185 ff.).

32 IAH, *Taqdima* 29, ll. 6 f.; on the situation see below Chpt. B 4.1.2.3.1.

33 On this in detail R. al-Sayyid in: *Dirāsāt* 12/1985/10 ff. Here basically a tendency was carried forward that was initiated in the Koran and was only discontinued with the adaptation of Islamic law to bourgeois society (Noth, *Heiliger Krieg* 33 f.). – On Makhūl see below pp. 85 ff.

34 Schacht, *Origins* 34; on this now the collection of materials in ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Jubūrī, *Fiqh al-imām al-Awzāʿī* II, 391 ff. – On the influence of Awzāʿī in Spain cf. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones* 64 ff.

35 Syrian traditions on this in Sayyid, op. cit., 15 f.

36 *Risāla ftl-ḥakamayn*, in: *Mashriq* 52/1958/426, last l. f.

37 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* III, 82, ll. 9 ff., with a Syrian *isnād*; *Conc.* II, 312 a. Does this also mean that it was normal not to be married while one was on *jihād*?

1.1 The Relationship with the Shī'a

In contrast with Kūfa and with Iraq more generally, Syria for a long time escaped from inner religious conflicts. The Shī'a were unable to achieve success in Mu'āwiya's province.¹ A few followers of Mukhtār had evidently been able to flee to Damascus and also became integrated there.² Moreover, towards the end of the 3rd century the Fāṭimid Mahdī, 'Abdallāh, is known to have set out from Salamiya for the Maghrib; his ancestors had resided there for several generations. But this was not representative; the latter lived there incognito, under the mask of innocuous merchants.³ Syria, from the beginning of the Abbasid period, was so removed from the general attention that one could hide out very well there, especially in such a remote spot as Salamiya. The Abbasids themselves, who during the Umayyad period had resided in Ḥumayma in southern Jordan, are even less suited as a counter-example;⁴ at that time they possessed no doctrinal profile at all. After the revolution, when someone in Ḥimṣ justified the murder of the Umayyads because the Abbasids were members of the Prophet's family, people in the city were completely appalled.⁵

In particular people in Ḥimṣ did not have a good word to say about 'Alī. "We have our Imam", namely Mu'āwiya, "and you have yours", is how Ḥarīz b. 'Uthmān al-Raḥabī (d. 163/780) confronted the Iraqis; "I do not like 'Alī; he killed my ancestors".⁶ Interestingly, this statement came from a South-Arab; in Kūfa they were known to make up the majority among the Shī'ites. Around the same time another South-Arab from Ḥimṣ, 'Abdallāh b. Sālim al-Ash'arī, even had the presumption to claim that 'Alī had helped in the murder of Abū Bakr (!) and 'Umar.⁷ The traditionist Ismā'il b. 'Ayyāsh (106/724–181/797), by transmitting the *faḍā'il 'Alī*, was supposedly the first who took the trouble to bring about a change of mood in the city.⁸ But still more than two generations later Ibrāhīm

1 On this Pellat in SI 6/1956/54. Cf. also *Akhbār al-'Abbās wa-wuldih* 146, ll. 4 f. from bot.

2 Rotter, *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 216. They still play a role in the civil war between Walīd II and Yazīd III (*Agh.* VII, 77, l. 10, and 78, ll. 11 f.; Ṭabarī II, 1798, ll. 3 f., and 1804, ll. 11 f.).

3 On this recently Halm in: REI 54/1986/141 ff.; also idem in WO 10/1979/30 ff., and 12/1981/107 ff. On the reading *Salamiya* (corresponding to the Greek Σαλαμιάς) instead of the usual *Salamiyya* cf. Halm in: REI *ibid.* 142, fn. 42.

4 Cf. EI² III, 574 s. v. *al-Ḥumayma*.

5 TT VII, 339 ff., no. 567, s. n. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥa Sālim al-Hāshimī.

6 'Uqaylī, *Ḍu'afā'* I, 321 f., no. 397; *Mizān* no. 1792; additional sources cf. AZ 154, fn. 3. Also Azmi, *Studies* 131.

7 *Mizān* no. 4338. An idea of his dates emerges from the fact that his teacher was the disciple of Abū Umāma al-Bāhili who died in the year 86/705 (Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 775, no. 2839).

8 *Ibid.* no. 923 = I, 240, ll. 3 f. from bot.

b. Ya‘qūb al-Sa‘dī, an Iranian from Jūzjān who had studied in Iraq and then made his home in Damascus (d. 256/870 or 259/873), acquired the surname al-Ḥarīzī because he was a Khārijite and like Ḥarīz b. ‘Uthmān openly voiced his dislike of ‘Alī.⁹ No one named his children ‘Alī or Ḥasan or Ḥusayn; in the early Abbasid period as well they continued to call them Mu‘āwiya, Yazīd or Walīd.¹⁰ At the time one quite openly attributed to ‘Alī the testimony that Gabriel had promised the Prophet that Abū Bakr as the most worthy (*afḍal*) in the community would succeed the latter.¹¹ And when Nasā‘ī (d. 303/916) towards the end of his life settled in Damascus, people asked him to recite *Ḥadīth* in praise of Mu‘āwiya.¹² Thus it was of real importance when the Mu‘tazilite theologian, Qāsim b. Khalīl, following the Iraqī, Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, maintained the opinion that no Companion of the Prophet – including ‘Alī – took part in the siege and the murder of ‘Uthmān.¹³

9 *Mizān* no. 257; TT I, 181 ff., no. 332; TTD II, 310, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; Rosenthal in: *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, Introduction 26. The *nisba* was sometimes misread as Jarīrī (thus Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* III, 264, ll. 5 ff.), just as Ḥarīz itself in Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 808, no. 3020, also appears as Jarīr. Ḥarīz is every day supposed to have reviled ‘Alī, 70 times in the morning and 70 times in the evening (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* I, 268, l. 12). For additional extreme utterances on his part cf. Madelung in: SI 63/1986/29.

10 Yāqūt, *Irshād* v, 311, 8 ff.

11 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* XVI, 20, ll. 7 f.

12 Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II, 46.

13 See below Chpt. C 7.3.

1.2 The Qadariyya

The first intellectual religious movement which stirred up emotions in Syria was the Qadariyya. However, we can scarcely establish when it became a political and social force in the true sense. And it now seems that such was not the case all that early on. Only in the caliphate of Hishām, in the period shortly before 110/729, can Qadarite ideas be documented with certainty in Syria. We do possess several reports about the time of ‘Abd al-Malik and above all for the brief reform caliphate of ‘Umar II; but the situation is obscured by the view of history of our sources which always only see the Qadariyya as a heretical “innovation” and for this reason search for its origin, i.e. “the first Qadarite”.

1.2.1 *The Question of Origin*

This model goes back to ideas which were developed to begin with by non-Qadarite intellectuals in Syria in the middle of the 2nd century. But at that time they still possessed no conceptual uniformity. Awzā‘ī (d. 157/774) saw Ma‘bad al-Juhanī as the source of all evil; according to Awzā‘ī, the latter was led astray by a Christian convert by the name of Sawsan.¹ Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tanūkhī, a decade after Awzā‘ī’s death, introduced another name into the discussion. He pointed out that Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī (d. circa 80/700), a *qāṣṣ* and allegedly also *qāḍī* of Damascus during the period of ‘Abd al-Malik,² warned against attending the lectures of a certain Abū Jamīl because the latter did not believe in God’s predetermination of one’s destiny; immediately thereafter Abū Jamīl went off to Ḥimṣ.³ We may infer that by this “heretic” is meant the *tābi‘ī* Abū Jamīl Muslim b. Qurra al-Ashja‘ī, about whom we are told that he transmitted from ‘Awf b. Mālik, a Companion of the Prophet residing in Damascus.⁴ But Abū Jamīl has completely disappeared and the report of Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was forgotten. The thesis of Awzā‘ī is a different matter altogether; it was frequently repeated in the later literature.

1 More details on this in my contribution in: *Festschrift Meier* 61.

2 On him the extensive biography in the *Ta’rikh Dimashq* s. n. ‘Āidhallāh b. ‘Abdallāh (*Tarājim ḥarf al-‘ayn*, ed. Fayṣal 485 ff., especially 514, l. 14, and 519, ll. 8 ff.); also HT and *Anfänge*, Index s. n.

3 M. Abyaḍ, *al-Tarbiya wa’l-thaqāfa al-‘arabiyya fī’l-Shām wa’l-Jazīra* 348/*Culture et éducation* 263, following Ibn ‘Asākir.

4 Cf. Dawlābī, *Kunā* I, 138, l. 11, in combination with Fasawī I, 318, last l. f. Unfortunately Ibn ‘Asākir’s biography of Abū Jamīl, whom he lists under his *kunya*, is not accessible to me; I cannot verify whether my identification is correct. On ‘Awf b. Mālik cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb* no. 2003 and Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* III, 43, no. 6101; he belonged to the same tribe as Abū Jamīl and likewise is supposed to have settled in Ḥimṣ.

This probably has to do with the fact that it was supported by traditions from outside Syria, the origins of which are to be sought in Baṣra. But upon comparison it also emerges that the thesis in question is chronologically later and was presumably inspired by them.⁵ On both sides we come upon the same tendentiousness; the Qadariyya is branded as a militant movement which has led its protagonists deservedly to their destruction. Ma'bad al-Juhanī, along with his brother, was executed for his participation in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath in the year 83/702 in Damascus. One forgot that he had been a highly respected man up until then; 'Abd al-Malik had sent him as an envoy to the Byzantine court and entrusted to him the education of his sons. He was consulted for *fatwās*; one had confidence in him regarding the *Ḥadīth*.⁶ Thus there could be no reason for his being discredited on theological grounds. Presumably in Baṣra as well one did not wish to raise this objection either. Indeed, one lived in direct proximity to a great number of Qadarites whose reputation had not yet been impaired.⁷ Furthermore, the teacher on whom one based oneself had been a Qadarite himself; there is scarcely any doubt that the Ma'bad-tradition arose in the circle of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's disciples. Only Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, as one claimed one knew, drew no revolutionary consequences from his views.⁸

1.2.2 *Ghaylān al-Dimashqī and His Environment*

In Syria matters appeared somewhat different. No one there was concerned about Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. On the other hand, one generation after Ma'bad al-Juhanī's death once again a spectacular execution took place: Ghaylān, so one said, had "taken over" from Ma'bad.¹ It was in fact easy to suggest the parallel; Ghaylān as well had access to the court and evidently enjoyed some prestige. He had been a civil servant (*kātib*); under 'Umar II he apparently managed the coinage in Damascus.² When Hishām undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca in the year 106/724, we find Ghaylān among the latter's retinue.³ He was not without wealth; at the Bāb al-Farādis in the outlying districts of

5 *Festschrift Meier* 76.

6 *Ibid.* 54 ff. The facts are acknowledged in tradition AZ 370, no. 799.

7 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.

8 *Festschrift Meier* 60. More on this below Chpt. B 2.2.2.

1 *Ibid.* 61.

2 On this cf. my explanations in *Anfänge* 177 ff., especially 179 f., 184 f. and 191. Furthermore, it is said that Ghaylān together with Ṣāliḥ b. Suwayd wished to enter 'Umar's palace guard (*ibid.* 186 f.). But this occurs in a legendary context; it is apparently simply inferred from the fact that Ṣāliḥ actually was a member of the guard.

3 *Ibid.* 225 and 233.

the city he possessed a house of his own.⁴ But in contrast to Ma'bad, he was a *mawlā*; his father had been a Coptic convert who had been called Jonah before his conversion and afterwards was named Muslim. One does not necessarily have to assume that the client relationship came about with the conquest of Egypt;⁵ there was also a Coptic community in Beirut which at the latest went back to the time of Mu'āwiya.⁶ It is remarkable, however, that he was a *mawlā* of 'Uthmān or of 'Uthmān's descendants; thus the conversion may have taken place quite early, and presumably father and son enjoyed a little prestige due to the noble house that served as their protector.

The social status of Ghaylān perhaps helps us better understand why matters later came to a head. Indeed, Awzā'ī, when he draws a parallel between Ma'bad al-Juhanī and his Christian plotter, insinuates that Ghaylān had fallen into heresy because of his Christian origin; but in the other reports – most of which are just as legendary – this motif does not play a role. Rather we learn that the Arab aristocrats became suspicious of Ghaylān because his doctrine seemed apt to unsettle the social order. Namely, he did not believe that power was bestowed by God as a due ration (*rizq*), the justification of which one did not have to concern oneself with, but that one must earn it and deserve it on the basis of one's own just behavior.⁷ In this way an axiom was called into question which the caliphs, since the time of 'Abd al-Malik, had used as legitimation and which had been happily taken up by court panegyric;⁸ the conflict with the authorities was now basically set in motion.

And yet it seems as if a particular cause was required. According to a report by Madā'inī, Ghaylān and Šāliḥ b. Suwayd were arrested upon their return from Armenia. There the Islamic supremacy was seriously threatened at the time. The Khazars, in the year 112/730, had defeated the troops of Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, whom Hishām had appointed as governor of the province, and had killed him in the battle; they overran Ādharbayjān and advanced as far as

4 Ibid. 179.

5 As I had assumed in *Anfānge* 178.

6 IAH, *Taqdima* 202, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; Cook referred to this passage for the first time in *Early Muslim Dogma* 211, fn. 30. Mu'āwiya had resettled Egyptian shipwrights on the Syrian coast (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 140, ll. 10 f.). In the said passage in Ibn Abī Ḥātim typically the Copts are distinguished from "the Christians", i.e. probably the indigenous Melkites.

7 *Anfānge* 235 f. On *rizq* in the sense of "provisions (for the army)" cf. Morony, *Iraq* 62 f.; used by Walīd II to mean rule in his letter to Hishām (see below pp. 96 f.) in Ṭabarī II, 1746, l. 13 = *Agh.* VII, 13, l. 3.

8 HT 181 ff. The Mu'tazilite tradition carried on this interpretation of Ghaylān's doctrine; it is still found in the Shī'ite Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), *al-Ṭarā'if fi ma'rifat madhhab al-ṭawā'if* 359, ll. 6 ff. from bot. On this also below p. 153.

Diyārbakr and Mosul. Jarrāḥ was probably not especially liked in pious circles; ‘Umar II had deposed him from the governorship over Khorāsān and Sijistān because he behaved too harshly towards the new Muslims. At an earlier date I expressed the conjecture that the two Qadarites, at least one of whom, namely Ghaylān, had sympathies for the new Muslims, adopted the above criticism and for this reason came under suspicion of “undermining the war effort” in Armenia.⁹ This hypothesis is now supported by a letter of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā which has recently come to light.¹⁰ It was composed at the order of Marwān b. Muḥammad, who as governor of Armenia once again stabilized the military situation. The latter complains to Hishām about a small group (*naḡfar*) of Qadarites whom the caliph had sent to him with an auxiliary force because “it has emerged that in intention and in word they argue with God about His *rizq* and set someone alongside Him in command”; they had “forced those who think differently to agree with their view so that this has become generally known”. Marwān, as he says, had warned the disturbers of the peace and would like to impose a swift punishment on them. Hishām may have got the impression from this that a conspiracy was afoot; in any case, around the same time he had banished a group of Qadarites to the Dahlak Islands in the Red Sea, opposite present-day Eritrea.¹¹

However, it is difficult to determine the exact date of these events. Formerly I considered the possibility that the revolt of Ḥārith b. Surayj might have a part to play in this. Ḥārith was indeed a Qadarite; but he also came forward with a religious program against the Umayyads and allied himself with unbelievers, the Türgesh.¹² But now this dating seems too late to me; Ḥārith b. Surayj first went on the attack in the year 116/734. We certainly progress further when we look at the biography of another important Qadarite of this period,

Abū ‘Abdallāh Makḥūl b. Abī Muslim.

Namely, he as well was allegedly drawn into the events. Hishām is meant to have been on the point of executing him and only renounced his intention

9 *Anfänge* 233 ff.; cf. also, though somewhat uncritical, Ḥusayn ‘Aṭwān, *al-Firaq al-islāmīyya fī bilād al-Shām fī l-‘aṣr al-umawī* 51 ff.

10 Ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, *‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā al-kātib* 207, ll. 2 ff.; on this also the Introduction pp. 127 f.

11 A kind of penal colony was located there at the time (cf. EI² II, 90 f. s. v. *Dahlak*). On this below p. 105.

12 *Anfänge* 239 f.

due to the intercession of a close friend.¹³ According to the closest sources, however, Makḥūl already died in the year 113/731¹⁴ “after al-Jarrāḥ”, as is also mentioned in the same passage.¹⁵ Only Iraqi authors provide later dates.¹⁶ On the other hand, Marwān first becomes governor of Armenia in the year 114/732. These statements cannot be wholly brought into accord; but it is reasonable to assume that Ghaylān and Ṣāliḥ b. Suwayd had also already been arrested around 114/732.

Naturally, it is conceivable that the date 113 was simply inferred from the statement “after Jarrāḥ”; then any later date would theoretically be possible. Moreover, Ghaylān is not named in the letter of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd; given that he was a highly respected civil servant, this is not quite what one would expect. However, letters are known frequently to be content with no more than suggestions. In any case, it is unlikely that Qadarites in the army still agitated after Ghaylān had been arrested.

Makḥūl’s affinity with the ideas of Ghaylān was strong. He also advocated that one can only consider good and positive things as a gift from God (*rizq*). He is meant to have once made this clear by a cry of protest during a sermon. His disciple ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd, himself a genuine Arab,¹⁷ subsequently defended him with the remark that if someone robbed and murdered a Jew (i.e. a Jewish money-changer) and lived to the end of his life on the booty, he has by no means received this as a gift from God.¹⁸ This intercession had become necessary because two influential Arab aristocrats, Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa and ‘Adī b. ‘Adī, both sayyids of the Kinda,¹⁹ had heard Makḥūl’s rebellious remark. The whole matter is perhaps a legend. However, it scarcely seems doubtful that Makḥūl was indeed on bad terms with Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa. Rajā’ is meant to have cursed him²⁰ along with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab who had raised a revolt under ‘Umar II

13 TTD VII, 218, ll. 8 ff.

14 AZ 694 f, no. 2147 f.; also Khalīfa, *Ta’rikh* 506, l. 13, and *Ṭab.* 793 f., no. 2925 (there with the variant 114); Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif* 453, l. 8. Azdī even presents him in *Ta’rikh al-Mawṣil* 32, l. 14, sub anno 112.

15 AZ 694, no. 2145.

16 113 or 118 in IS VII₂, 161, ll. 20 f. (but also 112, *ibid.* ll. 22 f.); 116 in Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist* 283, l. 2 from bot.).

17 Probably meant is al-Sulamī; on him see below p. 127.

18 Fasawī II, 390, ll 2 ff.; the story in Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh* v, 6, ll. 4 ff., is incorrectly attributed and consequently incorrectly used by me in HT 101.

19 On their position cf. for example the alleged remark of Hishām in AZ 249, no. 307.

20 Fasawī II, 389, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

and lost his life shortly thereafter;²¹ he also refused to return his greeting.²² He supported the enemies of Makḥūl and made life hard for him, according to the latter's own statement.²³ Among these enemies were included Qurayshīs, that is to say members of the Arab nobility; they disapproved of certain *ḥadīths* that Makḥūl disseminated.²⁴

In fact, the latter's disciples traced back through him many words of the Prophet in an apocalyptic guise that were critical of contemporary times, as well as similar statements that were attributed to himself: "The community (*al-umma*) will only become ever more miserable and the powers-that-be (*al-wulāt*) ever more inhumane,²⁵ prosperity ever more abundant and people ever more stingy; but the Hour (of the Last Judgement) is only intended for the wicked among God's creatures".²⁶ He did not tolerate formulas to do with predestination, even – or in particular – if they appeared in the dress of poetry.²⁷ How disliked he was in higher circles was illustrated in the story that the two sons of Walīd I, every time they struck the bull's eye when practicing archery, would shout out: "Right in the middle of Makḥūl's heart!"²⁸ In fact, he had already attracted attention through his unacceptable behaviour under Walīd I.²⁹

The tensions become understandable, if we consider Makḥūl's social position. His personal prestige was more precarious than that of Ghaylān; he was not a local, nor was he a *mawlā* of the second generation. Rather, he belonged to the prisoners of war that the troops of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir in the year 44/664 captured in the area of Kabul – just like the father of Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī³⁰ and

21 See below p. 190.

22 AZ 330, no. 634.

23 Ibid. no. 636.

24 Ibid. no. 638, according to a son of Rajā' b. Ḥaywa.

25 Literally "more coarse".

26 Ibn Muḥannā, *Ta'riḫ Dārayyā* 74, ll. 1 ff.: according to his Qadarite disciple Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir (on him see below pp. 111 ff.).

27 Qushayrī, *Ta'riḫ Raqqā* 127, ll. 10 f.

28 Literally: "This is the liver of Makḥūl". Thus Ka'bī, *Maqālāt* 100, ll. 4 ff. from bot., allegedly according to the eye-witness account of Rabī'a b. Yazīd al-Iyāḏī (on him TT III, 264). The text does not say which Walīd is meant; but Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad are only attested as sons of Walīd I (Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 165, ll. 10 ff.), and at the time the sons of Walīd II would still have been too young. The anecdote might well have met with doubt because in fact one knew that Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd had become the successor to Yazīd III (see below pp. 100 ff.).

29 Fasawī II, 400, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

30 On him see below Chpt. B 2.2.7.1.1.

the father of Sālim b. ‘Ajlān al-Aḥṣā whom the Abbasids killed during their invasion of Syria in the year 132/750.³¹ He must have been very young at that time. He probably became separated from his parents; Ibn Ḥanbal clearly says that it is superfluous to ask about the father of a prisoner of war.³² The names Abū Muslim or ‘Abballāh, which the tradition provides for Makḥūl’s father, are no more than typical makeshift names for converts. Later one then came up with a pompous Iranian genealogy; according to this Makḥūl came from a distinguished family.³³ That in his old age he still made use of scraps of Persian³⁴ seems rather improbable, given the circumstances; yet one may agree when it is said that he never got used to the Arabic phonemes.³⁵ But one must take into account that he was not the only Eastern Iranian in Damascus, and if he really wore a *ṭaylasān*, as Ibn Sa’d maintains,³⁶ then he must have actually cultivated his Persian image. His aristocratic origin could explain his air of self-importance that one attributed to him.³⁷

Still, it is not easy to see what actually caused his prestige to grow. He had been a slave of Sa’īd b. al-‘Āṣ who became governor of Medina under Mu’āwīya³⁸ and died in the year 59/679.³⁹ Sa’īd had given him as a present to a lady who belonged to the Hudhayl tribe and lived in Egypt; there he was set free. He then came (a second time?) to Medina.⁴⁰ Only later did he turn up in Damascus. Yet it was thought that in his old age he associated with a son of Hishām;⁴¹ a son of Walīd was also supposed to have called on him.⁴² His circle of disciples

31 On him see below Chpt. B 2.4.1.2. Cf. the information in Khalīfa, *Ta’rikh* 239, ll. 4 ff.; on ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir, the governor of Baṣra under Mu’āwīya, cf. EI² I, 45 b.

32 *Ilal* 51, no. 286.

33 Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl* v, 1, ll. 8 ff., with more precise information in a gloss following al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (cf. ftn. 4) > IKh v, 281, ll. 6 ff. And according to this the father was called Shahrāb or Suhrāb (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* 276 and 312 f.). But Dhahabī, *Mushtabih* 385, l. 13, insists on the reading Shahrān.

34 AZ 386, l. 2; also *Hilya* v, 179, ll. 2 f. from bot.

35 IS VII, 161, l. 19.

36 *Ibid.* 161, l. 12.

37 AZ 325, no. 619; also 326, ll. 6 f.

38 Until 54/674 (Khalīfa, *Ta’rikh* 265, l. 2).

39 *Ibid.* 272, l. 10.

40 AZ 328, no. 628–630; briefly also Bukhārī IV₂, 21 f., no. 2008; IAH IV₁, 407, no. 1867 f.; *Fihrist* 283, l. 2 from bot. Ibn Sa’d deviates somewhat (VII₂, 160, l. 19: ‘Amr b. Sa’īd b. al-‘Āṣ; a man from the Hudhayl). Competing information about the client relationship also in later sources (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif* 452, last l. ff.; Shirāzī, *Ṭab.* 75, ll. 9 ff. > IKh v, 281, ll. 4 f.

41 IS VII₂, 161, l. 15.

42 AZ 378, no. 826.

was very large.⁴³ Precisely because of his foreign origin he evidently enjoyed a kind of monopoly; as he maintained, he had taken in all “the learning” in Egypt and in Medina. He had also been in Kūfa; he was meant to have listened to Sha‘bī and Shurayḥ.⁴⁴ People asked him about the life of the Prophet; for the most part, he readily replied with dates and simple lists of the latter’s military campaigns.⁴⁵ One also traced back Syrian local traditions to him.⁴⁶ But above all he was a jurist and as such perhaps indispensable. In this field he also wrote books: a *K. al-Sunan fī’l-fiqh* and a *K. al-Masā’il fī’l-fiqh*,⁴⁷ as well as a *K. al-Ḥajj*;⁴⁸ he may have been encouraged to do this by the authorities.⁴⁹ He stressed that he made judgements on the basis of his sound human understanding (*ra’y*).⁵⁰

But it was certainly not possible for him to live from jurisprudence; we do not actually have specific reports that he issued *fatwās*. For this reason the remark of Ibn Sa‘d carries weight that he had been given a pension (*‘aṭā*) from the *Dīwān*;⁵¹ this is not something one would expect for a man of his origin. But it is added that he had then put the money into military undertakings (*jihād*), and this presumbaly tells us something about his past. We encounter him repeatedly on military raids against the Byzantines;⁵² many of his disciples also participated in *jihad*.⁵³ One generation after him, the

43 But when even in Spain someone appears who based himself on him (Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta’rīkh* I, 90, no. 239), it is more likely that the person came there with the conquering troops than that he had travelled from there to visit him.

44 AZ 328, no. 630; also IS VII₂, 160, last l. ff.; Fasawī II, 630, ll. 2 ff., and 604, l. 2.

45 Fasawī III, 261, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; 264, ll. 15 ff.; Ṭabarī I, 973, ll. 12 ff., and 1787, ll. 19 ff. – Also including for example information about the first person who wrote Arabic (*Fihrist* 8, ll. 9 f.).

46 Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj* 298 ff. § 231 (about the peace treaty of Abū ‘Ubayda with the Christians in Syria); Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī, *Ghadaq al-afkār* in: BEO 34/1982/201, ll. 8 ff. (about the Nahr Yazīd in Damascus).

47 *Fihrist* 283, ll. 2 f. from bot.

48 Azmi, *Studies* 87, following TT VIII, 178, l. 6; also GAS 1/404.

49 His hostility to ‘Alī could also be an indication of connections with the authorities. But this is basically only attested through a single tradition in a Shī‘ite source (Thaqafī, *Ghārāt* 582, last l. f.). Moreover, it should not be ignored that ‘Umar II allegedly ordered the *ḥadīths* Makhūl had collected about paying blood-money to be burned (Dhababī, *Ta’rīkh* v, 5, ll. 5 f. from bot.).

50 Fasawī II, 399, ll. 6 ff. from bot. On all this cf. the alledged letter of Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān to Makhūl in Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā’ir* ²v, 12, no. 1.

51 IS VII₂, 160, ll. 13 f.

52 Qushayrī, *Ta’rīkh Raqqā* 88, ll. 9 f.; Ibn Muḥannā, *Ta’rīkh Dārāyyā* 45, ll. 7 ff.; Fasawī I, 588, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

53 See below pp. 113 and 122.

Koran commentator, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Muslim al-Khurāsānī (d. 135/753),⁵⁴ whose origin and social position was quite akin to that of Makḥūl – consider his patronymic – gathered groups of volunteers around himself; the costs were met by fund-raising campaigns.⁵⁵ It was probably by means of such activities that Makḥūl succeeded in acquiring an endowment from the state treasury. This also explains certain ascetic traits of his piety. He was perhaps never married;⁵⁶ solitariness (*uzla*) appeared to him to be more secure than a life of companionship.⁵⁷ Sayings of the Prophet in praise of those who “love one another in God (*yataḥābbūna fīllāh*)” take on a special tone.⁵⁸ Abū Nu‘aym firmly placed this material in the foreground in his *Ḥilya*⁵⁹ and in so doing idealized and falsified much.⁶⁰ But there is no need for one to have any doubts about the core.⁶¹

However, one thing in all this is difficult to imagine: that Makḥūl caused a sensation in Damascus when he came up against fundamental and universal resistance due to his Qadarite position. His political and social ideas did create enemies for him; but his being a Qadarite was not offensive in itself. It was recorded early on and rather widely.⁶² Later one tried to settle the matter; he had converted, so it was said. The reports in which his falling-out with Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa are visible become distorted in the later tradition – presumably on purpose.⁶³ I have elsewhere shown how he was stylized into becoming a critic of Ghaylān; he is meant to have foreseen the latter’s bad end.⁶⁴ One could allow these corrections because he had not been executed; after all he had not been “a propagandist” (*dā’iya*). Here the Ma‘bad al-Junahī–Ḥasan al-Baṣrī configuration repeats itself. He was elevated to be the father figure of the

54 On him GAS 1/33.

55 See below p. 122. On this Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 310, no. 2021.

56 See below p. 109, fn. 53.

57 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* III, 168, ll. 16 f.

58 ‘Umāra b. Wathīma, *Bad’* 218, ll. 10 ff.: as a *ḥadīth qudsī*. Cf. the parallels in Graham, *Divine Word* 141 ff.

59 v, 177 f.

60 Thus for example the passage in Fasawī II, 264, ll. 8 ff., is obviously worked into the report that Makḥūl always fasted Mondays and Sundays (*Ḥilya* v, 180, ll. 7 ff.).

61 For more see below pp. 142 f. and 165 f.

62 IS VII₂, 160, l. 19; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif* 625, l. 12; Fasawī II, 400, l. 1; Ka‘bī 100, ll. 5 ff. from bot. > *Faḍl* 339, ll. 3 ff. (shortened) > IM 136, l. 1; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 8749 and *Ta’rīkh* v, 5, l. 3 (following Awzā’ī); TT x, 291, ll. 11 ff.

63 Cf. Fasawī II, 368, ll. 3 ff. from bot., and 369, ll. 2 ff., with the original passages in Abū Zur‘a (above ftns. 22–24).

64 *Anfänge* 218 ff.

pietistic movement in Syria, just as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had been in Iraq; Ghaylān, by contrast, has become completely eradicated from the historical view of the pious tradition.

1.2.3 *Ghaylān's Aftereffect*

The *damnatio memoriae* is visible in the fact that the *al-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl* works either completely ignore Ghaylān¹ or scarcely really know what his filiation was; *ḥadīths* that originated with him were long since forgotten. Bukhārī still remembers that Ya'qūb b. 'Utba b. al-Mughīra, a Ḥijāzī who died in the year 125/743, transmitted from him;² but about this Ya'qūb we do not know much.³ Thus it must in the end remain open whether the thesis I put forward in *Anfänge* 244 is right that in the case of

Abū Mu'ayd⁴ Ḥafṣ b. Ghaylān al-Dimashqī al-Hamdānī

we are dealing with Ghaylān's son. It is not really very probable; since the sources say nothing at all about such a connection. Yet it could be that they assume this is immediately obvious and do not expressly emphasize the point in order not to detract from the traditionist's reputation; he was in fact regarded as trustworthy in Damascus.⁵ It is noticeable, however, that he is not included in Mu'tazilite lists of Qadarites; only Dhahabī⁶ and Ibn Ḥajar⁷ recorded his partisanship. This goes back to Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888); previously one was apparently not concerned,⁸ and only later did doubts remain, as to whether Abū Dāwūd had been right. Not much was any longer known about him. All that is clear is that he was connected with the South-Arabs; the *nisba* al-Hamdānī gives an indication of this. Sometimes one also meets with the *nisba* al-Ru'aynī;⁹ the Ru'ayn also came from the Yemen.¹⁰ If he really was the son of the famous/infamous

1 As for example Fasawī.

2 *Ta'riḫ* IV₁, 102, no. 457.

3 Ibid. IV₁, 389, no. 3434; Khalifa, *Tab.* 659, no. 2337; IAH IV₁, 221, no. 883. He was evidently a fiscal clerk. He was an informant, among others, of Ibn Ishāq (Khoury in: *La Vie du Prophète* 13).

4 On the reading cf. Dhahabī, *Mushtabih* 599, l. 1.

5 AZ 394, ll. 6 f.

6 *Mizān* no. 2162.

7 TT II, 418 f., no. 727.

8 Without commentary for instance Yahyā b. Ma'īn, *Ma'rifat al-rijāl* II, 119, no. 348.

9 IAH I₁, 186, no. 805.

10 Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-qabā'il* I, 438. Al-Ḥumaydī in TTD, IV, 384, should perhaps be read as al-Ḥimyarī.

father, he would have to have been a *mawlā*; but nothing is said about this. The only information that points in this direction is that he immigrated from Egypt; Ghaylān al-Dimashqī had indeed been a Copt. But this too was disputed.¹¹

One preserved written *Ḥadīth* texts (*nusakh*) from him; they were already ordered like a *muṣannaḥ*, i.e. according to subject matter.¹² One of the sayings of the Prophet dealt with the *amr bi'l-ma'rūf*: this is no longer ensured if the public order breaks down.¹³ Dhahabī may be right when he reckons him to be among the *'ubbād*.¹⁴ At the same time it becomes clear that he was no revolutionary. He had plenty of contacts among the Qadarites; but at the time these arose almost automatically. Here we will only look more closely at one of his acquaintances who like himself had been a student of Makḥūl¹⁵ and also took over from the latter:¹⁶

Abū Kināna al-Waḍīn b. 'Atā' b. Kināna b. 'Abdallāh b. Musaddī' al-Khuzā'i al-Ṣan'ānī,

who died on the 10th of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 149/16th of Jan. 767.¹⁷ According to a report of Balādhurī, he was meant to have spent time in Ghaylān's surroundings.¹⁸ As his genealogy shows, he was a real Arab, a Yemenite, who held Wahb b. Munabbih in high esteem. He had the Prophet say: "The world will not pass away until Ṣan'ā' has become the most important city among the Arabs when Wahb emerges from it – on whom God will bestow wisdom".¹⁹ He may likewise have inherited his Qadarite stance from Wahb.²⁰ In any case, his family had already had contact with Damascus for a long time;

11 TTD IV, 385, l. 4.

12 TTD IV, 385, ll. 12 f.; Azmi, *Studies* 128.

13 TTD IV, 384, ll. 4 ff. from bot. (following Makḥūl).

14 *Mizān*, op. cit.

15 AZ 394, no. 894 (> TB XIII, 483, ll. 4 ff.).

16 Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh* 1, 364, no. 2769; TTD IV, 384, ll. 5 f. from bot.

17 IS VII, 169, ll. 16 ff. (where *Waṣīn* is a mistake for *Waḍīn*). Otherwise the year 149 is also prevalent in the earliest testimonies (cf. for instance Khālifa, *Tab.* 807 f., no. 3016, and *Ta'rikh* 657, l. 5; AZ 259, ll. 5 f., and 701, no. 2190 > Fasawī I, 134, ll. 12 ff.; Ibn Muḥannā, *Ta'rikh Dārāyyā* 82, ll. 2 f.). The year 147/764, which is given alongside it (cf. Fasawī I, 131, ll. 3 f. from bot.), is less well attested and perhaps simply a mistake in writing.

18 *Anfänge* 236 f.; cf. also *Faḍl* 229, last l. ff.

19 *yahabu*, with an allusion to Wahb's name (Rāzī, *Ta'rikh Ṣan'ā'* 372, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

20 On Wahb's Qadarite attitude see below Chpt. B 4.2.1.1. Waḍīn is recorded as a Qadarite by Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shāfi'ī (in Ka'bī 101, ll. 4 f. > *Faḍl* 338, ll. 2 f. from bot. > IM, 135, ll. 14 f.), by Ibn Ḥanbal (> 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV, 329, no. 1936) and by Abū Dāwūd (> TB XIII, 483, ll. 12 f., and *Mizān* no. 9352). Cf. also TT XI, 120, no. 205.

his grandmother had transmitted *Ḥadīth* there.²¹ He himself lived in Kafr Sūsiya,²² a locality in the Ghūta, where at the time the Mu‘tazila had apparently already begun to gain a foothold.²³ But he likewise had close ties with Ḥimṣ; this seemed only normal for a Yemenite.²⁴ He knew Maṣṣūr, who was later to become the caliph, from the time before the revolution and from then on was connected with him in friendship; the latter subsequently invited him to his newly-founded capital Baghdād.²⁵ One may assume that Waḍīn belonged to those Qadarites whose allegiance al-Manṣūr sought to secure when he travelled about in the world in the period of confusion;²⁶ in Khorāsān as well some members of the Khuzā‘a committed themselves to the Abbasid cause.²⁷

Waḍīn is not unimportant for the historical tradition of Syria.²⁸ However, as Dhahabī says, he was primarily a *khaṭīb*.²⁹ Scarcely anything else can be meant when he is described as a *mutakallim*³⁰ or as a *ṣāhib manṭiq*,³¹ he was someone who could speak well. The sayings that we possess from him in fact are often not his own but go back to a certain Abū ‘Uthmān Yazīd b. Marthad al-Madhḥijī, an ascetic who, it seems, had a great influence on him. Abū Nu‘aym devotes a section just to him in which Waḍīn as well occupies a prominent place, and which contains not only sayings by Yazīd but also *ḥadīths* that he had heard from him.³² The material is characterized by a strong mistrust of the authorities; the state, that is to say the rule of the North-Arabs, is corrupt. One is not safe from infringements; yet “it is better to die in obedience to God than to live in sin against God”.³³ What was here being preached was not necessarily revolution. The texts contain a certain character of resignation; and this is precisely why

21 AZ 77, l. 3.

22 Dhahabī gives him the *nisba* Kafarsūsī (*Mizān*, cit. op.). According to IS, op. cit., he died in Damascus.

23 On this below Chpt. C 7.3.

24 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* 111, 41, ll. 8 ff., and AZ 280, ll. 3 f.; on this below p. 127.

25 Ṭabarī 111, 408, ll. 19 ff.

26 On this below Chpt. B 2.2.6.2.2.1 (end).

27 On this Kister in EI² v, 79 b.

28 On this now Donner in: *Proceedings Bilād al-Shām* IV₂, vol. 1, 12 ff.

29 *Mizān*, op. cit.; also *Ta’rikh* VI, 147, ll. 9 ff. Cf. ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* IV, 329, l. 11: *ṣāhib khuṭab*.

30 Thus in Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 338, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

31 Thus AZ 257, ll. 8 ff. = 259, ll. 2 ff. from bot. = 724, l. 4, according to the Syrian Sa‘īd b. Bashīr (on him see below pp. 136 ff.).

32 *Ḥilya* v, 165, ll. 5 ff., and 9 ff.; *ḥadīths* 165, ll. 17 ff. He lived in the time of Walīd I (ibid. 165, l. 10); in Abū Zur‘a 391, ll. 13 f. he is called *ṣāhib Waḍīn b. ‘Atā’*. Ibn al-Jawzī mentions him in *Ṣīfat al-ṣafwa* IV, 177 f. in his chapter on Syria.

33 *Ḥilya* 166, l. 2.

they have survived. But good and evil are clearly divided; “Just as one does not harvest grapes from thorns, so the sinners (*fujjār*) shall not attain the ranks (*manāzil*) of the pious”.³⁴ Whoever is endowed with a strong faith will scarcely be unsettled by civil war – no more than “the way a drop wears away a stone”.³⁵

The second acquaintance of Ghaylān whom Balādhurī mentions was likewise a Yemenite:

Rabīʿ b. Ḥazyān.³⁶

He associated with ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd and transmitted from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Presumably, he had already resided in Baṣra before 116/729 and perhaps returned there after his activity in Syria.³⁷ It is mentioned in Ibn Abī Ḥātim that he was a Qadarite. Under Manṣūr he managed the coinage in Damascus;³⁸ thus he was also a civil servant like Ghaylān and even undertook the same function.

1.2.4 *Yazīd III’s Putsch*

The fact that Ghaylān and Makḥūl brought forth their ideas in the capital of the Empire gave these ideas an explosive force. This explains the harsh reaction of the authorities and why, for a short time during the caliphate of Yazīd III, they also constituted a program for government. Yazīd’s revolt against Walīd II has been described a number of times, already by Wellhausen,¹ later by F. Gabrieli,² and recently by M. Shaban;³ I have myself treated the religious aspect of the event.⁴ Consequently, here I can limit myself to the basic outlines. That matters escalated cannot be traced back to a single cause. As a powerful

34 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn*, op. cit. (where *Yazīd b. Mazyad* is a mistake for *Yazīd b. Marthad*).

35 Majlisī, *Bihār* XVIII, 144 f., no. 2. Waḍīn here transmits according to ‘Umayr b. Hānī’ (see below pp. 106 ff.). One perhaps also perceived as Qadarite a *ḥadīth* in which he described spiders as metamorphosed devils.

36 Thus according to the tradition in Bukhārī II, 278, no. 950, and IAH I, 2, 459, no. 2067. The text in Balādhurī has Rabīʿ Khaṭbān. *Mizān* no. 2732 and *Lisān al-Mizān* II, 444, no. 1819, have additional mistakes in writing. Cf. also Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh* VI, 63, ll. 4 ff.

37 Cf. *Anfänge* 237.

38 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* VIII, 294, no. 147.

1 *Das arab. Reich und sein Sturz* 224 ff.

2 “Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, il califfo e il poeta”, in: RSO 15/1935/1 ff., there especially pp. 19 ff.

3 *Islamic History, A. D. 600–750*, pp. 154 ff. Brief and not very original also D. Derenk, *Leben und Dichtung des Omaiyadenkalifen al-Walīd ibn Yazīd* 44 ff.

4 In: SI 31/1970/269 ff.

potential for revolution, there was first of all the bitterness of the South-Arabs who felt disappointed in their political expectations; the rebellion was supported by tribes like the Sakāsik, the ‘Ans, the Taghlib, the Lakhm, the Azd and the Kalb.⁵ Furthermore, certain local conditions were closely connected with this such as the fact that many of these Yemenites lived in the vicinity of Damascus, in Mizza or in Dārayyā;⁶ their share of the population was so large that one of the surrounding localities was even named Ṣan‘ā.⁷ That the putsch began with a surprise attack on Damascus is to be explained by this.⁸ The Kalb had close ties with the local population. Walīd II, on the other hand, shied away from the cities and lived in his desert castles;⁹ in one of them, in Bakhrā’ near Palmyra, he was also murdered.¹⁰ And finally there is the religious component; religion at least provided the formulas with which the putschists justified their actions.¹¹

We must take account of the fact that our sources over-emphasize this aspect; they were written by members of pious circles. The portrait of Walīd has been blackened: he is portrayed as a *zindīq*¹² or a *homosexual* (*lūṭī*).¹³ He is meant to have associated with a dualist from among the Kalb; in a horror

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- 5 Cf. the poem in Ṭabarī II, 1792, ll. 12 ff.; following the latter, Gabrieli 18, ftn. 8, and 21 (where in both places *Ans* instead of *Abs* should be read; the ‘Abs belonged to the North-Arabian Ghaṭafān). In greater detail also Ṣāliḥ al-‘Alī in: MM‘I 32/1981, nos. 3–4/26 f. Abū Zakariyyā’ al-Azdī in his *Ta’rikh al-Mawṣil* in this connection only ever speaks of *al-Yamaniyya* (cf. 54, ll. 9 f; 55, l. 10; 57, l. 2); thus also Madā’inī in *Agh.* VII, 73, ll. 15 f.
- 6 For Mizza cf. Ṭabarī II, 1894, ll. 7 f.; also Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I, 301, l. 10 (following the Mu‘tazilite Thumāma b. Ashras). Dārayyā was the chief locality of the Yaman in the Ghūṭa (on this Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie* 14).
- 7 Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān* III, 429 b, ll. 1 ff. s. v.; from here the above-mentioned ascetic Yazīd b. Marthad bore the *nisba* al-Ṣan‘ānī (ibid. 430 b, ll. 8 f. from bot., where instead of *al-mudda’ī* one should probably read *al-Madhḥijī*).
- 8 Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. Reisülküttap II, 329, ll. 20 f.; *al-Uyūn wa’l-ḥadā’iq* I, 135, ll. 10 f.; *Agh.* VII, 75, l. 12; Wellhausen 226.
- 9 Ṭabarī II, 1776, ll. 3 ff. and Balādhurī in Derenk, Arabic part 45, last l. f. Cf. above all R. Hamilton, *Khīrbat al-Maffar, an Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley* (Oxford 1959).
- 10 EI² I, 952 f. s. v. *Bakhrā’*. This is not to say that Yazīd would have had a dislike of the desert; at any rate, O. Grabar was able to formulate the thesis that it is he who is meant with the caliph in the fresco of Quṣayr ‘Amra, and not Walīd I (*Ars Orientalis* 1/1954/185 ff.; also *Formation of Islamic Art* 46 f.; somewhat divergent, but with similarly late dating, D. T. Rice, *Islamic Painting* 25).
- 11 On all this cf. now also the careful analysis by Haase, *Untersuchungen zur Landschaftsgeschichte Nordsyriens* 74 ff.
- 12 Ṭabarī II, 1777, l. 9; Azdī, *Ta’rikh al-Mawṣil* 56, ll. 6 and 8.
- 13 Azdī 55, ll. 1 f.; *Agh.* VII, 79, ll. 9 f.

story it is related how they manipulate a puppet of Mani.¹⁴ Reports about Walīd's sexual depravity and libertinism are legion.¹⁵ Zuhri, it was said, did not get along with him already under Hishām and then was lucky to have died before Walīd became caliph.¹⁶ Conversely, Yazīd was regarded as an ascetic;¹⁷ it was claimed that he had spoken out against pleasurable entertainments and music.¹⁸ He entered Damascus riding on a donkey, like the Messiah.¹⁹ When it was recommended to him to place at the side of every governor a pious man to supervise him, it was believed that he had nothing against this, a form of wishful thinking that also appears later and up until today has not lost its fascination.²⁰ He was allegedly born inside the Ka'ba; before him one had only related this about 'Alī.²¹ The Mu'tazila placed him above 'Umar II.²²

On the other hand, we know that the *Hadīth* had been used as a weapon against Walīd; this only makes sense if it actually happened during his lifetime or shortly after his murder. The Prophet is represented as foreseeing that in the year 125, the year of Walīd's accession to power, "the adornment of the world will be removed"²³ and that then "there will be a man named Walīd who will behave in my community like Pharaoh did among his people."²⁴ "Woe unto the Arabs after (the year) 125." The *hadīth* continues: "Death then comes

14 *Agh.* 72, ll. 6 ff. Such stories probably acquired new actuality during the *zindīq*-persecution under al-Mahdī and were perhaps first thought up at this time (see below p. 535).

15 *Ibid.* 46, ll. 14 ff., etc.

16 *Ibid.* 11, ll. 10 ff. and Ṭabarī II, 1811, ll. 4 ff.; translated in Derenk, *Walīd* 90 f. About Walīd in general still Blachère in: *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* 103 ff. and Bencheikh in: *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Thesaurus 2058 f.; now also R. Hamilton, *Walīd and His Friends. An Umayyad Tragedy* (Oxford 1988).

17 Ṭabarī II, 1777, ll. 10 f.; *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 51, ll. 5 f.; Balādhurī in Derenk 45, l. 12.

18 Ibn Abī'l-Dunyā, *Dhamm al-malāhī* 27. In contrast with this we hear in Ṭabarī how his followers, evidently especially the people of Mizza, were amazed when at the ceremonies of swearing allegiance he recited a verse of Nābigha: "But look at him! Just before dawn he was praying with the rosary, and now he recites poetry!" (II, 1791, ll. 4 ff.). Naturally, this as well is certainly not without partisanship.

19 Wellhausen, *Arab. Reich* 226; Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam* 93.

20 Ṭabarī II, 1867, ll. 17 ff.; on this below Chpt. C 4.1.2 for the time of Mu'taṣim.

21 *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 58, l. 3 from bot. At the same time his mother was a Persian princess (Ṭabarī II, 1874, ll. 11 ff.; Jāhīz, *Manāqib al-Turk* in: *Rasā'il* I, 82, last l. f.; Ma'arrī, *al-Ṣāhil wa'l-shāhīj* 336, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; on this JAOS 106/1986/821). With some deviation also Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 557, last l., according to which he was born in Damascus.

22 Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* VI, 32, ll. 5 f./1V, 63, ll. 8 f.; see also below p. 108 and Chpt. B 2.2.6.2.2.

23 Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* II, 390, ll. 13 ff.; on this SI 31/1970/277, fn. 3, and HT 127. Also below p. 121.

24 *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 56, ll. 1 ff.; similarly Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II, 109 f. On the motif cf. HT 183 f.

in an instant,²⁵ hunger allows no peace, and murder suddenly strikes. Power over you will be given to the heretic (*zindīq*) in your midst; he will lead astray your hearts in unbelief, tear to pieces your veil and take away your joy. Due to your sins, your tent pegs will be pulled up and your tethers will be severed; your door bolt will be broken,²⁶ and the defectors (*al-murrāq*) will become bold. Woe unto the Quraysh because of their heretic: he will introduce innovations, deny their religion, pull down the wall around them and give his armies power over them.” Walīd himself saw this differently: Hishām is dead; now the rain falls again and the trees blossom, he said in a poem.²⁷ Both sides presented themselves – how could it be otherwise? – as the protagonists of a new era.

Here then the “dogmatic” position also became a public signboard. Yazid is regarded as a Qadarite;²⁸ one of his envoys is cursed in Jordan as a *qadarī khabīth*.²⁹ The inhabitants of Mizza are not only Yemenites but are also described as Ghaylānites;³⁰ with the murder of Walīd one allegedly remembered the execution of Ghaylān and his “comrade”, i.e. Šālīḥ b. Suwayd.³¹ By contrast, when Hishām had second thoughts about Walīd as his successor, Walīd, in a letter to the caliph, is meant to have used predestination in his argumentation; he takes it for granted that Hishām viewed matters the same way.

Ṭabarī II, 1746, ll. 12 ff. = *Agh.* VII, 13, ll. 3 ff. (translated in Derenk 93 ff.); on this see above p. 30. But Hishām was more nuanced in his reply (1749, ll. 1 ff. = *Agh.* 14, ll. 9 ff.). – Theophanes maintains that Walīd had two high-ranking Christians put to death, a certain Peter from Mayūmā and another Peter who at the time was the metropolitan of Damascus (I, 416 f. de Boor, sub anno 742/transl. L. Breyer, *Bilderstreit und Arabersturm* 59). However, we do not need to include this information in our considerations; it is evidently only an elaboration based on the martyrology of Peter of Capitolias which is set in the time of Walīd (cf. P. Peeters in: *Anal. Boll.* 57/1939/299 ff. and 58/1940/123 ff.).

25 Ibid. 56, ll. 3 ff. The text is composed entirely in rhymed prose and thereby reveals its origin in diatribe.

26 Following a suggestion of Ullman, I read *yuksaru* instead of *yukaddi/aru*. On this cf. WKAS I, 177 a, l. 36: *lam yaksirna bāban*.

27 *Fragmenta Hist. Arab.* 125, ll. 14 ff.; following the latter, Widengren, *Muḥammad the Apostle of God* 201.

28 Thus for instance Ṭabarī II, 1874, l. 15; as a follower of Ghaylān in Balādhurī (Derenk 45, l. 14) and in *al-ʿUyūn wa'l-ḥadāʾiq* III, 130, ll. 11 ff.: according to Madāʾinī.

29 See below p. 124.

30 Balādhurī in Derenk 51, ll. 16 f., and 54, l. 14 > *ʿUyūn* III, 135, ll. 10 f.

31 Balādhurī in Derenk 47, ll. 20 f.

1.2.4.1 Yazīd III's Accession Sermon

“Ghaylānite” thoughts come through most clearly in the accession sermon that Yazīd gave in Damascus after the death of his opponent. It has been frequently cited; the deviations it contains are so slight that one can reckon on a relatively uniform transmission.¹ Transmitters are only mentioned in two places; their names do not tell us much.² We must refrain from a detailed analysis; here it is only a question of emphasizing the chief elements.³ One must distinguish:

- a) a detailed justification with which Yazīd introduces his speech. In it he maintains that he only began his revolt “out of anger on behalf of God and His religion and as an advocate (*dāʿī*) of His holy Scripture and the *sunna* of His Prophet”.⁴ At the time this formula was no longer new; it served as an apologia⁵ for revolutionaries and was in fact used as a kind of motto during the events at Bakhrā.⁶
- b) a promise to avoid all measures that could encourage nepotism and waste of money. Here the caliph goes into reproaches that one had already levelled against Hishām and which, as the details show, were in part based upon the Umayyad policy of settlements involving the use of state funds and taxes in the cultivation of new lands.⁷ It was primarily about state funds not being shifted from one province to another; in Jāḥiẓ and Ṭabarī it is added that no member of the dynasty ought to enrich himself, and salaries (*riẓq*) and pensions (*ʿaṭāʾ*) should be paid on time. Behind all this, in a vague form,

1 Khalifa, *Taʿrīkh* 550, ll. 9 ff. > Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Iqd* IV, 95, 20 ff. and Azdī, *Taʿrīkh al-Mawṣil* 57, ll. 10 ff.; Ṭabarī II, 1834, ll. 14 ff.; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* II, 141, ll. 5 ff. > Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* II, 248, ll. 2 ff. Cf. also Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir* III, 51, last l. ff.; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira* I, 422, no. 1100. The deviations in these versions basically only concern the final sentences. Just one report in Balādhurī (in Derenk 65, ll. 16 ff.) contains a much shorter text; however, Balādhurī is evidently not quoting literally but is giving a summary.

2 In Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, where Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Shuʿayrāwī al-ʿAtakī who is previously mentioned 547, l. 7, is probably meant or his father Ibrāhīm b. Iṣḥāq, and in Balādhurī who goes back to a *qāḍī* from Raqqā named Dāwūd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (cf. *Mizān* no. 2624). In the case of the latter is it a question of a son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā whose family lived in the vicinity of Raqqā? (cf. ʿAbbās, *ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā* 42).

3 On this cf. also D. Sourdel in: *Prédication et propagande* 118 f.

4 Khalifa 550, ll. 13 f.; Ṭabarī II, 1834, ll. 8 f., etc.

5 Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph* 59 ff. and especially 63; on this above p. 38.

6 Balādhurī in Derenk 57, ll. 14 f., and 60, ll. 6 ff.

7 Khalifa 551, ll. 3 ff.; Ṭabarī II, 1834, ll. 14 ff. (transl. in Derenk 40), etc. On this Gabrieli in: RSO 15/1935/11 and Shaban, *History* 156; also D. Sourdel, op. cit. Sourdel indicates that one of the points mentioned there was later taken up by Saffāḥ (ibid. 121).

stands the idea of greater justice in distribution; but the word *‘adl* does not occur.

- c) an explanation by Yazīd about how he views being a ruler, about the form of the constitution so to speak. This is the point at which Ṭabarī diverges from the parallel versions. He has the following text: “If I remain true towards you in what I have said, then it is your duty to give me your allegiance and to support me in a proper manner. But if I do not keep my word, then you can depose me – unless you wish to call me to atone, and should I do so, you accept this from me. If you (then) know someone who is reputed for his uprightness and in his person offers you the same as I do and you wish to pay him homage, I would be the first to pay him homage and subordinate myself to him. Oh people! One should not obey any creature in insubordination towards the Creator and not remain loyal to him if he breaks an agreement. Obedience is only for God. Therefore, only obey a (person) out of obedience to God as long as he himself obeys (God)! If he opposes himself to God and calls to insubordination (i.e. sin), then he deserves to be opposed and to be killed”.⁸

The revised speech divides the last passage (c) into two halves. In the first part the contractual character of rule is dealt with: the caliph is not appointed, for example, by divine decision, but rather ruler and subjects (i.e. certainly in the west: tribal leaders) are connected to one another by a promise of loyalty. For that reason it is possible to depose a ruler in the case of a breach of trust, and rightly so. By and large this is how the matter stands in the other versions; Jāḥiẓ is in accord almost word for word. This is, moreover, supported by evidence from outside. When Yazīd’s troops in Bakhrā’ fixed a slogan on their lances, what it said was not only: “We call to the Book and to the *sunna* of the Prophet” but also: “. . . and that there be consultation with one another”,⁹ the well-known formula with which participation had always been legitimized and demanded. Naturally, in this situation “a referendum” was meant in which “the Muslims would consider for themselves whom they wished to entrust (the rule) to and whom they would agree on”.¹⁰ The spokesman for a delegation that at a later time tried to win over for Yazīd the dignitaries of Ḥimṣ formulated his words similarly: no one is called upon to pay homage to the caliph but only to him

8 Ṭabarī II, 1835, ll. 6 ff. On this Wellhausen 229; Gabrieli 20; Caetani, *Chronographia* 1595 f. 9 *an yakūna’l-amru shūrā*, following surah 42/38. Cf. Ṭabarī II, 1804, ll. 10 f., and Balādhurī in Derenk 60, ll. 7 f.

10 Thus in a letter of Yazīd to the Iraqis in which he refers to the event (Ṭabarī II, 1844, ll. 20 f.; on this Gabrieli 23, fn. 1, and Crone/Hinds, *God’s Caliph* 127 f.).

whom the whole community approves of (*al-riḍā min al-umma*); the matter should be decided among them through a referendum.¹¹

But this relationship of loyalty, so Ṭabarī goes on to say in the second part, is connected with obedience to God. This is not at all mentioned in Khalīfa; Jāhīz retains no more than a paltry and rhetorically unsatisfying part of the revised speech, i.e. only a single sentence, the first one.¹² The passage was especially explosive; with the words “no obedience to someone who opposes God” (*lā ṭāʿat^{an} fi maʿṣiyat Allāh* or something similar), morality was placed above reasons of state. Under this maxim, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ḥurr had already mounted opposition against Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr in the year 68/688;¹³ later the Ibādīte rebel Abū Ḥamza Mukhtār b. ʿAwf made use of it.¹⁴ The Abbasids also employed it; Ibn Rusta saw it in an inscription of Saffāh in the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.¹⁵ But around the same time Ibn Muqaffaʿ in his *Risāla fīl-ṣaḥāba* warns against misinterpretation.¹⁶ In the meantime, the saying had been projected far back in time; it was placed in the mouth of Abū Bakr¹⁷ and finally found recognition in a *ḥadīth*.¹⁸ This process is not yet apparent in our text. The slogan, however, is effectively integrated: when it says that whoever opposes God deserves to be opposed himself and to be killed, in fact this can only refer to Walīd. In this way the circle is completed.

1.2.4.2 Further Developments up to the Time of Marwān II

Yazīd’s rule only lasted a few months. He had just managed to consolidate his power in Syria; we are able to follow how he carried on negotiations in Jordan and in Ḥimṣ.¹ He sent a governor, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Kalbī, into Iraq; the latter was able to get a foothold in Kūfa and Wāsiṭ, whereas Upper Mesopotamia refused to give allegiance to him.² Immediately after his taking power, Yazīd

11 Ibn Muḥannā, *Taʾrīkh Dārayyā* 60, ll. 10 ff.; in the parallel in Ṭabarī II, 1826, ll. 19 f., the expression *al-riḍā min al-umma* is not found.

12 *Bayān* II, 142, l. 15.

13 Ṭabarī II, 771, last l. f. On ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr cf. GAS 2/355 f. and now especially G. Kanazi in: JSAI 3/1981–2/49 ff.

14 *Agh.* XX, 101, l. 9 from bot.; on him see below Chpt. B 4.1.1.2.1.

15 RCEA I, 30, l. 2, no. 38; Sauvaget, *Mosquée Omayyade* 54.

16 § 13 Pellat (pp. 24 ff.).

17 Here, similarly as in the case of Yazīd, in a fictitious government declaration.

18 *Conc.* IV 43 a; for the Shīʿa cf. the *Musnad Mūsā b. Jaʿfar* 24, no. 14.

1 See below pp. 122 ff. and 108.

2 Pseudo-Dionysius from Tellmaḥrē 33, ll. 7 ff./transl. Chabot 30. On the situation in general see below Chpt. B 2.4.2.1. On Manṣūr b. Jumhūr’s course of action cf. Balādhurī, Ms. Reisülküttap II, 85 a, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

had designated as his successor his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, and after him another grandson of ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj, who had previously led the attack on Walīd.³ Ṭabarī says that this happened due to pressure from “the Qadariyya”; but we also hear that later, in Dhū’l-Ḥijja 126/Sept.–Oct. 744, when the caliph was on the verge of death, a Qadarite from his close surroundings first thought of another candidate, a son of ‘Umar II who would have been sure of approval from the wider public.⁴ Perhaps this was meant as an apology because the choice of Ibrāhīm turned out to be a mistake. We cannot here enter into the turbulent events which followed upon the death of Yazīd; however, Ibrāhīm finally surrendered to Marwān II, “deposed himself”, as people said.⁵ ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj had previously been killed by an incensed mob in the disturbances that broke out in Damascus.⁶ But Marwān set himself up as the avenger of Walīd; he perceived as provocation the criticism that the Qadarites levelled against the practices of self-enrichment and the arrogance of the Umayyads.⁷ This motive remained in people’s memory; as it was claimed (already at the time?), Ghaylān under ‘Umar II, at the latter’s orders, had given back the possessions that were unjustly acquired (*maẓālīm*) by the ruling family and in this way allegedly attracted Hishām’s hatred.⁸ A letter has been preserved from Marwān to Ghumr b. Yazīd, the brother of Walīd II, in which he solemnly vows “to gather up his robe” against the Qadarites “and to strike and stab them with his sword”.⁹ When he marched into Damascus, he had Yazīd’s corpse exhumed and placed upon a cross in public,¹⁰ with the head upside down, as the Christian author of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tellmaḥrē adds.¹¹ Mizza at the time was set on fire.¹²

3 Ṭabarī II, 1869, ll. 13 ff.; somewhat differently Azdī, *Ta’rikh al-Mawṣil* 58, last l. ff. On this EI² III, 990 f. s. n. *Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd*. On ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj also Khalifa, *Ta’rikh* 548, ll. 15 ff.

4 See below p. 114.

5 Thus for instance Khalifa, *Ta’rikh* 566, ll. 10 f.; he is called *al-makhlū’* in our sources.

6 Ibid. 565, 14 ff.; on this Caetani, *Chronographia* 1625 and Gabrieli in: RSO 15/1935/21; also EI² I, 57 s. n.

7 Ṭabarī II, 1835, last l. f.

8 On this below p. 154.

9 Ṭabarī II, 1851, ll. 7 ff. Ṭabarī dates the document in the year 126; but in fact Marwān, after some initial resistance, had himself entrusted with the governorship of the Jazīra along with Armenia and Ādharbayjān, and only after the latter’s death did he go on the attack (cf. EI² s. n. *Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd*). The authenticity of the letter remains to be discussed.

10 Khalifa, *Ta’rikh* 566, ll. 7 f.; Ṭabarī II, 1890, ll. 16 f.

11 P. 45, ll. 14 f./transl. 41.

12 Ṭabarī II, 1894, ll. 7 f.

For the Syrians these were years of terror; the air was buzzing with apocalyptic *ḥadīths*. The victory of the Abbasids provided them with an unexpected interpretation. The South-Arabian party, at least in Damascus, was in agreement with the change-over. The “Yemenites” brought out the black flags and killed the governor; for this reason they were also spared by the invading troops.¹³ Still, in the fighting and the three hours of plundering, to which the city was abandoned after the conquest, Qadarites also lost their lives.¹⁴ The relationship with the Abbasids was chiefly based on Dāwūd b. ‘Alī, who was the eldest uncle of Saffāḥ and Manṣūr, and had been residing in Damascus when the inhabitants of Mizza were conspiring against Walid II. He had indeed refused at the time to pay homage to Yazīd; but his great-nephew al-Mahdī subsequently confirmed that he was indeed a Qadarite.¹⁵ Certain sympathies as well continued to be maintained between the two parties. When Manṣūr visited Damascus in the year 153, he appointed a South-Arab Qadarite as *qāḍī*, perhaps not absolutely to the joy of the entire population.¹⁶

1.2.5 *The Qadarites under Yazīd III*

1.2.5.1 Damascus

Against this background, the destinies in life of those Qadarites who are especially mentioned in the lists emerge more clearly. Only a few kept themselves aloof from political events. One of the oldest among them apparently belongs in this category,

Abū Bakr Ḥassān b. ‘Aṭīyya al-Muḥāribī,

a Persian who had come from the area of Beirut to Damascus and there attached himself as a *mawlā* to the North-Arabian Muḥārib.¹ He had been born in Baṣra and grown up there.² In Damascus he was held in esteem for his

13 *Ta’rīkh al-Mawṣil* 135, ll. 2 ff.

14 See below p. 110. On the events and how they are reflected in *Ḥadīth* cf. Aguadé, *Messianismus* 106 ff.

15 TTD V, 204, ll. 2 ff.; on this Ṭabarī III, 534, ll. 17 f. After the overthrow of the regime he became governor of Kūfa and then of the Ḥijāz; he died already in 133/751 at a ripe old age (TTD V, 203, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; also Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh* 630, l. 13; on this Lassner, *Shaping ‘Abbāsīd Rule* 225, fn. 3). He also transmitted *Ḥadīth* (cf. Fasawī II, 700, ll. 4 f. from bot.; *Mizān* no. 2633).

16 See below p. 139.

1 TTD IV, 142, ll. 10 f.

2 Ibid. 142, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; also Fasawī II, 393, ll. 5 f.

piety; after the afternoon prayers he conducted meditation (*dhikr*) at sunset and he promoted nocturnal exercises (*qiyām bi'l-layl*).³ But his asceticism did not exceed the bounds of a bourgeois life-style; he transmitted a *ḥadīth* against dirty clothing and uncombed hair.⁴ He held that a sin, once recorded by the angel, could never again be erased; however, one had a timespan of three hours to repent and to ask God for forgiveness. Whoever commits injustice will enter Hell; but he will already be punished on earth by injustice happening to him as well.⁵ Whoever introduces “innovations” loses irrevocably with regard to the *sunna*; only at the Last Judgement can he recoup this loss.⁶

Such thoughts were not specifically Qadarite, and in fact Ḥassān's affiliation remained disputed. Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanūkhī (d. 167/784), who thought more than other Syrians about the confession of his brethren in the faith, dubbed him a Qadarite; Awzā'ī, to whom we owe several reports about Ḥassān b. 'Aṭīyya, has contested this just as vigorously.⁷ Ḥassān allegedly wanted nothing to do with Ghaylān.⁸ But on the other hand, one related that only two champions (*kabshān*) of the Qadarites remained; one of them was Ḥassān.⁹ When we consider Ḥassān's early date of death (between 120/738 and 130/748),¹⁰ this can only be connected with banishment under Hishām or the flight of the Qadarites after the death of Yazīd III. So Ḥassān would have been spared – due to his age? – and, along with a second unnamed person, was the only one to remain in Damascus. He considered the city to be a refuge of orthodoxy and believed that the cause of its fall could only come from within, due to its own weakness.¹¹ Like many others he was waiting for the arrival of the Antichrist; only 12,000 men and 7,000 women would be saved from him.¹²

3 Ibid. 142, ll. 3 ff. from bot. = *Ḥilya* VI, 70, ll. 6 f. from bot. > Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa* IV, 195, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

4 *Ḥilya* VI, 78, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

5 Ibid. VI, 74, ll. 2 f. from bot. > *Ṣifa* IV, 196, ll. 3 ff. (following Awzā'ī).

6 Fasawī III, 386, ll. 7 ff.

7 Ibid. II, 393, 1 ff.; also TTD IV, 142, ll. 7 ff. from bot. and Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady al-sārī* II, 122, l. 19.

8 *Anfānge* 216 f.; the relevant report is found first in the *Ḥilya* of Abū Nu'aym.

9 Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ* V, 61, ll. 7 f.; the source for this is not known to me. Older texts like Fasawī II, 389, ll. 5 f. from bot., and TTD, IV, 142, l. 4 from bot., only have *ithnān* instead of *kabshān*. On *kabsh* “ram” in the sense of “champion” cf. WKAS I, 30 b, 1 ff. and II, Vorwort p. X.

10 TT II, 251, no. 460; according to Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ*, around 130.

11 TD I, 228, ll. 21 ff., as a *ḥadīth* with an incomplete *isnād*. Along with others Ḥafṣ b. Ghaylān took this over from him.

12 *Ḥilya* VI, 77, ll. 1 f.

Later generations had scarcely any doubt that he belonged to the Qadariyya.¹³ His credibility as a traditionist remained undisputed. Indeed, he was responsible for a frequently cited *ḥadīth* which recommended transmission from the Prophet and warned against misuse.¹⁴ But of all people, Awzā'ī who had supported him, was supposedly heard to say that he would not trust him one inch; he reckoned him among the people whom he always asked for the *isnād*.¹⁵

This discrepancy may be due in part to the fact that in the *ḥadīth* in question the call *ballighū 'annī wa-law āya^{tan} min al-Qur'ān*, is followed by a second appeal which soon came to appear in a bad light: *wa-ḥaddithū 'an Banī Isrā'īl wa-lā ḥaraj^a*, “transmit from the Children of Israel; it doesn't matter”. This was appropriate in the era of the Isrā'īliyyāt but in the long run could not be maintained. One may then have attempted to discredit Ḥassān b. 'Aṭīyya as a traditionist in order to get free of the *ḥadīth*. But it was too late; one could only reinterpret it: here *'an* does not mean “from” but “about”. This interpretation still holds good today but is nonetheless extremely unlikely. A variant in Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī which is already sanctioned by Abū Hurayra, formulates it as: *ḥaddithū 'an Banī Isrā'īl wa-lā ḥaraj^a*, *wa-ḥaddithū 'annī* . . . and thus stresses the parallelism (*Sharaf* 15, 10 ff., no. 19); Bukhārī still knows traditionists who *yuḥaddithūna 'an ahl al-kitāb*, and means by this people like Ka'b al-Aḥbār (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, I'tiṣām 25 = IV 441, 9 f. Krehl). Likewise, a Shī'ite version, in which Zurāra transmits the same words from Muḥammad al-Bāqir, is unambiguous (Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* 240, no. 19). One is surprised to see that Kister, in the article he devotes to the *ḥadīth* (in: IOS 2/1972/215 ff. = *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, no. XIV), only takes as a basis “the orthodox” interpretation without even considering the other one at all. I would also like to presume that Godziher already understood the saying in the above-mentioned meaning (cf. the context in: *Muh. Stud.* II, 137).

By contrast, in all probability within Ghaylān's circle was

Abū'l-Mughīra 'Amr b. Sharāḥīl al-'Ansī,

13 TTD IV, 143, l. 14 (following Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Jūzjānī, d. 259/873); Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 1809; Ibn Ḥajar, TT, op. cit., and *Hady al-sārī* II, 122, l. 19; Suyūṭī, *Tadrīb* I, 328, l. 2 from bot.; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 339, l. 4 from bot. > IM 136, l. 9. Nothing in Bukhārī II, 33, no. 134, and IAH I₂, 236, no. 1044.

14 Fasawī II, 522, ll. 8 ff. = Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf* 14, ll. 12 ff.; in general *Conc.* I, 229 a.

15 'an man; TTD IV, 142, ll. 12 f.

a member of the Banū ‘Ans from the Madhḥij, also a South-Arab who like numerous other fellow tribesmen lived in Dārayyā. He was actually banished to the Dahlak Islands by Hishām; he is the only person among the prisoners whose name we know.¹⁶ Nor did Walīd II set him free; only under Yazīd III did he actually return home. He cannot have been very old at the time; because he transmitted from Awzā‘ī, among others.¹⁷ Dhahabī assumes that he died between 140 and 150.¹⁸ Evidently he stimulated the revolutionary mood with *ḥadīths*. In his view, the times required a radical change; because people were continually becoming worse, and the Prophet had predicted people for the fourth generation, that is the one in which ‘Amr b. Sharāḥīl lived, “who swear without one having asked them for an oath, who give testimony without one having called them to testify, and on whom one bestows trust (or confers office) without them honouring (this)”.¹⁹ On the other hand, he was convinced, again following a saying of the Prophet, that “in Damascus there will always be a group of the like-minded (*‘iṣāba*) who will fight for the truth until through its victory the decision of God (*amr Allāh*) will come”.²⁰ He was then obliged to experience the fact that Yazīd III as well did not bring victory, and apparently had to give up hope in the Umayyads completely. “Partake of this wealth as long as it is devoid of reproach (*mā ṭāba*)”, he transmitted from Abū Hurayra, “but if it changes into corrupt money, leave it alone; for God in His bounty will provide for you amply. And you will not do this (again) until God bestows on you a just ruler (*imām*) who does not belong to the Umayyads”.²¹ But with these words he may already have earned himself Hishām’s displeasure;²² he would thus be an instance of radical currents within the Qadariyya, as they have been recorded in the heresiographical literature.²³

The last two *ḥadīths* are each connected with a previous history – transmitted separately²⁴ – from which we learn where they originated. ‘Amr b. Sharāḥīl

16 Ṭabarī II, 1777, ll. 12 ff.

17 *Anfänge* 237, fn. 1; also Bukhārī III₂, 342, no. 2577.

18 *Ta’rīkh* VI, 107, ll. 8 ff.

19 *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 93, ll. 7 ff.; on this SI 31/1970/276 f. with incorrect translation. For variants on this cf. *Conc.* III, 195 b; one of them is translated in Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II, 125 f.

20 Ibid. 95, ll. 1 ff.; also TD I, 242, ll. 6 ff. Cf. the related statements ibid. I, 240 ff. and 103 ff. The conclusion with its combination of *ḥaqq* and *amr Allāh* is an allusion to surah 9/48. On *amr Allāh* cf. also surah 4/47, 33/37, etc.; on this Paret, *Kommentar* 25 on surah 2/109 and Baljon in: AO (Copenhagen) 23/1958/7 ff., also Nagel in *Klimkeit, Götterbild* III.

21 *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 95, ll. 11 ff. > TTD V, 19, ll. 1 ff.; on this SI 31/1970/275 f.

22 *Anfänge* 237 f.

23 See below pp. 151 f.

24 AZ 606 f., no. 1721.

claims to have heard them in Beirut from a certain Ḥayyān b. Wabra al-Murrī,²⁵ who was very popular due to his unusual get-up: he wore threadbare clothes, a white cotton shirt that descended to the middle of his legs, and a small *qalan-suwa*. Nothing very precise was known about him. ‘Amr takes it upon himself to say that Ḥayyān had met Abū Bakr – a rather unlikely assertion. This information went back to someone who had accompanied him on his visit and was considerably older than him:

Abū’l-Walīd ‘Umayr b. Hānī’ al-‘Ansī al-Dārānī.

Both came from the same tribe and resided in the same place. ‘Umayr had also spoken of “the decision of God” and attributed a special role in this to the Syrians; but he claimed to have heard the relevant *ḥadīths* in a sermon of Mu‘āwiya.²⁶ He had apparently taken part in the siege of Mecca in the year 73/692; Ḥajjāj, after having taken up position in Tā’if in Sha‘bān 72/Jan. 692,²⁷ sent him along with a delegation for negotiations with ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in the city. At that time he also visited ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar; as is known, the latter died shortly after the conquest of Mecca. ‘Umayr later made no secret of the fact that Ibn ‘Umar, true to his neutralist position, strongly disapproved of Ḥajjāj’s action as well as the behaviour of the Zubayrids.²⁸ Making this admission was that much easier for him since over time he was distancing himself from Ḥajjāj. Indeed, while Ḥajjāj was occupied with the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath, at his order ‘Umayr fought with a contingent from Damascus against rebellious Kurds and subsequently carried out a raid in Daylam.²⁹ But when Ḥajjāj then

25 Bukhārī has instead Abū ‘Uthmān Ḥassān b. Wabra al-Namarī (II, 35, no. 147); but this form of the name is incorrect according to Ibn ‘Asākir (TTD v, 18 f.).

26 TD I, 250, l. 5–253, l. 19 with numerous variants; also Fasawī II, 297, ll. 10 ff. and *Hilya* v, 158, ll. 5 ff. from bot. The divergence from the tradition of ‘Amr b. Sharāḥīl is striking; one must ask oneself why ‘Umayr did not base himself on Ḥayyān b. Wabra. But perhaps the matter is explained simply by the fact that the Mu‘āwiya-tradition was more valuable because it was older; ‘Amr b. Sharāḥīl was in fact not old enough to have met Mu‘āwiya. Moreover, in ‘Umayr’s presentation the connection with Syria is only brought about by the ploy of an acclamation from the crowd.

27 On the date cf. Ṭabarī II, 830, l. 13.

28 *Ta’rīkh Dārawayā* 85, ll. 1 ff. (where the historical connection is only hinted at). He himself moreover is supposed to have prayed behind Ḥajjāj as well as behind ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr (Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* v, 119, ll. 8 ff. from bot.).

29 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 397, no. 805 (following Madā’inī; there the incorrect ‘Umar b. Hānī’ al-‘Absī.

appointed him governor of Kūfa³⁰ after the Battle of Dayr al-Jamājim in the year 82/701,³¹ his dismissal was not long in coming; he did not wish to give his backing to Ḥajjāj's harsh policy towards the inhabitants of the city.³² In fact, many South-Arabs had also participated in the revolt there;³³ moreover, a regiment from Kūfa had accompanied him on his expedition to Daylam.

It seems typical that he only held government office again under ʿUmar II; at that time he became the governor of Batanaea and of Ḥawrān.³⁴ Under the latter's successors he was evidently sidelined; the sources say nothing about him.³⁵ When allegiance was pledged to Yazīd III, being now quite advanced in age, he called out from the pulpit for loyalty to him. In so doing, he made use of the interesting promotional slogan: "There are two forms of *hijra*: one on behalf of God and His Messenger, and one on behalf of Yazīd";³⁶ in Syria the call for *hijra* had retained its validity well beyond the death of the Prophet, only now one generally meant by it military service at the frontier.³⁷ After Yazīd's death, ʿUmayr was killed in his home town by Ṣaqr b. Ḥabīb al-Murrī, a Qaysite – from Damascus as Bukhārī emphasizes;³⁸ one remembered how his head was carried about on a lance.³⁹

That he was a Qadarite was presumably deduced from his partisanship for Yazīd. The claim goes back, as so often, to the answers of Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888) to Ajurrī; from there it made its way into the later sources.⁴⁰ Kaʿbī, who died one generation after Abū Dāwūd, had not yet taken note of this; the later Muʿtazilite texts are also silent. In any case, among ʿUmayr's *ḥadīths* there

30 Khalifa, *Taʾriḫ* 385, ll. 17 f.

31 On the date cf. Sayed, *Revolte des Ibn al-Ašʿaʿ* 220 f. and previously.

32 *Mizān* no. 6492.

33 Above all the Hamdān (cf. Sayed 208).

34 Bukhārī, *Taʾriḫ* III, 535, no. 3236 > Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāḥir al-ʿulamāʾ* II, no. 857, where Bathaniyya is corrupted to Thaniyya (taken over unchecked in Crone, *Slaves on Horses* 140).

35 We do not know when he was tax-collector for Damascus (Caetani, *Chronographia* 1629).

36 TTD IV, 142, ll. 16 ff.; *Mizān*, op. cit. In what function he had ascended the pulpit, whether for instance as an official local representative of government authority, we unfortunately do not learn.

37 On this cf. now Madelung in: REI 54/1986/225 ff. The counter-position was described with the slogan *lā hijra^{ta} baʿdaʿl-fath*; on this in the larger context ʿAthamina in: SI 66/1987/7 ff.

38 AZ 253, ll. 5 f. = 697, l. 1 > *Taʾriḫ Dārayyā* 65, ll. 2 ff.; Bukhārī, op. cit.; on the date cf. AZ 696, no. 2160.

39 AZ 697, no. 2162 > *Taʾriḫ Dārayyā* 65, ll. 5 ff.

40 Dhahabī, *Mizān* op. cit. and *Taʾriḫ* V, 120, l. 17; Ibn Ḥajar, TT VIII, 149 f., no. 266 and *Hady al-sārī* II, 155, ll. 19 f.; Suyūṭī, *Tadrib* I, 329, l. 5.

was one which sounded more “Murji’ite”: Whoever pronounces the *shahāda* will enter Paradise. Here it is interesting that the *shahāda* consists of three parts; along with God and the Prophet, Jesus is also included as “a servant and messenger of God”, i.e. with an anti-Christian tone as in the Dome of the Rock.⁴¹ ‘Umayr was regarded as very pious; one took it upon oneself to confirm that he pronounced the name of God incessantly – “a hundred thousand times”,⁴² something rather unusual for a tax-collector. It is noticeable that he concerned himself with formulas of repentance; he recommended different forms of expression depending on a person’s age.⁴³ He greatly admired ‘Umar II; he believed that in him he beheld a successor of the Prophet and of the first three caliphs.⁴⁴ Some of his *ḥadīths* have an eschatological character; in his old age he seems to have seen the end of time approaching.⁴⁵ Awzā’ī thought highly of him;⁴⁶ the Damascene Sa’īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tanūkhī, on the other hand, wanted nothing to do with him because of his openly supporting Yazīd.⁴⁷

The fact that he had met many Companions of the Prophet – allegedly 30 – (or referred to them in his transmissions) caused Bukhārī to locate his death between 110 and 120 (TT VIII, 150, ll. 14 f.). The person killed in the year 127 would then have to be his son Ya‘qūb b. ‘Umayr (Fasawī III, 368, ll. 6 f., following Duḥaym). However, the author of the *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* reports that the latter died at a later time in Dārayyā without descendants (67, l. 6). When the followers of Yazīd forced their way into Damascus, he led the contingent from Dārayyā (Ṭabarī II, 1792, ll. 3 f., where *‘Absī* is an error for *‘Anṣī*). Later Yazīd sent him to Ḥimṣ in a delegation for negotiations, when one did not recognize the usurper there (ibid. II, 1827, l. 2; for further evidence cf. SI 31/1970/275, fn. 3). He also supported ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj; he was chief of the latter’s police troops (*Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 87, ll. 5 f.). The theological sources do not mention him.

41 *Ḥilya* v, 159, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; on this above p. 13.

42 Ibid. 157, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

43 *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 68, ll. 3 ff.

44 Ibid. 77, last l. ff.; naturally, as a Syrian he excluded ‘Alī from the series of *al-khulafā’ al-rāshidūn*.

45 See above; also *Ḥilya* v, 158, ll. 4 ff.

46 Fasawī II, 465, ll. 8 f.

47 On this see above fn. 36. Sa’īd was still young at the time; he was born around 90/710 (TH 219 f., no. 205).

‘Umayr’s brother, Qays b. Hāni’, was among the first who paid homage to Yazīd. Allegedly he was also present at the latter’s hour of death (*Iqd* IV, 465, ll. 15 ff.; for additional evidence of this kind see below p. 114, ftn. 100). His enthusiasm for the turnabout went so far that he even placed Yazīd above ‘Umar II. For this reason, Marwān had him murdered later on in the Mosque of Damascus (Ṭabarī II, 1835, ll. 15 ff., where *Absī* is an error for *Ansī*. My conjecture, expressed in SI 31/1970/279, ftn. 4, that Umayr himself was meant, will have to be abandoned).

In the case of Muḥammad b. Hāni’, who is mentioned as the governor of Ba‘labakk in AZ 326, 6 f., we may be dealing with another brother.

The number of Makhūl’s disciples whom one encounters in the sphere of influence of Yazīd is large indeed. This includes, as one of the oldest,⁴⁸

Thābit b. Thawbān al-‘Ansī al-Dimashqī.

He had also frequented Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94/713) in Medina.⁴⁹ Like his two teachers, he was primarily a jurist;⁵⁰ the wave of *Ḥadīth* had not yet caught hold of him. Just as Makhūl, he originated from Khorāsān;⁵¹ he was therefore a *mawla* and had first attached himself in Damascus to the ‘Ans. Under ‘Umar II he nonetheless became a governor.⁵² Makhūl appointed him as the executor of his will.⁵³ He is also supposed to have meant him to take over as successor to his study circle in the Umayyad Mosque.⁵⁴ However, this intention was evidently not carried out: we hear that Yazīd b. Yazīd al-Azdī took over this role;⁵⁵ the latter was a genuine Arab. Thābit only appears as a Qadarite in the Mu‘tazilite sources⁵⁶ and there perhaps only because his son emerged politically

48 In any case, older than ‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥārith who died 136/753 (AZ 393, no. 893 and below p. 115).

49 Fasawī II, 400, ll. 9 ff.

50 AZ 393, no. 892.

51 TB X, 223, l. 20.

52 Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj* 381, ll. 1 f.

53 TB X, 223, l. 13. Makhūl thereafter had no direct heirs; perhaps he was not married. But it is possible that the Khaṭīb simply misunderstood the information that follows. [Moreover, in Ibn ‘Asākir we hear of a step-son of Makhūl (Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* VIII, 332 f., no. 175)].

54 Abyad, *Tarbiya* 301 and 329/*Culture* 241, following Ibn ‘Asākir.

55 See below p. 111.

56 Ka‘bī 103, l. 1 > *Faḍl* 339, l. 3 from bot. (where incorrectly *Thawr* instead of *Thawbān*).

in the confusion of the late second decade of the 2nd century.⁵⁷ We know from Awzā'ī, who regarded him highly, that he chose to remain completely in the background; he died in this period, presumably around 130/748.⁵⁸ Likewise,

Abū Wahb 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubayd al-Kalā'ī al-Jishumī,

a descendant of Dhū'l-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī or a *mawlā* of the latter's family, had received from Makḥūl a notebook with legal *ḥadīths*.⁵⁹ Jāḥiẓ maintained in his *K. al-Amṣār* that as a Ghaylānite he fought on the side of Yazīd,⁶⁰ in the Mu'tazilite sources – but only there – this earned him the reputation of being a Qadarite.⁶¹ He was killed in the year 132/750 in Damascus during the invasion of the Abbasids.⁶² – The same fate may have befallen

(Abū'l-Wazīr) al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir al-Dimashqī,

a descendant of the Ghassānids who lived in Dārayyā. But the sources only indicate that he died in the year 132 without leaving any offspring.⁶³ Among other things, he took over from Makḥūl dates relating to the Prophet's life.⁶⁴ One of the *ḥadīths* he disseminated emphasized that a single military campaign that one joins – as a volunteer of course – is more pleasing to God than 40 pilgrimages;⁶⁵ he may therefore have belonged to the *ghāzīs* whom Makḥūl accompanied. Could it be that he left behind no offspring because, like the latter, he remained unmarried?⁶⁶

57 See below p. 117 f. – Nothing in Bukhārī I₂, 161, no. 2056; IAH I₁, 449, no. 1806; TT II, 4, no. 3.

58 On the date see below p. 118.

59 *fihī ḥalāl wa-ḥarām* (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *Kifāya* 319, last l. f.). On Dhū'l-Kalā' see below p. 128.

60 Ka'bī 106, last l. ff. > Faḍl 343, l. 4 from bot. (corrupt). One can perhaps conclude from this that he was a genuine South-Arab, i.e. actually a descendant of Dhū'l-Kalā' and not simply a *mawlā*.

61 Ka'bī 103, ll. 5 f. (following Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi'ī) > Faḍl 339, ll. 3 f. from bot. > IM 136, ll. 10 f. Nothing in Bukhārī III₁, 402, no. 1299; IAH II₂, 326, no. 1544; *Mizān* no. 10728; TT VII, 35, no. 65.

62 AZ 698, no. 2167 f.

63 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 803, no. 2988; *Ta'riḫ Dārayyā* 91, l. 3 from bot.

64 Fasawī III, 261, ll. 2 ff. from bot; 264, ll. 8 ff.; 265, ll. 14 ff.; Ṭabarī I, 1765, ll. 1 ff.

65 *Ta'riḫ Dārayyā* 90, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

66 But he always bore a *kunya*. According to Ibn 'Asākir (in Ibn Manẓūr XXIX, 215, ll. 7 f.) it was even the *kunya* of his son. Basically, Ibn Muḥannā only says that later none of his

That he was a Qadarite goes back to the Damascene Abū Mushir (d. 218/833) and Duḥaym (d. 245/859),⁶⁷ as well as to Abū Dāwūd;⁶⁸ the last-named even spoke of a book in which al-Nu‘mān presented propaganda for Qadarite ideas.⁶⁹ Along with Makḥūl, another of his teachers, al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥārith, was also a Qadarite, as were also two of his disciples, Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza and Haytham b. Ḥumayd.⁷⁰ Perhaps his commitment betrays itself in the narration of a dream that he put into the Prophet’s mouth; according to the dream “the poor among the Muhājirūn” are meant to be the first to enter Paradise, whereas the rich of the community will only do so at the end.⁷¹ Indeed, the Umayyads had become rich, while the descendants of those who had dissociated themselves from them, later on were frequently unable to share power and possessions with them. But this may be no more than a recommendation to be content with a simple life. – One of the closest disciples of Makḥūl was

Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir al-Azdī,

who died in Medina in 133/751 or 134/752 before reaching the age of sixty.⁷² He came from Baṣra⁷³ but resided in Damascus and took over Makḥūl’s study circle after the latter’s death. But then the disciples abandoned him and went over to Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Ashdaq.⁷⁴ This happened allegedly because of his taciturn character; but this is difficult to believe when we hear that around 115/733 under the caliphate of Hishām one proposed him for the post of *qāḍī* as a successor of Numayr b. Aws. However, he did not take up the position because

descendants any longer lived in Dārayyā. The *kunya* Abū’l-Wazīr is only attributed to him by Dhahabī (*Mizān* op. cit.). The unmarried state of Makḥūl is likewise problematic (see above fn. 53).

67 = ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrāhīm (Fasawī II, 396, l. 2 from bot.).

68 *Mizān* no. 9097. Abū Dāwūd knew Duḥaym well (TB X, 266, last l. f.).

69 Dhahabī, *Mizān*, op. cit, and *Ta’riḫ* VI, 142, l. 4 from bot.; on the Qadarite attitude also *ibid.* V, 308, ll. 7 ff. from bot., and TT X, 457, no. 828. Nothing in IS VII₂, 167, ll. 1 ff.; Bukhārī IV₂, 80, no. 2249; IAH IV₁, 447, no. 2055.

70 On them see below pp. 138 f. and 116.

71 *Ta’riḫ Dārayyā* 91, ll. 7 ff.

72 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 808, no. 3017. For 133 cf. also *ibid.* 800 f., no. 2969; AZ 254, no. 329, and 698, no. 2171. For 134 cf. IS VII₂, 170, l. 5; Khalifa, *Ta’riḫ* 627, l. 14; *Ta’riḫ Dārayyā* 73, ll. 4 f. and 9 f. In the latter passage it says, following Wāqidī, that he was not yet 70; but this is quite unlikely given that his elder brother ‘Abd al-Raḥmān died twenty years after him.

73 Fasawī II, 453, ll. 10 f.

74 AZ 382, no. 846; Fasawī II, 393, ll. 7 ff. On Sulaymān b. Mūsā cf. *Mizān* no. 3518.

Hishām had already designated him as tutor of his son Mu‘āwiya.⁷⁵ A few years thereafter in 118/736 he accompanied another son of the caliph, Muḥammad b. Hishām, on the pilgrimage and gave a course of lectures on *Ḥadīth* in Mecca.⁷⁶ Perhaps it was actually this willingness to serve the ruling dynasty which damaged his reputation; even seemingly innocent details like his having attended upon a son of Walīd I when the latter visited Makh̄l, may here be narrated with malice.⁷⁷ When despite these circumstances, he actively took part in the murder of Walīd II, one must have had the impression that he was trimming his sails to the wind. Duḥaym comments with vitriolic that he received 100,000 dinars for this;⁷⁸ it comes as no surprise that he held Sulaymān b. Mūsā to be the better scholar.⁷⁹ Yazīd, just as Ya‘qūb b. ‘Umayr b. Hānī, belonged to the delegation that negotiated with “the royalists” in Ḥimṣ; there he even appears to be their spokesman.⁸⁰ When Duḥaym also goes on to say that Yazīd had then “risen in revolt” (*kharāja*) with Marwān II,⁸¹ this fits in with the image of a characterless fellow that he sketches of him. We do not actually hear of any prosecution – if we do not wish to take the fact that he died in Medina and not in Damascus as evidence of such.⁸² That his brother, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, inherited from him⁸³ indicates that he also died without offspring and without having been married.

75 AZ 203, no. 158; also Waki‘ III, 206, ll. 1 ff. and Fasawī II, 393, last l. ff. That Mu‘āwiya already died in the year 119/737 as Ibn Ḥazm reports (*Jamhara* 92, l. 6 from bot.) is probably an error; in Khalīfa for the year 122/740 he is recorded as the leader of a campaign against Byzantium (*Ta‘rīkh* 526, l. 13).

76 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 145/*Culture* 329, following Ibn ‘Asākir. On Muḥammad b. Hishām cf. *Jamhara* 92, l. 3 from bot.; he was a half-brother of Mu‘āwiya. On the date cf. Khalīfa, *Ta‘rīkh* 541, l. 5.

77 AZ 378, no. 826; on this see above p. 88 f.

78 Fasawī II, 396, ll. 9 ff. > Dhahabī, *Ta‘rīkh* v, 316, l. 3 from bot. and TT XI, 371. Madā‘inī reports that the members of the death squad were won over by the rewards (in Ṭabarī II, 1794, ll. 7 ff., and Balādhurī, ed. Derenk 55, ll. 1 ff.; also Azdī, *Ta‘rīkh al-Mawṣil* 54, 13). But the sums in question are much smaller. Only the person who brought Yazīd the head of Walīd is supposed to have received 100,000 dirhams (Ṭabarī II, 1806, last l. = Balādhurī, *ibid.* 51, l. 8). Duḥaym seems to be alluding to this.

79 AZ 394, ll. 2 f.

80 *Ta‘rīkh Dārayyā* 66, ll. 4 and 7 ff.

81 Thus only in the quotation in Fasawī; the detail is suppressed in Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar, probably because they did not know what to make of it either.

82 It could even be possible that Dāwūd b. ‘Alī had him murdered there as a follower of Marwān; he might have recognized him on the basis of his sojourn in Damascus.

83 *Ta‘rīkh Dārayyā* 73, ll. 9 ff.

It seems all the more reasonable when we hear in another place that he took part in a campaign against Byzantium in a group of volunteer fighters which was apparently led by the Koran commentator ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī,⁸⁴ accompanied moreover by another “Ghaylānite”, Hishām b. al-Ghāz.⁸⁵ Otherwise, one attributed ascetic tendencies to him as well; he was “a weeper”.⁸⁶ ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī may have introduced him to Koranic exegesis; he had great respect for Mujāhid who was a generation older than him.⁸⁷ Only the Mu‘tazilites have made a Qadarite out of him;⁸⁸ the early sources remain silent.⁸⁹ Presumably, the Mu‘tazilites are right; but he was actually too versatile. Shīrāzī records him as a *faqīh*.⁹⁰ He collected *Ḥadīth*; however, as one stated, he had no “book”, i.e. no written notes.⁹¹

Likewise, in the case of his elder brother Abū ‘Utba ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir, who outlived him by 20 years⁹² and was therefore much more important for the science of *Ḥadīth*, we only have Mu‘tazilite sources.⁹³ He was certainly not a revolutionary; under Hishām he worked in the financial administration⁹⁴ and apparently later on as well continued to receive a salary.⁹⁵ He felt that civil war was dreadful;⁹⁶ he adhered to the neutralist attitude of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar.⁹⁷ Maṣṣūr one time invited him to Baghdād along with Hishām b. Ghāz.⁹⁸

84 The latter died around the same time as he did but was probably older (cf. GAS 1/33). Also on him see above p. 41, fn. 18.

85 Fasawī II, 376, last l. ff.; on Hishām b. al-Ghāz see below pp. 121 f.

86 Bukhārī IV₂, 369, no. 3359.

87 Fasawī I, 712, l. 10.

88 Ka‘bī 102, ll. 1 ff. (following Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi‘ī) > *Faḍl* 339, l. 16 > IM 136, l. 7.

89 IS VII₂, 170, ll. 3 ff.; Bukhārī, op. cit.; IAH IV₂, 296, no. 1262. Nor is anything found in *Mizān* no. 9667. Ibn Ḥajar calls him “a Ghaylānite” (TT XI, 371, ll. 2 f.).

90 *Ṭabaqāt* 76, last l.; cf. also 75, l. 14.

91 AZ 464, ll. 2 f. On Yazīd’s historical traditions cf. U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 166.

92 He died between 153/770 and 156/773 (*Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 73, ll. 5 f. and 76, ll. 8 ff.; on this also TB X, 213, ll. 5 ff.).

93 Ka‘bī 102, ll. 1 ff.; > *Faḍl* 339, l. 17 > IM 136, ll. 6 f. Nothing in IS VII₂, 169, ll. 19 ff.; Bukhārī III₁, 365, no. 1155; IAH II₂, 299 f., no. 1421; *Mizān* no. 5007; TT VI, 297. He was one of the informants of Abū Miḥnaf (cf. U. Sezgin 196 and Index s. n.).

94 *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 76, ll. 1 f.; TB X, 211, l. 20.

95 *Ibid.* 75, ll. 3 f. from bot.

96 *Ibid.* 77, ll. 4 ff., in a prayer which is traced back to Bilāl.

97 *Ibid.* 78, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

98 TB X, 211, ll. 14 ff.

Abū'l-‘Alā’ Burd b. Sinān

was a *mawlā* of the Quraysh who resided in Damascus. Duḥaym held him to be one of Makḥūl’s most important disciples,⁹⁹ this despite his having been involved in the murder of Walīd. People had seen how together with his fellow student, Zayd b. Wāqid, he had carried around the head of the caliph on a shield.¹⁰⁰ He did not like the idea that Yazīd had designated his brother Ibrāhīm as heir to the throne; he recounted that the ruler in the hour of his death had rather thought of ‘Abdallāh, the son of Umar II, and was only persuaded by his brother’s lobby to put his signature to the certificate of appointment previously drawn up on his behalf.¹⁰¹ When the situation no longer looked good for “the Ghaylānites”, he fled to Baṣra; he died there in the year 135/752–3.¹⁰² Later Ibn Ma‘īn emphasized his Qadarite tendencies; Ka‘bī took this over from him and so did the Mu‘tazilite literature.¹⁰³ Abū Ḥātim,¹⁰⁴ Dhahabī,¹⁰⁵ and Ibn Ḥajar¹⁰⁶ also take note of the fact. Yet Ibn Ḥanbal, as well as Duḥaym evidently, considered him to be trustworthy.¹⁰⁷ – One is surprised when one hears that Ibn Ma‘īn acquitted

Abū ‘Amr Zayd b. Wāqid al-Qurashī,

99 Fasawī II, 395, ll. 1 f.

100 Ibid. II, 397, ll. 10 ff. We learn from Madā’inī that Walīd’s head was sent to Damascus and there was evidently carried about by several people (Ṭabarī II, 1807, ll. 8 ff. = Balādhurī, ed. Derenk 61, ll. 19 ff.).

101 The detailed description in Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā’* 69, ll. 11 ff., is probably from an individual report of Burd b. Sinān, as it is still to be found for example in Khalīfa, *Ta’rikh* 558, ll. 3 ff., in the version of his son al-‘Alā’ b. Burd. But the latter version is shortened and deviates in some details; ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz does not appear in it. It was taken over in Azdī (*Ta’rikh al-Mawṣil* 59, ll. 4 ff. from bot.) and in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (*Iqd* IV, 465, ll. 4 ff.). But there the name of the transmitter al-‘Alā’ b. Burd b. Sinān has been variously corrupted; in the story the father himself is addressed by his *kunya* Abū'l-‘Alā’.

102 Khalīfa, *Ṭab.*, 807, no. 3010.

103 101, 15 ff. > *Faḍl* 339, l. 16 > IM 136, l. 6.

104 Taken up by his son (IAH I, 422, no. 1675).

105 *Mizān* no. 1145; following Abū Dāwūd.

106 TT I, 428, no. 790.

107 *‘Ilal* 137, l. 2. On this also Bukhārī I₂, 134, no. 1951. Strangely he has not received a biography in the *Ta’rikh Dimashq*. – On his son al-‘Alā’ b. Burd who evidently lived on in Damascus, cf. *Mizān* no. 5717.

of the suspicion of being a Qadarite, given that he had celebrated Walīd's death along with Burd b. Sinān.¹⁰⁸ In so doing, he opposed a statement of 'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf al-Kalā'ī al-Dimashqī (d. 218/833). The discrepancy between these two is responsible for the undecidedness of the later sources.¹⁰⁹ Zayd otherwise seems to belong closely together with Burd; like him he was probably simply a client of the Quraysh, and like him he was accorded a special place among Makḥūl's disciples by Duḥaym.¹¹⁰ He died shortly after Makḥūl in the year 138/756. Whether this was likewise in Baṣra we do not know; he did transmit from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī but that lay far in the past.

Concerning his convictions we are not any better informed than the medieval experts. There are, however, some clues that he did not shut his eyes to the dissatisfaction that was becoming widespread. We find him mentioned in the *isnād* of a *ḥadīth* according to which the reservoir (*ḥawḍ*), where Muḥammad will meet his followers at the Last Judgement, is above all reserved for those who have not done well for themselves: "those who wear tattered clothes and have not married wives accustomed to luxury (*mutana'imāt*)".¹¹¹ For this reason he claimed to have heard Makḥūl pray to God not to give victory to Hishām,¹¹² and like other Qadarites he transmitted the well-known saying of the Prophet that the faith will be there in Syria where civil war breaks out.¹¹³ He had a low opinion of the Abbasids.¹¹⁴ Otherwise, perhaps he was quite orthodox in theological matters; after all, the above-mentioned *ḥadīth* shows of course that he took "the reservoir" to be real. An Iraqi like Ibn Ma'īn may have been used to something rather different from his Qadarites.

Abū Wahb al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Wārith al-Dhimārī al-Ḥaḍramī,

who died 136/753 at the age of around seventy,¹¹⁵ was a Yemenite who had studied with Makḥūl and took over as leader of the school after the death of Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Ashdaq.¹¹⁶ During this period it seems he also held a

108 In Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* xv, no. 56; taken over also in Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v, 254, l. 15.

109 TTD VI, 36, l. 7 from bot.; thus also TT III, 426, no. 780. Nothing in *Mizān* no. 3030 or Bukhārī II, 407, no. 1353 and IAH I, 2, 574, no. 2601; no entry in the Mu'tazilite sources.

110 See above fn. 99.

111 TTD VI 36, ll. 11 ff. On the *ḥadīth* cf. now the parallels in Gramlich, *Schlaglichter über das Sufitum* 166.

112 TD I, 276, ll. 12 f.

113 Fasawī II, 290, l. 2 ff.; other *isnāds* ibid. 523, ll. 7 ff. and especially TD I, 91 ff.

114 This is apparent from the *ḥadīth* in Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I, 436, ll. 4 ff.

115 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 801, no. 2973 and *Ta'rikh* 635, last l.; IS VII, 167, ll. 20 ff., etc.

116 See above p. 111.

public office; because after his death the Abbasid governor sought a successor to him as *faqīh al-jund*. He was therefore the authoritative legal adviser in the military district of Damascus; but for the time being we are unable to describe this function in more concrete terms.¹¹⁷ In fact, ‘Alā’ owed his prestige chiefly to his experience in legal matters;¹¹⁸ just like his teacher Makḥūl, he issued many *fatwās* but only gave few lectures on *Ḥadīth*.¹¹⁹ From the latter he preserved “the book” concerning the rules about the *hajj*.¹²⁰ That he was a Qadarite one could read in Ibn Ma‘īn; Ka‘bī¹²¹ took this over from the latter as did the later Sunnī sources.¹²²

Al-Haytham b. Ḥumayd al-Ghassānī,

who was a *mawlā* of the Ghassānids and died around the middle of the 2nd century, had collected more *ḥadīths* from Makḥūl than anyone else of his generation but presumably by this time could not have attended his lectures.¹²³ He was a disciple of the previously described figure but had also studied with other Qadarites: with Nu‘mān b. Mundhir al-Ghassānī, with Ḥafṣ b. Ghaylān and Thawr b. Yazīd.¹²⁴ That he espoused the same views is maintained both by Abū Mushir al-Dimashqī (d. 218/833) who was likewise also attached to the clan of the Banū Ghassān,¹²⁵ and following him, Abū Dāwūd.¹²⁶

117 Fasawī II, 393, ll. 7 ff.; also AZ 383, no. 848. The army had its own *qāḍī*; there were already instructions issued for him in the epistle of Marwān II to his successor to the throne composed by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (ed. ‘Abbās, *‘Abd al-Ḥamīd* 245, ll. 9 ff. = Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ* x, 217, ll. 7 ff. from bot.). Early Islamic society to a large extent consisted of the army; there it was most likely for new institutions to be formed. But the *qāḍī al-jaysh* is not necessarily identical with the *faqīh al-jund* mentioned here; *jund* signifies an administrative district (cf. the usage in Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr* 341, ll. 13 f.; in general EI² II, 601 f. s. v.).

118 AZ 393 f., no. 892–3.

119 Abyaḍ, *ibid.*, following Ibn ‘Asākir; also IS VII₂, 167, ll. 21 f.

120 AZ 395, ll. 1 f.; GAS 1/404; also Azmi, *Studies* 87. On this above p. 89.

121 102, ll. 10 ff. > *Faḍl* 339, l. 4 from bot. > IM 136, ll. 9 f., where an old error of Ka‘bī’s (*Ḥurayth* instead of *Ḥārith*) is uncritically retained.

122 *Mizān* no. 5721; TT VIII, 177, no. 318; *Tadrib* I, 329, l. 4. Nothing in Bukhārī III₂, 513 f., no. 3161, and IAH III₁, 353, no. 1953.

123 Fasawī II, 395, ll. 3 f.; also AZ 396, no. 901.

124 That in Kūfa he attended lectures of the Shī‘ite Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fi (on him see below pp. 341 ff.) is probably simply an erroneous interpretation of Fasawī III, 13, ll. 10 ff., on the part of the editor.

125 GAS 1/100 f.

126 *Mizān* no. 9298; TT XI, 92, no. 154; *Faḍl* 343, l. 11 (where *Jamīl* is incorrect for *Ḥumayd*) > IM 139, l. 3. Nothing in Bukhārī IV₂, 215, no. 2765, and IAH IV₂, 82, no. 334.

Abū ‘Abdallāh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Thābit b. Thawbān al-‘Ansī,

who died 165/782, allegedly at the age of ninety,¹²⁷ was a son of Thābit b. Thawbān described above.¹²⁸ He was evidently gripped by the revolutionary fever with special intensity. One recalled having seen him carrying a child on his shoulder and at the same time bearing a sword that he had attached to himself in a rather primitive manner by a cord made of plaited palm leaves (*sharīt*).¹²⁹ This was during the civil war; here the narrator contrasts Ibn Thawbān’s martial activism with the behaviour of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir who was loyal to the government. Ibn Thawbān, it is added ironically, “ran in front of the beast and waved his tail at it”, in other words: he kicked back against the authorities. At the time he belonged to the circle of Awzā‘ī, and we can follow how he there rubbed people the wrong way. Once when they went out into the desert at night “in the year when there were so many shooting stars”, he drew his sword and shouted: “God is serious. You be serious as well!” Those accompanying Awzā‘ī were shocked; Awzā‘ī himself simply declared that Ibn Thawbān was crazy.¹³⁰ Pseudo-Dionysius of Tellmaḥrē reports about the shooting stars; it was the year in which Walīd II took over the government.¹³¹

Of chiefly documentary value is a letter that Awzā‘ī addressed to him and which Fasawī has preserved.¹³² Awzā‘ī reminds him of the example of his father who had evidently died not all that long before. As long as the latter exercised influence on him, he kept himself in check, although by that time for three years “mosques and houses burned, blood was shed and possessions had been plundered”. But then in an irresponsible manner he broke off his ties with the community; he abandoned the contingent of the guard troops (*ḥaras*)¹³³ among whom until then he had served “on the path of God”, and he

127 Thus according to *Mizān* no. 4828. Since he occupied a government post under Maḥdī (158–169), one should perhaps read *sab’in* instead of *tis’in*. Likewise, his revolutionary activities would better suit a man in his early thirties than someone in his fifties.

128 See below p. 109.

129 *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 75, ll. 10 ff. Perhaps the detail has a symbolic value: we know that the Zaydī Imams who presented themselves as the leader of a revolt fastened a sword belt around their neck (Ibn ‘Inaba, *Umda* 86, ll. 13 ff.; at the same time they wore a *jubba* of white wool and hung a Koran around their neck).

130 Fasawī II, 392, ll. 6 ff. from bot > *Mizān*, op. cit.; also SI 31/1970/274.

131 *Chronik* 51, ll. 17 ff./transl. Chabot 46.

132 Fasawī II, 391, ll. 2 ff.

133 Or should one read *ḥars*? Then no official activity in the army would be meant but instead private participation in *jihād*. However, then one would rather expect a word like *ghazw* or *jihād*.

kept himself aloof from the communal prayers, especially from Friday worship. Previously, he considered visiting the mosques (*‘imārat al-masājid*)¹³⁴ to be an honour; by contrast, he now insists on the *ḥadīth* according to which in times of discord one should “sit at home”. His behaviour had made an impression; because many “fools” let themselves “be led into temptation” by him and based themselves on his example. The letter is probably written towards the end of the Umayyad period; three years of civil war (from 126 or 127) had made Ibn Thawbān into the head of a count-me-out movement. In the process he had apparently not only lost his enthusiasm for the revolution but for “Holy War” against the infidels as well. In any case, at the time operations against the Byzantines came to a standstill.

Awzā‘ī, for the sake of his friendship with the father, attempted to persuade the son to abandon this course; but he did not succeed. The letter that has come down to us was the second attempt; Ibn Thawbān had responded to the first exhortation in a manner that did not satisfy Awzā‘ī. The latter above all cited *ḥadīths*; but the opposing side also had *ḥadīths* at their disposal. For Ibn Thawbān the Prophet was a crown witness for the corruption of “the world”: “The world is cursed along with (everything) it contains, except for the recollection of God and what accords with that such as (the individual relationship between) teacher and disciple”,¹³⁵ or “At the Last Judgement the world will be called upon to separate out from itself what was there for God, and everything left over will be cast into (infernal) fire”.¹³⁶

However, this phase of renunciation of the world also did not last. Ibn Thawbān was among those Syrian scholars who during the time of Manṣūr “were either brought to Baghdād or (voluntarily) came there”.¹³⁷ Manṣūr made him director of the financial administration;¹³⁸ under Mahdī, that is during

134 The form of expression recalls surah 9/17–19. There it had always been disputed whether the intended meaning was “to visit” or “to look after” and “repair” (Paret, *Kommentar* 197, and Lane, *Lexicon* 2154). Here through the contrast with *hājir*^{an} in 391, ll. 3 f. from bot., the meaning seems assured.

135 ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* II, 326, ll. 5 f. from bot. > *Mizān* II, 552, l. 2. The version given by ‘Uqaylī is also attested elsewhere (for instance in Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, *Zuhd* 57, ll. 5 ff. or in Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā’* I, 10, l. 10), but it seems somewhat unorganic. In its second half two variants are probably joined together (cf. Abū’l-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-kalām* 57, ll. 11 f.; in general *Conc.* VI, 126 b). But the combination of the two is also further developed (see below p. 133). A completely different ending than in the version in Makhūl al-Nasafī, *al-Radd ‘alā’l-bida’* 94, ll. 13 f.

136 ‘Uqaylī II, 326, ll. 3 f. from bot.; *Mizān* II, 552, l. 3.

137 Fasawī II, 458, 3 ff.; taken over in TB V, 388, ll. 6 f. and X, 16, ll. 19 ff.

138 TB X, 224, ll. 14 f.

the last years of his life, he was appointed over the Court of Appeals.¹³⁹ This means that just as other of his like-minded Qadarite colleagues he must have fled Syria under Marwān.¹⁴⁰

To what extent he was a Qadarite beyond his political commitment is difficult to say. Kaʿbī, following Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfiʿī, certainly sees in him the best expert on Ghaylān’s doctrine,¹⁴¹ and not only the Muʿtazilites but later orthodox authors as well subscribed to this judgement;¹⁴² but the *Taʾriḫ Baghdād* contains nothing of the sort whatsoever. His reputation as a *muḥaddith* was contested;¹⁴³ yet one stressed that Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tanūkhī, the strict and orthodox Damascene, was deeply moved when he died.¹⁴⁴ It appears that he emphasized less the responsibility of man and more the omnipotence and forgiving goodness of God. He transmitted as a saying of the Prophet that God can forgive everything as long as “the separating curtain has not fallen”, i.e. as long as one does not give oneself over to the deadly sin of *shirk*.¹⁴⁵ At any moment God will accept repentance – though not any longer during one’s death throes.¹⁴⁶ If one plays with the idea of doing something (*hama*), this will only be counted if it concerns good works, not on the other hand bad ones.¹⁴⁷ In this regard, it is no coincidence that Ibn Thawbān argues so extensively on the basis of *ḥadīths*. He was very committed to this medium. We find him, like Ḥassān b. ʿAṭīyya al-Muḥāribī, in the *isnād* of the saying in which the Prophet recommends transmitting his own words along with tradition from the Jews,¹⁴⁸ and from him one could hear that Muḥammad had had no objections to recording his words in writing.¹⁴⁹ – Somewhat outside the usual mould is

Asbāt b. Wāṣil al-Shaybānī.

139 Ibid. 223, ll. 13 f.

140 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 355, following Ibn ʿAsākir.

141 *Maq.* 103, l. 4. In *Anfänge* 245 I mistakenly took this remark to be about the father.

142 *Faḍl* 339, l. 3 from bot. > IM 136, l. 10. On this *Mizān*, op. cit., and TT VI, 150, no. 304.

143 TB X, 224, ll. 12 ff.

144 AZ 273, no. 394 (= 703, no. 2203); Fasawī I, 153, ll. 11 ff. The problem with this story is that Saʿīd may well have died before Thawbān (162 or 163; cf. TH 222, ll. 3 f.). For this reason one had the Syrian Abū Mushir testify that in reality he departed this world in the year 167 (TB X, 225, ll. 6 ff.).

145 Fasawī II, 358, ll. 1 ff.; TTD III, 364, l. 17.

146 *Mizān* II, 552, l. 6.

147 AZ 314 f., no. 587. Here he was probably thinking of surah 12/24.

148 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Sharaf* 14, ll. 16 ff.; on this above p. 104 f.

149 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taqyid al-ilm* 72, ll. 13 ff.

He was neither a *muḥaddith* nor a jurist; for this reason he is only documented in greater detail in the *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*.¹⁵⁰ That he was a Qadarite one knew from a remark by his son, the ascetic Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ (d. 196/811–12 or 199/814–15).¹⁵¹ He had actively supported the revolution of Yazīd III and composed a *qaṣīda* of congratulations on behalf of the caliph but afterwards stressed that he had not participated in the murder of Walīd II. He used the *qaṣīda* again on the occasion of Maṅṣūr's accession to power but here experienced the latter's well-known thrift. Shortly thereafter, around 138/755, he is meant to have died, presumably at a not very advanced age; his son in fact survived him for around sixty years. Like his son, he was an ascetic; nonetheless, according to Yūsuf, he left behind a large fortune which his son would not touch out of scrupulosity, in particular because of his father's "heretical" tendencies.¹⁵² As the *qaṣīda* on behalf of Maṅṣūr allows us to assume, he also came to Iraq; probably like other "Ghaylānites" he fled due to Marwān. This explains why we possess a verse from a eulogy by him on behalf of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā'.¹⁵³ To all appearances he also composed a *marthiya* for the latter; in any case Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī ascribes to him the single verse that we have from it.¹⁵⁴

But there are certain problems associated with this quotation. The same verse also occurs in Jāḥiẓ (*Bayān* 1, 27, l. 2) and, slightly altered, in Ibn al-Murtaḍā (29, l. 8). Jāḥiẓ, however, names the Iraqī Muʿtazilite Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī as the author; immediately afterwards he cites the above-mentioned panegyric verse on behalf of Wāṣil which in this case he attributes to Asbāṭ. In Ibn al-Murtaḍā the verse remains anonymous (*qāla baʿduhum*); but it evidently forms a unit with the preceding sentence which for its part is taken from Jāḥiẓ (29, ll. 5 ff.). This Jāḥiẓ passage, to all appearances, forms the basis for the statements in ʿAskarī (cf. there II, 131, ll. 1 f., with Ibn Murtaḍā 29, l. 6). One cannot avoid the suspicion that Abū Hilāl has hastily cited the words of Jāḥiẓ and simply confused Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī with Asbāṭ b. Wāṣil since they both follow directly upon one another in the *Bayān*.

If we nonetheless wish to retain the attribution to Asbāṭ b. Wāṣil, that is 1) because the *Bayān* passage is not the basis for the quotation in Abū

150 TTD II, 404 f.

151 Ibid. 404, ll. 10 and 19. On Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ cf. Reinert, *Tawakkul* 326 and the sources given there.

152 On this cf. also R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuschairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfītums* 41.

153 Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* 1, 27, l. 4; see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.1.

154 *Awāʾil* II, 138, ll. 2 ff.

Hilāl but rather some other passage in Jāhīz which can no longer be verified, and 2) because according to him the verse comes from a *marthiyā*, i.e. it must have been composed around the year 131. But presumably Wāṣil did not live long enough to meet Ṣafwān (see below B 2.2.8.1). The mistake lies somewhere in the later transmission of Jāhīz's *Bayān*. The verse is translated below, Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.1.

1.2.5.2 Qadarites from Palestine

Abū'l-'Abbās Hishām b. al-Ghāz(i) b. Rabī'a b. 'Amr al-Jurashī

originated from Sidon.¹ He was a member of the Banū Jurash, a sub-tribe of the South-Arabian Hamdān,² and a grandson of a man of piety who fell at Marj Rāhiṭ in the year 64/684 and is for the most part reckoned among the Companions of the Prophet.³ He was a disciple of Makḥūl and, as Jāhīz stresses in his *K. al-Amṣār*, he supported Yazīd III, being himself an adherent of "the Ghaylāniyya".⁴ Indeed, a *ḥadīth* that he transmitted entirely suits the situation: "This matter will remain in balance and proceed in justice and fairness (*qisṭ*) until an Umayyad brings it into discredit".⁵ The saying has perhaps only been preserved because it was pleasing to the Abbasids. Maṣṣūr actually invited Hishām along with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir to Baghdād and made him director of finances.⁶ There he died in the year 156/773.⁷

1 TT XI, 56, l. 4.

2 Sam'ānī, *Anṣāb* III, 245 ff., especially 247, ll. 1 f. He has nothing to do with the place Jarash in Palestine as the editor of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Khalīfa seems to assume (cf. there 809, no. 3022, where in addition it is expressly noted that he was a native of Damascus). On the name see also IS VII₂, 171, ll. 11 f.

3 On Rabī'a b. 'Amr cf. for instance Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 787, no. 2890; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb* no. 763.

4 Quoted in Ka'bī 106, last l. ff. > *Faql* 339, l. 3 from bot.

5 Literally: "until a corner breaks forth" (*yathlim*), cf. Fasawī I, 294, ll. 2 ff. from bot. = III, 355, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* VI, 229, ll. 4 f.

6 Ayaḍ, *Tarbīya* 171, following Ibn 'Asākir; TB X 211, ll. 14 ff., and XIV, 43, l. 4; Fasawī II, 458, ll. 3 ff. On 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd see above p. 112. The invitation was in writing; we are consequently not obliged to assume it was only first expressed when Maṣṣūr visited Damascus in the year 153/770.

7 TB 44, ll. 10 ff. (among others, following the Damascene Abū Mushir). *Ta'rikh Dārayyā* 76, ll. 8 f., etc. When in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in one place (44, ll. 7 f.) the year 153 is given instead of 156, perhaps Hishām's departure from Damascus is there confused with his death. – Moreover, a brother of Hishām b. al-Ghāz disseminated in Syria the *ḥadīth* about the black banners (Madelung in: SI 63/1986/23, following Nu'aym b. Ḥammād). Thus perhaps for a long time already the family belonged to the Abbasid "fifth column".

That he was a Qadarite is nowhere stated except in Mu‘tazilite sources and even these may only have concluded this from his having belonged to the Ghaylāniyya. In Baghdād the Syrian Duḥaym thought highly of him, as did Ibn Ḥanbal;⁸ Wāqidi has taken over historical materials from him.⁹ Scarcely any criticism arises.¹⁰ He was also well known as a Koranic reciter; like all his colleagues he was trained by Yaḥyā al-Dhimārī (d. 145/762) in the method of recitation of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir (d. 118/736).¹¹ More than anything he is recognizable as a frontier fighter. One observes this already in his father’s name; the latter had perhaps spent his wealth or the income that he received as an Arab from the *Dīwān* for equipping military volunteers.¹² This would explain why we encounter not only his son but also one of his *mawālī* on *ghazw* – both moreover in the environment of Makḥūl.¹³ With the same goal Hishām later on joined a group of *ghāzīs* who were probably financed and led by ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd who had accompanied him to Baghdād also belonged to the group, as did the latter’s brother Yazīd b. Yazīd.¹⁴ While in Baghdād he had supported this kind of asceticism with a *ḥadīth*: spending one night on frontier duty (*ribāṭ*) is better than a month of (additional) fasting and nocturnal prayer; whoever dies as a *murābiṭ* has completed the punishment in the grave.¹⁵

Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Khuzā‘ī

was evidently a pure-blooded Arab; because in the year 126 he negotiated with the sons of Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ in Palestine and was able to win them over

8 Fasawī II, 394, ll. 5 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIṭal* 86, no. 500.

9 Ṭabarī I, 3087, l. 1. Concerning this area also Donner in: *Proceedings Bilād al-Shām* IV₂, vol. 1, 18 ff.

10 Cf. for example Bukhārī IV₂, 199, no. 2699; IAH IV₂, 67, no. 257; *Mizān* no. 9236; TT XI, 55 f., no. 92.

11 *Fihrist* 32, l. 6; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’* II, 356, no. 3788. On the Syrian tradition of Koranic recitation cf. Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 268 ff./*Culture* 220 ff. and Ḥusayn ‘Aṭwān, *al-Qirā’āt al-qur’āniyya fī bilād al-Shām* (Beirut 1402/1982); also below pp. 129 and 132.

12 Unfortunately, the biography of Ghāz b. Rabī‘a that Ibn ‘Asākir took over in the *Ta’rikh Dimashq* is not accessible to me. Ibn Manẓūr only has a few meager remarks in his *Mukhtaṣar* (XX, 198).

13 Only for this reason has the information been preserved (Qushayrī, *Ta’rikh Raqqa* 127, ll. 3 ff. and Fasawī I, 588, ll. 6 ff. from bot.).

14 Fasawī II, 376, last l. ff.; also *Hilya* v, 193, ll. 13 ff. On him see above p. 111.

15 TB XIV, 43, ll. 4 ff. On the translation of *ribāṭ* cf. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg* 66 ff.

for Yazīd III.¹⁶ We also meet him in the direct surroundings of the caliph.¹⁷ We hear that he visited the two sons of Walid in prison;¹⁸ as is known they were murdered when Marwān recognized their right to the caliphate, before the latter's entry into Damascus.¹⁹ At this time Muḥammad b. Rāshid must have still been quite young, given that he only died after 160/777 during the caliphate of Mahdī.²⁰ Evidently, he had greatly compromised himself; because Marwān pursued him, and he had to flee to Iraq. There he chose to settle in Baṣra; later he also came to Baghdād.²¹ When Ya'qūbī records him as still being a *faqīh* in the period of Hārūn, i.e. after 170/786,²² this reckoning is certainly too late or a mistaken identification.

At any rate, he was less a jurist than a *muḥaddith*. He attached importance still to transmitting from Makḥūl; for this reason in Iraq he also acquired the *nisba* al-Makḥūlī. In fact, we hear that he was with Makḥūl in Mecca.²³ At the same time, however, he also relied on written notes; he possessed "a book" of the master.²⁴ That it was allowed to write down *Ḥadīth*, he even sanctioned with a saying from the Prophet.²⁵ Everybody suspected that he had become a Qadarite; but generally speaking one was not entirely sure.²⁶ In any case, in Baghdād he evidently restrained himself from making theological remarks, and scarcely anyone found anything he could take over from him. Ultimately, Duḥaym is supposed to have judged him positively,²⁷ as did 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī (d. 198/814);²⁸ Ibn Ḥanbal emphasizes his scrupulosity in *Ḥadīth*.²⁹ Only the Syrian Abū Mushir and the Baṣran Shu'ba behaved disapprovingly; Abū Mushir (d. 218/819) referred to the fact that Muḥammad b. Rāshid considered it correct to launch a revolt against the ruler,³⁰ and Shu'ba found his Qadarite

16 Ṭabarī II, 1832, ll. 2 ff. On Rawḥ b. Zinbā' and his family cf. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* 99 ff.

17 Ibid. II, 1843, ll. 2 ff.

18 Thus Mad'īnī in Balādhurī (ed. Derenk, *Walid* 67, ll. 8 ff.) > *'Uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq* III, 146, ll. 11 ff. On this Crone, *Slaves* 160.

19 EI² III, 990 b s. n. *Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid*.

20 AZ 704, no. 2206 > TB V, 274, ll. 2 f.; also *ibid* 272, l. 15.

21 TB V, 271, ll. 14 f., and 272, ll. 14 f.; Fasawī II, 125, ll. 6 f.

22 Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* II, 524, l. 9.

23 TTD III, 383, ll. 12 f.

24 Azmi, *Studies* 155.

25 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taqyid* 75, ll. 3 ff.

26 Cf. for instance TB V, 272, ll. 2 ff.

27 Fasawī II, 395, last l. f.

28 HT 64; but he himself was close to the Qadariyya (see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.4).

29 *Ilal* 407, l. 3 from bot.

30 AZ 401, no. 920 > TB V, 274, ll. 1 f.

tendencies simply too wicked.³¹ As a Baṣran he will have known better than those in Baghdād that Muḥammad b. Rāshid associated with ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd. This as well is scarcely mentioned in the sources;³² even the Mu‘tazilites did not know it.³³ What impressed the people around him was apparently his ascetic lifestyle, the *waraʿ* that Ibn Ḥanbal referred to. The way Ibn Ḥibbān puts it is that Muḥammad b. Rāshid’s *Ḥadīth* does not conform to the norms; he was not a professional.³⁴

Ṭabarī lets a second negotiator of Yazīd have his say with a report of his own:

‘Uthmān b. Dāwūd al-Khawlānī,

the brother of the traditionist Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, who resided in Dārayyā and was consulted by a number of Qadarites.³⁵ When in Jordan and Palestine he sought to win over the *ashrāf* with substantial promises of collaboration, at the beginning of the negotiations he was cursed as “an abominable Qadarite”.³⁶ For that reason Dhahabī has put him in this category as well.³⁷ But in the given context this designation means no more than that he stood on the side of Yazīd. Consequently, Dhahabī’s judgement is not confirmed by any other source, not even a Mu‘tazilite one. He was older than Muḥammad b. Rāshid; because he had once belonged to the entourage of ‘Umar II. His brother had been a chamberlain there.³⁸ One wanted to know more from him about that period, and he reported apparently without a prejudiced opinion: that ‘Umar dressed in silk but also that he forbade the governor in Armenia to use shaving the hair of the head and beard as a punishment because the Prophet saw in this a sign of asceticism (*nusk*).³⁹ What he wished for from a *ḥadīth* – again referring to a

31 TB V, 271, ll. 19 ff. One of the informants later could no longer remember whether Shu‘ba had said “Qadarite” or “Shī‘ite”; in the version that Dhahabī presents in his *Mizān* (no. 7508; probably following ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* IV, 66, ll. 1 ff.), both designations stand next to one another (“Mu‘tazilī Khashabī Rāfiḍī!”).

32 Only in TT IX, 159, l. 3.

33 Cf. Ka‘bī 103, ll. 13 f. (following Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Shāfi‘ī); *Faḍl* 339, ll. 6 f. (following Abū Ḥātim) > IM 136, l. 2. Ka‘bī here gives him the *nisba* al-Sulamī and has probably mixed up two persons (Bukhārī I, 80 f., nos. 210 and 212; IAH III, 2, 252 f., no. 1384 f.).

34 *Majrūhūn* II, 253, ll. 1 ff. > TT IX, 159, l. 2 from bot.

35 *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 80 ff., there especially 81, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; *Mizān* no. 3448.

36 Ṭabarī II, 1832, l. 10, with the better reading in the edition of Abū’l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (VII, 267, l. 10); he also appears as mediator 1833, ll. 14 ff.

37 *Ta’rīkh* V, 275, last l. ff.

38 Cf. *Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 87, ll. 1 ff. with *Mizān* II, 201, l. 7 from bot.

39 *Ibid.* 85, l. 9 ff.

saying of the Prophet – was that it be understandable, since otherwise it confuses minds and becomes a temptation (*fitna*).⁴⁰ To judge by this, he would not have been suitable as an ideologue. He was acquainted with ‘Umayr b. Hānī’;⁴¹ they resided in the same locality. His descendants lived in the Syrian coastal area (*sāḥil*) up into the 4th century.⁴²

Yazīd’s revolt was too much of a Damascene affair for him to have had a power base of his own in Jordan. However, we are aware of some Qadarites whose home was located there. But generally we know very little about them.

Abū’l-‘Abbās ‘Utba b. Abī Ḥakīm al-Hamdānī al-Sha‘bānī al-Urdunnī

died 147/764 in Tyre and was a South-Arab who resided most of the time in Tiberias. He had studied with Makḥūl and was acquainted with Zuhri. Later on he was disputed as a traditionist.⁴³ Only the Mu‘tazilite sources describe him as a Qadarite; however, Ka‘bī at any rate goes back to Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi‘ī and to Jāḥiẓ.⁴⁴ – Also belonging to Palestine is

Abū Sinān ‘Īsā b. Sinān al-Qasmālī,

whose family may have originated in the Yamāma⁴⁵ and who allegedly still transmitted from Wahb b. Munabbih. Later he lived in Baṣra where he settled down in a clan of the Azd Shanū’a, the so-called Qasāmīl(a).⁴⁶ he could quite

40 Ibid. 86, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

41 Ibid. 84, last l. ff.

42 Ibid. 87, ll. 2 ff. ‘Uthmān b. Dāwūd was possibly secretary under Yazīd II (cf. Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, 488, l. 9, but where the name remains too vague). The biography in Ibn ‘Asākir is unfortunately not accessible to me; for the time being cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* XVI, 90.

43 *Mizān* no. 5469: TT VIII, 94 f. No assessment in Bukhārī III₂, 528, no. 3215 and IAH III₁, 370 f., no. 2044. On the acquaintance with Zuhri cf. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 131, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

44 *Maq.* 102, ll. 4 ff. from bot. > *Faḍl* 339, ll. 4 f. from bot. > IM 136, l. 10 (where ‘Ubayd instead of ‘Utba occurs everywhere).

45 According to Bukhārī III₂, 396 f., no. 2762 (> TT VIII, 211 f.) he is also supposed to have borne the *nisba* al-Ḥanafī. But the Banū Ḥanīfa were resident in the Yamāma.

46 Hence his *nisba*. On the Qasāmīl cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq* 500, ll. 13 f., and Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* s. n.; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu‘jam al-qabā’il* 953.

possibly have been among those who had to flee Syria after 127. But only Ka'bī describes him as a Qadarite.⁴⁷ He has remained relatively unknown.⁴⁸

Muḥammad b. Abī Sinān,

who was brought before Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār,⁴⁹ could have been 'Īsā b. Sinān's son. But otherwise we know nothing about him. – Also possibly Jordanians were⁵⁰

Abū 'Amr⁵¹ 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Tamīm al-Sulamī

and his brother Sulaymān. If the Mu'tazilite sources describe them both as Qadarites,⁵² this is confirmed in the case of the first since Ibn 'Asākir and, following him, Ibn Ḥajar report that, along with Burd b. Sinān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Thābit b. Thawbān, Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Thawr b. Yazīd from Emesa, he had to fear for his life and for this reason quit Syria.⁵³ He would have had good reason to do so if as is reported in the *K. al-Aghānī*, according to a report by Madā'inī, he was the first who had struck Walīd with his sword.⁵⁴ Ṭabarī, however, who otherwise is in quite close agreement, provides different names.⁵⁵ Moreover, sources continually confuse him with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir al-Azdī who enjoyed a better reputation for *Ḥadīth*.⁵⁶ Above all, in Kūfa

47 *Maq.* 101, ll. 9 f., following Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi'ī who could have been well informed about Palestine through his father.

48 Cf. as well IAH III, 277, no. 1537; *Mizān* no. 6568.

49 *Faḍl* 339, l. 23 > IM 136, l. 10.

50 According to a supposition of P. Crone, *Slaves* 154 and 236, fn. 341.

51 Thus Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhūn* II, 55, l. 10.

52 Ka'bī 103, ll. 11 f. (following Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi'ī) > *Faḍl* 339, l. 2 from bot. > IM 136, l. 11.

53 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 355, following Ibn 'Asākir; TT VI, 295, ll. 12 ff.

54 *Agh.* VII, 80, l. 14.

55 II, 1800, ll. 8 ff.; the same names in Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 549, ll. 12 ff. Cf. also the parallel report in Ṭabarī II, 1806, ll. 13 ff. and in Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ* VIII, 140, ll. 14 ff. – Among the conspirators, moreover, was a Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym al-Kalbī (cf. for instance Ṭabarī II, 1794, l. 14, and 1798, ll. 11 f.), who appears in Madā'inī/Abū'l-Faraj as Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (*Agh.* VII, 78, l. 7). However, he has nothing to do with our 'Abd al-Raḥmān (cf. Crone, *Slaves* 130 f.).

56 Cf. for instance TD I, 55, ll. 5 ff.; on al-Azdī see above p. 111.

one had lost track of things.⁵⁷ Both men had put in an appearance there, but al-Azdī only much later than our ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī. The latter, around the same time as the brother of the first, Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir,⁵⁸ and presumably for the same reason, took flight from Marwān; in Kūfa parts of the Banū Sulaym had settled in and become locals.⁵⁹ Duḥaym did not much like him; he criticized him on the grounds that his *isnāds* were full of gaps.⁶⁰ Above all, what ‘Abd al-Raḥmān transmitted from Zuhri did not meet with Duḥaym’s approval. He possessed notes written in Zuhri’s own handwriting which then passed into the possession of his son; but Duḥaym had never had access to them.⁶¹ – By contrast, the brother

‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Tamīm al-Sulamī

was regarded as trustworthy.⁶² He evidently played no role in the environment of Yazīd III. But it was conjectured that he too was a Qadarite.⁶³ In fact, he did support Makḥūl in the view that unjustly acquired wealth could not be considered as a gift from God.⁶⁴

1.2.5.3 Qadarites from Ḥimṣ

Another arena of Qadarite activity was Ḥimṣ. The South-Arabian tribes had put down roots there as well;¹ most of the city was inhabited by them.² According to the testimony of Ibn Qutayba,³

57 Bukhārī III, 365, no. 1156; TB X, 212, ll. 10 ff.

58 IAH II, 300, ll. 13 ff.

59 HT 43 f.

60 AZ 395, ll. 9 f.

61 Fasawī II, 395, ll. 10 f. and Azmi, *Studies* 89; according to the latter, Fasawī III, 53, ll. 8 f., should be corrected (*‘inda’bnihi* instead of *‘inda abihī*; probably *nanzur* instead of *yanzur*). Moreover, Bukhārī maintained the same about the Azdite (*Ta’rikh* III, 365, ll. 6 f. > *Mizān* II, 599, l.2). Is this also a case of mistaken identity?

62 AZ 395, ll. 10 f.; *Mizān* no. 4692; probably also IAH II, 200, no. 932.

63 Fasawī II, 395, l. 10.

64 See above p. 86.

1 Ṣāliḥ al-‘Alī in: MM’I’I 32/1981, nos. 3–4/30 ff.; Haase, *Landschaftsgeschichte* *20 ff.; M. B. Piotrovskij, “Yemenity i Yementsy v Omeiyadskom Siri” in: *Patman-banasirakan handes = Akad. Arm. SSR, Istoriko-filologičeskij Žurnal* 1970, pp. 252 ff.

2 Ya’qūbī, *Buldān* 324, l. 3.

3 *Ma’arif* 625, l. 14.

Abū ‘Abdallāh Khālīd b. Ma’dān b. Abī Karīb/Kurayb al-Kalā‘ī

was already a Qadarite there; since the time of Walīd I he was the starting point of all religious learning in the city. The date of his death is disputed. But the year 104 seems in all probability to be most likely; among others, his brother ‘Ufayr was firmly committed to it.⁴ Later datings obviously only reflect the wish to create direct contact with him; at the time one had already unmasked such attempts.⁵ He was highly respected indeed and as a bearer of traditions concerning certain areas he was virtually irreplaceable. He was the source for much of what one knew about the Islamic conquest of Syria.⁶ This is not surprising; he belonged to the family of Dhū’l-Kalā‘ al-Ḥimyarī who had taken part in the campaign in Syria as one of the most prominent army commanders and had fallen at Şiffin on Mu‘āwīya’s side.⁷ Under Yazīd I he had commanded the *shurṭa*;⁸ presumably he is identical with the Khālīd al-Kalā‘ī who at the time, during the clashes between Sufyānids and Marwānids, killed the governor of Ḥims, Nu‘mān b. Bashīr, and sent his head to Marwān.⁹ In the year 98, along with other high-ranking Syrian personalities (*wujūh*), he accompanied Maslama on an expedition against Constantinople.¹⁰ He was a *ghāzī* like Makhūl but with far greater social prestige.¹¹ Nor had he any need to struggle to maintain his reputation for learning. Already Walīd I asked him for an expert

4 Fasawī I, 152, ll. 8 ff. = 700, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; also AZ 243, ll. 4 and 7: following other informants, IS VII₂, 162, l. 13, has 103.

5 Thus his brother in the previously cited passage; hence, the date 108 which Khalifa provides (*Ta’rīkh* 495, l. 10) proves to be incorrect. Similarly, the anecdote in Sakhāwī, *I’lān* (in Rosenthal, *Historiography* 277); according to the latter, he died in the year 108. The date 118 in Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 794, no. 2928, is certainly a mistake for 108 (as in *Ta’rīkh*).

6 Ṭabarī, Index s. n., and Donner, *Conquests*, Index of Traditionists s. n. There he often stands alongside ‘Ubāda b. Nusayy al-Kindī, the *qādī* of Tiberias who died in the year 118/736 (TTD VII, 214, and Ziriklī, *A’lām* IV, 31). How one should conceive of this shared tradition is not clear. On this cf. also Donner in: *Proceedings Bilād al-Shām* IV₂, vol. 1, 7 ff.

7 Crone, *Slaves* 95 with further details; on Dhū’l-Kalā‘ cf. also Donner, *Conquests* 136, 138 and 367, and Madelung in: JSS 31/1986/141 f., as well as 183 f. The exact family connection is not clear; the clan was evidently very large (cf. also Şāliḥ al-‘Alī in: MM’I’I 32/1981, nos. 3–4/34 f.; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg* 131). In Azdī, *Ta’rīkh al-Mawṣil* 28, ll. 2 f., instead of *al-Kalā‘ī* one finds the *nisba* al-Sulamī; but neither does this help any further.

8 TTD V, 86, ll. 16 f.

9 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq* 3, ll. 13 ff.

10 Ṭabarī II, 1315, ll. 8 f.

11 Fasawī I, 152, l. 4 from bot.; also II, 399, ll. 2 f. from bot.: Makhūl felt insecure in his presence.

legal opinion and made this binding on the judges in Syria;¹² perhaps he had asked him to provide a historical precedent. He advocated a special variant of Koranic recitation which was later forgotten.¹³ A tract by him regarding how to number the verses of the Koran remained better known and became accepted in Ḥimṣ.¹⁴ He likewise preserved his *Ḥadīth* in written form; “bound” between two wooden covers held together by clamps, “the book” came into the possession of Baqiyya b. al-Walīd (d. 197/812) through an intermediary.¹⁵ Much from it was registered in Abū Nu‘aym; for later experts it was often considered not rational enough.¹⁶ Khālīd did not shrink from relating a *ḥadīth qudsī* without reference to the Prophet.¹⁷ In the *Sīra*, among other things, the legend of Muḥammad’s breast being opened goes back to him.¹⁸

The material reveals the interest that he and his environment had in frontier warfare. He knew of nothing better than guard duty (*ribāṭ*) against Byzantium;¹⁹ just like Makḥūl he sang the praises of those who “show that they love one another in God”.²⁰ But one also claimed to have heard him say he only esteemed a military action that one did not brag about afterwards.²¹ Apparently, it was very important to him that *jihād* did not degenerate into simply capturing booty, but that one really also granted the same rights to those who adopted the new religion. And this is precisely what he had Khālīd b. al-Walīd, the local hero of Ḥimṣ, emphasize, and this at the very moment that ‘Umar’s messenger brought him the news of his dismissal: “We are all equal when it comes to what God has imposed on us, whether an aristocrat or low-born, whether first or last”; for though the Arabs accepted Islam earlier, they received it directly from the Prophet. “You, on the other hand, have not seen the miracles and heard the arguments that we have seen and heard. Anyone of

12 AZ 601, ll. 8 f.

13 *Fihrist* 34, l. 1 (where one should read *Khālīd* instead of *Khalaf*; thus already Flügel in his edition, p. 31, ll. 4 f.).

14 Ibid. 40, l. 13; on this Spitaler, *Verszählung* 21 f.

15 Abbott, *Papyri* 11, 225; also Azmi, *Studies* 67.

16 *Ḥilya* v, 215, ll. 13 ff.; also previously 214, ll. 6 ff., the tradition preserved by his daughter ‘Abda about the angel that was half fire, half ice.

17 Ibid. 212, ll. 11 ff.

18 *Sīra* 106, ll. 5 ff.; also Ṭabarī I, 979, ll. 4 ff. On this Birkeland, *The Legend of the Opening of Muḥammad’s Breast* 9 ff. and 57.

19 *Ḥilya* v, 214, l. 12.

20 Ibid. 212, ll. 11 ff.; Ibn Abīl-Dunyā, *K. al-Awliyā’* 118, no. 76. It is a question of the above-mentioned *ḥadīth qudsī*, but without an *isnād*; hence the form is more primitive than in Makḥūl.

21 *Ḥilya* v, 220, ll. 6 ff.; as a *ḥadīth*.

you who truly and consciously identifies with this matter (i.e. accepts Islam) is more excellent than us".²² It may be that Ibn Qutayba's classification goes back to such remarks which attempted to control the arrogance of the Arabs and certainly very much suited the Ghaylāniyya. But these remarks are not recorded in other sources.²³ In fact, every serious Muslim could agree with the tendentious point; Awzā'ī had a high regard for Khālid.²⁴

That Yemenites with Qadarite views found a good reception in the city is revealed by the example of Waḍīn b. 'Aṭā'; evidently he often came over from Damascus.²⁵ But as soon as it was a question of political action, they found no majority. Bakhrā' where Walīd had entrenched himself was not far away. If the caliph got into difficulties, reinforcements were sent to him; even 'Abbās b. al-Walīd, the brother of Yazīd III, joined in.²⁶ After the murder of Walīd, one still remained loyal to his two sons, Ḥakam and 'Uthmān, to whom, despite their being minors, he had had people swear allegiance. One decided to mount a campaign against Damascus; the governor, who urged caution, was killed as being "a Qadarite sympathizer".²⁷ The military action then collapsed; but neither did Yazīd live much longer. His successor, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, was not recognized in Ḥimṣ because his legitimation was not attested.²⁸ But still one did not lower oneself to Marwān's level; sympathies were with the Sufyānids.²⁹ In the year 127, when one refused to let Marwān enter Ḥimṣ, the city was in part destroyed; many notables lost their life.³⁰ The Abbasids were then received with open arms.³¹

22 Ṭabarī I, 2098, ll. 5 ff., and previously. Similarly, if somewhat less explicit, in an address of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ at the conquest of Egypt (ibid. I, 2585, ll. 4 ff.). Here also belongs the "Khārijite" *ḥadīth* that Thawr b. Yazīd transmitted from him (see below p. 133). On this HT 69, ftn. 25, and below Chpt. C 1.3.1.6.

23 Cf for example IS VII₂, 163, ll. 5 ff.; TH 93 f., no. 84; TT III, 118 ff., no. 222; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl* I, 286, last l. ff.

24 AZ 350, no. 719 f.

25 See above pp. 92 f.

26 Ṭabarī II, 1802, ll. 5 ff., and 1803, ll. 15 ff.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* 401, ll. 4 f. from bot.; also Derenk 46. In greater detail on this and what follows, Haase, *Landschaftsgeschichte Nordsyriens* 82 ff.

27 Ibid. II, 1826, ll. 4 ff. and 1828, ll. 5 ff.; *Ta'rikh Dārayyā* 66, ll. 1 ff. On this Caetani, *Chronographia* 1596 f. and Gabrieli in: RSO 15/1935/13 and 22 f.; also above p. 123.

28 Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 59, ll. 11 f.; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 558, ll. 1 f.

29 Ṭabarī II, 1828, ll. 8 ff. and 1831, last l.; Madelung in: JSS 31/1986/147 f.

30 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 566, last l. ff. > *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 66, ll. 10 f. (also 136, l. 5 from bot.); Ṭabarī II, 1893, ll. 9 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reich* 238; Madelung, op. cit., 148; EI² III, 397 f.

31 Aguadé, *Messianism* 110 f. with further information.

It is no wonder afterwards that in Ḥimṣ in particular anti-Qadarite *Ḥadīth* was able to spread. These traditions over the last decades of the 2nd century flow together in the person of Baḳīyya b. al-Walīd al-Kalā'ī (d. 197/812).³² As the *isnāds* show, he had precursors; however, the dominant figure in the first half of the century was also a Qadarite, once again a member of the same clan, namely

Abū Khālīd Thawr b. Yazīd al-Kalā'ī al-Raḥabī,

who died being over 60 years old in Jerusalem, probably in 153/770.³³ He was allegedly raised by the later-to-be Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr;³⁴ both were approximately the same age. This could be explained by the clan having been wiped out in frontier warfare and in internal clashes; Ibn Ḥajar notes that at the beginning of the Abbasid period only one male descendant was still left.³⁵ A great part of the traditions of his fellow tribesman, Khālīd b. Ma'dān, go back to Thawr.³⁶ Later on, one was in agreement that Khālīd had studied with Thawr; he is even supposed to have carried out his correspondence, for instance with an Umayyad caliph.³⁷ However, this raises chronological difficulties. Therefore, more cautious reports confine themselves to stating that Thawr had all his

32 HT 37 f., 126 and 147.

33 Thus according to IS VII₂, 170, 14 f.; Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 808, no. 3018 and *Ta'rikh* 662, l. 7. Bukhārī, following Yaḥyā b. Bukayr (154/771–231/845), has instead 155/772 (cf. I, 2, 181, no. 2126), also given as an alternative by Ibn Qutayba (*Ma'ārif* 505, l. 6) and Ibn Jazarī, *Ṭab.* no. 867. But this is invalidated by the notice AZ 261, no. 360 (= 702, no. 2195). The date 150 in Bukhārī, etc., is probably simply an error.

34 TTD III, 383, ll. 15 f.

35 *Jamhara* 434, ll. 12 f.; but it is likewise conceivable that Marwān wiped out the family. – On the descent of Thawr b. Yazīd from Dhū'l-Kalā' cf. also IS VII₂, 170, ll. 15 ff. Since the latter is reckoned among the Banū Ḥimyar b. Saba', one must then connect the *nisba* of his descendant to the Banū Raḥaba of the Ḥimyar and not for instance, with the reading al-Raḥbī, to the locality Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq in the Jazīra. This was already not always clear to the medieval scholars (cf. Sam'ānī VI, 94, ll. 12 ff. compared with 91, ll. 4 ff.; also Ibn Ḥazm 329, l. 11). Ka'bī, somewhat isolated, has the reading al-Arḥabī (*Maq.* 101, l. 12). This as well would indicate South-Arabian origin; but the Arḥab, as he himself says, belonged to the Hamdān and not to the Ḥimyar (cf. also Ibn Ḥazm 396, l. 8, and Sam'ānī I, 156, ll. 1 ff.).

36 Thus for instance in Ṭabarī or in Abū Nu'aym (there both V, 210 ff. and VI, 96, ll. 6 ff.), as well as in Ibn Ḥibbān (*Majrūḥīn*, Index s. n. *Thawr b. Yazīd*).

37 AZ 350, no. 721.

ḥadīths in his head,³⁸ and in a somewhat veiled passage we also learn directly about an intermediate informant.³⁹ He owed his high reputation,⁴⁰ similarly to Khālid b. Maʿdān, to the fact that he did not limit himself purely to *Ḥadīth* but also reported things from the earlier writings of revelation⁴¹ and reported on events in the history of Islam: on the life of the Prophet,⁴² on the Syrian *ṣaḥābī*, Abū'l-Dardā,⁴³ on the struggle against ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr,⁴⁴ on Maslama's conquest of Tyana in the year 88,⁴⁵ and on an expedition against Constantinople in the year 98.⁴⁶

Ibn Ishāq, as well as Wāqidī, have taken over material from him.⁴⁷ Several written versions of his *Ḥadīth* were in circulation.⁴⁸ In his lectures he also dealt with Koranic recitation; what is interesting is that in this regard he does not go back to the old tradition of Khālid b. Maʿdān in Emesa but to his own contemporary Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī who lived in Damascus and based himself on Ibn ʿĀmir.⁴⁹ At a later time Abū Nuʿaym discovered his ascetic side. However, in his case his asceticism is not connected with *jihād* but has a stronger individualistic character; he recommends fear of God⁵⁰ and has Jesus promoting private meditation, “conversation” with God (*munājāt*).⁵¹ Kūfa's liberality towards *nabīdh* disturbed him; here, in his opinion, one had simply

38 Ibid. 360, no. 766. Moreover, the caliph to whom he wrote under commission from Khālid is identified in a parallel tradition (ibid. 351, no. 722) as Walid I who died already in 96/ 715.

39 Ibid. 712 f., nos. 2263–5.

40 AZ 398, no. 908; following Duḥaym.

41 *Ḥilya* VI 93, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; 94, ll. 13 ff.; 95, ll. 5 ff. It is a question of unambiguously apocryphal material.

42 Ṭabarī I, 973, ll. 14 ff. and 979, ll. 5 ff.: following Makḥūl and Khālid b. Maʿdān, here as well with an unmistakable legendary element. Cf. HT 69.

43 Ibid. I, 2826, 16 ff.

44 Ibid. II, 848, ll. 9 ff.

45 Ibid. II, 1191, last l. ff.

46 Ibid. II, 1315, ll. 1 ff. On this cf. Donner in: *Proceedings Bilād al-Shām* IV₂, vol. 1, 15 ff.

47 Ibid. I, 979, l. 5 and II, 1191, last l.; on Ibn Ishāq also *Sīra*, Indices s. n. Thawr (b. Yazīd) and Khoury in: *La Vie du Prophète* 18. Moreover, the latter also took over from Thawr a *ḥadīth* with a Qadarite tinge (HT 218).

48 Azmi, *Studies* 171; cf. also Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* II, 19, ll. 1 ff.

49 *Fihrist* 32, l. 6 and Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab.* I, 189, no. 867; on this above pp. 122 f. In the 4th century no one could become prayer leader in the Umayyad Mosque who did not recite according to Ibn ʿĀmir (Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* 180, ll. 9 f.).

50 *Ḥilya* VI, 98, ll. 17 ff.

51 Ibid. 94, ll. 13 ff.

given another name to wine.⁵² Murder is never forgiven by God;⁵³ there is nothing that can wash clean homosexuality.⁵⁴ But precisely in this rigorism is revealed what later perceptibly came to impair his prestige: namely, that he openly supported the ideas of the Qadariyya. Of course, drinking wine and homosexuality were included in the catalogue of vices that one reproached Walīd II with. Thawr, in his youth, had been very close to Makhūl; when the latter went on pilgrimage, he served as his *mu'adhdhin*.⁵⁵ This shows that at the time the association of teacher and disciple meant more to him than the class difference between *mawlā* and Arab; in any case he also transmitted the *ḥadīth* from Khālīd b. Ma'dān that one must even obey an Ethiopian slave whose nose has been cut off.⁵⁶ The need for an overriding form of justice stood behind this feeling of equality; a lion only devours a person who has done something wrong.⁵⁷ When Yazīd III came forth, Thawr positioned himself at his side. As with the Damascene Zayd b. Wāqid, he also cherished the saying of the Prophet that the faith would become real there where civil war and unrest (*al-fitān*) broke out in Syria,⁵⁸ and like 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Thābit b. Thawbān, he described the world as "cursed along with (everything) in it except recollection of God and what leads to it. Teacher and disciple are partners (*sharikān*) in the good; but other people are riff-raff among whom there is no good".⁵⁹

But Ḥimṣ was by no means Mizza or Dārayyā; his house was set on fire and he was driven out of the city.⁶⁰ He went to Jerusalem which, out of true Syrian

52 Ibid. 97, ll. 16 ff.; with a different *isnād* in *Ta'rikh Dārayyā* 82, ll. 9 ff. On the problem see below pp. 257 and 276.

53 Ibid. 99, ll. 9 ff.

54 Ibid. 95, ll. 8 f. – It is interesting that like Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and some of his disciples he advocated keeping one's shoes on during the prayer; he denounced the contrary usage as a Jewish custom (cf. *Mizān* I, 375, ll. 11 ff.; on this below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3).

55 TTD III, 383, ll. 12 f.

56 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* I, 9, ll. 7 ff. This also fits in well with the egalitarian ideas that Khālīd otherwise advocated (see above p. 129). That this was not projected onto him by Thawr is clear from the fact that the passages quoted above have not been preserved through Thawr.

57 *Ḥilya* VI, 95, ll. 2 f.

58 Ibid. 98, ll. 4 ff. from bot. (preserved by Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza [see below pp. 138 f.]; on this above p. 115.

59 Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd* 191 f., no. 543 > Fasawī III, 398, ll. 4 ff. (from the latter's *K. al-Sunna?*): following Khālīd b. Ma'dān. On this above p. 118 with a shorter version.

60 TTD III, 384, ll. 10 ff.; *Mizān* I, 374, 10 f.; TT II, 34, 13 f.; also TD I, 310, ll. 3 f. (following Ibn Ḥanbal). Here it appears that the opposition between North- and South-Arabs played a

patriotism, he held in greater esteem than Mecca or Medina: “The holiest place on earth is Syria”, so he declared, “and the holiest place in Syria is Palestine, the holiest place in Palestine is Jerusalem, the holiest place in Jerusalem is the Mount (Zion), the holiest place on the Mount is the place of prayer (*al-masjid*) and the holiest place in the place of prayer is the Dome (over the Rock, i.e. the Qubbat al-ṣakhra).”⁶¹ One also said that he fled to Iraq just as did some of the other Qadarites.⁶² However, after the Abbasids took power, he seems to have returned to Ḥims; because ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, who governed the province of Syria until 137/754, allegedly stayed in his house and supposedly spoke with him all night about *qadar*.⁶³ In fact, one traced back to him an unambiguously pro-Abbasid *ḥadīth*,⁶⁴ and the person who had staged his expulsion from Ḥims, Asad b. Wadā‘a al-Ṭā‘ī, was now murdered in the year 137 at the order of the governor.⁶⁵ Shortly before his death in the year 150/767, Thawr once again went on the pilgrimage. On that occasion, one took over many *ḥadīths* from him in Mecca;⁶⁶ thus his high standing had not been permanently damaged.

On this same *ḥajj*, moreover, Awzā‘ī was also on hand; presumably they both joined the same caravan. But there were those who claimed that Awzā‘ī quite disliked Thawr because of his Qadarite tendencies; he was meant to have refused to shake his hand.⁶⁷ This is possibly no more than projection, like the report that the Damascene Koranic commentator ‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī, who otherwise got along not too badly with Qadarites and moreover had already

role. The leader of the opposition party was a Ṭayyit (see below), and Thawr, again with a *ḥadīth*, considered the Rabī‘a and Muḍar to be a refuge of unbelief (*Mizān* I, 375, ll. 7 ff.).

- 61 TD I, 142, ll. 1 ff. The saying is inspired by a Jewish idea; cf. the parallel in *Midrāsh Tanhūmā*, ed. Buber, qedōshim 10 (p. 78), quoted in A. Hertzberg, *Judaism* 150.
- 62 Cf. Abyaḍ 356/267, following Ibn ‘Asākir; also Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr al-‘ulamā’* 181, ll. 15 f. (quoted in Crone, *Slaves* 161 f., no. 35).
- 63 Dhahabī, *Ta‘rīkh* VI, 235, ll. 10 ff.
- 64 Fasawī I, 504, ll. 5 ff.: allegedly following Makhūl. Interestingly, the Baṣran Qadarite ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Aṭā’ b. Muslim (on him see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.3) made it known in Baghdād but apparently without mentioning Thawr b. Yazīd (TB XI, 23, ll. 19 ff.; on this SI 31/1970/285, fn. 2). But along with this there was also a *ḥadīth* from him in favour of Mu‘āwiya (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 146, ll. 10 f.).
- 65 AZ 359, no. 764, and 699, no. 2173; on this Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 806, no. 3007. Also *ibid.* 801, no. 2974 and *Ta‘rīkh* 638, l. 10; IS VII₂, 166, ll. 7 f. He had complied with the usual custom among the Umayyads of cursing the name of ‘Alī every time it was mentioned, but apparently not so Thawr b. Yazīd (TT II, 34, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; on this see above pp. 80 f.).
- 66 Ibn Ḥanbal, *‘Ulal* 352., no. 3317.
- 67 TTD III 383 last l. ff.: following Bukhārī. On this gesture of refusal see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.8.

died in 135/757, advised against frequenting his lectures.⁶⁸ Similarly, that Abū Mushir (d.218/833) burned the traditions Thawr had collected⁶⁹ may also be a pious legend. But Abū Mushir at the beginning of the *miḥna*, shortly before his death, was thrown into prison;⁷⁰ in the course of time the atmosphere became radicalized. One already transmitted from ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mubāarak (d. 181/797) a pair of verses – quite dumb ones – which mentioned Thawr in the same breath as Jahm b. Ṣafwān and ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd.⁷¹ That he was a Qadarite had been very quickly and very widely spread about.⁷² He was too important for one to forget about him; but one also knew that “the bull” (*thawr*) had dangerous “horns”.⁷³

1.2.6 Later Qadarites

With the Abbasids’ take-over of power our information perceptibly falls off. The interest of historians dies out; persons who wished to earn salvation at the border with the Byzantines only still drew attention if they came from Iraq or from further east. In this category obviously belonged two ascetics who are only registered as Qadarites by Ka’bī: Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abdallāh b. Shawdhab al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī, who perhaps already died in 144/761,¹ and Abū Mas‘ūd ‘Uthmān b. ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Muslim al-Khurāsānī al-Maqdisī (d. 155/772), the son of a Koranic commentator.² Actually, we do not know what connected the two with Khorāsān.³ But ‘Abdallāh b. Shawdhab at least resided in Iraq; in his youth

68 AZ 359, no. 763. On him GAS 1/33 and above p. 113.

69 TTD III, 384, ll. 6 f.; on this Abbott, *Papyri* II, 225.

70 See below Chpt. C 3.3.1.

71 TTD III, 384, ll. 10 ff.; on this below Chpt. B 3.1.2.2.

72 IS VII₂, 170, ll. 13 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 240, l. 2; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 505, l. 3, and 625, l. 13 (there it should be corrected following Ibn Rusta, *Aʿlāq* 221, l. 1); Fasawī II, 386, ll. 7 f.; IAH I₁, 468 f., no. 1904; ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ* I, 178 ff., no. 225; Ka’bī 101, ll. 11 ff. (following Ibn al-Madīnī and Yahyā b. Maʿīn) > *Faḍl* 339, ll. 13 f. > IM 136, ll. 4 f.; Dhahabī, *Miẓān* no. 1406 and TH 175, no. 171; Ibn Ḥajar, TT II, 33, no. 57 and *Hady al-sārī* II, 120, ll. 11 f. from bot.; Suyūfī, *Tadrib* I, 328, ll. 3 f. from bot.

73 ‘Uqaylī I, 180, l. 9.

1 The alternative is 156/773 (cf. TT V, 256, ll. 1 f.)

2 Ka’bī 103, l. 9; TT VII, 138 f. He transmitted above all from his father (according to Ṭabarī I, 223, l. 8, among others).

3 In the case of the second, he may simply have taken over the *nisba* from his father.

in Baṣra he was a disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Later he then settled in Jerusalem.⁴ It seems that ‘Uthmān b. ‘Aṭā’ also did the same; his *nisba* al-Maqdisī, which was not connected with his father, is an indication of this. For ascetics Jerusalem had long since been a beloved place to retire to in old age.⁵ But for Qadarites the connection with Baṣra also remained important. Of course, as had been the case under Marwān II, one no longer had to dodge persecution; but Baṣra was the place where the Qadarite tradition went on developing with the least disturbance.⁶ Thus, for example,

Abū Mu‘āwiya Ṣadaqa b. ‘Aballāh al-Samīn,

who died 166/783, went there; he originated from Damascus and for this reason identified himself with the corresponding *nisba*.⁷ In Syria he had spent much time attending Awzā’ī’s lectures;⁸ the latter had addressed an epistle to him in which he criticized his Qadarite views. In Baṣra he attached himself, above all, to Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba who was a Qadarite and a disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī;⁹ he possessed notes he had recorded from him.¹⁰ Close ties were also maintained with Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba by

Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Sa‘īd b. Bashīr al-Azdī,

who died between 168/785 and 170/787,¹¹ allegedly at the age of 89.¹² Originally, his family apparently resided in Wāsiṭ;¹³ but his father ran a business together

4 Ka‘bī 101, ll. 6 ff.; also Fasawī, Index s. n.; *Hilya* VI, 129 ff.; *Mizān* no. 4382; known for short as *Faḏā’il-i Balkh* 70, l. 10.

5 The best known example from a later time is Ibn Karrām (see below Chpt. B 3.1.4.2).

6 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.

7 He is listed as a Qadarite in IAH II, 429 f., no. 1889; TTD VI, 412, l. 6 (following Abū Zur‘a); *Mizān* no. 3872; *Faql* 342, ll. 19 f. > IM 138, l. 9.

8 Azmi, *Studies* 117.

9 On him see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.1.

10 Azmi, *Studies* 161 f.

11 The year 168 according to AZ 276, l. 8; 169 according to Fasawī I, 158, ll. 8 f.; 170 (“at the beginning of Hārūn’s caliphate”) according to IS VII, 171, l. 9.

12 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 319, ll. 1 ff. But it is likely that this number was just calculated from a birth date of 80 A.H. which for its part was probably simply deduced from the *isnāds*. He was a *mawlā* of the Banū Naṣr (Bukhārī II, 460, no. 1529). They belonged to the the great federation of the Azd (Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqaq* 490 ff.); hence the *nisba*.

13 Thus according to Wāqidi (cf. TTD VI, 122, l. 2).

with the father of Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūba and thus had the opportunity during his trips to bring his son into contact with the latter so that he might receive *Ḥadīth* from him.¹⁴ Evidently, in this way much material of Qatāda reached him; Ibn Abī 'Arūba had collected this more than anyone else.¹⁵ Above all, he received the *Tafsīr* of Qatāda; that he had heard it from Qatāda himself was later continually assumed,¹⁶ but in view of the fact that the connection to Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūba is so strongly emphasized, this is not really likely.¹⁷

The connections in any case faded when Sa'īd b. Bashīr went to Syria; when he transmitted the text, he certainly no longer spoke about Ibn Abī 'Arūba. *Tafsīr* was a novelty in Damascus; Syria scarcely had an exegetical tradition. For the first three centuries Sa'īd is the one Koranic commentator to whom Ibn 'Asākir devotes an entry.¹⁸ He seems also to have met with much approval for this reason. Only later did criticism arise: Hishām b. 'Ammār (153/770–245/849) refused to quote from him.¹⁹ That is to say, in the meantime one paid attention to something that was not noticed in the beginning or was not perceived to be important: that Sa'īd, just like Qatāda (and naturally Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūba), had been Qadarites. Of course, this had scarcely anything to do with the ideas of the Ghaylāniyya; in the second decade of the 2nd century Sa'īd was presumably not even in Syria.²⁰ This was understood in a purely theological sense. Sa'īd could not imagine that God would predetermine evil and then still punish man because of it. But for later generations even this was too much; one had him fall back on Qatāda's well-known exegesis of surah 19/83, according to which the satans (or "devils") were guilty of the sin.²¹ From that time on, the image that one adopted of him was no longer uniform. Abū Zur'a transmits a

14 IAH II, 7, ll. 10 ff.; also TTD VI, 121, ll. 4 f. from bot.

15 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.1.2.1.

16 See below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3.

17 Naturally, whoever linked him directly with Qatāda had to think differently about his date of birth and his age. The connection would gain in plausibility if Sa'īd had been united with the Azd concerning Ibādite ideas as well. This is by no means impossible. As Dhahabī says in one place, he was related to 'Imrān al-Qaṭṭān (*Mizān* II, 129, ll. 14 f.); here the Baṣran Khārijite by that name must be meant (on him see below Chpt. B 3.2.5.6).

18 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 276/226. But one should not forget 'Aṭā' b. Abī Muslim. In Ḥims 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥa (d. 143/760?) had founded a school in the tradition of Ibn 'Abbās (Cerrahoğlu, *Tefsīr Tarihi* I, 180 ff.; GAS 1/27).

19 Cf. the information according to Ibn 'Asākir in Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 347/263. On Hishām b. 'Ammār see below pp. 161 f.

20 Thus already HT 69.

21 AZ 400, no. 915 > TTD VI, 122, ll. 11 ff.; on this below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3.

statement according to which he was not a Qadarite;²² on the other hand, he preserves the saying of Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanūkhī that Sa'īd b. Bashīr "carried on propaganda" in the *jund* of Damascus.²³ Ibn Sa'd calls him pointblank a Qadarite, which is something he rarely does;²⁴ Ibn Ḥibbān's judgement is entirely negative.²⁵ By contrast, in the Mu'tazilite sources he only first appears in Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār.²⁶

It would make sense to examine the materials that have come down to us from him in order to establish his orientation more clearly. Indeed, what survives is no small amount. Ṭabarī cites Qatāda's *Tafsīr*, as transmitted by him, more than 3,000 times;²⁷ he is also referred to continually in the stories of the prophets by 'Umāra b. Wathīma along with traditions which for the most part probably come from the same sources.²⁸ Among all this there was much that one considered unacceptable.²⁹ But the material in question is of a secondary nature, just as are the judgements concerning Sa'īd himself; we cannot simply proceed on the assumption that he identified with this. Since Qadarite views in his time were not yet politically offensive, he may have passed them on without paying attention to their theological explosiveness. In any case, he even appears in an *isnād* of an apocryphal saying of the Prophet in which the Qadariyya is slandered.³⁰ Consequently, by way of caution we should probably only say that he was not specifically aligned against the Qadariyya.³¹

Names exclusively linked to Syria only rarely appear in the lists of Qadarites at this time. Among them is

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. Wāqid al-Ḥaḍramī al-Sulamī al-Batalhī,

22 400 f., no. 918.

23 Ibid. 399, no. 913. Formulated with some divergence in 1AH II₁, 6, ll. 3 f. from bot.

24 VII₂, 171, l. 9 > TTD, op. cit., and TT IV, 9, l. 6.

25 *Majrūhīn*, op. cit. The entry in Dhahabī is quite detailed, *Mizān* no. 3143.

26 *Faḍl* 339, l. 18 (where *Yazīd b. Bishr* instead of *Sa'īd b. Bashūr*) > IM 136, l. 7.

27 See below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3.

28 Cf. the edition of R. Khoury, Index s. n. and Introduction I, 88 ff.; on this also Ṭabarī I, 333, l. 8, and 336, ll. 14 ff.

29 Ibn Abī Ḥātim speaks of *munkarāt* that Sa'īd transmitted from Qatāda (II, 7, l. 9).

30 HT 130.

31 Of course, the cited *ḥādīth* may have a forged *isnād*. It is also conceivable that "Qadariyya" there was still meant in the original, reversed sense.

who was born 103/722³² and probably died 183/799,³³ or perhaps somewhat later.³⁴ His family came from Ḥaḍramawt but lived in Bayt Liḥyā near Damascus. When al-Manṣūr visited Damascus in the year 153/770, he appointed him as *qādī*;³⁵ Batalhī held this office until the end of his life. Balādhurī has preserved for us a document of his activity: when ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, a cousin of the first two Abbasid caliphs, wished to revoke a peace treaty with the Byzantines concerning Cyprus, he had Batalhī, along with other eminent jurists such as Mālīk b. Anas, Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, Layth b. Sa’d, etc., certify the legitimacy of his action in a *fatwā*.³⁶ The event should have occurred in the first half of the seventh decade of the 2nd century.³⁷ In Iraq Batalhī was scarcely known and consequently did not count for much;³⁸ Wakī‘ takes no account of him whatsoever in his *Akḥbār al-quḍāt*. Conversely, Batalhī did not like Abū Ḥanīfa at all; he reported that the latter, as a *zindīq*, twice had to renounce his views (*istitāba*).³⁹ He was firmly planted in Syrian tradition: he passed on several of the apocalyptic traditions that were spread about in Damascus towards the end of the Umayyad period,⁴⁰ and he seems to have played a part in the idealization of the figure of ‘Umar II.⁴¹ Among his informants there is a relatively high number of Palestinians.⁴² But this Syrian commitment was above all connected to his South-Arabian tribal relationships. He preserved traditions that

32 AZ 277, l. 5; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tab.* no. 3834.

33 Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 811, no. 3035 = 813, no. 3043; IS II₂, 171, ll. 17 ff. > Fasawī I, 174, ll. 6 f.; also Ka’bī 102, ll. 8 f. (where *thamānīn* is to be added).

34 The year 185/801 according to AZ 277, l. 7; 188/804 in Ibn al-Jazarī is perhaps simply an error.

35 Although he was almost 50 at the time, one evidently felt this as early; for people recounted that the caliph had addressed him as *shābb* “young man” (AZ 204, no. 162 > Ibn al-Jazarī).

36 *Futūḥ al-Buldān* 183 ff., no. 419; the text of the *fatwā* there 185, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

37 The *terminus ante quem* is the death of Layth b. Sa’d in the year 175/791. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ undertook a summer campaign 173 but the direction of its thrust is unknown to us, and in the years 174 and 175 he attacked the Byzantines (Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh* 713, l. 10, and 715, ll. 4 ff.; on this EI² I, 77 f. s. v. *‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ*).

38 AZ 569 f., no. 1580 f. But he is supposed to have once travelled to Iraq (*Mizān* II, 202, l. 5).

39 Ibid. 506, l. 1 > Fasawī II, 786, ll. 7 ff.; also *ibid.* II, 784, ll. 5 ff. and Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* III, 73, ll. 10 ff. On this see below p. 215.

40 Cf. for instance Fasawī II, 296, ll. 2 ff. from bot. (= TD I, 243, ll. 21 ff.) and 304, ll. 7 ff. (= TD I, 151, ll. 20 ff.).

41 Fasawī I, 578, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; 579, ll. 2 ff.; 587, ll. 3 ff. and 11 ff., in part following Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Khawlānī, the chamberlain of ‘Umar II (*Ta’rīkh Dārayyā* 87, ll. 1 f. with fn. 1; on this *Mizān* no. 4348); also Ṭaḥāwī, *al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr* 811, ll. 8 ff.

42 On this cf. the information in Abū Zur’a, for example 206, no. 168 (= Wakī‘ I, 80, ll. 1 ff.).

Waḍīn b. ‘Aṭā’ received from Yazīd b. Marthad,⁴³ and among the eschatological *ḥadīths* is one that predicts a fire that will arise in Ḥaḍramawt and from which one should flee to Syria.⁴⁴ His teacher was also a Yemenite from whom he had learned Koranic recitation: Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī.⁴⁵

That Batalhī was a Qadarite is nowhere documented with examples but in this regard the opinion of the Mu‘tazilite and later Sunnī sources is unanimous. This goes back to Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn, among others.⁴⁶ – Less solid is the testimony concerning two other persons from this period. The first is a man from Transjordan,

Abū ‘Abdallāh Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Urdunnī,

who is only recorded by Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār.⁴⁷ Abū Zur‘a considered him simply to be an ascetic;⁴⁸ but at any rate, his son Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, a jurist and *mutakallim*, later in Baṣra had some connections with Abū’l-Hudhayl. The person in question is Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfi‘ī whom Ka‘bī frequently cites as an informant.⁴⁹ If Yaḥyā could reconcile his studying with Shāfi‘ī with his Mu‘tazilite contacts, it may be that a certain family tradition played a role in this.⁵⁰ Presumably, the son did not die before 290/845; the father therefore must have been the same age as Batalhī.⁵¹ – The second person was a Damascene:

43 Fasawī II, 357, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; on this see above p. 93.

44 Ibid. II, 302, last l. ff. = TD I, 75, ll. 17 ff. and previously (with different *isnāds*).

45 Ibn al-Jazarī no. 3834. But the latter, as we have several times noted, was at that time the sole acknowledged authority in this domain in Syria and moreover already embedded in the Syrian tradition of Ibn ‘Āmir (see above pp. 122 f.). Presumably the second teacher of Batalhī in this domain, Bishr b. al-‘Alā’ b. Zahr, also belongs to this school (TD X, 104, l. 17).

46 Ka‘bī 102, ll. 5 ff. > *Faḍl* 339, l. 4 from bot., and 342, l. 3 from bot. > IM 136, l. 9, and 138, l. 8 (the doublet in unknown in both texts); ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* IV, 397, no. 2018; *Mizān* no. 9486; TT XI 200, no. 339 and *Hady al-sārī* II, 171, ll. 21 f.; Suyūṭī *Tadrib* I, 329, l. 7. – Without attribution Bukhārī IV₂, 268, no 2956; IAH IV₂, 136, no. 580; TH 286 f., no. 266; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq* 13 f.

47 *Faḍl* 339, last l. > IM 136, l. 12.

48 TT XI, 252, l. 1.

49 See above p. 71; more details on him below Chpt. C 3.2.1.4.

50 But the Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār could have already drawn this conclusion and for this reason have made a Qadarite out of the father. The son appears not to have referred to him as such; in any case he does not turn up in Ka‘bī.

51 He still passed on traditions of ‘Ubāda b. Nusayy who had already died 118/736 (TT XI, 251, l. 11). But for this time one never knows whether this goes back to personal contact or not.

Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Qāsim b. Samīʿ,

who died 204/819–20 or 206/821–22 at an advanced age. Duḥaym considered him to be a Qadarite.⁵² He transmitted from Zayd b. Wāqid, among others, and from the Medinan Qadarite Ibn Abī Dhiʿb. From the latter he received a report about the murder of ʿUthmān which caused great offense. – The last Syrian Qadarite whom Ibn ʿAsākir records is

Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾidh al-Qurashī,

who lived circa 150/767 to 233/847.⁵³ He was an administrative civil servant (*kātib*) and under Maʾmūn was responsible for the *kharāj* of the Ghūṭa.⁵⁴ We should probably consider him to be a *mawlā*; perhaps he is identical with Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾid (= ʿĀʾidh?) *mawlā* ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, from whom Ṭabarī transmits in one passage.⁵⁵ He possessed all sorts of *Ḥadīth* records including some also from Qadarites: from Haytham b. Ḥumayd⁵⁶ and from Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-Batalhī. In his old age he became morose; it was not easy to get hold of these materials. He cursed the Iraqis just like Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza;⁵⁷ he probably felt even more strongly than the latter that the Syrian juridical tradition had lost ground. In addition, he wrote historical works, some fragments of which have come down to us.⁵⁸

1.2.7 General Conclusions

The above biographical details, despite being isolated and ambiguous as to specifics, allow us to recognize some basic outlines which are worth emphasizing once again.

1. Not all Qadarites in Syria are Syrians. We come upon some scholars of Iranian origin; the most prominent example is Makḥūl. These foreigners were

52 TT IX, 390, l. 2 from bot.; probably following him Abū Dāwūd (ibid. 391, l. 6 from bot.). Nothing in Bukhārī I, 203, no. 630; IAH IV₁, 37 f., no. 173.

53 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 356/268. Also *Mizān* no. 7724 and TT IX, 241 f., no. 388. Not in the Muʿtazilite sources.

54 Abyaḍ 357/268, following Ibn ʿAsākir > Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* III, 181, l. 5.

55 III, 441, l. 3.

56 See above p. 116.

57 IAH, *Taqdima* 343, ll. 3 ff.; also Azmi 177 and 132.

58 On a *K. al-Maghāzī* cf. GAS 1/301; fragments from his book about summer campaigns (*ṣawāʾif*) in the *Taʾrikh* of Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ (cf. Index s. n.) and in Ibn ʿAsākir. In general Abyaḍ 297 and GAS, op. cit., with additional biographical sources.

important for the movement from the beginning;¹ but nothing points to their possibly having introduced any external Zoroastrian influence. Later one did trace back the Prophet's saying that the Qadarites are "the Zoroastrians of this community" through Makhūl and 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī;² but even the legendary origin with which Awzā'ī explained the phenomenon of the Qadarites only speaks of a Christian who led Ma'bad al-Juhanī astray. The Iranians had been abducted from their home at a young age as prisoners of war and were therefore entirely formed by their new Muslim environment; moreover, if they had put emphasis on foreign ideas, they would have suffered loss in terms of social prestige.

That they attained high standing in the end is chiefly connected with *jihād*. In fact, from the very beginning screening was applied among the prisoners of war. The Muslims only abducted members of the old military caste; they left the peasants at home.³ From the peasant one looked forward to taxes; by contrast, from now on one wished to exploit the experience of the soldiers for oneself.⁴ If a person were of noble descent like Makhūl, one could reckon on him having leadership qualities.⁵ Naturally, such calculation was only without danger if one deployed them as far away from their home as possible. For this purpose Syria was the ideal region; the Iranians were old adversaries of Byzantium. A large number of them, who had been settled in Ba'labakk and elsewhere, were stationed by Mu'āwiya in the coastal cities.⁶ One understands why in this domain we do not come across any slaves or freedmen of Greek origin in a comparable position.

People like Makhūl were uprooted; they could only find support in the religion they had adopted. Sometimes they remained unmarried⁷ and were completely involved in their community of fighters. To be sure, lots of them

1 Cf. for instance, along with Makhūl, also Ḥassān b. 'Aṭiyya al-Muḥārībī (above pp. 102 f.).

2 НТ 144 f.; there somewhat misleadingly I translated *majūs* as "Magian".

3 Ṭabarī I, 2026, ll. 9 ff. or 2031, ll. 6 ff.

4 Thus also Morony, *Iraq* 194.

5 Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam* 7.

6 Ya'qūbī, *Buldān* 327, ll. 1 ff./transl. Wiet 177 f.; on this Haase, *Landschaftsgeschichte* 57. Further evidence in 'Athamina in: JSAI 8/1986/200, fn. 112.

7 See above pp. 110 f. and 112. A counter-example would be Hishām b. al-Ghāz (p. 121) in whose case at least his father cannot have been unmarried. Obviously there is the suspicion that this was also a matter of someone's level of wealth; but we recognize the state of celibacy by the fact that the persons in question left behind an inheritance. On celibacy in the older asceticism cf. in general Andrae, *Islamische Mystiker* 54 ff. and in: MO 25/1931/307 ff.; also Brunel, *Monachisme errant* 196 ff.

followed their thirst for adventure; but many also followed an ideal. Above all, the numerous volunteers (*muṭṭawwi'a*) who accompanied the campaigns were filled with religious enthusiasm.⁸ Group solidarity among them was reinforced by means of collective pious exercises, nocturnal prayer, etc.;⁹ the pious works of the rich and those who stayed at home, especially the pilgrimage which could not be undertaken without financial backing, were looked upon with some slight disdain.¹⁰ As always in the military, here as well promotion was easier; the barriers between foreigners and locals, between clients and free men, were to a great extent removed. When they began here, most of the prisoners of war had already been set free like Makhūl; some, however, may have purchased their freedom in this manner or even been deported to the area.¹¹ Out of this atmosphere arises, in part at least, the egalitarian emotion that characterizes the Syrian Qadariyya. 'Umar II encouraged it during his caliphate; he appointed clients as judges¹² or even as governors.¹³ For this reason he was always highly respected among the Qadarites,¹⁴ although in fact he may not have agreed with them when it came to matters of dogma.

In the case of one of these communities, that of Makhūl, it is possible to observe how they grew into a school. This evidently has to do with how the pious exercises turned into learned Koran studies and legal reasoning (*fiqh*). Makhūl was approached for expert legal opinions and even wrote books in this area; among his disciples is one who was appointed as *faqih al-jund*.¹⁵ Several Qadarites applied themselves, just like others, to the science of Koranic recitation. We should not imagine that relations among them were idyllic; there are signs that the succession to Makhūl brought with it clashes and divisions.¹⁶ But in this way the egalitarian emotion was borne forth as a doctrine in the public domain.¹⁷

8 On them cf. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg* 61 ff.

9 Fasawī II, 376, last l. ff.

10 See above pp. 110 and 122. That it was not enough when it came to Holy War to donate money "as much as a Mt. Uḥud" was also emphasized in a *ḥadīth* (cf. Text II 1, e).

11 The population of no man's land was very mixed at the time and included many recent immigrants and deported persons (Wellhausen, *Kämpfe der Araber* 415). Whoever took part in *jihād* evidently enjoyed temporary indemnity (AZ 341, no. 680).

12 Cf. the case of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Chpt. B 2.2.2).

13 See above p. 109.

14 On this cf. the Ghaylān-legend (Text I 1).

15 See above p. 116.

16 See above pp. 109 and 111.

17 Cf. also the group around 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī (see above p. 122).

2. The number of *mawālī* among the Syrian Qadarites, compared with Baṣra for example, is surprisingly low. Makḥūl's followers are to a great extent locals and in fact mostly free Arabs. In the centre of the Empire the egalitarian impulse, more so than elsewhere, gained a hold over those who were almost powerful; they were driven into the opposition by the enrichment of the ruling dynasty and its supports. Almost all Qadarites were involved in the revolt against Walīd II; for this reason most of them are South-Arabs. Among some of them, belief in Yemenite superiority clearly shows through;¹⁸ the majority, however, are staunch Syrians who are only concerned that the right family is successful in Syria. Frequently, we are by no means dealing with newcomers. This is perfectly clear among the members of the clan of the Ghassānids who appear in our lists;¹⁹ the Banū Ghassān had originally immigrated from South Arabia but as far back as 490 in our time reckoning.²⁰

3. These long-established settlers presumably maintained close ties with the native Christian population. The Banū Ghassān were Christians up until the invasion of the Muslims; Ghaylān's family as well had perhaps not come over from Egypt but was native to Beirut. The high status of Jesus which we are able to observe from the beginning in Syria²¹ was also accorded him by the Qadarites; apocryphal sayings of Jesus were very popular among them, especially in Ḥimṣ. This is surprising among frontier fighters who waged war against Christians – or perhaps not: source material reflects a new, ascetic image of Jesus. 'Umayr b. Hāni' included Jesus in the *shahāda*, but with a characteristically Islamic colouring.²² Moreover, the Old Testament, "the Torah", is included as well; one should transmit traditions from the Jews as well as from Muḥammad.²³ Perhaps it is worth remembering that when Mu'āwiya was still the governor of Syria, he had forcibly settled Jews – Jewish Christians? – in Tripolis so that they might repulse the Byzantine attacks

18 Thus for instance in Waḍīn b. 'Aṭā' (see above 92). The Yemen and Syria in several *ḥadīths* are glorified together (cf. Bashear in: *Arabica* 36/1989/353 ff.).

19 See above pp. 110 and 116.

20 Cf. EI² II, 1020 b s. v. *Ghassān*; on the area they were spread across, Rotter, *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 128. 'Aṭwān, *al-Firaq al-islāmiyya fī bilād al-Shām* 42 ff., also draws attention to the significance of the South-Arabs; but he does not distinguish between old tribes and newcomers.

21 See above pp. 34 f. and 75.

22 See above p. 108. Moreover, that Jesus was just a human being and "bondsmen of God" was also accepted by many Palestinian Christians at the time (cf. Griffith in: Gervers/Bikhazi, *Christian Communities* 23).

23 See above p. 104.

there.²⁴ The means of expression for social protest and incitement to war against the infidels is manifestly not the Koran, but the *Ḥadīth*; the latter was more flexible than Scripture. But it had not yet differentiated itself from other non-Koranic materials; sayings of Muḥammad as well as apocryphal dicta of Jesus and David apparently take the place of a Haggadah-like *Tafsīr* which does not exist in Syria. Early Islam is steeped in recollecting the prophets who had preceded.²⁵

Still, it would be quite erroneous to derive the ideas of the Qadarites from Jewish or Christian influence. Such ideas do not come forth in the garb of theology but, above all, as social and political maxims; in their extreme form they do not lead to the doctrine of free will but to distress concerning the wickedness of the world.²⁶ Naturally, this attitude is also found in Christian monasticism; but it is too general for one to be able to diagnose a connection here. *Jihād* created numerous contacts with Christians; but these contacts for that very reason also always remained ambivalent.²⁷

4. Those who revolted against Walid II were for the most part the young. Thus, not surprisingly, revolutionary conclusions were primarily drawn by those who were not themselves established; typically they understood their action as a *hijra*.²⁸ Yazīd, whom they supported, did not meet all the conditions that one had set for a candidate for the caliphate; he was the son of a non-Arab mother.²⁹ Likewise, his brother and successor Ibrāhīm was born of a female slave.³⁰ Walīd II, on the other hand, still corresponded to the old norm.³¹ But

24 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* 151, ll. 4 ff.

25 Kister gives evidence of this from early papyri, for instance those from Khirbat Mird (in: *Approaches*, ed. Rippin 82); for the *ḥadīth* cf. in detail idem in: IOS 2/1972/215 ff. One should also ask to what extent the pseudo-epigraphical Tawrāt and Zabūr texts, the *munājāt Mūsā* or *munājāt ʿIsā*, which Sadan refers to in his essay (*Festschrift Ayalon* 370 ff. and 395 ff.) also belong in this Syrian milieu. Only from a later point of view does this attitude seem unusual; in the end the Christians in fact acknowledged the Old Testament. That apocryphal Bible quotations were still accorded auctoritas in Syria's Christian circles in the 9th century is shown by Hayman in his preface to: Sergius the Stylite, *Disputation* v and 9* ff.

26 See above pp. 118 and 133.

27 On the assumption of a Christian influence in Ghaylān see below Chpt. B 2.2.4.1. On the adoption of Christian phraseology in the formulation "to love one another in God" (see above pp. 90 and 129) cf. Graham, *Divine Word* 143 f.

28 See above p. 107.

29 Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 165, ll. 13 f. The attempt to upgrade his birth is still clearly perceptible (see above p. 96).

30 Zubayrī, *ibid.*

31 *Ibid.* 166, ll. 15 ff.

he had himself offended against it; one of his two sons whom he had appointed as successors, al-Ḥakam, was born of an unfree mother.³² One felt this to be a scandal and a violation of tradition.³³ One sees that the old taboo had lost its force; but for someone who was young and likewise believed in the equality of all Muslims, this could easily be disregarded.³⁴

5. The Qadarites met with political resistance and on occasion were obliged to leave the country; but for the time being there is not much sense of a religious boycott. Under Hishām they were able to make something of themselves if they adapted; this is most clearly illustrated by the case of Yazīd b. Yazīd al-Azdī.³⁵ Even Ghaylān remained an officer at the court, although one knew of his writings since the time of ‘Umar II. The climate gradually changed during the second half of the 2nd century. Protest arises among the *muḥaddithūn*;³⁶ within the ranks of the *zuhhād* the trend shifts.³⁷ The jurist Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī (d. 188/804?), when he came to Damascus, would not accept any Qadarite as a disciple; later, when he settled in Mopsuestia, he is supposed to have had the Qadarites driven out of the place.³⁸ Awzā’ī as well, who lived a generation earlier, was coopted by tradition in support of this attitude.³⁹ The *Futūḥ al-Shām* of Azdī may have perhaps arisen around this time in anti-Qadarite circles in Ḥimṣ.⁴⁰ However, at the same time in Damascus a Qadarite was *qāḍī* for thirty

32 But not ‘Uthmān (ibid. 167, ll. 7 ff.).

33 *Agh.* VII, 71, ll. 13 f.

34 Perhaps for this reason one must believe Theophanes when he says that Yazīd was only able to win over Damascus with much money (418, ll. 17 f./transl. Breyer, *Bilderstreit und Arabersturm* 59). He could only win over the troops against Walīd with bonuses (see above p. 112).

35 See above pp. 111 ff. Indeed he was exceedingly flexible, perhaps precisely because he was not a local.

36 See above pp. 123 f. and 136 f.

37 Cf. the example of Yūsuf b. Asbāt above p. 120; also below p. 163 f.

38 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 346/262 f., following Ibn ‘Asākir. On Fazārī cf. GAS 1/292 and Muranyi in: JSAI 6/1985/63 ff.; also he was above all occupied with martial law. His *K. al-Sīyar* has recently been edited (Beirut 1408/1987). Significantly, he grew up in Kūfa which was already given over to the mind-set of predestination.

39 Cf. HT and *Anfänge*, Index s. n.; also Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 344/261 and ‘Abdallāh Muḥ. al-Jubūrī, *al-Imām al-Awzā’ī. Ḥayātuhū wa-ārā’uhū wa-‘aṣruhū* 189 ff. Interestingly, one part of this material was again collected in Mopsuestia (*Anfänge* 212 f.). On the other hand, the Qadarite Ibn Abī Khaythama (d. 279/892; cf. GAS 1/319) in his *Ta’rikh* attempted to prove that Awzā’ī was close to Ghaylān and the Qadarites (Ms. Medina, Makt. Maḥmūdiyya, *uṣūl al-ḥadīth* 36, folio 19 a, ll. 2 ff.).

40 Thus according to the thesis of L. Conrad in: *Proceedings Bilād al-Shām* IV₂, vol. I, 52 ff.

years, from 153 to 183;⁴¹ that is to say, during this period, those who shared his views had no cause to fear on behalf of their *ʿadāla*.

6. The lists of Qadarites do not indiscriminately include every supporter of Yazīd's party. Among the *mawālī* appears Burd b. Sinān⁴² but, by contrast, not Qaṭan who was just as close to the caliph,⁴³ nor the Sogdian Īrāk who fought along with him.⁴⁴ Among the tribes the ʿAns have an above-average representation;⁴⁵ others who backed the revolt more forcefully than they did, are entirely absent.⁴⁶ Yazīd is dubbed a Qadarite, whereas his brother Ibrāhīm is not. Naturally, doubts arise in connection with some old campaigners: in the case of Maṣṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Kalbī for example, whom Ṭabarī describes as a Ghaylānite;⁴⁷ his colourful career does not suggest personal conviction that runs all that deep.⁴⁸ And the same may be said in the case of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj, the grandson of ʿAbd al-Malik and the brother of al-Saffāḥ on his mother's side, who carried on fighting after Yazīd's death and was killed in Damascus in the year 127.⁴⁹ But here the term is simply used by the historians in a broader sense; in the *al-jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl* literature these names do not come up at all. It looks as if the experts were successful in only picking out "the learned scholars", i.e. the jurists and traditionists; in fact, we hear that "scholarship" was cultivated in Dārayyā, especially in the circle of the ʿAns (and the Khawlān).⁵⁰ So what emerges then is:

7. the question of how representative this information actually is. In many reports, particularly those concerning allegiance to Yazīd, the Ghaylāniyya appears as a closed and separate group.⁵¹ One may conclude that they lived

41 See above p. 139.

42 See above p. 114.

43 Ṭabarī II, 1784, l. 14; he was the one who caught Burd b. Sinān off guard during the succession to Yazīd (see above p. 114).

44 Ṭabarī II, 1829, ll. 16 ff.

45 See above pp. 104 f., 108 and 117.

46 For example the Sakāsik or the Lakhm. Ibn ʿAsākir preserves the names of two Kalbites who belonged to the Qadariyya: Ṣāliḥ b. al-Aṣḥab and al-Walīd b. ʿAlī (Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 154, fn. 215). They were completely forgotten; only the latter appears once in Ṭabarī (II, 1828, l. 14).

47 II, 1837, l. 6; also Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v, 102, ll. 17 ff.; on this Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 565, ll. 14 ff.

48 Crone, *Slaves* 158. Moreover, Ṭabarī as well intimates the same.

49 Described as a Qadarite in Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v, 102, ll. 17 ff.; on this Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 565, ll. 14 ff.

50 TD I, 318, ll. 8 f. = *Ta'rikh Dārayyā* 28, ll. 5 f. from bot.

51 Especially clear in Balādhurī (ed. Derenk) 66, l. 2; also 62, l. 14.

together; as we have seen most of the people from Mizza were included among them.⁵² They were estimated to be more than 1,000 strong.⁵³ Here it is obviously not a question of a political special interest group; Ibn Ḥanbal related that – in his own time? – in one district (*kūra*) of Damascus the people in the mosque spoke about *qadar* and roughed up visitors with different beliefs.⁵⁴ It is also certain that there were Qadarites outside the Ghaylāniyya. But how widely their doctrine exerted an effect is scarcely possible to say; and yet it is no coincidence that the Mu‘tazila subsequently claimed many localities in Syria for themselves, including Dārayyā and Bayt Lihyā where the *qādi* Batalhī came from.⁵⁵ The author of the *Ta’rikh Dārayyā*, himself wholly “orthodox”, in the chapter on the traditionist Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Khawlānī enumerates four of the latter’s disciples without any sign of criticism; all of them are well-known Qadarites.⁵⁶ Among the disciples of Makḥūl, Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz expressly stressed that he was not a Qadarite.⁵⁷ Two-thirds of the population denies divine predetermination, if Satan only once croaks ominously, so says an apocryphal *ḥadīth*.⁵⁸

One should therefore seriously consider the thesis that Qadarite thought in a broad, not very specific sense had always been commonplace in Syria and only through political exploitation came to appear in an unfavourable light. Our lists, of course, are of Iraqi origin; but their authors, for whom Qadarites were heretics, sought after exceptions to a fictitious orthodoxy and then called a person a Qadarite if they were able to prove this on the basis of his behaviour or better yet: on the basis of his *Ḥadīth*. They were not on familiar ground when it came to Syria; they depended almost entirely on Syrian testimonials such as those contained in the work of Abū Zur‘a. There, however, the category plays scarcely any role. Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥātim and Ibn Ḥibbān, among the Syrians they mention, have recorded almost no one as a Qadarite; strongly committed

52 Ibid. 51, ll. 16 f., and 54, l. 14; also above p. 95.

53 Ṭabarī II, 1852, ll. 5 f.

54 TD I, 310, ll. 1 f.

55 On this see below Chpt. C 7.3. The Mu‘tazilite Thumāma had connections with people from Damascus who informed him about the period of Yazīd III (Jāḥiḏ, *Bayān* I, 301, ll. 14 ff. and previously).

56 There 81, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

57 AZ 385, no. 861.

58 TD I, 336, ll. 12 ff. and Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-‘ummāl* I, 36, l. 12. On this HT 71.

people, who had no significance for *Ḥadīth*, such as the poet Asbāṭ b. Wāṣil,⁵⁹ receive no attention at all.

But if one assumes the existence of such an unknown Qadarite substratum, at the same time one must then start from the premise that the Syrians did not plunge into theology with the same passionate spirit as the Baṣrans for instance. The Muʿtazilites obviously did make use of Qadarite cells in Syria; but the Muʿtazila did not become representative for the region.⁶⁰ Likewise, among the Qadarites that we have enumerated, there is scarcely anyone who entered into close contact with the Muʿtazila; the only exception we can be sure of is Asbāṭ b. Wāṣil and in a certain sense Rabīʿa b. Ḥaẓyān⁶¹ and perhaps as well Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Khuzāʿī and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Urdunnī.⁶² But it is striking that even Muḥammad b. Rāshid, along with all the others who like him came to Baghdād in the time of al-Manṣūr, enjoyed a respectable reputation there.⁶³ In this regard several factors conspired together: their privileged position at the court and also the fact that at the time one was not concerned to know very precisely where someone stood on the issue of *qadar* – but likewise that they presumably confined themselves to terse utterances concerning the theological problem.⁶⁴ By contrast, the Iraqīs, it appears, significantly exacerbated the issue.

1.2.8 *The Further Iraqi Development of Ghaylān's Doctrine*

But an additional problem is still connected with the last-mentioned observation. Not only the Muʿtazila reflected further on Qadarite ideas; other theologians in Baṣra also did so, and they based themselves directly on Ghaylān. However, they were Murjiʿites or to put it more precisely: they advocated a concept of faith which cannot be corroborated for Ghaylān in the Syrian sources but, by contrast, can very easily be related to developments in Kūfa. The image of God also becomes more differentiated; one thinks over what the consequences of freedom of human behaviour are for the divine will. We

59 See above p. 120.

60 They only brought forth one indigenous theologian there: Qāsim b. Khalīl al-Dimashqī (see below Chpt. C 7.3).

61 On him see above p. 94.

62 On them see above pp. 122 and 140.

63 See above p. 123.

64 Baṣran Qadarites were likewise well received in Baghdād, even still some time later (see below Chpts. B 2.2.2.1.2.2–4).

will address this question more fully in its proper place.¹ Here may it simply be pointed out that basically the heresiographers, given their ahistorical way of thinking, did not perceive the difference; they projected the special Iraqi developments onto Ghaylān or generally ascribed them to a Ghaylāniyya. In so doing, they were following the common way of speaking in Iraq; Abū Hudhayl, in a separate work, attacked the Ghaylāniyya for their *irjā'*.²

Here let us only consider a detailed comparison regarding one point: the political program. In this respect, thanks to the accession speech of Yazīd III we have a relatively good idea of just how far one was prepared to go in Syria. The text which we can contrast with it is found in Pseudo-Nāshi', i.e. probably the Mu'tazilite Ja'far b. Ḥarb.³ It speaks very generally of the Ghaylāniyya; in a parallel text of Nawbakhtī⁴ this is expanded to "Faḍl al-Raqāshī, Abū Shamir, Ghaylān b. Marwān, Jahm b. Ṣafwān (!) and those Murji'ites who support their doctrine". At the end of Pseudo-Nāshi', it also says that "most Murji'ites and Mu'tazilites" endorsed the doctrine:

The Ghaylāniyya, which consists of the followers of the Syrian Ghaylān Abū Marwān, teach: *a*) The ruler can come from the Quraysh and from other lineages, Arab as well as non-Arab. *b*) The only condition set upon the ruler is that he be pious and God-fearing, that he know Scripture and the *sunna* and he behave in accordance with them and that, in the view of those who officially confer sovereignty (on him), he be the most excellent candidate. *c*) It is not the duty of people to entrust sovereignty to someone who is the most excellent before God, but only to entrust it to the person who in their opinion is the most excellent in religious learning and behaviour. *d*) They taught: God has ordered the excellent man to accept the sovereignty if it is offered to him and has ordered the community not to pass it on to someone else, if in their view he is the most excellent candidate in his religious learning and behaviour. *e*) They justified their doctrine that rule could also be exercised by other lineages (than the Quraysh), with the words of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: 'If Sālim, the client of Abū Ḥudhayfa, were still alive, I would entrust him

1 See below Chpt. B 2.2.4 for Faḍl al-Raqāshī and Abū Shamir al-Ḥanafī. I still took it for granted *Anfänge*, 242 ff., that we are here dealing with authentic ideas of Ghaylān.

2 Werkliste XXI, no. 28.

3 *Uṣūl al-niḥal* 63, ll. 5 ff. § 107 f.; on the authorship cf. Madelung in: *Der Islam* 57/1980/220 ff.

4 *Firaq al-Shi'a* 9, ll. 14 ff.: on *b*. On *a–b* briefly also Shahrastānī 106, ll. 2 f./267, 6 f.

with the caliphate. In his case I would not be troubled by any doubts.' They said: If rule only belonged to the Quraysh, 'Umar would not have said this about Sālim who was, after all, only a *mawlā*. *f*) They reinterpreted the words of the Prophet: 'The rulers are only found among the Quraysh,'⁵ *g*) and said: The Prophet added: '... as long as they show mercifulness when they are asked for mercifulness, show justice when they pass judgement and act in fairness when they distribute things'; if they do not behave in accordance with this characteristic of the Prophet, they should not hold power. *h*) In this regard, the saying of the Prophet has come down (to us): 'Stand by the Quraysh as long as they stand by you! But if they no longer stand up (for you, or for what is right), put on your swords⁶ and destroy them all!'⁷ *i*) They said: Thus, if the Quraysh become violent and do damage and defile the women of their family, God, according to this saying of the Prophet, has ordered the community to wage war against them and to remove sovereignty from them. *j*) Most of the Murji'ites and Mu'tazilites adhere to this.

One feels that what was expected of a ruler in the time of Yazīd III has left its mark on these formulations. The ruler should know Scripture and *sunna*, and act piously according to them. It is not necessary that he be the most excellent of his community (*afdāl*) before God; what matters is that people consider him to be the best candidate. In such a case he is duty-bound to accept their choice and they must maintain loyalty to him (*b-d*). Conversely, that the ruler can likewise be deposed if he does not abide by "the contract" is not actually mentioned in the theoretical report but comes out in the numerous *ḥadīths* which immediately follow after it (*f-i*).

These *ḥadīths*, however, are very radical. They support the thesis that is postulated at the beginning of the report (*a*): namely that the caliph does not absolutely have to come from the Quraysh. He does not even have to be an Arab; he could also belong to the *ʿajam* – which one normally understood to be "Persians". The one decisive factor was religious reputation. Not only the

5 The manuscript clearly has *min Quraysh* instead of *fi Quraysh*; in the version transmitted elsewhere it is the other way round (*Conc.* I, 92 a). One probably must correct it.

6 In 63, last line, I now wish to read *fa-da'ū* instead of *fa-ṣuffū*; cf. the wording in Muslim, *Jihād* 95 and other passages (*Conc.* III 52 a).

7 *abīdū khaḍrā'ahum*; on this cf. Lane, *Lexicon* 756 c. This is an allusion to the destruction of the Quraysh's power at the conquest of Mecca (cf. Muslim, *Jihād* 86).

mention of the *‘ajam*, however, causes us to reflect on whether this is really compatible with the political setting of the late Umayyad period. It does seem clear that among the Umayyads before Yazīd III the Qadarites only held Umar II in high esteem,⁸ and as we have seen, even he, in comparison with the former, could become devalued.⁹ In the *ḥadīths* with which the mood became radicalized at the time, outright anti-Qadarite tones are also occasionally to be heard.¹⁰ And that a member of the ruling family, Sulaymān b. Hishām, attached himself to the Khārijite Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays during the years of disruption,¹¹ would probably not have occurred earlier. Still, whether Yazīd, when he gave the right to his followers to depose him in case of his misuse of authority, would have allowed a non-Qurayshī as an alternative is at the least open to question. It was not his intention to disavow his predecessors up to Hishām;¹² but only to demonize his direct opponent Walīd.

Ghaylān, however, to whom all this is traced back, had not contemplated the deposition of the ruler. His concern was that all those who held power in their hands should be aware of their responsibility due to it and not simply to see in this “a gift from God”; but precisely this element, the discussion of the *riḏq*-concept, is entirely lacking in the heresiographical report. On the other hand, the *ḥadīths* which are employed there in the argumentation are not attested among the Syrian Qadarites who, on the whole, were very liberal with *ḥadīths*;¹³ the *isnāds* that we meet with in them are chiefly made up of Iraqis, in one case even of Iraqi Qadarites.¹⁴ The thesis that the caliphs must come from the Quraysh (*f*) is not Syrian but Kūfan.¹⁵ Even with regard to this central idea of Ghaylānite ideology, in Iraq one did not simply follow the Syrian ideas.

8 See above p. 109.

9 Ibid.

10 See above pp. 105 and 121.

11 EI² II, 90 b.

12 Ṭabarī II, 1843, ll. 14 ff.

13 Only in Thawr b. Yazīd does one find a parallel to *e* (see above p. 133). *Ḥadīths* of the Syrian Qadarites are more strongly coloured by a sense of the end of time.

14 Thus in *e* where one of the *isnāds* runs via Qatāda > Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba (Ṭabarī I, 2776, ll. 7 ff.). On *g* cf. the strong similarity in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* III, 129, ll. 11 ff., and 183, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; in general *Conc.* II, 237 a.

15 See below p. 242. On a possible Baṣran origin cf. Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣ‘at* 324 ff.

1.2.8.1 The Epistles of Ghaylān and the Ghaylān Legend

These findings are consistent with the fact that Ghaylān was not portrayed as a speculative theologian but rather as a social critic or an author of epistles (*rasāʾil*) that for a long time enjoyed a high reputation. Ibn al-Nadīm does not know of a single theoretical tract by him; on the other hand, he mentions that the collection of his *rasāʾil* comprises around 2,000 pages.¹ References to these testimonials of his rhetorical art appear elsewhere as well.² From the fact that here even non-Qadarite authors abstain from criticism, we may perhaps conclude that at the time his texts were still available and actually caused admiration; according to Khayyāt, they “were spread throughout the whole world”.³ However, these epistles probably did not contain theology. Up to now we know two fragments that are evidently authentic. The first contains normal paraenesis as was perhaps held in esteem in the court of ʿUmar II, exhortation to self-knowledge and exercising restraint in view of the approaching Judgement;⁴ the second one is a letter of consolation to a friend whose son had died.⁵ However, compositions that did not have such a private character – and these are in the majority – merely reproduced the thoughts of the one who commissioned the work, i.e. the caliph.

Yet along with that we possess a text not by Ghaylān but about him which contains unambiguous Qadarite formulations and for this reason has also been preserved in Muʿtazilite sources: a report on his effect under ʿUmar II and his martyrdom under Hishām. But the work is palpably spurious and once again presumably of Iraqi origin; it could stem from Abūʾl-Hudhayl’s *K. Maqṭal Ghaylān* or be related to it.⁶ The fact was simply concealed until recently because we only possessed a later version in Ibn al-Murtaḍā.⁷ As we now

¹ *Fihrist* 131, l. 12.

² The Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār says that these could fill volumes (*Faḍl* 230, l. 9). One gathered them together with the admonitions of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I, 295, ll. 4 f. = Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ* 141, ll. 11 f., following Madāʾinī; very similar Wakīʿ, *Akhbār* II, 108, l. 9; somewhat divergent Jumāḥī in Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyyāt* 208, ll. 3 f. > TB X, 309, l. 5). Jāḥiẓ mentions Ghaylān in a series of artistic stylists like Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Sahl b. Hārūn, Abū ʿUbaydallāh al-Kātib and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (*Bayān*, III, 29, ll. 15 f.); in another passage he also compares him with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī but without bringing in their literary production (*Ḥayawān* VI, 160, l. 3). Ibn al-Nadīm once again cites Ghaylān among the *bulaghāʾ* (*Fihrist* 139, l. 13). Cf. also EI² II, 1026 b s. n. *Ghaylān b. Muslim*.

³ *Intiṣār* 93, l. 10.

⁴ Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* II, 345, ll. 10 ff.

⁵ Mubarrad, *Taʿāzī* 65, last l. ff.

⁶ Werkliste XXI, no. 48. Cf. also Zimmerman in: IJMES 16/1984/440 f.

⁷ IM 25, ll. 9 ff.

know, it has been abridged; the original is found in Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār.⁸ But important above all is: what was presented in Ibn Murtaḍā as being a theological statement by Ghaylān is in reality not placed in his mouth but the content of an anonymous writing that was delivered to the palace gate for the caliph ‘Umar II; this explains better the obstreperous tone of admonition and the impolite direct speech (*b–e*). Ghaylān only comes into the picture later; the caliph is embarrassed and has Ghaylān auction off the possessions heaped up by the previous caliphs (*f*).⁹ The stylized antithesis of the rhetorical questions, in which the position of the adherents of predestination is shown to be absurd in the letter and God is absolved of all responsibility for evil (*d*), strongly recalls the sermon of the Mu‘tazilite Murdār.¹⁰ The report about the martyrdom works with a motif that perhaps one had previously already applied to Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl who played a leading role in the revolt against Manṣūr in the year 145.¹¹ The narrator of the story, allegedly an eye-witness of the scene with ‘Umar II, is also an Iraqi; one of his *nisbas* is al-Wāsiṭī,¹² and in one passage he speaks of “a Syrian” as if he is a foreigner (*r*). Naturally, this does not exclude older Syrian elements from having been incorporated; when the talk is about wicked rulers who “call people to sins against God” (*c*), this would apply well to Walīd II.¹³ But basically for a Ghaylānite it would also apply well to any other ruler, and likewise it applies to the image that one later produced of Walīd.

8 Text I 1, following *Faḍl al-i‘tizāl*. In IM the introduction (*a*) is missing as well as parts *e*, *i–p* and *r*. The Qāḍī says nothing about the relationship with Abū’l-Hudhayl. A sure quotation, in which Abū’l-Hudhayl is mentioned but without reference to his book, is found *ibid.* 233, ll. 4 ff.: a kind of apotheosis of Ghaylān (on this *Anfänge* 236). One also possessed variants of the legend (thus on *r* for instance *Faḍl* 233, ll. 4 ff. from bot.). On the side of predestination, one launched a bunch of negative versions (*Anfänge* 189 ff.).

9 According to this, *Anfänge* 179 ff. should be corrected. There I still proceeded on the basis of Ibn al-Murtaḍā and considered the kernel of the tradition to be authentic.

10 Text XVIII 6. But Murdār is probably not the model; we cannot date the martyrology so late (unless we consider section *d* to be a subsequent interpolation). That the passage and with it the whole anonymous work already before Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār was considered to be by Ghaylān himself, emerges from the anecdote in Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā‘ir* I, 532, ll. 4 ff., where a remark of Ghaylān that is closely related in structure and content is refuted by an anonymous critic.

11 Cf. Text I 1, *u*, with commentary and below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.2.2.

12 Cf. commentary on *a*. Moreover, he is not known to be a Qadarite.

13 The informant is at any rate also a South-Arab, as his *nisba* al-Raḥābī shows.

1.2.9 *Umar II and the Qadariyya*

The text likewise shows once again how much one idealized 'Umar II in Qadarite circles.¹ Since this characteristic can be traced back to the Syrian Qadariyya, one must ask oneself whether the caliph really criticized the Qadariyya in the form he is meant to have done in an epistle that I have edited and translated.² The extensive biography that Ibn 'Asākir composed concerning him contains nothing of this sort.³ The argumentation of the epistle relies heavily on the Koran; this is not compatible with what we have learned up to now about the religious climate in Syria. The opponents become restricted to an extreme standpoint: namely that God does not know in advance the actions of human beings and consequently cannot predetermine them either; the closest parallel to this is found among the followers of a Khārijite, Shabīb al-Najrānī, who is classified among the Bayhasiyya.⁴ This suggests a forgery; one would have selected the most radical model in order to allow 'Umar's authority to shine all the more brightly.

The text's authenticity which I have advocated has therefore been questioned on several occasions. But the discussion has not yet come to an end;⁵ the sceptics, moreover, do not present a unified standpoint. For M. Cook the attribution to 'Umar II took place relatively early, in any case not later than the end of the 2nd century; the passages in which non-Koranic arguments are found have been worked into the fabric of what was originally a purely Koranic train of thought. He has observed that the form of the epistle, if it had ever existed as such, has been tampered with at the beginning and the end, and he offers concrete suggestions about what to relegate within brackets in order to restore the original state of the text.⁶ F. Zimmermann, in a book review, has drawn attention to the fact that the proportion of Koranic materials is much higher than the explicit quotations would lead one to believe.⁷ In a conference paper presented in 1982, he attempted to prove that the original text was first expanded in the 3rd century by a reviser who was probably active in

1 In general on the image of 'Umar II now Crone/Hinds, *God's Caliph* 73 ff.

2 *Anfänge* 113 ff.

3 But also nothing about Ghaylān, whose relationship with 'Umar he treats in detail elsewhere (*Anfänge* 177; the section as an extract is now accessible in print in Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* xx, 239 ff.). Since Ibn 'Asākir here avoids mentioning anything about religious disputes, one may play with the idea that he does this on purpose.

4 *Anfänge* 129, on the Bayhasiyya see below Chpt. B 3.1.4.1.1.

5 Basically in agreement with my argumentation for instance Juynboll in: JSS 24/1979/304 ff. or Madelung in: OLZ 77/1982/169 ff.

6 *Muslim Dogma* 124 ff.; sceptical about this Calder in: JSS 28/1983/184.

7 In IJMES 16/1984/437 ff., there p. 438.

Khorāsān;⁸ he would also have been the first to attribute it to ‘Umar II. But this work has not been published up until now;⁹ for this reason there is no point to becoming involved in a controversy. For the time being one will have to leave the question of authenticity pending.

In favour of assuming later interpolations is the fact that at the end the text takes up a *ḥadīth* in which Murji’ite polemic against the Khārijites is reflected (§ 44; on this point see here p. 240, fn. 20). On the other hand, the idea that God’s (pre-)knowledge is always “at work” (*nāfidh*), here deployed against the Qadarites (§ 24), is now also attested in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (*Rasā’il*, ed. ‘Abbās 195, l. 8; cf. also 272, l. 11).

8 Because the Bayhasiyya held out there the longest?

9 A brief – and approving – reference to the results in Crone/Hinds, *God’s Caliph* 77, fn. 123.

1.3 A Case of Heresy

Under Maṣṣūr, perhaps during his visit in the year 153/770, a theologian was executed in Damascus in a spectacular manner, a traditionist by the name of

Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān¹ Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥassān al-Urdunnī,

who mostly appears in the sources with the epithet “*al-Maṣlūb*” because his corpse was subsequently publicly displayed on a cross. The reason given for his execution was *zandaqa*; most of the time it is also added by way of explanation that he unscrupulously forged *ḥadīths*.² The question arises as to how these two are meant to be connected. *Zandaqa* in the later Iraqī sense³ was not yet known at the time in Syria; moreover, respected Iraqīs like Sufyān al-Thawrī or Abū Mu‘āwiya,⁴ who were quite fastidious in matters of piety, transmitted from “the heretic”.⁵ The term was therefore no doubt imposed on him subsequently. As far as the forging of *ḥadīths* is concerned, it is difficult to understand why in general this should have especially upset people at the time. Later it was related that he said whenever he came upon “a good saying”, he thought nothing about producing an *isnād* for it.⁶ In itself this was harmless enough – producing forgeries for honest motives, i.e. for the sake of edification (*targhīb*). One must look for a more concrete cause.

Only al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī⁷ and Ibn al-Jawzī⁸ give some indication in this regard. They concentrate on a single *ḥadīth*: “I am the seal of the prophets; after me there will be no other prophet – if God so wills!” The provocation lay in the addition at the end; the scandal is the first sign that one was no longer prepared to negotiate on this point.⁹ One must have blown up the matter out of proportion; Ibn Sa‘īd himself certainly thought that such a proviso – which definitely had its own sense theologically – would be acceptable. He was not just anybody. He was counted among the closest circle of Makhḥūl;¹⁰ Yazīd III

1 On the *kunya* cf. ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* IV, 71, l. 2 from bot.

2 On him Bukhārī I, 94, no. 257; IAH III₂, 262 ff., no. 1436; *Mizān* no. 7592; TT IX, 184 ff., no. 277.

3 On this see below pp. 488 ff.

4 On him see below pp. 248 ff.

5 *Mizān*, op. cit.; in general II IX, 186, ll. 6 f.

6 Bukhārī, op. cit.; Fasawī I, 700, ll. 7 ff.

7 In Suyūṭī, *Tadrib* I, 284, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

8 *Mawḍū‘āt* I, 279, ll. 6 ff.; also Suyūṭī, *La‘ālī* I, 264, ll. 9 f.

9 On the development of the dogma see above p. 35.

10 AZ 454, no. 1148 > *Mizān*, op. cit.

had appointed him to collect the taxes in the district of Urdunn.¹¹ He had only been able to carry out this task with armed support. The population did not yet take the new caliph seriously, and Muḥammad b. Saʿīd was, in any case, only a *mawlā*, namely of the Banū Hāshim.¹² But he was familiar with the region; Yazīd had previously employed him there as his spy. In Tiberias, where his residence as tax inspector was located, he had already heard *Ḥadīth* from ʿUbāda b. Nusayy (d. 118/736), the *qāḍī* of the city.¹³ Presumably, he was a Qadarite – although no one took the trouble to establish this, once he had actually been discredited. Since it was no longer worthwhile to standardize according to later ideas the *isnāds* in which he featured, he appears there in all sorts of forms; the experts complained greatly about this Syrian sloppiness.¹⁴ People who found his inglorious end embarrassing completely skipped him in the chains of transmission.¹⁵ The correct form of his name is recorded in Ṭabarī’s history work where it went unnoticed by the *Ḥadīth* scholars.

That he would have passed himself off as a prophet, as some occasionally maintained (cf. Friedmann in: JSAI 7/1986/195), is very unlikely. He was an opponent of the Shīʿa; “it would not be looked upon favourably in heaven, if Abū Bakr is accused of error (*khataʿ*) on earth”, thus he transmitted from ʿUbāda b. Nusayy (Suyūṭī, *Laʿālī* I, 300, ll. 6 ff.). Another conspicuous *ḥadīth*, according to which blood does not cause impurity, is recorded by Dhahabī, *Mizān* III, 562, ll. 6 ff. from bot. – His brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the teacher of Ibn Maʿīn in Baghdād; the latter therefore denied outright that Muḥammad b. Saʿīd had been crucified (TB IX, 84 f., no. 5765; Samʿānī, *Ansāb* I, 92, ll. 6 ff.).

11 Ṭabarī II, 1832, ll. 16 ff.

12 *Mizān*, op. cit., but there only in a form of the name that cannot be connected to him with full certainty.

13 IAH, op. cit., and in other passages. For this reason he also appears under the name Ibn al-Ṭabarī.

14 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya* 366, ll. 4 ff.; ʿUqaylī IV, 72, ll. 1 ff.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mawḍūʿāt* I, 279, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; also IAH and *Mizān*, op. cit.

15 Examples of this in Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 211, ll. 13 f., or II, 50, ll. 2 f. from bot.

1.4 Syrian Murji'ites

If the definition of faith that one associated with the Iraqi Ghaylāniyya were of Syrian origin, one would expect that the Murji'a had a strong position in Syria. But this is not the case. First of all they are only attested relatively late. Sometime around the middle of the 2nd century the Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī cursed the Murji'ites in Palmyra who had taken malicious pleasure in informing him of the illness of a Shī'ite friend. But what exactly the sources understand by them is not clear – perhaps simply people who did not show any special sympathy for 'Alī, as this was generally common in Syria.¹ Around this time at the earliest they were also noticed in Damascus, and indeed because in contrast to other people they wore a turban.² The point draws attention inasmuch as just around this time Abū Yūsuf, as chief *qādī*, had introduced official clothing for judges in Iraq.³ This included, among other things, a turban of black brocade or black silk.⁴ Perhaps the Damascene Murji'ites were simultaneously Ḥanafites, and perhaps they also stood out with their turbans because these were black and thereby indicated adherence to a particular party line. Only two of them are known to us by name. The older one is

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb b. Shābūr al-Qurashī,

who lived from 116/734 to 200/816⁵ and whose grandfather, apparently having been abducted from Iran by the Arabs, had become a client of Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. He had studied in Beirut with Awzā'ī and had partly recorded his lectures on *Ḥadīth*. As he later related, Awzā'ī had carefully checked over his written notes.⁶ This is why he preferred the written prototype of traditions ('*ard*') to simply hearing them (*samā'*).⁷ Later he became very important for the Damascene transmission of *Ḥadīth*. In Koranic recitation he followed Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhimārī.⁸ His Murji'ite attitude is only weakly attested.⁹ – One generation younger was

1 *Agh.* VII, 275, ll. 8 ff. = *Dīwān* 207 f., no. 71; on this Nouiouat in: REI 48/1980/76.

2 Qādī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* I, 419, ll. 2 f. from bot.

3 IKh VI, 379, ll. 12 ff.

4 Cf. Badrī Muḥammad Fahd, *al-ʿImāma* 21; now also 'Athamina in: *Arabica* 36/1989/320.

5 Thus AZ 278, no. 422, and 705, no. 2215; Fasawī I, 190, ll. 7 ff.; somewhat divergent date of death TH 315 f., no. 295, and Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tab.* II, 154, no. 3066.

6 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya* 322, ll. 6 ff.

7 AZ 369, no. 796.

8 Ibn al-Jazarī, *ibid.*

9 TT IX 222 ff., no. 359. Nothing in *Mizān* no. 7672.

Abū Bakr Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Asadī al-Ṭātarī,

who lived from 147/764 to 210/825¹⁰ and was a merchant who dealt in exquisite white cotton fabrics.¹¹ He had heard *Ḥadīth* from Mālik b. Anas in Medina. His Murji'ite conviction¹² was connected with belief in predestination; he spread tendentious traditions against Ghaylān al-Dimashqī.¹³ Nor did he like Ṣūfīs.¹⁴

1.4.1 “Jahmites”

In the 3rd century, people one would earlier have described as Murji'ites because of their concept of faith, sometimes turn up in the sources as “Jahmites”, particularly when it was a question of Ḥanafite jurists who were appointed to their office by the state.¹ In this way perhaps

Isma'īl b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Yazīd al-Qurashī al-'Abdarī

came to acquire the designation – a disciple of Shaybānī who originated from Raqqa and in the year 233/848, i.e. towards the end of the *miḥna*, became *qāḍī* of Damascus.² Also a Ḥanafite before him was

Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Wuḥāzī

who lived from 147/764³ to 222/837. He originated from Ḥimṣ and had likewise studied with Shaybānī but had also studied with Mālik. He had been on good terms with them both. He had accompanied Shaybānī on the *ḥajj*; at the time they had shared the same howdah. He received the *Muwaṭṭa'* from Mālik.⁴ He was a respected traditionist in his own right; but he had advised that it was

10 Az 284, no. 456 f.; 706, ll. 2 f. from bot.; 707, no. 2227; Fasawī I, 197, ll. 12 f.

11 Hence his second *nisba*; cf. TH 348 f., no. 335, and TT x, 95, ll. 10 f.; on this Dozy, *Supplément* s. v. *ṭātarī*. In Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb* I, 149, l. 5 from bot., mistakenly written *Zāhirī*.

12 On this Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *ibid.*; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV, 205, no. 1788; *Mizān* no. 8435; TT x, 96, l. 10. Nothing in Bukhārī IV, 373, no. 1600, and IAH IV, 275, no. 1257.

13 *Anfänge* 220 f.

14 Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ I, 420, l. 4.

1 For more about these connections see below Chpt. C 2.4.1.

2 TTD III, 23, ll. 2 ff.; *Mizān* no. 904. Shaybānī was active in Raqqa at the court of Hārūn (see below Chpt. B 2.4.2.1).

3 Thus according to Fasawī I, 206, ll. 11 f.; GAS 1/103 has instead 137/754.

4 Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartīb* I, 202, l. 3 from bot. (mistakenly written) and 277, l. 9; also Muranyi, *Materialien* 130, no. 73.

better not to disseminate the *ḥadīths* concerning the vision of God. Ibn Ḥanbal had taken offense at this;⁵ from then on in many circles he was regarded as “a Jahmite”.⁶ The mystic Aḥmad b. Abī'l-Ḥawārī, a disciple of Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, and like him very interested in the vision of God,⁷ was nonetheless not put off from attending his lectures.⁸ – And there is the case of

Abū'l-Walid Hishām b. 'Ammār b. Nuṣayr al-Sulamī,

who died in 245/859 at the age of 92 and was the official Friday preacher of Damascus. His image also suffered due to the Ḥanafites.⁹ In their eyes he had sinned because, as a follower of Karābīsī, he held the pronunciation of the Koran to be created.¹⁰ But still even Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī spoke well about him.¹¹

But they were not one and all theologians who argued dialectically. *Kalām* had a hard time of it in Syria. When around the turn of the 5th/11th century a disciple of Bāqillānī wished to spread the doctrine of Ash'arī in Damascus, the local religious scholars walked out of his lecture.¹² Already two hundred years earlier, in 225/839, a visitor to the city records that one of the principles one subscribed to there and elsewhere among the *ahl al-sunna* was not to carry on debates.¹³

5 *Ilal* 187, no. 1150.

6 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV, 408 f., no. 2034 (where *ru'ya* should be read instead of *riwāya*); *Mizān* no. 9545; TH 408 f., no. 413; TT XI, 229 ff., no. 371. Cf. also IS VII₂, 175, ll. 3 ff.; IAW II, 213, no. 669.

7 See below p. 165 f.

8 Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* x, 26, last l. ff. Perhaps it also played a role that the *ḥadīth* in question here could be understood in an anti-Qadarite sense.

9 *Mizān* no. 9234.

10 See below Chpt. C 6.3.

11 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'*, I, 355, ll. 2 f. from bot.; on him in general GAS I/111 f.

12 TTD IV, 289 f.

13 TTD III, 131, ll. 15 ff.; also Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 344 f./261 f.

1.5 From Asceticism to Mysticism

The pious devotional exercises that accompanied military service at the frontier: supererogatory prayer or fasting, as well as litany-like invocation of God (*dhikr*), were already recommended in *Ḥadīth*; they were meant to boost morale and confer a sense on *jihād*.¹ But asceticism also corresponded to the harsh reality: booty was by no means always to be had; protecting the frontier was reduced to mounting guard in a devastated region. The state did disburse salaries; it provided equipment. Awzā'ī, who since his youth had worked in the military administration in Beirut, in the time of the caliph Maṣū'ir took delivery of both from an envoy on particular occasions and distributed it among the people in his area. But this was not nearly enough. Awzā'ī felt obliged to write a letter to the ruler: the ten dinars per year that everyone received was too little – at least if one wished to nourish a family of ten with it.²

What is more, whoever really took asceticism seriously might consider money that came from the authorities (*sulṭān*) as suspect. Even gainful employment was frowned upon by many of the border inhabitants.³ Many thought they would only be sure of a permissible daily sustenance if during the harvest they picked up the left-overs that could be gleaned behind the reapers; Jewish law had already stipulated that one was not to gather gleanings from the fields, so that something would be left over for the poor.⁴ Others were not rid of their concerns if the field in question had been acquired with government money. But still others found this behaviour too soft and in any case preferred to fight against the Byzantines, despite how little the authorities deserved their commitment.⁵ For, in the end, there were many who, even if they were wearers of wool,⁶ remained positive towards the state. Only then one wondered whether it was justified to wage an offensive war, or whether it was not better to wait for the enemy to attack, given that the end of time was near at hand.⁷

1 On this Noth, *Heiliger Krieg* 55 ff.

2 IAH, *Taqdīma* 193 ff.; on this 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī in: *Waqā'ī' al-mu'tamar al-'ālamī* 358. There were always private individuals who donated something for *jihād* (Fazārī, *Sīyar* 130 ff.; on this above pp. 90 and 122 as well as below Chpt. B 3.1.2.2 on Ibn Mubārak).

3 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* 2182, ll. 16 ff.

4 Lev. 19.9 f. To live only from plants (βόσκεσθαι) was also quite widespread among Christian ascetics particularly in Syria (H. Dörries, "Mönchtum und Arbeit" in: *Wort und Stunde* 1, 280).

5 Muḥāsibī, *Makāsib* 211, ll. 2 ff.; transl. *Gedankenwelt* 102 f.

6 *Ibid.* 208, ll. 4 ff.

7 *Ibid.* 211, ll. 12 ff./transl. 103.

The divided attitude towards the authorities at the earliest belongs to the middle of the 2nd century; at that time it also emerges in Iraq.⁸ By then it is explained among the frontier fighters in part by the fact that many of them were “drop-outs”; they had given up their bourgeois existence and had come from far-off in order to accomplish something “real”. Ibrāhīm b. Adham,⁹ for example, had turned up in this way; he originated from Balkh but died – allegedly – on a campaign against the Byzantines.¹⁰ Everyone brought his own problems with him. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī (120/738–212/827), a disciple of Sufyān al-Thawrī, settled in Ascalon and there urged his friends and disciples not to forget to say *in shāʾa’llāh* with every action.¹¹ Like his teacher, when he said “I am a believer”, he would add these words after it.¹² Thereby he would indulge his anti-Murji’ite resentments; he was well known for not tolerating Murji’ites in his lectures in his home country.¹³ In Syria one was evidently not particularly happy about these disagreements which had grown up on the native soil.¹⁴

One of these foreigners in Damascus rose to become a great saint whose grave in the Ghūṭa was still visited by Samʿānī:¹⁵

Abū Sulaymān ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ‘Aṭīyya al-‘Ansī al-Dārānī,

who died in 235/850 (?).¹⁶ He came from Iraq and had evidently resided a long time in ‘Abbādān;¹⁷ he transmitted *Ḥadīth* from Rabīʿa b. Ṣabīḥ who had there

8 Cf. for instance below pp. 255 f. for Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778).

9 On him see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.4. For Syria cf. the detailed biography in TTD II, 167 ff.

10 Several localities in Syria claimed his grave (E1² III, 985 b; also Tadmurī, op. cit., 362 ff.). Tadmurī’s essay contains the names of numerous other border fighters of this period. Cf. also ‘Aṭwān, *al-Firaq al-Islāmīyya fī bilād al-Shām* 109 ff.

11 Kawtharī, *Taʾnīb al-Khaṭīb* 213, ll. 13 ff. On him GAS 1/40; Bukhārī attended his lectures.

12 See below pp. 258 f.

13 TT IX 537, ll. 5 f.

14 Qādī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb* I, 173, ll. 5 ff. But there as a Shīʿite or “Jahmite” one could also become *qādī*; Abū ‘Ubayd was very surprised by this (‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *K. al-Sunna* 57, ll. 6 ff.).

15 *Ansāb* v, 271, ll. 3 ff.

16 Thus according to the author of the *Taʾrīkh Dārayyā* (51, l. 2 from bot.) who should really know. Ibn ‘Asākir does not agree; he offers the dates 204, 205 and 215 (ibid., ftn.). But he probably bases himself on the eastern tradition where the date 215 had established itself (cf. for instance Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfīyya* 75, l. 8). In Aḥmad b. Abī’l-Ḥawārī, the disciple of Abū Sulaymān, the information fluctuates to the same extent (see below p. 166).

17 *Taʾrīkh Dārayyā* 54, ll. 1 ff.; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* IX, 260, ll. 5 f. from bot.; also 272, ll. 5 f.

created a place to stay for Šūfis.¹⁸ That he then sought lodgings particularly in Dārayyā among the ‘Ans was presumably a tradition; the city had a connection with Bašra since the time of the Ghaylāniyya.¹⁹ But if they were still Qadarites at the time, he would not have fitted in with them. He thought that the Qadarites were too conceited about their actions (‘*amal*); man was only a marionette (*musta‘mal*) in God’s hands.²⁰ At any rate, he himself was a completely different type. He preached trust in God (*tawakkul*) and acceptance (*riḍā*) of God’s will;²¹ this was not compatible with Qadarite thought. But he was apparently no frontier fighter either; he did regard *jihād* very highly but he saw it as genuinely realized in the struggle against one’s own self (*mujāhadat al-naḥs*).²² He was no longer simply an ascetic but rather a mystic.

We must restrain ourselves from a more detailed analysis of his thought at this point; the time has not yet come for this. The synthesis in Massignon²³ will be examined more closely later. Typical of his mystical approach was that he no longer committed himself to specific ascetic practices but thought in terms of stages. One must have passed through them; only then is one able to describe them.²⁴ At the end of one’s development stands inner knowledge (*ma‘rifā*);²⁵ he himself, so he thought, had first attained it in Syria.²⁶ Among the preparatory ascetic exercises, however, he appears to have assigned hunger a special place;²⁷ he was also in favour of celibacy.²⁸ He justified this by the fact

18 Sam‘ānī v, 271, ll. 14 f.; on Rabī‘ b. Šabīḥ see below Chpt. B. 2.2.2.2.2.1.

19 Or did he actually belong to the tribe? A brother of his named Dāwūd who lived in Baghdād was regarded there as a Syrian (cf. TB VIII, 366, no. 4464; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD VIII*, 142 f., no. 71).

20 *Ḥilya* IX, 263, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; also 271, ll. 12 ff. He is supposed to have not wanted to pray together with them (Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 320/254 and 346/262, following Ibn ‘Asākir; also *Ta‘rīkh Dārayyā* 117, ll. 4 f. from bot.). Presumably there was no way he could avoid them in the mosque.

21 Cf. Reinert, *Tawakkul*, Index s. n. Dārānī.

22 *Ḥilya* IX, 270, 13 f.; also 267, 16 ff. At first the verb *jāhada* in fact only means “to exert oneself”, similarly to *κοπιᾶν* in the Acts of the Apostles which then secondarily comes to mean “to exert oneself in the service of the community, do missionary work” (W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum NT* 876 f.).

23 *Essai*² 215 ff.

24 *Ḥilya* IX, 256, ll. 2 ff., and 266, ll. 3 ff.

25 *Ibid.* 256, ll. 6 f., and 265, ll. 9 f.

26 *Ibid.* 272, ll. 5 f.

27 *Ibid.* 257, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; 259, ll. 10 f.; 266, l. 9.

28 *Ibid.* 260, ll. 9 ff., and 269, ll. 12 f.: he did not want any children.

that with a family one can never get away from the struggle to earn a living.²⁹ But perhaps there is something more behind this: as he tells us, for years he had beheld the virgins of Paradise.³⁰ He had dreamt of them;³¹ presumably their image had haunted him in other ways as well. “Nothing is more exquisite than women”, so he openly admitted.³² He had passed on from there;³³ one must not let oneself be distracted from God by Paradise, so he came to think in the end.³⁴ But women belonged to his circle; one of them, an ascetic from Khorāsān, he is supposed to have described as his “teacher” (*ustādha*).³⁵

And then there was something else: During his time a certain Abū Ḥulmān turned up in Damascus who originated from Fārs and had grown up in Aleppo. He is meant to have believed that God can take up residence within a good-looking person, just as He had once created Adam after His own image “in beautiful form” and then made the angels prostrate themselves before him.³⁶ Ritter conjectured that what was meant by this was a doctrine Abū Saīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) had opposed: namely that in this life one can behold God in the heart just as one will see Him with one’s own eyes in the world to come.³⁷ Abū Sulaymān also believed in the *ru’ya bi’l-abṣār*;³⁸ but evidently in the here and now he did not go beyond the Houris. Abū Ḥulmān, moreover, was described by Baghdādī as an antinomian;³⁹ Abū Sulaymān was certainly not one.⁴⁰ But beholding God and experiencing the Houris had always been motifs that one used to arouse the zeal of fighters for the faith and their anticipation of an immediate entry into Paradise.⁴¹

29 Reinert, *Tawakkul* 263 and 266 f. Yet he was married himself and had a son (see below fn. 54).

30 *Ḥilya* 1X, 270, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

31 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 15, ll. 10 f. from bot./transl. Gramlich, *Sendschreiben* 55.

32 *Ḥilya* 1X, 270, ll. 8 f. from bot.

33 Ibid. 270, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

34 Ibid. 276, ll. 4 f. from bot.; also 270, ll. 16 f.

35 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* XXIX, 209 f.; Ayaḍ, *Tarbiya* 323 f./256 f. She had a disciple with the significant name Abū’l-Faqr (ibid. 210, l. 5)

36 Baghdādī, *Farq* 245, ll. 3 ff./259, ll. 7 ff.; transl. in Ritter, *Meer der Seele* 452 (Eng. transl. O’Kane, *Ocean of the Soul* 467). Cf. also Gimaret *Noms divins* 215 f.

37 *Meer* 452 f./ transl., *Ocean* 467; also EI² IV, 1083 b.

38 *Ḥilya* 1X, 264, ll. 11 ff.

39 Ibid.; according to Ibn Taymiyya, he also maintained that during the recitation of the Koran one hears the speech of God Himself (*Madhhab al-salaf* 63, ll. 11 ff.).

40 Cf. for instance *Ḥilya* 1X, 269, ll. 14 f.

41 Muranyi in: ZDMG 136/1986/532; on this see below Chpts. B. 3.1.2.1.3 and D 1.2.3. For Syria cf. as well the story in Qushayrī *Risāla* 178, ll. 18 ff./transl. Gramlich 529.

Abū Sulaymān owes his fame, among other things, to his disciple Aḥmad b. Abī'l-Ḥawārī (d. 230/845 or 246/860),⁴² who collected his sayings; Abū Nu'aym relied in large part on him. He was married to an ascetic woman who was called Rābī'a like her famous namesake from Baṣra and was similarly even meant to have composed poems in her ecstasy.⁴³ She was apparently already somewhat elderly; because she had inherited some money from an earlier husband which due to her new attachment she wished would go to the circle of Abū Sulaymān. For this reason, like Khadija, she could permit herself to woo her future husband. Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī had not wished to consent at first; Abū Sulaymān is supposed to have advised his followers not to marry so they would not come to have wayward thoughts. But afterwards he acquired a taste for the matter; over time, with the consent of his wife, he took three additional spouses.⁴⁴ One must ask oneself why the pious ladies were recorded here in particular; Abū Sulaymān's sister was also known to be exceptionally God-fearing.⁴⁵ To be sure, they gained in significance through the emotion-ization of religious expression. One may think of Baṣran influence; there this tradition stretches further back.⁴⁶ But the influence of Christian models should also not be ruled out.⁴⁷

In Damascus, confronted with the new "promiscuity", one certainly had mixed feelings. An attempt was made to drive Abū Sulaymān out of Dārāyyā and to banish him to the coastal cities, i.e. among the frontier fighters. This was not wholly illogical; ascetics who had come over from Iraq or Khorāsān until now had always headed there. But Abū Sulaymān had already gained such popularity with the people that it was thought the city's good fortune would

42 On him Sulamī, *Tabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya* 98 ff.; *Hilya* x, ll. 5 ff., etc. The earlier date is in Sulamī, the later one apparently in Dhahabī (thus according to Massignon, *Essai*² 222).

43 But in the case of the poems caution is necessary; at times both women are confused with one another. The Syrian was called Rābī'a bt. Ismā'il; the Baṣran is only known as Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya or Rābī'a al-Qaysiyya. J. Baldick has recently drawn attention to the parallels in the development of their legends; he compares this with the stories about Mary Magdalene and Mary the Egyptian (*Mystical Islam* 29).

44 Cf. the biography in Ibn 'Asākir (Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* VIII, 347 ff.).

45 Ibn Manẓūr xx, 170 f. Moreover, among the other three wives of Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī was a sister of the Rābī'a he first married who also "read in the Koran" (ibid. XXIX, 342, no. 414). By then Rābī'a must have already been dead; because in fact it was not allowed to be married to two sisters at the same time.

46 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.2. The *ustādha*, since she was originally from Khorāsān, may have come to Syria via Baṣra.

47 Monks and nuns play a not inconsiderable role in the stories about Rābī'a bt. Ismā'il (cf. Ibn Manẓūr VIII, 348, ll. 7 ff.).

depart with him; and so he was able to remain.⁴⁸ In the higher social orders mysticism had not yet established itself; it was a revivalist movement. In it the old religious sciences did not count for much. Above all, the mystics distanced themselves from *Ḥadīth*; it had become too much a matter for experts and only served to promote vanity. Ibrāhīm b. Adham is supposed to have described Awzā'ī as an elementary school teacher because he attracted so many disciples with his traditions from the Prophet; Ibrāhīm himself transmitted nothing.⁴⁹ Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ also recommended avoiding *Ḥadīth*.⁵⁰ Abū Sulaymān was not quite so severe; but from him as well one only knew very few sayings of the Prophet.⁵¹ Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī is meant to have cast all his collected traditions into the sea;⁵² Qāsim b. 'Uthmān al-Jū'ī, another of Sulaymān's disciples, seems to have transformed his course of lectures into pure paraenesis under the latter's influence.⁵³

The circle of disciples at this point should not interest us further.⁵⁴ Only two things remain to be emphasized: 1) Here one did not wear wool. In any case, it was not to be expected; it had too much to do with externals.⁵⁵ 2) The same development as in Damascus also took place in the frontier cities. Concerning Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Mubārak al-Ṣūrī who presumably resided in Tyre, we know next to nothing.⁵⁶ But for Antioch we actually have two,⁵⁷ if not three⁵⁸ names, one of which at least, that of

Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. 'Aṣīm al-Anṭākī

who died 239/853–4 (?),⁵⁹ can be filled out with some life. However, his case needs to be looked into anew. Massignon was the first to help him as well to

48 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 320/254.

49 Ibid. 318 f./253.

50 Ibid. 224/258.

51 *Ḥilya* 1x, 279, ll. 1 ff.

52 Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 322/256.

53 One should note the characteristic *nisba*. On him see *Ḥilya* 1x, 322 ff. and Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* XXIX, 315 ff., no. 368 f.; Abyaḍ, *Tarbiya* 321/255.

54 On the son of Abū Sulaymān and his grandson cf. *Ta'riḫ Dārawayyā* 120, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

55 *Ḥilya* 1x, 275, ll. 8 f., and 276, l. 16.

56 On him *Ḥilya* 1x, 298 ff.

57 Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya* 137 ff. and 141 ff. with the additional sources mentioned there.

58 Thus in Kalābādhi, *Ta'arruf* 32, ll. 4 f.

59 Thus only in a later source (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* x, 318).

come into his own.⁶⁰ He relied on the statements of Abū Nu‘aym;⁶¹ moreover, he made use of a notice by Sprenger in which the latter briefly treated a *K. Dawā’ dā’ al-qulūb* which, in the Beirut manuscript he had before him, was described as a work by Anṭākī.⁶² But Sprenger wished to attribute it to Muḥāsibī;⁶³ Massignon rejected the hypothesis. This has remained the problem up to today. Since then, the Beirut manuscript has been irretrievably lost; in the meantime, however, the question has once again arisen regarding another text, the *K. al-Khalwa wa’l-tanaqqul fī’-ibāda wa-darajāt al-‘abidīn*.⁶⁴ In its unique extant manuscript it is presented as a work by Muḥāsibī;⁶⁵ but Abū Nu‘aym has incorporated a rather large section from it along with a smaller fragment in his chapter on Anṭākī. In my dissertation, I have myself come out in favour of Muḥāsibī as the author.⁶⁶ As an argument against my view, one may use the words at the end of the text:⁶⁷ “If the frontier inhabitants (*ahl al-thaghr*), all together, would go to war and here draw themselves up in formation . . .” One might use these words more readily in Antioch than in Baghdād. Likewise, the praise of solitude (*khalwa*)⁶⁸ fits Anṭākī better than a “bourgeois” mystic like Muḥāsibī. The problem, however, cannot be resolved here but only raised once more for discussion. In any case, the relationship to Muḥāsibī remains close but perhaps we may here have a new source for Antioch.⁶⁹

This also means that Aḥmad b. ‘Aṣim understood mysticism differently from Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī. Like the latter he had internalized *jihād* to become *mujāhadat al-nafs*;⁷⁰ but he focused his attention more strongly on

60 *Essai*² 223 ff.

61 *Ḥilya* IX, 280 ff.

62 In: JRAS Bengal 25/1856/133 ff. Massignon speaks of two texts; and besides this he also mentions a *K. al-Shubuhāt*. But in it Sprenger had probably only seen a part of the *K. Dawā’ dā’ al-qulūb*.

63 On him see below Chpt. C 6.2.

64 Ed. ‘Abduh Khalifa in: *Mashriq* 48/1954/182 ff. and 49/1955/43 ff. and 451 ff.

65 *Ibid.* 48/1954/182, l. 4.

66 *Gedankenwelt* 16 ff.

67 Perhaps only after the conclusion of the book. The sentence is introduced with *wa-qāla*; previously there is a concluding formula (*Mashriq* 49/1955/486, ll. 2 f.).

68 Cf. for instance *Mashriq* 48/1954/189, ll. 6 f. from bot.

69 The starting point of this self-criticism was a correspondence that I had more than 20 years ago with Ch. Abdul Aziz, Karachi. At the time he wished to write an essay about Anṭākī but as far as I know never carried out his intention.

70 *Ḥilya* IX, 283, l. 7 from bot.

sinful thoughts. He suffered under the corruption of his contemporary world;⁷¹ probably he would not have come up with the idea that already on earth one could behold Paradise.⁷² We do not know how widespread an effect he had on the populace; the style of the *K. al-Khabwa* resembles that of a preacher.⁷³ Like Abū Sulaymān he may have contributed to creating among the people a mood in which theology in the sense of *kalām* could only flourish with difficulty.

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- 71 This is above all clear from the poem that Abū Nu‘aym has preserved from him (296, ll. 6 ff.; partly translated in Massignon, *Essai*² 225). It reminds one in places of the autobiographical passage with which the *K. al-Khabwa* concludes (*Mashriq* 49/1955/482, last l. ff.; partly translated *Gedankenwelt* 5 f.); cf. for instance there 485, ll. 10 ff. with *Ḥilya* 296, l. 18.
- 72 How the motif of beholding the virgins of Paradise developed further has recently been shown by F. Meier in a very detailed manner through the example of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī’s father (*Bahā’-i Walad* 244 ff.).
- 73 On this level as well the comparison with the (other?) writings of Muḥāsibī still remains to be done.

Iraq

2.0 Preliminary General Remarks

Iraq was “a province” during the Umayyad period; political decisions were taken in Syria. When they became known in Iraq, they were no longer relevant to the immediate situation; one could react but one could not intervene. The putsch by Yazīd III for this reason left behind no traces; by the time one had actually become aware of it, the whole affair was almost over.¹ Recognizing this different situation from the start, helps to explain why Islamic jurisprudence developed along different lines in both regions: in Damascus practical government experience dominated; by contrast, in Iraq as in the Ḥijāz the views of independent religious scholars developed. When, with the Abbasids, the centre of power shifted to Iraq, the influence of the ‘*ulamā*’ could then no longer be ignored. The weakness of the caliphate at the end of the Umayyad period had taught them to conduct themselves independently; the missionary movement in Baṣra and the expansion of the Ḥanafite school of jurisprudence in Kūfa bear witness to this.²

The big Iraqi cities: Kūfa, Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Mosul, and later Baghdād, had only recently been founded; in them Muslims could install themselves as they wished. This does not mean that they did not also come into contact with the indigenous population. Kūfa was located not far from Ḥīra, Baṣra opposite P^erāt d^e-Mayṣān, Wāsiṭ alongside Kaskar, Mosul alongside Nineveh, and Baghdād was in the region of Ctesiphon;³ and the cities themselves had a Jewish and a Christian quarter. The mixture of languages was the same as before the conquest. Arabic did now have a far greater predominance; but in the countryside one continued to speak Aramaic, and in Baṣra and Kūfa one could hear much Persian.⁴

Each of the individual cities soon developed its own special profile; Baṣra and Kūfa lay more than 350 kms. from one another. This phenomenon had quite

1 In Kūfa after the death of Walid one did not want to undertake anything (Balādhurī in Derenk, *Walid* 65, ll. 1 ff.). For Baṣra see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.2.2.

2 On this see above pp. 50 f.

3 Morony, *Iraq* 516.

4 Fück, *Arabiya* 9 f.; Morony 208 ff. – On the number of the inhabitants of the two cities cf. Ṣāliḥ A. al-‘Alī in: MMTI 32/1981/25 ff.

complex causes; it is not sufficient to say that Kūfa was Shī'ite and that Baṣra consisted of moderate Khārijites, or that Kūfa was 'Alid and Baṣra 'Uthmānite. Rivalries also played a role; in the presence of al-Saffāḥ, i.e. before Baghdād was founded, a Baṣran and a Kūfan religious scholar are said to have argued each for the primacy of his own city.⁵ For this reason we will have to devote individual chapters to Baṣra and Kūfa; Wāsiṭ will also have to be treated separately. At this time the Jazīra stood completely on its own; during the Umayyad period it is more strongly connected to Syria than to Lower Mesopotamia and under the Abbasids as well remains an independent cultural province.

5 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān* 167, ll. 11 ff./transl. Massé 204 ff.; a divergent version in Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaḥḥaqīyyāt* 155 ff., no. 79.

2.1 Kūfa

Kūfa just like Baṣra was laid out as an army camp (*miṣr*) of the conquering Arab troops. The tribes that had fought in the region and then expanded still further into Iran were gathered together in Kūfa; each clan had its own parcel of land (*khiṭṭa*) assigned to it.¹ But Jews also resided in Kūfa; they had strong support in the surrounding fertile land, in the so-called *sawād*.² Moreover, in a particular suburb there resided one Nestorian and one Jacobite bishop; for this city neighborhood the Christians went on using the old Aramaic name ‘Aqūla. To us the best known among them was George the Bishop of the Arabs, so named because he was responsible for the Christian bedouins; he had translated the first three parts of Aristotle’s *Organon* into Syriac and only died in 724, i.e. in the year that Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik acceded to the government.³

Among the Arabs there was a strong South-Arabian minority. Considerable urbanizing impulses seem to have arisen from them; Yemen had a long tradition of sedentariness and urban culture.⁴ It is striking that many jurists and judges in Kūfa came from South-Arabian tribes;⁵ the same may also be observed for theology.⁶ However, alongside those who owed a rapid social ascent to their experience, there were also the latecomers (*rawādif*); their disappointment likewise shaped the intellectual climate of the city.⁷ Above all, the Shī‘ites profited from this; from the beginning they were a protest movement. At the same time commitment to ‘Alī was rooted in old hostility to ‘Uthmān: one took it badly that the third caliph had distributed *ṣawāfi*-estates to individual persons, e.g. to his governor, whereas according to Kūfan opinion they should have been administered by “the community”, i.e. *de facto* by the Kūfans themselves.⁸

1 E1² v 345 ff. s. v. *Kūfa*; also Halm, *Die islamische Gnosis* 19 ff. and now Djaït, *Al-Kūfa. Naisance de la ville islamique* 117 ff. with additional literature.

2 Morony, *Iraq* 308 f.; for the later period J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* 329 ff.

3 Rijssel, *Georg des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe* xv f.; Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* 257 f.; Georr, *Catégories* 27 f.; *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* 1, 507 f., 514 and 519. Both place names, ‘Aqūla as well as Kūfa, have an Aramaic etymology according to which both roots are synonyms and signify “curve” (JAOS 106/1986/823). In general on the Christians in this region cf. H. Charles, *Le christianisme des Arabes nomades* 62 f., 70 f. and 77 f.

4 On this Djaït in: JESHO 19/1976/148 ff.; Ashtor, *Social and Economic History* 19 f.; Morony, *Iraq* 239 ff.; J. Jūda, *al-‘Arab wa’l-ard̄ fi’l-‘Irāq* 166 ff.

5 Djaït, op. cit., 178 ff.

6 See below p. 408, also 403 and 409 f.; cf. p. 384.

7 On the relationship between the early settlers and the *rawādif* cf. above all M. Hinds in: IJMES 2/1971/346 ff.

8 On this Morony in: *The Islamic Middle East*, ed. Udovitch, p. 159.

Along with this, the *mawālī* played an important role; they had always been very numerous in Kūfa.⁹ Naturally, to begin with they were not able to pursue politics on their own. But it was easy to draw them into the politics of the tribes they were associated with. Once again this happened especially among the South-Arabs; the latter were in part underprivileged. Mukhtār was the first to make use of this opportunity; he relied primarily on Yemenite tribes.¹⁰ A decade and a half later Ibn al-Ash‘ath also recruited numerous followers among the *mawālī*.¹¹ When their hope for political success was not fulfilled, they took refuge in Utopia. Nowhere did so many prophets emerge as in Kūfa, so scoffed external observers; and yet they are all mere weavers.¹² This was a reference to the Shī‘ite gnostics who, after the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya had died out, sought for a new model of “interior guidance”. They were mostly – if not always – *mawālī*, and as such mostly, if here as well not always, attached to South-Arabian tribes. But the moderate Shī‘ites also came from this class; Mūsā al-Kāzīm is supposed to have spoken “to the *mawālī* about us Arabs and our party (*shī‘a*)”.¹³ And even among the Murji‘ites, who for a long time formed the strongest counterweight to the Shī‘ites, there was a client faction. With this example in mind we now intend firstly to examine the balance of power.

2.1.1 *The Murji‘a*

In the case of the Murji‘a, even more so than that of the Shī‘a, we will have to take into account developments of the late 1st century. Indeed, in recent decades their early history has several times been the object of investigation and controversy which has significantly influenced the overall picture that one can sketch of them. From the outset it was known that, as with the Shī‘a, the most important information was often not to be found among the heresiographers but among the historians and biographers. Helga Brentjes let herself be guided by this awareness in the chapter about the Murji‘a in her dissertation entitled *Die Imāmatslehren im Islam nach der Darstellung des Asch‘arī*

9 Pipes, *Slave Soldiers* 116. But that they would have had their own mosque there, as Massignon wanted to conclude from Ṭabarī III, 295, l. 12, is not correct (cf. Djaīt, *Al-Kūfa* 300).

10 Rotter, *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 100 ff.; Djaīt, *Al-Kūfa* 227 ff.; EI² IV, 1086 f. s. v. *Khashabiyya*.

11 Ṭabarī II, 1072, ll. 10 ff.; on this Pipes 122 f. and Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣ‘at* 362 f. At Dayr al-Jamājim the *qurrā* are even supposed to have thought of choosing a client as their leader (Fasawī, III, 170, ll. 4 ff. from bot.).

12 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān* 168, 10 ff./transl. Massé 205; Fasawī II, 758, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

13 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* VIII, 226, last l.

[*The Doctrine on the Imāmate in Islam According to Ash'arī*] (Berlin 1964).¹ One year later, in an excursus to his postdoctoral thesis Madelung published an outline “of the history of the Murji'ites” which has retained much of its persuasive power up to today.² Then the widely dispersed source materials received detailed treatment in the doctoral thesis of J. Givony which was produced under the guidance of W. M. Watt, *The Murji'a and the Theological School of Abū Ḥanīfa: A Historical and Theological Study* (PhD Edinburgh 1977); but in its analysis not very much is presented that is new. Especially important is the discussion concerning the *K. al-Irjā'* by Ḥasan b. al-Ḥanafiyya which I have edited.³ Whereas I proceeded on the assumption that the text is authentic and estimated its date of composition to be between 72/692 and circa 75/695, M. Cook has questioned the authorship and dated the work in the late Umayyad period, i.e. in the second decade of the 2nd century.⁴ The work contains important statements about Murji'ite doctrine; its chronological classification is therefore by no means an irrelevant question. But the response assumes a knowledge of the broader context. For this reason we must go somewhat further back.

This cannot simply be a matter of searching for instances in which mention of Murji'ites is made at the earliest possible date; as long as the attestations remain isolated, they will be under the suspicion of projection back in time. For example, when Abū 'Ubayda in his commentary on the *Naqā'id* maintains that in the year 64/683 the Murji'ites along with the Khārijites and the Shī'ites helped in the defense of Mecca against the troops of Yazīd I,⁵ perhaps he simply means by this “those who were neutral” like 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar;⁶ he himself was a Ṣufrite⁷ and therefore possibly had his own idea of what a Murji'ite was.⁸ There are also cases of loose usage of the term as when Ja'far b. Burqān

1 Pp. 45 ff. She closely follows Ash'arī in the other chapters; but is well aware that regarding the Murji'a he applies strong schematization and entirely neglects the early period.

2 *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm* 228–241.

3 *Arabica* 21/1974/20 ff. and 22/1975/48 ff.

4 *Early Muslim Dogma. A source-critical study* (Cambridge 1981), pp. 68 ff. and 153 ff. Cook has reiterated his most important hypotheses concerning the *K. al-Irjā'* in: *Islam and Power*, ed. A. S. Cudsi and A. E. Hillal Dessouki (London 1981), pp. 15 ff. – In the Soviet secondary literature the Murji'a is briefly treated along with the *K. al-Irjā'* by S. M. Prozorov in: *Islam v istorii narodov Vostoka*, pp. 19–24.

5 *Naqā'id*, ed. Bevan I, 118, l. 12; on this Brentjes 46.

6 See above pp. 106 f.

7 See below Chpt. B 2.2.5.6.

8 The Shī'ites as well are nowhere else attested in this connection.

from Raqqa (d. 154/771)⁹ already sees the Murji'a at work after the murder of 'Uthmān, impartially standing between the two factions who had just come to blows with such destructive effect.¹⁰ Indeed, we know his source; he relied on Maymūn b. Mihrān (d. 117/735), a respected Syrian religious scholar who had been active at the court of 'Umar II and Hishām.¹¹ In his analysis of the events, he unfavourably described "the Murji'ites", who had left to God judgement over the conflict, as doubters (*shukkāk*) distinct from the honourable Companions of the Prophet such as Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ or 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar who had remained loyal to the community (*jamā'a*).¹² Herein was expressed a view of matters that was friendly to the Umayyads; in Iraq Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and those who shared his attitude were regarded rather as the ones who had "withdrawn" (*al-mu'tazilūn*) from the scandal of the Civil War – and thereby from Mu'āwiya and his followers.¹³ But here the Murji'a, on the basis of the meaning of the word, are being newly interpreted; according to everything that we know, they were never indigenous to Medina and always remained the affair of "newcomers".¹⁴

But the sense of embarrassment that the bloody clash had triggered was old. The Companion of the Prophet Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī, who towards the end of his life took part in the campaigns of conquest in Khorāsān and died during the caliphate of Yazīd I in Marv,¹⁵ when asked in Sijistān for his opinion about the First Civil War, is meant to have turned towards the *qibla* with raised hands¹⁶ and said: "Oh God, forgive 'Uthmān and forgive 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, forgive Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh as well and Zubayr b. al-'Awwām!", and then, to explain further his excitement, he added: "(These were) people concerning whom God had a preconceived plan (*qawm sabaqat lahum min Allāh sawābiq*). If He wishes to forgive them for what was predetermined for them, He will

9 On him *Mizān* no. 403.

10 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* XVI, 264, ll. 14 ff.; quoted in Balba', *Adab al-Mu'tazila* 38, and Nu'mān al-Qāḍī, *Firaq islāmīyya* 263.

11 On him see above p. 25, fn. 4.

12 Cf. the detailed text in the still unpublished biography of Maymūn in Ibn 'Asākir, Ms. Zāhiriyya, vol. XI, pp. 411 ff.; the transmitter is Ja'far b. Burqān. For a copy I must thank Riḍwān al-Sayyid.

13 Cf. my *K. an-Nakṭ* 121 ff.; also below Chpt. B 2.2.6.4.

14 See below Chpt. B 4.1.2.2. Later on Sufyān b. 'Uyayna (d. 198/813–4) proceeds just like Ja'far b. Burqān or Maymūn b. Mihrān, only that he already reveals himself by means of the false etymology; namely, he derives the name Murji'a from *rajā* "to hope" (cf. the text in M. Talbi in: *Akten VII. Kongreß UEAI Göttingen* 350).

15 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 240 f., no. 679; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb* 185 f., no. 217; IS IV, 178, ll. 7 ff.

16 On this gesture see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.2.

do so; if He wishes to punish them for what they did on their own initiative, He will also do so. The final reckoning in their regard rests with God".¹⁷ In these words is expressed the spirit from which the Murji'a arose; they too, as van Vloten already stated,¹⁸ simply "postponed" (*arja'a*) their judgement with regard to "the first schism" (*al-furqa al-ūlā*). But what we have here before us is the remark of a single person; it is not yet evidence for the existence of a party. The latter certainly does not become palapable in Mecca or Medina, nor in Sijistān or in Damascus, but in Kūfa, and for the first time in a halfway reliable manner during the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath, i.e. shortly after 80/700.

2.1.1.1 The Oldest Representatives of the Murji'a in Kūfa

Two men at that time in Kūfa contend with one another in our sources for the honour of being the spokesman for the Murji'a, the *mutakallim*, as one said. Both of them passed on their conviction to a son who thereby similarly became well known; we must therefore always reckon with the possibility that they were confused with one another. Something, however, can still be brought to light. There is first of all

Dharr b. 'Abdallāh b. Zurāra al-Murhibī al-Hamdānī,

a South-Arab¹ who perhaps died in the year 111/729.² He was the *khaṭīb* of his tribe; every day he would hold forth as a *qāṣṣ* in the mosque of his particular neighborhood. For this he at first received money from Ḥajjāj; his relationship with Ibn Ash'ath, who was likewise a South-Arab, included some ups and downs before he finally came forth in support of him and then publicly incited the people to revolt.³ What became of him after Dayr al-Jamājim is unknown to us; obviously he could have fled. He was probably already the centre of a Murji'ite party before this; he is meant to have received letters from all regions

17 IS IV, 179, 7 ff.

18 In ZDMG 45/1891/164 f.

1 On his genealogy cf. IS VI, 205, 8 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 396, ll. 11 ff.; IKh III, 442, ll. 3 ff., following Ibn al-Kalbī. On his tribe, the Banū Murhiba, cf. also Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq* 431, ll. 3 ff.

2 Thus at least according to Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* XIV, 38, no. 34: "111 or before". Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* III, 247, ll. 5 f. from bot., dates his death much earlier: between 80 and 90; but then the distance from his son would be disproportionately great. R. Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣ'at* 359, has 122/739; but the sources he refers to do not contain this date.

3 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 362, ll. 3 ff.; Ṭabarī II, 1055, ll. 4 ff.; IS 204, ll. 10 ff.; also Sayed 348.

of the world (*āfāq*).⁴ Thus it is not surprising if much that has been said about him is tendentious: one claimed to have heard him say he could not imagine any other religious engagement (*dīn*) being correct but his own,⁵ and people related that Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī⁶ and Saʿīd b. Jubayr for this reason would not greet him.⁷ Saʿīd is supposed to have said about him that he set up a new religion every day.⁸ This material originates in part from Shīʿite circles.⁹ Perhaps Sezgin is right when he traces back to Dharr b. ʿAbdallāh¹⁰ the written notes on the Murjiʿite poet Thābit Quṭna (d. 110/728)¹¹ that were available to Abūʿl-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in the original of a certain Murhibī.¹² But maybe here his son is meant,

Abū Dharr ʿUmar b. Dharr al-Murhibī al-Hamdānī,

who died in Kūfa between 152/769 and 157/774, probably in 153/770.¹³ Because of his Murjiʿite attitude he was also “snubbed” by several pious Kūfans; Sufyān al-Thawrī and the Zaydī Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy are supposed to have avoided taking part in his funeral.¹⁴ On the other hand, Shaʿbī felt very attached to him

4 Cook, *Dogma* 192, fn. 125, following the *Masāʾil* of Ibn Ḥanbal; from there as well ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *K. al-Sunna* 73 ff. He is still presented as a Murjiʿite in AZ 676, ll. 1 f.; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 625, l. 2; IS 205, ll. 10 f.; Ṭabarī III, 2530, ll. 11 ff.; *Mizān* no. 2697; TT III, 218, no. 416; Shahrastānī, *Milal* 108, l. 14/276, l. 5.

5 Cook 194, fn. 146, following Ibn Ḥanbal.

6 On him see below pp. 183 f.

7 Ibid. 80 and 192, fn. 129; also Fasawī III, 228, ll. 7 ff.; *Mizān*, op. cit.; TT III, 218, ll. 11 f.; cf. also Brentjes 46.

8 Khallāl, *Musnad* 393, ll. 7 ff.

9 Cf. Cook 81 and 192, fn. 125.

10 GAS 1/366, also 250; 2/377. But it should be considered questionable that the same (?) Murhibī on another occasion is given the *nisba* al-Kawkabī (*Agh.* XIII, 210, l. 2); this does not fit with Dharr. Of course, the only other thing that could be said is that the tribe or the family had something to do with the fortress Kawkabān in the Yemen.

11 On him see below pp. 189 f.

12 *Agh.* XIV, 271, l. 1–278, l. 6, and 280, ll. 1–11.

13 TT VII, 444 f., no. 731. The year 153 in IS VI, 252, ll. 3 f.; 156 in Fasawī I, 142, l. 5 f. from bot. (following Abū Nuʿaym); 155 or 156 in IKh III, 443, ll. 2 f.

14 IS 252, ll. 4 f. He appears as a Murjiʿite ibid. 252, l. 4; Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 135, ll. 2 f. from bot.; Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* 215, last l. (following Karābīsī); Ṭabarī III, 2530, l. 11; IAH III, 107, no. 565; Fasawī III, 133, l. 10; IKh III, 442 f., no. 493; *Mizān* nos. 6098 and 8470 (following Sulaymānī, d. 404/1014); TT VII, 444 f., no. 731; *Hady al-sārī* II, 153, ll. 4 ff. Šafadī, *Wāfi* XXII, 478, last l.; Shahrastānī 108, l. 14/276, l. 5.

as well as to his father.¹⁵ Like the latter he was a *qāṣṣ*; he also appeared as such in Medina.¹⁶ His sermons made a strong impression; he possessed a beautiful voice,¹⁷ and he was proud that with genuine feeling he moved his audience to tears.¹⁸ Concerning the *qurrā'* who say what the powerful wish to hear, he complained vociferously.¹⁹ When around the turn of the century the Kūfan Murji'ites sent a delegation to 'Umar II, he was included in it; the reports about it also go back to him as presumably the youngest participant.²⁰ In the year 132/750 on the side of Ibn Hubayra he rendered such stubborn resistance to the Abbasids that only Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, the maternal uncle of Saffāh, was able to obtain a guarantee of safety for him.²¹

It is interesting that the Imāmite tradition has also preserved his name. During the *hajj*, he was supposed to have visited Muḥammad al-Bāqir;²² later as well, in the time of Ja'far al-Šādiq, one apparently still had to take account of him within the Shī'a.²³ One may assume that he was well disposed towards the 'Alids; this fit in with the intellectual climate of the city. His father had transmitted a *ḥadīth* according to which Fāṭima through her chastity would

15 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 295, no. 1917.

16 1S 252, l. 2 and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Quṣṣāṣ* 35, no. 61. Evidently he was old enough to have studied with Mujāhid (d. 104/722; cf. *Ḥilya* v, 113, ll. 11 ff.; 118, ll. 12 ff.; 119, ll. 3 ff.). In Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 396, l. 12, *qāṣṣ* is misread as *qādī*; the same error in U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 222.

17 Dhababī, *Sīyar* VI, 387, ll. 9 ff.; Šafadī, *Wāfi* XXII, 479, l. 1.

18 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Quṣṣāṣ* 67, no. 131, where *li-abīhi* should be restored in line 5 in accordance with the Ms.: his son Dharr b. 'Umar speaks to him. On this son cf. also Jāhiz, *Bayān* 111, 144, ll. 15 ff. > IKh 111, 442, ll. 9 ff. In Ibn 'Abd Rabbih it is also he who speaks to his father (*Iqd* 111, 198, ll. 16 ff. = 228, ll. 9 ff.). Fragments from his sermons are preserved in Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya* v, 114, ll. 2 ff. (on this Reinert, *Tawakkul* 24 and 121); Ibn 'Abd Rabbih was also interested in the material (*Iqd* 11, 323, ll. 4 ff.; 370, ll. 2 ff.; 111, 178, last l. ff.; 219, ll. 18 ff.). A *ḥadīth* in praise of *dhikr* cf. *Ḥilya* v, 118, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

19 Fasawī II, 308, ll. 7 ff. from bot., with a rather daring *ḥadīth*. For this reason Fasawī felt himself obliged to express doubt about the identity of the 'Umar b. Dharr mentioned in the *isnād*.

20 Cf. Cook 192, fn. 126; on this HT 177. Also Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 130, ll. 13 ff./171, ll. 6 ff. from bot. It remains astonishing that one did not choose his father who was still alive. He is in fact mentioned in one passage instead of him (Fasawī II, 656, ll. 6 f.); but this is an isolated case and probably simply an error in transmission (*Dharr* instead of *Ibn Dharr*). That in an Iraqi delegation to 'Umar II it was once possible for a young man to be the spokesman, appears from the story in Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* XXIX, 282, ll. 4 ff.

21 Ṭabarī III, 69, ll. 16 ff.; Brentjes 48. On Ziyād cf. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 630, ll. 15 f.

22 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* II, 285, ll. 2 ff.; Majlisī, *Biḥār* x, 158 ff., no. 12, and LXIX, 63, no. 8.

23 Kulīnī VIII, 223 f., no. 282. The tradition takes it for granted that Ismā'il, the son of Ja'far al-Šādiq, is still alive.

preserve her descendants from Hell.²⁴ He was a Murji'ite because he believed in all Muslims being chosen: "Praise be to God through whom we belong to a community whose sins (*sayyi'āt*) will be forgiven and who are the only ones whose good works will be accepted".²⁵

As well as this distinguished South-Arab father and son whom we dealt with above, the sources also describe a *mawlā* as "spokesman" for the Kūfan Murji'a. But his name is introduced into the discussion by Awzā'ī, i.e. by someone who only knew about conditions in Kūfa through hearsay. It is a question of

Qays b. Abī Muslim (Rummāma), nicknamed Qays al-ma'šir,

"Qays of the customs chain".²⁶ His father, as his name reveals, was a convert;²⁷ he had been taken prisoner by Kūfan troops in Daylam. Allegedly, the son had been a *mawlā* of 'Alī; the latter assigned to him customs supervision over ships on the Tigris and the Euphrates.²⁸ We know that for this purpose 'Umar had already had the Euphrates blocked with a chain, though far upstream at the former Persian-Byzantine border where the river was not so broad.²⁹ When the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath, which Qays had joined among the Kūfan Koranic reciters, collapsed, he seems to have fled to Iṣfahān with his son 'Abd al-'Azīz. There the latter made a good match; he married a free Arab woman from the family of the Baṣran Zubayr b. Mushkān which had great influence in the city.³⁰ When occasionally the Kūfan Murji'a are referred to as the Māširiyya, this may be, as

24 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhūn* II, 88, ll. 2 f. from bot.; *Mizān* no. 6183. Naturally, here one was not yet thinking of the 'isma of the Imams.

25 Jāhiz, *Bayān* II, 290, ll. 3 f.

26 TT VII, 490, ll. 5 f.; also Suyūṭī, *Lubb* 234a, ll. 2 f.

27 *Rummāna* together with *Abū Muslim* only in Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān* IV, 479 f., no. 1512; perhaps he bases himself on Bukhārī IV, 154, no. 692.

28 Abū Nu'aym, *Dhikr akhbār Iṣfahān* II, 346, ll. 6 ff., in the biography of a descendant > Sam'ānī XII, 40, last l. f. > TT, op. cit.

29 Morony, *Iraq* 118; in general Bosworth in EI² VI, 728 f. s. v. *Ma'šir*. The word was connected by the Arab lexicographers with the root 'ṣ-r; but if one did not pronounce the hamza, it was easily understood as a participle from which one derived the verb *mašara* (cf. Lane 63 c and the examples given in Brentjes 48, fn. 1). This was not so entirely wrong, given that Akkadian *mašāru* "to demarcate, draw a boundary" probably has an underlying connection (Bosworth *ibid.*). For this reason one will probably mostly have read the name as Qays al-Māšir and interpreted it accordingly.

30 Abū Nu'aym, *ibid.* 346, ll. 4 f. > Sam'ānī XII, 41, ll. 5 f. He is perhaps meant to be the 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Qays in *Mizān* no. 5124. On the family of Zubayr b. Mushkān cf. Sam'ānī VI, 270, ll. 3 ff.; a descendant in Abū Nu'aym, *ibid.* 315, ll. 21 ff.

Madelung has suggested, because of the role that the father played in it.³¹ But Nawbakhtī, to whom we owe this information,³² preferred instead to focus on a second son of Qays who remained behind in Kūfa and consequently attained greater importance there for *Ḥadīth*, namely

Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ 'Amr (or 'Umar)³³ b. Qays al-Māṣir,

who attached himself as a client to the Thaḳīf.³⁴ However, Nawbakhtī's preference is explained by the fact that as a Shī'ite he was more familiar with the name of this son. Ibn Qays, according to Shī'ite tradition, accompanied 'Umar b. Dharr on his visit to the fifth Imam in Medina.³⁵ It was thought to be common knowledge that he had sympathy for the Ḥasanids.³⁶ At the same time, one realized that he did not directly support Imāmīte ideas; one classified him among the Butriyya, i.e. the broad block of moderate Shī'ites.³⁷

31 *Qāsīm* 232. Also Awzā'ī probably also based himself on this name.

32 *Firaq al-Shī'a* 7, ll. 1 f. > Qummī, *Maqālāt* 6, no. 17.

33 What he was really called can probably no longer be ascertained. The earliest sources on the Shī'ite and the Sunnī side (along with Nawbakhtī also Kashshī 390, ll. 7 f.; IS VI, 236, l. 15; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 625, l. 4) have 'Amr, whereas all later ones 'Umar (thus for instance Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt* II, 303, l. 10; Bukhārī III₂, 186, no. 2121; IAH III₁, 129, no. 702; Fasawī II, 650, l. 2, and III, 95, l. 3; Abū Nu'aym II, 345, l. 20, and 346, l. 2; *Mizān* no. 6189; TT VII, 489 f., no. 814; Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 240, ll. 9 f. from bot.). Bukhārī describes the reading 'Amr as incorrect (TT VII, 490, ll. 10 f.). On the *kunya* cf. Bukhārī and IAH, op. cit.

34 Thus according to TT, op. cit. In Ibn Sa'd it says instead that he was a *mawlā* of the Kinda. But perhaps this is simply a confusion with 'Amr b. Qays al-Kindī, a general from Ḥims who died before 140/758 (cf. Ṭabarī II, 1349, l. 14; Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 432, ll. 9 f. and *Ṭab.* 807, no. 3011), or with the Kūfan of this name who is listed by Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 6425. Evidently, even the experts were at a loss. The combination of names 'Amr (or 'Umar) b. Qays was very frequent.

35 See above; on this Majlisī, *Bihār* XLVI, 304 f., no. 54, where he is mentioned on his own. According to *Bihār* XVII, 4 f., no. 3, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq conversed with one of his disciples.

36 Kashshī 390, ll. 7 f.

37 Ibid.; also Ardabili I, 627 and 636. On the Butriyya see below pp. 275 ff. Najāshī does not mention him; on the other hand, for Ṭūsī (*Rijāl* 131, l. 13) and Ḥillī (*Rijāl* 240, ll. 9 f.) he is a follower of Muḥammad al-Bāqir. According to Ibn Ḥajar, the father is also supposed to have been "a Rāfiḍite"; but he thereupon cites a *ḥadīth* which does not necessarily support this thesis (*Lisān al-Mizān* IV, 479 f., no. 1512). According to Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/888–9), the father was more important than the son (TT VII, 490, l. 5; on the source cf. Cook 192, fn. 122).

One does not have to play off the two “founders” against one another, as Cook does.³⁸ Naturally, the search for “the first” Murji’ite is *awā’il*-mythology. But presumably the movement had various faces. Among the rebels who had grouped themselves around Ibn Ash’ath, every hand was welcome. Hence it comes as no surprise if, in later religious scholars’ speculations on “the origin”, a *mawlā* has his place alongside a free Arab. But the exceptional situation of the revolt was necessary to draw attention to him and his people. The other names which are known to us in connection with the Murji’a of this period belong to personalities who otherwise catch one’s eye through their social prestige. Here, for example, one finds

Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb al-‘Anazī

who belonged to the ‘Anaza b. Asad b. Rabī’a.³⁹ He originated from Baṣra but then evidently settled in Kūfa. After the failure of the revolt he headed off to Mecca; but more than ten years later, when ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz no longer provided protection for the refugees, he was handed over to Ḥajjāj along with Sa’īd b. Jubayr and others.⁴⁰ It is not clear whether he died along the way⁴¹ or like Sa’īd was executed in Wāsiṭ⁴² or whether he outlived Ḥajjāj.⁴³ In any case, one may reckon his death as around the year 95/714.

Judgements about his religious views, for the most part, appear to go back to a single transmission. Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī related that Sa’īd b. Jubayr had forbidden him (evidently during his visit to Mecca) to attend the lectures of Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb; generally one understood this to mean that Sa’īd had taken offense because of Ṭalq’s *irjā’*. Abū Ḥanīfa, when this was put to him as a reproach, instead maintained that Ṭalq was a Qadarite and for this reason met with criticism from Sa’īd.⁴⁴ None of all this was very objective. Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī was a Baṣran⁴⁵ and consequently did not like Murji’ites. Abū Ḥanīfa was himself a

38 *Dogma* 80 f.; also in: *Islam and Power* 16 ff.

39 Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 501, no. 1722.

40 ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Azdī, *K. al-Mutawārīn*, in: RAAD 50/1975/572, ll. 8 ff., and 575, ll. 7 f.; Madelung, *Qāsim* 233; Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣ’at* 360, no. 46.

41 Thus according to Ṭabarī II, 1262, l. 12.

42 Azdī, *Mutawārīn* 575. On Sa’īd b. Jubayr cf. Abū’l-‘Arab, *Miḥan* 208 ff.; Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣ’at* 348 and 352 f.; Hawting in EI² IV, 926 a; in general also GAS 1/28 f. and Khaṭīb ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hāshimī, *Sa’īd b. Jubayr* (Baghdād 1380/1960).

43 Thus according to Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif* 468, l. 9 > TT V, 32, ll. 4 f.

44 Fasawī II, 793, ll. 8 ff. > TB XIII, 374, ll. 8 ff.; shortened also IS VII, 166, ll. 3 ff.; Ājurrī, *Sharī’a* 144, ll. 6 ff.

45 On him see below Chpt. B 2.2.7.1.1.

Murji'ite; for this reason he objected to the prevailing interpretation. The manner in which the narrator has him look for a way out shows that the story has an anti-Ḥanafite bias.⁴⁶ And yet one attempted to draw objective conclusions from it. The assertion that Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb was a Murji'ite occurs quite frequently.⁴⁷ It has many things in its favour; the concept of faith which underlies one of his sayings⁴⁸ fits in well with this. One will have less confidence when Dāwūd al-İşfahānī makes him into a Qadarite; typically this has only been taken up in the Mu'tazilite sources.⁴⁹ It is interesting that he rejected the intercession of the Prophet (*ṣhafa'a*); he possibly considered this theologoumenon as un-Koranic.⁵⁰ The positive image that posterity formed of him was not impaired by all this; Abū Nu'aym collected much material on him.⁵¹ He died leaving no children;⁵² perhaps he had not married. – Also arrested as a Murji'ite was

Abū Asmā' Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Sharīk al-Taymī,

a member of the Taym al-Ribāb; he died 93/712 or 94/713, not yet being 40 years old, in the *δημόσιον*, the prison of Ḥajjāj in Wāsiṭ.⁵³ He was a *qāṣṣ* and was noted for his ascetic lifestyle;⁵⁴ this all the more so, because his father had earned very much money in Baṣra.⁵⁵ He knew something about Koranic recitation;⁵⁶ through his father he knew several traditions from Abū Dharr.⁵⁷ He was generally not a rebel; in the time of Ḥajjāj he had tried to get the Iraḳī Khārijites to return to the community.⁵⁸ Later, one was no longer really able to explain why

46 And that is how it is classified in the *Ta'rikh Baghdād*.

47 IS VII, 165, l. 15; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 625, l. 2; Bukhārī II, 359, no. 3138; IAH II, 490 f., no. 2157; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 4024, and *Ta'rikh* IV, 130, l. 3; also *Siyar* IV, 602, l. 9 (where he is classified as a Baṣran); TT V, 31, ll. 10 f.; Shahrastānī 108, l. 8 from bot./276, l. 3.

48 See above p. 19.

49 Ka'bī 106, l. 3 > *Faḍl* 344, l. 15 > IM 140, l. 1. Ka'bī, following Karābisī, registers him as a Murji'ite, *Qabūl al-akhbār* 216, l. 2.

50 But then he is supposed to have become "converted" in Mecca (Ājurri, *Sharī'a* 333, ll. 1 ff.).

51 *Ḥilya* III, 63 ff.; cf. also already Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ* XIII, 487 ff.

52 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 468, l. 10.

53 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 358, no. 1124 and *Ta'rikh* 407, ll. 11 f.; Abū'l-'Arab, *Miḥan* 397 f. On *δημόσιον* cf. Dozy, *Suppl.* I, 460 s. v.

54 IS VI, 200, ll. 1 ff.; Jāhīz, *Bayān* I, 367, ll. 5 f.; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ* XIII, 431 ff.; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 235, l. 15; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* III, 49 f. and *Quṣṣāṣ* 65 f., no. 126 f. He is supposed to have nourished himself on the pips of grapes for a month or longer (*Ḥilya* IV, 213, last l. ff.).

55 *Ḥilya* IV, 210, l. 7 from bot.

56 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab.* I, 29, no. 124.

57 *Ḥilya* IV, 216, ll. 4 ff.

58 IS VI, 195, ll. 22 ff.

Ḥajjāj had had him locked up and thought that the authorities had confused him with Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaī.⁵⁹

The latter, a South-Arab who was likewise named Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd and who died shortly after him in the year 96/715, did not really belong in this category. He was not a Murji'ite, on the contrary: he is meant to have hated the Murji'a more than the Jews and the Christians.⁶⁰ He therefore allegedly refused to greet his namesake Ibrāhīm al-Taymī.⁶¹ But the things that one related about him confirm much of what we heard previously. One portrayed him as a man of the middle ground who placed great value in not being either a Saba'ite or a Murji'ite.⁶² At the time, the Saba'iyya were what one called the militant and extremist Shī'ites, probably more or less the group of people that the heresiographers later understood by the term Kaysāniyya.⁶³ Among them, at the time, one already openly began to place 'Alī above Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This was going too far for him; in his view 'Alī himself would not have approved.⁶⁴ In general, he held the latter in very high regard, in any case more than 'Uthmān.⁶⁵ He must have judged the Murji'a in a similar way. He thought of them as being more dangerous than the Azraqites, but only because of their great number;⁶⁶ presumably the political activism that had recently broken out disturbed him. But this is based on the assumption that he himself did not take part in the revolt; this is what Ibn Sa'd in fact maintains.⁶⁷ Elsewhere it is reported that he went into hiding from Ḥajjāj; in doing so, he is supposed to have dressed himself like a man from the countryside.⁶⁸

- 59 1S 199, ll. 16 ff.; less fantastical Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿItal* 6, no. 15; on this Madelung, *Qāsīm* 232. He is presented as a Murji'ite in Ibn Qutayba (*Ma'ārif* 625, l. 2), in Karābīsī (> Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 215, last l.) and in Ibn Ḥajar (TT I, 176 f., no. 324). It is interesting that he only wanted to understand the vision mentioned in surah 53/13 in the figurative sense (*bi'l-qalb*; Ibn Khuzayma, *Tawhīd* 136, ll. 11 f.)
- 60 1S VI, 192, l. 3 > *Hilya* IV, 223, ll. 4 f. from bot., but following A'mash who as a Shī'ite himself did not like the Murji'a (see below pp. 272 f.).
- 61 Khallāl, *Musnad* 393, ll. 5 f.
- 62 1S VI, 192, ll. 14 ff.
- 63 See below p. 330; Ibrāhīm also appears as an opponent of the Khashabiyya in the statement 1S 195, ll. 7 ff. > *Hilya* IV, 223, l. 6 from bot.
- 64 1S VI, 192, ll. 17 ff.
- 65 Ibid. 192, ll. 21 ff.
- 66 Ibid. 191, l. 23.
- 67 Ibid. 197, ll. 26 f.
- 68 Azdī, *Mutawārīn* 566, last l. ff.

In all this, one must take account of the fact that later his sayings were collected rather carefully and therefore their character can have acquired an ideal type. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, along with Sha'bī, is the first jurist personality in the Kūfan tradition to acquire a profile.⁶⁹ Later his piety as well was held up as an example; it was bourgeois in nature, inner-worldly and unobtrusive.⁷⁰ His prominent position is all the more remarkable, given that he had only reached the age of 49.⁷¹ That he met with resistance is scarcely noticeable. Khālid b. Salama al-Makhzūmī, himself a Murji'ite,⁷² accused him of having a deficient mastery of the language.⁷³ This had its own special reason: Khālid was a Qadarite, whereas Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī's genealogy, as opulent as it may appear to be in Ibn Sa'd,⁷⁴ was called into question by people; the *'urafā'* of the Banū Nakha' are supposed to have established that he was a *mawlā*.⁷⁵

2.1.1.2 The Delegation to 'Umar II

The next event which shows the importance of the Kūfan Murji'a as a political grouping is the delegation to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. We hear nothing about other Kūfan factions having undertaken a similar step;¹ here by contrast, we come to know several names at once. Among them, by all appearances, are names of *mawālī* once again; therefore, even after the collapse of the revolt, the Murji'a remained an association that was held together more by political conviction than by tribal solidarity and in which religious prestige clearly counted just as much as aristocratic origin. But strictly speaking the sources tell us no more than that after the caliph's accession to office some Kūfans travelled to meet him and spoke with him about *irjā'*. Perhaps they simply brought with them the *bay'a*; in any case the choice was very surprising.² But perhaps they also wanted to find out to what extent the new ruler was willing to allow "freedom of thought". Above all, the composition of the delegation is remarkable.

69 1S 191, ll. 1 ff.; on this in general Schacht, *Origins* 233 ff., and Muḥammad Rawwās Qal'ajī, *Mawsū'at fiqh Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī* 1–2 (1Mecca 1399/1979. 2Beirut 1406/1986). For more information see below p. 210.

70 Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd* 259 no. 751, 388 no. 1098 ff., etc.; cf. *Ḥilya* IV, 219 ff.

71 1S VI 199, ll. 5 ff.

72 See below p. 207.

73 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 105, no. 634 = 316, no. 2061.

74 VI, 188, ll. 19 f.

75 Balādhurī, *Ansāb* III, 95, ll. 8 ff. His mother in any case was a pure Arab, the sister of 'Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha'ī (Fasawī II, 644, ll. 3 ff. from bot.).

1 Perhaps the Ibādiyya; see below Chpt. B 4.1.1.2.1 s. n. Abūl-Ḥurr al-'Anbarī.

2 On this now Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion* 213 ff.

Naturally, we do not know what words were spoken during the audience; the reports we have, as far as they enter into details at all, are later literary fiction.³ The new constellation of circumstances passed away too quickly for any sort of real changes to be possibly left behind. Ibn Sa'd remarks in a slightly malicious way that those who had had a discussion with the caliph about *irjā'* later maintained that he agreed with them and did not hold a different opinion on any point.⁴ One claimed to remember that the caliph had asked about the tribes⁵ – a polite manner to begin the conversation, perhaps also a manner current in the Ḥijāz which for conditions in Kūfa, if our speculations about the make-up of the delegation are correct, was no longer in keeping with the times. The names we base ourself on, however, are not always fully agreed upon; we are dealing with two divergent transmissions.⁶ Common to both lists are only

Abū'l-Ṣabbāḥ Mūsā b. Abī Kathīr al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Anṣārī,

who, although originally from Wāsiṭ,⁷ as the highest in rank was supposed to have been the spokesman.⁸ One should assume – precisely because of this role that he appears in – that he was a free Arab; this is not explicitly mentioned anywhere. Instead, it sounds like he advocated Qadarite ideas;⁹ so evidently this as well did not disturb anyone in the Murji'a at the time. Apparently, in this regard he based himself on sayings or *ḥadīths* of recognized authorities which were later eliminated from the tradition.¹⁰ The Mu'tazilite sources missed the opportunity to snap him up; Ka'bī only knows him as a Murji'ite.¹¹ The first

3 Thus e.g. Ājurri, *Sharī'a* 231, ll. 5 ff. from bot., translated HT 177; differently Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 130, ll. 13 ff./171, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

4 IS VI, 218, l. 20.

5 Malaṭī, op. cit.

6 Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿĪlal* 153, no. 964, and Ājurri, op. cit., with Ibn Sa'd, op. cit. (> Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 288, ll. 3 ff.).

7 Bukhārī IV₁, 293 f., no. 1254.

8 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿĪlal* 153, ll. 4 f. from bot., and HT 177; also IS VI, 236, ll. 19 f., where for this reason he appears as a *mutakallim fi'l-irjā'*; Fasawī II, 656, ll. 5 ff.; on this Madelung, *Qāsim* 233 f.

9 The context in HT 177, however, is legendary. One seems to have imagined that in the end the caliph converted him (cf. HT 178, ftn. 20). On this also Bukhārī, op. cit., and Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 131, l. 3/172, ll. 2 f.

10 *Mizān* no. 8912.

11 *Qabūl al-akhbār* 216, l. 12; also 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV, 167, no. 1739. As a Murji'ite and a Qadarite in Dhahabī, *Mizān* and *Ta'rikh* v, 166, ll. 7 ff. from bot., as well as in TT X, 367, last l. ff. Nothing in IAH IV, 147, no. 666.

transmitted strand mentions alongside him, besides the previously named ‘Umar b. Dharr,¹² four other persons about whom we only know very little:

Abū Hāshim al-Ṣalt b. Bahrām al-Taymī,

who died 147/764¹³ and who, judging by his father’s name, was perhaps a *mawlā*. Typically, he had passed on reports about the combat of the Arabs with the Persians.¹⁴ The Shī‘ite tradition also saw in him a Murji‘ite; he is supposed to have visited the Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir along with ‘Umar b. Dharr and Ibn Qays al-Māṣir.¹⁵

Dithār al-Nahdī,

who appears in Ṭabarī as Abū ‘Umar Dithār b. Abī Shabīb¹⁶ and in Fasawī as Dithār b. Shabīb al-Qaṭṭān.¹⁷ If he really was a cotton merchant (*qaṭṭān*), he could once again be dealing with a *mawlā*.

Yazīd al-Faqīr,

i.e. Abū ‘Uthmān Yazīd b. Ṣuhayb,¹⁸ he as “a poor man” also probably a client whose father had perhaps consciously named himself (or been named) after Ṣuhayb al-Rūmī. He was the teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa¹⁹ and later lived in Mecca.

Hubayra al-Ḍabbī,

12 See above pp. 177 ff.

13 Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān* III, 194, ll. 11 f. (following Wāqidī). Cf. also IS VI, 246, ll. 16 f.

14 Ṭabarī I, 2167, ll. 5 ff., and 2251, ll. 11 f.; on this Donner, *Conquests*, Index of Traditionists s. n.

15 See above pp. 179 and 180. But the information may be no more than a “cut-and-paste” report from the Shī‘ite traditions about the delegation to ‘Umar II. He appears as a Murji‘ite as well in Ka‘bī, *Qabūl* 216, ll. 8 f. from bot.; IAH II, 438, no. 1920; *Mizān* no. 3904; TT IV, 432 f., no. 750; also Abū ‘Ubayd, *Īmān* 70, l. 2.

16 The full name in Ṭabarī I, 2701, l. 11; cf. Index s. n. and Donner, *Conquests*, Index of Traditionists s. n.

17 III, 105, l. 5. On the other hand, Ibn ‘Asākir has Dithār b. al-Ḥārith (Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* VIII, 157, no. 90).

18 IS VI, 213, ll. 7 ff.; TT XI, 338, no. 647.

19 TB XIII, 324, l. 3.

who is only mentioned as a member of the delegation in Ibn Ḥanbal, and whom we are unable to identify. – Instead of these persons, the divergent transmission in Ibn Sa'd presents two members of the Arab nobility: 'Umar b. Ḥamza, the great-grandson of the caliph 'Umar, whose *Ḥadīth* did not enjoy a good reputation,²⁰ and

Abū Ḥamza 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd al-Hudhali,

the grandson of the brother of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, who was a *khaṭīb*, genealogist and poet,²¹ and who took part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. He then fled with the dispersed troops into the Jazīra to join Muḥammad b. Marwān, the brother of 'Abd al-Malik and the father of the last Umayyad caliph; Ibn Marwān appointed him as tutor of his son Yazīd and allegedly also as governor of the city of Nisibis.²² He married there but nonetheless felt very lonely. Later he joined 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in Medina.²³ There he perhaps also had charge of educating one of the caliph's sons, Sulaymān.²⁴ He enjoyed a position of trust with 'Umar II; one came to this conclusion later above all on the basis of some verses in which Jarīr expresses his displeasure because he had to wait for an audience due to 'Awn and could not recite his own poem of allegiance.²⁵ The caliph sent him to the Jazīra for negotiations when the Khārijite Shawdhab revolted there.²⁶

In Kūfa 'Awn had distinguished himself as a *qāṣṣ*.²⁷ In so doing, he developed a very personal style; once in a small circle he had one of his female slaves

20 Khalifa, *Ṭab*, 655, no. 2316; IAH III, 104, no. 550; *Mizān* no. 6087; somewhat more positive Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāḥir al-'ulamā'* 136 f., no. 1080. He lived for a certain length of time in Kūfa but died in Medina. It is nowhere said that he was a Murjī'ite.

21 Jāḥiz, *Bayān* I, 328, ll. 9 f. The expression *mutakallim* is used for him elsewhere (TB XIII, 74, ll. 15 f.).

22 Ibid. 329, ll. 2 ff.; *Agh.* IX, 139, ll. 15 ff.; Azdī, *K. al-Mutawārīn* in: RAAD 50/1975/583, ll. 1 ff. Yazīd afterwards became an ascetic (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 107, ll. 4 f.). Moreover, 'Awn's brother, 'Ubaydallāh, was the teacher of 'Umar II (GAS 2/426).

23 *Bayān* I, 285, ll. 9 ff.

24 Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣ'at* 418, fn. 633; Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion* 35 f.

25 *Dīwān* (ed. Ṭāhā) II, 738, no. 254; *Agh.* VIII, 47, ll. 1 ff., and IX, 140, ll. 3 ff.; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III, 60, ll. 3 ff.; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 251, ll. 3 ff.; very embellished *Iqd* II, 91, ll. 10 ff. and IKh I, 431, ll. 8 ff.

26 Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* v, 434, ll. 3 ff./IV, 24, ll. 2 ff.; *Iqd* II, 401, ll. 3 ff. On this below Chpt. B 2.4.2.1.

27 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Quṣṣāṣ* 66, no. 129 f.

sing passages from the Koran in a sad melodious voice.²⁸ Later, criticism of him was nevertheless limited;²⁹ one praised his piety and his asceticism.³⁰ For this purpose one not only based oneself on the usual dicta and *ḥadīths* but on two other texts as well which are worth examining: a very personal prayer wholly imbued with contrition which, for the time, absolutely goes beyond all bounds with regard to its size,³¹ and an exhortation to his son which likewise comprises four pages.³² The thoughts he expresses are characteristic of the pietists of this period: exhortation to repentance and to patience in afflictions which God sends as a bitter medicine;³³ respect for poverty by means of which one enters Paradise more quickly – like a ship that is not carrying cargo and therefore is not subjected to examination by the harbour watch.³⁴ Scarcely anything here appears to be specifically Murji'ite: apart from perhaps the thought that Islam has been sent to Muslims as a mercy,³⁵ and also perhaps the remark that God Himself will decide whether and how sins will be punished.³⁶

The combination of hereditary nobility, Arabic education and personal piety probably commended him to 'Umar II. That he first came before the caliph with the delegation is unlikely, given everything we know; perhaps he only introduced them to the caliph. Moreover, he later dissociated himself from the Murji'a in a theological argument that he dressed in verses: how can one assert about a *believer* that he does injustice and declare that shedding his blood is permissible?³⁷ We do not know when he underwent this turn-about – possibly while 'Umar was still alive or shortly after his death when

28 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* xx, 9, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫ* iv, 288, ll. 16 f., also ll. 5 ff. from bot. On the practice of *qirā'a bi'l-alḥān* cf. M. Talbi in: *Arabica* 5/1958/183 ff. and below Chpt. B 2.2.5.6; on bringing in female slave singers cf. the text from the *Tafsīr* of Sahl al-Tustarī in Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies* 104 f.

29 Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd* 505 f., no. 1443 f.; *Ḥilya* iv, 252, ll. 20 ff.

30 Thus especially *Ḥilya* iv, 220 ff. > Ibn Jawzī, *Ṣifa* 111, 55 ff.; already previously Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaḥ* x111, 428 ff. Ibn Qutayba also describes 'Awn as an ascetic (*Ma'ārif* 250, l. 13).

31 *Ḥilya* iv, 255, l. 3–260, l. 8; probably one should imagine thus the *dhikr* that 'Awn especially recommended (ibid. 241, ll. 1 ff.).

32 Ibid. 260, ll. 12 ff.; naturally, the authenticity of both texts should be investigated.

33 Ibid. 252, ll. 5 ff.

34 Ibid. 254, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

35 Ibid. 259, l. 15. But this is also found elsewhere (see above p. 25).

36 Ibid. 252, ll. 13 ff. Interesting is one of the transmitted statements of his father (who was allegedly old enough to have met the Prophet) that Muḥammad before his death had learned to read and write (ibid. 265, ll. 14 ff.).

37 *Agh.* ix, 139, ll. 10 ff.; *Ma'ārif* 250, ll. 13 ff.; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* i, 328, ll. 10 ff.; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* xx, 6, ll. 3 ff.; diverging and enlarged Maqdisi, *Bad'* v, 146, ll. 2 ff.

the Murji'ites once again joined in a revolt, only this time without the general moral approval which they had in the time of Ibn Ash'ath: namely, when a certain Abū Ru'ba, who is described as a Murji'ite, together with a Khārijite named Samayda' al-Kindī from 'Umān allied himself with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and fought near Wāsiṭ with over 300 men against the troops of the Umayyad authorities, i.e. already by now Yazīd II.³⁸ But we hear nothing more about 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh; one reckoned his death to be between 110/728 and 120/738.³⁹

Scholarship has always acted on the assumption that 'Awn recited his verses in the surroundings of Ibn al-Ash'ath, and then had to explain why he nevertheless fought against Ḥajjāj and twenty years later once again identified himself with the Murji'ites (von Kremer, *Streitzüge* 5, ftn. 2; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II, 90 f.; Brentjes 47; Madelung 232 ff.; van Ess in: *Arabica* 21/1974/50; for a summary Cook, *Dogma* 35 f.). However, this is not said even in the *K. al-Aghānī*, where both points are mentioned one after the other, and Ibn Ḥajar, who then does state it (TT VIII, 172, ll. 7 ff. from bot.), is not an independent witness. Among modern authors only Nu'mān al-Qāḍī (*Firaq islāmīyya*, 519) does not make this connection; but he also offers no alternative. In Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* I, 185, l. 10, one finds the remark that with these verses 'Awn had gone over to the Shī'a. However, this generally does not make matters any clearer either.

2.1.1.3 Two Murji'ite Poems

But another well-known Murji'ite also had dealings with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, although generally he belongs more to Khorāsān than to Kūfa:

Abū'l-'Alā' Thābit b. Ka'b al-'Atakī,

- 38 Ṭabarī II, 1399, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; 1404, ll. 10 ff.; 1407, ll. 10 ff.; on this Wellhausen, *Reich* 198; Brentjes 46; Madelung, *Qāsim* 234. That Samayda' was a Khārijite one will have concluded from the fact that Farazdaq described him as "a Ḥarūrī". The scholiast makes him into the head of "the Baṣran Murji'a" (Hell in: ZDMG 60/1906/28 f.). One could possibly think of an Ibādīte; they came from 'Umān and in fact did support Ibn al-Muhallab. By contrast, there was resistance on the part of the Baṣran Qadarites (see below Chpts. B 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.3). – Ash'arī mentions among the theologians of the later Murji'a a certain 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ru'ba (cf. Gimaret in: JA 273/1985/243). Was this a son or a descendant of our Abū Ru'ba?
- 39 Thus TT VIII, 171 ff., no. 310. On him cf. also Bukhārī IV, 13 f., no. 60; IAH₁, 384 f., no. 2138; Zirikli v, 280; Azmi, *Studies* 81; Caskel, *Jamhara* II, 213 b. That he was *qāḍī* in Kūfa as Caskel maintains (taken over in GAS 2/426) is probably based on a confusion with his grandson who bore the same name (d. 193/809; cf. Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 268, ll. 3 ff.).

who was called Thābit Quṭna, “Thābit with the cotton wool” (because he concealed the one eye he had lost through an arrow shot, with a cotton plug).¹ He was a member of an unimportant tribe of the Azd,² which during his life fought against the heathens in Iran. There he fell in the year 110/728 near Āmul.³ If it is correct that one of his poems is based on a skirmish in the year 64/684 as Ṭabarī says,⁴ he would be extremely old at the time of his death. But we meet with the same verses again under the year 102/721;⁵ this has greater plausibility in its favour. But if we are to believe an anecdote in Abū'l-Faraj, he was already powerful and well known enough in the year 78/697 to cause 'Abd al-Malik by means of a note to dismiss his governor Umayya b. 'Abdallāh.⁶ We encounter him in the environment of Qutayba b. Muslim⁷ and then later especially in the circle of the Muhallabids who also belonged to the 'Atik, albeit to a more highly respected family line.⁸

When he was at the apogee of his power, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab at some time, probably under Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96/715–99/717), appointed him as governor of a frontier region.⁹ After 'Umar II had Yazīd thrown in prison in the year 99/718, Thābit in a poem encouraged the latter to fight for his rights;¹⁰ at the same time, he so clearly called for rebellion against “the one with the crown” (*al-mutawwaj*), i.e. the caliph, that it later almost cost him his head.¹¹ During the revolt in the year 101/720, he apparently took part in Iraq;¹² Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had had it put abroad that *jihād* against the Syrians was more

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- 1 On the explanation of his epithet cf. *Agh.* XIV, 263, ll. 3 f. and Ibn Qutayba, *Shi'r* 526, ll. 2 f.
 - 2 Namely, the Asad b. al-Ḥārith b. al-'Atik (*Agh.* 263, ll. 2 f.). On the *nisba* al-'Atakī cf. Ṭabarī II, 1281, l. 3; on belonging to the Azd *ibid.* II, 1391, ll. 1 f. (where also the name Thābit b. Ka'b). *Ibid.* II, 1424, l. 11, he is counted among the Rabī'a, no doubt because the Azd in Baṣra had entered into an alliance with the Rabī'a (*Agh.* 277, l. 8, and 280, ll. 1 ff.; on this E1² I, 812 b). That he could also be a *mawlā* as Abū'l-Faraj causes one to consider (*Agh.* 263, ll. 2 f.) is very unlikely. In Ṭabarī II, 1422, ll. 3 ff., he is mentioned among Arabs; his influence is also really too important for this. It is presumably concluded from a verse in which his obscure origin is stressed; that one pondered over the testimony is apparent from the fact that various *akhbār* are linked with him (*Agh.* XIV, 266, l. 8, and 268, ll. 10 ff.).
 - 3 Ṭabarī II, 1514, ll. 6 ff.
 - 4 *Ibid.* II, 494, ll. 5 ff.
 - 5 *Ibid.* II, 1426, ll. 1 ff.
 - 6 *Agh.* XIV, 281, ll. 13 ff.; on the date cf. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 387, ll. 6 f.
 - 7 Ṭabarī II, 1225, ll. 9 ff.
 - 8 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 367, l. 2 from bot.
 - 9 *Agh.* XIV, 263, ll. 5 f.
 - 10 *Ibid.* 277, ll. 7 ff.
 - 11 278, l. 3; on this 271, ll. 1 ff.
 - 12 Cf. the poem in Ṭabarī II, 1391, ll. 3 ff.

meritorious than against the Turks and Daylamites.¹³ When Yazīd fell at 'Aqr, Thābit mourned him in several elegies;¹⁴ but he had not experienced the latter's death with his own eyes.¹⁵ He also composed a poem of grief when some time later Yazīd's brother Mufaḍḍal, who continued to carry on resistance in Kirmān, lost his life with numerous other members of the family.¹⁶ He then joined Asad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī who was appointed governor of Khorāsān under Hishām in the year 106/724;¹⁷ the latter occasionally made him his deputy when he went on campaign against the Turks.¹⁸ Under the latter's successor, Ashras b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī, who replaced him in the year 109/727, the climate changed; a falling-out occurred. The cause was characteristic: Ashras had removed the poll tax from the new Muslims and thereby set off a wave of conversions. When the finances of the province fell into confusion, he then reimposed the taxes on the neophytes. Thābit Quṭna protested against this measure and as a result was thrown in prison. When he was set free on bail, Ashras sent him to the front where he soon lost his life.¹⁹

Thābit's reaction shows that he was not simply a swashbuckler; he had principles and evidently also practiced *jihād* for religious reasons. He was poor at preaching;²⁰ but in his verses, at least in one place, he clearly expressed his conviction. Already early on the poem was cited as evidence of Murji'ite thinking.²¹ It has an unambiguous anti-Khārijite tone;²² ideas to do with predestination also show through.²³ Until now one has not been concerned about its dating.²⁴ Abū 'Ubayda who transmits it thinks Thābit recited it in

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- 13 Ibid. II, 1391, ll. 14 f. On the course of the revolt cf. Lewicki in: FO 4/1962/320 ff.; for Iran cf. Bosworth, *Sīstān* 67.
- 14 Ṭabarī II, 1414, ll. 3 ff.; *Agh.* XIV, 279, ll. 10 ff.
- 15 Ṭabarī II, 1415, ll. 5 f.
- 16 *Agh.* XIV, 275, ll. 3 ff.; Zajjājī, *Amālī* 201, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 407, ll. 3 ff. from bot. On this Ṭabarī II, 1410, ll. 1 ff.
- 17 Cf. EI² I, 684 f. s. n.
- 18 Ṭabarī II, 1486, ll. 5 f.
- 19 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* 526, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; also Ṭabarī II, 1509, ll. 4 ff. That shortly before his death he could have undertaken a mission to China (cf. Petech in: *Festschrift Gabrieli* 625) is according to the latter very unlikely. The biography of Thābit on the basis of his poems is also treated in Nu'mān al-Qāḍī, *Firaq islāmīyya* 724 ff.
- 20 Attested by means of a continually recounted anecdote (Ṭabarī II, 1486, ll. 6 ff; *Agh.* XIV, 263, ll. 7 ff., and 264, ll. 1 ff.; Jāḥīz, *Bayān* I, 231, l. 6; Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* II, 257, ll. 3 ff.; Zubayrī, *Muwaffaqīyyāt* 202, no. 117; Ṣafadī X, 459, ll. 14 ff.).
- 21 Text II 3. On this van Vloten in: ZDMG 45/1891/162 f.; summarizing, GAS 2/376 f.
- 22 Cf. verse II, as well as verse 7.
- 23 Verse 10.
- 24 Cf. the remark of Cook, *Dogma* 185, ftn. 22.

Khorāsān on an occasion when Murji'ites and Khārijites (*shurāt*) came to blows;²⁵ but this is possibly only a conclusion based on the contents. In any case, one advances somewhat if one takes into account the fact that the poem is addressed to a certain Hind; Hind bt. al-Muhallab is probably meant, whom Thābit also addresses in his elegies for her two brothers.²⁶ This would bring us to a relatively late point in time, perhaps after the turn of the century.²⁷

Here for the first time we have at our disposal reliable evidence not only for the activity but for the thought of the early Murji'a. But before we proceed to any analysis, let us deal with one additional contemporary who has also left us a poem of similarly propagandistic contents:

Muḥārib b. Dithār b. Kurdūs b. Qarwāsh al-Sadūsī al-Dhuhlī.²⁸

His verses not only offer us the possibility of making a comparison but also take us back to Kūfa. There, in advanced old age, he was in fact appointed as *qāḍī* by Khālid al-Qasrī in the year 113/731.²⁹ He then allegedly died in 116/734;³⁰ but before that Khālid transferred him to be governor over "the Hills" (*rawābī*) of the Banū Taym in the region of Raqqa.³¹ We know very little of his life previous to this. He had learned Koranic recitation from his father;³² in the year 101/719–20 he wrote an elegy on behalf of 'Umar II.³³ During his court sessions that he held in a corner of a mosque,³⁴ he let himself be advised³⁵ by experi-

25 *Agh.* XIV, 269, ll. 7 ff.

26 *Agh.* XIV 275, ll. 3 f. and Ṭabarī II, 1414, l. 5. She had once been married to Ḥajjāj (IKh II, 53, ll. 2 f. from bot.).

27 I cannot understand how R. Sayed, *Ibn al-Aṣ'at* 364, comes to consider already the seventh decade of the century.

28 The name is found in its fullest form in Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 372, no. 1192. Cf. also Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 35, ll. 4 f. from bot. The *kunya* is transmitted variously: Abū Kurdūs (Wakī' 33, l. 5 from bot., and 35, l. 3 from bot.), Abū'l-Mughīra (ibid. 35, l. 3 from bot.), Abū Muṭarrif (IS VI, 214, l. 13; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 490, l. 13). On him in general Bukhārī IV, 2, 28 f., no. 2040; IAH IV, 416 f., no. 1899; Shahrastānī 108, l. 8 from bot./276, l. 4; Bentjes 47; Madelung, *Qāsim* 234.

29 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 543, l. 13; on his age Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 28, ll. 6 f.

30 *Mizān* no. 7078; TT X, 49 ff., no. 80.

31 Wakī' III, 25, ll. 5 f.; on the *rawābī* cf. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān* s. v.

32 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab.* II, 42, no. 2661; on this Text II 4, verse 33.

33 Fragments in Wakī' III, 32, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; also Qālī, *Dhayl al-Amālī* I, ll. 9 ff. and *Ḥilya* v, 321, ll. 15 ff.

34 IS VI, 214, ll. 15 f.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 150, no. 937; Fasawī II, 674, ll. 5 f.

35 Wakī' III, 30, ll. 3 ff. from bot. One should not conclude this was due to his incompetence; we know of quite a few *ḥadīths* of juridical content that he passed on. His role still

enced jurists such as Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān³⁶ or Ḥakam b. ‘Utayba.³⁷ As was customary, one observed the criteria he applied to witnesses: he would accept a person who had been guilty of slander and had then repented; but he rejected pious individuals who would not provide a profession of loyalty to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.³⁸ For him hatred of the first two caliphs was tantamount to *nifāq*.³⁹ This was aimed against the same radical Shī‘ite tendencies that Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī had not wanted to have anything to do with.⁴⁰ Muḥārib also left no doubt in his poem that for him Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were elevated above any form of criticism;⁴¹ if he postponed (*arja‘a*) his judgement, it was with regard to ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī.⁴²

This is the passage that van Vloten based himself on: it is by no means a matter of the salvation status of Muslims in general but rather that of the first four caliphs, among whom one was only able unreservedly to consider two of them as *rāshidūn*. The problem of belief is touched upon but it does not yet stand in the foreground; raising the question is more political than theological. Ibn Sa‘d also emphasized this; for him Muḥārib belongs to *al-Murji‘a al-ūlā*, “the proto-Murji‘a”, “who postponed judgement concerning ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān and (in this regard) did not wish to speak of belief or unbelief”.⁴³ In Kūfa the constellation of circumstances was such that this chiefly led him to encounter criticism from the Shī‘ites; he says this explicitly in his poem. In the next verse to follow he likewise holds back concerning ‘Uthmān, obviously to convince the Shī‘ites that he is not proceeding with partiality.⁴⁴ Naturally, he did not

remains to be studied in this respect (cf. for instance the *Muṣannaḥ* of Ibn Abī Shayba). Moreover, there was also a second *qādī* in the city at the time (Wakī‘ III, 31, ll. 5 ff.).

36 On him see below pp. 211 ff.

37 On him see below pp. 278 f.

38 Ibid. 32, ll. 7 f., and 28, ll. 8 ff. from bot.

39 Ibid. 28, ll. 3 f. from bot.

40 More information on this below pp. 357 ff.

41 Text II 4, verse 17.

42 Ibid., verses 6–8. Moreover ‘Umar II is also supposed to have made use of *arja‘a* regarding the whole historical development after Abū Bakr and ‘Umar (*Hilya* v, 298, ll. 4 ff. from bot.).

43 IS VI, 214, ll. 19 f. Cook is right in *Dogma* 29 when he remarks that “faith and unbelief” can be applied here just as well to the Muslims in general as to ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān; Muḥārib already touches on the faith-problem in his poem (see below). Yet it seems to me that Ibn Sa‘d in this passage only wishes to talk about “the proto-Murji‘ite” standpoint which is exclusively interested in ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān. The term *al-Murji‘a al-ūlā* is also found in an early Ibāḍite work (Cook 177, fn. 29).

44 Text II 4, verses 6–7.

succeed in convincing them; Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī was still indignant because of the verses – moreover, without knowing who the author was;⁴⁵ they had probably taken on the character of a motto.⁴⁶

Thābit Quṭna's basic viewpoint was the same; typically, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had invoked the slogan to return "to the *sunna* of the 'Umarān", i.e. Abū Bakr and 'Umar.⁴⁷ But he is addressing himself to a different public; those whom he wants to ward off are the Khārijites. Therefore, 'Alī is of no greater interest to him than 'Uthmān. Abū Bakr and 'Umar do not get mentioned; their role was not controversial among the Khārijites. Yet the latter fall prey to a false doctrine. Of course, their piety cannot be denied; but they believe that a sin immediately amounts to idolatry (*shirk*), i.e. the sinner thereby loses his faith. And yet idolatry is only what the word itself means: "associating partners with God"; as long as a person believes in the one God, he is not affected by this.⁴⁸ Moreover, Muḥārib also speaks about the Khārijites at the end of his poem and there accuses them precisely of this. While they declare believing Muslims to be idolaters, they go against all tradition and notice even less than the Christians how much they "are rebelling against God".⁴⁹

This war on two fronts shows very vividly what spectrum the Murji'a had at their disposal and how in the course of time their doctrine became differentiated. With the Shī'a one clashed politically; for this reason the archaic argumentation here hung on the longest. With the Khārijites one quarrelled over the concept of sin; this points towards the future and in the Abbasid period provides the Murji'a with their profile. At the same time the awareness of being chosen, which forms a basis for both groups, finds expression and likewise confronts us in 'Umar b. Dharr – who is younger.⁵⁰ Muḥārib, right at the beginning of his poem, swears how much God has honoured him by not having caused him to be born in the age of *Jāhiliyya* but under Islam.⁵¹ Islam is "a gift", and this certainly not only for a few pious persons but for all Muslims; separatist

45 *Agh.* VII, 248, ll. 7 ff.; on this cf. van Vloten's translation in: ZDMG 45/1891/165.

46 Indeed Muḥārib speaks in one of his elegies on 'Umar II of three incomparable caliphs who preceded him (Wakī' III, 32, l. 4 from bot.); there 'Uthmān is clearly valued more highly than 'Alī.

47 Ṭabarī II, 1391, l. 10; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ* VIII, 9, ll. 8 f. On the form of expression cf. *Akḥbār al-Abbās wa-wuldih* 290, l. 11 and *Naqā'id* 1013, l. 15 (in a eulogy by Farazdaq on behalf of Hishām; misunderstood by Juynboll in: JSAI 10/1987/101 as "sunna of 'Umar I and 'Umar II"; the *Risāla* of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb in: MM'I I 4/1956/38, l. 1; *Lisān al-'Arab* IV, 608 b, l. 10.

48 Text II 3, verses 11 and 7.

49 Text II 4, verses 29–31, based on surah 19/69 (cf. the commentary).

50 See above p. 9 f.

51 Text 4, verses 2–4.

movements such as the Khārijites promoted have no place here. In the same way, Thābit Quṭna emphasizes unity in the faith, only the non-Muslims, “the idolaters” according to his terminology, have fallen into numerous groups.⁵²

Therefore, if one postpones judgement concerning ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, it is in order to preserve this unity. The community had become split due to judging them; the religious controversy goes as far as personal denigration.⁵³ But one should not let oneself be carried away to the point of excluding them from the community of Muslims, while calling one or the other of them an unbeliever; their fate in the other world is not known to us.⁵⁴ What they did took place “in the sight of God”,⁵⁵ and they will answer for it when they stand before Him all alone at the Last Judgement.⁵⁶ The Muslims of the turn of the century were not present during this event; they do not have sufficient knowledge to allow themselves to judge. *Irjā’*, so it emerges, is to be practiced when something is “concealed”⁵⁷ or “doubtful”,⁵⁸ involving people whom one has never seen or who have long since been dead and concerning whose salvation in the other world no Koranic verse gives information.⁵⁹ This does not mean, the combative Thābit Quṭna is quick to add, that one closes one’s eyes to present-day injustices. Here one must act; but even in such a case a person should only shed blood if he is himself attacked.⁶⁰ Muḥārīb, as a *qādī*, will scarcely have thought differently; only instead, he emphasizes that no injustice is done to ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān if one does not bestow on them unconditional approval. They were not prophets but ordinary people,⁶¹ and a person’s view of them is not part of the central contents of the faith.⁶² And whatever way God will treat them, a person is himself saved by means of his *irjā’*.⁶³

52 Text 3, verse 6.

53 Text 4, verses 18–21; also 3, verse 13. A’shā Hamdān emphasizes the same thought in a poem against the Saba’iyya (Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* 11, 272, l. 4).

54 Text 3, verse 14; 4, verses 22–24 (but here already applied to all Muslims in general).

55 Text 3, verse 13.

56 Ibid., verse 15.

57 *khafī*; Text 4, verse 12.

58 Text 3, verse 5.

59 Text 4, verses 13–14. In the case of Abū Lahab *irjā’* would be inappropriate; he has already been dead a long time but is sufficiently characterized in the Koran.

60 Text 3, verses 5 and 8.

61 Text 4, verses 25–26; also Text 3, verse 12. This is perhaps in reaction to the Shī’ite “exaggerators” who made too free a usage of the designation “prophet”. But in any case here the doctrine of Muḥammad’s sinlessness is already in preparation.

62 Text 4, verses 9–11.

63 Ibid., verses 26–27.

2.1.1.4 The Polemic Against the Murji'a in the *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān*
 What the Murji'ite body of thought looked like shortly after the turn of the century is hereby sufficiently assured. It remains to examine to what extent these ideas should be assumed for the previous period. On this point an earlier prose text helps us, the so-called *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān*. The work is approximately 40 pages long and hitherto has only been available in complete form in a manuscript from 'Umān, a photocopy of which is found in Cambridge. However, M. Cook has edited and translated the passage that is essential for us. He considers the text to be authentic; only its dating seems to him to be in dispute, in particular because we do not know enough about the chronological setting of the author. Sālim b. Dhakwān, to whom the epistle (*sīra*)¹ goes back, was an Ibāḍite of unknown origin; Jābir b. Zayd al-Azdī (d. probably 93/712)² addressed a letter to him which has come down to us.³ Yet Shammākhī, for no apparent reason, has classified him among the contemporaries of Jābir's disciple or second-generation disciple, 'Ubayda al-Tamīmī, i.e. among the religious scholars of the first half of the 2nd century. However, this only occurs in a brief marginal note which can scarcely claim much authority for itself. Sālim probably did not belong to Baṣra; otherwise, Jābir would not have had to write to him.⁴ Cook would like to locate him in Kūfa and then wavers as to whether to date the text quite early, between 70 and 76 *hijrī*, or only at the end of the Umayyad period; due to his own basic attitude he finds the second hypothesis essentially more attractive.⁵ Madelung, on the other hand, has pronounced in favour of a dating in the time of Ibn al-Ash'ath, i.e. roughly between 80/699 and 82/701.⁶

What we have before us is a *kalām*-text; an Ibāḍite engages in polemic against contemporary Murji'ites and in addition, as Cook lets drop *en passant*, also against hostile brethren within his own camp: Azraqites, Najdites, quietists.⁷ The Murji'ite doctrine is not developed but taken for granted or even deformed. It stands before the author's eyes as a fully formed object; he perceives it as a danger. He finds inconsistencies, over which he takes a long

1 The title is certainly added later, probably in 'Umān. On the word's usage cf. Cook 89; also below Chpt. B 4.2.2.

2 See below Chpt. B 2.2.5.2.

3 On this ZDMG 126/1976/28 f.

4 Cf. Cook 91 with further information.

5 Ibid. 89 ff. and 102 f.

6 In: *The Journal of Theological Studies*, N. s. 33/1982/628 ff.; briefly also in: *Der Islam* 59/1982/32, fn. 1 a.

7 Cf. Cook 4 and 34; on this Madelung, op. cit.

time broadly polemicizing. Despite its detailed verbosity, the text does not really yield much. But the inconsistencies are not only laboured; they are to be explained obviously by the fact that Murji'ite doctrine itself shifted as a result of the political situation and its own attempts at adaptation. Professing that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were "rightly guided" is taken for granted by Sālim as being well known but is only introduced rather late in the discussion as evidence of another logical contradiction.⁸ *Irjā'* specifically refers to "the first schism" (*al-furqa al-ūlā*). Its justification is that the event has "remained concealed" from people living now because it happened before their time; that is to say, one should not simply adopt as one's own "the testimony" of others, i.e. their judgement concerning the salvation status of certain persons: the 'Uthmāns, 'Alīs, Ṭalḥas and Zubayrs (*b*).

All this is already familiar to us from Thābit Quṭna and Muḥārib b. Dithār. But in addition, the Murji'ites of our text distinguish "a second schism", the last that has come about (*al-furqa al-ākhira*), concerning which one should or must "bear witness" (*a*). Somewhat later it is then said that the same Murji'ites ask their "young generation" to renounce Mu'āwiya. For Sālim this is a welcome opportunity to point out an intrinsic contradiction. These young people as well have not been able to know Mu'āwiya and therefore ought to be obliged to exercise *irjā'* (*d*). Hereby we acquire a first chronological clue: one was meant to assume that older people had actually known Mu'āwiya (d. 60/680). At the same time, we get the impression that the stated intrinsic contradiction is more than a trumped-up form of inconsistency: the Murji'a pressure one into activism; they are on the defensive lest "postponement of judgement" in one specific case, namely during "the first schism", now result in general ερωχή (*wuqūf* according to the terminology of the Ibādites) and along with it, political quietism. This transition would not have been wholly illogical; that it is here consciously held in check reveals extreme political agitation. All pious men are in agreement in their rejection of Mu'āwiya, these Murji'ites are now able to say (*g*).

The question is simply what one had in mind by "Mu'āwiya". Naturally, one may have discussed who was in the right at Şifīn and whether here as well *irjā'* was to be applied. But in our text Mu'āwiya is more of a symbol; he has already been dead for some time. In fact, in the text he is soon replaced by the *mulūk*, "the kings", i.e. the Umayyads (*m*). Many Murji'ites come out against them with such hatred that, in violation of their own principles, they describe them as "unbelievers" (*o*). The crisis affecting this doctrine could not be illustrated

⁸ Text II 2, *i*. The following references based on letters of the alphabet are to my translation in Vol. v.

more clearly. But one may take this as an indication that the question of salvation status was not of central importance for the Murji'ites at the time; they had come forth with a political slogan, whereas from the start the Ibādites adopted other priorities and for this reason Sālim immediately became aware of the discrepancy. For the majority of Murji'ites "the kings" were in fact still believers but they had fallen into error (*mu'minūn ḡullāl, n*); since they had fallen into error, one is permitted to revoke one's loyalty (*tawallī*) to them, i.e. to break one's oath of allegiance to the caliph (*m*). At least as far as salvation status is concerned, this is the standpoint that one later came to agree upon in Iraq;⁹ since the emergence of the Abbasids, however, no one any longer spoke of a revocation of loyalty. What is important is that the later *communis opinio* was not yet taken for granted at the time of our work's composition.¹⁰

And finally, it is not insignificant for the chronology that the Saba'iyya is also mentioned here. But they first come into the discussion because Sālim b. Dhakwān refers to them; he uses them as an example that even in the case of Abū Bakr and 'Umar the consensus of the community is not unanimous (*i*). When he then has the Murji'ites reply that in the present situation as well these Shī'ites have once again fallen into error (*k*), he takes it for granted that the Saba'iyya was a well-known entity for them, yet not necessarily that they lived in direct contact with them. In other words, in order to be able to talk about their old opponents, the Murji'ites here mentioned do not have to be living in Kūfa.

At this point, we have enough strings in hand in order to draw closed the net. Both attempts at dating proposed by Cook lose their plausibility: the extreme early date because such a complex text cannot stand at the beginning; the late one (the end of the Umayyad period), because all the important ideas – the developing discussion about belief as well – have already been formulated in full by Thābit Quṭna and Muḡhārib b. Dithār, i.e. in the first decades of the 2nd century. Madelung's proposal has some points in its favour; when the Murji'ites revolted with Ibn al-Ash'ath against Ḥajjāj, passions were sufficiently aroused to undertake a certain ideological reorientation concerning Mu'āwiya which then became exposed to criticism from outside. But I wonder whether one should not take into account more than hitherto the fact that the work is by an Ibādite. Naturally, around this time Murji'ites and Ibādites lived side by side in Kūfa. However, the latter left no traces behind at the time.¹¹ Rather

9 See below p. 222 f. for Abū Ḥanīfa.

10 Just as Sālim b. Dhakwān, 'Awn b. 'Abdallāh also took offense at the idea of a *mu'min ḡall* (see above p. 189).

11 See below pp. 475 f.

there was a direct and close contact between the two groups in the circle of the Muhallabids: Abū Ruʿba fights along with “a Khārijite”; Thābit Quṭna discusses with “Khārijites”. For this reason I would be inclined, for the time being, to date the text twenty years later than Madelung, at the beginning of the 2nd century. We are then also only four decades distant from Muʿāwiya, and at that time the Umayyads were hated by the rebels just as much as earlier in the period of Ibn al-Ashʿath. Perhaps Sālim b. Dhakwān then also had more of a reason to be annoyed by the quietists in his own ranks. As for any participation of the Ibādites in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath – if it existed at all at the time – we hear nothing about it; Jābir b. Zayd, in any case, restrained himself and later apparently also remained relatively unscathed.¹²

The mentioned quietists likewise considered the *mulūk* as “evildoers” (*qawm^u sawⁱⁿ* according to surah 21/74 and 77), who had not withstood a temptation (*maftūn* according to surah 68/6). But they thought God had forbidden *jihād* against them; moreover, they were not sure whether God would punish the latter for their offenses or whether they could count on His forgiveness (Cook 31 and 34). – The arguments that Cook presents for his two chronological calculations (89 ff.) are worth thinking about but not compelling; otherwise he would certainly not have come up with two proposals. What causes him to favour the later dating, along with terminological matters, are above all the *kalām*-style and the heresiographical scheme that Sālim b. Dhakwān employs. The latter, however, had previously served to work out a *terminus post quem* for the composition.

2.1.1.5 The *K. al-Irjāʿ*

Up to this point we have left the tract’s conclusion out of consideration, and this for the reason that it does not yield much for the question of dating; but on the other hand, it most easily leads us back to the *K. al-Irjāʿ*. In his conclusion, Sālim b. Dhakwān comes to grips with two Koran quotations which the Murjiʿites made use of for their standpoint. Here what was decisive for them was that both passages speak about a judgement concerning “earlier generations” (surah 20/51 f.) or “a community which belongs to the past” (surah 2/134 and 141) and describe making a judgement as unnecessary and impossible (*q*). Thus they wished to confirm the definition of *irjāʿ*, not actually to derive the

12 For more on this Chpt. B 2.2.5.2.

term itself from the Koran as one later repeatedly attempted to do.¹ At the same time, they cited these passages, at least in the second case, without taking any account of the context; Sālim b. Dhakwān has scarcely any trouble in establishing that if *irjā'* is meant here, it certainly does not refer to "anything doubtful", but rather to prophets to whom one owes approval even if they had lived in the past (*r*). For the other passage in which Pharaoh asks Moses about the earlier generations and the latter then leaves judgement to God, he attempts the same interpretation (*s*); but here it does not have the same effect.

Now this very same verse, all on its own, is cited in the *K. al-Irjā'* of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.² It is introduced there as if the author himself had found it as evidence; the latter states that due to *irjā'* he was reprimanded and was asked for earlier precedents.³ The passage in question gives the impression of being corrupt; right here, in the centre of the text, the reader is left quite unsatisfied. The author had immediately before defined *irjā'* in the sense we are already familiar with; as refraining from judgement in matters that "are concealed from people and at which they were not present".⁴ But he says nothing about its practical application; 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Ṭalḥa and Zubayr are not mentioned by name. But the connection is clear because of what precedes: Abū Bakr and 'Umar are beyond all criticism; the *irjā'* is aimed at "the first schismatics" (*ahl al-furqa al-uwal*).⁵ All this could be more detailed and more clear, especially since the author has wasted several pages at the start with a broad historical introduction, "the mission topos".⁶

But the findings can also be used differently; there was no need for greater clarity and systematic presentation because the text is so early that there are still no alternatives. Besides Abū Bakr and 'Umar one spoke only about 'Alī and 'Uthmān; alongside *al-furqa al-ūlā* there was still no *al-furqa al-akhīra* which would have forced one to make distinctions. There is really no doubt at all that the *K. al-Irjā'* represents the situation more naively than the *Sīrat Sālim b. Dhakwān*, and not only from the point of view of the materials used but in their treatment as well: there where Sālim enters into polemic, here a standpoint is propagated; the contradictions which, according to the *kalām*-manner,

1 For instance with surah 7/110 (thus Ṭūsī, *Tibyān* IV, 527, l. 2 from bot.; cf also surah 9/106 (*murjawna li-amri'llāh*) or surah 33/51 (*turjī man tashā'u minhunna*; on this *Arabica* 21/1974/28 f.).

2 Text II 1, q.

3 According to an anecdote in the *Amāli* of Murtaḍā, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī presented this argument in a discussion with Ḥajjāj (I, 161, ll. 8 f. > IM 22, ll. 8 f.). But this is certainly not authentic.

4 Text II 1, p.

5 Or *al-ūlā*; *ibid. o.*

6 On this see above p. 16.

are there brought forth from the now well-known problematic materials, are here not yet even in the author's consciousness. What there becomes transformed for dialectical reasons or recedes into the background, here occupies its rightful place. This applies also and especially to the remarkably loquacious introduction (*a-k*): for the discussion that follows, whether politically or theologically, it is quite irrelevant; but it historically provides an overarching link with the crisis of the schism. It takes its starting point from the certainty of salvation which pervaded the early community: Islam brought a divine world order which is fundamentally different from the aimlessness of the *Jāhiliyya*, during which one attempted to learn one's fate from lots made of arrows (*c* and *e*). This came about through steps: first of all Muḥammad only generally summoned to the path of the truth, and some followed him while others opposed him (*c-e*). The situation first changed after the *hijra*; now detailed laws and prescriptions (*farā'id*) were added – the fundamental principles of the Medinan community (*g*). This historical sketch is not systematically carried out, though it provides a basis for the text in a somewhat undeveloped form; that we are able to perceive it is thanks to the fact that it went on having an effect in the Murji'a and plays a certain role, for instance, in Abū Ḥanīfa's epistle to 'Uthmān al-Battī. There it is then also brought into the context of the discussion about belief.⁷ But this is exactly what is missing here: the concept *īmān*, there the preliminary stage to the *farā'id*, does not occur at all. It also remains unclear how these *farā'id* are different from the *sunna*; the latter is mentioned alongside them but it is closely connected with the Koran and apparently imagined as being based upon it (*h-i*).

From this historical exposé there then organically arises the targeted problem: Abū Bakr and 'Umar still represent the original unity; but after them follow "the people of the first schism". One owes loyalty to the first two; concerning the later two, one holds back. This is a standpoint (*amr*) and an opinion (*ra'y*), and not any longer simply historical reflection. It is therefore marked off from the introduction by a passionate credo formula (*m*), for which we have other earlier instances.⁸ Then at the end stands the definition of *irjā'* (*p*) and its defense with the mentioned Koranic verse (*q*). More important to the author, if again we may judge by the length, is the attack against the Saba'iyya which now follows (*r-v*); here are the opponents he is thinking of. He proceeds to enumerate the various points regarding which they abandon the consensus of Islam; but crucial for him is that they greatly exaggerate their enthusiasm for 'Alī. Here he directly launches into an exegetical dispute; he refutes their assertion that the

⁷ See below p. 222 f.

⁸ See above pp. 17 f.

Prophet withheld “nine-tenths” of the Koran ($u-v$). The conclusion consists of a renewed urgent appeal: every Muslim will one day have to justify himself for his standpoint ($w-y$).

The Saba'iyya passage indicates to us that the text in one way or another belongs to Kūfa, either was formulated there or was written for the local circumstances. But Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya to whom it is ascribed, as an 'Alid principally lived in the Ḥijāz. It is legitimate to ask whether the primitiveness which emanates from the text is not fabricated. Cook assumes just that: the name of an 'Alid would most likely be able to procure success for an apocryphal work in Kūfa, and a descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya would in any case make the criticism severe for the Saba'iyya.⁹ From the two Koranic verses that were known to Sālim b. Dhakwān as a support for the Murji'ite position, the one which could not be so quickly refuted would then have been chosen with care. However, to me it seems that we are hereby expecting too much from the forger. Someone who had seen himself forced to take up position on *al-furqa al-akhīra* alongside *al-furqa al-ūlā* would probably find it difficult to transport himself back into the initial naïvety and to forget completely about the problem of Mu'āwiya. With an early dating we get off more easily, I would like to imagine. Cook, who moreover has earned himself much merit for the philological restitution of the text, also considers the early date at length, before he here, as in the case of other religious texts, rejects it by assuming there had existed a genus of “Successor-epistles” to which all these apocrypha are to be ascribed.¹⁰ The kind of acrobatics one can be obliged to perform when assuming forgeries is illustrated by him particularly in the case of the *K. al-Irjā'*: he generally assigns this genus to the late Umayyad period when the word of the *tābi'ūn* (“Successors”) still carried weight and had not become devalued by practices of continual backdating;¹¹ but as for the *K. al-Irjā'*, he additionally assumes that in the second half of the 2nd century a revision was undertaken by Kūfan *muḥaddithūn*.¹²

If we reject this as too complicated, then Cook's second thesis also collapses: namely, that from the beginning the Murji'ites would have been activists in their political behaviour and only in the 2nd century, under the Abbasids, would they have been transformed into quietists. This model is too schematic; it is also presented with a much too general line of reasoning.¹³ The situation

9 Most clearly in: *Islam and Power* 18.

10 *Dogma* 154.

11 Especially for the *K. al-Irjā'* cf. *ibid.* 88 and 155.

12 *Ibid.* 83; also in: *Islam and Power* 20.

13 *Islam and Power* 21 f.; in detail *Dogma* 33 ff.

was more complex; Murji'ite groups did not always behave the same way in different circumstances and in different places. The original slogan, however, was restraint. It is put forward in the *K. al-Irjā'*, perhaps for the first time altogether; one did not realize at the time that it would not be possible to keep it up. But the author did already anticipate that there would be resistance;¹⁴ after all, the "Saba'iyya" was still living in Kūfa. But in fact the mutual acts of revenge, which had taken place in Kūfa in the wake of Mukhtār's rebellion,¹⁵ must have made political caution, precisely *irjā'*, appear to be advisable. Of course, this was a matter of personal experience; among those who once more renounced restraint in order to fight along with Ibn Ash'ath, there were many young people. They could base themselves on the fact that this revolt had nothing to do with 'Uthmān and 'Alī, but it was about the Umayyads. This is also how the Murji'ites thought whom Sālim b. Dhakwān opposed. The turmoil under Mukhtār was by that time already in the distant past.¹⁶

With this pleading in favour of an early dating one is naturally not saying that the text is really by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. Even less is it proven that with his appeal Ḥasan has adapted himself to 'Abd al-Malik's policy of peace and perhaps acted under a certain pressure, as I proposed on an earlier occasion as a working hypothesis.¹⁷ At any rate, Ḥasan was by no means a pure Ḥijāzī; in his youth, if we are to believe the reports, he was involved with "the Saba'iyya" in Iraq.¹⁸ It therefore makes little sense to follow Cook in playing off against one another a Ḥijāzī and a Kūfan origin of the Murji'a.¹⁹ Naturally, at this point in time there was still no Murji'a in the Ḥijāz;²⁰ but if Ḥasan wished to have an impact in Kūfa, he certainly knew what he was talking about. Concerning his relationship with 'Abd al-Malik, I can also not say more now; but in any case here is not the place to treat that subject.

For a positive reaction to my thesis cf. Rotter, op. cit., 250 f.; for a negative one, N. Calder in: JSS 28/1983/180 ff. Calder sees in the *K. al-Irjā'* a discussion about the concept of authority; he takes "the political colouring" as

14 Text 1, x; the sentence is not entirely clear.

15 Cf. Rotter, *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 217 f. with references to the older literature.

16 The Ḥanbalite Khallāl probably assumes too late a date when he explains *irjā'* as a reaction to the defeat of Ibn al-Ash'ath (*Musnad* 338, ll. 8 ff.). But for this Ibn Baṭṭa already bases himself on Qatāda (*al-Ibāna al-kubrā* 889, no. 1235).

17 *Anfänge* 4 ff.

18 Cf. now Rotter, *ibid.* 215 f.

19 *Dogma* 79 ff.

20 See below Chpts. B 4.1.1.3 and 4.1.2.2.

secondary. Furthermore, cf. now Hasan Qasim Murad in: *Islamic Studies* 26/1987/191 ff. One must resist the temptation to affiliate Ḥasan to the particular Murji'a that Maymūn b. Mihrān speaks about (see above p. 175). We would then have found a Medinan milieu from which he could have drawn his ideas; but that in Medina, out of fear of the Saba'iyya, he had already distanced himself from the *shū'at 'Alī*, as Maymūn maintains about the Medinan "Murji'ites", is really very implausible. As stated above, we are here probably dealing with a construct of Maymūn's. – Jābir b. Zayd al-Azdī knew the *K. al-Irjā'* (Fasawī II, 13, ll. 3 ff.; on this see Chpt. B 2.2.5.1). On the other hand, the *K. al-Irjā'* that Ibn Ḥanbal read out to his nephew in prison was written by himself (Ḥanbal b. Iṣḥāq, *Miḥna*, 42, l. 4; taken over in Dhahabī, *Ta'riḫh*, in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 1, Introduction 91, l. 13; in *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* XI, 243, l. 9, his son Ṣāliḥ is erroneously mentioned instead of his nephew); the text is still extant (cf. GAS 1/508, no. 17). But the manner in which Ibn Ḥanbal defines *irjā'* (Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* I, 329, l. 3 from bot.) reveals that the old formulations were still familiar to him.

2.1.1.6 The Spectrum of the Murji'a up to 150 Hijrī

"Quietistic" Murji'ites had always existed; here we are far removed from any party political discipline. No political activities have been transmitted to us, for example, on the part of

Abū 'Abdallāh 'Amr b. Murra b. Ṭāriq al-Jamalī al-Murādī al-Ḍarīr,

who died between 116/734 and 120/738.¹ Like other Murji'ites of his time he appears to have been close to the moderate Shī'a; indeed, Abū Mikhnaf counts him among his informants for his *K. Maqatal al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī*.² But he wished to have as little to do with "the Khashabites" as with the Khārijites.³ The things all Muslims had in common with one another were very important to him.⁴

1 116 or 118 according to IS VI, 220, ll. 10 ff.; 118 or 120 according to Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 377, no. 1216. Mentioned as a Murji'ite in Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 215, last l., and 216, l. 10; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 625, l. 2; Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 268, no. 1729; Bukhārī III, 368 f., no. 2662; IAH III, 257 f., no. 1421; Fasawī II, 797, l. 5, and III, 85, ll. 3 f. from bot.; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 8470 and *Ta'riḫh* IV, 287, ll. 7 ff.; TT VIII, 102, l. 2 from bot.

2 U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 107 f.; additional historical traditions cf. Ṭabarī, Index s. n. From him transmitted the Shī'ite Abān b. Taghlib, among others, who for his part maintained contact with the Sunnīs (*Hilya* v, 99, l. 8; on him see below p. 392).

3 Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār: Musnad Ibn 'Abbās* 663, no. 984.

4 Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* 365, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; transl. in Miquel, *Géographie humaine* IV, 49.

If Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī is meant to have been right in maintaining he was a Qadarite as well,⁵ this will scarcely have attracted any special attention. He originated from a status-conscious Arab family⁶ and associated a great deal with Abū ‘Ubayda ‘Āmir, the son of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd.⁷ His piety was so well known that people believed his prayer was especially heard by God.⁸ Evidently somewhat younger than him⁹ was

Muḥammad b. Qays al-Hamdānī al-Murhibī,

a member of the same South-Arabian clan as Dharr b. ‘Abdallāh and the latter’s son. He belonged to the generation before Abū Ḥanīfa and thus he probably died around 120/738.¹⁰ Commitment to the movement, but only of a rhetorical kind, is transmitted about

Abū ‘Amr Qays b. Muslim al-Jadalī al-‘Adwānī,

who died 120/738;¹¹ he is meant to have “pleaded” (*yukhāṣimu*)¹² in defense of *irjā’*. But his *nisba* al-Jadalī has nothing to do with his dialectical abilities; rather he belonged to the Banū Jadīla who in one of their branches stemmed from ‘Adwān, a son of ‘Amr b. Qays ‘Aylān.¹³ It is interesting that he transmitted from Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, among others, but materials that did not necessarily stand out for their Murji’ite tendency.¹⁴ One accused him of having ties with the Shī‘a;¹⁵ this may be based on the *ḥadīth* of “the sandal patcher” (*khāṣif al-na‘l* = ‘Alī), in the *isnād* of which he appears.¹⁶

5 Ka‘bī 106, l. 3 > *Faḍl* 344, l. 15 > IM 140, l. 1. But he likewise appears in the *isnād* of a predestinarian tradition according to Ibn Mas‘ūd (cf. HT 28).

6 Cf. his genealogy and that of his father in Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 332 f., no. 1048, and 337, no. 1216.

7 Fasawī II, 270, ll. 3 ff.; 543, ll. 8 f.; 551, ll. 15 f.; III, 186, ll. 3 f. The latter was *qāḍī* under Maṭar b. Nājiya al-Riyāhī who went over to Ibn al-Ash‘ath (Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh* 365, ll. 9 f., and 385, ll. 12 f.).

8 Fasawī II, 616, ll. 1 ff.; also *Hilya* v, 94 ff.

9 Fasawī II, 796, ll. 11 f.

10 ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* IV, 126 f., no. 1685; Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* v, 135, ll. 1 ff.; TT IX, 413, no. 676. Nothing specific in Bukhārī I, 209, no. 661; IAH IV, 61, no. 275; *Mizān* no. 8092.

11 Bukhārī IV, 154, no. 691.

12 Fasawī II, 797, ll. 5 f. On this Ka‘bī, *Qabūl* 217, l. 1; Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh* IV, 297, ll. 11; TT VIII, 403 f., no. 721.

13 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 480, ll. 6 f. from bot.

14 *Anfänge* 10; on this Cook, *Dogma* 41, l. 77, and 221, Add. 5.

15 Cf. Cook 190, ftn. 97.

16 Faḍl b. Shādhān, *Īdāh* 451, ll. 2 ff.; cf. *Conc.* II 35 a, and below p. 297.

In the mosque of his tribe he fulfilled the function of imam. His piety was famous.¹⁷ – Contacts with the Shī'a were also maintained by

Ayyūb b. 'Ā'idh b. Mudlij al-Ṭā'ī al-Buḥturī,

a disciple of Sha'bī (d. 103/721) who, according to the testimony of Bukhārī, was a Murji'ite but who likewise apparently associated with Zayn al-'Ābidīn.¹⁸ – The same may be said for

Abū'l-Aswad 'Amr b. Ghiyāth al-Ḥaḍramī al-Kūfī,

who passed on a pro-'Alid *ḥadīth* of Dharr b. 'Abdallāh.¹⁹ He also belongs in the first half of the 2nd century; Shī'ite sources record him as a contemporary of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.²⁰ – *Ḥadīth* with a pro-'Alid tendency is also still transmitted a generation later by

Abū Bakr (b. 'Abdallāh b. Qiṭāf)²¹ al-Nahshalī,

a Tamīmite who died on the *īd al-ḥiṭr* of the year 166/May 8th, 783.²² But he does not turn up any longer in the works of the Shī'ite biographers. He was an ascetic.²³ That he belonged to the Murji'a is well attested.²⁴ – We perceive anti-Shī'ite tones in the case of

17 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣiḥāḥ* III, 72, ll. 3 ff.

18 Bukhārī I, 420, no. 1346 > 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* I, 108, no. 127 > *Mizān* no. 1083; TT I, 406 f., no. 746 and *Hady al-sārī* II, 118, ll. 13 ff.; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi' al-ruwāt* I, 112. Dhahabī is the only one (?), perhaps by mistake, to have Ayyūb b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Ā'idh. The identity of the person is confirmed through the connection with Sha'bī (for instance cf. also Fasawī II, 561, ll. 8 ff.). TT has *Ābid* instead of *'Ā'idh*.

19 *Mizān* no. 6183. On this above p. 179, fn. 24.

20 Ardabīlī I, 626 f. As a Murji'ite in Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 216, ll. 12 f. and in *Mizān*, op. cit. (following Ibn 'Adī).

21 Thus according to IS VI, 263, l. 11; the name is transmitted in various forms. Cf. also Khalifa, *Ṭab*. 396, no. 1293.

22 IS, op. cit.; *Mizān* no. 10004. Cf. the *ḥadīths* in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Ṭal* 117, no. 702, and 294, no. 1909 (but where 'Ā'isha is hardly depicted positively).

23 IS, op. cit.

24 IS; Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 216, l. 10; *Mizān*; TT XII, 44 f., no. 179.

Abū'l-Haytham²⁵ Khālīd b. Salama (b. Hishām) b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Makhzūmī,²⁶

nicknamed al-Faʿfaʿ, “the Lisper”, or *dhūʿl-shafa* “the one with the lip”, or *dhūʿl-ḍirs* “the one with the molar”,²⁷ a well-respected Qurayshī²⁸ who had great influence among the Kūfan Murjīʿa. He “hated Alī”;²⁹ one inferred this from a *ḥadīth* he transmitted and in which love of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar is described as *sunna*.³⁰ This explains why we see him together with ʿUmar b. Dharr in the year 132/750 fighting against the Abbasids. When the revolutionaries from the East prevailed, he fled to Wāsiṭ. There after he had offered resistance all day long with his men, he let himself be lured forth from his hiding-place by a promise of safety from Manṣūr; but Saffāḥ – or his commander Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʿī – did not make good on the promise and had him executed.³¹ At the time he was already quite old; indeed, even back in the days of ʿAbd al-Malik he is supposed to have considered himself the best *khaṭīb* of his time.³² He was likewise a genealogist of his clan.³³ Because of his great knowledge of the Arab past, the caliph Hishām is meant to have given him the task, along

25 Thus according to TTD V, 52, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

26 On the genealogy cf. Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 315, 13 f.

27 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 41, no. 221; Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* VII 81, ll. 1 ff. and *Bayān* I, 129, ll. 13 ff.; also *ibid.* I, 130, l. 7, and 328, l. 3. A *faʿfaʿ* is someone who had difficulty in pronouncing f or who stuttered when doing so (cf. Lane 2323 s. v.; Fück, *Arabiya* 65). It is astonishing that he was acknowledged as a *khaṭīb*. But his second epithet (*dhūʿl-shafa*) is a pointer in the same direction; he probably had a misformed lower lip which made it hard for him to articulate f.

28 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 151, ll. 10 f. He belonged to the Quraysh al-biṭāḥ but not to their most respected families in Mecca (Jāḥiẓ *Bayān* I, 129, ll. 13 ff., and 336, ll. 4 ff.).

29 ʿUqaylī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ* II, 5, no. 404; TTD V, 53, l. 6; *Mizān* no. 2426; TT III, 96, l. 6.

30 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 151, no. 945; Fasawī II, 813, ll. 1 ff. That he had nothing at all to do with the Murjīʿa and was simply reckoned among them by the Shīʿites because of his attitude of loyalty to the regime, as Madelung conjectures (*Qāsim* 234), I consider to be very unlikely because ʿUmar b. Dharr also appears alongside him.

31 Cf. the slightly divergent reports in Khalīfa, *Taʿrīkh* 610, ll. 6 ff. and Ṭabarī III, 69, ll. 16 ff.; also IS VI, 242, ll. 4 ff., as well as Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, op. cit.; Baḥshal, *Taʿrīkh Wāsiṭ* 98, ll. 7 f.; Dhahabī, *Taʿrīkh* V, 239, ll. 13 ff. On this Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 48.

32 *Bayān* I, 346, ll. 7 ff. > *ʿIqd* IV, 54, ll. 2 ff. from bot. But the authenticity of the anecdote is not above all doubt. As *khaṭīb* (*Quraysh*) he also appears in *Bayān* I, 134, l. 3, and 328, l. 3, as well as in *Ḥayawān* VII, 81, l. 6.

33 *Bayān* I, 336, l. 4.

with another person, of composing a book on the weaknesses and the strengths of the Arabs (*mathālib al-ʿArab wa-manāqibuhā*).³⁴

The activism which flared up among the Murjiʿites during the turmoil at the end of the Umayyad period, certainly did not take hold of the entire “school”. Many apparently did not offer any resistance to the Abbasids, chiefly of course those who because of their pro-ʿAlid attitude in fact felt sympathy for them, at least in the beginning. But others as well evidently just kept quiet at first. Among them, for example, is

ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb b. Shihāb b. al-Majnūn al-Jarmī,

who died at the beginning of Manṣūr’s caliphate,³⁵ or according to others, in the year 137/754–55.³⁶ His grandfather had been a Companion of the Prophet;³⁷ his father had fought in Iran³⁸ and was among the supporters of Mālik al-Ashtar in Kūfa.³⁹ He himself was one of the teachers of Abū Bakr al-Nahshalī and evidently had ascetic tendencies like the latter.⁴⁰ – Also somewhat reserved at first was

Abū Salama Misʿar b. Kidām b. Zuhayr b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Hilālī al-Aḥwal,

who died between 152/769 and 155/772.⁴¹ He was a member of the Banū Hilāl b. ʿĀmir⁴² and apparently the dominant figure among the Kūfan Murjiʿa during the fourth decade of the 2nd century. Alluding to his father’s tribal background, Sufyān al-Thawrī spoke of the Murjiʿa as the Hilāliyya;⁴³ he is supposed to have been so hostile to him that – just like the Zaydi Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ – he did not take

34 Cf. GAS 1/262; there as well on the prehistory. Is this why Ibn al-Madīnī describes him as a *zindīq*? (Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* 8, l. 3).

35 IS VI, 238, l. 5.

36 *Mizān* no. 4064; TT V, 55 f., no. 89.

37 Cf. Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 262, no. 747; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* no. 1186; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* II, 158 f., no. 3934 s. n. Shihāb b. al-Majnūn al-Jarmī.

38 Ṭabarī I, 2695, ll. 10 ff.

39 Ibid. I, 3227, ll. 18 ff.

40 Cf. also Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* 217, l. 2; ʿUqaylī, *Duʿafāʾ* III, 334 f., no. 1356; Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 384, no. 1244.

41 In the year 152 according to IS VI, 253, l. 15, and Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 481, l. 15; in the year 153 according to Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 393, no. 1272 and *Taʾrīkh* 662, l. 1; in the year 155 according to IS VI, 253, l. 17, and AZ 298, no. 525 = 579, no. 1619 = Fasawī I, 141, l. 2 from bot.

42 Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 274, l. 1; cf. also IS VI, 253, l. 15 and Fasawī II, 658 ff.

43 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 358, l. 4 from bot.; Khallāl, *Musnad* 270, ll. 6 f.

part in his funeral.⁴⁴ Probably what upset him was that Mis'ar let his Murji'ite convictions have an effect in the realm of *Ḥadīth*, that is to say he behaved like a *dā'iya*: with sayings of Ibn Mas'ūd and others he fought against the view that someone should doubt his own religious faith,⁴⁵ and he interpreted sayings of the Prophet which were used by his opponents as proof that sin had an adverse effect on faith.⁴⁶ As he put it, he had doubts about everything but not about his faith.⁴⁷ His son 'Abdallāh transmitted a *ḥadīth* from him according to which the punishment of Hell will have an end.⁴⁸ When Muslim al-Baṭīn,⁴⁹ in Kūfa, cursed the Murji'a, he was appalled.⁵⁰ He heard lectures from Abū Ḥanīfa; at that time one found this quite unusual for a *muḥaddith* like him.⁵¹ But after a decade of Abbasid rule he had enough; in the year 145 he invited Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh to take over the power in Kūfa. His Murji'ite friends for the most part took offense at this; it led to a falling-out.⁵² Perhaps that is why Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī made him into a Qadarite.⁵³ But otherwise there is nothing that could support this thesis; on the contrary, one even claimed to have heard him say that the doctrine of *qadar* constitutes the alphabet of heresy.⁵⁴ His religious knowledge and piety later came to be very much emphasized.⁵⁵

44 IS VI, 254, ll. 1 f.

45 Ibn Abī Shayba, *Imān* 9, no. 26–28; IS VI, 120, ll. 20 ff.

46 Cook, *Dogma* 77 f.

47 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 358, no. 2366. In my opinion Cook finds too much scepticism in these words (*Dogma* 45 and 176, ftn. 20).

48 *Mūzān* no. 4599. He only transmits from his father ('Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* II, 304, no. 881).

49 On him cf. TT X, 134, no. 244.

50 Fasawī II, 658, ll. 8 f., and III, 99, ll. 3 f. from bot.

51 Kardarī, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* II, III, ll. 2 ff. On Mis'ar's *irjā'* cf. also IS VI, 254, ll. 1 ff.; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 625, l. 6; Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 215, l. 2 from bot. (following Karābīsī); Dhahabī, *Mūzān* no. 8470, TH 188 ff., no. 183 and *Ta'riḫ* VI, 288, ll. 12 f.; TT X, II, 3, no. 209. He transmitted from Mūsā b. Abī Kathīr and from 'Amr b. Murra, among others.

52 Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 366, ll. 7 f.; together with Abū Ḥanīfa *ibid.* 361, ll. 9 ff.; on this van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 309 and Madelung, *Qāsim* 234.

53 Ka'bī, *Maq.* 106, l. 3 > *Faḍl* 344, l. 15 > IM 140, l. 1

54 Fasawī II, 689, last l. f. But it is not stated how *qadar* is to be understood here.

55 On this cf. Azmi, *Studies* 149; Ṭabarī, Index s. n.; Fasawī, Index s. n.; *Ḥilya* VII, 209 ff. > Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa* III, 72 ff. The "hostile reporting" in Ibn Sa'd that Madelung speaks of (*Qāsim* 238, ftn. 62) is based on a misunderstanding; all that is said is that out of sheer piety he only moved back and forth between his house and the mosque (cf. the parallel *ibid.* 253, last l. f.).

2.1.1.7 The Circle of Abū Ḥanīfa

At this point we have reached the moment when we can no longer ignore the role Abū Ḥanīfa played in the context of the Murji'a. It is less well known than his significance for the Kūfan school of jurisprudence; but the problem concerning both fields is similar: just as much as the importance of his personality is indisputable, it is likewise difficult to distinguish his own contribution from that of his teachers and disciples. Interestingly, in their case as well juridical expertise and Murji'ite conviction are combined. At the same time, it becomes clear that they are *mawālī* in their vast majority; they are active not as judges but as experts, and evidently the Murji'ite credo is not so much a political slogan as a theological attitude of principle. The question of a definition of faith moves into the foreground; we scarcely still hear anything about an obligation "to defer" one's judgement concerning historical persons. This development lay in the nature of the matter: already at the turn of the century the problem was raised that, along with the generation of 'Alī and 'Uthmān, another generation had acted which was no longer before the eyes of the living, and now, in the turmoil at the end of the Umayyad period and after the Abbasid revolution, the chronological expanse as well as the geographical and ideological diversity of unchecked events had grown so much that one could still only generalize. Now one's thoughts were with regard to all Muslims; *irjā'* now meant that one deferred judgement about the behaviour of one's fellow Muslims, inasmuch as one defined their belonging to the community solely on the basis of their profession of faith. The term itself became a mere label; it was by now so marginal that Abū Ḥanīfa could directly reject it for his own person.¹ What is important for the future is the communalistic aspect: all Muslims, due to their faith, are equal before one another.

2.1.1.7.1 *The Precursors*

As is known, the Kūfan legal tradition draws heavily on Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī. Abū Yūsuf as well as Shaybānī cite his authority most of all.¹ His juridical reflection appears more advanced than that of "the seven jurists" of Medina who belong to the same period.² But, as we saw, he did not at all like the Murji'ites.³ The situation is different with his disciple

1 See below p. 228.

1 Schacht, *Origins* 33; on this above p. 183 f.

2 *Ibid.* 245.

3 See above p. 184.

Abū Ismāʿīl Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān Muslim (b. Yazīd b. ʿAmr) al-Ashʿarī,

the teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa who died 119/737, or perhaps only in 120/738.⁴ After the death of his teacher he overtly went over to the Murjīʿa and with this step stirred up much bad feeling.⁵ The Shīʿite Salama b. Kuhayl,⁶ who in his moderate manner was probably close to Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, said to his face that up until then he had been a head but now was only a tail.⁷ Later one spread the rumour that five wealthy Kūfans, among whom were ʿAmr b. Qays al-maʿsir and Abū Ḥanīfa,⁸ had collected together 40,000 dirhams to make it palatable for him to change sides.⁹ Both these reports were essentially a compliment; his prestige must have been very great. Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778)¹⁰ later related that young people like himself only secretly sneaked into Ḥammād's lectures, once he had become a sectarian (*aḥdatha*);¹¹ but after all, one could not get around him. Schacht refers to him as the first personality of the Iraqi school of jurisprudence in the full historical sense.¹² After 110/728, under the governorship of Bilāl b. Abī Burda, he once even gave a guest performance in Baṣra.¹³ He did not very much like the Meccan scholars whom he became acquainted with during a pilgrimage.¹⁴

4 The date 119 is only poorly attested (in Shīrāzī, *Tab.* 83, l. 4); but it seems less smooth than the round number 120 which appears everywhere, already even in the early sources (Khalīfa, *Tab.* 376, no. 1214; AZ 295, no. 513; IS VI, 232, l. 15; *Fihrist* 256, ll. 5 f.; Fasawī III, 348, ll. 2 ff.; Abū Nuʿaym, *Dhikr akhbār Iṣfahān* I, 288, l. 8).

5 Detailed information about this in ʿUqaylī, *Duʿafāʾ* I, 302, ll. 3 ff. from bot. Cf. also AZ 295, no. 513; IS VI, 232, l. 22; *Maʿārif* 474, l. 6 and 625, ll. 2 f.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh* IV, 244, ll. 7 ff., as well as *Mīzān* no. 2253 and a second time no. 2271, also no. 8470 (following Sulaymānī, d. 404/1014); TT III, 16 ff., no. 15. On this Madelung, *Qāsim* 234; GAS 1/404 f.

6 On him see below p. 280.

7 ʿUqaylī I, 304, ll. 9 ff. from bot. In non-Shīʿite circles one later put this saying in the mouth of Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 154/770) who was a whole generation younger (AZ 675, ll. 8 ff.); Salama b. Kuhayl was not highly regarded there. The contrast between “head” and “tail” is also popular in Iranian texts (cf. Dēnkart, transl. de Menasce 225 § 213).

8 Sic! Both of them were a generation younger.

9 ʿUqaylī I, 304, ll. 10 ff.

10 On him see below pp. 221 ff.

11 Fasawī II, 791, ll. 8 ff.; ʿUqaylī I, 303, l. 3 from bot. The tradition is later transferred from Ḥammād to Abū Ḥanīfa (Kardarī, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* II, 13, ll. 2 f. from bot.).

12 *Origins* 237 ff.; there also on the relationship with Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī But that he was a *qāḍī*, as Ibn al-Nadīm maintains (*Fihrist* 265, l. 5), is very unlikely.

13 There one naturally adopted a certain distance towards him (Fasawī II, 791, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; ʿUqaylī I, 307, ll. 5 ff. with an anti-Ḥanafite topos).

14 ʿUqaylī I, 302, ll. 9 ff.

He had probably had to fight hard to secure this position. He was a descendant of prisoners of war who were abducted in the year 23/644, when Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī or one of his subordinate commanders conquered Iṣfahān. His father had converted to Islam at the hand of Abū Mūsā, and he himself was a client of the latter’s son Ibrāhīm. But the father, at the time certainly still very young, had evidently first come into the possession of Mu‘āwiya; because he used him as a messenger when Abū Mūsā negotiated as ‘Alī’s representative at the court of arbitration at Dūmat al-Jandal, and gave him as a gift to the latter along with nine additional slaves – presumably after the negotiations had turned out so favourably for him.¹⁵ We do not know what profession Ḥammād and his father practiced. However, in later years Ḥammād was apparently quite wealthy; he bestowed abundant alms¹⁶ and he scandalized the Baṣran men of piety by his well-groomed appearance.¹⁷ At that time, the judges of Kūfa, the Murji’ite Muḥārib b. Dithār as well as his predecessor ‘Abdallāh b. Nawf al-Taymī, called him in as an adviser in their sessions.¹⁸ In Baṣra, through his visit, he is meant to have introduced stricter practices regarding *isnāds*.¹⁹ And yet the Kūfan chain of transmission, which went back from him to Ibn Mas‘ūd and was frequently accepted by Abū Ḥanīfa, fell into condemnation outside the city.²⁰ When he heard lectures from Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī, Ḥammād had taken down notes on wooden tablets (*alwāḥ*) under subject headings; the teacher is said to have frowned on this.²¹ Later it turned out that he had best preserved the latter’s pronouncements on “permitted and forbidden”, whereas ‘Amash, who was albeit a generation younger, was better informed about his lectures on inheritance law.²² – The second Murji’ite teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa is

‘Alqama b. Marthad al-Ḥaḍramī.

15 Cf. the information in Abū Nu‘aym, *Dhikr* I, 288, ll. 8 ff.; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif* 474, ll. 4 f.; Khalifa, *Ta’rikh* 167, ll. 2 ff. from bot. (especially 168, l. 12) and *Ṭab.* 376, no. 1214; also EI² IV, 99 b. How the Arabic names for Ḥammād’s grandfather, which are only found in Abū Nu‘aym, accord with this, I do not know. The chronology of events is at any rate not entirely assured.

16 Cf. the stories in Abū Nu‘aym, *Dhikr* I, 289, ll. 17 ff.

17 ‘Uqaylī I, 307, ll. 3 ff.

18 For the latter cf. Wakī‘ III, 24, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; for Muḥārib see above p. 192.

19 IS VII₂, 2, ll. 22 ff.; Fasawī II, 282, ll. 4 ff.; on this below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3 s. n. Qatāda.

20 HT 19.

21 AZ 675, no. 2045; IS VI, 232, ll. 4 f.; Fasawī I, 285, ll. 2 f. from bot. On this Azmi, *Studies* 66 (cf. also *ibid.* 82 f.).

22 IS VI, 232, ll. 6 ff.

He died around the same time as Ḥammād²³ and was also a student of Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī.²⁴ However, he has scarcely any profile for us. In fact, he was not a jurist but rather an expert on traditions and a historian.²⁵ The *Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa* preserves some of the traditions he transmitted; from these it becomes clear that he was an opponent of the Qadariyya.²⁶ His Murji'ite standpoint is attested numerous times.²⁷

2.1.1.7.2 *On the Life and Aftereffects of Abū Ḥanīfa*

Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān b. Thābit b. Zūṭā al-Taymī, who died 150/767, was a rich silk manufacturer (*khazzāz*) who like many other scholars of this period originated from a family that had been Islamicized for two generations.¹ Due to his grandfather he was a *mawlā* of the Taym Allāh b. Tha'laba; but his origin is so caught up in later quarrelling between the schools that, beyond the well-intentioned or the disparaging additions, there is scarcely one fact worthy of belief. It is often said that his grandfather originated from Eastern Iran; but the variation in indicating the place (Kabul, Tirmidh, Nasā) shows that we may well be dealing with different local traditions which only gained credence because his school was able to spread in Eastern Iran in the most unhindered fashion. Here one attached great importance to the idea that his ancestors had never been enslaved by the Muslims, and a genealogy was written up for him which, with the name Marzubān in the fourth generation, insinuated a connection to the high-ranking Sassanian civil service or native Iranian aristocracy.² This does not at all fit with the relatively certain transmitted name Zūṭā

23 At the end of Khālid al-Qasrī's governorship (according to Khalifa, *Tab.* 378, no. 1222), i.e. 120/738 (Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 522, l. 8).

24 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 56, l. 8.

25 Cf. Ṭabarī, Index s. n.; Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī in Jeffrey, *Materials* 22, ll. 2 ff.

26 HT 189.

27 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 268, no. 1729; Karābīsī in Ka'bī, *Qabūl* 216, ll. 3 f.; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan* 11, 272, l. 2; TT VII, 278 f., no. 485. – That he functioned as a witness so far back in the peace treaty between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, as Ibn Muzāḥim on the basis of the alleged original maintains (*Waq'at Ṣiffīn* 586, l. 4 from bot.), is very unlikely; probably 'Alqama's namesake, 'Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha'ī, is meant.

1 I take the following details with certain modifications and additions from the extensive article by U. F. 'Abd-Allāh in *Elran* 1, 295 ff.; cf. also Schacht in *ET*² 1, 123; J. Wakin in *Dict. of the Middle Ages* 1, 26 f.; Ansari in *ER* 1, 19 ff.

2 TB XIII, 325, ll. 19 ff. For the genealogy one relied on Abū Ḥanīfa's grandson Ismā'il b. Ḥammād who was later an influential *qāḍī* and perhaps attached importance to a distinguished family background (ibid. 326, ll. 1 ff.; *Fihrist* 225, ftn. 1).

which his grandfather bore; because this is of Aramaic origin and means “the short one”.³ Therefore, one will rather feel inclined to trust the reports according to which Abū Ḥanīfa originated from Anbār, was in fact a provincial whom people reckoned among “the Nabataeans”.

We hear nothing at all about his father. According to Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* III, 63, ll. 1 f., he was a baker; but in the context this seems rather to refer to the grandfather. Or could *khabbāz* have come about because Ibn Ḥibbān somewhere read *yabī'u' l-khazz* as *yabī'u' l-khubz*?

Likewise we know scarcely anything further about his life. His business went well; by chance we know the names of two partners who, according to a kind of *mushāraka*, looked after his interests in Nēshāpūr. One of them later became *qāḍī* there.⁴ But soon one could no longer think of Abū Ḥanīfa as a mere merchant. One wondered why so intelligent a jurist as he had never been appointed as a judge, and then invented stories according to which, in the usual way, he had hesitated to accept the office. However, if he really originated from the *nabaṭ*, his family prestige, even after the social change under the Abbasids, would simply not have been great enough.⁵ Moreover, Ibn Abī Laylā (d. 148/765) stood in his way, being a member of the highly respected Anṣār-family who held the post of *qāḍī* in Kūfa from 120/741 with a brief interruption until the time of his death. Abū Ḥanīfa had many differences of opinion with the latter; Ibn Abī Laylā advocated different juridical views⁶ and did not like the Murji'ites.⁷ He is even supposed to have once appealed to the authorities because he could no longer stand Abū Ḥanīfa's criticism.

If towards the end of his life, however, Abū Ḥanīfa was thrown in prison and allegedly even died there, that has nothing to do with this conflict and nothing to do with his having refused to become *qāḍī*, but rather with his sympathies for al-Nafs al-zakiyya and the latter's brother Ibrāhīm; he had the same attitude as Mis'ar b. Kidām.⁸ He is meant to have supported him financially and to have

3 Cf. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch* I, 521.

4 Ḥafṣ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Balkhī (Ṣaymarī, *Akḥbār Abī Ḥanīfa* 34, ll. 5 f. from bot.; on him see below Chpt. B 3.1.4.2). The other was Bashshār b. Qīrāṭ al-Naysābūrī, likewise a jurist, who followed the Kūfan method (Ṣaymarī 64, ll. 10 f.; on him *Mizān* no. 1178).

5 Greater detail on this below Chpt. B 2.2.3.

6 Shāfi'ī, *Umm* VII, 87 ff. On this Schacht in EI² III, 687 and GAS 1/518; also G. Matern, *Ibn Abī Laylā, ein Jurist und Traditionarier des frühen Islam* (Diss. Bonn 1968).

7 TB XIII, 380, ll. 13 ff.

8 This connection is also attested in Ṣaymarī 87, ll. 6 ff.; on Mis'ar see above p. 208.

advised the brother of the jurist al-Fazārī (d. 188/804) to participate.⁹ At the same time, one recalled that more than two decades before he had also sent weapons and horses to Zayd b. ‘Alī; on that occasion as well the governor had given him a serious warning (*istatāba*). At the time of the revolt he was presumably in Baghdād itself; because Manṣūr employed him to negotiate with the labourers during the building of the capital and to supervise drawing up the correct bill for the bricks.

On the last point cf. Ṣ. A. al-‘Alī, *Baghdād* I, 228. The connection between these events can scarcely be recognized behind the later idealization. The governor who warned Abū Ḥanīfa at the time of Zayd b. ‘Alī would have had to be Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafi. But along with him Khālīd al-Qasrī is also mentioned who had already been dismissed in 120/738, i.e. almost two years before the revolt. One knew that on previous occasions the latter had taken actions against “heretics”; consequently, belief in the Koran’s createdness was now given as the reason for the warning (TB XIII, 381, ll. 8 ff. and previously; for more on the subject see below p. 220). With reference to this then, the verb *istatāba* “to call to repentance” is also chosen. Occasionally a clash with Ibn Hubayra is also brought up; he is supposed to have wished to make Abū Ḥanīfa superintendant of finances (Ṣaymarī 57, ll. 4 f.). – Allegedly, Anan ben David, the progenitor of the Karaites, met him in prison in Baghdād. However, in the Jewish tradition where this occurs, to begin with mention is only made of a Muslim “wise man”; the identification is a secondary development (cf. Nemy in: *Semitic Studies J. Loew* 244 ff. and *Karaite Anthology* 4 f.; as well as M. A. Cohen in JQR 68/1977–78/132 and Ben-Shammai in: Twersky, *Studies in Med. Jewish History and Literature* II, 4). The scene is dealt with by F. Dürrenmatt in: *Zusammenhänge* (Werke, Bd. 29), pp. 82 ff.

Abū Ḥanīfa appears to have had a very close relationship with his teacher Ḥammād b. Sulaymān; one may assume that he named his son Ḥammād after him. But he also followed lectures by Rabī‘a b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān in Medina;¹⁰ because of an affinity in their method Rabī‘a was later called *Rabī‘at al-ra’y*. Moreover, both were reproached for having made errors in language; Shāfi‘ī

9 TB XIII, 385, ll. 1 ff. (in part < Fasawī II, 788, ll. 5 ff.); in general Elran I, 299 a, as well as Veccia-Vaglieri in: *A Francesco Gabrieli* 318, fn. 1 and Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 465, fn. 57. On Fazārī see above p. 146.

10 AZ 507, no. 1333.

was meant to be the first who superbly mastered Arabic.¹¹ The latter was known to be of pure Arab descent; the tendentiousness is obvious.¹² This kind of gossip was retold throughout the centuries.

But mostly it was a matter of things that were characteristic of the Ḥanafite method. The Kūfans were meant to neglect *Ḥadīth* in favour of systematic conclusions based on general rules or on opinions of Companions of the Prophet;¹³ for this reason one described them as “analogists” (*qayyāsūn*)¹⁴ or “what-if-people” (*aṣḥāb a-raʾayta* or *a-raʾaytiyyūn*).¹⁵ At the same time, both Abū Ḥanīfa as well as Abū Yūsuf in principle collected *Ḥadīth* quite systematically; in any case, the Medinans concerned themselves much less in this regard.¹⁶ But in Iraq one took better care; the experts considered Abū Ḥanīfa’s traditions to be deficient in every way.¹⁷ Contributing to this was that the Ḥanafites, by contrast with Shāfiʿī and his disciples, did not recognize the use of lone traditions (*āḥād*) as proof.¹⁸ Opponents therefore took delight in stories in which Abū Ḥanīfa – sometimes like ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd – rejected particular *ḥadīths* or brushed them

11 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Faqīh waʾl-mutaafaqqih* II, 29, ll. 1 ff.; cf. also TB XIII, 332, ll. 15 ff. and below fn. 24.

12 Somewhat differently Fück, *Arabiya* 36 f.

13 Cf. the verses of the Kūfan *qāḍī* Ibn Shubruma (d. 144/761) in Wakīʿ III, 97, ll. 13 f. On this Schacht, *Origins* 21, but who simply speaks of “Iraqis”. This is the language usage of the Medinans and the Syrians (cf. Fasawī II, 757, ll. 10 f. and 754, ll. 2 ff. from bot.) and naturally of later authors (thus for instance Ṭūsī, *Tibyān* II, 235, l. 2; but together with Abū Ḥanīfa *wa-aṣḥābuhū* ibid. 269, l. 12). At the same time, it should be borne in mind that the development in Baṣra, to begin with, followed a different course (see below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3); one simply forgot this later.

14 Ṣaymarī 69, l. 6 from bot.; cf. also Kawtharī, *Lamahāt al-naẓar fī sīrat al-Imām Zufar* (Cairo 1368), p. 17, ll. 6 f. from bot.

15 Allegedly thus already Shaʿbī (cf. Nuʾmān al-Qāḍī, *Firaq islāmīyya* 289); numerous cases in Ibn Baṭṭa, *al-Ibāna al-kubrā* 515 ff. On this in general Goldziher, *Zāhīriten* 13 ff. and Birkeland, *Old Muslim Opposition* 10.

16 Schacht 27. For Abū Yūsuf cf. Ansari in: *Arabica* 19/1972/256 ff.; in addition he also transmitted and probably collected a *Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa* (cf. GAS 1/414). At the same time, it should be taken into account that the *ahl al-raʾy* sometimes turned against recording *Ḥadīth* in writing to avoid the tradition becoming rigidified (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II, 194 f. and Schoeler in: *Der Islam* 66/1989/226).

17 Cf. the judgements in TB XIII, 414, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* III, 63, l. 3, etc.

18 Schacht 41 f.; also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Intiṣār waʾl-tarjīh*, ed. Kawtharī, p. 8, l. 4 from bot.

off as figments of the imagination.¹⁹ ‘Abd al-Wārith b. Sa‘īd from Baṣra²⁰ even claimed to have heard how he described a saying of ‘Umar as “devil’s twaddle”.²¹

The Baṣrans, in the beginning at any rate, were not on good terms with him; his disciple Yūsuf al-Samtī came to feel their displeasure.²² Khalīl b. Aḥmad did not think much of his books;²³ the judgements concerning Abū Ḥanīfa’s defective knowledge of Arabic go back to the Baṣran grammarians.²⁴ ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Awn is said to have considered him to be the greatest disaster (*ash’amu mawlūd*) in Islam.²⁵ But generally this remark had so much appeal it was also put in the mouth of others: for example, Awzā‘ī or Sufyān al-Thawrī.²⁶ At the same time these latter figures stand for other centres of polemic: Syria and the Ḥijāz (or Kūfa). The Syrian historian and traditionist Abū Zur‘a collected materials against Abū Ḥanīfa;²⁷ Khalīl b. Murra from Raqqā wanted nothing to do with Abū Ḥanīfa’s son, Ḥammād.²⁸ In the Ḥijāz an apocryphal saying of the Prophet circulated in which Abū Ḥanīfa was alluded to as “the horn of Satan”.²⁹ For the Meccan reaction there is the wholly negative chapter in ‘Uqaylī’s *K. al-Ḍu‘afā’*.³⁰ In Medina resistance, to begin with, arose apparently from a disciple of Rabī‘at al-ra’y, Abū Sa‘īd Walīd b. Kathīr al-Rānī.³¹ But soon Mālik stepped into the foreground.³² One joked about Iraqi hairsplitting: if someone committed sodomy with a dead hen and it then still laid an egg, if a chick came forth from the egg – is it permissible to eat it?³³ At the same time, one

19 TB XIII, 387, ll. 3 ff. (with commentary in Kawtharī, *Ta’nīb al-Khaṭīb* 112 ff.); Ibn Ḥibbān III, 69, last l. ff.; Kardarī, *Manāqib* II, 107, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; on this Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition* 120 f.

20 On him see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.2; he was the disciple of ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd.

21 TB XIII, 388, ll. 8 ff.

22 See below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3.

23 Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā‘ir* III, 601, ll. 3 ff.

24 Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (in Qifṭī, *Inbāh* II, 33, ll. 6 ff.), Abū ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Alā’ (in Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā‘ir* III, 305, ll. 5 ff. and in Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, above ftn. 11).

25 TB XIII, 399, ll. 5 ff. Additional information in Fasawī II, 779 ff.; see also below Chpt. B 2.2.7.2 on Mu‘ādh b. Mu‘ādh. At the same time, one boldly went back all the way to Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (d. 131/749) with the critical opinions (TB, 397, ll. 10 ff.).

26 Ibid. 398, ll. 5 ff.

27 *Ta’rīkh* 505 ff.

28 Qushayrī, *Ta’rīkh Raqqā* 113, ll. 13 f.

29 Fasawī II, 746 ff.

30 IV, 280 ff.

31 Jāhīz, *Bayān* I, 148, last l. ff.; Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* VI, 49, last l. ff.; additional evidence in van Ess, *Frühe mu’tazilitische Häresiographie* 2, ftn. 1.

32 TB XIII, 400, ll. 2 ff.

33 Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik* I, 150, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

deliberately ignored the fact that Kūfan *ra'y* not only led to scholastic nitpicking but also allowed considerable flexibility, for instance in the *ḥiyal*-literature.

Abū Ḥanīfa did not remain unscathed even in Kūfa itself. Personal attacks such as the verses of invective by Ḥammād 'Ajrad³⁴ need not engage our attention here. But a poem by Musāwir al-Warrāq already speaks of the *aṣḥāb al-maqāyīs* and makes an opportunity out of differences of method; moreover, we learn from the *khabar* that the disciples of Abū Ḥanīfa put pressure on the poet and caused him to make a retraction.³⁵ Ibn Abī Shayba, who originated from Kūfa, in his *Muṣannaf* has a *K. al-Radd 'alā Abī Ḥanīfa*.³⁶ Quite irreconcilable, above all, were the Shī'ites; they did not think much of *qiyās*. Shayṭān al-Ṭāq discussed with Abū Ḥanīfa and presumably raised this particular subject with him;³⁷ the arguments were then projected onto Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in the community's tradition.³⁸ In the Shī'a one followed rather Ḥakam b. 'Utayba, a contemporary of Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān, who was completely occluded by the latter and then by Abū Ḥanīfa.³⁹

In Khorāsān and Transoxania the fame of the school's founder was best able to blossom; there the Ḥanafites were actually able to maintain this prominent position over many centuries. Counter-propaganda from the circles of Muqātil b. Sulaymān⁴⁰ or of Ibn Mubārak⁴¹ was not successful: even the Shāfi'ites, who once again took up all these issues, had to struggle for a long time.⁴² Traditions

34 *Agh.* XIV 333, ll. 7 ff.; Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir* III, 469, ll. 9 ff. Moreover, the verses were probably only subsequently transferred onto Abū Ḥanīfa (cf. *Agh.* 333, ll. 17 ff. and Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 338 f.).

35 *Agh.* XVIII, 151, ll. 11 ff.; Ṣaymarī, *Akhbār Abī Ḥanīfa* 85, ll. 9 ff.; Ibn Ḥibbān III, 72, ll. 11 ff.

36 XIV, 148 ff.; on this GAS 1/109.

37 See below pp. 396 f.

38 Cf. the examples in Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 222; on this Kashshī 188, no. 331; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 110 ff.; Majlisī, *Bihār* II, 286, no. 3 ff., x, 203 ff., no. 7–8 and 212 ff., no. 13, 220 ff., nos. 20 and 22 f., XLVII, 213, no. 1; Qāḍī Nu'mān, *Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madhāhib* 141, ll. 1 ff. Somewhat divergent in the Sunnī sources also: Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Muwaffaqiyyāt*, 75 ff., no. 25; Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir* II, 539, ll. 4 ff. and 541, last l. ff.; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Shadharāt dhahabiyya* 85, last l. ff.; Qalyūbī, *Nawādir*, transl. Rescher, *Werke* II₂, 537 f.

39 See below pp. 278 f. That one also tried to break up the relationship between Ḥammād and Abū Ḥanīfa by speaking of tensions caused by the *khalq al-Qur'ān* is not Kūfan but brought in from outside (TB XIII, 381, ll. 2 ff.; on this Kawtharī, *Ta'nīb* 89 ff.).

40 Cf. TB XIII 402, last l. ff., the dream of Muḥammad b. Ḥammād who was a follower of Muqātil (on him *Lisān al-Mizān* V, 146, no. 495).

41 TB 404, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn 'Adī, *Kāmil* 169, ll. 4 ff.

42 Thus for instance 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (cf. Subkī, *Ṭab.* 2v, 154, ftn., ll. 5 ff. from bot.). Ibn Ḥibbān, likewise a Shāfi'ite, collected together *ḥadīths* against Abū Ḥanīfa (*Majrūḥīn* III, 65, ll. 11 ff.). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, whose unusually extensive biography of Abū Ḥanīfa

in praise of Abū Ḥanīfa wildly proliferated there.⁴³ It is no coincidence that the dome over his grave in Baghdād was erected at the instigation of a high-ranking Seljūq bureaucrat who originated from Khwārazm.⁴⁴

2.1.1.7.3 *Abū Ḥanīfa's Theological Views*

At a later time, Abū Yūsuf appears in stories telling how Abū Ḥanīfa came to be engaged in jurisprudence; supposedly he had first considered other sciences, without finding satisfaction in them.¹ This is probably literature; when it comes to the turn of *kalām*, Abū Yūsuf, in complete conformity with the times, lets drop that because of it one could quickly become indicted for *zandaqa* and lose one's head. Abū Yūsuf was the chief magistrate under Hārūn; so he was particularly careful. One claimed also to have heard criticism from him about the theological escapades of his teacher; that the latter was a Jahmite and a Murji'ite.² All this of course is only true in part. *Kalām*-discussions during the lifetime of Abū Ḥanīfa were not yet so frowned upon as subsequently. In his youth he is meant to have travelled to Baṣra more than twenty times in order to discuss there with Ibāḍites, Mu'tazilites, etc.³ Allegedly, Shāfi'ī considered him directly to be the founder of *kalām*.⁴ That he tackled theological questions we know from his writings. From them as well it is unambiguously clear that he was a Murji'ite. Conversely, he had nothing whatsoever to do with the Jahmiyya; the reproach presumably arose when one associated him with the doctrine of the *khalq al-Qur'ān*. Opponents then fantasized further: a woman from Tirmidh who had followed lectures by Jahm came to Kūfa and there gave lectures for women; in this context she caused Abū Ḥanīfa to become confused

(XIII, 323–423) is a veritable mine of negative opinions (along with which, however, positive information occurs), as is known was also a Shāfi'ite. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī has taken the trouble to refute the negative opinions in detail (*Ta'nīb al-Khaṭīb 'alā mā sāqahū fī tarjamat Abi Ḥanīfa min al-akādhīb*; Beirut 1401/1981).

43 Cf. for instance Shawkānī, *Fawā'id* 420, no. 185; also my *Ungenützten Texte zur Karrāmīya* 49.

44 Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl* 186 f.; on this Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* IX, 128, l. 5. Also on the subject cf. now Givony, *Awṣāf al-Imām Abi Ḥanīfa fī adab al-firaq* in: *al-Karmil* 8/1987/39 ff.

1 TB XIII, 331, ll. 14 ff.; Ṣaymarī, *Akhbār Abi Ḥanīfa* 5, ll. 10 ff.; cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition* 119 f.

2 Fasawī II, 728, ll. 7 ff., and 783, ll. 5 ff.; TB XIII, 375, ll. 8 f.; Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 258, ll. 5 ff.

3 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī, *Kashf al-asrār* (commentary on the *Uṣūl* of Pazdawī) 9, ll. 19 ff.

4 TB XIII, 161, ll. 9 ff.

by asking him where God is located.⁵ Due to this the woman soon became the wife of Jahm himself,⁶ and finally it was told that when a female client of Jahm arrived from Khorāsān, out of pure respect Abū Ḥanīfa held the reins of her camel and conducted her through Kūfa.⁷

Perhaps the woman was added as a secondary development to the story's earliest version. In fact, there is a report according to which Abū Ḥanīfa discussed with a Dahrite about the "location" of God; there he is meant to have expressed the view that God does not have a fixed place, just as the spirit cannot be localized in the body (Ms. Cairo, *majāmiʿ* m 105; listed in GAS 1/148 XII). – The question of the *khalq al-Qurʾān* was not yet so acute during the lifetime of Abū Ḥanīfa. But subsequently one could infer how he would have judged the matter. In fact, he disapproved of someone swearing on the Koran because the Koran was something other than God; "something other than God" was understood at the time and later to mean "created" (cf. Madelung in: *Festschrift Pareja* 508 ff.). Since the Ḥanafites differed in this point from all other schools of jurisprudence, one particularly remembered the point. Moreover, one could not ignore that during the *miḥna* most Ḥanafites supported the government authorities. At the time they occupied almost all the important public offices (see below Chpts. C 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.4). For this reason, one projected the *khalq al-Qurʾān* back onto the school founder (TB XIII, 377, ll. 6 ff; Ashʿarī, *Ibāna* 29, ll. 4 ff./transl. Klein 76 f.); his grandson Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād is supposed to have done this directly in the presence of Maʾmūn (Ibn al-Dāʿī, *Tabṣirat ul-ʿawāmm* 92, ll. 9 ff.). However, one had forgotten that Bishr al-Marīsī, a Ḥanafite himself, had first formulated "the dogma" (TB XIII, 378, ll. 4 ff.); parallel reports speak only very vaguely of *zandaqa* with regard to Abū Ḥanīfa (Fasawī II, 786, ll. 7 ff. and earlier ll. 2 f.). Followers of his school who no longer approved of the *khalq al-Qurʾān* reported that he himself had rejected it as an invention of Jahm (TB XIII, 377, ll. 18 ff.) or, after lengthy discussion, had agreed with his disciple Abū Yūsuf about its unorthodox character (Ashʿarī, *Ibāna* 29, ll. 2 f. from bot.; Ḥanafī, *Firaq muftariqa* 89, ll. 1 ff.). For the formulation of a modern Muslim position, see A. Momin in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 9/1986, No. 3/41 ff.

5 Bayhaqī, *al-Asmāʾ waʾl-ṣifāt* 539, ll. 2 ff. from bot. (following Nūḥ b. Abī Maryam; on him see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.2) > Dhahabī, *al-Ulūw liʾl-ʿAlī al-Ghaffār* 168, ll. 7 ff. and Kawtharī, *Taʾnīb* 73, ll. 3 ff.

6 TB XIII, 375, l. 17.

7 Ibid. 375, ll. 19 ff.

2.1.1.7.3.1 The Letter to 'Uthmān al-Battī

As a jurist Abū Ḥanīfa only had influence through his teaching. We possess no books by him in this area; nor is it likely that he wrote any such works. On the other hand, there are several doctrinal writings which were traced back to him. Most of these have been preserved, and at least in the case of one of them there is a high probability that it is authentic: a letter that he sent to 'Uthmān al-Battī in Baṣra. The *praescriptio* of the letter still exists; in it both Abū Ḥanīfa (as the sender) as well as 'Uthmān al-Battī (as the addressee) are mentioned. It is preceded by a *riwāya* which from the middle of the 3rd century remains in Khorāsān (above all in Balkh) and in Transoxania. Most of the transmitters can be identified; they all appear to have belonged to the Ḥanafite school of jurisprudence. The chain of transmission starts from Kūfa and Baghdād: the first informant is Abū Yūsuf.¹ This is somewhat surprising in that the original of the letter was presumably sent to Baṣra; one can only assume that Abū Yūsuf kept a duplicate. At any rate, the letter was probably intended as an open epistle; Ibn al-Nadīm lists it among the writings of Abū Ḥanīfa.

Fihrist 256, l. 2 (where *Battī* is to be read instead of *Bustī*). But one should bear in mind that individual manuscripts at times diverge greatly and at times only slightly from one another; a critical edition of the text does not yet exist (cf. the commentary to Text 11 5). An additional *riwāya* also turns up which goes back to Abū Yūsuf with a completely different chain of transmission (Ms. Selim Aḡa 587, folio 174 a). According to IAW 1, 148, l. 10, Abū Ḥanīfa's grandson, Ismā'īl b. Ḥammāḍ, is meant to have compiled the work; but he does not turn up in either of the *riwāyāt*. On the relationship between 'Uthmān al-Battī and Abū Ḥanīfa cf. also TB XIII, 399, ll. 17 f., and Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* 11, 102. The authenticity of the work is accepted, among others, by Schacht (in: *Oriens* 17/1964/100, ftn. 4) and apparently also by Cook (*Dogma* 30).

With regard to the same subject, the *K. al-Ālim wa'l-muta'allim* and the *K. al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* can be consulted for comparison. But in the first work we are dealing with a didactic dialogue composed by Abū Muqātil al-Samarqandī (d. 208/823) following the ideas of Abū Ḥanīfa,² whereas the second work in its basic core goes back to Abū Muṭī' al-Balkhī (d. 199/814).³ Both authors

¹ Text 11 5, beginning.

² On him see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.4.

³ On him see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.3; on this GAS 1/414. The *riwāya* coincides with that of the epistle to 'Uthmān al-Battī in the person of the *faqīh*, Nuṣayr b. Yaḥyā from Balkh (d. 268/882), who took over the text from Abū Muṭī'.

attempted to remain faithful to the spirit of their teacher; but we are already confronted with Iranian school tradition. Hence we may well take account of parallels from both works; but we must be cautious concerning unique materials. Above all, the *Fiqh absaṭ* is visibly further developed.⁴ For this reason, let us first deal with the *Risāla* on its own.

From the preface⁵ it emerges that certain theological differences existed between Abū Ḥanīfa and ‘Uthmān al-Battī (*c*) but, all things considered, their relations were friendly (*b* as well as *x*). In a letter Abū Ḥanīfa alludes to but whose text is no longer extant, ‘Uthmān had emphasized two points: that Abū Ḥanīfa is a Murjī’ite and that he describes the sinner as *mu’min ḍāll*, “a believer who has entered into error” (*c*). He had justified his criticism by saying one must give one’s brother in the faith advice (*naṣiḥa*) (*b*),⁶ nor does Abū Ḥanīfa have any objection to this. He then deals with the two reproaches in greater detail;⁷ but first of all he lays out his basic position. He adopts a rather “fundamentalist” stance: he does not want to have anything to do with “innovations”; these distance man from God. But innovation is everything that arose after people “fell out with one another” (*tafarrāqa’l-nās*). One must follow the Koran and the Prophet as well as the practice of the *ṣaḥāba* (*d*); “the falling-out” apparently came later.⁸ Even though, as the text continues, “Koran and *sunna*” are only mentioned once (*l*), this is what must be meant; *Ḥadīth* is not cited in the work.⁹

Thus Abū Ḥanīfa begins by casting a look back over history (*e*), as we have already seen in the *K. al-Irjā’*.¹⁰ But he comes much more quickly to his subject: Muḥammad at first only demanded faith; the law, the commandments (*farā’id*) which made certain works obligatory, were only revealed later (*e-f*). Roughly speaking, he here has in mind the difference between the Meccan

4 See below p. 238.

5 Text II 5, *b-d*.

6 Thus also as a *ḥadīth* (*Conc.* IV, 459 b). Referred to for example by Shāfi’ī in the introduction to his *Risāla* (50, ll. 6 ff.).

7 On the first cf. *w*, on the second especially *l-m*. But it should be borne in mind that *w* along with its pertinent reference in *c* is missing in one of the manuscripts (cf. the commentary).

8 Abū Ḥanīfa does not say what he thinks it began with. I would like to assume that he chiefly had in mind the Khārijites. He does not suppress the arguments between the Companions of the Prophet; but he does not want to judge them (*q*). Nor will he therefore have applied the predicate “innovator” to them.

9 On this cf. also Cook, *Dogma* 17 and 20.

10 “The mission topos”; see above p. 17.

and the Medinan periods.¹¹ Faith comes about by the acceptance of Islam; it consists in bearing witness on behalf of monotheism and in acknowledgement of the message as such.¹² It creates solidarity with the other Muslims: whoever accepts Islam should not suffer harm either to his property or to his person from his fellow believers. On the other hand, hostility prevails towards the infidels, i.e. polytheists who have not converted to monotheism; they must either be killed or forced into Islam. Only with regard to the *ahl al-kitāb* is a special provision in force (*e*). The act of faith which creates this fundamental division is designated by Abu Hanīfa in what follows as a confirmation-of-the-truth (*taṣḍīq*) (*f-q*). He uses this concept without any particular introduction, moreover always as a noun and not in its verb form; hence in his circle the word appears to be generally well known as a term.¹³ In the same way faith (*īmān*) stands over against the commandments (*farā'id*), so confirming-of-the-truth (*taṣḍīq*) stands over against action (*amal*). The latter first became relevant once the commandments were revealed in detail to the *ahl al-taṣḍīq*, i.e. to those who had undertaken the act of faith. But since then action goes together with faith or at least is meant to go together with it; the Koran itself, as Abū Ḥanīfa attests with the relevant passages, has left no doubt about this (*f*).

In practice, however, it is undoubtedly often the case that the two do not go together. But violation of a commandment does not then have an effect on the act of faith; if that were the case, one should no longer call a sinner a believer or, as Abū Ḥanīfa formulates it, no longer attach the designation "faith" to him (*q*). He makes no mention that the Khārijites and the Mu'tazilites in fact draw this very conclusion; presumably to him this is refuted because the solidarity among Muslims which for him results from the act of faith and the legal inviolability (*ḥurma*) of life and property (*e*) would become invalid (*g*). So these are the prescriptions (*aḥkām*) which result from the designation (*ism*); Abū Ḥanīfa already uses both concepts even if he does not yet bring them together in a pointed correlation.¹⁴

11 Even if naturally in the Meccan period certain prescriptions already existed, for instance concerning prayer.

12 Cf. *e*. "Revelation" is here expressed by the formula "what he (i.e. Muḥammad) brought from God" (*mā jā'a bihī min Allāh*); the formula is characteristic for this period (cf. the parallels in the commentary to Text II 15, *a*).

13 Here one evidently has the choice of using either *īmān* or *taṣḍīq* (cf. the following footnote as well).

14 For *ism* cf. along with *g* both *o* and *n* (where *ism al-taṣḍīq* instead of *ism al-īmān*, but only after the addition); for *aḥkām* cf. *o* (along with *ḥurma*). On this also Cook 94.

Yet faith and works are not only different chronologically but in their character as well; works can become intensified, whereas the faith cannot (*h*). Faith for Abū Ḥanīfa has the character of testimony; it consists of acknowledging that there is only one God (*e*). And *taṣdīq* also only means that one considers this awareness to be correct and acknowledges the fact in principle; no intensification is possible in the matter as it would immediately fall into the domain of works. Here Abū Ḥanīfa is only able to find proof of this in the Koran by a circuitous route. He equates *īmān* “faith” with *dīn* “religion” and then refers to surah 42/13 where God has prescribed to Muslims the same religion as to Noah, Abraham and other prophets. If there “religion” is only the acknowledgement of certain truths and not a set of obligatory works, then this act of bearing witness is in fact equal among all people, whether they be prophets or simple Muslims.¹⁵

With these explanations it is made clear why the sinner must still be called a believer. Abū Ḥanīfa, without especially announcing it, now turns to the second concept which ‘Uthmān al-Battī had understood as characteristic for his definition: “who has entered into error” (*ḍāll*). For this he first of all introduces the counter-concept: “right guidance” (*hudā*); it also has a different character in the act of faith than in works (*i*). Why this is the case is stated in what follows – even if not so clearly as Abū Ḥanīfa would like to insinuate through multiple rhetorical questions. One can and must learn the commandments; on the other hand, one must acknowledge God and His prophets in an act of faith – which is a testimony, the *shahāda* (*k*). For this reason God, as Abū Ḥanīfa confirms with surah 4/176, has taught the commandments,¹⁶ but obviously not the act of faith; by the same token, one can indeed be in ignorance of the commandments but not of the act of faith.¹⁷ Thus it is also explained why a person with regard to the commandments “enters into error”: he does not know something or has not yet learned it. This is likewise attested by language usage in the Koran (*l*).¹⁸ In the process Abū Ḥanīfa disregards the numerous scriptural passages in which “to enter into error” instead means renunciation of the faith;¹⁹

15 Cf. also the commentary on the passage in vol. v.

16 That it is here a question of commandments is not in fact apparent from the quotation itself but from its immediate context; the verse handles the problem of collateral family relations (*kalāla*), and God gives “information” about it (*yufīkum fi’l-kalāla*).

17 In any case, this it seems to me is implied in Abū Ḥanīfa’s argumentation; apparently he understands unbelief only as conscious denial, not as ignorance.

18 In the first passage Abū Ḥanīfa cites (surah 2/282) the right of women to bear witness is dealt with, in the second (surah 26/20) the manslaughter committed by Moses.

19 Cf. surahs 2/108, 4/116, etc.

he can take them to be common knowledge. Here ‘Uthmān al-Battī’s criticism had begun: for the opponents *mu’min ḍāll* was a *contradictio in adiecto*. By contrast, Abū Ḥanīfa emphasizes that just as with right guidance, entering-into-error is carried out on two levels (*l*); the ambiguity of the reference apparently did not disturb him.

The latter point is explained because, similarly as in the case of *taṣḍīq*, he takes over the term *mu’min ḍāll* from tradition; this is already taken for granted in the *Sīrat Sālim*.²⁰ He compares the word *ḍāll* with others (*ẓālim*, *mudhḥib*, *mukhṭī*, *‘aṣī*, *jā’ir*) which ‘Uthmān al-Battī also uses in combination with *mu’min* (*m*). Interestingly, along with it he does not mention the very word which for the Mu‘tazilites stood in the centre of the deliberations: *fāsiq*. ‘Uthmān al-Battī avoided it apparently just as much as he did himself; he was no Mu‘tazilite. Abū Ḥanīfa, however, attempts to drive him into the Khārījite corner; if *ḍāll* was different from the other concepts, then it had to mean “unbelieving”. But this is disproved by Koranic passages such as surah 12/95 where visibly it is meant in a harmless way.

The passage that follows (*n*) is to all appearances corrupt. The editor has already undertaken additions in two places; I myself would like to do the same in a third place.²¹ It is clear that ‘Uthmān al-Battī did not go along with the radical distinction between faith and works; for him a person becomes a believer by fulfilling the commandments. Abū Ḥanīfa pushes him once again towards the historical question: what status did the Muslims of the earliest community have when the law had not yet been revealed? For him this appears to be the strongest argument in favour of the “Murji’ite” position; in fact one cannot describe these first Muslims as unbelievers, nor attribute an intermediate status to them (*o*), and the Khārījites or the Mu‘tazilites have certainly not done this either.

Hence the perspective of the two opponents is different. Usually, in the discussion about a sinner’s classification one focused on the status quo, for instance the unjust rulers; ‘Uthmān al-Battī also proceeded in this manner. If one gave historical examples, these were mostly from the First Civil War. By contrast, Abū Ḥanīfa at first goes further back in time; as for judging the Civil War, as we will see, he holds back. The position of the Mu‘tazilites he paraphrases with the words that someone who does not follow the law – or as he reformulates dialectically, cannot yet follow it – is “neither a believer nor an unbeliever”; the catch-phrase *manzila bayna’l-manzilatayn* is not mentioned.²²

20 See above p. 198.

21 Cf. the footnote to the Text.

22 In fact he does not make use of the term *manzila* at all in the *Risāla*.

He here refers to the Mu‘tazilites not only as “innovators” (*ahl al-bida‘*) but also as “hair-splitters” (*muta‘annitūn*); they want to stir up confusion with their comments.²³

Only now does Abū Ḥanīfa cite examples from the period after the death of the Prophet (*p*). They pertain to ‘Alī first of all; here the Kūfan point of view is clear. He is, so to speak, the ideal caliph; if he does something, for instance if in the Agreement of Ṣiffīn he refers to the followers of Mu‘āwiya as “believers”, it is not taken into consideration that this could have been a mistake but it becomes the starting point of a theological conclusion: the Syrians were indeed believers, but they were not rightly guided. Now, however, the problem of the Civil War can no longer be avoided (*q*); after all, on the other side there were likewise Companions of the Prophet, in the Battle of the Camel even more obviously than at Ṣiffīn. Both sides consist of believers, as stated; but both cannot simultaneously be rightly guided. Abū Ḥanīfa also refrains from the conclusion that both had entered into error; this would have been the Ibāḍite solution. Rather one must abstain from making a judgement: “God knows best” what happened there.²⁴

Abū Ḥanīfa once more summarizes (*r*). All Muslims are believers; they only differ in whether they carry out the commandments or not. If they do so, then on top of this they are *ahl al-janna*, people who will enter Paradise or for whom Paradise is certain. The others make themselves guilty of an offense (*dhanb*); God can act towards them as He wishes,²⁵ i.e. He may punish them in Hell or forgive them. The unbelievers are *ahl al-nār*; they will enter Hell. The question is not touched upon as to whether the sinners and the unbelievers will be punished in the same Hell-fire and, above all, whether both will remain in Hell for eternity; Abū Ḥanīfa probably took it for granted that sinful Muslims would only be punished for a limited time.

After all these rational and exegetical arguments, Abū Ḥanīfa in conclusion presents proof from tradition (*t–u*). Already at the beginning (*d*) he felt it was important to advocate the original, unadulterated doctrine, and in so doing he had several times endeavoured to expose his opponents as “innovators” (*o, p, q*). But now he mentions names of Companions of the Prophet and later

23 On the usage of the word Cook, *Dogma* 13 f.; for the Christian literature ‘Ammār al-Baṣrī, *Burhān* 27, l. 16. But in the parallel version of Ms. Selim Aḡa 587 the word is not found again.

24 Thus also in *s*.

25 *kāna li’llāh fihī’l-mashī’a*. That with this formulation Abū Ḥanīfa is avoiding the term *irjā’*, as Cook maintains (*Dogma* 172, ftn. 6. 10), does not seem to me to be the case.

religious authorities²⁶ whom he feels confirm his position. He gives scarcely any direct quotations from Companions of the Prophet; here he can only refer once again to ‘Alī’s behaviour with regard to the Agreement of Şiffin (*t*). But as he knew from them personally, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732)²⁷ and Sālim (probably Sālim b. ‘Ajlān al-Aḩṩas, d. 132/750),²⁸ following Sa‘īd b. Jubayr (d. 95/714), had maintained that this was the view of the *ṣaḩāba* in general, as did Nāfi‘, i.e. probably the well-known *mawḩā* of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar (d. 117/735).²⁹ The latter is immediately afterwards cited once again because he also reported the same doctrine from his master who was likewise still reckoned among the *ṣaḩāba*.³⁰ And then we hear the same about Ibn ‘Abbās (d. circa 68/687)³¹ and about ‘Umar II (d. 101/720).

In the case of ‘Umar II, Abū ḩanīfa holds a trump card in his hand; this tradition originates from a Baṣran and apparently goes back to ‘Uthmān al-Battī himself (*u*).³² The caliph is supposed to have stipulated in writing what he thought about this³³ – or what was transmitted to him about it from the Companions of the Prophet; the text was handed down by his descendants. We know nothing precise about this matter; but that ‘Umar in general expressed himself about theological questions in writing is also attested elsewhere.³⁴ If he gave his own opinion regarding our question and did not base himself exclusively on the views of the *ṣaḩāba*, he would then be the only *tābi‘* among

26 *ḩamalāt al-sunna wa’l-ḩiqh*, but where *ḩamalā* is an emendation by the editor (the manuscript Selim Aḩa 587 has instead *dhī*). *ḩiqh* here does not yet mean “religious law” but “religious insight, learning” (see below p. 239); *sunna* is simply “religious usage”, not “tradition of the Prophet”. *ḩadīth* is actually not cited at all in the letter.

27 On him see below Chpt. B 4.1.1.

28 On him see below Chpt. B 2.4.1.2.

29 Certainly not Nāfi‘ b. al-Azraq, who was indeed also interested in the question and is even supposed to have coined the name Murji‘a (see below), but as an extreme Khārijite does not belong in this honourable series and probably would never have been referred to as “your brother”. – That Abū ḩanīfa took over *ḩadīths* from Nāfi‘, the *mawḩā* of Ibn ‘Umar is documented in his *Musnad* (HT 140).

30 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar died 73/693.

31 According to ‘Abd al-Karīm (b. Mālik al-Jazarī, d. 127/745; cf. TH, 140, no. 132) < Ṭawūs (b. Kaysān, d. 106/725; cf. HT 93).

32 This is not entirely certain; the passage can be translated various ways, and in addition is not transmitted in a uniform manner.

33 Abū ḩanīfa simply says that ‘Umar “maintained it” as did the other authorities; whether by this the doctrine itself is meant or only that the *ṣaḩāba* already also thought thus remains open.

34 Cf. *Anfänge* 114; also Cook, *Dogma* 130.

the witnesses Abū Ḥanīfa cites. But this would be in accordance with his prestige; Abū Ḥanīfa once more stresses this (*u*).

To what extent Abū Ḥanīfa rightly based himself on these informants can only be clarified by consulting other sources. That he had met ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ himself, as he maintains in our text, is corroborated in a report that the editor cites in a footnote:³⁵ “Along with ‘Alqama b. Marthad”, so Abū Ḥanīfa says there, “I entered the home of ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ. We said to him: ‘Oh Abū Muḥammad, in our country (*bilād*) there are people who are not willing to say that they are believers.’ ‘Aṭā’ asked: ‘Why is that?’ He replied:³⁶ ‘They say: If we say we are believers, it amounts to saying we are among those who claim they will enter Paradise.’ – ‘Then they should just say: We are believers, without adding: We are among those who claim they will enter Paradise. For there is (no one), not even an angel who is close to God or a prophet sent by Him, whom God could not put on trial and then, according to His will, could punish or forgive him.’” This is a memory from Abū Ḥanīfa’s youth; the spokesman is not he himself but his teacher, ‘Alqama. The opposition’s position is formulated in a typical manner: as a matter of principle, one shied away from describing oneself as a *mu’min*. Awareness of sin stands in the foreground, not awareness of belonging to the community as in Abū Ḥanīfa’s case.³⁷ Abū Ḥanīfa feels himself to be in agreement with the *sunna* (*v*), and he understands it to be the usage of the Companions of the Prophet and those who follow them. He makes no distinction in rank among them; the Prophet is not at all mentioned.

Most likely he would also wish himself to be reckoned among the *ahl al-sunna*. This emerges in the following section (*w*) where he briefly addresses the second reproach of ‘Uthmān al-Battī, i.e. that he is a Murji’ite. This designation does not suit him at all; it came from opponents (*ahl shana’an*) and in his circles was traceable to Nāfi’ b. al-Azraq.³⁸ He would rather feel himself to belong among the *ahl al-‘adl*; but he is also aware that in the meantime this term had come to be used differently. The passage is unclear and probably corrupt; but it appears that Abū Ḥanīfa is alluding to a particular development in Baṣra. There one understood *‘adl* as the righteousness of God;³⁹ presumably at that time *ahl al-‘adl* were people who deduced man’s free will from God’s

35 P. 37, fn. 2; also Kawtharī, *Ta’nīb al-Khaṭīb* 62, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

36 ‘Alqama is meant.

37 Is this Baṣran or are precursors of Sufyān al-Thawrī meant? On Sufyān see below pp. 258 f.

38 Cf. *Risāla* 38, fn.; also Kawtharī, *Ta’nīb al-Khaṭīb* 63, ll. 5 ff.

39 Thus for example in the Qadarite *Risāla* traced back to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (in: *Der Islam* 21/1933/74, l. 17; on the authenticity see below Chpt. B 2.2.2).

justness. By contrast, in our text one has the impression that *‘adl* means “fairness” or “the equitable mean”; *ahl al-‘adl* would then be “honourable people” or men who follow what is fair and decent practice (*sunna*). Here in fact the *‘adāla* is discernible that one demanded from the guardians of the *sunna*; “God commands what is right and fair” (*ya‘murū bi’l-‘adl*), so it says in the Koran (surah 16/90).⁴⁰

Abū Ḥanīfa concludes with this. But he gives importance to continuing their correspondence; he wishes to be kept informed of ‘Uthmān’s well-being and offers him help if he should need anything. He excuses himself for not having gone into greater detail but wishes to provide further explanations, if “the innovators” make ‘Uthmān al-Battī feel uncertain (*x*). This gives the impression that ‘Uthmān felt great respect for Abū Ḥanīfa but then, under the influence of Baṣran circles, had come to experience doubts. He originally came from Kūfa; even on the basis of his profession – he was a cloth merchant⁴¹ – he was close to Abū Ḥanīfa. His death in the year 143/760 is the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the letter.

2.1.1.7.3.1.1 *Comparison with Other Early Ḥanafite Writings*

The *Risāla* offers for the first time the possibility of becoming acquainted, in detail and on a reliable basis, with the Murji’ite standpoint in the discussion on faith. That Abū Ḥanīfa avoids the term *irjā’* and rejects outright the label Murji’a for himself should not disturb us. In Kūfa at the time one probably associated too many political implications with it; perhaps the term also appeared in too unfavourable a light because of the problem of Mu‘āwiya. Abū Ḥanīfa with his *wa’llāhu a‘lam* in practice defers his judgement concerning the First Civil War, this time including Mu‘āwiya. The word *irjā’* turns up once again in the *K. al-‘Ālim wa’l-muta‘allim*, with a new Koranic justification,¹ but with the same old definition: applied to things that one is not acquainted with or reports that one cannot verify through experience or through parallels (*al-tajārib wa’l-maqāyīs*).² On the other hand, Murji’a is a foreign term there as well which one

40 In the Corpus Juris of Zayd b. ‘Alī, which was composed in the same period (see below p. 302, *ahl al-‘adl* are those who are in the right (247, l. 2 Griffini/ 154, l. 2 from bot.).

41 See below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3.

1 Surah 2/31 f., where the angels say: “We have no knowledge except that which You have provided us with (previously).” On this cf. also Māturidī, *Ta’wīlāt ahl al-sunna* 1, 99, ll. 2 f. from bot.

2 P. 93, ll. 7 ff.; on this Schacht in: *Oriens* 17/1964/110 f., no. 28.

does not identify with;³ Abū Muqātil al-Samarqandī also prefers *ahl al-ʿadl*.⁴ Here he uses the word *ʿadl* in general for “that which is right, the truth”, and only once for “(divine) justness” and then with the explicit mention of God.⁵

It is important that Abū Ḥanīfa still did not make use of any *ḥadīths* from the Prophet in his argumentation. He does provide one tradition as proof; but there he makes no effort to go beyond the *ṣaḥāba*, and even in their case he is satisfied with quite summary information. This clearly distinguishes the *Risāla* from the *Fiqh asbat*; in the latter, *Ḥadīth* plays an important role, and the *isnāds* are fully developed.⁶

The terminological framework is clear. The Muslims, or *ahl al-qibla*, are all also *muʿminūn*; they only become *kuffār* if they omit works, as well as also lose the faith (*r*). The pagans, here above all the people of the *Jāhiliyya*, are not only *kuffār* but also *mushrikūn* (*e*). A believer who follows all the commandments is someone who will attain Paradise (*min ahl al-janna*); a believer who violates a commandment is a *muʿmin mudhnib* or *muʿmin dāll*. Despite all the distinctions, this is still a dualistic scheme similar to that of the Ibāḍiyya or the Zaydiyya; Abū Ḥanīfa did not believe in a *manzila baynaʾl-manzilatayn*. By contrast, the *K. al-Ālim waʾl-mutaʾallim* by now speaks directly of three classes; here Abū Ḥanīfa’s distinctions provide the foundation but are slightly modified. The *ahl al-janna* are now only the prophets and those persons whom the prophets have promised Paradise;⁷ the *ahl al-nār* are identical with the *mushrikūn*, i.e. the pagans; the others, that is the great mass of Muslims are “those who profess God’s oneness” (*muwahḥidūn*) to whom *irjāʾ* is applied.⁸ The resumption of the term of *irjāʾ* is accompanied by a shift in its meaning; it obviously no longer refers only to the past but also to all contemporaries whose status with respect to salvation one does not know precisely. The tract likewise makes use of the designation *ahl al-dhunūb*.⁹

The category of the *ahl al-janna* was brought in still later by Abūʾl-Hudhayl.¹⁰ But its restriction in the *K. al-Ālim waʾl-mutaʾallim* already shows that the

3 41, l. 1; on this Schacht 105, no. 4.

4 74, ll. 6 ff. = Schacht 108, no. 17.

5 Schacht 102; with a different accentuation Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* 15. In the *Fiqh asbat* both terms do not (any longer?) appear.

6 Thus also Cook, *Dogma* 30.

7 In Islam therefore perhaps the Badr-combatants (see below Chpt. 2.2.2.2.3.1 for the Bakriyya) or *al-ʿashara al-mubashshara*.

8 97, ll. 6 ff. = Schacht 111. Cited as a doctrine of the *Fiqh akbar* in Pazdawī, *Uṣūl* 175, ll. 11 ff. (on the problem see below pp. 233 f. and 483 f.).

9 Cf. Cook 172, fn. 5. 31.

10 See below Chpt. 3.2.1.3.3.2.

concept ultimately had no future. On the basis of some Kūfan traditions, it emerges that it was originally employed in a broader sense, roughly with the meaning of the *mustakmil al-īmān* which the opponents used;¹¹ this is also how Abū Ḥanīfa still knows it. The Kūfan Shī'ites likewise made use of it; among them the naïve belief occurred that one could recognize the *ahl al-janna* by the back of their head.¹² But then, once more in Kūfa, counter-traditions were circulated in which Ibn Mas'ūd raised doubts about the tenability of such an expression and about certainty in general regarding faith.¹³ And these doubts proved successful; in the *Fiqh absaṭ* Abū Ḥanīfa himself rejects the formula.¹⁴ It sounded too elitist.

On top of that the Murji'ites themselves, while they defined faith as simply bearing witness, once more retracted this elitist distinction. A human being's act of faith was not different from that of an angel or a prophet, so it says in the *K. al-Ālim wa'l-muta'allim*,¹⁵ and Abū Ḥanīfa had meant the same in his *Risāla*, even if he did not say so explicitly.¹⁶ The opponents caricatured this: for Abū Ḥanīfa the faith of Adam and that of Satan are equal.¹⁷ But basically the observation is correct: Satan only became Satan due to his renunciation of God. Unbelief is renunciation, denial, disavowal,¹⁸ while by contrast faith is taking-to-be-true (*taṣḍīq*), knowledge and profession, certainty (*yaqīn*),¹⁹ "religion" (*dīn*).²⁰ These are all synonyms, not components of faith for instance.

11 Quite clear in Ibn Abī Shayba, *Īmān* 22, ll. 3 f.; cf. also 24, ll. 3 ff. from bot. With both formulations it is said that one does not just have faith but one also performs good works; only in *mustakmil al-īmān* is it formulated so as to mean that works alone make faith complete (cf. *ibid.* 43, no. 128, and 45, no. 135; on this cf. also the Shī'ite Ibn Mītham, below Chpt. B 2.2.9).

12 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* viii, 77, l. 9 ff.

13 In the sense of *istithnā'*. Cf. Ibn Abī Shayba 46, no. 138, with *ibid.* 9, no. 22 f., and Abū 'Ubayd, *Īmān* 67 f., no. 10 f.

14 P. 46, ll. 11 f.

15 57, ll. 3 ff. from bot. = Schacht 107, no. 10.

16 Cf. my commentary to Text II 5, *h*; on this also Text II 6, *b*. On faith as bearing witness also Abū 'Ubayd, *Īmān* 75, ll. 2 f.; in general Gardet in: SI 5/1956/67 and *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme* 356 and 364.

17 Fasawī II, 788, ll. 2 ff. from bot.: following Fazārī, with evidence from the Koran; intensified in TB XIII, 373, ll. 3 f., where Adam is replaced by Abū Bakr: likewise following Fazārī. Cf. also the tendentious story 373, ll. 12 ff.

18 Thus according to *Ālim* 80, ll. 4 ff. from bot. = Schacht 109, no. 22.

19 *Ibid.* 52, ll. 2 ff. = Schacht 106, no. 6.

20 On this above p. 224; also *Ālim* 45, ll. 8 ff. = Schacht 106, no. 5; *Fiqh absaṭ* 40, last l. f. (in a tradition according to Ibn 'Umar).

Faith cannot be divided into parts, as the heresiographers stated; it neither increases nor decreases.²¹

However, it proved necessary to define the scope of this witnessing. Abū Ḥanīfa only lightly touches on this problem in his *Risāla*. The answer is suggested in the historical scheme he describes there: Muḥammad at the outset only asks the Meccans “to bear witness that there is no god but God alone who has no partner, and to acknowledge what he has brought from God” (e). “What he has brought from God” is not actually the law; the commandments, *farāʾid*, identified in the *K. al-ʿĀlim waʾl-mutaʿallim* as the *sharʿa*,²² are only first revealed in a later phase and belong to the domain of actions (f).²³ What is meant is further fleshed out in the *Fiqh absaʿ* with the help of the well-known *īmān-ḥadīth*, namely: the oneness of God, the prophethood of Muḥammad, the angels, the Holy Scriptures, the earlier prophets, the Last Judgement, predestination.²⁴ But this is a secondary development; because originally, in opposition to Murjiʿite doctrine, the *ḥadīth* had made a distinction between *īmān* and *islām* and had first to acquire a particular slant.²⁵ In the *K. al-ʿĀlim waʾl-mutaʿallim* the matter is formulated in far more general terms: *dīn* is that which is the same in all revelations; only the *sharāʾiʿ* are different.²⁶ And as the heresiographers put it, quite accurately, Abū Ḥanīfa demanded knowledge and acknowledgement of God, as well as knowledge of the Prophet and acknowledgement of what “he brought from God”, in a summary manner (*jumlatan*) without a detailed explanation.²⁷

This formula was tricky; the opponents took pleasure in misunderstanding it. The criticism is clothed in anecdotal form; here ʿUmar al-Shimmazī, a disciple of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, frequently comes forward as the spokesman.²⁸ Most of the examples that were used to demonstrate the criticism were falsely chosen: Is

21 Text II 6, h. In counter-traditions one referred to the turn of phrase *izdāda īmān^{an}* which originates from surah 48/4 and allegedly was used in the meaning of “to pray” or “to do something good” (Ibn Abi Shayba, *īmān* 36, no. 108, and 38 f., no. 116; cf. also 35, no. 107).

22 46, ll. 3 ff. = Schacht 106.

23 See above p. 223. Abū ʿUbayd discussed this later and attempted to refute it (*īmān* 55, ll. 11 ff.; on this Madelung in: SI 32/1970/235 f.).

24 P. 41, ll. 6 ff., and 42, ll. 5 ff.

25 Cf. Muslim, *īmān* 1; on this Izutsu, *Concept of Belief* 58 f. and below Chpt. D, beginning. Instead of *islām* one finds in the *Fiqh absaʿ* in the same place *sharāʾiʿ al-islām* (41, ll. 9 f.; on this cf. the remark of ʿUqaylī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ* 111, 9, ll. 6 f.).

26 46, ll. 2 ff. = Schacht 106, no. 5.

27 Text II 6, a; taken up in *Fiqh absaʿ* 41, l. 7 from bot., and 42, ll. 1 ff., but where the formulation is already made concrete through the mentioned *īmān-ḥadīth*.

28 Text II 7.

someone a believer if he is aware of the prohibition of pork without knowing whether it applies to the concrete pig that he in fact wants to consume? Is someone a believer if he is aware of the duty of making the pilgrimage but does not know whether the Ka'ba in Mecca is meant or some other one? These are in fact all *farā'id* concerning which the summary witnessing at the beginning still does not speak about. Only one question is pertinent: Can someone believe in Muḥammad without knowing who he actually is?²⁹

But the examples are also falsely chosen because the historical perspective which Abū Ḥanīfa still represented and had already inherited from older testimonies as in the *K. al-Irjā'*, was now abandoned in favour of the systematic approach concerning how faith and works are related to one another. The author of the *K. al-Ālim wa'l-muta'allim* knows that questions based on "hair-splitting" are being posed here,³⁰ and his choice of words suggests that he is thinking of Mu'tazilites, i.e. people like Shimmazī: How is it if someone acknowledges the existence of God but would happily ascribe a son to Him?³¹

However, the problem was of fundamental importance now, given the circumstances prevailing in Transoxania; there were many new Muslims who scarcely knew anything about Islam. Hence the author of the *Fiqh absaṭ* undertakes to enter more deeply into details. If a person believes in God and affirms Islam but does not know the law, he is nevertheless a believer.³² But if he does not know who has created a particular thing in the world, that is he does not acknowledge God as the creator, then he is an unbeliever,³³ just as if he does not know whether God is in heaven or on earth,³⁴ or if it is not clear to him that the law exists at all.³⁵ The *K. al-Ālim wa'l-muta'allim* emphasizes that faith without acknowledgement of the prophethood of Muḥammad is not possible. Without this there is no *tawhīd*; because not only do the Christians believe in a son of God but so do the Jews.³⁶ Yet a person must explicitly formulate a rejection of his faith before one is permitted to call him an unbeliever;³⁷

29 Literally: "without knowing whether he is perhaps (this) negro (there)". The polemical intention of the question shows that "negro" is used here pejoratively.

30 On *muta'annit* "hair-splitting" see above p. 226.

31 87, ll. 2 ff. from bot. = Schacht 110, no. 25. But the questions corresponded to reality in the missionary areas (cf. for the Maghrib the Ibāḍite *K. al-Jahālāt* in: ZDMG 126/1976/47).

32 42, 1 ff.

33 Ibid. 41, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; similarly also *Ālim* 84, ll. 7 ff.

34 Ibid. 49, ll. 1 f. This seems like a later supplement as polemic against the Jahmiyya.

35 Ibid. 41, ll. 5 f. from bot.

36 82, ll. 1 ff. = Schacht 109, no. 23. Whether this was aimed against tendentious positions as we are familiar with from the Iranian Khārijites (see below Chpt. B 3.2.1.1) we do not know.

37 110, last l. ff. = 113, no. 33.

someone who does not know what unbelief is is still not therefore himself an unbeliever.³⁸

In the *K. al-Ālim wa'l-muta'allim* we also learn that resistance came not only from the side of the Ibādītes or Mu'tazilite dialecticians but from the traditionists as well. Their argumentation was based on a *ḥadīth* which maintains that a person who commits fornication or steals, at the moment of his act is no longer actually a believer.³⁹ This also found popularity with the Kūfan Shī'ites⁴⁰ and finally even came to be deployed as a weapon by the Mu'tazilites.⁴¹ Abū Muqātil al-Samarqandī already knows that there are people who trace it with an *isnād* back to the Prophet, although he obviously does not take it seriously. In him the saying also has a somewhat different form: If someone commits fornication, he pulls off his faith over his head like a shirt (or in other words, he removes his faith along with his shirt), and if he repents, his faith is given back to him.⁴² Other variants are also transmitted.⁴³ Abū Ḥanīfa probably knew the tradition in one form or another. But he had no reason to deal with it in his *Risāla*; 'Uthmān al-Battī did not use *ḥadīths* in his argumentation either.

2.1.1.7.3.2 A Second Letter to 'Uthmān al-Battī

A second epistle of Abū Ḥanīfa to 'Uthmān al-Battī is also known to us; but it has still not been edited.¹ Its authenticity is problematic; the introductory and closing formulas have not been preserved. Here the subject dealt with is the question of free will and God's justness. However, the historical introduction, which is not entirely lacking here either (*b-c*), at the same time adds a new nuance to the doctrine of faith: before the revelation of the Koran, God had already shown men how they could obey Him and, in so doing, presented "an argument" against them; they were therefore already responsible at that time. Then with the Koran came the explanation of how matters really stand in this regard. What the author has in mind is not the religious communities that

38 119, ll. 7 ff. = 114, no. 39; similarly *Fiqh absaṭ* 45, ll. 16 f.

39 Ibn Abī Shayba 22 f., no. 73; Abū 'Ubayd, *Īmān* 84, ll. 7 ff. The *ḥadīth* is extensively treated in all its variations and interpretations by Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār: Musnad Ibn 'Abbās* 605 ff.; cf. also Ibn Baṭṭa, *al-Ibāna al-kubrā* 705 ff. and Gramlich, *Ġazzālīs Lehre von den Stufen zur Gottesliebe* 32. That it possesses a Khārijite tint, as Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology* 12, 204, maintains, I do not consider compelling.

40 Kulīnī, *Kāfī* 11, 32, ll. 8 ff., and 282, ll. 1 ff.; also 11, 278, ll. 7 ff.

41 Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 159, ll. 15 ff.

42 99, ll. 2 ff., and 39, ll. 4 ff. = Schacht 11, no. 30, and 105, no. 4; Ṭabarī 649, no. 966.

43 Ibn Abī Shayba 22, no. 72, and 32, no. 94.

1 Text 11 8. I have translated according to a Tehran manuscript.

preceded Islam but the period of the *Jāhiliyya*. Hence Abū Ḥanīfa would have spoken about natural religion which comes about through knowledge based on reason or through innate concepts. This does not necessarily contradict what preceded. Moreover, this is how the later Ḥanafite tradition understood Abū Ḥanīfa; Pazdawī attributes to him the doctrine that faith is obligatory even before revelation and one must know God from the world.² Hence, the question of authenticity cannot be decided based on this; we must consider how the author treats the question of *qadar*.

He distances himself as much from the determinists (*ahl al-ijbār*) as from those who attribute absolute power of control to human beings (*ahl al-tafwīd*). God has given human beings the capacity (*quwwa*) to act; because of this they bear responsibility. However, He also has hold of them “by the forelock”,³ while He is on hand everywhere with His will (*bi-irādatihi wa-mashī’atihi*). If a person expresses a declaration of intent regarding something good (*nawā*), God makes this happen in accordance with the person’s intention (*amḍā*) and gives him a reward for it; because He is too noble (*‘azīz*) to hinder His creatures from carrying out works of obedience, and thus to cancel the reward. But if a person is out to do something wicked, God either abandons him (*khadhlahū*) “in His justice inasmuch as (the sinner) actually wants nothing else but the sin and has decided to do it (*ajma‘a ‘alayhā*)”, or “He protects him from it (*‘aṣamahū*) in His benevolence (*fadl*), although (the person) has fixed his desire on it”. Thus, as the author notes with a kind of simple arithmetic, God is triply merciful and only once just: just only when He has the person do the wicked thing he wants; merciful, on the other hand, when He protects him from this wicked thing, as when He helps him to do what is good (*tawfiq*) and still bestows on him the reward for it. Everything for which human beings praise their Lord comes from Him; from themselves comes only that for which they must blame themselves, namely sin. Whatever they do, whether good or bad, is determined by God (*ḥukm Allāh*), and He clears the way for it (*takhlīya*).

The model follows the established ideas of the time. The terminology has nothing unusual about it; one also finds this language, for example, in the contemporary Ibādite theology. *Tafwīd* for “transferal of decision-making” in the sense of a theory of free will is likewise attested early on.⁴ The middle path

² *Uṣūl al-dīn* 210, ll. 13 ff., and 207, ll. 14 ff.

³ The turn of phrase is probably inspired by surah 11/56. It has been taken up in early prayer texts; cf. the prayer of Burayda al-Aslamī (on him see above p. 175) in Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā’* I, 323, l. 10 (transl. in Nakamura, *Ghazali on Prayer* 90) or *ibid.* 334, l. 6 (= Nakamura 114).

⁴ Cf. *Anfänge* 119 f. and 126 f.; also in the Register der Termini 267 s. v. *tafwīd*. Similarly the Yemeni Qadarites against whom ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd wrote (see below p. 480). On this *Fiqh*

between *jabr* and *tawfīd* is the solution which – in the same formulation – is also chosen by the Kūfan Shīʿa.⁵ But it would be overhasty to conclude on Shīʿite influence or indeed Shīʿite authorship; the approach is generally quite normal for Kūfan thought. A Shīʿite would probably have hesitated more strongly than Abū Ḥanīfa in accepting a natural knowledge of God before revelation. The later Ḥanafite tradition associated similar ideas with Abū Ḥanīfa: he is meant to have taught that God causes the ability to act to arise in human beings, whereas the human being then makes use of this – as it says in a Māturīdite *Risāla fīl-ʿaqāʾid*;⁶ according to Baghdādī, Abū Ḥanīfa composed a treatise in which the ability to act is only present simultaneously with the action;⁷ thus he steered a middle course (*tawassuṭa*), as the commentator of the *Fiqh akbar* adds.⁸

Now all this is still not proof of authenticity; because the doctrine of the ability to act is also found in the *Fiqh absaṭ*, supplemented by the addition, likewise applicable in our letter, that it can be used for good as well as for wickedness,⁹ and the middle path is there suggested since the two extremes are seen in the exegesis not as heresy and unbelief but only as error and they do not affect the status of the believer.¹⁰ Later Ḥanafite theology included these ideas;¹¹ one will scarcely be wrong in assuming that the doxographical tradition did not always sharply delineate the boundaries.¹² However, what ultimately makes us plead in favour of Abū Ḥanīfa are the juridical overtones of the model: the emphasis on *niyya*, and perhaps also the declaration of the decision as *ijmāʿ*. That the *intentio* is that which actually creates responsibility is not a run-of-the-mill thought like many of the others, and that this was typical of Abū Ḥanīfa, we

absaṭ 42, ll. 7 f. The idea is also found in Philo and everywhere among the Church Fathers (Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Kalam* 622).

5 See below p. 400.

6 Pseudo-Māturīdī, ed. Yörükan, p. 13, ll. 6 f.

7 *Uṣūl al-dīn* 308, ll. 5 f.

8 Ed. Haydarabad 21365, p. 10, ll. 8 ff. A *Radd ʿalāʾl-Qadariyya* is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist* 256, l. 2); according to the somewhat unclear note IAW I, 148, l. 10, the work would have been transmitted through the grandson Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād.

9 43, ll. 5 ff. Thus also according to Māturīdī, *Tawhīd* 263, ll. 2 ff.

10 Ibid. 42, ll. 9 ff. For this reason one claimed Abū Ḥanīfa for both standpoints (against *tawfīd* cf. *Fiqh absaṭ* 43, ll. 7 ff. and TB XIII, 376, 16 ff.; against *ijbār* cf. Kardārī, *Manāqib* II, 107, ll. 2 ff. from bot.).

11 Thus for instance the school of Najjār or Ibn al-Rēwandī (cf. Text xxxv 23 and the references below in Chpt. D 2.1).

12 One should note that in the *Fiqh absaṭ* and later, *istiṭāʿa* is always used instead of *quwwa*, as in the *Risāla*.

hear once again from Pazdawī. If someone says to his wife “I wish to repudiate you” and thereby pronounces a declaration of intent (*nawā*), then the repudiation has also taken place.¹³ The only example that the author of the *Risāla* provides is once again of a juridical nature: Every healthy person must perform the prayers standing; by contrast, someone who is sick may also remain seated while doing so. It is like this with regard to all actions: for every commandment God imposes on man, He confers on him a (corresponding) capacity;¹⁴ if He removes this capacity, He also causes the obligation (*taklif*) to be suspended.

2.1.1.7.3.3 The So-Called *Fiqh akbar* (I)

The third text we must focus our attention on is the so-called *Fiqh akbar*, a list of ten dogmas which since Wensinck¹ has been considered the oldest Islamic credo. However, we must take account of the fact that this “decalogue” has not come down to us in its original form; it was only extracted by Wensinck from a later commentary that was falsely attributed to Māturīdī but at the earliest belongs to the second half of the 4th century.² Moreover, Wensinck already remarked that nine of these ten dogmas are found the *Fiqh absaṭ*;³ this is our oldest evidence. This finding is also important insofar as sometimes the *Fiqh absaṭ* is cited as *al-Fiqh al-akbar*⁴ or *Abū'l-Muṭīr al-Balkhī* is named as the author of *Fiqh akbar*.⁵ But Pazdawī also cites a passage from the *K. al-Ālim*

13 *Uṣūl al-dīn* 42, ll. 15 f., but there in a somewhat different context; it is a question of the difference between *shā'a* and *arāda*.

14 The formulation (*quwwa^{tan}*, not *quwwa^{ta}*) reveals that for the author, as was generally normal, in each case the ability to act only applies to one specific action, i.e. is not for instance inborn and permanent.

1 *Muslim Creed* 102 ff.

2 That is to say if it actually originates from Abū'l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983), as one has occasionally maintained (thus Kawtharī in *Fiqh absaṭ* 49, ftns. 1–2; also Watt and Madelung, cf. *Iran* 1 333 b). But Abū'l-Layth is only cited once in the work (*Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*, in: *al-Rasā'il al-sab'a fī'l-'aqā'id*, Ḥaydarābād 2^{1365/1948}, p. 14, l. 9). According to Juwaynī (?), *Kāfiya fī'l-jadal* 27, ll. 12 ff., Ibn Fūrak (d. 404/1015) would be the author; in the manuscripts still other names occur (*GAS* 1/414, II 1).

3 Only no. 7 is not; cf. *Creed* 123.

4 Thus in Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū'at Rasā'il wa-fatāwā* (1341) 1, 208, ll. 16 ff. and *Fatwā Ḥamawīyya* 31, ll. 16 ff. Probably also in Baghdādī when in *Uṣūl* 308, l. 5, he describes the *Fiqh akbar* as a work against the Qadarites; this makes better sense with regard to the *Fiqh absaṭ* (cf. for instance 43, ll. 7 ff.).

5 Thus in Dhahabī, *al-'Ulūw li'l-'Alī al-Ghaffār* 169, ll. 4 f.

wa'l-muta'allim as a part of the *Fiqh akbar*,⁶ and there are two further texts which circulate under this title.⁷ Evidently, in Ḥanafite circles, under the name *al-Fiqh al-akbar*, one understood declarations of principle regarding dogma, which were ascribed to the school's founder. In the case of *Fiqh Akbar III*, as Wensinck observed, it is the first time that the form of a systematic catechism is attained.⁸ The designation *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* helps by way of differentiation but is apparently not very frequently employed and is probably late.⁹

Sezgin, judging by these circumstances, drew the obvious conclusion that the commentary, on which Wensinck based himself, was in reality a commentary to the text we know as *Fiqh absaṭ*.¹⁰ In fact, it can be established that the commentary already goes back to a version by Abū Muṭī'ī.¹¹ But in its present form the *Fiqh absaṭ* has also been heavily reworked and expanded; the commentator presumably had an older version before him. Wensinck only knew the *Fiqh absaṭ* from a Cairene manuscript and probably did not always have it before his sight for comparison. Here, as in the commentary that was the basis for his examination, the articles that he took to be components of the *Fiqh akbar* are emphasized by the formula *qāla Abū Ḥanīfa*. However, considerably more than ten of them occur, and it is not clear according to what principle he made his choice. In any case, since a text edited by Abū Muṭī'ī al-Balkhī forms the basis, one must reckon with Iranian influence – or at least with a choice of dicta of Abū Ḥanīfa undertaken from an Iranian point of view. This is most easily demonstrated as likely for the last three articles of Wensinck's "decatalogue"; typically, in one of them the Jahmiyya is mentioned.

Articles 1–5, by contrast, constitute a self-contained block which stands at the very beginning and whose individual points Abū Muṭī'ī scarcely enters into

6 *Uṣūl al-Dīn* 175, ll. 11 ff.; cf. Schacht in: *Oriens* 17/1964/111 no. 28.

7 On *Fiqh Akbar II* cf. Wensinck, *Creed* 188 ff.; also translated in Hell, *Von Mohammed bis Ghazālī* 29 ff. The text was allegedly transmitted by Abū Ḥanīfa's son Ḥammād but in reality only some time later as the *Fiqh absaṭ*. For editions and commentaries cf. GAS 1/412 ff. – *Fiqh Akbar III* is ascribed to Shāfi'ī but is dependent on *Fiqh Akbar II* (Wensinck 264 ff.). Cf. also Schacht in: *Oriens* 17/1964/103.

8 *Creed* 268.

9 The title is not found in the work itself; it reminds one of the later usage of calling extensive works *Mabsūṭ* (for instance the Ḥanafite Sarakhsī in the 5th century; but already as a subsidiary title for the *K. al-Aṣl* of Shaybānī, cf. GAS 1/422).

10 GAS 1/412 ff. In principle F. Kern had already seen this (in: MSOS 13/1910/142).

11 For details I refer the reader to my essay in: *Festschrift D. Sourdel*, REI 54/1986/327 ff. Unfortunately, the volume is still not accessible; it was in fact printed some time ago but has been held back by the publisher.

in what follows.¹² Abū Ḥanīfa there answers Abū Muṭīʿs question as to what “the greatest insight” (*al-fiqh al-akbar*) actually is; he describes the latter by enumerating the dogmas mentioned in articles 1–5, incidentally probably only as examples, not as an exhaustive catalogue. Next, he once again presents his opinion on this in an additional, evidently independently transmitted dictum; here he distinguishes between *fiqh fīl-dīn* and *fiqh fīl-aḥkām*. This statement occurs in article 6 in Wensinck, i.e. in the commentary that he used as his basis; but there instead of *fiqh fīl-aḥkām* it still says *fiqh fīl-ʿilm*. The discrepancy is probably explained by the fact that the expression *fiqh fīl-ʿilm* soon became obsolete. In this context it means juridical expertise which came to be devalued compared with *fiqh fīl-dīn*; but *ʿilm* in the ears of later listeners still had a positive ring. At this earlier time matters were different. *Fiqh fīl-dīn* was sanctioned by the Koran (*li-yatafaqqahū fīl-dīn* in surah 9/122); this is what constitutes “the greatest insight”. It is “more excellent” than the *fiqh fīl-aḥkām*; because “that someone acquires insight (*yatafaqqahu*) how (he should) honour his Lord is better for him than that he collect much learning (*ʿilm*)”. Thus, insight into “how one (should) honour his Lord” is what the text understands by “religion”; we know from the letter to ʿUthmān al-Battī that for Abū Ḥanīfa *dīn* covers the domain of faith.¹³ By contrast, “much learning” is obviously collected by the traditionists; one understands why Abū Ḥanīfa came to meet with such bitter hostility on the part of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*.

The phrase *al-fiqh al-akbar* in later passages of the *Fiqh absaṭ* no longer occurs. It designates the quintessence of Abū Ḥanīfa’s understanding of religion; but it is not a term and certainly not a book title. *Fiqh* is understanding connections between things on one’s own; as such it stands in contrast to *ʿilm*, revealed knowledge, which only needs to be passed on.¹⁴ Hārūn al-Rashīd once advised his governor Harthama b. Aʿyan to turn, in doubtful cases, to those who “have insight in the religion of God and knowledge of the Book of God” (*ulīl-fiqh fī dīn Allāh wa-ulīl-ʿilm bi-kitāb Allāh*).¹⁵ In the period after Abū Ḥanīfa, however, one had acquired the impression that the particular expression

12 *Fiqh absaṭ* 40, ll. 7 ff.

13 That nothing is more excellent before God than *fiqh fīl-dīn* is also found in a third-century Ibādite work from ʿUmān, as a *ḥadīth* in fact (*al-Siyar waʾl-jawābāt* 227, l. 10). That this *fiqh fīl-dīn* consists of the *fiqh bi-ibadat Allāh* is noted by Sahl al-Tustarī (*al-Muʾaraḍa waʾl-radd ʿalā ahl al-firaq* 77, l. 3 from bot.). Cf. also above p. 224.

14 Thus also Makdisi in ZGAIW 1/1984/250.

15 Ṭabarī III, 717, l. 10. This and other examples in Schacht’s article *Fikh* in EI² II, 886; also Wensinck, *Creed* 110 f. and A. Hasan, *Early Development of Islamic Jurisprudence* 1 ff. For Abū Ḥanīfa cf. also above p. 227, fn. 26. Also interesting as well is the use of *fiqh* in the sense of “explanation, commentary” in the *Wathāʾiq* of the Andalusian Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār

al-fiqh al-akbar was more than a fortuitious combination of words. It was related that the master had advised his son to learn *al-fiqh al-akbar* but that then later on he forbade it; what was meant, as the context makes clear, was theology, *‘ilm al-kalām*.¹⁶ The next step was then taken when *al-Fiqh al-absaṭ* was placed alongside *al-fiqh al-akbar*; the former is a book title and therefore so is *al-Fiqh al-akbar* also. The *Fiqh absaṭ* is evidently called thus because it is “the more extensive” work; now *absaṭ*, just as *akbar*, was basically taken in connection with *Kitāb* rather than *fiqh*. Therewith the time had arrived when other works could also be called *Fiqh akbar*.¹⁷

The section of the *Fiqh absaṭ* from which Wensinck put together articles 1–5 of his “*Fiqh Akbar I*” for this reason offers the best guarantee that it is an authentic statement by Abū Ḥanīfa. This is also suggested by the fact that article 5 repeats the old Iraqi *irjā’*-maxim “to consign the affair of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī to God”. But this is expanded because it is preceded in article 4 by a declaration in defense of the honour of all the Companions of the Prophet: “Do not renounce any one of the Prophet’s Companions and to no one (among them) show greater loyalty than to any other”. Both articles are closely connected; it is only the commentary Wensinck based himself on that separates them.¹⁸ The term *irjā’* itself, as in the letter to ‘Uthmān al-Battī, is avoided. In the *Fiqh absaṭ* the complex of problems plays no role at all.

Article 1 shows how this developed further: “Anyone who prays towards the same *qibla* (*aḥad min ahl al-qibla*) you should not call an unbeliever because of a sin (*dhanb*), nor (for this reason) deny that he has faith”. This as well is also familiar to us from the letter to ‘Uthmān al-Battī. Moreover, in substance it already starts to be emphasized at the beginning of the century¹⁹ and finds its way into the *Ḥadīth*.²⁰ Article 2 continues: “You should command the good and forbid what is reprehensible”. Abū Ḥanīfa shares this principle with the

(ed. Chalmers 124, l. 3 from bot.: *fiqh hādhā’l-bāb*; 368, l. 13: *fiqh hādhā’l-ma’nā*; 373, l. 9: *fiqh hādhā wa-fiqh mā taqaddama*, etc.).

16 Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad, *Manāqib Abi Ḥanīfa* 1, 207, last l. f.

17 At an earlier stage of my reflections (in: *Studies of the First Century* 235) I erroneously assumed that a priori *akbar* was also connected with an understood *kitāb* and not with *fiqh*.

18 In the process the imperative was arbitrarily rendered in the plural (“we dissociate ourselves...”).

19 See above pp. 194 f.

20 Haythamī, *Majma’ al-zawā’id* 1, 106 f. One of these *ḥadīths* which also contains a clear statement of predestination (cf. here article 3) already appears in the alleged epistle by ‘Umar II to the Qadarite Khārijites (*Anfänge*, § 44 of my edition). Is this an indication of the inauthenticity of this work or at least of a later addition?

Mu‘tazila. Only the question is what practical consequences he concluded from this. Abū Muṭī‘ has him be more precise about this in a later passage: it does not mean that one is permitted to rise up against the community (*jamā‘a*); one ought indeed to combat evildoers and dissidents (*al-fī‘a al-bāghiya*) with the sword but must stand by the just cause (*al-fī‘a al-‘ādila*), even if it is the ruler who makes himself guilty of infringements.²¹ In other words: revolution is not allowed if the purpose is merely to exchange one person for another or one dynasty for another; it must be led by the whole community for the sake of a just cause. On the other hand, one must support an unjust ruler against a revolutionary minority which is not able to win over the *jamā‘a* to its side. For this reason also the validity of the prayers is not dependent on the person of the prayer leader (*imām*) and that of the ruler.²² Pazdawī understood Abū Ḥanīfa similarly: one must call the unjust ruler to repentance; but one is not permitted to rise up against him.²³ Yet it is questionable whether Abū Ḥanīfa in reality thought in a manner so loyal to the government authorities; at any rate, he was probably thrown in prison for his support of the revolt of 145 *hijrī*. The Mu‘tazila had participated in it, justifying themselves precisely with the formula of *al-amr bi’l-ma‘rūf wa’l-nahy ‘an al-munkar*. It appears as though Abū Ḥanīfa did the same.

Once, in another place, I referred to article 3 as “the predestination axiom”: “Know that whatever befell you could not have failed to do so, and that whatever missed you could not have befallen you”. Independently of this, the saying also became a *ḥadīth*.²⁴ Later on, Abū Muṭī‘ does not record it; instead he cites surahs 4/79 and 42/30 and thereby offers proof that all the bad that befalls one is really one’s own fault.²⁵ In this way he shifts the saying in the direction of the middle path that he saw advocated by Abū Ḥanīfa. In fact, Qadarites like Qatāda are also meant to have transmitted the saying;²⁶ of course, it talks about fate, not about action. The entire section (articles 1–5) contains no pronouncements about God or the Prophet; this by itself would be sufficient as proof that it was not intended to be an *‘aqīda*. As a whole, the *Fiqh akbar I* should be struck from the list of works by Abū Ḥanīfa.

21 *Fiqh absaṭ* 44, ll. 10 ff., and then once again, evidently as a later interpolation, 48, ll. 2 ff.

22 *Ibid.* 52, ll. 14 ff.

23 *Uṣūl al-dīn* 192, ll. 6 f.

24 НТ 79 ff.

25 *Fiqh absaṭ* 42, last l. ff.

26 ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī, *Muṣannaḥ* XI, 118, no. 20082.

2.1.1.7.3.4 The Image of God. The Political Theory

Only a little remains to be added. Abū Ḥanīfa is supposed to have advocated the view that God has “an individual reality” (*māhiyya*) which one cannot know on earth and which will only be revealed in the hereafter.¹ This is nowhere to be found in the texts discussed so far. But that is nothing strange. It has no place in the two letters to ‘Uthmān al-Battī; on the other hand, in Transoxania the doctrine probably never played a role. It is at home in Kūfa. With a similar intention Hishām b. al-Ḥakam distinguished, in the case of God, between an *annīyya* and a *māhiyya*;² Ḍirār b. ‘Amr further enlarged upon this with his theory of the sixth sense.³ But the sources remain hesitant in attributing this to Abū Ḥanīfa who, at any rate, was a generation older than Hishām and two generations older than Ḍirār. Ash‘arī only knows that the Murji‘a discussed the doctrine,⁴ and in Shahrastānī it says that Ḍirār and his disciple Ḥafṣ al-Fard put this forward but, in doing so, based themselves on Abū Ḥanīfa.⁵ Perhaps all that this means is that out of caution he distanced himself from the anthropomorphism of the Kūfan Shī‘a. Faith on earth only entails the existence (*annīyya*) of God; in the hereafter alone does one come to know what God is really like. Abū Ḥanīfa had not denied the *visio beatifica*; but he did not wish to draw any conclusions from it concerning God’s form.

Secondly, there is Abū Ḥanīfa’s doctrine about the caliphate. We have already heard that in Transoxania one believed he had spoken out against any kind of rebelliousness. This is supplemented by the report that he is meant to have firmly anchored the caliphate in the Quraysh; and that he supported this with the fairly well-known *ḥadīths*.⁶ These sayings of the Prophet were in fact already in circulation during his period; in Baṣra they were very restrictively interpreted at the time by the followers of Faḍl al-Raqāshī.⁷ That now in particular Abū Ḥanīfa should have accorded them much prominence, given his aloof attitude to the government authorities, is not really very plausible. There is the

1 Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, ShNB III, 222, last l. ff.

2 See below pp. 425 f.; in addition p. 433 regarding the translation of *māhiyya* as “individual reality”.

3 See below Chpt. C 1.3.1.4. But in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Hūr* 148, ll. 5 ff., this is also already traced back to Abū Ḥanīfa.

4 Including the theory of the sixth sense (*Maq.* 154, ll. 1 ff.).

5 *Mīlāl* 63, ll. 7 ff./142, ll. 7 ff.; on this Pines, *Atomenlehre* 128, fn. 5, and Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 304 f., fn. 5, with additional material.

6 Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī‘a* 10, ll. 1 ff. > Qummī, *Maq.* 8, no. 29; Pseudo-Nāshī, *Uṣūl al-niḥāl* 62 f., no. 106; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* VI, 26, ll. 4 ff./IV, 61, no. 2259.

7 See below Chpt. B 2.2.4.1 and above pp. 150 f.

possibility of seeing in this a later projection from the period of Abū Yūsuf, when the Ḥanafites were attracted to the court by Hārūn al-Rashīd.

2.1.1.7.4 *Contemporaries of Abū Ḥanīfa*

The posthumous fame of Abū Ḥanīfa not only outshone his own real image; it also so effectively relegated to the shadows a theologian who was evidently active alongside him in Kūfa that we only learn something about him thanks to a whim of transmission in Shahrastānī:

‘Ubayd b. Mihrān al-Muktib al-Kūfī,

a schoolteacher in a writing school or an elementary school who had even heard lectures from Mujāhid (d. 104/722) and Abū’l-Ṭufayl ‘Āmir b. Wāthila (d. circa 100/718).¹ Thus, in his youth he must have been in Mecca and was perhaps somewhat older than Abū Ḥanīfa. As a traditionist, he was considered to be trustworthy,² without anyone taking exception to his being an anthropomorphist;³ nor is this mentioned anywhere in critical works assessing *ḥadīth*-transmitters. Moreover, despite this tendency he was manifestly a firm believer in God’s transcendence; namely, through Mujāhid he transmitted the saying of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar that God shields Himself from His creatures (*‘an khalqihī*) by means of curtains of light and darkness or fire and darkness.⁴ The Shī‘ites also thought highly of him without, however, counting him as one of their own; at any rate, with his moderate anthropomorphism he was in conformity with their party line.⁵ The awareness of being chosen which in Kūfa found expression among the Murjī‘a as well as among the Shī‘a, manifested itself in him in an especially typical manner: whoever dies in a state of *tawḥīd* has no need to fear for his salvation, even if he has committed wicked atrocities.⁶ This is actually only still transmitted in such extreme form by Muqātil b. Sulaymān who, incidentally, espoused anthropomorphism just as he did.⁷ Perhaps there is a direct connection here; in any case, a part of the meager transmission that

1 Ibn Ḥanbal, *‘Ilal* 44, no. 242 and 386, no. 2575; *Mizān* no. 5443; TT VII, 74, no. 159. On ‘Āmir b. Wāthila see below pp. 338 ff.

2 Bukhārī III, 4, no. 1493; IAH III, 2, no. 1; Fasawī III, 93, l. 1.

3 Text II 9, c; in general Watt in: *Transactions Glasgow Or. Soc.* 18/1959–60/44.

4 Suyūṭī, *La‘ālī* I, 16, ll. 14 f.

5 See below pp. 405 ff. He transmitted an autobiographical report by Salmān al-Fārisī about the latter’s conversion (*Hilya* I, 190, ll 15 ff.; on this Massignon, “Salmān Pāk” in: *Opera minora* I, 450). Cf. also Majlisī, *Biḥār* LXIII, 301, ll. 8 ff., with a story about the disciples of Ibn Mas‘ūd.

6 Text II 9, a.

7 See below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1.2.1.

we have about ‘Ubayd al-Muktib, goes back to Yamān b. Ri‘āb, the Khārijite heresiographer, who chiefly reports on Iran.⁸ Muqātil in fact belongs to Khorāsān, and ‘Ubayd may at least once have ended up there; it could even be there that he became designated with his *nisba* al-Kūfī.

But what Yamān reports about him has nothing to do with what has been mentioned above. ‘Ubayd is supposed to have believed that divine knowledge as well as divine speech and “the religion” of God have been separate from God from eternity.⁹ This is nothing special in the light of later doctrine on God’s attributes but at such an early point in time it is quite unusual. Does it mean that divine speech can be separated from God Himself because it comes forth from His mouth, and that the knowledge is the “wisdom” (*ḥikma*) which resides in His heart, as many anthropomorphists said?¹⁰ Then ‘Ubayd would only have a distinctive profile in that he believed this separation had been effected from eternity; the Shī‘ites whom he dealt with in Kūfa saw this differently.¹¹ But then what are we to make of “the religion of God” (*dīn Allāh*)? Where this expression occurs in the Koran, it cannot be taken to mean a divine attribute; every Muslim would nowadays understand it as Islam. However, one should take into account that a sentence like *a-lā li’llāhi’l-dīnu’l-khālīṣ* in surah 39/3 at first only meant: “Does not God (alone) have the pure religion?” One does not necessarily have to understand it the way Paret does: “Is it not God’s right that one only believe in Him alone?” Whoever read this with impartiality might also take it to mean that from the primordial beginning religion was with God and was then only passed on to mankind through Muḥammad. As ‘Ubayd could have said, just like speech it is something that comes forth from God and is bestowed upon man. God, so one was accustomed to express oneself at the time, “had chosen Islam as the religion for Himself”.¹² Precisely for this reason the Muslims are distinguished above all others.

‘Ubayd relies for his anthropomorphism on the *ḥadīth* that God created Adam in His own image. But in his case it is striking that he formulates this differently: “God created Adam in the image of the Merciful” (*al-Raḥmān*; Text II 9, c). For this reason one may ask whether he did

8 On him see below Chpt. B 3.1.4.1.1.1.

9 Text II 9, b.

10 See below Chpt. B 2.3; in general Chpt. D 1.1.

11 See below pp. 396 and 400 f.

12 Thus for example in the letter of Walīd II cited above pp. 16 and 34 (Ṭabarī II, 1756, last l. f.; transl. in Crone/Hinds, *God’s Caliph* 118); also in the letters of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā (*Rasā’il* 210, ll. 14 f. and 274, l. 8).

not distinguish *al-Raḥmān* from *Allāh* in such a way that Allāh is the distant God and al-Raḥmān is His anthropomorphic embodiment. One has attributed this distinction to Jahm b. Ṣafwān (cf. Text XIV 18, no.1). Aḥmad b. Khābit, a disciple of Naẓẓām, later on thought similarly (see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.7.3), and Shahrastānī also attributes the *ḥadīth* to him, mentioning it in this form (*Mīlal* 42, l. 12/89, ll. 3 f.). But he always cites it thus – apparently to avoid any ambiguity; as long as one only said *‘alā ṣūratihī* instead of *‘alā ṣūrat al-Raḥmān*, the *ḥadīth* could be reinterpreted (cf. Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 222, fn. 9). Ibn Qutayba already noted that the anthropomorphists with the version that Shahrastānī preferred only wanted to protect themselves against a different interpretation intended by their opponents (*Taʿwīl mukhtaliḥ al-ḥadīth* 278, ll. 4 ff. = 220, ll. 1 ff./transl. Lecomte 224 f.).

In Abū Ḥanīfa’s environment, even if once again rather as a competitor, also belongs

Abū Khalaf Yāsīn b. Muʿādh al-Zayyāt,

who died around 160/777,¹³ and was presumably a *mawlā*. He had made a name for himself in Kūfa through his *fatwās* but later went to the Yamāma and remained there.¹⁴ His *Ḥadīth* was not very popular. If Ibn Ḥajar calls him a Murji’ite, this is a rather late testimony but, in view of the situation, it is not implausible.¹⁵ – We are scarcely able to document another contemporary,

Abū Burda ‘Amr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī,

who, just like Abū Ḥanīfa, had heard lectures from ‘Alqama b. Marthad but also from Muḥārib b. Dithār and therefore stood in the Murji’ite tradition.¹⁶

13 Roughly contemporary with Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) according to *Mīzān* no. 9443.

14 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* III, 142, ll. 10 ff.; also Fasawī III, 54, ll. 3 f. from bot. and IAW II, 210, no. 659 (mostly following *Mīzān*). Nothing further in Bukhārī IV₂, 312, no. 1350; ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* IV, 464 f., no. 2099.

15 *Lisān al-Mīzān* VI, 238 f., no. 841.

16 Mentioned as a Murji’ite IAH III₁, 269 f., no. 1490 and TT VIII, 120, l. 2 (following Abū Ḥātim), also following the same source Ka’bī, *Qabūl* 216, ll. 2 f. from bot. (as *Abū Burda*, with the remark that it was not a question of the son of Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī). Nothing in Bukhārī III₂, 383, no. 2709; ‘Uqaylī III, 295, no. 1300; *Mīzān* no. 6477 and 9987. Could he be identical with the Shī’ite Ibn Yazīd Bayyā’ al-sābirī? (On him see below p. 410).

2.1.1.8 The Kūfan Murji'a after Abū Ḥanīfa

We do not really have a very good idea of what happened to the Murji'a in Kūfa after the death of Abū Ḥanīfa. It is not even sure that his school continued to exist there; we hear nothing of a successor who took over his *ḥalqa*. This may have been due to political reasons. Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī, who became *qāḍī* in Kūfa around 150 and after 158/775 at times even held the office of governor under Mahdī,¹ would not accept Murji'ites and Shī'ites as legal witnesses.² Abū Ḥanīfa's son, Ḥammād, was also affected by this.³ Thus, the Murji'a had lost its honour; involvement in the revolt of the year 145 perhaps had similar consequences for them as it did for the Mu'tazilites in Baṣra. If this was the case,⁴ in the long run they surmounted their fall from grace; under Hārūn al-Rashīd both Abū Yūsuf as well as Shaybānī made careers for themselves. Their fellow disciple Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' b. Abī Zā'ida at that time became *qāḍī* in Madā'in.⁵ But this upswing just as their previous fall from grace had as an effect that the Murji'ite tradition in Kūfa gradually petered out. Zufar b. al-Hudhayl, he as well a disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa, died 158/775 in Baṣra before attaining the age of fifty;⁶ as a member of the Banū'l-'Anbar he probably had relatives there.⁷ Dāwūd b. Nuṣayr al-Ṭā'ī (d. 165/782), with whom he had studied and even concluded a bond of brotherhood, gave up jurisprudence and became an ascetic.⁸ Another Murji'ite possibly went to Rayy:

Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. Abān b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Umayr al-Qurashī,

who died the 11th of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 175/9th of March 792 at the age of 81. Possibly he is in fact identical with the Muḥammad b. Abān al-Rāzī, from whom the inhabitants of Rayy wanted to hear *Ḥadīth* about *ra'y*, and who for this reason

1 Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 681, l. 10, and 695, l. 17. On him cf. IS VI, 263 f. and especially TB IX, 279 ff.; also summarizing, Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* xv, 148 ff., no. 172.

2 Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 162, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

3 TB XIII, 433, 4 ff.

4 A *qāḍī*, to a certain extent, could also simply follow his personal antipathies. The rejection of Ḥammād b. Abī Ḥanīfa is not motivated politically but religiously. Moreover, to many Sharīk was regarded as a Shī'ite (*Mizān* no. 3697; but cf. TB IX, 287, ll. 5 ff.).

5 See below Chpt. C 1.1.

6 On him cf. GAS 1/419; more information below Chpt. B 2.2.3.3.

7 He originated from Iṣfahān; there his father was governor under Marwān II (Ṣaymarī, *Akhbār Abī Ḥanīfa* 106, ll. 3 and 9 ff.; Abū Nu'aym, *Dhīkr akhbār Iṣfahān* I, 317 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 208, ll. 9 ff.

8 Ṣaymarī 103, last l. f. and, 109 ff.; also *Hilya* VII, 335 ff.; Qushayrī, *Risāla* 12, ll. 12 ff. from bot.; TB VIII, 347 ff.; TT III, 203, no. 387, etc.

put together for them a notebook with special *irjā'*-traditions (*juz' fīl-irjā'*).⁹ In any case, in Kūfa he did not fully belong to the indigenous population; he was a *mawlā* of the family of the Umayyad 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd and had married into the Ju'fī clan.¹⁰ Ibn Ḥanbal considered him to be an active and prominent Murji'ite;¹¹ consequently, he was (later?) avoided as a traditionist. – Only one of Abū Ḥanīfa's disciples came to be honoured in Kūfa:

Abū 'Abdallāh al-Qāsim b. Ma'n b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hudhalī.

He took over the office of *qāḍī* in the year 170/786 after Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh, an enemy of the Murji'ites,¹² and occupied this post under Hārūn al-Rashīd as well; he wanted to visit the latter in Raqqā but while en route he died at Ra's al-'ayn in the year 175/791.¹³ He certainly belonged to the most prestigious families of the city; he was the great-grandson of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and was allied through *ḥilf* with the Qurayshī Banū Zuhra.¹⁴ He was so well off that he could afford to give away his salary in gifts.¹⁵ That he was a Murji'ite is only stated by Ibn Ḥajar;¹⁶ this was probably deduced from his connection with Abū Ḥanīfa. He had no liking at all for the Shī'a; he was an 'Uthmānite.¹⁷ He conducted himself well in debates; and he was accredited with skill in *kalām*.¹⁸ But in fact

9 See below Chpt. B 3.23.4.

10 IS VI, 268, ll. 19 ff.; Khalifa, *Tab.* 397, no. 1294. On 'Abdallāh b. Khālid, a great-grandson of Abū'l-ʿĪṣ b. Umayya, who for a while was governor of Fārs and of Kūfa under Ziyād, cf. Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 188, ll. 2 ff.; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 260, l. 3.

11 *ra'īs min ru'asā'ihim*, cf. IAH III₂, 200, no. 1122 (probably the same person as 199, no. 119; cf. also Sam'ānī III, 292, ftn.); also *Mizān* no. 7128; TT IX, 5, no. 5; Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* I, 334, no. 204. Without assessment Bukhārī I₁, 34, no. 50.

12 On the date cf. Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 708, l. 7; Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 175, ll. 14 f. That he already held the post under Mahdī (thus Ibn al-Nadīm 76, l. 5; Qiftī, *Imbāh* III, 30, l. 10) is probably an error. Evidently he resided for a while in Ḥīra (Wakī' III, 180, ll. 6 ff.). On his relations with Abū Ḥanīfa cf. Wakī' III, 176, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; AZ 506, no. 1332 > Fasawī II, 790, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; IAW I, 412, no. 1144. Shaybānī cites him in his works (*Ṣaymarī*, *Akhbār Abi Ḥanīfa* 150, ll. 6 f.).

13 Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas* 281, ll. 21 f. > Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI 200, ll. 4 f. The death date 188/804 which is only transmitted once in the sources seems to be a mistake (ibid. 200, l. 5). Should one connect this with the report that Hārūn dismissed him from office before his death? (Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 749, l. 1; against this Wakī' III, 182, ll. 5 f.).

14 IS VI, 267, l. 15.

15 Wakī' III, 177, ll. 13 f. > Qiftī III, 30, ll. 10 f.; somewhat divergent IS VI, 267, ll. 16 f.

16 TT VIII, 339, ll. 1 f.: following Abū Dāwūd.

17 Marzubānī 280, l. 2.

18 Wakī' III, 176, l. 7.

he had mastery over the whole spectrum of Arab culture: poetry, lexicography,¹⁹ *ayyām al-ʿArab*,²⁰ genealogy,²¹ and historical tradition.²² One referred to him as “the Shaʿbī of his time”.²³ He wrote down *Ḥadīth*, though without distributing it;²⁴ certain of his traditions aroused mild consternation.²⁵ In the field of lexicography he composed books; in grammar he advocated a method which did not become established. Layth b. al-Muzaffar, who revised the *K. al-ʿAyn*, had heard lectures from him, as did Farrāʾ;²⁶ Ibn al-Aʿrābī was apparently a direct disciple.²⁷ Some commemorative verses by ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir addressed to Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām also include him in the praise as the second Qāsim.²⁸ However, not only ambitious jurists headed off to Baghdād but also traditionists such as

Abū Muʿāwiya Muḥammad b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī al-Saʿdī al-Ḍarīr,

who lived from 113/731²⁹ to the end of Ṣafar or the beginning of Rabīʿ I 195/ beginning of December 810³⁰ and was a *mawlā* of the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt of the Tamīm,³¹ and who, towards the end of his life, enjoyed success at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd.³² He had lost his sight as a child³³ and no doubt for this

19 Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian* 94 f.

20 IS VI, 267, l. 17; cf. the verses in Marzubānī 280, ll. 2 ff.

21 Wakīʿ III, 181, ll. 6 ff.

22 Ṭabarī I, 2486, ll. 7 f., and II, 814, ll. 15 f.

23 IS, op. cit.; taken over in Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 249, ll. 17 ff.

24 Qiftī, *Inbāh* III, 31, l. 2.

25 Evidently above all it was off-putting that ritual practices were recommended in them which found no following (cf. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥūn* I, 344, ll. 5 ff. from bot., with *Mizān* no. 3373).

26 Marzubānī 279, last l. f.; Yāqūt, *Irshād* VI, 200, ll. 9 ff.; IAW I, 412, l. 4 from bot.

27 Qiftī III, 31, l. 11; IKh IV, 306, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

28 Qiftī III, 20, ll. 10 ff. Additional biographical notes cf. *ibid.* 30, ftn.; Zirīklī VI, 21; Kaḥḥāla VIII, 126.

29 On the birth date cf. AZ 302, ll. 2 f. from bot.; Fasawī I, 184, ll. 5 f.

30 Thus precisely in Fasawī I, 184 ll. 4 f.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī preserves along with this the date 194 (TB V, 249, ll. 7 f.).

31 Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 399, no. 1304.

32 The following know him as a Murjiʿite: IS VI, 274, l. 1; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 510, l. 13, and 625, l. 4; Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* 216, l. 4 from bot.; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Sulaymānī (d. 404/1014) in *Mizān* no. 8470; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 10618 and TH 295, ll. 9 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady al-sārī* II, 160, ll. 3 ff. A large amount of judgements of this kind have been collected by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (TB V, 247, ll. 3 ff.).

33 TB V, 242, l. 3 > Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān* 247, ll. 12 ff.

reason was endowed with an exceptionally good memory. Since he had lived around twenty years in close proximity to the famous A'mash (presumably up to the time of the latter's death in the year 147 or 148),³⁴ he was later regarded as the best informant regarding A'mash's traditions. He was supposed to have learned by heart 1600 *ḥadīths* from him; but after an illness he had forgotten 400 of them.³⁵ During A'mash's lectures – in which it was apparently not the practice to take notes – he would memorize the traditions that the latter cited and afterwards pass them on in dictation.³⁶ Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj (82/701–160/776), who from a later viewpoint played a central role for Baṣran *Ḥadīth* and as an adherent of predestination imported much from A'mash, is said to have always checked what he said with Abū Mu'āwiya (who was in fact a generation younger) when the latter once attended one of his lectures.³⁷

But Abū Mu'āwiya found the endless questions annoying; he did not always want to be merely the disciple of an important teacher.³⁸ And yet his teacher's prestige did bring him some benefit: Hārūn al-Rashīd had Abū Mu'āwiya recite for him the traditions of A'mash;³⁹ Ishāq al-Mawṣilī wanted to submit to him his own collection for him to check it over, and did not mind paying him something for the task.⁴⁰ At any rate, Abū Mu'āwiya, as we learn from the same anecdote, was able to maintain a doorkeeper. He already employed, as was later common practice, diverse clichés of *ḥadīth*-transmission. Hence he would say *ḥaddathanā* or *sami'tu* if he had heard the *ḥadīth* from the mouth of the transmitter; if one had read it for him from written notes, he would use the verb *dhakara*.⁴¹ Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥanbal spoke critically with regard to his

34 AZ 303, ll. 1 f.; on A'mash see below pp. 272 f.

35 TB V, 246, ll. 17 f., somewhat different 247, ll. 10 f.; but at any rate the numbers themselves do not matter. He is meant to have lacked around 450 *ḥadīths* from A'mash in his repertoire (ibid. 246, ll. 8 f.). Ibn al-Madīnī had taken over from him 1500 *ḥadīths* of his teacher (ibid. 246, ll. 6 f.). All this information is presumably the fruit of later calculations.

36 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Iḥāṣ* 194, no. 1199; Azmi, *Studies* 101. But elsewhere it says he had a scribe with him (IAH III₂, 247, ll. 6 f. from bot.).

37 TB V, 245, ll. 15 ff. This allegedly occurred in Baghdād (IAH 247, ll. 11 ff.); but it seems questionable to me whether Abū Mu'āwiya was already in Baghdād before 160. On Shu'ba cf. HT 188 f. and Index s. n.

38 TB V, 245, ll. 20 ff.

39 Fasawī II, 181, ll. 4 ff. > TB V, 243, ll. 10 ff. One credited him with having influence on Hārūn's judgement (TB 244, ll. 2 ff.).

40 *Agh*. v, 273, ll. 16 ff.; also 269, ll. 1 ff. > IKh I, 203, ll. 18 f.

41 TB V, 247, ll. 15 ff.; also al-Khaṭīb, *Kifāya* 228, ll. 9 ff. (from which it emerges that he himself possessed such notes). On this Azmi 170.

reliability;⁴² this is otherwise not surprising, since Abū Mu‘āwiya depended entirely on his memory.

In his political and theological attitude he was not in complete agreement with his teacher. They were indeed both supporters of predestination;⁴³ but A‘mash was close to the Shī‘a and is supposed to have predicted a bad end both for his disciple as well as for the Murji‘a in general.⁴⁴ When someone wanted to have him confirm a *ḥadīth* that was especially friendly to ‘Alī, Abū Mu‘āwiya, as he himself later related, hemmed and hawed disapprovingly; A‘mash after that is supposed to have had the Murji‘ites in his circle expelled from the mosque, so as not to be disturbed.⁴⁵ This is probably an exaggeration; at that time differences of opinion, as the close relationship with disciples shows, did not yet necessarily lead to hostilities. Later, when the Shī‘ites were persecuted in Baghdād, it was another matter; Abū Mu‘āwiya allegedly provided Hārūn al-Rashīd with an anti-Rāfiḍite *ḥadīth*.⁴⁶ His Murji‘ite commitment then showed through more strongly; a disciple claimed to have been encouraged by him to attach himself to this doctrine.⁴⁷ Apparently, Abū Mu‘āwiya once again did the same by means of the *Ḥadīth*. He transmitted that Ibn Mas‘ūd did not allow any doubt concerning faith⁴⁸ and that one should not brand a person as a heretic on the basis of a sin.⁴⁹ Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812), himself a famous traditionist, is said to have not attended his funeral for this reason.⁵⁰ In his juridical views he was also within the Kūfan tradition; he had heard lectures from Shaybānī.⁵¹ Malicious opponents put two verses in his mouth in which he

42 *Ilal* 119, no. 711, and 194, no. 1199. Abū Mu‘āwiya also preserved reports from A‘mash about the life of the Prophet (cf. Ṭabarī, Index s. n.).

43 Cf. HT ll. 7 ff.; additional material also in Index s. n. Muḥammad b. Khāzim (there mistakenly: Ḥāzim); Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 11, ll. 20 ff./15, ll. 6 ff.; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Īmān* 97, no. 27.

44 TB V, 247, l. 5.

45 Fasawī II, 764, ll. 10 ff.; on the incriminated *ḥadīth* see below p. 318, ft. n. 23.

46 TB V, 243, ll. 8 ff. That he was a severe Shī‘ite, as Dhahabī maintains (*Mizān* no. 10618), is accordingly very implausible. But he made no attempt to conceal the fact that his teacher had been pro-‘Alid (IKh II, 402, ll. 4 ff. from bot.), and he also seems to have transmitted typically Shī‘ite *ḥadīths* which he had received from A‘mash (cf. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* I, 130, ll. 10 f. = II, 151, ll. 2 ff. from bot., as well as II, 95, ll. 10 ff., where of course the authenticity of the *isnād* is sometimes in doubt).

47 TB V, 247, l. 4.

48 Fasawī III, 130, ll. 4 f., with a thoroughly Murji‘ite *isnād*; cf. also above p. 208 f. The traditions are more cautious in Ibn Abī Shayba, *Īmān* 23, no. 73 f., and 24 f., no. 76, as well as *Muṣannaḥ* XI, 14 ff.

49 Abū ‘Ubayd, *Īmān* 97, no. 27, and 98, no. 29; on this Madelung in: SI 32/1970/252.

50 IS VI, 274, l. 2; on Wakī‘ see below p. 271.

51 Bukhārī I, 74, no. 191.

recommends date schnapps (*nabīdh*) as a digestive liquor.⁵² – Another disciple of Aʿmash also came to Baghdād:

Yūnus b. Bukayr b. Wāṣil al-Jammāl,

a *mawlā* of the Shaybān who died 199/815. However, he is above all known to us as the *rāwī* of Ibn Ishāq; the *Sīra*-fragment in the Qarawiyyīn Library is edited by his disciple ʿUṭārīdī chiefly following him.⁵³ Otherwise, we do not know much about him. Ibn Maʿn spoke of him as “a Murjiʿite” who is submissively dependent on the government authorities (*yatbaʿuʿl-sultān*).⁵⁴ Evidently, he meant by this that Yūnus, a well-off man, maintained ties with the Barmakid Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā.⁵⁵ But his Murjiʿite convictions are also suggested because he transmitted from Abū Ḥanīfa.⁵⁶ – Finally, a disciple of Aʿmash as well as of Abū Ḥanīfa was

Abū Yaḥyā ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bashmīn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥimmānī,

who died in 202/817–18 and was a *mawlā* of the Banū Ḥimmān, a tribe that belonged to the federation of the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt from the Taym.⁵⁷ He originated from Khwārazm but had still heard lectures from Miṣʿar b. Kidām;⁵⁸ Abū Dāwūd considered him to be a Murjiʿite missionary (*dāʿiya*).⁵⁹ His son Yaḥyā (d. 228/843) went to Baghdād and enjoyed a great success there; he was

52 Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 510, ll. 13 ff.

53 Ed. M. Hamidullah, Rabat 1396/1976, and Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1398/1978. On this cf. GAS 1/289; Dūrī, *Dirāsa* 20 ff. and for criticism of the latter, Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq* 10 ff. and 82 ff., also 139. The latter also presents several fragments from later sources (cf. pp. 32, 49, 51, 58, 59, 65–69).

54 ʿUqaylī, *Ḍuʿafāʾ* IV, 461, no. 2093 > *Mizān* no. 9900.

55 *Mizān* IV, 478, ll. 14 f.; cf. also TT XI, 434 ff., no. 744. This information also goes back to Ibn Maʿn.

56 IAW II, 236, no. 736.

57 Khalifa, *Ṭab*. 403, no. 1325; IS VI, 279, ll. 4 f.; Bukhārī III₂, 45, no. 1653; IAW I, 295 f., no. 783. The grandfather was actually called Maymūn; interestingly the epithet is of Iranian origin (*pashmīn* “woollen”; cf. TB XIV, 167, ll. 4 f. from bot.).

58 IAH III₁, 16, no. 79; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 209, ll. 4 ff.; TB XIV, 168, l. 9.

59 *Mizān* no. 4784; TT VI, 120, no. 241; cf. also Kaʿbī, *Qabūl* 216, l. 8, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Hady al-sārī* II, 140, ll. 12 ff.

the author of a *Musnad* in which, however, his father is apparently scarcely cited.⁶⁰ – An additional later disciple of Miṣ‘ar b. Kidām,

Abū ‘Abdallāh Muṣ‘ab b. al-Miqdām al-Khath‘amī,

who died in 203/818–19,⁶¹ maintained – in Baghdād? – to have been cured of his Murji’ite views through a dream.⁶²

2.1.1.9 The Reform of Ghassān b. Abān

Even before Zufar b. al-Hudhayl secured a place for Abū Ḥanīfa’s doctrine in Baṣra, a remarkable special development in theology had occurred there. Kūfan influence collided with Qadarite tradition and led to a strong interest in describing the contents of the act of faith, as for example in Abū Shamir al-Ḥanafī and somewhat later, after a shift towards determinism, in Najjār.¹ A certain Ghassān b. Abān then reacted to this; he knew Najjār personally² and possibly also debated with a disciple of Abū Shamir.³ In so doing, he was concerned to safeguard the legacy of Abū Ḥanīfa; he systematized the latter’s theological standpoint and wrote a book on this subject.⁴ In the process, however, he came to a different conclusion than the Transoxanians; he thought that for Abū Ḥanīfa faith could by no means diminish, whereas it could certainly increase.⁵ Moreover, Ghassān attempted to attribute further content to faith; one must not only acknowledge God in His existence but one must love Him and show Him deep respect.⁶ This interpretation was clearly oriented towards

60 TB XIV, 167 ff., no. 7483; the father is not mentioned there at all among the informants. On the *Musnad* cf. Kattānī, *Risāla mustaṭrafa* 62, ll. 5 f.

61 Bukhārī IV₁, 354, no. 1530; IAH IV₁, 308, no. 1426; TB XIII, 110 ff., no. 7095; *Mizān* no. 8572.

62 TT X, 165, no. 312. In Ṭabarī he is several times cited for the biography of the Prophet, always in the same *isnād* (cf. Index s. n.).

1 See below Chpts. B 2.24 and C 5.2.

2 Al-Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār cites him once as an informant on the latter’s doctrine (*Mughnī* XI, 311, ll. 7 f.).

3 At least according to Baghdādī who perhaps here merely succumbs to his schematization (cf. Text II 11, c, with the commentary). On the Yūnus who is mentioned there see below Chpt. B 2.2.4.2.

4 Text II 11, d.

5 Text II 10 and 11, b. Also recorded as a Murji’ite doctrine in an ‘*aqīda* of Ibn Ḥanbal (in Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* I, 25, ll. 4 f.).

6 Text II 10 and 11, a. The information that Shahrastānī and Sam‘ānī present on the Ghassāniyya has been incorrectly copied (cf. the commentary to Text II 6, a). On this also Hodgson in EI² II, 1022 s. v. *Ghassāniyya* and Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 432 f.

Başran categories;⁷ that faith was capable of intensification but could not be minimalized beyond a certain limit was the standpoint of Najjār as well.⁸

Ghassān certainly had connections with Kūfa. But whether he had actually lived there is not absolutely confirmed. In Shahrastānī he is called, at least according to the majority of the manuscripts, Ibn al-Kūfi; hence perhaps only his father had resided there and he himself had already moved to Başra permanently. Generally speaking, the heresiographers know nothing precise about him; he has also left no traces behind in the biographies or in the *Ṭabaqāt* of the Ḥanafites. Only Maqrīzī appears to be somewhat better informed. In him the name is expanded to Ghassān b. Abān,⁹ and he also states that Ghassān was the disciple of Shaybānī (d. 189/805).¹⁰ Thus we arrive at the beginning of the 3rd century; this likewise seems to be suggested by his connections with Najjār. In Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī the *nisba* al-Ḥaramī is also mentioned;¹¹ perhaps, if correctly attributed to him, it should be read as al-Jarmī.¹² Maqrīzī adds the interesting remark that Ghassān denied the prophethood of Jesus. We do not know what moved him to do this; in any case, by doing so, he adopted a position in opposition to the Transoxanians.¹³

The only Ghassān b. Abān who is mentioned in Dhahabī's *Mizān* (no. 6657) is a Ḥijāzī and has no relevance here. In the interrogation of Ibn Ḥanbal during the *miḥna* a certain Ghassān appears in the service of Ibn Abī Duwād (Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad, *Miḥna* 281, ll. 4 ff. from bot., Dūmī; Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, *Miḥna* 52, last l.). But it is a question of Ghassān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī who at the time of Mu'taṣim was *qāḍī* in Kūfa (Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 191, ll. 4 ff.; IAW I, 404; on the identity cf. Ḥanbal b. Ishāq 53, last l. f.); he as well does not belong here. – Daiber in *Mu'ammār* 342, fn. 2, gives our theologian the name Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and then calls him Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad al-Ghassān; in so doing, he follows a note of the editor of 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* XI, 311, ll. 7 f. However, in this position

7 For Abū Shamir cf. Text II 17, *a*, for Najjār Text XXXII 48, *a*, and also later in Ibn Shabīb (Text XXXI 21, *c-d*) or Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṣāliḥī (Text XXXI 44, *d*).

8 On this see Text XXXII 48, *g*, and Chpt. C 5.2.1.

9 Thus also in a Shahrastānī-manuscript (cf. Gimaret 423, fn. 35).

10 *Khīṭaṭ* II, 350, ll. 4 f. Moreover, the last statement also occurs in the *K. al-Mīlal* of Baghdādī (140, l. 9), though not in the latter's *Farq bayna'l-firaq*.

11 *I'tiqādāt firaq al-muslimīn* 70, l. 7.

12 Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* III, 251 ff.

13 *Fiqh absaṭ* 47, ll. 7 f., the eighth article of the so-called *Fiqh akbar I*.

the footnote number is out of place; it goes with al-Najjār who appears immediately afterwards and was in fact called Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad.

Another Murji'ite school founder remains entirely enigmatic for us and is only mentioned by Khwārizmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*: Jaḥdar b. Muḥammad al-Taymī (21, ll. 3 f.). According to his *nisba*, he too could originate from Kūfa. – As for al-Ṣabbāḥ b. al-Walīd al-Murji'ī whom the Barmakids are supposed to have drawn into their circle, there is also nothing that can be said. At any rate, he is found in a rather legendary context (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* VI, 374 f./IV, 240 § 2576 > Ibn al-ʿArabī, *ʿAwāṣim* 83, ll. 4 ff.).

2.1.2 *Anti-Murji'ite Currents in Kūfa*

2.1.2.1 Sufyān al-Thawrī

The Murji'a set the tone in Kūfa; according to everything we know, they dominated the upper classes – at least into the first half of the 2nd century. Their only serious intellectual opponents were the Shī'a; but the latter's supporters were almost exclusively made up of *mawālī*. Moreover, for the Shī'a the concept of faith was not a *casus belli*; they only took exception to the Murji'a's lack of partisanship on behalf of 'Alī, and in the beginning, as we have seen,¹ even here the boundary was not sharply drawn. Those who did not approve of the Murji'ite concept of faith split off into groups; there were Khārijites of various doctrinal observance,² there were a few Qadarites, and there were some ascetics with radical views. Along with these, an important individual appears who in the long run assembled a school around himself, namely

Abū 'Abdallāh Sufyān b. Sa'īd b. Masrūq al-Thawrī,

who lived from 97/715 (?) to 161/778. He was a pure Arab whose genealogy – which he presumably set great store by³ – is carefully noted in the sources, although the tribe he belonged to was otherwise no longer particularly noteworthy.⁴ He detested the Murji'ites. We saw how he stayed away from the funeral procession of 'Umar b. Dharr and Mis'ar b. Kidām who both died at the

1 See above pp. 177, 179 and 204 f.

2 On them see below pp. 473 ff.

3 He was annoyed by the fact that "the Nabataeans" pervaded the sphere of religious knowledge (Ṭurtūshī, *al-Ḥawādith wa'l-bida'* 72, ll. 6 ff.).

4 IS VI, 257, ll. 20 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 201, ll. 3 ff.; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 497, ll. 10 ff., etc. Moreover, he was born in Khorāsān (Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* xx, 299, ll. 11 f.).

beginning of the 150s in Kūfa;⁵ later, in the year 159/776, he behaved the same way in Mecca with regard to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād.⁶ However, it is difficult to work out his motives. This has to do with the fact that later tradition has idealized him beyond all measure. Ibn Abī Ḥātim in his *Taqdima* devotes to him a biography of 70 pages;⁷ in Abū Nu‘aym he receives almost 180 pages.⁸ The dissertation by Hans-Peter Raddatz,⁹ despite some occasional attempts,¹⁰ has not been able to remove this veil of mist; what is there said about Sufyān’s theological views amounts to a mishmash of randomly collected excerpts from the sources and the secondary literature.¹¹

The case is similar to that of Abū Ḥanīfa; Sufyān as well became the progenitor of a school of jurisprudence.¹² But there is also the fact that he came into conflict with the government authorities; this earned him the sympathies of the ascetics. What exactly happened can no longer be ascertained. Just like Abū Ḥanīfa, he is supposed to have refused the office of *qāḍī* and thereby snubbed the caliph.¹³ In any case, by the middle of the 150s at the latest, he left his native city¹⁴ and withdrew to Mecca. Since he was not left undisturbed in Mecca,¹⁵ he finally fled to Baṣra. There he soon died.¹⁶ In Baṣra he did not actually have a

5 See above pp. 177 and 208.

6 See below Chpt. B 4.1.1.3. Nor apparently was Abū Ḥanīfa very popular with him (see above pp. 217 f.).

7 Pp. 55–126.

8 *Ḥilya* VI 356–393, VII 3–144. Cf also TB IX, 151 ff., etc. (mentioned in GAS 1/518). One had even attributed miracles to him (Abū Ya‘lā, *Mu‘tamad* 164, ll. 1 ff.).

9 *Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Sufyān at-Taurī (d. 778). Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des frühen Islam* (Bonn 1967); on this Lecomte in: BEO 30/1978/51 ff. Still worth reading in addition is the in-depth article of M. Plessner in: EI¹ IV, 234 ff.

10 For instance pp. 161 ff.

11 Ibid. 174 ff.

12 On this Raddatz 107 ff. On his views in detail ibid. 51 ff., according to Ṭabarī’s *K. Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā’*; also his *K. al-Farā’id*, ed. Raddatz in: WI 13/1971/26 ff.

13 The earliest evidence for this is probably an anonymous verse preserved by Ibn Qutayba (*Ma‘ārif* 497, l. 15). Instead of Sufyān, it maintains Sharīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī was then made *qāḍī* (on him see above p. 246).

14 The date is variously reported. Naturally, it depends on the death dates of ‘Umar b. Dharr and Mis‘ar b. Kidām, both of which however are not entirely certain. Raddatz has decided in favour of 153/769, but works this out from a chronological report of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna (in IS V, 365, ll. 7 f.) which he obviously calculates incorrectly (152 +1 instead of 152 –1; cf. p. 38).

15 Ṭabarī III, 385, ll. 17 ff.; also IS VI, 258, ll. 24 ff. On this below Chpt. B 4.1.1.1.

16 The year and place of his death one took from his gravestone. In addition there was the tradition that he only died 167 in Kūfa (Abū l-‘Arab, *Miḥan* 424, ll. 4 ff. from bot.).

big following; Kūfans were only to be found nearby in ‘Abbādān. One was also not absolutely happy about his visit and advised him to seek reconciliation.¹⁷ Naturally, one could transmit *Ḥadīth* from him. That he had thought of going there at all, however, could be because he was an export merchant; his commission agents were evidently installed in the most varied regions.¹⁸

The conflict with the authorities apparently arose not from some momentary disgruntlement but from a stance to do with principle. We must, of course, take Sufyān’s illness into consideration; in his last years he may possibly have suffered from bilharzia.¹⁹ But he held back not only out of ill humour or physical weakness; he consciously maintained his distance. He says as much in a letter he sent to the Persian ascetic ‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād al-Arsūfī who lived in Palestine:²⁰ “Be wary of the powers-that-be (*umarā*), and rather be close to the poor and the wretched!”²¹ Or as it says in an elegy on his behalf: “He kept himself far from the gates of kings, and when they asked for him,²² their fingers could not reach him.” The present, so he reckoned in a letter, “is murky (*kadura*); the true and the futile merge with one another (*yashtabihu*).”²³ Presumably, he considered the sphere of influence of the state as a grey zone in which much remained doubtful (*shubha*); later it was maintained that he did not even want his way to be lit with the torch of the prefect of police.²⁴ This is scrupulosity (*wara*) as was found in books – and presumably only in books; one must not come in contact with anything whose purity or legality one cannot confirm oneself.

For this reason Sufyān was not behaving inconsistently if he still continued in business; here he could himself choose the people he had dealings

17 IS VI, 259, ll. 24 ff.

18 Raddatz 39, following IS VI 258, ll. 18 ff.; also TT x, 276 f. s. n. *Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥalhil*. One spoke there of a *mujahhiz* (cf. Sabari, *Mouvements populaires* 28). Unfortunately, we do not learn what Sufyān traded in.

19 Raddatz 47, ftn. 8; Lecomte is sceptical about this in: BEO 30/1978/57.

20 Cf. the text in IAH, *Taqdima* 86, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; in shortened form also *Ḥilya* VI, 376, ll. 14. The identity of the addressee is revealed by Ibn al-Nadīm 281, l. 8 from bot.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim only has ‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād. Sezgin incorrectly filled out the name (GAS 1/519). On Arsūfī cf. *Mizān* no. 4124 and TT v, 97, no. 163. Arsūf is a Palestinian coastal locality. Sufyān from time to time stayed in the Syrian border regions; he had relations with Awzā’ī and is influenced by the latter’s doctrine regarding martial law (Raddatz 94 f.).

21 *Taqdima* 87, ll. 11 f.; transl. Raddatz 153 f.

22 *ṭalabūhu*, also: “they persecuted him” (ibid. 123, l. 4 from bot.; TB IX, 173, l. 7).

23 Ibid. 87, ll. 7 f.

24 *Ḥilya* VII, 40, ll. 14 ff. Sayings against the government authorities also in Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira* I, 166, no. 378 ff.

with. He was certainly not as strict as Shaqīq al-Balkhī a generation later.²⁵ He also had family, as much as he allegedly felt burdened by them.²⁶ He did not think highly of excessive ascetic practices; weeping he took to be something external, and he considered wearing wool to be an innovation.²⁷ He did not support going hungry intentionally; but he did make an effort to eat only ritually unobjectionable foods.²⁸ When it came to *nabīdh*, true to the Kūfan tradition, he turned a blind eye. One did claim to have heard him advise eating figs and grapes instead; but he only forbade *nabīdh* if it made a person drunk.²⁹ Moreover, as people remembered, he drank from a silver-plated goblet and so he did not shun handling precious metals.³⁰ One sits up and takes notice when it is said that he “veiled” himself; but this only means that he drew his *ṭaylasān* over his face.³¹

It remains to ask whether Sufyān’s “disenchantment with the state” is derived from Shīʿite tradition. Shīʿite sources occasionally attempt to appropriate him. He is supposed to have heard *Ḥadīth* from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.³² Then, because of the contents, he allegedly kept quiet about it,³³ and Jaʿfar is supposed to have spoken about him the way he did about Abū Ḥanīfa, as being among those who “lure people away from the religion of God”.³⁴ But one did want to include him among the Butriyya, the moderate wing of the Zaydiyya.³⁵ On the other hand, Sunnī sources have him say that he already abandoned his “Khashabite” whims in his youth when he came to Baṣra and fell under the influence of the four great “orthodox figures”: Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwn, etc.³⁶ But this,

25 On him see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.4. On the contrast cf. Massignon, *Essai*², 111 and 170; also Raddatz 127 ff.

26 Raddatz 124 ff., especially according to mystical sources; Reinert, *Tawakkul* 264.

27 *Ḥilya* VII, 11, l. 3 from bot., and 33, ll. 13 f.

28 Muḥāsibī, *Makāsib*, 225, ll. 2 ff./transl. *Gedankenwelt* 115 f.

29 *Ḥilya* VII, 72, l. 16, and 32, ll. 13 f.; also below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3.1.

30 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 388, no. 2589.

31 *Ḥilya* VII, 50, l. 15; on this Suyūṭī, *al-Aḥādīth al-ḥisān fī faḍl al-ṭaylasān* 38, no. 115.

32 Kulīnī, *Kāfī* I, 403, ll. 8 ff. from bot. He appears in an *isnād* of a Shīʿite *ḥadīth* in Mufīd, *Amālī* (Najaf 1367/1947) 85, ll. 8 ff. from bot.

33 *Ibid.* 404, l. 6 from bot.

34 *Ibid.* I, 392, ll. 3 ff. from bot. Also Ardabīlī I, 366 a.

35 Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shīʿa* 7, l. 4 > Qummī, *Maqālāt* 6, ll. 9 f.; similarly Ibn al-Nadīm 226, ll. 4 f. from bot. He is also “a Shīʿite” according to Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 624, l. 11. On the Butriyya see below pp. 275 ff.

36 TD (Leningrad) 360, ll. 6 ff.; also Raddatz 15. On those last mentioned see below Chpt. B 2.2.7.1.

if it is true at all,³⁷ is not the whole truth. It takes for granted a constellation of factors which, for the time under discussion, circa 130 *hijrī*, did not yet really exist. In typical manner, reports appear elsewhere according to which he heard lectures from ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd in Baṣra.³⁸ He is supposed to have attacked someone in a rage with his sandal, someone who called ‘Amr a Qadarite;³⁹ and there is a notice in Abū Nu‘aym that he would not comply when Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī wanted to keep him apart from ‘Amr.⁴⁰

Moreover, the motive for his conversion is described quite differently in a parallel report: from then on, Sufyān is supposed to have no longer placed ‘Alī ahead of the first two caliphs but names him as the third.⁴¹ This is hardly something he would have learned in Baṣra; there ‘Uthmān occupied this place. Yet it was probably the attitude which he really did advocate; in Kūfa there would be no necessity to convert to the view.⁴² But this did not fit in with later schemes of thought; in Sunnī circles one still only associated him with the *taqdimat al-shaykhayn*.⁴³ Elsewhere it is even claimed that in the enumeration of *al-khulafā’ al-rāshidūn* Sufyān came to halt after ‘Uthmān.⁴⁴ Here, as in other points, one adjusted his image. But perhaps already because of his travels, he adapted himself more strongly than others regarding this point.

That his relationship to the state was significantly influenced by this cannot be proven. It was, of course, one more reason for the caliph not to trust him; he had complained that after 145 the ‘Alids were persecuted,⁴⁵ and in Mecca an ‘Alid was arrested along with him.⁴⁶ Still, the deeper explanation seems to me to lie in his above-mentioned scrupulosity and in his concept of sin that resulted from it. Madelung has made it plausible that Sufyān, as well as other Kūfan *muḥaddithūn*, denied the qualification of believer to the severe sinner, above

37 It is accepted by Raddatz 180 ff. and following him, by Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat* 233. Plessner in his EI article contests a priori any Shī‘ite tendency whatsoever.

38 Ka‘bī, *Maq.* 69, l. 6, and 90, last l.; Nashwān, *Hūr* 209, l. 10; on this below Chpt. B 2.2.6.2.6.

39 Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 243, ll. 12 ff.

40 *Hilya* VII, 33, ll. 17 ff.

41 Ibid. 31, ll. 7 ff.

42 See below pp. 270 f.

43 Thus in the fragmentary *‘aqīda* in TH 206, l. 2 from bot. which at least in this passage has been cleaned up; Madelung considers it to be a complete forgery (*Qāsim* 237; somewhat more nuanced in *Festschrift Pareja* 519). With greater distinctions Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 42, ll. 6 f. [The entire text of the *‘aqīda* now available in Lālākā‘ī, *Sharḥ uṣūl ‘itiqād ahl al-sunna*, ed. Ḥamdān 151 ff., no. 314.]

44 Fasawī II, 806, l. 15; on this *Maq.* 458, l. 12.

45 Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 416, ll. 11 f.

46 See below Chpt. B 4.1.1.1.

all presumably to the unjust ruler; the latter is a Muslim but not a *mu'min*.⁴⁷ Sufyān, just as the Bakriyya in Baṣra, even denies a murderer the possibility of repentance.⁴⁸ This then also explains his anger with the Murji'ites. It was not that he wished to brand them as friendly to the government authorities;⁴⁹ Mis'ar b. Kidām himself had in fact intrigued against the Abbasids.⁵⁰ Rather their certainty of being chosen, and the definition of faith that they derived from it, seemed to him to be self-righteous. One should not, as the Khārijites do, violate the juridical status of a Muslim; but one should also not see oneself before God as perfect (*al-istikmāl 'inda'llāh*).⁵¹ That is why when one describes oneself as a believer, one should at all costs add a mitigating proviso such as "hopefully" or "if God is willing". This is the well-known doctrine of *istithnā'*, the exception-formula, and in that manner Abū 'Ubayd justified it as substantially correct in his *K. al-Īmān*.⁵²

The Murji'a saw the situation differently: for them such a formula did not reveal humility but unacceptable doubt, and not only concerning the subjective feeling of being chosen but the objective truth of Islam as well. For this reason, they called the followers of Sufyān "doubters" (*shukkāk*). The controversy which subsequently broke out in Kūfa had an effect for a long time afterwards⁵³ and spread far beyond the city. Thereupon both sides surveyed the field of traditions to see how much they could use for bolstering their own position;⁵⁴ several *ḥadīths* were even first invented to serve this purpose.⁵⁵ Abū Mu'āwiya drew up a list of twenty-four traditionists of earlier generations who declared themselves to be believers without adding any proviso.⁵⁶ Here we

47 In: S1 32/1970/242. Cf. also the remark of Nazzām in his *K. an-Nakt* (p. 93 § 3 b).

48 According to *Ḥilya* VII, 29, ll. 15 ff., he is supposed to have said the same about everyone who advocated "an innovation". For the Bakriyya see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3.1.

49 Thus Raddatz 90 and 179 f.

50 See above p. 208.

51 On *istikmāl* see above p. 231.

52 *Īmān* 58, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; also Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 49, ll. 5 ff. On this Madelung in: S1 32/1970/238 f.

53 Cf. for instance Abū'l-Layth al-Samaqandī, *Bustān al-'arīfīn* (in the margins of *Tanbih al-ghāfilīn*) 179, ll. 1 ff.; Pseudo-Māturidī, *Risāla fī'l-'aqā'id*, ed. Yörükan 17 § 25. In general Tritton, *Muslim Theology* 106; Watt, *Formative Period* 139; Izutsu, *Concept of belief* 194 ff.; Gardet in: S1 5/1956/104 ff. and similarly in *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme* 388 f.

54 Above all Abū 'Ubayd, *Īmān* 67 ff.

55 Cf. for instance Shawkānī, *al-Fawā'id al-majmū'a* 453, nos. 4–7; on this below Chpt. B 3.1.2.5.

56 Ṭabarī, *Tahdhib al-āthār: Musnad Ibn 'Abbās* 665, no. 990; naturally among them are many Murji'ites. Seen from the personal attitude in each case, the contrast at any rate goes

do not need to enter into the later development; Ibn Ḥanbal already declared the *istithnā'* to be in accordance with the *sunna*.⁵⁷ At any rate, for an outside observer it was a matter of a family dispute; the Ibādite Shabīb b. 'Aṭīyya (first half of the 2nd century) wrote a *Radd 'alā'l-Shukkāk wa'l-Murjī'a* in which he scarcely distinguishes between the two groups.⁵⁸ Sufyān did not openly lay out his standpoint anywhere. He was not a *mutakallim*; even Ash'arite theologians like Baghdādī do not deny that he had attached very little importance to theological speculation.⁵⁹

One could also maintain that he rejected the formula itself as innovation (Abū Dāwūd, *Masā'il al-Imām Aḥmad* 274, ll. 6 ff.). Naturally, this serves the attempt undertaken by Ibn Ḥanbal to acquit him of any aberration (see above); but in TB XIII, 370, ll. 12 ff., his standpoint is in fact paraphrased without using any terminology. In Baṣra Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh is supposed to have thought as he did (Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 48, l. 13/transl. 80 alongside other names; on him see below Chpt. B 2.2.7.2); Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar probably also joined him (see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.4). In Medina Yahyā b. Ma'īn should be mentioned (Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Risālat Iblīs* 35, ll. 4 ff.). In Mecca the Murjī'ite 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Rawwād complained about the *shukkāk* (TT VI, 381, l. 6 from bot.; on him see below Chpt. B 4.1.1.3). For Syria see above p. 161; still more in Madelung in SI 32/1970/240. There, of course, one chiefly based oneself on Awzā'ī (Abū 'Ubayd, *Īmān* 69, no. 16; also Ājurri, *Sharī'a* 146, ll. 5 f. from bot.). For the Maghrib cf. Madelung, op. cit., and below Chpt. C 7.7.2. For Khorāsān cf. Naḍr b. Shumayl (Kardārī, *Manāqib* 11, 108, ll. 2 ff.; on him see below Chpt. C 2.2). In Transoxania, Farghāna and Turkestan, even later on the Ḥanafites still expressed their opposition (Ibn al-Dā'ī, *Tabṣirat ul-'awāmm* 107, ll. 6 f.).

The sole source from which we might expect authentic information is his *Tafsīr*.⁶⁰ But here he makes a great effort, as Ibn Abī Ḥātim already noted,

further back (cf. for instance the anecdote above p. 228); here it is only a question of the history of the formula.

57 Madelung 243 with examples; also Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 48, ll. 16 ff.; Ājurri, *Sharī'a* 136 ff. Likewise later in Ash'arite circles (Baghdādī, *Uṣūl* 243, ll. 5 ff.).

58 Thus according to Cook, *Dogma* 176, fn. 19.

59 *Uṣūl al-dīn* 254 ll. 6 ff. The formulation is probably influenced by the fact that Baghdādī considered the speculation to be obligatory.

60 Ed. Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī; Rampur 1385/1965.

to cultivate an extremely laconic style;⁶¹ this reminds one of Mujaḥid from whom he borrowed much via Ibn Abī Najīḥ.⁶² In the limitless mythologizing of Muqātil b. Sulaymān he saw nothing but “miracle stories”.⁶³ He only commented on extracts from the sacred text, interestingly without following the order of the verses.⁶⁴ That the unique surviving manuscript actually only contains surahs 2–52 (with the exclusion of surahs 44 and 47) is to be explained by the fragmentary state in which it has come down to us. One cannot avoid the question of whether what we have before us is merely a later compilation based on materials⁶⁵ preserved in Ṭabarī and others; but this issue may perhaps be resolved by the age of the manuscript.⁶⁶ In any case, for the contents this makes scarcely any difference.

As far as theological questions are concerned, the text does not tell us very much. The above-mentioned doctrine that there is no repentance possible for a murderer is quite correctly understood from surah 4/93;⁶⁷ all that is interesting here is that for the most part one did not take this very seriously and apparently even attempted to declare the verse abrogated.⁶⁸ Regarding surah 3/173, it says that faith can increase and diminish.⁶⁹ This shows that for Sufyān the conflict over the *istithnā'* was not simply of a verbal nature; we need no longer mistrust indications that he defined faith as a declaration (*qawl*), action and *intentio* (*niyya*).⁷⁰ The characteristic note here is the *intentio*; in it the tendency towards the interiorization of juridical thinking stands out.⁷¹ Finally,

61 *Taqdima* 79, l. 11; *ḥarfan ḥarfan*, as a later parenthetical commentary.

62 He “improved” Ibn Abī Najīḥ, i.e. presumably cut out the Qadarite passages (*Taqdima*, *ibid.*; on this below Chpt. B 4.1.1.1). Wansbrough compares him rather with Kalbī (*Quranic Studies* 137 f.). This is natural for Kūfa; but it should be borne in mind that Sufyān does not cite him at all. Kalbī was Shī'ite in a much more radical manner (see below pp. 298 ff.).

63 *Ḥilya* VII, 37, ll. 17 ff.

64 Unfortunately, the editor has reordered the canonical text. It is possible, however, to restore the original sequence again using his numbering.

65 On this cf. Horst in ZDMG 103/1953/304.

66 The editor pleads, perhaps somewhat too optimistically, in favour of the 3rd/9th century (Intro. p. 35). On this cf. Wansbrough 137 f. On the work also Raddatz 23 ff., and Lecomte in: BEO 30/1978/52 ff.; Cerrahoğlu in: *Ankara Üniv. İlah. Fak. Dergisi* 18/1970/23 ff., as well as *Tefsīr Tarihi* I 228 f.; Hāshim 'Abd Yāsīn al-Mashhadānī, *Sufyān al-Thawrī wa-atharuhū fī'l-tafsīr* (Baghdād 1401/1981), there pp. 213 ff.

67 P. 54, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

68 This is suggested by the Ibn 'Abbās-tradition in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 31X, 63, ll. 8 ff., no. 10188. More on this below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3.1.

69 P. 41, ll. 2 f.

70 TH 206, l. 3 from bot.; on this *Ḥilya* VII, 32, l. 15; Raddatz 155 ff.

71 On *niyya* in Abū Ḥanīfa see above p. 237. The line leads further on to Muḥāsibī.

his position *vis-à-vis* the *mutashābihāt* in surah 3/7 is characteristic: they are synonymous with the abrogated verses;⁷² so, otherwise, Sufyān apparently saw no uncertainties. One wished to believe that already he, just as his disciple Ibn al-Mubārak later, concluded from the personal testimony of God in surah 112/1 that the Koran could not have been created.⁷³ This might have been aimed against Abū Ḥanīfa.⁷⁴ He believed in the *visio beatifica*; God will show Himself in “His form” to the believers, so he transmitted from “the Butrite” Salama b. Kuhayl.⁷⁵

2.1.2.2 Ṣūfīs

Several of the disciples of Sufyān al-Thawrī, contrary to his recommendations,¹ are said to have worn wool.² The Karrāmiyya based themselves on him.³ Yet ascetics of this type rarely remained in Kūfa; there was nothing that compared with the importance of the school of ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd that flourished at that time in Baṣra.⁴ Abū Hāshim, who was allegedly the first to bear the epithet Ṣūfi,⁵ emigrated from Kūfa to Syria and settled in a convent in Ramla.⁶ Sufyān al-Thawrī is meant to have been aware that he first came to know the danger of hypocrisy (*riyā’*) in a conversation with him.⁷ Abū Hishām mistrusted the authorities as he did; that the *qāḍī* Sharīk al-Nakha’ī was involved with the Barmakids caused him great distress.⁸ A little later there appears, with the epithet al-Ṣūfi, the elusive figure of

72 P. 34, ll. 2 ff.

73 *Ḥilya* VII, 30, ll. 6 f.; on this TH 206, l. 4 from bot.

74 On Sufyān’s relationship with Abū Ḥanīfa cf. Ṣaymarī, *Akhbār Abī Ḥanīfa* 64 ff., especially 68, ll. 4 ff.; on this above p. 228, fn. 37.

75 Dhahabī, *Ulūw* 119, ll. 1 ff.; on Salama b. Kuhayl see below p. 280.

1 See above p. 257.

2 Massignon, *Passion*² I, 144/Eng. transl. I, 103. Then naturally they also ascribed this to their master (Jullābī, *Kashf ul-mahjūb* 50, ll. 13 f.).

3 *Ungenützte Texte* 67.

4 In general on the subject cf. Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shi’r fī l-Kūfa* 188 ff. (*zuhd*) and 202 ff. (*taṣawwuf*). On ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd and his disciples see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3; on the development of Ṣūfism previously 2.2.2.2.

5 Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt ul-ṣūfiyya* 7, ll. 3 f. Elsewhere he is simply called *al-zāhid* (thus in Abū Nu’aym, *Ḥilya* X, 225, ll. 8 ff. > Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* II, 172, l. 14).

6 Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt* 7, l. 4; on this Meier, *Abū Sa’īd* 302 f.

7 Sarrāj, *Luma’* 22, l. 10/transl. Gramlich 60.

8 *Ḥilya* X, 225, ll. 16 ff.

‘Abdak al-Şūfī,

about whom it says in Muḥāsibī that, along with a certain ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd, he considered working for a living and commerce to be forbidden.⁹ Malaṭī provides us with the justification which the followers of ‘Abdak based themselves upon: The world is forbidden ever since it is no longer governed by a just ruler; everything that one deals in is unclean. Consequently, one should only be concerned about one’s minimum subsistence (*qūt*); to that end the prohibited is also allowed.¹⁰ ‘Abdak was therefore no beggar monk; rather he had something against people who through their business dealings had the effect of stabilizing the regime. Massignon concluded from the reference to the unjust ruler that ‘Abdak was an Imāmīte who was awaiting the arrival of the Mahdī.¹¹ But that is not really what is said; related ideas are only found afterwards among the Baghdād Mu’tazilites.¹² ‘Abdak in fact went to Baghdād; he experienced how, in Hārūn al-Rashīd’s later years, the preacher of repentance Manṣūr b. ‘Ammār came forth there, and apparently disapproved of the latter’s style just as Bishr al-Ḥāfī did.¹³ He was indirectly in the same tradition as Sufyān al-Thawrī; because he had attached himself to Mu‘āfā b. ‘Imrān from Mosul (d. 186/802?) who belonged to Sufyān’s school.¹⁴ In Baghdād he was the first to whom people gave the epithet al-Şūfī; he preceded Sarī Saqaṭī with whom one normally claimed that the mystical tradition there began.¹⁵ How long disciples of his continued to exist we do not know.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century a certain ‘Abdakī appears among the disciples of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā’ī and of Ka‘bī; he was an Imāmīte (IM 109, ll. 16 ff.; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 368, no. 808). But apparently he has nothing to do with our ‘Abdak; his name derives from a disciple of Shaybānī by the name of ‘Abdak (Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* IX, 185, no. 2670). He died in Jurjān after 360/970. For more on him cf. Madelung, *Qāsim* 32 and in: *Der Islam* 57/1980/227, ftn. 30.

9 *Makāsib* 212, ll. 8 f.; transl. *Gedankenwelt* 104.

10 *Tanbīh* 73, ll. 7 ff./93, ll. 7 ff.

11 *Essai* 113.

12 See below Chpt. C 1.4.3.2. On this Reinert, *Tawakkul* 188 and in: Elran I, 172 f.

13 *Mizān* IV, 187, ll. 13 f.; on this below Chpt. C 1.4.2.

14 On him cf. TB XIII, 226 ff., no. 7198; also GAS 1/348.

15 Cf. the information in Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Ta’rikh Baghdād* I, 425 f., no. 254. But one must also take account of Bishr al-Ḥāfī who had likewise heard the lectures of Mu‘āfā b. ‘Imrān (TB XIII, 227, l. 9); on him see below Chpt. C 1.4.2.

2.1.2.3 Qadarites

Whereas in Baṣra asceticism often based its legitimacy on the doctrine of the Qadariyya, i.e. on personal responsibility in human behaviour,¹ in Kūfa it was clear that one could manage perfectly well without this justification. Abū Nu‘aym incorporated many Murji‘ites into his *Hilya*; they were by no means minimalists. Qadarite ideas were welcome as long as they could be understood as protest against the Umayyad authorities;² but later when the discussion of faith moved into the foreground, they ended up being marginalized. The Qadarites who came to be recorded as such for Kūfa in fact belong in the later period; there is only a small number of them. They never constituted a group in their own right, and sometimes they were directly influenced from Baṣra, such as for example

Abū Khuraym (?)³ Yūsuf b. Maymūn al-Ṣabbāgh,

a dyer who had studied with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibn Sīrīn,⁴ but as a client was attached to a high-ranking aristocratic Kūfan family.⁵ For this reason, one could not agree later whether he should be classified as a Baṣran or a Kūfan;⁶ Ibn Ḥibbān simply assumed they were two separate persons.⁷ But in Baṣra he had found confirmation for his Kūfan anthropomorphism; Ibn Sīrīn had passed on to him the *ḥadīth* that says if you see God in a dream, you will enter Paradise.⁸ In the beginning, this probably only attested to Ibn Sīrīn’s interest in dream interpretation;⁹ but later when the mystics came up with the idea of claiming such visions for themselves, it turned into a problem.¹⁰ – In Baṣra as well had also belonged

Abū ‘Abdallāh Mu‘allā b. Hilāl b. Suwayd al-Ṭaḥḥān al-Ju‘fi al-Ḥaḍramī,

1 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.

2 See above pp. 185 and 204 f.

3 Thus according to Dawlābī, *Kunā* I, 167, l. 4 from bot.; otherwise mostly Abū Khuzayma.

4 *Mizān* no. 9889.

5 The family of ‘Amr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī, one of the Prophet’s highly regarded Qurayshī Companions who had settled in Kūfa and had been Ziyād’s representative when the latter resided in Baṣra (on him Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb* 1172, no. 1906; Ṭabarī, Index s. n.; also below p. 336, fn. 6)

6 Cf. *Mizān* and Bukhārī IV2, 384, no. 4309 with IAH IV2, 230, no. 960; on this TT XI, 426 f., no. 832.

7 Cf. *Majrūhūn* III, 132, ll. 6 ff. from bot., with III, 134, ll. 1 ff.

8 *Mizān*, op. cit.

9 Ibn Fūrak, *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Ash‘arī* 86, l. 2 from bot.; on this Ibn Sīrīn, *Tafsīr al-manāmāt* 5, ll. 11 ff. In general EI² III, 948 a s. n. *Ibn Sīrīn*.

10 See below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3.

evidently a miller who was highly thought of as an ascetic. On the other hand, his *Ḥadīth* was regarded as completely unreliable, surely in part because he had imported it from outside.¹¹ In Mecca he had apparently become acquainted with the Qadarite Ibn Abī Najīḥ; because of what he had taken over from him, Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna thought he ought to have his head chopped off.¹² When he had Abū Bakr state that falsehood keeps faith at a distance,¹³ he thereby violated a Murji’ite axiom; that he also stood up for Abū Bakr and ‘Umar with sayings from the Prophet, will not have won him favour everywhere in his native city.¹⁴ – About his contemporary

‘Umar b. Abī Zā’ida Maymūn b. Fērōz¹⁵ al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī

we know almost nothing, although as a traditionist he was relatively well esteemed.¹⁶ One may conclude from his name that he was a *mawlā*. He had this in common with the two previously mentioned; they were artisans. Mu‘allā is not even supposed to have been able to write.¹⁷ One has some doubt about believing this since elsewhere it is said that he “published” the writings of Ghaylān b. Jāmi‘ (d. 132/750).¹⁸ But he did have indulgence regarding deficient education because he transmitted – according to Baṣran informants – the tradition that if a non-Arab recites the Koran incorrectly, an angel restores it to order.¹⁹ This attachment to the lower classes might have brought him closer to the Shī‘a. But Ibn Ḥibbān is poorly advised when he calls him a fanatical Shī‘ite who slandered the Companions;²⁰ in any case, he did stand up for Abū Bakr

11 Fasawī III, 137, ll. 5 f. from bot.; IAH IV₁, 331 f., no. 1529. Mentioned as a Qadarite TT X, 242, l. 7 from bot.

12 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 178, no. 1110; ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* IV, 214, ll. 2 ff. from bot. It is a matter of some 40 *ḥadīths* (TT X, 242, ll. 8 f.). Yet as an example one cited nothing Qadarite except the saying that the prophets veiled themselves (*Mizān* no. 8679). On Ibn Abī Najīḥ see below Chpt. B 4.1.1.1.

13 IAH IV₁, 331, ll. 4 f. from bot.

14 *Mizān*, op. cit.

15 On the name of Abū Zā’ida cf. Dawlābī, *Kunā* I, 184, ll. 9 f.

16 On his being a Qadarite cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 113, l. 3, and 144, ll. 6 f.; Ka‘bī, *Maq.* 104, ll. 1 ff. (following Ibn Ma‘īn and Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān) > *Faḍl* 344, ll. 6 f. > IM 139, l. 12; ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* III, 178, no. 1172; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 6110 and *Ta’rīkh* VI, 355, ll. 14 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, TT VII, 449, ll. 3 ff. and *Hady al-sārī* 11, 153, l. 10; *Tadrib al-rāwī* I, 329, l. 4. That his brother Zakariyyā’ as well was a Qadarite as Ibn al-Murtaḍā maintains (*Tab.* 139, l. 12) is the result of an incorrect reading of the latter’s source, namely the *K. Faḍl al-i’tizāl* of Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār.

17 Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* III, 16, l. 3 from bot.

18 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 342, no. 2248; on this Azmi, *Studies* 127.

19 *Mizān* IV, 153, ll. 13 f.

20 *Majrūḥīn* 16, l. 2 from bot.

and 'Umar. But on the whole, having ties with the Shī'ites is nothing unusual for a Qadarite. Quite popular among them was

Abū'l-Haytham Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Abdī al-'Aṭṭār,

who likewise belongs in the middle of the 2nd century.²¹ He is viewed in the Sunnī literature as the author of a Qadarite tendentious *ḥadīth*: "I was sent to call (to the faith) and announce (a message), without anyone in any way being rightly guided to me because of this; and Satan was created to delude (you), without anyone in any way being misguided to him".²² For this reason, Ibn Qutayba placed him among the Qadarites.²³ – Wholly classified among the Shī'ites was

Abū Ma'mar Sa'īd b. Khuthaym b. Rushd al-Hilālī.

Only Ibn Ḥajar records that he too adhered to Qadarite ideas.²⁴ He is supposed to have supported Zayd b. 'Alī in the year 122/740;²⁵ but perhaps this is simply a misunderstanding on the part of later sources.²⁶ He did still actually take part in the revolt of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī who fell in the year 169/786;²⁷ he also gave his allegiance to Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh when the latter armed himself for revolt in Daylam around 175/791–92.²⁸ Ibn Ḥanbal in his youth, during his first visit to Kūfa in the year 183/799,²⁹ found him still among the living. He transmitted from Ja'far al-Šādiq and allegedly also from Muḥammad al-Bāqir; but the Imāmite tradition did not think highly of him.³⁰ – The Shī'a spoke more favourably about

21 Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 66, ll. 4 f. > Ardabilī I, 292 b. – Whether he really deserves the *nisba* al-Khurāsānī that Ibn Ḥibbān gives him (*Majrūḥīn* I, 281, ll. 9 f.) seems questionable. Dhahabī distinguishes clearly between two bearers of this name (*Mizān* 2440–1); Ibn Abī Ḥātim only has the Khurāsānī who apparently originated from Marvarrūdh (I, 341 f., no. 1540).

22 HT 121 with several examples; also 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* II, 9, ll. 1 ff.

23 *Ma'ārif* 625, l. 11. Nothing in TT III, 104 f., no. 193.

24 TT IV, 22, no. 32. Only as a Shī'ite in *Mizān* no. 3162. Nothing in Bukhārī II, 470, no. 1563, and IAH II, 17, no. 67.

25 Najāshī, *Rijāl* 128, ll. 14 ff.; Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 226, ll. 5 ff. from bot. (where *Haytham* is incorrect for *Khuthaym*, with explicit vocalization and pointing); van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 284 > Madelung, *Qāsīm* 72.

26 It could have been a misinterpretation of Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 128, ll. 1 ff.

27 Ibid. 456, ll. 3 f. from bot.

28 Van Arendonk 291.

29 *Ilal* 350, no. 2304.

30 Najāshī and Ḥillī, *op. cit.* > Ardabilī I, 359 f.

Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Nakha‘ī,

who died 189/805³¹ and likewise had transmitted from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. It is a question here of a nephew of the Sharīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī³² who as judge in the city had denied the Murjī‘ites the right to give legal testimony.³³ His pious way of life was equally uncontested both by Sunnīs and Shī‘ites. One was aware of his nocturnal devotional prayers and his excessive fasting. The Shī‘ite sources add that he also shunned women out of pure asceticism; he used no perfume and gave preference to simple foods and clothing.³⁴ But among the Sunnīs he was also regarded as a great counterfeiter.³⁵ This was chiefly connected with the period when he moved to Baghdād and there entered wholly into the *Hadīth* business. He is supposed to have taken hold of a book by the Baṣran Qadarite Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba – according to another transmission, one by Abū Ḥanīfa – and to have invented better-known *isnāds* for the traditions it contained.³⁶ He was not only a Qadarite but was considered a zealous dialectician and *mutakallim*.³⁷ But in addition it is said Bishr al-Marīsī took over from him his Jahmite ideas.³⁸ How all this fit together we do not know; perhaps he advocated the view that the Koran was created.³⁹ The Mu‘tazilite sources also know him only as a Qadarite.⁴⁰ – In his period also belongs

Abū Hāshim Muḥammad b. Zā‘ida al-Tamīmī al-Ṣayrafi.⁴¹

Ibn Ma‘īn considered him to be a Qadarite; but he is otherwise rather unknown.⁴²

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- 31 On the death date cf. Ṣafādī, *Wāfi* xv, 416, no. 560 (but where he appears incorrectly as Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar).
- 32 Cf. TB IX, 15, l. 6.
- 33 See above p. 246.
- 34 Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 225, ll. 6 ff, in part following information from Kashshī which has not been preserved; also Ardabīlī I, 382 and 383 b, with the same material. One did not exactly know who the person was one was dealing with; but there is virtually no doubt as to the identity.
- 35 Thus for example Bukhārī II, 28, no. 1853; Fasawī III, 57, l. 6 ff; TB IX, 16, ll. 13 ff; ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* II, 134 f., no. 620; *Mizān* no. 3495.
- 36 TB IX, 17, ll. 5 and 12 f.; 20, ll. 9 f.; for Abū Ḥanīfa *ibid.* 19, ll. 2 f.
- 37 *Ibid.* 19, ll. 13 f.; also Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 333, l. 6.
- 38 *Ibid.* 17, ll. 7 f.
- 39 This was what I conjectured in: *Der Islam* 44/1968/48. But it seems to emerge from one of his *hadīths* that he believed in the intercession of the Prophet (*Mizān* II, 217, ll. 10 f.). This is difficult to reconcile with his being “a Jahmite” – but almost as difficult as with his being a Qadarite.
- 40 Ka‘bī, *Maq.* 103, ll. 16 f. > *Faql* 344, l. 5 > IM 139, l. 11.
- 41 He transmitted from Layth b. Abī Sulaym (d. 143/760 or 148/765).
- 42 IAH III, 260, no. 1423; *Mizān* no. 7527; TT IX, 166, no. 243.

2.1.3 *The Shī'a*

The Shī'a had a very broad base in Kūfa; but for this reason they also suffered more than other groups from factional infighting. The term suggests a false image of unity which never existed; more than elsewhere one would be right in saying that Shī'ites were those who others considered to be so. Naturally, the Shī'a originally consisted of individuals who gathered around 'Alī and agreed that he was in the right, above 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiya, i.e. the *shī'at 'Alī*. But later when certain descendants of 'Alī sued for their rights, it had more to do with their persons than with 'Alī himself: such was the case with Ḥusayn, with Zayd b. 'Alī and al-Nafs al-zakiyya. Moreover, they were not always primarily understood as the heirs of 'Alī. Ḥusayn was indeed the son of his father; but Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was already regarded as the *mahdī*, "the rightly-guided" and ideal ruler, under whom the era of justice would dawn.¹ In the case of al-Nafs al-zakiyya, this image becomes coupled with the Prophet himself: only someone who is called Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh can be the awaited Mahdī.² Conversely, not everyone who regarded 'Alī highly therefore supported the latter's descendants; here the notorious fickleness of the Kūfans has its origin. Religious conviction was one thing; political commitment was something else.

Political commitment could not be taken for granted because all of the pretenders did not originate from Kūfa; the 'Alid nobility lived in the Ḥijāz. Hence loyalty was not based on one's personal estimation but on an idea, the belief in a charismatic leader. This belief was at first directed entirely towards the present; history, to which 'Alī also belonged, had a part to play only in so far as his rights and those of his failed successors went on being continually reasserted. Only if one despaired in the present, could it happen that one took refuge in a "fundamentalist" way of thinking and made 'Alī into a supreme focal point. And so it was at least with regard to the view of history: 'Alī was then able to displace Abū Bakr and 'Umar, while in the eyes of his admirers he remained as the sole legitimate caliph. However, this development was not inevitable.

1 Halm, *Gnosis* 48 ff.; on the development of the concept of the Mahdī among the Shī'a cf. the survey in Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism* 9 ff. and D. S. Crow in: ER IX, 477 ff., also above p. 5.

2 Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyyīn* 239, last l. ff. (and previously), as well as Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī'a* 54, l. 5; on this T. Nagel, *Untersuchungen* 123 f. The argument met with resistance among the Kaysānites; they referred to the fact that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya bore the name of the Prophet and even if not the same patronymic, he had the same *kunya*, Abū'l-Qāsim (Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl* 29 f. § 43; on this see Introduction *ibid.* 34). The use of the *kunya* Abū'l-Qāsim was originally frowned upon (Ṭaḥāwī, *Ma'ānī al-āthār* IV, 335 ff.).

Many Shī'ites only took sides in the conflict between 'Alī and 'Uthmān and, in so doing, gave 'Alī precedence or sole entitlement. At any rate, in Shī'ite law recourse to 'Alī was never seriously implemented even by the most radical.

Previously, however, one put to the test a completely different model in which "the idea" was almost entirely detached from 'Alī and his successors: "prophets" rose in revolt and claimed authority and leadership in the same absolute manner as Muḥammad had done. At best they were still heirs of 'Alī in the spiritual sense, since his "divine" light devolved upon them. What they perhaps lost in genealogical legitimation, they made up for by the fact that they were locals; they had no need of "recruiters" but could build up their prestige themselves. They made their public appearance for the first time in the second decade of the 2nd century, when the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, in which people in Kūfa placed all their hopes after Ḥusayn's death, had died out and no other legitimate leader seemed to be visible.³ The political influence they acquired was abruptly ended by the Sunnī government authorities; in the year 119/737 Bayān b. Sam'ān and Mughīra b. Sa'īd were executed.⁴ Thus the way was made clear for Zayd b. 'Alī, with whose revolt in the year 122/740 the Ḥusaynid line once again emerged in the foreground. When he failed, his followers put the blame on the radicals who had withdrawn their allegiance because he would not, like them, "reject" Abū Bakr and 'Umar. This is a tendentious tradition;⁵ it was an illusion to hope to sweep away the empire of the caliphs from Kūfa. But, at any rate, this should show that at the time the rift between the parties within the Shī'a had already become very deep.

More so than up to now in this chapter, we can go back to heresiographical accounts. The oldest testimonies originate from the Shī'a themselves; there in the second half of the 2nd century one had already begun to analyze the situation.⁶ Naturally, one did not do this *sine ira et studio*; one wished to make clear the correctness of one's own standpoint and to characterize any excesses as being just that. For this reason two criteria occupy the foreground: from which family line or on the basis of which qualities was one to choose the Imam, and which groups were to be eliminated as extremists, as "those who

3 Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya's son Abū Hāshim had already died between 96/715 and 98/717, without leaving behind an heir (on the date see now Sharon, *Black Banners* 132 f.).

4 On this Tucker in: MW 65/1975/241 ff.; Halm, *Gnosis* 55 ff. and 89 ff.; for Mughīra now also Wasserstrom in: *History of Religions* 25/1985/1 ff. Their claim did not hinder "the prophets" from understanding themselves as the continuers of an 'Alid line of Imams; they saw their place as being within the Shī'a.

5 See below p. 360 f.

6 On this Madelung in: *Der Islam* 43/1967/40 ff.

exaggerate” (*ghulāt*). To begin with, both questions played a relatively minor role in the historical reality. The claim to leadership was not based on the precedence of a particular line but on the seniority within the Prophet’s family in the broader sense; descent from Fāṭima still had no significance at all, and even descent from ‘Alī was not absolutely essential.⁷ As far as extremism was concerned, one hardly ever achieved agreement about what was to be understood by that label;⁸ whatever way one might define it, “those who exaggerate” were to be found in all camps. And the distinction between Zaydīs and “Rāfiḍites”, as helpful as it was on the whole, also had its weaknesses. The Zaydīs were politically seen as revolutionaries, but in their doctrine they were conservative; “the Rāfiḍites” were inclined towards quietism, but they were the more radical in their religious views. The “hodgepodge” was greater than all the schemes of classification would lead us to believe.

And yet we as well want to divide them up primarily according to a systematic viewpoint, their view of history, about which we have already spoken. In fact, on the basis of chronology there is much less chance of finding a suitable ordering principle; “the ideological” relationships in the 1st century still remain too unclarified, and in the 2nd century all the varieties exist side by side. The view of history, by contrast, had already had central significance for the Murji’a. They had attempted to neutralize an entire phase of the past, by equally keeping their distance from both ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī. Hence, in Kūfa they were basically on the right; beyond them there were only a couple of ‘Uthmānites.⁹ To the left of the middle one was “Shī’ite”; the only question was in what form.

2.1.3.1 “Shī’itizing” Traditionists

Ibrāhīm al-Nakha’ī¹ and Sufyān al-Thawrī² were the first “Shī’ites” that we come across. They placed ‘Alī above ‘Uthmān and viewed him as the ideal caliph; he had, at any rate, made Kūfa into his capital. This divergence from the historical sequence was only noticeable if one looked at it with the eyes of an outsider, a Baṣran for instance, and it seemed strange, if not actually

7 See below p. 288. How little Fāṭima originally counted one easily recognizes from the fact that other daughters of the Prophet also never became the starting point for a political claim.

8 On this W. al-Qāḍī in: *Akten VII. Kongreß UEAI* 295 ff. Kulīnī also has *ghulāt* among his informants (cf. Hāshim Ma’rūf al-Ḥasanī, *Dirāsāt fī’l-Kāfi li’l-Kulīnī wa’l-Ṣaḥīḥ li’l-Bukhārī* 184 ff.).

9 According to Khallāl, *Musnad* 164, ll. 8 f., only two. But al-Qāsim b. Ma’n whom we identified as such (see above p. 247) is not mentioned by him.

1 See above p. 184.

2 See above pp. 257 f.

scandalous, when at the beginning of the 3rd century in Baghdād the idea of the four “rightly-guided” caliphs, that was later regarded as “orthodox”, came to be developed.³ So it happens that Pseudo-Nāshī, i.e. probably Ja‘far b. Ḥarb who had experienced this Baghdād circle, specifies that several Kūfan traditionists of the generation after Sufyān al-Thawrī followed the divergent sequence.⁴ They were people who were highly esteemed; among them are Wakī‘ b. Jarrāh (d. 197/812) who in his concept of faith also agreed with Sufyān al-Thawrī,⁵ ‘Abdallāh b. Numayr (d. 199/814) who, among other things, spread the well-known Mantle Tradition,⁶ and Abū Nu‘aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (d. 219/834) who transmitted the *K. al-Farā’id* of Sufyān al-Thawrī.⁷ They possessed no Shī‘ite party membership book; they do not appear at all in the Imāmīte biographers.⁸ They liked to associate with the ‘Alid pretenders or to report about them;⁹ but on the whole they took care not to support them actively. They clearly kept their distance by generally showing consideration for ‘Uthmān. In Kūfa this was by no means a matter of course. They were at best sympathizers; later when in general one had become reconciled with their behaviour, among specialists one designated them with the term *tashayyu‘* “Shī‘itizing”.¹⁰

The high reputation which they enjoyed beyond the confines of their city significantly contributed to ‘Alī remaining a “rightly-guided” caliph for later Sunnī “orthodoxy”, even if he occupied fourth position; the view of history to a certain extent settled down with a compromise between Baṣra and Kūfa.¹¹ But their reputation was based on their moderation; because in their view partisanship on behalf of ‘Alī in fact implied no judgement of his opponents, not even of Mu‘āwiya. One did not speak about the civil war that ‘Alī had had to

3 Cf. Madelung in: *Der Islam* 57/1980/223 f.; on this Chpt. B 2.3 (s. n. Walīd b. Abān al-Karābīsī) and Chpt. C 2.4.3.

4 Text III 1, a. On this also Madelung, *Qāsim* 237.

5 TB XIII, 370, ll. 11 ff. On him also Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif* 624, l. 13; *Mizān* no. 9356; *Shahra-stānī* 145, l. 7/ 414, l. 1; Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 586, ll. 11 ff.; in general GAS 1/96 f.

6 Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 33/1958/16. Khayyāṭ mentions him as a tendentious Shī‘ite traditionist (*Intiṣār* 99, l. 16). Still more on him IS VI, 274, ll. 22 ff.; TH 327, no. 311; TT VI, 57, no. 109.

7 WI 13/1971/32 and 35, ll. 11 ff.; on him also GAS 1/101 and below Chpt. C 3.3.4.

8 Faḍl b. Dukayn appears in an Imāmīte *isnād* in Mufīd, *Amālī* 165, l. 20.

9 For Faḍl b. Dukayn cf. F. Rosenthal in EI² I 143, s. n. *Abū Nu‘aym al-Mulā’ī*; also Kashshī, Index s. n. *Abū Nu‘aym*.

10 TT I, 94, ll. 1 ff.; translated in Juynboll, *Tradition* 49. Thus also Text III 1, b.

11 On this Madelung, *Qāsim* 225 ff. and T. Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalīfat* 228 ff. In general also Nagel, “Das Problem der Orthodoxie im frühen Islam”, in: *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem* 17 ff.

conduct. Companions of the Prophet had been engaged on both sides, and one should not deny them one's respect; this is what *ḥadīths* demanded which they themselves transmitted.¹² Basically, this was not really so far removed from the spirit of *irjā'*. There where it became critical, in the case of 'Uthmān, intermediary positions existed: "Abū Bakr, then 'Umar, and then 'Alī, is more pleasing to me than (Abū Bakr, 'Umar and) 'Uthmān", so said Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāzī (d. 188/804) who likewise originated from Kūfa, "(but) I would rather fall from the sky (to the earth) than denigrate 'Uthmān. (On the other hand,) I would rather confirm 'Alī's claim to truth than accuse him of falsehood".¹³ What was new was that one now argued using *ḥadīths*; with them the process of canonization was carried out.¹⁴

Naturally, this was also an attempt to salvage the past; one was appalled by the ongoing polarization. Consequently, one stressed that one stood within a tradition. From Layth b. Abī Sulaym al-Laythī (d. 143/760), who had likewise been a traditionist, one claimed to have heard that in his youth the Shī'a did not yet think of placing 'Alī before Abū Bakr and 'Umar.¹⁵ The remark is correct, if one takes it *cum grano salis*;¹⁶ Jāhīz also saw the matter like this.¹⁷ However, this does not mean that early *muḥaddithūn*, when it came to their Shī'ite convictions, had everywhere restrained themselves. One example, which serves to test this point, is the traditionist

Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash al-Asadī,

who was a member of a Persian immigrant family that had attached itself to the Banū Asad, and who probably died in Rabī' I 148/May 765 at the age of 87.¹⁸ When it came to 'Uthmān, he did not hide his feelings;¹⁹ nor did he restrain

12 Text III 1, c–f. Similarly Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 63, last l. ff., where again Sufyān al-Thawrī is mentioned along with many others but not Wakī' b. Jarrāh.

13 TB VII, 258, ll. 1 ff.; Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 233 with a divergent translation. One would have expected at the end of the phrase *a'jabu minnī ilā takdhībihī* instead of *a'jabu ilayya min takdhībihī*. – A very similar formulation is also already attributed to Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (IS VI, 192, ll. 21 ff.).

14 In general on this process of canonization if also somewhat vague, M. Muranyi, *Die Prophetengenossen in der frühislamischen Geschichte*, Diss. Bonn 1973.

15 *Mizān* no. 6997.

16 See below pp. 357 ff.

17 Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Ḥūr* 180, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

18 On him cf. *Mizān* no. 3517; TT IV, 222 ff., no. 376; TH 154, no. 149; IKh II, 400 ff.; HT 9 f.; in detail E. Kohlberg in *Iran* I, 926 ff. On his *tashayyū'* for instance TT IV, 223, l. 2 from bot.

19 Fasawī II, 763, last l., and 768, ll. 10 ff.; a further example in Barrādī, *Jawāhir* 65, ll. 8 ff. On this cf. also the (probably apocryphal) anecdote in IKh II, 402, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

himself with regard to Mu'āwiya.²⁰ Above all, he is supposed to have kept it no secret from the initiated that his sympathies were for Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh in the year 145;²¹ al-Manṣūr allegedly tried to lure him onto thin ice, as he did with 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, by means of a forged letter from al-Nafs al-zakiyya.²² That his colleague Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy²³ – probably for this very reason – preached taking up the sword, he is said to have justified by referring to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr;²⁴ in this way, he placed the Abbasids on the same level as the Umayyads. He transmitted from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, among others;²⁵ al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī heard traditions from him about the virtues and heroic deeds (*faḍā'il*) of 'Alī and then made poems from them.²⁶ But Murji'ite listeners interrupted his lecture when he brought up the latter subject.²⁷

That he did not get along well with the Murji'ites, one will scarcely doubt; when he was on the verge of death, Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Qays al-ma'ṣir are meant to have beseeched him to renounce his *ḥadīths* about 'Alī.²⁸ But it is equally clear that he restrained himself from all active commitment in favour of the Shī'a. When he was still in his best years, he did not support Zayd b. 'Alī.²⁹ Abū Yūsuf transmitted from him the saying of the Prophet: "Whoever obeys the ruler (*imām*) obeys me";³⁰ one could hardly express oneself in terms more loyal to the regime. A *ḥadīth* that circulates under his name³¹ in praise of Abū Bakr does not necessarily have to be a forgery: here as well for him a boundary was reached with regard to the Shī'a. When Ibn Ḥanbal described him as a Saba'ite and a Ḥarbite,³² this was a great exaggeration.

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- 20 Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* 243, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; 245, ll. 1 ff., etc. Cf. also Ṭabarī II, 546, ll. 13 ff.: about the *tawwābūn* (on this U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 218).
- 21 Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 366, ll. 3 f.; also van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 288, and Madelung, *Qāsim* 74.
- 22 Ṭabarī III, 223, ll. 1 ff.
- 23 On him see below pp. 283 ff.
- 24 Cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Intro. 21, 77, ll. 13 f., following the *K. al-Mudallisīn* of Karābīsī. He himself at the time had already gone blind and in general was too old still to participate actively.
- 25 Thus in the *Tafsīr* of Ibn Furāt al-Kūfī (Najaf 1354/1935), p. 139, ll. 6 ff. and elsewhere. Cf. also the probably apocryphal detailed tutorial with the Imam on juridical and theological questions in Majlisī, *Bihār* X, 222 ff., no. 1.
- 26 *Agh.* VII, 256, ll. 11 f.
- 27 Fasawī II, 764, ll. 12 f.; also see above p. 250.
- 28 *Bihār* XXIV, 273 f., no. 58; for an example cf. Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I, 367, ll. 9 ff. from bot.
- 29 Van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 283.
- 30 *Kharāj* 9, ll. 14 ff.
- 31 Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I, 287, ll. 2 ff. from bot.
- 32 *Ilal* 366, no. 2425, where *ḥarbī* should be read instead of *kharbī*. What is meant is a follower of the gnostic 'Abdallāh b. Ḥarb (on him Halm, *Gnosis* 69 ff.).

The Syrian historian Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) composed a monograph about him with the title *al-Zahr al-an'ash fī nawādir al-A'mash* (cf. Qummī, *Kunā* II, 39, ll. 4 f. from bot.) Likewise, predominantly made up of anecdotes like the latter work is the modern study by Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Ḍubayb, *al-A'mash al-ẓarīf* (Riyāḍ 1401/1981). The biographical information in Sunnī and Shī'ite sources has been assembled on a large scale by E. Kohlberg, op. cit. A'mash was evidently an anthropomorphist; he interpreted the epithet of God *ṣamad* from surah 112 as "who has no need of food" (*alladhī lā yuḥ'amu*; cf. Gimaret, *Noms divins* 323, with an incorrect reading; for the overall context see below Chpt. D 1.1). On the Koranic reading he advocated cf. now Ṣāḥīb Abū Janāḥ in: *Mawrid* 17/1988, No. 4/71 ff. – One of his disciples in this domain, the traditionist Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs al-Awdī (d. 192/808?; cf. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭab.* I, 409 f., no. 1742), likewise belonged to the above-mentioned group of Kūfan scholars who did acknowledge 'Uthmān but still placed 'Alī ahead of him; his name in Text III 1, a, is accordingly restored (cf. commentary). He also heard lectures by Sufyān al-Thawrī. Cf. on him TB IX, 415 ff., no. 5028; IS VI, 271, 11 ff.; Bukhārī III, 47, no. 97; IAH II₂, 8 f., no. 44; TH, 282 ff., no. 262, etc. He has nothing to do with the Shī'ite 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs who is mentioned in Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 187, no. 402; the latter was named Abū Faḍl.

2.1.3.2 The Zaydiyya

What a Sunnī in order to appease the situation described as *tashayyū'*, to a Shī'ite looked like real partisanship. For this reason Nawbakhtī¹ as well as Ibn al-Nadīm² emphasize that many *muḥaddithūn* were Zaydīs. Here they were speaking in a wider sense and not just about Kūfa; but it was there that they could have found their best evidence.³ Faḍl b. Dukayn actually appears in another source as the head of a Zaydī subgroup of his own.⁴ The term is here used in a purely schematic manner; one understood by it Shī'ites in a broader sense, as long as they were not reckoned among the Rāfiḍites. By the way, Sunnīs like Ibn Qutayba also drew the boundary here.⁵ The word says nothing

1 *Firaq al-Shī'a* 7, ll. 3 ff. > Qummī, *Maq.* 6 § 18.

2 *Fihrist* 226, ll. 4 f. from bot.

3 Sufyān al-Thawrī is mentioned in both of them.

4 Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* 21, ll. 8 f.; in Abū'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān ul-adyān* 35, l. 4, the name of the sect is mistakenly written *Dhukayrīyya* (from Dhukayr b. Ṣafwān). Shahrastānī in fact makes him into a follower of the Jārūdiyya (145, l. 8/414, ftn. 5).

5 *Ma'ārif* 624, ll. 8 ff. He in fact presents names of persons of various background but in no case "Rāfiḍites"; the latter are dealt with by him separately.

about a historical reality: in fact these traditionists did not have a connection with Zayd b. ‘Alī, and politically they kept themselves “covered” as far as possible. Precisely because of their quietism they did not conform to the definition of a “real” Zaydī.⁶ But the dividing line was wafer-thin; because, in the case of the latter, their militant streak did not have to assert itself specifically. One became a Zaydī when the appropriate opportunity came along. But with the passage of time this led to the emergence of various splinter groups and doctrinal gradations.

2.1.3.2.1 *The Butriyya*

The oldest as well as the most moderate group in Nawbakhtī and elsewhere bears the name Butriyya.¹ Typically, he also includes the traditionists among them. But he describes their doctrine from the Rāfiḍite perspective. In this respect he follows his source; presumably he bases himself on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. Consequently, the question of ‘Alī’s relationship with the first two caliphs occupies the foreground. The Butrites did acknowledge Abū Bakr and ‘Umar but they left no doubt whatsoever that, after the Prophet, ‘Alī was the crown of mankind; he had simply assigned the caliphate to his predecessors.² As for ‘Alī’s opponents both at the Battle of the Camel and at Ṣiffin, the Butrites confirmed that such people were bound for Hell-fire.³ On the other hand, regarding ‘Uthmān they refrained from passing judgement⁴ – allegedly because he belonged among *al-‘ashara al-mubashshara* and, as traditionists, they could not bring themselves to reject the particular *ḥadīths* where this is stated,⁵ but in reality because, in contrast to Ṭalḥa and Zubayr, he was a legitimately chosen caliph just like Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.⁶ How matters ought to

6 In Ṭabarī “Zaydis” are generally non-Imāmīte Shī‘ites who support a revolt (cf. the examples in Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 84).

1 On them fundamentally cf. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 74 ff.; Madelung, *Qāsim* 49 f. and in EI², Suppl. 129 f.; also GIE II, 356 ff. s. v. *Abtarīya*.

2 Text III 2, *a–b* and *e*; also 3, *a–b*, and 4, *b*. Presented in greater detail in a doxographical fragment of Sulaymān b. Jarīr (Text III 11, *a–c*; on this Chpt. B 2.4.3.1).

3 Text III 2, *d* and 3, *c*. One should note the difference from Wakī’ b. al-Jarrāh, etc. (Text III 1, *d*). – The remark 4, *d* is not very clear to me.

4 Text III 2, *c* and *f*. More resolutely 3, *c* (especially if with Kashshī we were there to read *yubghidūna*, “they hated ‘Uthmān . . .”; cf. commentary on the passage).

5 Thus only according to Shahrastānī (= Text 2, *b*). The explanation is not really logical given that opponents of ‘Alī in the Battle of the Camel were also counted among *al-‘ashara al-mubashshara*.

6 Naturally, for every Shī‘ite who did not want to renounce categorically the Sunnī tradition it was around the person of ‘Uthmān that the problem posed itself most intensely. For this

have proceeded after ‘Alī we do not hear – no doubt for a good reason: in these circles one did not have a fixed theory of the imamate. Very generally it was simply believed that one should give one’s allegiance to any descendant of ‘Alī who strives to establish a just order.⁷ The latter was not required to fulfill special preconditions.⁸ This facilitated cooperation with other religious-political groups.⁹ In ritual practice as well solidarity was still preserved: the Butriyya practiced “substitute shoe-rubbing” (*mash’ alāl-khuffayn*) and considered the enjoyment of eel and date wine as unobjectionable. Understandably, this above all drew the attention of Rāfiḍite observers.¹⁰

The group had not chosen its name itself; they probably saw no reason for giving themselves a name. For Sulaymān b. Jarīr, who as a Zaydī was quite close to them, they belonged, if we are interpreting him correctly, to the general complex of the Imāmiyya – this term at the time by no means only including “the Twelvers” but rather everyone who believed in an Imam.¹¹ The name Butriyya, however, was meant derisively; it was evidently connected to the fact that one of the prominent members of the group,

Abū Ismā‘īl Kathīr b. Ismā‘īl al-Taymī, known as Kathīr al-Nawwā’,

had been referred to as *abtar* “without a tail” by the gnostic Mughīra b. Sa‘īd.¹² Probably he was not radical enough for the latter; perhaps the fact that he had no male progeny also played a role. This suggests that as an adult he would have experienced Mughīra’s revolt; he must have been born sometime before the turn of the century. Consequently, one may identify him as Kathīr al-Khidrī about whom we hear that he swore allegiance to Zayd b. ‘Alī;¹³ the Khidra belonged to the federation of the Taym Allāh to whom Kathīr al-Nawwā’

reason Shī‘ite sources that sought followers outside their own ranks were most likely to downplay the differences in this area.

7 Text III 3, *d–f*. On this below pp. 287 and 444 f.

8 This is what was probably meant when Sulaymān b. Jarīr remarked that one considered the personal infallibility (*iṣma*) of the Imam to be undemonstrable and simply something one hoped he had been given (cf. Text III 11, *h*, with commentary).

9 On this cf. Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 451, ll. 5 ff.; 453, ll. 6 ff.; 456, ll. 15 ff.; Nashwān, *Hūr* 150, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

10 Text III 4, *b*. On the eel taboo cf. Cook in: JSAI 7/1986/240 ff.; *jirri* frequently designates not so much eel as catfish (cf. Dietrich, *Dioscurides triumphans* 213 f.).

11 See below p. 288 according to Text III 11, *a*.

12 Nashwān, *Hūr* 155, l. 13.

13 Van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 79.

owed his *nisba* al-Taymī.¹⁴ Later on, the Rāfiḍites attempted to find fault with him; they related that Zayd himself had criticized him in the presence of Muḥammad al-Bāqir.¹⁵ But for the loyalty he professed to Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, Kathīr was evidently able to refer back to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. Here as well it was said the Imam had taken up position against him; but the relevant anecdote is very careful in its formulation and only has the latter express his actual repudiation in private.¹⁶ Kathīr, for his part, discredited the Rāfiḍites by means of an apocryphal saying of the Prophet: they “reject” Islam.¹⁷ What the basis of his high reputation was we do not know. He was a *mawlā*¹⁸ and probably not a rich man. His sobriquet al-Nawwā’ had its origin in the fact that he was a dealer in date pits (*nawā*).¹⁹ One made use of these, among other things, as fodder for camels and goats but also as fuel in smelting furnaces and allegedly even to improve the scent of incense.

For the first purpose cf. Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* XIII, 188, no. 5062; for the second, Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* II₂, 36, ll. 9 ff., no. 9842; for the third, Majlisī, *Bihār* XLVIII, III f., no. 20. As feed for fattening up oxen and sheep Strabo is already acquainted with it; he also knows that bronze smiths make use of it in place of charcoal (*Geogr.* XVI, 1.14). So that the camels do not wear down their teeth on them, the pits are crushed with a stone (cf. Lane, *Lexicon* 1096 f., s. v. *r-d-kh*, especially *mirdākh*). On this subject M. Ullmann referred me to Jacob, *Beduinenleben* 229. In addition he has given me the following examples from poetry: Ru‘ba in Geyer, *Düamben*, no. 12, verse 14 (= WKAS II, 229 a); Scholion on Zuhayr, ed. ‘Adawī 81, last line (= WKAS II, 227 a); Ibn Muqbil, *Dīwān* no. 35, verse 22; probably also Wellhausen, *Hudāiliten* 270, l. 17. The biographical information about Kathīr al-Nawwā’ has been compiled by the editor of the *K. al-Ghārāt* of Thaqafī (II, 759 ff.). – On the derivation of the name Butriyya cf. Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 68, ll. 13 f.; Nashwān, *Ḥūr* 155, ll. 12 f.; Shahrastānī 120, l. 6 from bot./319, l. 4 f. Madelung has decided in favour of the reading Batriyya

14 Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq* 455, l. 3.

15 Kashshī, *Rijāl* 236, no. 429.

16 Ibid. 241 f., no. 441. Thus at least in the most extensive version; otherwise (and shorter) ibid 231, no. 440, and 230, no. 416. Also Kulīnī, *Kāfi* VIII, 101, ll. 6 ff., and 237, ll. 8 ff.

17 *Mizān* no. 6930. That Dhahabī then describes him as “a hard-core Shī‘ite” is rather strong after that. Likewise, when Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 171, makes him into a Rāfiḍite, this is probably based on an incorrect interpretation.

18 Thus according to Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* XIII, 188, l. 4.

19 Ardabilī, *Jāmi‘* II, 28 a: *bayyā‘ al-nawā*.

(*Qāsim* 49 ff.), as has Gimaret (*Livre des Religions* 463, fn. 48); but the reading with *u* is recommended in the *Qāmūs* of Fīrūzābādī (*Tāj* III, 24, l. 12 from bot.) and seems to me more likely by analogy with Fuṭḥiyya or Ṣufriyya. If Samʿānī chooses for Batriyya (*Ansāb* II, 78, ll. 4 ff.) that is probably because he wishes to distinguish this *nisba* from another one derived from a place name Butr. Masʿūdī instead of this uses the form Abtariyya (*Murūj* v, 474, l. 8/IV, 45, l. 12). When the sect's name had entered common awareness, one attempted to place it within a doctrinal context by means of a different derivation: Mughīra wanted to say that the Butriyya had "clipped" (*batara*) the rights of ʿAlī because they denied his appointment (*naṣṣ*) by the Prophet. But this did not really fit well in so early a period. And consequently one then connected it to Sulaymān b. Jarīr instead of Kathīr. But Sulaymān may not have lived long enough to have known Mughīra (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim* 62, following Ḥākim al-Jishumī). This being the case, other further attempts at explanation were made (cf. for example Pseudo-Nāshī' 44, ll. 1 f.: the Zaydīs "clipped" ʿUthmān's caliphate by its final six years with regard to its legitimacy; and again differently Qādī Nu'mān, *Urjūza mukhtāra* 218 f., verses 2156 ff., and generally see Madelung in EI², Suppl. 129, and Gimaret 472, fn. 93). Kathīr's bodily defect is explained differently in Majlisī, *Biḥār* XLVII, 346, ll. 4 f.; he was *abtar al-yad*, i.e. had lost his hand. But then it would not be clear what Mughīra had based his derision on. Concerning the connection with Mughīra there is otherwise some confusion (cf. for instance Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ* 21, ll. 6 f., or *Lisān al-ʿArab* IV, 39 a, ll. 12 f.; further material is found in van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 74, fn. 8; also Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 32). – I do not know where the information in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs* 20, ll. 8 f., comes from that in the view of the Butriyya the repentance of a sinner will not be accepted. Perhaps it should be read instead as Bakriyya (see below Chpt. B 2.2.2.2.3.1).

Nawbakhtī did not feel it was inconsistent to mention under the Butrites someone who had already died before Zayd b. ʿAlī:

al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtayba,

who was a *mawlā* of a woman of the Kinda and who died 115/733 or shortly before.²⁰ The name al-Ḥakam may have been deliberately given to him; because

20 115 in IS VI, 231, ll. 20 f.; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 464, ll. 8 f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūj* v, 464, l. 2/IV, 40, l. 3; Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 82, l. 2 from bot., etc. – 114 according to Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 376, no. 1213, and *Taʾrīkh* 508, l. 6; AZ 296, no. 514. – 113 according to Bukhārī I, 332 f., no. 2654.

he was a well-known jurist, as highly reputed and allegedly as old as Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī.²¹ The latter, however, did not have trust in him, any more than in his brethren, “the Banū ‘Uṭayba”.²² Muḥārib b. Dithār thought more of him: when in the year 113/731 he was appointed *qāḍī*, he would consult with Ḥakam while the court was in session.²³ Of course, at the time Ḥakam was in his late sixties. That in his old age he himself became *qāḍī* for a short time, as is now and then asserted, is probably a misunderstanding and also not very plausible in view of his client status.²⁴ But with his *fatwās* he did very well; Shu'ba (d. 160/776) in his youth decided to write down al-Ḥakam's *quaestiones* along with those of Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān and then verified them by means of test questions.²⁵ Al-Ḥakam had nothing against someone recording his *ḥadīths* – on papyrus (*qarāṭīs*).²⁶ He himself also worked with written notes. His interest throughout was chiefly in questions to do with Koranic exegesis and the biography of the Prophet; Ṭabarī has preserved much material that Ḥakam had from Mujāhid or from Miqṣam b. Bujra (d. 101/719).²⁷ He made use of Mujāhid's *Tafsīr* in the original version of Qāsim b. Abī Bazza, without the editing undertaken by Ibn Abī Najīh.²⁸ The Sunnī sources without exception judge him positively;²⁹ that he heard lectures from Zayn al-‘Ābidīn or a deputy of Mukhtār is noted without any bias.³⁰

21 IS VI, 231, l. 10; *Biḥār al-anwār* II, 278, no. 37. But Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī already died some 20 years before him at the age of 49 (see above p. 183).

22 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 464, l. 13.

23 See above p. 192 f.

24 There was perhaps a second Ḥakam b. ‘Uṭayba (b. al-Nahhās) who belonged to the Banū ‘Ijl and was a pure Arab (Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III, 22, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 543, l. 14; Bukhārī I₂, 333, ftn. 3; IAH I₂, 123 ff., nos. 567 and 569; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 312, ll. 5 f. from bot.). But it is more likely that he was simply mixed up with Mughīra b. ‘Uyayna al-Nahhās because one misread *Ibn ‘Uyayna* as *Ibn ‘Uṭayba* (Wakī' 23, ll. 11 f.). This perhaps also explains the confusion about the *kunya* (Abū ‘Abdallāh according to IS VI, 231, l. 7; Abū Muḥammad according to Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 376, no. 1213; Abū ‘Umar according to TH 117, no. 102; cf. Ṭabarī III, 2496, ll. 7 ff.).

25 Fasawī II, 283, ll. 8 f.; cf. also *ibid.* II, 148, l. 10 and *Iqd* III, 416, ll. 13 ff.

26 Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *Taqyīd* III, l. 6; on this E1² V, 173 b s. v. *Ḳirtās*.

27 *Ta'rikh*, Index s. v.; it mostly goes back to Ibn ‘Abbās. Also AZ 589, no. 1669 and Fasawī III, 65, ll. 1 f. On this Azmi, *Studies* 68 f., also 74. Allegedly he had himself only heard four *ḥadīths* from Miqṣam (*GAS* 1/65).

28 See below Chpt. B 4.1.1.1. Perhaps one should also understand the remark to mean that he possessed a *muṣḥaf* (Fasawī II, 583, ll. 7 f.).

29 Cf. for instance Fasawī III, 389, ll. 4 ff. from bot., where he appears among “orthodox” authorities, and many other passages in the same work. Also Bukhārī, *op. cit.*; IAH I₂, 123 ff., no. 567; *Mizān* no. 2189; TT II, 432 ff., no. 756.

30 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Iḥal* 9, no. 28; Fasawī II, 775, ll. 9 ff.

In fact, there was nothing on the basis of which he might make a bad impression. He did consider ‘Alī to be more virtuous (*afḍal*) than Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; but he found every form of Shī‘ite extremism disagreeable.³¹ If he was particularly noticed by the Imāmite tradition,³² this was probably because Zurāra b. A‘yan, the most prominent early Rāfiḍite, had studied with him.³³ It was not to be overlooked that the latter in certain matters of ritual detail followed the Kūfan tradition as represented by his teacher rather than the Medinan practice of the Imams.³⁴ One tried to conceal this later;³⁵ Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq himself, so one maintained, had made clear the pre-eminence of the Imam’s knowledge before the influence of al-Ḥakam and his colleague Salama b. Kuhayl b. Ḥusayn.³⁶ Finally, one even claimed that Muḥammad al-Bāqir had already described them both as heretical teachers.³⁷ Nothing more then stood in the way of writing off al-Ḥakam as a Murji‘ite.³⁸

Abū Yaḥyā Salama b. Kuhayl b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥaḍramī

lived long enough to see the revolt of Zayd. But by that time he had attained a ripe old age;³⁹ moreover, he had little confidence in the steadfastness of his Kūfan brethren. Thus, he did swear allegiance but then had himself excused by Zayd and withdrew to the Yamāma.⁴⁰ Shortly after the disaster occurred according to his prediction, he died, probably 122/740 or perhaps only in 123/741.⁴¹ He

31 Ṭabarī III, 2496, ll. 13 ff. > van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 25; cf. also Fasawī II, 831, ll. 2 f. and Dhahabī, *Ta‘riḫh* IV, 243, l. 9.

32 With the exception of Nawbakhtī, he does appear in Kashshī 233, ll. 2 f. and ‘Alam al-Hudā, *Naḍd al-īdāh* 114, last l. ff. Ibn Qutayba registers him as a Shī‘ite (*Ma‘ārif* 624, l. 10).

33 See below p. 380.

34 This is probably the sense of the anecdote in Kashshī 158, no. 262.

35 Cf. the parallel *ibid.* 209, no. 368, where the passage in question is left out.

36 *Ibid.* 209 f., nos. 369–370; variants in *Bihār* II, 91, no. 18 f.

37 *Ibid.* 240 f., no. 439.

38 *Ibid.* 210, ll. 5 f.

39 He was allegedly born in the year 47/667 (TT IV, 156, last l.). In any case he was older than the Murji‘ite ‘Amr b. Murra who died between 116 and 120 (see above p. 204; Fasawī I, 796, l. 5 from bot.). That he had been a close friend of ‘Alī, as Barqī maintains in his *K. al-Rijāl* (4, ll. 2 f. from bot.), is naturally untenable; it was inferred from his traditions (see below).

40 Ṭabarī II, 1679, l. 1, and 1680, ll. 10 ff.; hence, Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 28 and van Arendonk 282.

41 On the date cf. Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 377, no. 1220 and *Ta‘riḫh* 527, l. 7; summarizing TT IV, 155 ff., no. 269. Ibn Sa‘d merely notes its coincidence with the execution of Zayd. According to Ṭabarī III, 2499, ll. 7 f., at the time of his death he was back in Kūfa.

originated from Ḥaḍramawt; his clan apparently was of some significance.⁴² He had also been present at Dayr al-Jamājim;⁴³ at that time he was manifestly close to a group that rejected *irjā'*.⁴⁴ However, he also recounted earlier events: the Battle of the Camel, for example, or the withdrawal of the *tawwābūn*.⁴⁵ He belongs among the informants of Ibn Ishāq.⁴⁶ Many of the *ḥadīths* that praise 'Alī are transmitted via him;⁴⁷ but this did not hinder him from transmitting a speech of 'Umar.⁴⁸ Among the Sunnīs he was generally held in high esteem.⁴⁹ His case is similar to that of Ḥakam b. 'Utayba.⁵⁰ – The Shī'ite tendencies came to the fore even more strongly in

Abū Yūnus Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa al-Tammār,⁵¹

a *mawlā* of the 'Ijl who died in the year 137/754.⁵² He had to hide from the authorities towards the end of the Umayyad period and only appeared again in public once the Abbasids had taken power;⁵³ when he made the pilgrimage in the year 132, he is said to have drawn attention to himself by adding to his cries of *labbayka*: "At Your service, oh Destroyer of the Umayyads!"⁵⁴ He was so filled with enthusiasm for 'Alī that he wished to be living back in his times; the Murji'ite 'Umar b. Dharr⁵⁵ reproached him for approving of 'Uthmān's murder.⁵⁶

42 Cf. his genealogy and that of his sons in Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 461, ll. 4 ff. On his son Yaḥyā see below p. 315 f.

43 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 366, ll. 2 ff.

44 Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 109, ll. 2 ff. from bot./145, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

45 Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 203, ll. 10 ff.; Ṭabarī II, 546, ll. 13 ff.

46 Ṭabarī I, 1722, ll. 12 ff.

47 Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I, 321, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; 322, ll. 11 ff.; 326, ll. 12 ff. and ll. 3 ff. from bot.; 327, ll. 13 ff.; 329, ll. 5 ff. and 10 ff.; 345, ll. 5 f., etc.

48 Ṭabarī I, 2772, ll. 5 ff.

49 IAH II, 170 f., no. 742; also Bukhārī II, 74, no. 1997. Because of the odd word used, one often repeated the judgement that he was a *shaykh kayyis* (Fasawī I, 727, ll. 1 ff.; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Iḥṣān* 27, no. 137, etc.).

50 On the other hand, he is described as a Butrite by Nawbakhtī (Text III 3, a), Kashshī (236, no. 429) and Ardabīlī (I, 373 a). Ibn Qutayba registers him as a Shī'ite (*Ma'ārif* 624, ll. 9 f.).

51 On this epithet cf. Kashshī 240, last l.

52 Najāshī 134, ll. 8 ff. Aslo called a Shī'ite by IS VI, 234, l. 12; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Iḥṣān* 197, no. 2140; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 343, 7 ff.

53 Kashshī 236, l. 3.

54 IS VI 234, ll. 12 ff.; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* II, 152, ll. 8 ff. from bot. and 153, ll. 8 ff. > *Mizān* no. 3046 (where it is enlarged by an addition against the *na'thal*, "the long-beard", 'Uthmān).

55 On him see above pp. 177 ff.

56 'Uqaylī II 153, ll. 5 ff.

He also felt strong sympathy for Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, apparently he did not actively support Zayd b. ‘Alī. And again he was too moderate for the Rāfiḍites. They were above all annoyed that he expected from an *imām* that he undertake something rather than that he have special knowledge of salvation.⁵⁸ He also seemed too squeamish when he did not want to call ‘Alī’s enemies *mushrikīn* but only *kuffār* – namely *kuffār ni‘ma* in the Zaydī sense;⁵⁹ they denounced him as a Murji‘ite.⁶⁰ Just like Kathīr al-Nawwā’ he is supposed to have passed on in a distorted form information the Imam communicated to him in good faith.⁶¹ Still, one did not forget that he had transmitted from the Imams, from Zayn al-‘Ābidīn to Ja‘far.⁶² Zurāra as well referred to him.⁶³ The Sunnīs did not know what to make of him. Some thought he had belittled Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; others said that when he transmitted *Ḥadīth* he always began with the *faḍā’il* of the first two caliphs.⁶⁴ Perhaps both views are exaggerated; Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were probably not a problem for him.⁶⁵

Abū’l-Miqdām Thābit b. Hurmuz al-Fārisī al-Ḥaddād,

likewise a *mawlā* of the ‘Ijl,⁶⁶ has left almost no traces behind. The Sunnīs regarded him highly as the transmitter of sections from the *Tafsīr* of Sa‘īd b. Jubayr⁶⁷ or as an informant of Nasā‘ī.⁶⁸ The Shī‘ites knew that he preserved written notes by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn and that Hishām b. al-Ḥakam referred back to him.⁶⁹ His father had even known ‘Alī;⁷⁰ his son became more famous than he

57 Ibid.; cf. also AZ 588, no. 1664, and Fasawī I, 216, ll. 7 ff.

58 On this below pp. 322 ff.

59 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* II, 384, ll. 4 ff. On this below p. 304 f.

60 Kashshī 235, no. 423.

61 Ibid. 230, no. 416. Allegedly Muḥammad al-Bāqir already repudiated him (Kulīnī, *Kāfi* II, 403, l. 1).

62 Najāshī, op. cit.

63 Kashshī 233, no. 423.

64 ‘Uqaylī II, 153, ll. 15 ff. and ll. 3 ff. from bot.

65 What Ibn Sa‘d was thinking of when he complained of his severe *tashayyu‘* (VI, 234, l. 12) we do not know. Cf. also TT VIII, 433 f., no. 800.

66 ‘Alam al-Hudā, *Naqd* 72, ll. 3 f.

67 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* III, 262, ll. 15 f.; on this GAS 1/28 f.

68 *Mizān* no. 1377; TT II, 16, no. 25.

69 Najāshī 84, ll. 11 ff.; Māmaqānī I, 194, no. 1498; Astarābādī, *Manhaj al-maqāl* 75, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; Ardabilī I, 139 f.

70 This is clear from Ṭabarī I, 88, l. 16.

himself.⁷¹ Since al-Ḥakam b. 'Uṭayba still transmitted from him,⁷² he probably died around the year 120. – As the last in this series Nawbakhtī mentions

Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ḥayy al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī al-Kūfī,

a South-Arab of the Thawr Hamdān,⁷³ who died in 167/784 at the age of 62 or 63.⁷⁴ His genealogy provided cause for confusion. The correct form of his name seems by all appearances to be found in Ṭabarī.⁷⁵ But sometimes the name of the grandfather, which was identical with that of the father, is left out; in its place occurs the name of the great-grandfather who was named Muslim.⁷⁶ The father Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣāliḥ is occasionally misunderstood as his brother.⁷⁷ The forefather was not actually called Ḥayy but Ḥayyān; Ḥayy was the latter's brother. But in the family for some reason one preferred to be named after Ḥayy.⁷⁸ Thus sometimes the name was shortened to Ḥasan b. Ḥayy.⁷⁹

71 On this cf. IS VI, 229, ll. 2 f.; Fasawī III, 221, ll. 2 f. from bot.; Dawlābī, *Kunā* II, 128, ll. 12 f. More information below pp. 314 f.

72 Fasawī III, 89, ll. 2 f. from bot.

73 Sometimes mistakenly written as *thughūr Hamdān*.

74 Thus IS VI, 261, ll. 9 f. > Ṭabarī III, 2517, l. 1 (= *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* 658, ll. 7 f.). The death date also in Khalifa, *Ta'riḫ* 691, l. 15; AZ 301, no. 536; Bukhārī I₂, 295, l. 9; Fasawī I, 155, ll. 4 f. In Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 85, l. 4 from bot., 168 is added as an alternative; thus only Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 227, l. 6. Here and there 167 is misread as 169 (thus already Khalifa, *Ṭab.* 395, no. 1284; also *Mizān* no. 1869 and TT II, 288, l. 2). The latter death date is excluded because it coincides with that of Qays b. al-Rabi' (cf. Fasawī I, 155, ll. 4 f. and below p. 289). Moreover, according to IS, at that time Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was supposed to be Maḥdī's governor in Kūfa; but after comparing the information in Khalifa, *Ta'riḫ* 696, ll. 1 f., this is no longer possible in the year 169. Cf. also fn. 96 below.

75 III, 2517, l. 4 ff. = *Dhayl* 658, ll. 19 f.; cf. also *Mizān* no. 1869.

76 Thus in Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 396, ll. 2 ff.

77 Thus *Fihrist* 227, l. 9. That it is a question of the father (and therefore the name Ṣāliḥ in the genealogy should be doubled) is confirmed by the *isnād* in Fasawī I, 440, ll. 14 ff. On him cf. also *Mizān* no. 3800 and TT IV, 393. Bukhārī apparently presents him as Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayyān (II₂, 275, no. 2789; on this TT IV, 386 f. and Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 16).

78 Ibn Ḥazm, op. cit. (where l. 3 should probably be read 'amm instead of 'm-r). Hence both brothers were sons of another person called Muslim who presumably was the first in the family to convert to Islam; perhaps Ḥayyān had refused to take this step with him and for this reason was no longer willingly mentioned. This would then also explain why Ḥayyān's son was again named Muslim. Differently Ṭabarī III, 2516, l. 12 = *Dhayl* 657, l. 3 from bot. and TH 216, ll. 10 f.

79 For instance in IS, op. cit., or in Jāḥiẓ, *Tarbi'* 46, last l. f. The confusion in the secondary literature is evident; cf. Friedländer in JAOS 29/1908/130 f., Pellat in EI² III, 244 s. n. and Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 472, fn. 92.

Little is known about Ḥasan's life. One knew of his piety; he undertook nocturnal prayers,⁸⁰ and he is supposed never to have sat with his legs crossed probably in order to preserve his ritual purity.⁸¹ He was a jurist; Shāfi'ī mentions him as a Kūfan authority along with Sufyān al-Thawrī.⁸² Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 203/818) heard lectures from him and in his *K. al-Kharāj* frequently makes reference to him.⁸³ Ṭaḥāwī also preserves in his *K. al-Shurūṭ* some doctrinal views from him.⁸⁴ In Shī'ite circles an *aṣl* circulated which is probably identical with the *Jāmi' fi'l-fiqh* mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm.⁸⁵ Above all, he attended lectures by Ibn Abī Laylā.⁸⁶

Just like his twin brother 'Alī,⁸⁷ he is said to have offered his support to al-Nafs al-zakiyya.⁸⁸ A remark by A'mash – if it is authentic – would reveal that at that time he “preached taking up the sword”.⁸⁹ During the revolt itself, however, he apparently exercised caution; because we do not hear that he was afterwards persecuted.⁹⁰ It is said that he did not leave his house for seven years; but this refers to the period immediately before his death, that is in the 160s.⁹¹ At the time he was closely associated with 'Īsā, the son of Zayd b.

80 *Ḥilya* VII, 327, last l. ff. > Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira* I, 168, no. 384, with further sources.

81 IS VI, l. 7. Additional traditions in *Ḥilya* VII, 327 ff. > Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa* III, 87 ff.

82 Schacht, *Origins* 7 according to the *K. al-Umm*.

83 Ed. Juynboll/transl. Ben Shemesh, Index s. n.; Yaḥyā b. Ādam was likewise a Zaydī (cf. Shahrastānī 145, l. 7/414, l. 2; on this Gimaret 546, ftn. 6). It is all the more striking then that the *K. al-Kharāj* was especially transmitted within Ḥanbalite circles (cf. Vajda in: *Arabica* 1/1954/342).

84 *Shurūṭ* 677, ll. 17 ff.; 1024, ll. 3 ff.; 1025, ll. 10 ff. from bot.; 1027, last l. ff. (always together with the Kūfan *qāḍī* Ibn Shubruma). Cf. also his *K. Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, Index s. n. More information in the Zaydī author Murādī (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim* 83).

85 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 90, no. 180; Ardabīlī I, 204 a. On this Ibn al-Nadīm 227, l. 9. More in Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 16.

86 Shīrāzī, *Ṭab.* 84, ll. 10 f.; Fasawī II, 717, l. 2, and 680, ll. 4 ff.; Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 137, ll. 8 ff. from bot.; Qaysī, *Adab al-qāḍī* 17, l. 4.

87 Died 154/771 according to Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 395, no. 1283. Cf. also *Mizān* no. 5863. He was regarded as a *mutakallim* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 227, l. 10). Since he was first to emerge from his mother's womb, Ḥasan is supposed to have accorded him precedence during his life (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 396, ll. 5 f.).

88 Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 295 ll. 5 ff. from bot.; Ṭabarī III, 182, ll. 6 ff.

89 See above p. 273.

90 Cf. also Khallāl, *Musnad* 23, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

91 IS VI, 261, ll. 15 ff. The text can also be interpreted to mean that at the time of his disappearance Ḥasan was already 62 or 63 years old. Basing oneself on this, one was able to calculate his date of birth as the year 100 which is often found in later sources: 169 minus 7 minus 62 or 63 (cf. *Mizān* and TT, op. cit.; also already in Ibn al-Nadīm).

‘Alī. They had already known one another a long time; while Ḥasan’s brother ‘Alī was still alive, i.e. before 154/771, they had once made the pilgrimage together. Even on that occasion ‘Īsā had had to disguise himself as a camel driver in order not to fall into the hands of the government’s henchmen;⁹² his life had been in danger since 145. At first he found a hiding place in the house of Ḥasan’s brother and then with Ḥasan himself.⁹³ Nor did Ḥasan avoid further commitment to him: in the year 156/773 ‘Īsā allegedly had Ḥasan swear allegiance to him in secrecy;⁹⁴ later Ḥasan gave his daughter to him in marriage.⁹⁵ When ‘Īsā died in his hide-out, Ḥasan would not allow the event to be communicated to the government authorities, although this would probably have meant an end to the danger for him. The matter only became public when shortly thereafter he also departed this world.⁹⁶

He was a generation younger than those who have been named up to here. This is above all noticeable in the attitude of the Imāmite sources. There are no pronouncements about him by Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. One did not scold him, and one did not attempt to fetch him home; one simply gave him up for lost. He did transmit many a tradition that could also be agreeable to the Rawāfiḍ: the story of an assassination attempt against ‘Alī which Abū Bakr supposedly planned but was then not carried out,⁹⁷ or the judgement of the Prophet that ‘Alī’s relation to him was like that of Aaron to Moses.⁹⁸ But at the same time he expressed some things which sounded nasty in their ears and were later eagerly spread about by the Sunnīs: that his teacher Ibn Abī Laylā did not accept Rāfiḍites

92 Abū’l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 411, ll. 8 ff., and 415, ll. 1 ff.

93 Ibid. 408, ll. 8 ff. and 420, ll. 2 ff.; cf. also the story 416, ll. 4 ff. from bot. and 418, ll. 7 ff.

94 Van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 55. But thus only in Shī‘ite sources.

95 IS, *ibid.*; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif* 509, l. 7; Ṭabarī III, 2516, ll. 15 ff. = *Dhayl* 658, l. 1. According to *Maqātil* 408, ll. 8 f., it could also have been the daughter of ‘Alī b. Ṣāliḥ. In an embellished version ‘Īsā himself maintains his identity was not at all known to his protectors (*ibid.* 410, ll. 4 ff.; hence Ibn ‘Inaba, *Umda* 286, ll. 7 ff.).

96 Six months later according to IS, *op. cit.*, or *Ma‘ārif* 509, l. 10; two months later according to *Maqātil* 420, l. 6 from bot. In general *ibid.* 420, ll. 8 ff. and Tanūkhī, *Faraj* II, 180, ll. 6 ff. On ‘Īsā b. Zayd cf. also Zirikli, *A‘lām* v, 286 f.; Veccia-Vaglieri in: *A Francesco Gabrieli* 328 f. That he died a violent death is perhaps like the secret swearing of allegiance to him no more than a Shī‘ite legend (cf. van Arendonk 55 f.). But the death date given here (166; thus also Madelung, *Qāsīm* 51) is an additional support for 167 in the case of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ (see above fn. 74).

97 Faḍl b. Shādhān, *Īdāḥ* 155, ll. 1 ff.

98 TH 217, ll. 2 f. from bot.; an additional example in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn* 366, ll. 3 ff. from bot. The Sunnīs here emphasized that Aaron was a prophet, whereas ‘Alī was not (cf. Kister in: *Approaches*, ed. Rippin 95).

as legal witnesses;⁹⁹ that Ja'far al-Šādiq ate eel with great gusto and declared his solidarity with Abū Bakr and 'Umar;¹⁰⁰ that the Prophet practiced *mash' alā'l-khuffayn*¹⁰¹ or that the issue of whether one pronounced four or more *takbīrs* during the prayer over the dead was not really of any importance for salvation.¹⁰² One of the chief instruments of Shī'ite propaganda, the *ḥadīth*: "Over whomever I am master (*mawlā*), 'Alī is also his master", he neutralized by means of a restrictive interpretation.¹⁰³ Many of these reports may be apocryphal or may subsequently have been given a sharper slant;¹⁰⁴ but the fact that the Shī'ites did not protest shows that the attribution was basically correct.

With him the "Butrite" doctrine had taken on a fixed form. If as a highly reputed jurist he advocated not adding to the call to prayer the sentences which were characteristic of the Shī'a,¹⁰⁵ this, in a time when the battle lines were being more sharply drawn, took on symbolic significance. For this reason one calls him along with Kathīr al-Nawwā', and sometimes even all on his own,¹⁰⁶ the chief representative of the Butriyya.¹⁰⁷ Shahrastānī invents for him his own sect, the Šāliḥiyya.¹⁰⁸ Both views have a certain justification. In many respects he was only the missing link between the generation of Kathīr al-Nawwā' and the "Shī'itizing" *muḥaddithūn*. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ seems to have been his most important disciple;¹⁰⁹ Faḍl b. Dukayn found appeasing words for what had most irritated the pious public in his behaviour: that in fact while he had been in hiding, he had no longer attended the Friday worship.¹¹⁰ His transmitted traditions ended up in the canonical compilations; except for Bukhārī,

99 Wakī', *Akhbār* III, 133, l. 10.

100 Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 73, 10 ff., and 43, ll. 14 ff.

101 *Ḥilya* VII, 334, ll. 1 ff.

102 According to Barbahārī; cf. Ibn Baṭṭa 70, ll. 5 f. and the translation 133, fn. 1.

103 Khallāl, *Musnad* 138, ll. 2 ff. Much depended on the correct understanding of the word *mawlā* (cf. Crone, *Roman Law* 135, fn. 123). On the tradition itself cf. Ayoub in: *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, 192 ff.; it is already assumed to be well known in Kumayt (*Hāshimīyyāt* 6, verse 9, Horovitz).

104 Thus Ibn Baṭṭa 43, ll. 14 ff., where once again Ḥasan asks whether the Imam perhaps only speaks this way out of *taqīyya*.

105 Strothmann, *Kultus der Zaiditen* 56.

106 Thus in Text III 2, a.

107 Thus for instance Ash'arī (*Maq.* 68, ll. 12 f.) or Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* v, 474, l. 9/45, l. 12.

108 *Mīlāl* 120, l. 6 from bot./319, ll. 2 f.

109 Fasawī II, 806, ll. 5 ff.; *Mīzān* I, 489, ll. 13 f.

110 IS VI, 261, ll. 15 ff. On the criticism cf. AZ 681 f., no. 2080 f. (for Ibn al-Mubārak); al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Ma'rifa* 138, last l. ff. (for Sufyān al-Thawrī but who by then had been absent from Kūfa for a long time and already died in 161!); Khallāl, *Musnad* 23, l. 4; Fasawī II, 805, ll. 7 ff.; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* I, 231, ll. 8 ff. and 232, ll. 6 ff. On his *tashayyu'* cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 624, l. 12; *Mīzān* no. 1869; TT II, 288, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

no one was deterred by his *tashayyu'*.¹¹¹ But he also developed characteristic special doctrinal opinions. Concerning 'Uthmān, he no longer abstained from any commentary, as his predecessors or as Waki' and Faḍl b. Dukayn had done, but he subdivided his caliphate into two halves: for the first six years of his governing he is to be acknowledged; but then, because of his mistakes, he forfeited the confidence he enjoyed and one must dissociate oneself from him.¹¹² Moreover, he limited the circle of the 'Alids who could claim power to the descendants of Fāṭima; he even justified this in writing, in a book on the *imāmat wuld 'Alī min Fāṭima*.¹¹³

With these views he gathered disciples around him in Kūfa; Shāfi'ī makes reference to them.¹¹⁴ In the generation that followed, one of them, Abū Ghassān Mālik b. Ismā'īl al-Nahdī, drew attention to himself because he gave in during the *miḥna*.¹¹⁵ In Shīz, present-day Takht-i Sulaymān in Ādharbayjān, followers of Ḥasan held out for over two centuries before they were exterminated in the year 341/952–53.¹¹⁶ We are not able to say by what peculiarities of doctrine or behaviour they distinguished themselves at any given time from those around them. What is certain is that the two ideas mentioned above became accepted. The Khārijites as well spoke of six good and six bad years with regard to 'Uthmān;¹¹⁷ within the Zaydiyya Sulaymān b. Jarīr did this soon after Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ, but in Upper Mesopotamia.¹¹⁸ Basically it was an old tradition.¹¹⁹ But the decision that only the *wuld 'Alī min Fāṭima* should still count, came at the right moment. Presumably, Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ was not in fact thereby turning against the line of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya; that there was no longer anything to expect from them must in the meantime have become clear to everyone. Rather he probably wanted to put a stop to 'Abbās' hereditary claim which the caliph al-Mahdī was at the time attempting to propagate as the new government ideology of his dynasty.¹²⁰ This was not without danger, in particular if one was simultaneously giving shelter in one's house to a Zaydī pretender. Even if

111 Baghdādī, *Farq* 20, ll. 6 ff.; Brentjes 16. On early *ḥadīth*-recordings by him cf. Azmi, *Studies* 131 f.

112 Text III 2, *g*, with commentary. It says that after the mention of 'Uthmān's name he left out the formula *raḥimahū'llāh* (Khallāl, *Musnad* 23, ll. 3 f.; Fasawī II, 806, ll. 7 f.).

113 *Fihrist* 227, l. 8.

114 *Jāmi'* *al-'ilm* 63, ll. 2 f.

115 *Mūzān* no. 7008; on this below Chpt. C 3.3.4.

116 Schwarz, *Iran* 703, following Abū Dulaf. On Shīz cf. Krawulsky, *Iran* 268.

117 Ash'arī, *Maq.* 454, ll. 11 f. (where *al-sitta* should be read instead of *al-sana*); Baghdādī, *Uṣūl* 286, ll. 10 f.

118 See below Chpt. B 2.4.3.1.

119 Cf. IS III, 44, ll. 7 ff., where it is already put in the mouth of Zuhri.

120 More details on this below Chpt. C 1.2.1.1.

the Shī'ites were not really being persecuted at the time and Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ was not "an extremist", he had every reason to be apprehensive.

That Ḥasan's tract had the presumed anti-Abbasid tone one may also conclude from what Mas'ūdī maintains about him that he denied that rule necessarily had to go to the Quraysh (*Murūj* VI, 24, ll. 2 ff. from bot./IV, 60, ll. 12 ff.). This cannot be literally correct; because the 'Alids likewise belong to the Quraysh. On the other hand, a deliberate misunderstanding may be the basis for this; Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who lived long enough to know Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, foisted onto him the doctrine that all the descendants of Fīhr b. Mālik, i.e. all Quraysh, could lay claim to the caliphate (Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal* IV, 92, last l. f.). The early Kūfan Shī'a are known not to have abided by Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ's limitation; they supported 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya who was not a direct descendant of 'Alī but of 'Alī's brother, Ja'far, that is to say he was only a Ṭālibid. The Abbasids as well originally worked with the vague formula *al-riḍā min āl Muḥammad* (on this now see Madelung in: SI 70/1989/5 ff.). – One may wonder whether Sulaymān b. Jarīr took as his basis the writing of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ when in a doxographical passage (Text III 11, a–c) he presented the doctrine of the Imāmiyya regarding 'Alī's renunciation of his claim in a somewhat more nuanced form. But he says nothing about his source; the hypothesis can only be supported by the fact that relations between these two theologians otherwise appear to have been quite close (see below Chpt. B 2.4.3.1). – Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ also composed a *K. al-Tawḥīd* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 227, l. 8). But we do not know whether he advocated an anthropomorphic image of God, as did most of the other Kūfan theologians (see below pp. 405 ff.) or rejected this as Sulaymān b. Jarīr did (see below Chpt. B 2.4.3.1).

It would be rash, in view of the picture that has emerged of the persons dealt with up to this point, to speak in terms of a closed group. What Nawbakhtī says about their doctrine for the time before Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ is an abstraction. Those who are mentioned by name within this first generation presumably owe it solely to the fact that in this combination they turn up in two places in the Imāmite tradition¹²¹ and therefore have been included in Nawbakhtī's source. One cannot even say that they have been shaped in any particular way by the

121 Kashshī 236, no. 429, and 240, no. 439; subsequently always taken up again. How little clarity one still had about this later is demonstrated by Shahrastānī 145, ll. 11 f./415, ll. 5 ff., where these "Butrites" along with others are presented among the Imāmites.

influence of Zayd b. ‘Alī.¹²² Consequently, it can also not be proven that it is they who are meant if the historians speak anywhere about the Zaydiyya in connection with the events of that period.

This is above all the case in Ṭabarī in the reports about ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya. The name occurs there three times, in fact according to different sources which Ṭabarī records directly one after the other (II, 1880, ll. 10 f.; 1885, ll. 7 ff. and 1887, ll. 5 ff.). This leads us to surmise that we are not dealing with a simple anachronistic use of the word; the Zaydīs, as becomes apparent, even fought together in their own military unit. Later they leave the city along with ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya and follow him to Madā’in and also presumably to West Iran where he then established himself. There is much to indicate that under another perspective – and according to another source – they appear in Ṭabarī (1881, l. 1, and 1976, ll. 11 f.) as “Kūfan slaves” (*‘abīd ahl al-Kūfa*); then one should assume that they also followed Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s gnostic ideas. Madelung has indicated that in Kūfa at least into the 4th century a Zaydī current still maintained itself which revered ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya as well as Zayd b. ‘Alī (*Qāsim* 47, fn. 2). On ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya see more below Chpt. B 3.2.2.

While admitting that chance has been at work in this choice of persons, we also recognize that Imāmīte tradition knows of a second list of Butrites,¹²³ only this time no Imam commented on them and as a result the list was also ignored by the heresiographers. It contains, among others, the name of Muqātil b. Sulaymān whose “Zaydī” tendencies are otherwise nowhere recorded.¹²⁴ At the head of the list is

Abū Muḥammad Qays b. al-Rabī‘ al-Asadī,

who died between 165/782 and 168/785,¹²⁵ i.e. a contemporary of Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ, who was a descendant of the *ṣaḥābī* al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ‘Umayra.¹²⁶ He was regarded in Kūfa as the greatest expert on *Ḥadīth* of his time.¹²⁷ In his youth,

122 Thus already Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 83.

123 Also here again in Kashshī (390, ll. 5 ff.)

124 On him Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1.2.1.

125 TB XII, 461, ll. 17 ff.

126 IS VI, 262, l. 22; on this Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī‘āb* 299 f., no. 435. Together with Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ he appears in Wakī‘ III, 150, l. 5.

127 TB XII, 457, l. 16.

under instructions from his teacher, he pledged allegiance to Zayd b. ‘Alī.¹²⁸ But he got along well with the Abbasids; for he was appointed *qāḍī* and governor of Madā’in by al-Manṣūr. There he soon made himself hated; one attributed dreadful judgements to him.¹²⁹

The other two named persons remain completely vague. Mas‘ada b. Ṣadaqa al-‘Abdī al-Raba‘ī transmitted from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāẓim; he collected the sermons of ‘Alī (Najāshī 295, ll. 5 ff.; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 329, no. 714; Ardabīlī II, 228; *Mizān* no. 8466). On Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr b. Jumay‘ al-Azdī see below Chpt. B 3.2.3.4. – Also described as a Butrite was ‘Amr b. Qays al-ma‘ṣir who really belongs to the Murji‘a (see above p. 180), or the poet Abū’l-‘Atāhiya (*Agh.* IV, 6, ll. 1 f., according to Ṣūlī) who, however, otherwise followed his own very particular path. While he was in prison under Hārūn al-Rashīd, he there met a recruiter for ‘Īsā b. Zayd and his son Aḥmad and became strongly impressed by the man’s asceticism (on this see below pp. 527 f.). It is known that in this period other men of letters were similarly inclined to the Shī‘a. Thus, for example, Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 170/786 or earlier) provided Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh with a place to hide in his house (*Maqātil*, 338, ll. 2 f. from bot.); he is meant to have brought it about that the insurgents distinguished themselves in their war cry as “Zaydīs” (van Arendonk 52; cf. also *Agh.* XIX, 190, ll. 13 ff., and Ibn al-Nadīm 75, ll. 17 f.; on him in general GAS 2/53 f.). – Regarding the Zaydī sympathies of Ibn Rūmī see below p. 332.

2.1.3.2.1.1 The “Weak” Zaydīs

One may add to this that in Nawbakhtī two schemes of division overlap with one another. He distinguishes in another passage between “weak” and “strong” Zaydīs.¹ The weak (*al-ḍu‘afā’*) in this case, as Madelung has assumed, are grosso modo identical with the Butriyya.² However, they are once again subordinated to another leading personality who appears to be somewhat more “Zaydī” than the previously dealt with figures:

128 Abū’l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 148, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

129 TB 459, ll. 15 f; ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* III, 471, ll. 7 f.; *Mizān* no. 6911; TT VIII, 391, no. 696.

1 *Firaq al-Shī‘a* 50, ll. 11 ff., and 51, ll. 7 f. (> Qummī 73, ll. 11 f.).

2 *Qāsīm* 48 f. In Nawbakhtī 50, ll. 13 ff., the *ḍu‘afā’* only receive one line; then immediately follow the Butrites.

Hārūn b. Sa'd³ al-'Ijlī.

He had supported Zayd b. 'Alī⁴ and in the year 145 had also forced his way back to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh. On the whole, the latter did not like him; nonetheless, he still transferred to him the governorship of Wāsiṭ.⁵ There he gave an accession-*khutba* in which he inveighed against al-Manṣūr's methods of governing and the deplorable social conditions of his time;⁶ in so doing, he is supposed to have been well received by the religious scholars of the city.⁷ When the troops of Manṣūr surrounded him in the city, he decided against making a sortie – presumably because, due to his advanced age, he was generally inclined to caution but also out of political considerations as he wished to wait to see the outcome of the encounter at Bākhamrā. Once the result was clear, he fled to Baṣra. Afterwards all trace of him is lost. Many believed that he died while still en route; others held the view that he had managed to remain hidden for some time. In Kūfa the Abbasid governor had his house destroyed.⁸

The Sunnī biographers present him as an unrestrained Rāfiḍite; this appears to go back to a judgement of Ibn Ma'īn.⁹ This portrayal, however, is too "strong"; in fact, he had attacked the Rawāfiḍ in a poem because of their extreme exaltation of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and because of their uncritical esotericism.¹⁰ His followers emphasized that the father of al-Nafs al-zakiyya had the Prophet's sword

3 Instead occasionally Sa'īd (Nawbakhtī 50, l. 14; Ka'bi, *Maq.* 119, l. 4; Shahrastānī 145, l. 7/413, fn. 3). Dhahabī concluded from this that he was the brother of "the extremist" Muḡhira b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī (*Ta'rikh* v1 143, ll. 10 ff.).

4 Van Arendonk 282 f.

5 Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 331, ll. 4 ff. from bot, and 358, ll. 3 ff. = Ṭabarī III, 302, ll. 2 ff., both following 'Umar b. Shabba, probably the latter's *K. Akhbār Muḡammad wa-Ibrāhīm ibnay 'Abdallāh* (cf. GAS 1/346 and T. Nagel in: *Der Islam* 46/1970/227 ff.).

6 *Maqātil* 359, ll. 4 ff.

7 Ibid. 359, ll. 6 f., and 362, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

8 Ibid. 359, ll. 2 f. from bot., and 360, ll. 8 ff. = Ṭabarī III, 304, ll. 1 ff.; also ibid. 254, l. 10.

9 Thus 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV, 362, no. 1974 > *Mizān* no. 9159; also TT XI, 6, ll. 9 ff. (following Ibn Ḥibbān among others).

10 Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār* II, 145, ll. 5 ff.; *Ta'wil mukhtalif al-ḡadīth* 84, last l. ff. = 70, ll. 2 ff. from bot./transl. Lecomte 79 f.; Marzubānī, *Mu'jam* 461, ll. 10 ff.; Baghdādī, *Farq* 240, ll. 2 ff./253, ll. 1 ff.; IKh III, 240, ll. 6 ff. (where Sa'd b. Hārūn is a mistake for Hārūn b. Sa'd). Translated in Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 211 f. Friedländer's doubts about the authenticity of the verses (in JAOS 29/1908/106, fn. 5) are unjustified. When Ibn Khaldūn has him transmit the *jafr* of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq against which he polemicizes in this very poem, then this is certainly a misunderstanding (cf. GAS 1/560 and EI² II, 377 b; on this Gimaret, *Libre* 546, fn. 4).

in his possession; the Imāmites contested this.¹¹ Apart from that they were known among the latter for not considering an unbroken succession of Imams to be necessary.¹² Then the name ‘Ijliyya also became established alongside the name Butriyya; consequently, one was able to indulge in allusions to the Golden Calf or the proverbial stupidity of the Banū ‘Ijl.¹³ Even a century later the designation is still common.¹⁴ Hārūn b. Sa‘d was perhaps an adherent of predestination;¹⁵ that Ka‘bī makes a Mu‘tazilite out of him is probably a mistake.¹⁶

2.1.3.2.2 *The Jārūdiyya*

Nawbakhtī does not say where exactly he saw the difference between “the weak” and “the strong”. But it is certainly clear that the latter, much more decisively advocated ideals which he saw as typically Shī‘ite; likewise, in the long run they laid claim much more vigorously to maintaining Zayd’s legacy. One referred to them collectively under the sectarian name Jārūdiyya, which went back to

Abū’l-Jārūd Ziyād b. Abī Ziyād al-Mundhir b. Ziyād al-Khārifi al-Hamdāni,

who had supported the revolt of Zayd b. ‘Alī.¹ He was allegedly blind from birth;² yet on the night when Zayd came forth, like other enthusiastic followers

11 Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā’ir al-darajāt* 176, ll. 5 ff., and 177, ll. 2 ff.; cf. below pp. 316 and 445.

12 Majlisī, *Biḥār* XLIX, 18, no. 18, and 26, no. 43; also XLVIII, 23, no. 37. In Shahrastāni (145, l. 7/413, l. 7) or Ibn Khallikān (III, 240, l. 7) for this reason he is also considered a normal Zaydī.

13 Cf. van Arendonk 81 with examples of this.

14 Cf. the *K. Saqaṭāt al-‘Ijliyya* in Najāshī 67, l. 5 from bot., which was written by a great-grandson of ‘Umar b. al-Riyāḥ (see below pp. 327 f.). For this reason I do not believe that the ‘Ijliyya were only people from Hārūn’s own tribe as Madelung assumes (EI² Suppl. 130 a).

15 Cf. the dispute with the Rāfiḍite Dāwūd b. Farqad which Kashshī reports on (345 f., no. 640–1).

16 *Maq.* 119, l. 4. It is probably inferred from his participation in the revolt in the year 145 (see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.2.2).

1 On him now cf. Madelung’s article in *Elran* 1, 327 s. n., upon which I essentially base myself. Materials also in Friedländer in: *JAOs* 29/1908/22; Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 28 ff. and 63 ff.; van Arendonk 282 and Index s. n.; Hodgson in EI² II, 485 a; Gimaret, *Livre* 464, fn. 50. He is reckoned among “the strong” in Nawbakhtī 51, ll. 7 f.

2 Kashshī 121, l. 15. Cf. also Mufid, *Ikhtisās* 79, l. 10.

he is meant to have raised up a torch and shouted out the battle-cry.³ Other than that, not very much else was known about him. Ṭūsī describes him as a *mawlā*,⁴ and in fact Qummī already gives him the epithet of al-A'jamī;⁵ he supposedly originated from Khorāsān.⁶ Some confusion exists concerning his *nisbas*. The Banū'l-Khārif belonged to the Hamdān;⁷ they had already allied themselves with Mukhtār.⁸ He was meant to have then joined them in Kūfa. The epithet, however, has been misread⁹ as Khāriqī, Ḥ-r-q-ī or Ḥūfi.¹⁰ In Ibn al-Nadīm instead of this one finds al-'Abdī,¹¹ probably a mistaken identification with the Companion of the Prophet, Jārūd b. al-Mu'allā al-'Abdī.¹²

He transmitted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.¹³ However, when he visited both of them in Medina, he was also already aware of Zayd.¹⁴ He reported that the latter's mother was a slave woman whom Mukhtār gave to Zayn al-'Ābidīn as a gift.¹⁵ To him this was probably worth mentioning because as a *mawlā*, he did not think so highly of *limpieza de sangre*. Abū Mikhnaf has preserved a piece of information about Mukhtār that originates from him.¹⁶ Later he went on to transmit from Zayd's son, Yaḥyā.¹⁷ The Sunnīs saw in him a forger of *Ḥadīth* with a Shī'ite bias.¹⁸ Bukhārī calculates his death as occurring after 150/767;¹⁹ Dhahabī, no doubt also hypothetically, has him living into the

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- 3 *Maqātil* 136, ll. 3 f. from bot., as an interpolation in the report of Abū Mikhnaf which is also preserved in Ṭabarī (cf. van Arendonk 29 with ftn. 3).
- 4 *Rijāl* 197, no. 31; on the other hand, not in the parallel *ibid.* 122, no. 4.
- 5 *Maqālāt* 18, ll. 11 f., in an interpolation in the text of Nawbakhtī.
- 6 But only first noted in Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1, 459, l. 11 from bot., no. 4359.
- 7 Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq* 428, ll. 3 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 395, ll. 14 ff., and 475, ll. 2 f. from bot.
- 8 Cf. the poem of A'shā Hamdān in Ṭabarī II, 705, l. 2.
- 9 Māmaqānī, *op. cit.*; also Ardabili I, 339 a.
- 10 Ḥūf is a region in Oman (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* IV, 309, ll. 6 f.).
- 11 *Fihrist* 226, last l., along with the somewhat unlikely *kunya* Abū'l-Najm.
- 12 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 338, ll. 7 ff.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Ist'āb* 262 ff., no. 345.
- 13 Kashshī 121, ll. 16 f.; polemically Nawbakhtī 50, ll. 1 ff. A tradition according to al-Bāqir is found in al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, *Shāfi* III, 108, ll. 5 ff. from bot.
- 14 *Maqātil* 130, ll. 3 f.
- 15 *Ibid.* 127, ll. 5 ff.
- 16 Ṭabarī II, 676, ll. 8 ff.; on this U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 109 and 227.
- 17 Madelung, *Qāsim* 44, ftn. 5.
- 18 Summarizing, TT III, 386, no. 704. Yet one also believed to have heard from him a saying of the Prophet in which the Rāfiḍites were denounced as polytheists that must be killed (Ibn al-Wazī, *Ithār al-ḥaqq* 423, ll. 2 ff., but basing himself on the *Mizān* of Dhahabī where this is not to be found).
- 19 TT III, 387, ll. 7 f., following the *Ta'rikh awsat*; nothing in *Ta'rikh* II, 371, no. 1255.

decade between 140 and 150.²⁰ If he had still been alive in 145/763, one would then expect to find him among the partisans of al-Nafs al-zakiyya.

Besides the names already indicated, he apparently bore the *laqab* Surḥūb “the tall one”. However, Muḥammad al-Bāqir is supposed to have spoiled his pleasure over this by maintaining that this was the name of a blind devil who lived in the sea. The Imāmite sources maliciously add that Abū'l-Jārūd was just as blind in his heart as he was in his eyes (Nawbakhtī 48, last l. f.; Kashshī 229, no. 413; Shahrastānī 119, ll. 6 ff./314, ll. 4 ff., etc.). The group around him was therefore called the Surḥūbiyya (Nawbakhtī, 49, l. 7). All this is based on later invention. Muḥammad al-Bāqir had no reason to be ill-disposed towards Abū'l-Jārūd; typically, the sentence about the blindness of his heart is then put in the mouth of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist* 227, l. 2). The sea devil eludes lexical verification; it appears to owe its existence to an inspiration of the Imam al-Bāqir.²¹ In the *Qāmūs* of Firūzābādī it is only attested in connection with this case; Ibn Manẓūr wanted nothing to do with it (*Lisān al-'Arab* s. v.; also Lane, *Lexicon* 1346c). – Strothmann thinks that Abū'l-Jārūd's congenital blindness has been deduced from the Imam's dictum (*Staatsrecht* 35). But then it seems to me that the whole story is left hanging in the air.

Abū'l-Jārūd's blindness also hinders us from considering him to be identical with Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād al-Kūfī, who disseminated pro-'Alid *Ḥadīth* and died in the year 136/753. The latter was dispatched to Raqqa by Zayd as a recruiter (see below Chpt. B 2.4.3); Abū'l-Jārūd would hardly have been suitable for this. That he is likewise to be distinguished from Ziyād al-Nahdī who fell along with Zayd, has been shown by Madelung in contradiction to the view of van Arendonk (*Qāsim* 44, fn. 5, against *Opkomst* 282). In Mufīd, *Ikhtišāṣ* 318, l. 6 from bot., a certain Abū'l-Jārūd

20 *Ta'rikh al-Islam* vi, 67, ll. 5 ff.

21 Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is also supposed to have described the gnostic Bashshār al-Sha'irī as “the son of the devil who has arisen from the sea” (Kashshī 400, no. 745; Halm, *Gnosis* 227 f.). An apocryphal *ḥadīth* supported the belief that certain demons that Solomon had banished to islands in the sea, would be released in the year 135 and then come to Syria and Iraq in order to ignite theological discussions there (Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* 1, 250, ll. 2 ff.). That this element of the Solomon legend was widely disseminated is shown by the remark of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muqaddima 7 (= 1, 12, ll. 5 f. from bot.).

al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, who is otherwise unattested, transmits from Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

Along with Abū'l-Jārūd, every now and then another contemporary is mentioned but who is likewise plunged in darkness:

Fuḍayl b. al-Zubayr al-Rassān (al-Asadī),

once again evidently a client, a craftsman who made halters (*rasan*) for camels or horses.²² Ibn al-Nadīm calls him a *mutakallim*;²³ but this is perhaps only a stopgap designation born of the fact that he as well had no more information than we do. Fuḍayl's brother, 'Abdallāh, had fallen alongside Zayd; for this reason his family received a donation from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.²⁴ Fuḍayl had conducted negotiations with Abū Ḥanīfa before the revolt; the latter is supposed to have arranged for weapons to reach Zayd through him.²⁵ After the catastrophe he is meant to have visited Ja'far in Medina and in order to console him to have recited an encomium on 'Alī by al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī.²⁶ This would prove that even now relations between the young Imam and the Zaydiyya had by no means been broken off; however, the story is anything but trustworthy.²⁷ Like Abū'l-Jārūd, he transmitted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir;²⁸ but he also reported

22 Mentioned in Nawbakhtī 48, l. 15, and 51, l. 8 > Qummī 71, l. 6 from bot., and 74, l. 5; Pseudo-Nāshī' 42, l. 10; Shahrastānī 119, l. 9/314, l. 7.

23 *Fihrist* 227, l. 5. The name is there written mistakenly as F-ṣ-y-l.

24 Kashshī 338, no. 621 f. He is probably not identical with 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Asadī who transmitted *nawādir* from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (Najāshī 153, ll. 5 ff.); to do this he would in fact have to have been older. Ardabilī also separates the two persons (I, 484). And yet he notes in the biography of Fuḍayl that he was a *mawlā* of the Asad (II, 9 a).

25 *Maqātil* 146, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; on this above p. 215.

26 *Agh.* VII, 251, ll. 16 ff., and 241, last l. ff.; Kashshī 285 f., no. 505.

27 Al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī is there already assumed to be dead; however, he died long after Ja'far (cf. GAS 2/458). Or should the *raḥimahūllāh* be taken as referring to Zayd? Then Fuḍayl would be maintaining about him and not the poet that he drank wine. But this can hardly be justified as plausible from the viewpoint of the content or from the perspective of the person to whom the pronoun refers. Shākir Hādī Shukr who assembled the *Dīwān* of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (Beirut 1966) does not go into the *khbar* in connection with the poem (pp. 261 ff.). He as well, except for in the *K. al-Aghānī*, has only found it mentioned in Shī'ite sources.

28 Ibn al-Nadīm 227, l. 5.

on the heroic past: on ‘Alī²⁹ or the Kūfan martyrs, Mītham al-Tammār³⁰ and Rushayd al-Hajārī.³¹ The Sunnī *rijāl*-works take no notice of him.³²

Abū’l-Jārūd, as the name given to the sect shows, is the more important of the two. Later there were two works by him in circulation, a notebook with juridical traditions (*aṣl*) and a Koran commentary.³³ They were transmitted by a certain Abū Sahl Kathīr b. ‘Ayyāsh al-Qaṭṭān. However, he is already quite distant from Abū’l-Jārūd; he took part in the revolt of Abū’l-Sarāyā in the year 199–200/815 and was wounded during it.³⁴ We will come back to this subject later on. Material from the *aṣl* was passed on via Muḥammad b. Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Arḥabī who died in the year 171 at the age of 77,³⁵ to Zayd’s grandson Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā (d. 247/861), in whose *Amālī* it turns up with this *isnād*;³⁶ the Imāmīte Abū Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī³⁷ also took over some elements from it.³⁸ Quotations from the *Tafsīr* went into the commentary of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. after 307/918),³⁹ but probably only through the latter’s disciple Abū’l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad. However, the Sunnī ‘Umar b. Aḥmad Ibn Shāhīn (d. 385/995)⁴⁰ also still drew on it.⁴¹ The work has a pronounced tendency towards predestination⁴² and likewise contains rather long historical and midrash-like passages.⁴³

Abū’l-Jārūd, in both works, chiefly relies on Muḥammad al-Bāqir. He and his companions, to cite Madelung, “brought along the conceptions of the school of al-Bāqir into the community of Zayd’s followers”.⁴⁴ Thereby a harsher tone

29 Kashshī 76 ff., no. 132.

30 Ibid. 78 f., no. 133. On Mītham al-Tammār see below pp. 453 f.

31 Ibid. 76, last l. (where *Faḍl* is a mistake for *Fuḍayl*). On Rushayd see below pp. 336 f.

32 Among the Shī‘ite sources one should still compare: Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* 132, l. 11; Astarābādī, *Manhaj al-maqāl* 262, ll. 17 f.; Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ* 111, 13, no. 9498.

33 On both works cf. Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 146 f., no. 308. On the *Tafsīr* see also Kashshī 121, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; Ibn al-Nadīm 36, ll. 15 f.; GAS 1/528.

34 Ṭūsī 147, ll. 7 f.; on Abū’l-Sarāyā see below Chpt. C 2.1.

35 Ardabilī 11, 81 a.

36 Madelung, *Qāsīm* 81 and in *Eliran* 1, 327 b.

37 On him see below pp. 408 f.

38 Ardabilī 1, 339 a. There also additional names.

39 On this GAS 1/45 f.; on the date Pampus, *Enzyklopädie* 182.

40 On him GAS 1/209 f.

41 Madelung in *Eliran*, op. cit.

42 Cf. Madelung in: *Islamic Philosophical Theology* 136 f., fn. 51.

43 Cf. for instance Majlisī, *Biḥār* XI, 217, ll. 11 ff., and 224 ff. (the Joseph Story) or XX, 60, ll. 6 ff., and 61, ll. 11 ff., as well as 232, ll. 5 ff. from bot. (biography of the Prophet).

44 Madelung, *Qāsīm* 44. Traditions of Abū’l-Jārūd from Bāqir are found for example in Kulīnī (*Kāfī* I, 11, no. 3; 289, no. 4; 290, no. 6; 303 f., no. 1 f., etc.) or in the *Amālī Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā* of Murādī (cf. Madelung 44, fn. 2).

entered the discussion about the caliphate. Here Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were no longer regarded as legitimate rulers, to whom ʿAlī had ceded his entitlement: rather the community had strayed into error when they swore allegiance to them.⁴⁵ This theory was supported with traditions which were likewise of Medinan origin: the Prophet explicitly indicated that he envisaged ʿAlī, and after him the latter's sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, as his successors.⁴⁶ But one did not think of a *naṣṣ* in the later sense; such a theory only first developed during the next generation under the Rāfiḍites.⁴⁷ In retrospect, it looked rather as if the Prophet had only made suggestions which the community then did not follow.⁴⁸ For instance, as Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī explains, he had in a certain situation clearly declared that ʿAlī, “the sandal repairer” (*khāṣif al-naʿl*), was more competent than Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.⁴⁹ But above all certain key passages of the Koran were to be taken into consideration. Abūʿl-Jārūd emphasized them in his *Tafsīr*: surah 3/61 where the ordeal of execration (*mubāhala*) with the Christians of Najrān was referred to,⁵⁰ and surah 33/33 where the *ahl al-bayt* themselves were mentioned and now came to be clarified by means of the Mantle Tradition.⁵¹ In both cases Ḥasan and Ḥusayn participated in ʿAlī's glory.

45 Text III 23, c. When it there says further that for this reason the community should be seen as unbelievers, perhaps this is already too strongly formulated from the later Imāmīte perspective – especially when, as for instance in Pseudo-Nāshīʿ (Text 21, e–g), the conclusion is drawn that then Abū Bakr and ʿUmar themselves were unbelievers.

46 Text III 21, a, and 23, d.

47 See below p. 446 f.

48 Text 23, a–b. One spoke later of *naṣṣ khafi* by contrast with the *naṣṣ jalī* of the Rāfiḍites (Madelung 45).

49 Ḥūr 261, ll. 3 f.: *khāṣif al-naʿl waʿl-khaṣif*. On this Mufīd, *Irshād* 64, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; *Conc.* II, 35 a, and above p. 205; also Gimaret, *Livre* 543, ftn. 231.

50 Cited in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 3v1, 480, no. 7182, where Abūʿl-Jārūd bases himself on Zayd b. ʿAlī; also Kulīnī, *Kāfi* v111, 317 f., no. 501 (from an Imāmīte point of view: Muḥammad al-Bāqir helps out Abūʿl-Jārūd with an additional argument). Literature on the *mubāhala* cf. Paret, *Kommentar* 71; still W. Schmucker in: *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam* I, 183 ff., and for our concerns especially Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 33/1958/5 ff., where the exegetical material is well grasped. Strangely this study remained unknown to Schmucker.

51 Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 35. The verse needed this clarification because the expression *ahl al-bayt* itself was anything but clear. Paret considered whether here as in the parallel, surah 11/73, one would not have thought of “people of God's house”, namely the Kaʿba (*Kommentar* 239 f.); in the pocketbook edition of his translation he has even adopted this as an alternative in the text (p. 295). This is connected with the fact that in both passages women are addressed. But recently Madelung has again correctly advocated the traditional translation “relatives, kindred”. Herewith he only emphasizes that relatives in the broader sense are meant; the women belong to their new

This was basically already thought of in “Fāṭimid” terms; the further step of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ is here being prepared.

Such being the case, it is essential, however, that “the appointment” comes to an end with Ḥusayn; the Prophet did not make provision beyond the horizon of his own lifetime. He had emphasized certain people; but he did not establish a procedure for regulating his succession.⁵² This seems surprising only in the formulation of the heresiographical texts. Namely, they already speak of a *naṣṣ* and limit it again in hindsight. In so doing, they adopt a false perspective – just as when it is then said that after the death of Ḥusayn one had to resort to a *shūrā*.⁵³ The issue was not so much that among the Shīʿites one had to consult with one another; here *shūrā* is simply a counter-concept to *naṣṣ*.⁵⁴ Rather, he who should be recognized as Imam was anyone among the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who took up the sword and gained or wished to gain rule for himself. He is, as one said, *muftaraḍ al-tāʿa* or *al-muftaraḍa*^{tu} *ṭāʿatuhū*; one owes him obedience.

Text III 21, *c–d* and *q–r*; 23, *f*; also Jābir b. Ḥayyān, *Rasāʿil* 498, 10 ff. The formula *muftaraḍ al-tāʿa* was perceived by the Imāmites as typically Zaydī (cf. for instance Kulīnī, *Kāfī* I, 232, l. 3 from bot., and 346, l. 5 from bot.; Kashshī 261, l. 5 from bot.; ʿAlawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ilāʾl-ḥaqq* 27, l. 3 from bot.). Yet it is also found in Imāmite traditions (*Bihār* XXIII, 285 ff.). – The

kindred through marriage (cf. SI 70/1989/13 f.). Thus the Shīʿites did get the sense right; but they too strongly limited the meaning when they had the verse only refer to the Alids. Typically, Saffāḥ already cites it in his accession sermon in Kūfa; naturally, he meant the Banū Hāshim in general and especially among them the Abbasids (Ṭabarī III, 29, ll. 10 ff.; on this Nagel, *Untersuchungen* 87 f.). In Ṭabarī the traditional Shīʿite interpretation is traced back to Kūfan authorities like Aʿmash and the above-dealt-with triumvirate of the following generation: Faḍl b. Dukayn, ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr and Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ (2XXII, 6, ll. 3 ff.; on this Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 33/1958/13 f.). At the same time, there were all those who neither wished to approve the pro-Alid nor the pro-Abbasid exegesis; they took the expression’s contextual meaning as its real sense and identified “the people of the house” as the wives of the Prophet (Ṭabarī 2XXII, 8, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; on this see Text IX 14, *b*, with commentary). This has become the current Sunnī interpretation; Ṭūsī expressly rejects it in his *Tibyān* (VIII 339, ll. 12 ff.).

52 Nor evidently did one here make use of his knowledge of the future, probably simply because the appropriate *ḥadīths* were lacking.

53 Text III 3, *e*.

54 Thus also in the representation of the doctrine of Sulaymān al-Raqqī (see below Chpt. B 2.4.3.1). Later the Zaydīs only saw the Imāmite demand for a *naṣṣ* as a pretext on the part of the Kūfans so as not to have to support Zayd (thus al-Hādī ilāʾl-ḥaqq in: *Rasāʿil*, ed. ʿImāra II, 81, ll. 13 ff.).

counter-view of another “group” that the Prophet only appointed ‘Alī and then ‘Alī appointed Ḥasan and Ḥasan in turn appointed Ḥusayn, seems illogical by comparison; it implies that the *naṣṣ*-procedure developed in this manner (*Maq.* 67, ll. 6 ff. > Baghdādī, *Farq* 22, ll. 11 ff./30, last l. ff.; cited in Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhāj al-sunna* 1, 265, ll. 18 ff.). Either it only emerged later when one had a series of Zaydī Imams (on this see Shahrastānī 118, ll. 10 ff./311, ll. 10 ff.), or it is the result of heresiographical systemic constraint. – The assertion in Abū Muṭī‘ al-Nasafī, *Radd* 83, ll. 2 f., that in the view of the Zaydiyya the Imams came from the branch of the Ḥusaynids is false.

On the basis of this viewpoint, “the Jārūdiyya” joined Zayd b. ‘Alī. After the death of al-Bāqir in the year 117/735, at first perplexity had reigned among the Kūfan Shī‘a.⁵⁵ The looming revolt exacerbated the situation; one had to decide whether one should proceed according to the principle of seniority and follow Bāqir’s brother Zayd or whether one should pass over from the father to the son, i.e. to Ja‘far who was still young at the time. The split left behind scars. God transformed Abū’l-Jārūd’s heart, so Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is represented as saying,⁵⁶ and the Jārūdites took their revenge with the remark that anyone who stayed at home and lowered the curtain could not expect to be taken seriously as Imam.⁵⁷ Kumayt reproached himself later for not having followed Zayd.⁵⁸ Only later did one attempt to formulate more precisely the prerequisites for the claim to rule: the Imam must not only be brave but must also be a jurisconsult and an ascetic.⁵⁹

But juridical competence, at least in a certain respect had been indispensable from the beginning. Since the majority of the Prophet’s Companions had perverted the course of justice by their choice of Abū Bakr, they were disqualified as an authority in matters of *fiqh*; only members of the Prophet’s family, i.e. once again the Ḥasanids and the Ḥusaynids, were able to decide what is just

55 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* 1, 397, ll. 14 ff.

56 Kashshī 230, no. 414; cf. also no. 415.

57 Text 21, *i*. That it is a question of a stereotyped formulation for propaganda purposes emerges from Kulīnī, *Kāfi* 1, 357, ll. 3 f.; the Imāmites had to defend themselves against it. Indeed, in Kūfa Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq was well known for the fact that he did not necessarily show himself to visitors but – similarly to the caliph – spoke with them while sitting behind a curtain (Kashshī 285, l. 3 from bot., and 286, l. 5 from bot.; *Agh.* VII, 252, l. 7.

58 Gabrieli, *Poésie religieuse* 24.

59 Text 23, *f*; more on this below Chpts. C 1.4.3, 1.1.4 and 4.2.1.1.

and unjust, “allowed and forbidden”.⁶⁰ This did not necessarily mean they could decide freely or arbitrarily; rather it was a question of the interpretation and continuation of the prescriptions that the Prophet had left behind.⁶¹ *Hadīths* that were not transmitted through the *ahl al-bayt*, at least those with juridical content, had no weight of their own accord. Thus, not only was the break with the Sunnīs predetermined but also a certain estrangement from the Butriyya came about; the Jārūdites had had a part in contributing to the development of the specifically Shī‘ite legal and cultic community which then took on form most clearly in the Imāmiyya. But they did not restrict themselves like the latter to a single authority in one generation. This obliged them to introduce the free market: every descendant of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn who attained manhood and thus possessed rational judgement is able to express himself on legal matters and is to be taken seriously. In this regard, one apparently did not consider it crucial that he had had the benefit of a juridical training; one would not be capable of determining the most accomplished and most learned among the aspirants. Rather, God gives the ‘Alids their insight by means of inspiration (*ilhām*); due to this, at the crucial moment they know what is to be done.⁶² However, once again this does not necessarily mean – especially when we consider the partisan character of our sources – that they rely exclusively on inspiration; this may simply help them to distinguish what is just in the midst of the chaos of the times and possibly even to confer authority on a non-‘Alid *ḥadīth*.

The Rāfiḍite heresiographers have given themselves a lot of trouble to misunderstand this standpoint. They ignore the manhood threshold and choose to hear that an ‘Alid already when he is in his swaddling clothes possesses the same knowledge as the Prophet.⁶³ Apart from that, they think of the “extremist” ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya who had said that knowledge grows in his heart like truffles and herbs;⁶⁴ on the basis of this, they felt they had the right to say that, according to the Jārūdiyya, knowledge grows in the breast of the legally trained ‘Alids the way seed grows by means of the rain.⁶⁵ Jāḥiẓ later amused himself by

60 Text 21, *k*. The “good” Companions of the Prophet, followers of ‘Alī like Salmān al-Fārisī, etc., evidently play no role for the Jārūdiyya. The latter in fact even remained completely irrelevant for Imāmīte law.

61 Text 21, *l*.

62 Text 21, *l-p, s*.

63 Text 22, *l-m*. If the Jārūdites had wished to say this, they would probably have referred to the example of Jesus (surah 19/30).

64 Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 6, ll. 4 f. Many early Zaydīs had in fact joined ‘Abdallāh (see above p. 289).

65 Text 22, *o*. Ibn al-Dā‘ī ascribes this to Fuḍayl al-Rassān and Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī (*Tabṣira* 186, l. 4 ff). Shahrastānī (119, l. 11/315, l. 3) understands by this that their knowledge is inborn (*fiṭra*). On the other hand, one had ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, the father of al-Nafs

twisting the doctrine into an anti-intellectual view and attributing it to the Shī'ites in general; he insinuates that those from whom one expected inspiration were hindered from studying.⁶⁶ The discussion has not left behind any traces in the later Zaydī literature.⁶⁷

2.1.3.2.2.1 The Shaping of Jārūdite Thought

It is hardly surprising that in the long run this postulated multiplicity of juridical stimuli actually only crystallized around a few persons, and then above all around the person of Zayd b. 'Alī. Through this fixation "the school" came to find itself. Abū'l-Jārūd, as we saw, scarcely has any part in this development; in his works the quotations from Zayd are conspicuous by their paucity. The turning point is primarily a work by

Abū Khālid 'Amr¹ b. Khālid al-Wāsiṭī al-Qurashī,

a *mawlā* of the Hāshimids² who likewise still transmitted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir,³ but also from Abū'l-Jārūd as well.⁴ He had a house in Kūfa near the Maṣjid Simāk;⁵ but in the long run the milieu became too dangerous for him and he moved to Wāsiṭ. From then on he was called "the emigrant" (*al-muhājir*).⁶ After the death of Zayd matters in Iraq went badly for the Hāshimids; on Hishām's orders they were deported to Medina and there placed under guard.⁷ One paid attention to Abū Khālid because he "forged *Ḥadīth*". That is what Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ reported subsequently, and this despite his pro-'Alid inclinations;

al-zakiyya, speak out against it (TD, 'Ayn 151, last l. ff., where *yanbutu* should be read instead of *yankuthu*).

66 Cf. the quotation from his *K. Faḍīlat al-Mu'tazila* in Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 110, last l. ff., and the preceding polemic of Ibn al-Rēwandī against it.

67 Cf. in general Madelung, *Qāsīm* 45 ff.

1 The report in Nawbakhtī 48, l. 15, that he was called Yazīd is certainly false. In the parallel found in Qummī (71, l. 7 from bot.) the passage is completely corrupt.

2 TT VIII, 26, no. 41.

3 Baḥshal, *Ta'rikh Wāsiṭ* 216, ll. 2 ff.

4 Kashshī 231, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

5 Ibid. 232, l. 2. The mosque was named after the Companion of the Prophet, Simāk b. Makhrama al-Asadī (Ṭabarī I, 2653, l. 3; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr 652, no. 1062).

6 *Mizān* 11, 139, l. 1.

7 Nagel, *Untersuchungen* 134 f.

thus the new method did not suit him either.⁸ Among the Sunnī *muḥaddithūn* Abū Khālid's reputation was never again restored. He is unanimously rejected;⁹ one maintained that he bought *Ḥadīth* materials (*ṣuḥuf*) from apothecaries (!) and reported on the basis of this.¹⁰ Now and then one simply left his name out of the *isnād*.¹¹ During his lifetime his weaknesses evidently did not yet weigh so heavily.¹² Ibn al-Nadīm calls him a *mutakallim* like Fuḍayl al-Rassān;¹³ but he only mentions a book by him in the chapter on *fiqh*.¹⁴ According to Bukhārī, he had allegedly already died between 110 and 120.¹⁵ But that is surely too early; he resided in the environment of al-Nafs al-zakiyya in Medina,¹⁶ and in any case he took over *Ḥadīth* from Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778).¹⁷

The mentioned work on *fiqh* has been edited by E. Griffini as "*Corpus Juris*" *di Zaid ibn 'Alī* and as *La più antica raccolta di legislazione e giurisprudenza musulmana finora ritrovata*.¹⁸ Both Bergsträsser in his review¹⁹ as well as Strothmann in his detailed analysis²⁰ have expressed their scepticism concerning the attribution to Zayd.²¹ Abū Khālid does trace every tradition through Zayd and his forefathers back to 'Alī; but the materials that he presents are very closely attached to Iraqi views. Zayd, on the other hand, was at home in the

-
- 8 Mizān no. 6359. In Griffini, *Corpus Juris* clxxix, Waki' quotes the series of Abū Khālid's critics. Griffini also deserves our thanks for having collected together all the biographical references (lxii ff.; also clxxxi f.)
- 9 Thus Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 56, no. 321; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* 11, 76, ll. 3 ff.; 'Uqaylī, *Ḍu'afā'* 111, 268 f., no. 1274.
- 10 *Mizān*, op. cit. Strothmann translates *ṣuḥuf* as "wrapping paper" (*Der Islam* 13/1923/25); but for a time when no paper yet existed in the Islamic world this seems rather bold to me. One will probably not conclude from this passage with Goldziher that at the time one sold notebooks with *Ḥadīth* as waste paper (thus in: ZDMG 50/1896/477).
- 11 Thus Ḥasan b. Dhakwān according to *Mizān* no. 1844. On the latter see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.1.1.
- 12 Cf. the list of his disciples in Griffini clxxvii ff.
- 13 *Fihrist* 227, l. 5 (mistakenly written *Abū Khalaf*). Cf. also Shahrastānī 119, l. 9/ 314, l. 7, and 145, l. 6/413, l. 5.
- 14 *Ibid.* 275, ll. 5 f. from bot.
- 15 TT VIII, 27, ll. 11 f.
- 16 *Maqātil* 294, ll. 8 f.
- 17 Griffini clxxv.
- 18 Milan 1919. Additional edition Cairo 1340 under the title *Musnad al-Imām Zayd b. 'Alī*; reprint Beirut 1966. Translated by G. H. Bousquet, *Recueil de la Loi Musulmane de Zaid ben 'Alī*; Algiers 1941. Cf. also GAS 1/558.
- 19 In: OLZ 25/1922/114 ff.
- 20 In: *Der Islam* 13/1923/18 ff.
- 21 Less unequivocal D. Santillana in his long review article in: RSO 8/1919–20/745 ff., there 758 ff.

Ḥijāz and, if he understood much at all about law, there is where he had been formed. Later one became aware of the problem and had Abū Khālid himself emphasize that for five years before Zayd came to Kūfa, he had visited him every year in Medina during the *ḥajj* and spent a few months with him; in the process he had had every single tradition reported to him several times.²² In addition, it naturally remained astonishing that only he possessed these materials. But here as well one had an explanation: all of Zayd's other disciples had fallen in battle.²³ Moreover, Abū Khālid did not impose that much order; he gave each one of his traditions its own label but otherwise he transmitted them several times in a different manner. It was only his disciple, Ibrāhīm b. Zibriqān al-Taymī (d. 183/799), who compiled them systematically.²⁴

The history of transmission of other early texts, for example the *Tafsīr Mujāhid* or the *Tafsīr Muqātil*, leads us to assume that in the present case we must also reckon with additions or corrections. We do not know exactly how one proceeded with the collection of Ibrāhīm b. Zibriqān. The historian Naṣr b. Muzāḥim (d. 212/827) undertook the task; since he evidently did not always base himself on his teacher, he is sometimes treated as the direct disciple of Abū Khālid.²⁵ Then in an editorial comment 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ishāq Ibn al-Baqqāl (272/885–363/974), *qāḍī* in Baghdād at the beginning of the Būyid period,²⁶ comes into the picture; he set off the *Corpus Iuris* against some chapters of general content which had been added.²⁷ In view of these findings, it is advisable for the time being only to extract the broad lines of the work.

The author is an adherent of predestination and a keen opponent of the Qadarites.²⁸ At the same time, along with them he always reproaches the

22 *Corpus* 267, ll. 4 ff. – In the text he only says in a few places that he questioned Zayd about a particular matter (no. 555) or received an explanation from him (nos. 524 and 557).

23 Ibid. 266, ll. 6 f.; both notices in the colophon. The Kūfans, of course, had by no means thronged together in order to give their life for Zayd's cause.

24 Madelung 54 f. Sezgin, like Griffini, considers the *Corpus* authentic; for his argumentation cf. GAS 1/555 f.

25 Cf. the *riwāya* in Griffini lxiii and cxl ff.; on the alleged school relationship ibid. clxxvii; on this Najāshī 205, ll. 8 ff. Also in a passage in his *K. Waq'at Šifīn* he goes back directly to Abū Khālid (p. 150, l. 5).

26 On him Griffini xcvi ff.

27 Griffini 265 ff., with a *tamma'l-kitāb*. Whether for this reason it is justified to describe him as the editor of the present text as the Cairo edition does (*jama'ahū*...), must remain uncertain.

28 Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 13/1923/42 f.; Madelung 55 f.; HT 58 f. and Index s. n. *Zayd b. 'Alī*. But whether in the time of Abū Khālid one already described the Qadarite doctrine as *zandaqa*, seems questionable to me.

Murji'ites and the Khārijites as well.²⁹ He holds human reason in high esteem; but it was only created once predestination had become fixed by means of the Pen and Ink. God also only bestows it fully upon someone He loves.³⁰ Above all, one should not make use of it in jurisprudence, at least not in the way that Abū Ḥanīfa or also the Butrites did this.³¹ Throughout the entire work, no trace of *qiyās* or *ijtihād* is to be found; one tradition is placed after another without any commentary. In one passage a warning is given against the ignorant (*juhhāl*) who are looked up to as an example and are asked for information but who then only “speak according to their own judgement (*ra'y*) and set aside the traditions and customary practices (*sunan*) so that they enter into error and lead (others) into error, and as a result this community goes to ruin”.³²

Here predestination does not go so far that just by simply belonging to the Shī'a Paradise is guaranteed. One must atone for one's sins; then they are expunged, however great they may have been.³³ Whoever persists in a fallacious doctrine to the end of his life: a Qadarite, a Murji'ite or a militant opponent of the Prophet's family, should not be honoured with a prayer over his bier – unless this cannot be avoided.³⁴ In fact, this prayer would contain a request for forgiveness of his sins; but he belongs among those false exegetes (*muta'awwilūn*) whose presumption leads them to godlessness (*'iṣyān*) and to iniquity (*fisq*) and who, as Ash'arī says,³⁵ were considered by the early Zaydīs to be *kuffār ni'ma*. But this term, as well as the term *fāsiq*, does not occur in the *Corpus*. Nor was there any reason to treat the doctrine of sin in this context.

The fragment of a polemical text against the Murji'ites that circulates under the name of Zayd b. 'Alī gives instruction about the doctrine of sin.³⁶ The Murji'ites appear there as those who still even “have hope for whoever has committed a grave sin of the kind for which God has ordained Hell-fire”; thus *irjā'* is here associated with *rajā'*. Faith must be “made complete” by means of works;³⁷ the *fāsiq* is an unbeliever, and not only in the sense that he doubts Muḥammad's mission but that he rejects

29 *Corpus* nos. 160, 326 and 394.

30 *Ibid.* no. 977, as a *ḥadīth qudsī*.

31 On *ijtihād* in the Butriyya see above p. 242; in Sulaymān b. Jarīr see below Chpt. B 2.4.3.1.

32 *Corpus* no. 992.

33 *Ibid.* no. 992.

34 *Ibid.* no. 326.

35 *Maq.* 73, ll. 14 f. On the meaning of *muta'awwilūn* see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.4.

36 Preserved in the Ms. Berlin, Glaser 116 (= Ahlwardt 10265). In the notice GAS 1/558 a mistaken reading has crept in; it should say folios 1 a–4 b instead of folios 1–116.

37 On this form of expression see above p. 252 f.

the command of God and His messenger.³⁸ Whether this fits in with the statements of the *Corpus* and thus belongs in the same milieu probably still needs to be thought through and studied in detail. Strothmann had denied it; Madelung has attempted an accommodation (whereby in *Qāsīm* 61 he incorrectly represents Strothmann's argument and consequently talks at cross purposes with him in the debate). One can take the view that the unbelievers, as they are here defined, once again are *kuffār ni'ma*; but the term is not used in this passage and is actually made impossible because their unbelief is equated with that of the devil.³⁹ However, one should also not take these incongruities as proof of archaic thinking. The false "etymology" of *irjā'* and the idea of *istikmāl al-dīn* suggest a *terminus post quem* of 130; for this reason Zayd b. 'Alī is to be rejected as the author. Where and when the term *kufr ni'ma*, which by this period was already developed within the Ibāḍiyya, penetrated the Zaydiyya must for the time being remain open.⁴⁰

In this context it is especially striking that the author of the *Corpus* does not wish to see the opponents of 'Alī described as unbelievers, neither those in the Battle of the Camel, nor those at Şiffin and afterwards at Nahrawān; they are only "the party in the wrong" (*al-fi'a al-bāghiya*).⁴¹ This is more moderate than what many of the heresiographers of the Jārūdiyya and the Zaydis generally maintain.⁴² This is matched by a certain cautiousness in the political program. When an 'Alid rises in revolt and, in so doing, shows he is the Imam, he thus stands up for justice;⁴³ yet the commandment of *al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'l-naḥy 'an al-munkar* which he thereby follows⁴⁴ is sometimes limited to the tongue and the heart without including the sword.⁴⁵ The Imam should only proceed to action if he has at least as many followers as the Prophet at Badr, i.e. around 310 men.⁴⁶

38 Cf. the resumés in Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 13/1923/11 f. and in Madelung, *Qāsīm* 60.

39 Cf. *Qāsīm* 60 according to folio 2 b.

40 Along with Ash'arī the term is also emphasized for instance by Abū Ya'lā (*Mu'tamad* 189, ll. 7 f.). One found it in an alleged sermon of 'Alī (Kulīnī, *Kāfi* VIII, 24, l. 1). Accordingly, the Islamic world was regarded as *dār kufr ni'ma* (Ash'arī, *Maq.* 463, l. 16). Cf. also below Chpt. B 2.2.5.7.

41 *Corpus* no. 980.

42 See above pp. 274 f. and 281, fn. 45.

43 Cf. the contrast *ahl al-'adl – al-fi'a al-bāghiya* in no. 873.

44 Passages on this in the *Corpus* in Madelung 56, fn. 79.

45 *Corpus* no. 994. For more on this see Chpt. B 2.2.8.2.

46 *Ibid.* no. 873. On this cf. Ash'arī, *Maq.* 466, ll. 10 ff.

With regard to ritual law, the break with the Butriyya has already taken place. If something is intoxicating like date wine, then even a small amount of it is forbidden.⁴⁷ When performing the prayer over the dead, pronouncing 5 *takbīrs* is proper, even if one must admit that ‘Alī had not yet adopted a fixed practice.⁴⁸ At any rate, ‘Isā b. Zayd for this reason had fallen out with Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh before the revolt and perhaps even renounced his allegiance to him over this.⁴⁹ The substitute shoe-rubbing was abolished by the Prophet after the revelation of the *Sūrat al-mā’ida*.⁵⁰ Typically, a son of Ḥasan b. Šālih b. Ḥayy who practiced it, in so doing aroused angry irritation in a circle of Jārūdites; one would not pray behind such a heretic.⁵¹ Certain puritanical traits fit in with this rigourism: not only is gambling frowned upon but chess as well, and then above all music and singing.⁵² The Jārūdites appear to have especially practiced nocturnal prayer;⁵³ and in fact they also required asceticism on the part of the Imam.⁵⁴

Along with the *Corpus Iuris* we also still possess a *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur’ān*, which is traced back through Abū Khālid to Zayd b. ‘Alī. But for the time being the discussion regarding it is carried out on the basis of some notes which Strothmann made from the MS Berlin Glaser 116 (= Ahlwardt 10237).⁵⁵ In the process the latter also discovered some verbal parallels with the *Corpus*. Madelung, however, then corrected him concerning an important point: the commentary like the *Corpus* has an orientation based on predestination.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it is striking that the anthropomorphisms are explained metaphorically; anyone who does not do this will be straightforwardly described as a polytheist.⁵⁷ Along with Madelung, one may see this rationalism in connection with the high esteem for reason which was noted in the *Corpus*;⁵⁸ but Strothmann’s observation that in the *Corpus* no attacks against the anthropomorphists occur,⁵⁹ still carries

47 Ibid. no. 815 f.

48 Ibid. no. 312 f.

49 *Maqātil* 335, ll. 1 ff., and 405, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

50 *Corpus* no. 60. Surah 5/6 is meant; on this cf. Paret, *Kommentar* 115 f. and Pellat in EI² VI, 709 f. s. v. *Mash’ alā l-khuffayn*.

51 Madelung 51, following *Maqātil* 468, ll. 2 ff.

52 *Corpus* nos. 1000–1005.

53 This is probably how one should understand the remark in Ṭabarī III, 744, ll. 6 f.

54 Text III 23, f.

55 In: *Der Islam* 13/1923/6–9. Two additional manuscripts in GAS 1/557.

56 *Qāsīm* 57 f.

57 Strothmann, *ibid* 7 f.

58 *Qāsīm* 58 f.

59 Ibid. 42 f.

weight. So much the more so since Abū Khālid believed in the *visio beatifica* and in this regard based himself on surah 50/35 which the anthropomorphists also continually referred to.⁶⁰ Indeed, the example of Muqātil b. Sulaymān shows that metaphorical exegesis and *tashbīh* were not mutually exclusive.⁶¹ But our commentator attaches great importance to the metaphorical aspect; because he only discussed the passages which seemed to him *gharīb*, i.e. in need of interpretation. Here Madelung's hypothesis is no longer helpful, namely that Abū Khālid in each of his two works found himself confronted with a different tradition. Naturally, the author is a compiler; Strothmann already emphasizes that most of the exegetical comments are found in Ṭabarī in the exact same wording. But there they are attributed to other persons; by contrast, our Zaydī author has made a choice, and it is this choice which must be explained. We will have to leave the question of the genesis of the text open until a more precise comparison has been undertaken.⁶² – To the same extent that Abū Khālid al-Wāsiṭī continued to exercise influence, so all memory was extinguished of another person who was several times mentioned alongside him⁶³ and who was probably not all that much younger:

Manṣūr b. Abī'l-Aswad al-Laythī,

a *mawlā* of the Banū Layth who was well known as a merchant.⁶⁴ Ibn Sa'd classifies him within the sixth *ṭabaqa* of the Kūfans that begins with Sufyān al-Thawrī; Manṣūr must therefore have lived into the second half of the 2nd century. The Sunnīs were quite familiar with his views.⁶⁵ He transmitted from A'mash a rather aggressive *ḥadīth* to the effect that in the rear of those who love 'Uthmān the Anti-Christ will appear; but if by then they have already died, they will still believe in him in the grave.⁶⁶ It is all the more surprising that, as Ibn Sa'd attests, in general one recognized his corpus of traditions – surprising also inasmuch as, in accordance with Jārūdite principles, he was actually only

60 Fasawī III, 395, ll. 4 ff. from bot., in a *ḥadīth* whose *isnād* not only goes back from him to 'Alī but to the Prophet. On the Koranic testimony see below Chpt. D 1.2.3.

61 See below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1.2.1.

62 When in the *Corpus* in a certain passage (no. 452) the difference between *ṣifāt al-dhāt* and *ṣifāt al-fi'l* appears, it seems to me this is a later interpolation.

63 Nawbakhtī 51, l. 8 > Qummī 74, l. 5; Ibn al-Nadīm 227, l. 5 (where *Abī* should be added); Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl al-niḥal* 42, l. 10; Shahrastānī 145, l. 6/413, l. 6 (here also without *Abī*).

64 IS VI, 266, ll. 11 f.; there also his (equally unknown) brother Ṣāliḥ b. Abī'l-Aswad. But Ardabili gives him the sobriquet "the tailor" (*al-khayyāt*; II, 264 b).

65 Cf. for instance *Mizān* no. 8770; TT X, 305, no. 533.

66 Fasawī II, 768, ll. 10 ff.; 'Uthmān's name will not be pronounced there.

supposed to transmit from 'Alid informants. Where he in fact did so, he also referred back to Ja'far al-Šādiq; the Imāmites knew of "books" by him in which these very materials were probably preserved.⁶⁷ He seems to some extent to have stood between the parties.

2.1.3.2.2.2 The Later Development

But Abū Khālid's influence did not remain entirely uncontested as one might conclude from the character of his works. Strothmann has made it clear that later Zaydī authors like Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm broke away from the doctrines of the *Corpus Iuris*.¹ On the other hand, his *Tafsīr* like that of Abū'l-Jārūd's already became problematic because the Zaydiyya in the long run turned away from predestination.² In a list of Zayd's disciples which perhaps goes back to the beginning of the 4th century, Abū Khālid is not mentioned at all.³

Nor was the Jārūdiyya in fact identical with the later Zaydiyya. The Jārūdites certainly did support the 'Alid revolts much more unreservedly than the cautious Butrites: firstly, the revolt of al-Nafs al-zakiyya,⁴ then that of Muḥammad b. Ja'far or his condottiere Abū'l-Sarāyā, in the year 200/815–16,⁵ afterwards that of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. 'Alī who came forth in the year 219/834 in Ṭālqān,⁶ and finally that of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn who around

67 Najāshī 294, ll. 14 f. Is he perhaps identical with the Iraqī Jārūdite mentioned in Ibn al-Šaffār who as a merchant made journeys to Transoxania and along with his brother belonged to the circle of acquaintances of Ja'far al-Šādiq? (*Bašā'ir al-darajāt* 249 f., no. 16).

1 In: *Der Islam* 13/1923/31.

2 Typically, the *Tafsīr* of Abū'l-Jārūd has survived in an Imāmite work. But there was still some time before the turning-point. The *riwāya* of Abū Khālid's *Tafsīr* ends up in Muḥammad b. Manšūr al-Murādī who lived in Kūfa and just like his older contemporary Aḥmad b. 'Īsā (157/773–247/861), the grandson of Zayd, was an opponent of free will (Madelung 80 ff.; Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 13/1923/6).

3 Strothmann, *ibid.* 16.

4 Two sons of Zayd, 'Īsā and Ḥusayn, took part in the revolt. The latter at the time perhaps even fell in battle (cf. van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 55 and fn. 4, as well as R. Traini, *Sources biographiques des Zaidites* 121, no. 514). But here especially one should not overlook the ideological oppositions that arose in their circles against the "liberal" sons of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (cf. Veccia-Vaglieri in: *A Francesco Gabrieli* 328 f.; also above p. 305 f.).

5 At least Muḥammad b. Ja'far had Jārūdites around him in Medina (Madelung 51). On this below Chpt. C 2.1.

6 Madelung 79, following Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 578, ll. 5 ff.; also al-Manšūr bi'llāh, *Shāfi* 1, 272 ff.

250/864 tried his chances once again in Kūfa,⁷ and of Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza who only a year later was likewise defeated at the same location. But even in the report regarding this last event a distinction is made between Zaydīs and Jārūdites.⁸ Only a little later, Khayyāṭ does the same.⁹ Mufid (d. 413/1022) still deals with their arguments,¹⁰ and long after him so does Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs.¹¹

2.1.3.2.3 Early Zaydī Splinter Groups

Since the “Zaydiyya” presumably did not yet exist as such in the first half of the 2nd century, we are not surprised to come upon groups that are reckoned among them but which in no way have anything to do with the views mentioned up to now. This is true, for example, of the circles around Ṣabbāḥ al-Muzanī and Ya‘qūb b. ‘Alī/‘Adī al-Kūfī; rather they were Rāfiḍites *à contrecœur*.¹ Similarly, there were circles which, by the time the heresiographers established order with the generic name, had already been forgotten. This applies to the followers of a certain Khalaf b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad whom Khwārizmī mentions without any further information,² or in the case of the “sects” that Mas‘ūdī collected

7 The date is strangely uncertain: 250 according to Ṭabarī III, 1515, ll. 16 ff. and Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābi’, *Tājī* 18, ll. 8 ff. (in Madelung, *Arabic Texts*; thus also Madelung, *Qāsīm* 84); Rajab 249 according to Ya‘qūbī (*Ta’rīkh* 608, l. 12); 248 according to Mas‘ūdī (*Murūj* VII, 330, ll. 8ff./V, 61, no. 3022); 247 according to the author of the *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā’l-ḥaqq* (34, last l. ff.; also 30, l. 6, but there mistakenly written as 259). One should take note of the use of the name ‘Umar. – On the enumeration cf. Ash‘arī *Maq.* 67, ll. 12 ff.; Nashwān, *Hūr* 156, ll. 6 ff. (following Ka‘bī) and 252, ll. 3 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal* IV, 179, ll. 9 ff.; Shahrastānī 118, ll. 3 ff. from bot./313, ll. 1 ff. (on this Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 466); Ibn al-Dā‘ī 186, ll. 10 ff. Abū Īsā al-Warrāq probably provides a basis as the common source (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Munya* 90, ll. 7 ff.). The revolts are dealt with in the Master’s thesis of Faḍīla ‘Abd al-Amīr al-Shāmī, *Ta’rīkh al-firqa al-Zaydiyya bayna’l-qarnayn al-thānī wa’l-thālith li’l-hijra* (Najaf 1975), pp. 123 ff.; the revolt of Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar also in the dissertation by M. Forstner, *Das Kalīfat des Musta‘in* 50 ff.

8 Ṭabarī III, 1617, l. 7.

9 *Intiṣār* 96, l. 2 from bot.

10 *Al-Thaqaḷān*, printed at the back of al-Mufid, *al-Iṣṣāḥ fī imāmat ‘Alī* (Qum, circa 1981), pp. 176–180; on this McDermott, *Mufid* 38, no. 144.

11 *Binā’ al-maqāla al-Fāṭimīyya* 39, ll. 5 ff. from bot., ed. Sāmarrā’ī. At the same time he cites his interlocutor as *Lisān al-Jārūdīyya*.

1 See below pp. 333 and 335.

2 *Mafātīḥ al-‘ulūm* 21, l. 12 > Abū’l-Ma‘ālī, *Bayān ul-adyān* 35, l. 7.

together for himself from Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq and others.³ Nor are we any better off in the case of the Nuʿaymiyya to whom Ashʿarī devotes a brief entry; the Nuʿaym b. al-Yamān from whom he derives the name is not attested anywhere else. But at least Ashʿarī offers a summary of their doctrine: they believed that the original community committed a clear error when they set aside the most excellent candidate for the caliphate but did not wish to qualify this as a direct offense.⁴ This was in the spirit of the Butrites but already formulated in direct contention with the Jārūdiyya. With regard to ʿUthmān the group was stricter; they considered it to be an absolute duty to dissociate oneself from him.⁵ Nuʿaym was probably a contemporary of Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī and Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ.

One must ask oneself whether the name should be read differently, namely Muḥammad b. al-Yamān al-Kūfī, as it occurs in Masʿūdī (*Murūj* v, 474, l. 2 from bot./IV, 45, ll. 13 f., probably following Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq) and in some later Shīʿite sources (namely, in Tāfrīshī and Bihbahānī; cf. Ritter in the apparatus criticus with the cited Ashʿarī passages). Then in that case we could equate him with Muḥammad b. al-Yamān al-Bakrī al-ʿAnazī who transmitted from Jaʿfar al-Šādiq and therefore lived around the middle of the 2nd century (Ardabīlī II, 219 b). Then it would also be certain that this group, as with most of the others, was to be located in Kūfa. It is conceivable that Sulaymān b. Jarīr al-Raqqī had learned from them (see below Chpt. B 2.4.3.1). He would then only have been dealt with separately by the heresiographers because he emerged in the Jazīra. The name Nuʿaymiyya in Ashʿarī or in his source would then have been a secondary derivation from the falsely transmitted name of the sect's leader. But perhaps the name is also in Masʿūdī (see here fn. 3), and this independently, moreover, of Muḥammad b. al-Yamān who is mentioned shortly thereafter. One would thus have to assume that Masʿūdī, by using different sources, created a doublet.

Nothing reveals for us what sort of character these groups had. Were they study circles which formed in a particular mosque or are we dealing with action

3 *Murūj* v, 474, ll. 5 ff./IV, 45, ll. 9 ff.: Marthadiyya, Abraqiyya and ʿUmaymiyya/Nuʿaymiyya. The names are corrupt.

4 Ashʿarī, *Maq.* 69, ll. 5 ff. The account in Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 17, is not entirely correct; above all, “unbeliever” is to be read instead of “believer”.

5 Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* xx₂, 185, ll. 3 f. (where previously we must read *al-Butriyya* instead of *al-tabriʿiyya*).

groups in a strongly segmented society which recognized one another by a certain political principle, mostly by their view of history, and in times of upheaval could be won over to cooperate with one another – similarly as in present-day Beirut? Did the “head of the sects” have a following at all or is this simply an invention of the heresiographers who out of every Nu‘aym immediately made a Nu‘aymiyya, even if he had never existed. By means of a last example we wish to document how complex this can become.

2.1.3.2.3.1 The Kāmiliyya

The heresiographers frequently mention a so-called Kāmiliyya.¹ They were difficult to classify; because allegedly they had not only dissociated themselves from Abū Bakr and ‘Umar but also from ‘Alī. For this reason, they seemed neither to belong to the Sunnīs nor to the Shī‘ites; they had considered, so one could say, all the Muslims, with the exception of the Prophet, to be “unbelievers”. This rather exaggerated formulation went back to Jāhīz; but later it turns up everywhere. In reality, the situation was not so uniformly bad: the Kāmiliyya viewed Abū Bakr and ‘Umar as usurpers; on the other hand, what displeased them about ‘Alī is that he had put up with the affront. By not venturing to do something against the agreement in the *saqīfa* of the Banū Sā‘ida, he had committed an error (*akhṭa‘a*); later he had made up for this when he took up arms against Mu‘āwiya. Obviously, the caliphate was legitimately allotted to him.

This doctrine still circulated within the Zaydiyya. An Imam must show he is active; ‘Alī had been lacking in this respect. But the extreme and polemical formulation of this view won such authority through Jāhīz and occurred so early on that the heresiographers no longer understood the true context. Just as with the previously mentioned groups, the name no longer signified anything for them. Many still knew that the Kāmiliyya went back to a certain Abū Kāmil; but that with this *kunya* a certain Mu‘ādh b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Nabhānī from Kūfa was meant, is only found once in an obscure place² and nowhere did it find its way into the heresiographical tradition.³ Mu‘ādh b. al-Ḥuṣayn has not left any trace behind either in the Shī‘ite or in the Sunni biographical

1 Ash‘arī *Maq.* 17, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* IV, 96, ll. 2 ff. from bot. > Saksakī, *Burhān* 42, ll. 5 ff.; Baghdādī, *Farq* 39, ll. 3 ff./54, ll. 1 ff. and *Uṣūl al-dīn* 279, ll. 1 f.; 286, ll. 6 f.; 332, ll. 3 f.; Shahrastānī 133, ll. 8 ff./368, ll. 1 ff.; Ṣafādī, *Nakt al-himyan* 127, ll. 4 ff.; Nashwān, *Ḥūr* 155, ll. 5 ff. In what follows I base myself on what I have said in: w1 28/1988/141 ff.; all the additional evidence is found there.

2 In Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbūt* 201, ll. 1 f.

3 Not even in the case of the Qāḍī himself who in a heresiographical excursus in the *Mughnī* once again simply presents the form *Abū Kāmil* (xx₂, 176, ll. 10 ff.).

tradition; he was apparently not a *muḥaddith*. When, by way of polemic, opponents disparagingly made a Kumayliyya out of Kāmiliyya, later one then came up with a founder of the sect named Kumayl. Ma‘dān al-Shumayṭī had already done this, although he was actually a Shī‘ite himself,⁴ and then later apparently the Mu‘tazilite Ja‘far b. Ḥarb also did so.⁵ The latter even expanded the name to Kumayl b. Ziyād, and then added immediately that thereby was not meant the well-known general of ‘Alī who in his old age took part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath and for this reason was executed by order of Ḥajjāj.⁶ But otherwise who it was meant to be he does not reveal – for a good reason; he was probably just following a fleeting association.

But when one did still know about Mu‘ādh b. al-Ḥuṣayn, one came up with the idea of deriving the name Ḥuṣayniyya from him. It turns up in *al-Urjūza al-mukhtāra* of Qāḍī Nu‘mān; the doctrine which is there associated with them is that of the Kāmiliyya, if one ignores a few fictitious additions.⁷ Qāḍī Nu‘mān is a relatively later author and moreover, as an Ismā‘īlī, is to some extent cut off from the learned tradition. He gives a false explanation of the name; he projects back into the past a certain Ḥuṣayn – a phantom existence like Kumayl. The tradition that he relies on apparently comes from the Imāmiyya; because there, in the *Maqālāt* of Qummī, the name Ḥuṣayniyya occurs once more, also with the characteristic *ṣād*.⁸ But the doctrine is conceived differently; now it is concerned with the attitude towards the Prophet’s grandchildren, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Ḥasan is reproached; he had in fact sold his entitlement to Mu‘āwiya. Ḥusayn, on the other hand, is recognized as Imam; he fled from Mu‘āwiya and subsequently laid claim to his right. This coincided exactly with what the Kāmiliyya had expected from ‘Alī; both from the schematic and the traditional-historical point of view, the Ḥuṣayniyya and the Kāmiliyya are identical.

But the shift in emphasis led to one “improving” the enigmatic name; a Ḥusayniyya with *sīn* was created from Ḥuṣayniyya with *ṣād*. This form is also

4 On him see below Chpt. C 2.1.

5 As the author of Pseudo-Nāshī’, *Uṣūl* 45, ll. 12 ff.

6 On him U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 178 ff.; Ṭabarī II, 1097, ll. 9 ff.; Abū’l-‘Arab, *Miḥan* 204 f.; Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 6978 and *Ta’rīkh* III, 293, ll. 4 ff.; Ḥillī, *Mūnhāj al-karāma* in: Ibn Taymiyya, *Mūnhāj al-sunna* 21 (m), 187, ll. 8 f.

7 P. 210, verses 2073 ff. The reading *Ḥaṣīniya* in Nagel in: W1 15/1974/106 is probably incorrect; cf. Dhahabī, *Mushtabih* 240, ll. 8 ff. The additions are connected with an allegedly internal school dispute regarding the attitude towards Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; the dispute is simply copied from the contrast between the Jārūdites and the Butrites (v. 2079 ff.).

8 P. 74 § 145.

found in Nawbakhtī.⁹ However, it has probably entered his text during the later transmission of his work; because Qummī who still writes the name with *šād* is dependent on him. Qummī has both Kāmiliyya as well as Ḥuṣayniyya, though in two completely different passages; he had simply collected his materials mechanically and when doing so, no longer understood their relationship. By contrast, Nawbakhtī only has the Ḥuṣayniyya; but he probably still knew that what was meant by this circulated elsewhere under the name Kāmiliyya or Kumayliyya, and probably for that reason he also still wrote it with *šād*.

In connection with the Ḥuṣ/sayniyya we are informed about a series of Imams. The group recognized Zayd b. ‘Alī; the Kāmiliyya must also have done the same. Then they followed his sons, first of all Yaḥyā who lost his life shortly after his father in Jūzjān in battle with Umayyad troops,¹⁰ and then ‘Īsā who still lived until 166/783. When he joined al-Nafs al-zakiyya or the latter’s brother Ibrāhīm in the year 145/763,¹¹ they also accompanied him in this shift. After the revolt’s failure they settled into resignation; from then on their trace is lost.

This is a normal story. The defeat of al-Nafs al-zakiyya – and the persecution which subsequently ensued – was a traumatic experience for many in Iraq.¹² More unusual is what occurred in the period before this series of Imams had yet been formed. Namely, the Kāmiliyya had ties with the circle around Abū Maṣṣūr al-‘Ijlī who towards the end of the Umayyad period was executed under the governor Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī (in office from 120/738–126/744). Abū Maṣṣūr was a gnostic;¹³ in view of this, the question is suddenly raised as to whether the theological “inner life” within the Kāmiliyya was not completely different from what one would expect from the innocuous series of Imams. Now the social surroundings as well take on sharper contours: Abū Maṣṣūr with his claim to be a prophet chiefly gathered the ordinary people around him; he gave them hope in a resolution of the social injustices. For this reason, he justified terrorist activities which he characterized as “clandestine *jihād*”.¹⁴

Our chief source for all this is Jāḥiẓ. In this connection he cites some verses from the *qaṣīda* by Ma’dān al-Shumayṭī in which the Kumayliyya/Kāmiliyya is linked with Abū Maṣṣūr.¹⁵ Moreover, in his *K. Bayān wa’l-tabyīn* he preserves the poem of the Mu’tazilite Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī in which the latter attacks

9 *Firaq al-Shī’a* 51, ll. 9 ff.

10 Van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 30 f.

11 Madelung, *Qāsim* 52; also above p. 308, fn. 4.

12 Also see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.2.2.

13 On him cf. Halm, *Gnosis* 86 ff.

14 Nawbakhtī 34, ll. 2 f. from bot.; more detail below pp. 466 f.

15 *Ḥayawān* VI, 391, ll. 3 ff.; on this Pellat in: *Oriens* 16/1963/105 f.

Bashshār b. Burd because of his earlier contacts with the Kāmiliyya.¹⁶ This last document is the most instructive with regard to our context. Here for the first time is found the assertion that the Kāmiliyya (whose name is not mentioned) both “disparaged Abū Bakr” as well as “dissociated themselves from ‘Alī”; there the gnostic idea is alluded to with the keyword “metempsychosis”, and there with the mention of Maylā’, the wet-nurse of Abū Maṣṣūr al-‘Ijlī, the connection is directly made with the latter’s circle. Bashshār b. Burd, however, presumably had very little to do with all this; the only sure fact is that his father, a simple brickmaker, sympathized with the Kāmiliyya/Manṣūriyya.¹⁷ This then probably also means that Abū Kāmil, the founder of the Kāmiliyya, lived during the first decades of the 2nd century. Jāḥiẓ scarcely still had any interest in him; for him it is only a matter of Bashshār b. Burd in this passage. But since Jāḥiẓ, as a Mu‘tazilite, was on the side of Ṣafwān, he further exaggerated the latter’s statement about the Kāmiliyya. He did this in a brief prose sentence which could easily be utilized; in this way he determined the later tradition.

2.1.3.3 The Rawāfiḍ

We do not know how the Kāmiliyya really stood *vis-à-vis* the first two caliphs, whether they in fact “declared them to be unbelievers”, as Jāḥiẓ maintains, or simply “spoke disparagingly” about them, as is said in Ṣafwān al-Anṣārī (and then only with regard to Abū Bakr).¹ But ultimately it was not so important. If they found no place within the Shī‘a, it was because they did not give any encouragement to the cult of ‘Alī. Founded on a “fundamentalist” basis as the latter was, it chiefly flourished after the catastrophe of 145/763. After this event the hour of the activists was over for a long time; there was not another ‘Alid revolt in Iraq for almost two generations. The cautious drifted off into the camp of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* or into the verbal extremism of the Rawāfiḍ; as much as both these groups differed in their views, nonetheless they strongly resembled one another in restricting themselves to unpolitical erudition. How greatly Rāfiḍite thought won in attractiveness for a normal Shī‘ite intellectual – who for the most part also had to think of his property and wished to be left in peace – follows paradigmatically from the generation gap which came about in Butrite families. In this respect, the most striking example is the son of Thābit b. Hurmuz,²

16 Text XII 2, there verses 23 ff.

17 See below Chpt. B 2.2.1.

1 Text XII 2, verse 28.

2 On him see above p. 282.

‘Amr b. Abī’l-Miqdām Thābit b. Hurmuz,

who was a client of the ‘Ijl like his father and died in the year 172/788–9. T. Nagel has seen in him the first representative of “denominational history writing” within the Shī‘a.³ He was in fact probably more of a historian than his contemporary Hishām b. al-Ḥakam in whom the same tendency can be observed.⁴ Unfortunately, the texts on which Nagel relies, all found in the *K. al-Ikhtisāṣ* by Mufīd, do not always allow one to know clearly whether ‘Amr is really their author. This is only beyond doubt due to the *isnād* in the case of an apocalypse which is traced in a reliable manner to Muḥammad al-Bāqir via Jābir al-Ju‘fi;⁵ in it there is speculation about the *qā'im* – ‘Alī appears as Saffāḥ and Ḥusayn as al-Muntaṣir.⁶ Likewise, there is a fragment that depicts the *yawm al-saqifa* from the Shī‘ite viewpoint and thus calls into question the caliphate of Abū Bakr.⁷ And finally there is an extensive text in which ‘Alī relates episodes from his life for the head of the Jewish community in Kūfa at the latter’s request; ‘Amr pretends that he heard it from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.⁸ And ‘Alī’s last testament to Ḥasan can be added.⁹ The Sunnīs turned their back on this with repugnance;¹⁰ they credited ‘Amr with the opinion that after the Prophet’s death only four Companions did not fall into unbelief.¹¹ – Likewise,

Abū Ja‘far Yaḥyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl,

3 In: W1 15/1974/112 ff.

4 On him see below pp. 442 ff.

5 On him see below pp. 389 ff.

6 *Ikhtisāṣ* 249, l. 12 to 252, l. 2; on this Nagel 122.

7 Ibid. 181, l. 5 to 184, last l.; also *Bihār* XXVIII, 227 f., no. 14, and 253, no. 36. On this Nagel, 112.

8 Ibid. 157, l. 2 from bot. Moreover, the text did not bear the title *K. Miḥnat amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘Alī*, as Nagel states p. 112; this is simply the chapter heading in Mufīd. Ardabīlī has rather more soberly *K. al-Masā’il allatī akhbara bihā amīru’l-mu‘minīn al-Yahūdīyya* (I, 616 b, l. 1). In Ṭūsī the author is called ‘Amr b. Maymūn (*Fihrist* 245, no. 538).

9 *Bihār* LXXVII, 167, ll. 2 ff.

10 Thus already IS VI, 267, ll. 6 f.

11 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* III, 261 ff., no. 1268 > *Mizān* no. 6340; cf. also TT VIII, 9 f., no. 11. For the Imāmīte judgement cf. Najāshī 206, ll. 6 ff., and Ardabīlī, op. cit., with numerous references. He is frequently quoted in the Imāmīte literature (cf. for instance *Bihār* XI, 103 ff., no. 10). Many of his traditions he traced back via his father.

who died 167/783–4 and was one of Salama b. Kuhayl's three sons,¹² had the reputation of being an extreme Shī'ite; he made himself disliked by means of the *ḥadīth* that it is an act of piety to look at 'Alī.¹³ But the Imāmite biographers took no notice of him, just as little as they did of Ash'ath, a cousin of Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy, who in a *ḥadīth* presented 'Alī as a pre-existing being who even 2000 years before the creation of the heavens imparted support to Muḥammad.¹⁴ Sulaymān, the son of Hārūn b. Sa'd al-'Ijlī, did arouse their interest; he transmitted from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in Kūfa.¹⁵

2.1.3.3.1 *Quietism and Communal Spirit*

The political restraint that one now exercised had previously been exemplified in the person of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; hence there was a certain logic if one also put the justifications for this in his mouth. He had warned against aimless revolt; he had foreseen Zayd's downfall.¹ When Zayd showed him the letters of the Kūfans in which he was called upon to act, an impassioned exchange of words took place in which both positions are paradigmatically set off against one another.² Even when the Zaydiyya together with the Mu'tazila assembled around al-Nafs al-zakiyya, Ja'far knew from his "books" that the latter could not have any success.³ The frame-story of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kāmila* makes use of this motif.⁴ The Ḥasanids were proud that they had kept Muḥammad's sword; but even this, as Ja'far explained to two Zaydīs who were in a frenzy for action, was no guarantee.⁵ One remembered that in Medina there had been conflict

12 Fasawī II, 648, last l. ff.; on this above p. 280.

13 Because he is the image of God? Cf. *Mizān* no. 9527; less explicitly 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV, 405 f., no. 2029. Also in general TT XI, 224 f., no. 362.

14 'Uqaylī I, 33, no. 15 > *Mizān* no. 1006.

15 Ardabili I, 384 a.

1 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 174, no. 5; II, 225, no. 13; VIII, 264, ll. 9 ff.; Mufid, *Amālī* 19, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

2 *Kāfi* I, 356 ff., no. 16.

3 Ibid. I, 242, no. 7; more sober in Ṭabarī III, 254, ll. 1 ff.

4 Cf. what I say about this in: *Der Islam* 67/1990/186.

5 *Kāfi* I, 232 f., no. 1. In Kūfa, as we have seen (above p. 292), one sometimes simply denied that these insignia were in their possession.

between the two families;⁶ and Ja'far then spoke out disparagingly about the cousins: they were envious and attached to the world.⁷

But one may well doubt that behind the attitude that takes on form in these remarks there had been a principle; primarily Ja'far was probably an unworldly religious scholar whose caution proved to be right in retrospect.⁸ His sons, one and all, certainly thought differently. Ismā'īl, whom he made his designated successor, maintained conspiratorial ties with Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb;⁹ Abdallāh and Mūsā, who then actually succeeded their father, supported al-Nafs al-zakiyya.¹⁰ Ismā'īl was considered by the Zaydīs to be one of their own,¹¹ as was a fourth son, Iṣḥāq b. Ja'far, who died in 150/767.¹² By contrast, Ja'far, as one recounted maliciously in Zaydī circles, had acquired his honorific epithet al-Ṣādiq from Maṣṣūr of all people – evidently because he was so sincere in maintaining loyalty to the latter.¹³

One could have gotten together with the Murji'a on the basis of this quietism. But one had drifted apart from them as well over the course of time. Their brotherhood in arms under Ibn Ash'ath lay far in the past. Subsequently, there had always been contacts of course. Imāmite sources preserve the report that "some *mawālī*" of Muḥammad al-Bāqir were inclined towards the Murji'a;¹⁴ conversely, they record that quite a few distinguished Iraqī Murji'ites had visited the Imam in Medina.¹⁵ He is even supposed to have made use of the term *irjā'*.¹⁶ But then one represented him as cursing the Murji'a;¹⁷ they were

6 Ibid. II, 155, no. 23; already maintained about Muḥammad al-Bāqir, *ibid.* VIII, 84 f., no. 45. On this cf. Veccia-Vaglieri in: *A Francesco Gabrieli* 324 and 346 f., as well as F. Omar in: *Arabica* 22/1975/172 f.; in this regard it was important for Ja'far to stay away from the meeting of the Hāshimids in Abwā' (see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.4.).

7 Ibid. I, 240, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

8 Thus Nagel in: *Der Islam* 46/1970/260 f.

9 See below p. 464.

10 *Maqātil* 277, ll. 8 f.; following this, Nagel 257.

11 Cf. Traini, *Sources biographiques* I, 152, no. 651, typically with the death date 138, i.e. the year of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb's revolt.

12 Ibid. I, 147, no. 631.

13 Nagel 261; also F. Omar in: *Arabica* 22/1975/173, who considers the information to be authentic. Also in general on Ja'far's attitude J. B. Taylor in: IC 40/1966/98 ff. and Sachedina, *Messianism* 14 ff.

14 *Kāfi* II, 68, no. 6.

15 See above pp. 177, 180 and 73. Further examples pp. 206 and 370 f.; Kashshī speaks directly of a *Murji'at al-Shī'a* (247, l. 5 from bot.)

16 See below p. 320.

17 *Kāfi* VIII, 276, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

unbelievers and unfortunately very numerous.¹⁸ Ja'far behaved the same way he did, even with a twofold condemnation, because they consider murderers of the 'Alids to be believers.¹⁹ On the resurrection they will be blind, so one transmitted on the authority of 'Alī;²⁰ probably what was meant was that they will not see God. Then in the second half of the 2nd century the theological refutations also accumulate.²¹ And yet one remained conscious of the things one had in common with the Kūfans: 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far even disqualified himself because he did not have an understanding of the Murji'ite standpoint.²²

The movement of disengagement is promoted and complemented by an exaggerated awareness of being chosen and a feeling of communal spirit. 'Alī is supposed to have spoken of himself as the one who has been appointed by God to effect a separation between Paradise and Hell.²³ He is the gateway to blessedness; whoever does not pass through is an unbeliever.²⁴ Therefore only a Shī'ite possesses faith;²⁵ whoever has this faith cannot be harmed by anything.²⁶ On the other hand, whoever does not participate is *kafūr* in the sense of surah 76/3, "ungrateful" towards God as well as towards His right guidance, and thus devoid of faith.²⁷ Whoever belongs to "the party" (*shī'a*) has been created for Paradise, so one claimed to have heard from Muḥammad al-Bāqir;²⁸ an enemy of the Shī'a (*nāṣib*), by contrast, is damned no matter

18 *Bihār* XXIV, 326, l. 10. "The believers", on the other hand, are more rare than "red sulphur" which no one has ever seen (ibid. LXVII, 159, no. 3; on this below p. 325, fn. 43).

19 *Kāfi* II, 409, no. 1. And, the other way round, that the Murji'ites were annoyed to death about 'Alī and the *ahl al-bayt* is stated in the verses in Jāhīz, *Bayān* III, 350, ll. 5 f.

20 *Bihār* LXXII, 132, no. 4.

21 See below p. 398 for Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, etc. One also had Ja'far carry on polemic against the Murji'ites' concept of faith (*Kāfi* II, 40, ll. 1 ff.).

22 Kashshī 282, ll. 8 f.; on this below p. 408.

23 *qasīm Allāh bayna'l-janna wa'l-nār* (*Kāfi* I, 197, l. 15), a form of expression intentionally ambiguous; one could likewise understand that 'Alī was God's partner, a partner in God's power to distinguish between good and bad. Variant in Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* 414 ff. The Sunnis knew the statement in a less provocative form: *ana qasīm al-nār* (Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya* IV, 61, ll. 15 ff.). Cf. also Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* IV, 126, ll. 12 f., in connection with the Prophet.

24 *Kāfi* II, 388, no. 16. On overly exalting the person of 'Alī cf. also J. Kornrumpf in: *Der Islam* 45/1969/275 ff. in connection with the compilation *Nahj al-balāgha*.

25 Ibid. II, 172, ll. 3 ff.; 362, ll. 3 f. from bot.; 378, l. 5.

26 Ibid. II, 464, no. 3; in Kūfa also advocated by the Murji'ite 'Ubayd al-Muktib but there just in connection with Islam in general (see above p. 243).

27 Ibid. II, 384, no. 4; cf. also VIII, 50 f., no. 14. On the double meaning of *kufīr* see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.7.

28 *Bihār* VIII, 360, no. 26.

what he may do.²⁹ God forms the Shī'ites from pure clay with sweet water, whereas the Sunnīs He forms from foul-smelling material; only when He adds some Shī'ite clay to them, do they become pious.³⁰ At the Last Judgement, therefore, the Shī'ites will be called by their *kunya*; the other people only by their mother's name.³¹ Even if they have committed sins, 'Alī's intercession will redeem them;³² that the *shafā'a* will only benefit the Shī'ites is virtually a dogma for Mufid.³³

But basically they already know about their salvation from the time of interrogation in the grave. In fact, there one will only be questioned about faith, not about works.³⁴ Above all, one must know the name of the Imam; whoever does not know the name of his Imam will die a *jāhiliyya*-death.³⁵ A Wāqifite who no longer acknowledged 'Alī al-Riḍā and therefore did not want to mention the latter's name in the grave, there received a blow to the head.³⁶ One's behaviour in this world is regulated accordingly: the Shī'ites are "brothers", the other Muslims merely "people" (*nās*).³⁷ Whoever confronts them with "hatred for God's sake" will be rewarded by God.³⁸ One does not offer them one's hand; whoever nevertheless does so must perform a ritual ablution.³⁹ But the Imam represents 'Alī on earth; that is why one says to him: "Take me by the hand (and protect me) from Hell-fire!"⁴⁰ He is "the face of God".⁴¹ For this reason not everyone is allowed to see him; during an audience Ja'far al-Ṣādiq sat behind a curtain.⁴² Zealots allowed themselves to be carried away by addressing him

29 *Kāfi* VIII, 160, no. 162; Mufid, *Amālī* 90, ll. 14 ff.; summarizing, *Bihār* XXVII, 166 ff.

30 *Bihār* LXVII, 104, ll. 6 ff. from bot., in connection with a long Apocalypse of Muḥammad al-Bāqir. With the second sentence one avoids the consequence that a Sunnī can no longer convert to the Shī'a.

31 Mufid, *Amālī* 183, l. 5 from bot.; cf. also *Bihār* VIII, 361, no. 33.

32 *Bihār* VI, 223, no. 23, and VIII, 197, ll. 1 ff.; on this Ash'arī, *Maq.* 54, ll. 11 ff.

33 *Awā'il al-maqālāt* 52, ll. 4 ff./transl. Sourdel 284. Ibn al-Rūmī confronts the Abbasids with this from a Shī'ite point of view (*Dīwān* III, no. 894, verse 35; on this S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī* 123 and below p. 332). Hence Mufid is also of the opinion that "the believers", i.e. the Shī'ites, enter Paradise without a reckoning (*Awā'il* 51, l. 5/transl. 284).

34 *Bihār* VI, 260, nos. 97–100.

35 *Kāfi* I, 376, no. 1; *Bihār* VIII, 362, no. 39. Summarizing, Momen, *Introduction* 157 ff.

36 *Bihār* VI, 242, no. 61.

37 *Kāfi* II, 361, l. 2 from bot.; also 173, no. 11.

38 *Ibid.* II, 137, ll. 6 f.; summarizing, *Bihār* LXIX, 236 ff.

39 Kohlberg in: JSAI 6/1985/104; in general also in: JSAI 7/1986/139 ff.

40 *Kāfi* I, 307, l. 2 from bot.; 312, l. 4.

41 *Bihār* XIV, 192 ff.; in this regard cf. above p. 316 for 'Alī.

42 See above p. 299.

with *labbayka* or at least to imagine themselves as doing so.⁴³ The Khaṭṭābiyya entered battle with the cry *labbayka Ja'far*.⁴⁴ Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb himself according to the view of his followers is supposed to have visited Ja'far journeying by night and then to have addressed him this way; thus, like Muḥammad he undertakes an *isrā'* and then beholds God like during the *mi'rāj*.⁴⁵ That one likened the Imam to the Prophet seems rather innocuous after this: when he sneezes, one should say *ṣallā'llāh 'alayk* and not *yarḥamuka'llāh*.⁴⁶

However, unbelief means conscious unbelief. Whoever cannot think can also not become guilty. Minors and such persons who only have the understanding of a minor are *mustaḍ'afūn* in the sense of surah 4/75, etc.; they are to be considered as weak because, in the true sense, they can neither believe nor be devoid of faith.⁴⁷ Women, servants and family dependents (*ahl*) who have not been initiated in "the matter" should not be excluded from the community, as Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Thaqafī⁴⁸ disseminated on the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.⁴⁹ Umm Ayman, a freedwoman of the Prophet, who lived within his family,⁵⁰ is cited by Muḥammad al-Bāqir as an example that someone can belong to those bound for Paradise (*ahl al-janna*)⁵¹ without however understanding "the matter".⁵² Children as well are not in danger. A child with faith cannot be influenced at all by its unbelieving parents, if predestination does not wish it.⁵³ Children of the Shī'ites who die before reaching the age of reason will be raised in Paradise by Fāṭima.⁵⁴ But sometimes one imagined that they would still have to prove themselves: they must jump into a fire.⁵⁵ Only someone who knows the *ikhtilāf*, i.e. understands the dogmatic

43 *Kāfi* I, 254, l. 7; VIII, 225 f., no. 286.

44 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* xx, 158, ll. 2 ff.; similarly Saksakī, *Burhān* 38, ll. 8 ff. from bot. That already Khālid al-Qasrī had had Shī'ites burned to death who passed through the streets with this cry, as it says in *Agh*. xvii, 20, ll. 3 ff., is very unlikely in view of the chronology.

45 *Bihār* XLVII, 378, ll. 5 ff., no. 101; somewhat more soberly Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 228, ll. 4 f. from bot., following Khayyāt.

46 *Kāfi* I, 411, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; *Bihār* xxvii, 256, no. 5 f.

47 *Ibid.* II, 404, no. 1; Zurāra according to Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

48 On him see below p. 387.

49 *Kāfi* II, 401, ll. 10 ff.

50 *IS* VIII, 162 ff.; Ṭabarī III, 2460, ll. 1 ff., and 2467, ll. 7 ff. On this Halm, *Gnosis* 102 f.

51 On the concept see above pp. 226 and 231.

52 *Kāfi* II, 405, ll. 4 f. from bot.

53 *Ibid.* II, 13, no. 1.

54 *Bihār* v, 289, no. 1; also 293, no. 17.

55 *Ibid.* 289 f., no. 2; 291 f., no. 8; 295, no. 22.

distinctions, bears responsibility and is no longer *mustaḍʿaf*.⁵⁶ But even in these cases one sometimes avoided excessive severity: in the case of non-Shīʿites, so one had Muḥammad al-Bāqir say, it was recommended to postpone judgement (*irjāʾ*), similarly as in the case of those contemporaries of the Prophet who fought against him at Uḥud and afterwards only converted for the sake of appearances.⁵⁷ Only “believers” must be rewarded by God; in the case of others He is free to decide.⁵⁸

Naturally, one must be on one’s guard against harmonization. The sayings that were put in the mouth of the Imams are an expression of a discussion and a standpoint in the course of development. Nevertheless, one should proceed on the basis of two fundamental assumptions: the materials reflect thought in Kūfa and, roughly calculating, they belong to the first three-quarters of the 2nd century. Later, under ‘Alī al-Riḍā, the mood changes; under the influence of Muʿtazilite ideas the notion of collective redemption becomes watered down. ‘Alī al-Riḍā lets it be related that in Kūfa certain “half-wits” spread the *ḥadīth* that Fāṭima protects all her descendedants from Hell-fire, and he limits this to her children Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.⁵⁹ There is no doubt that all the materials cited by us up to this point circulate under the name of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and even more so under that of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. Indeed, in the Shīʿa just as among the Sunnīs one had one’s own views expressed by foreign authorities. But one did not practice backdating so frequently; the living Imam was a sufficient guarantor, and he was far enough away so that one did not have to be in fear of surveillance.

The exception consists of the sayings that one put in the mouth of ‘Alī; the *Nahj al-balāgha* is a striking example of this. But at this time they did not yet play so great a role. It seems to me that they first became important, specifically among the Rawāfiḍ, when one no longer had an Imam or when he was no longer easily accessible. In the period of Bāqir and his son, it made more of an impression if one brought back from Medina new dicta that one had heard oneself.

56 *Kāfi* I, 405, no. 7.

57 *Ibid.* II, 403, ll. 6 ff. from bot., and 407, no. 2.

58 *Ibid.* II, 463, ll. 2 f. from bot.

59 Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira* I, 115, no. 239. On the *ḥadīth* see above pp. 178 f.

2.1.3.3.2 *The Imam as Omniscient Leader*

There was now no real need to practice backdating because one credited the Imam with omniscience. One expected that he would know the future; he is able to predict the birth of a son,¹ and he knows in advance that someone will renounce “the faith”.² He also knows all languages.³ ‘Alī al-Riḏā, when he comes to Marv, addresses the Khorāsānians in Persian;⁴ Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar hears Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq speak Syriac and explains this for himself by imagining that the Imam put himself in the place of the Prophet Elias.⁵ He has even been entrusted with the Greatest Name of God; by means of it he could ascend into heaven – and by means of both he shows himself to be the descendant of the gnostic prophets.⁶ And naturally, he knows about juridical matters. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq defeats Abū Ḥanīfa,⁷ and Mūsā al-Kāẓim replies to a whole series of tricky questions on law.⁸ After that the Rawāfiḍ had no place for free *ijtihād*.⁹ Difficulty only arose in the case of having advance knowledge of one’s own death; one then had to explain why all the Imams had allowed themselves to be murdered or poisoned.¹⁰

One was also not so sure how Imams attained this knowledge. They read the Holy Books, the Torah, the Gospels, so said the realists,¹¹ when they remain

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- 1 Kashshī 581, no. 1090. On the section that begins here cf. T. Andrae, *Person Muhammeds* 303 ff., likewise following Kulīnī and for this reason in part with corresponding examples. I regret that I was only able to consult the *Baṣā’ir al-darajāt* of Ibn al-Ṣaffār, which is especially fruitful for this subject, when it was too late (there for instance cf. pp. 109 ff.).
 - 2 Ibid. 572, no. 1085. Cf. also the story in Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft* 1, 189.
 - 3 Ibn al-Ṣaffār 333 ff.; Mufīd, *Irshād* 293, ll. 6 ff./transl. 443 f.; *Bihār* xxvi, 190 ff. Noted by Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa* 535, ll. 14 ff.; Mufīd has his doubts about it, *Awā’il al-maḳālāt* 38, l. 2/transl. Sourdel 274.
 - 4 *Kāfi* 1, 285, ll. 7 ff.
 - 5 Ibid. 1, 227, no. 2. Cf. in addition the numerous stories in Mufīd, *Ikhtisās* 283, ll. 13 ff. (in connection with Slavic, “Nabataean”, Hebrew and the language of birds and other animals); above all the motif is fashionable once again with the tenth Imam (*Bihār* L, 130 ff., no. 10 ff.). On this in general Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes* 164.
 - 6 *Bihār* xxvi, 7, ll. 7 f.; on this Momen, *Introduction* 150. For the gnostics see below p. 472, fn. 36, and Chpt. D 1.21.2. In general Meier, *Fawā’ih al-jamāl* 137 ff. and Gramlich, *Wunder* 164 ff.
 - 7 A topos in Imāmite literature which even makes its way into non-Shī‘ite writing (see above p. 218).
 - 8 *Bihār* x, 249–291.
 - 9 Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 53, l. 4.
 - 10 *Bihār* XLVIII, 235 f., no. 42 f. The idea of *badā’* still caused problems (on this see below p. 366).
 - 11 *Kāfi* 1, 227, no. 1; *Bihār* xxvi, 180 f.

at a loss, they cast lots by throwing small stones.¹² Every night from Thursday to Friday their spirit meets with the Prophet and his predecessors, so said the theosophists.¹³ They inherit it from their family, and they have it in their possession like the rest of the legacy of the Prophet: his books, his weapons, his walking stick, his turban, his cloak, so said the legitimists.¹⁴ The Imam receives it from his predecessor at the hour of the latter's death, so it was said,¹⁵ or: it is new from day to day.¹⁶ It goes back to the Prophet who had it from God, so thought some;¹⁷ 'Alī possesses the knowledge of Adam, so others assumed.¹⁸ Finally, the opinion of the illuminationists was completely divergent: when the Imam reaches the age of a youth, God causes a column of light to rise up before him by means of which he perceives everything on earth, especially people's deeds.¹⁹ Or: knowledge is directly communicated to the Imams by God;²⁰ it coils up (*ya'ruzu*) inside them like a snake in its hole.²¹ In this respect, the Imam is comparable to a prophet except that he receives no share of revelation (*wahy*) but the words of the angel come to him in a dream as if they were inscribed (*al-nakt fī'l-qulūb*) or scratched inside his ear.²² He is, so one said, an "interlocutor" (*muḥaddath*);²³ he is addressed but he does not hear the angel directly, nor does he see him, in contrast to Muḥammad.²⁴ One took this from a variant of surah 22/52 which had been in the codex of Ibn 'Abbās but was not admitted into the *textus receptus*; there in the sentence "Before you We did not send a messenger or prophet . . .", along with *rasūl* and *nabī*, stood the word *muḥaddath*.²⁵ The idea only gradually established itself; Ḥumrān

12 Mufid, *Ikhtisāṣ* 304, ll. 3 ff.

13 *Kāfi* I, 253 f., no. 1 ff.

14 Ibid. I, 276, l. 9; 284, ll. 3 ff.; VIII, 225, ll. 4 ff. On the Prophet's insignia see below pp. 445 f.

15 *Kāfi* I, 274, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

16 Ibid. I, 224 f., no. 3, and 240, ll. 4 f.

17 *Biḥār* X, 207, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

18 *Kāfi* I, 222, no. 5.

19 *Biḥār* XXV, 117, no. 2, and XXVI, 132 ff.

20 *Kāfi* I, 258, no. 1 ff.; similarly I, 163, no. 2.

21 Ibid. I, 340, no. 17; on ²r-z cf. *Lisān al-'Arab* under its radicals.

22 Evidence in Kohlberg in: *Studia Orientalia Baneth* 40.

23 Ibid. 39 ff. with abundant materials; on this see above p. 5.

24 *Biḥār* XI, 54, no. 51. Kaysān, who gave his name to the Kaysāniyya, also maintains this about Mukhtār (cf. Madelung in EI² IV, 836 b. s. v. *Kaysāniyya*). Cf. as well Ash'arī, *Maq.* 50, ll. 11 ff.

25 Kohlberg 41.

b. A'yan, the brother of the Rāfiḍite theologian Zurāra b. A'yan and himself a Koran exegete,²⁶ had allegedly first learned of it from Muḥammad al-Bāqir.²⁷

A new nuance appeared when Muḥammad al-Jawād, the ninth Imam, succeeded his father 'Alī al-Riḍā at the age of seven; now one had to assume that inspiration in this sense could also be bestowed on a minor.²⁸ At the time, by seeking precedents, one had apparently tried to prove that Zayn al-'Ābidīn at the death of his father Ḥusayn had also not yet attained his majority.²⁹ On the other hand, since the time of 'Alī al-Riḍā the efforts to democratize knowledge are once more strengthened: normal scholars can – and should – be *muḥaddath*, in fact basically so should every “believer”, i.e. Shī'ite.³⁰ Mufīd then no longer considers it at all certain that the Imam, by means of divine inspiration, is able to perceive people's most intimate thoughts; and he could definitely not succeed in this all on his own.³¹

From secret knowledge it was not a long way to secret writings. This is also a broad field. From far back in time one has always made a lot of fuss about so-called *jafr*: Hārūn b. Sa'd al-'Ijlī had already poured forth mockery regarding it.³² Under *jafr* one imagined the hide of an ox on which were recorded prophecies.³³ Only the prophets and their “appointed executors” (*awṣiyā'*) have ever seen it.³⁴ This stimulated the fantasy. One sometimes distinguished between a white *jafr* which comprised all the writings of the prophets, and a red *jafr* which contains weapons and will only be opened by “the Lord of the Sword”, i.e. the *qā'im* when he begins the battle.³⁵ Abū Dulaf describes it in his *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya* as an instrument of the fortuneteller; it contained a picture of the celestial sphere.³⁶ Thus, at that time it was already disseminated among the people. Still today in Iran one shows manuscripts which bear this name;

26 See below p. 375.

27 Kohlberg 45. It reminds one of the idea of the *bat qol*, the voice of heaven, in Judaism; this as well offers compensation for the drying up of prophecy.

28 Kohlberg 40 with evidence.

29 Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl* 25 § 39; on this Introduction 29 ff.

30 Kohlberg 44.

31 Murtaḍā, *Fuṣūl mukhtāra* I, 73, ll. 14 ff./79, last l. ff.

32 Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār* II, 145, l. 9. For additional sources see above p. 291, fn. 10. Cf. also the remark of Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir in Text xvii 1, verse 46.

33 Cf. EI² II, 375 ff. s. v. *Djafr*; on this *Kāfi* I, 239, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

34 *Kāfi* I, 312, l. 1.

35 Ibid. I, 240, no. 3; summarizing, *Biḥār* xxvi, 18 ff. On a *jafr aswad* cf. GAS 4/264.

36 Bosworth, *Underworld* II, 204.

they record all the theoretically possible permutations of the Arabic alphabet and were certainly used as omens (*fa'l*).

Such is the case in the Kitābkhāna-yi Mar'ashī in Qum. Moreover, the same technique is already found in the *K. al-Ḥāṣil* of the *Corpus Jābirianum* (Kraus, *Jābir* II, 248 f.). On this subject cf. also GAS 1/530, as well as 4/268; R. Hartmann, *Eine islamische Apokalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit* 108 ff.; Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique* 164 ff.; Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism* 26 f.; Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* 92. The Moriscos employed the term *jofores* for texts in which the end of Christian rule was prophesied (Dressendorfer, *Islam unter der Inquisition* 150).

But this Sybilline stage prop found itself confronted with other competitors. Here it is a matter of a tablet (*lawḥ*) that Fāṭima had once owned,³⁷ or of a sealed scroll (*ṣaḥīfa*)³⁸ or a page, the so-called *jāmi'ā* which was 70 ells long and written by 'Alī in his own hand.³⁹ In critical cases, God Himself even resorted to writing: by means of a letter He had made it clear to Muḥammad that 'Alī al-Riḍā was the right Imam; nor had He even forgotten the *basmala* in the salutatory address.⁴⁰ Here then it comes as no surprise that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq also held in trust the Tables of Moses.⁴¹ How much alchemy was associated with him, in part through the name Jābir b. Ḥayyān, is well known.⁴² However, the Imāmite literature says almost nothing about this aspect;⁴³ one was less interested in making gold than in historical or apocalyptic predictions. In this regard, above all, the so-called *muṣḥaf* of Fāṭima was also of service. It was three times as large as the Koran but contained completely different things:⁴⁴ the prophecy that in the year 128 the *zanādiqa* would come forth,⁴⁵ or the names of all the

37 *Kāfi* I, 527, no. 3; 532, no. 9.

38 *Ibid.* I, 235, no. 7.

39 *Ibid.* I, 239, ll. 9 ff.; in detail Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* 150 ff. On this Andrae, *Person Muhammeds* 303. One thinks of *al-Risāla al-jāmi'ā* from the environment of the Ikhwān al-ṣafā' which has been attributed to Majrīṭī (1–2, ed. Ṣalība, Damascus 1368/1949).

40 Ibn Bābōya, *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* I, ll. 35 f.

41 *Kāfi* I, 231, no. 2.

42 Cf. Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften* 195 f. and Index s. n. *Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq*; GAS 4/128 ff.; on this see below p. 467.

43 This is attributed rather to the Ismā'īlīs. For an exception cf. *Kāfi* II, 242, no. 1: Ja'far uses the alchemical cover name *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* (on this Ullmann 258).

44 *Kāfi* I, 239, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; also VIII, 58, l. 2. On this Eliash in: *Arabica* 16/1969/23 f. and Poonawala in: *Elran* II, 158 b.

45 *Ibid.* I, 240, no. 2: on this below Chpt. B 3.2.2.

rulers of this world – whereby it happily emerged that the Ḥasanids were not among them.⁴⁶

Concerning the Koran itself one likewise had one's own ideas. Only 'Alī and the Imams had at their disposition a complete text of Scripture.⁴⁷ One knew that non-'Uthmānite codices had contained additions; the *muḥaddath*-example was one instance of this. The codex of Ubayy b. Ka'b, after all, had two complete additional surahs; the Imāmite Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/874) had even seen a copy of it in a village near Baṣra.⁴⁸ But one had become cautious. One no longer exposed oneself to reproach such as the *K. al-Irjā'* had presented: namely, that one believed that nine-tenths of the Koran had been suppressed.⁴⁹ When Ḍirār b. 'Amr, in the second half of the 2nd century, writes against heretics that they maintained the Prophet had left out something of "religion", this is in fact an isolated case and, furthermore, is stated in a much more restrained manner.⁵⁰ What is above all striking is that one did not base oneself on the codex of 'Alī, although this had been greatly divergent at least in the order of the surahs;⁵¹ one probably no longer knew anything precise about it. Even when engaging in polemic, one based oneself on Sunnī reports.⁵² One could not escape from the authority of the 'Uthmānite edition, despite all the hatred against its author. That 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd in his codex, which had enjoyed a high reputation in Kūfa, left out surahs 113 and 114, one considered to be irresponsible.⁵³ What was withheld in the case of the Koran, as one now thought, lay in the area of exegesis (*ta'wīl*).⁵⁴ Scripture in and of itself was not sufficient; in this regard, as with everything else, one was in need of a spiritual leader. By contrast, when it came to the body of the text itself, one only reckoned with deformations (*taḥrif*) by the Sunnī camp where the *rasm* of consonants did not undergo all that much change.⁵⁵

46 Ibid. I, 242, no. 8; on this *Bihār* xxvi, 155 f.

47 Ibid. I, 228, ll. 10 ff.; Faḍl b. Shādhān, *Īdāh* 108, ll. 5 f.

48 E1² v, 407 b; also Nagel, *Koran* 25.

49 Text II 1, u; also *Arabica* 21/1974/36 f.

50 Werkliste xv, no. 26. It is not certain that here *dīn* means the Koran.

51 On this Jeffery, *Materials* 182 ff.; following him, Nagel 29 and 22 f.

52 Cf. Faḍl b. Shādhān, *Īdāh* 209, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; also the passage in Ibn Kammūna, *Tanqīh al-abḥāth* 76, ll. 1 ff./transl. Perlmann 113 indicates this. Naturally, it changes nothing that such a form of argumentation could be very effective as *mu'āraḍa*.

53 *Bihār* xcii, 363 f., no. 2; on the discussion about this problem cf. Bāqillānī, *Intiṣār* 183, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

54 The passages concerned are enumerated in Momen, *Introduction* 151 ff.

55 For instance *umma* for *a'immā*. Even as fanatical an adversary of the Imāmites as Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār did not assert more than this (cf. *Mughnī* xvi, 155, ll. 13 ff.). On this in

But the more the Imam gave himself legitimacy through his omniscience, the more he caused embarrassment to his followers when they brought home with them contradictory decisions or information from him. The Butrite Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa apparently already ridiculed the fact that Ja‘far said *ex cathedra* something different to every visitor in Medina.⁵⁶ This criticism was actually at its loudest among the Shī‘a themselves. Ja‘far, according to the reports of his Kūfan followers, is supposed to have complained vigorously because the Zaydis denied the omniscience of the Imams.⁵⁷ In general, the latter did not expect something like this from their Imams; in their circles one recounted how disparagingly al-Nafs al-zakiyya had spoken about people who lay claim to knowledge for themselves and then do not find a correct answer to questions.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the Rawāfiḍ were delighted that Ja‘far made it clear to the Ḥasanids by his allusion to surah 46/4 that through their renunciation of supernatural knowledge they basically showed the same ignorance that the pagan Arabs had shown towards the Prophet.⁵⁹

To avoid criticism different paths could be followed. One could abandon the theory: in a unique report Ja‘far denies that he knows what is hidden (*ghayb*); that is God’s prerogative. For this reason he does not know where one of his female slaves is at the moment; but he does know much about the Koran as a scholar.⁶⁰ But generally one does not in fact react like this to criticism. Rather, one had Ja‘far give instructions that in the case of contradictory decisions one should always follow the last one⁶¹ – probably an adaptation to the theory of abrogation. Or: one should see which one conforms to the Koran; moreover, one should bide one’s time.⁶² Or: those who had heard did not understand; the speech of the Imam can be interpreted 70 different ways.⁶³ Or, and this seems to have been the most frequent solution, one explained the inconsistencies of the Imam as precautionary measures in a hostile environment, i.e. as *taqiyya*.⁶⁴

general *Biḥār* XCII, 60 ff. and previously; Kohlberg in: *Festschrift Walzer* 209 ff.; also Eliash in: *Arabica* 16/1969/15 ff., and now Ayoub in: *Approaches*, ed. Rippin 189 ff.

56 Cf. the tendentiousness of the anecdotes in Kashshī 234 f., nos. 424–428.

57 *Kāfi* I, 261, no. 4.

58 Abū’l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 294, ll. 10 ff. One also had ‘Alī speak critically against those who overly exalted his person (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Riḥla* 130, ll. 10 ff., and 185, ll. 1 ff.; also *Der Islam* 45/1969/279).

59 Kashshī 369, no. 665; Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 209 (where surah 4/46 is a mistake for 46/4).

60 *Kāfi* I, 257, no. 3.

61 *Ibid.* II, 218, no. 7.

62 *Ibid.* II, 222, ll. 11 f.

63 Mufid, *Ikhtišāṣ* 282, ll. 1 ff.

64 *Kāfi* I, 265, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; on this below pp. 362 ff.

The Zaydī, Sulaymān b. Jarīr al-Raqqī, rigorously attacked this argument and thereby caused the Rawāfiḍ great damage, though perhaps not in Kūfa.⁶⁵ The way he interpreted the situation was transferred in an exemplary manner to the protest by means of which some time earlier a certain

‘Umar b. al-Riyāḥ b. Qays b. Sālim al-Qallā’

stepped into the limelight. The latter, already with Muḥammad al-Bāqir, repeatedly had the experience that the Imam gave him different answers to a certain question – probably each time he visited him during the *hajj*. When in his case too one explained this by way of *taqīyya*, he reacted with indignation; he was an “insider”, so there was no reason for the Imam to be on guard towards him.⁶⁶ Nawbakhtī, presumably following Hishām b. al-Ḥakam in this, classifies him in an odd way: as a Wāqifite who “came to a halt” in the case of Muḥammad al-Bāqir. Here there are probably systemic constraints at play; Wāqifites turn up in the heresiographical scheme used by Nawbakhtī in the case of almost every Imam. ‘Umar b. al-Riyāḥ later still transmitted from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāẓim;⁶⁷ so he did not feel himself to be excluded, nor was he boycotted by the Imams. His sons advocated the same standpoint as he did.⁶⁸ Probably after his experience with al-Bāqir he no longer acknowledged the Ḥusaynids’ claim to exclusive authority, without making common cause with the Zaydīs because of this; perhaps it was only his sons who first justified their neutrality this way. That the formulation of that neutrality in Sulaymān b. Jarīr is so similar is probably due to the heresiographer Nawbakhtī.

Moreover, it is by no means certain in the case of ‘Umar b. al-Riyāḥ that he voiced his criticism in Kūfa. He originated from Ahwāz,⁶⁹ and if he were identical with the traditionist Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. al-Riyāḥ al-‘Abdī, then as his second *nisba* indicates he would belong to Baṣra.⁷⁰ He was perhaps called al-Qallā’, “the one who roasts meats”, because he ran a hot food stand. One then wonders where he acquired the money to travel

65 See below Chpt. B 2.4.3.1, following Text III 6.

66 Nawbakhtī, *Firaq* 52, ll. 6 ff. > Qummī 74 f., no. 147; on this Kashshī 237 f., no. 430, following the same source. Cf. van Arendonk 78.

67 Najāshī 67, ll. 13 f.

68 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 46, ll. 3 ff.

69 On him cf. Najāshī 183, ll. 12 ff.; Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* II, 343 f., no. 8997; Ardabili I, 634.

70 On this ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* III, 160, no. 1149; *Mizān* no. 6109.

several times to Medina. Did the community finance this or was he taken along in the company of rich friends?

The Jārūdiyya, as we saw, did not completely close their eyes to the trend.⁷¹ That they were the most badly slandered by the Imāmites is another story; indeed, they credited inspiration to the wrong people. The ideas that we have treated were not in fact necessarily new. What here comes to the surface in the time of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq had prepared itself at the beginning of the century under the aegis of Muḥammad al-Bāqir – or among those who based themselves on him in Kūfa; it reached beyond the milieu of the Ḥusaynids' followers into the gnostic marginal zones which at the time surrounded the Shi'a in Kūfa and in the late Umayyad period had shaped their profile. The zealots had felt few scruples in viewing the Imam as God, and themselves as His prophets;⁷² they believed that God's spirit resided in the prophets and the Imams⁷³ or that God personally spoke with them.⁷⁴ They expected that the charismatic leader could uncover secrets and know about the future.⁷⁵ They had paid much more attention to exclusivity than did the Rawāfiḍ,⁷⁶ and they had felt far more strongly a sense of being chosen. Muḡhira b. Sa'īd (executed 119/737) is meant to have asserted that a "believer" will not be afflicted by leprosy, small pox, etc.,⁷⁷ and Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb is supposed to have openly promised those who revolted with him that they were immune against the weapons of the government troops.⁷⁸

This was even too extreme for the Rāfiḍites. They had recourse to the Koran against the "exaggerators". Muḥammad al-Bāqir is supposed to have pointed out that the Ṣāḥīb Yāsīn, i.e. the anonymous believer who is spoken about in the surah Yā-Sīn (36/20–27), was veiled because leprosy had eaten away his face.⁷⁹ Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, when it is put to him, rejects that the Imams are "the God on earth" who in surah 43/84 is distinguished from the God of heaven, and did the same when one wished to make them into a prophet on the basis of surah 23/51.⁸⁰

71 On *ilhām* among them see above p. 300; among the Imāmites cf. Kohlberg in: *Festschrift Baneth* 40.

72 Cf. the examples in Halm, *Gnosis* 54 (Ḥamza b. 'Ammāra al-Barbarī) and 73 (Ḥarbīya).

73 Ibid. 60 (Bayān b. Sam'ān); also p. 57.

74 Ibid. 86 (Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī).

75 Cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 118, ll. 11 ff./156, last l. ff. for Bayān b. Sam'ān and the amusing story about Ibn Ḥarb in Halm, *Gnosis* 66 f.

76 Halm 49 f. (a group of Kaysānites).

77 *Kāfi* 11, 254, no. 12.

78 Halm 200 f.

79 *Kāfi* 11, 254, no. 12 (see above).

80 *Kāfi* 1, 269, no. 6. On surah 43/84 also see below p. 513.

But one did still allow oneself to be seduced a little: the Imams do hold the rank of the Prophet; only they do not possess as many wives.⁸¹ It is thanks to this flexibility that from around the middle of the 2nd century the extreme currents for some time went on being absorbed by the Rāfiḍiyya.

2.1.3.3.3 *The Return* (rajʿa)

The Rāfiḍite Shīʿa picked up above all the idea that gave the visionary movements of the Umayyad period their chiliastic impetus: the idea of the return (*rajʿa*) at the end of time.¹ Therefore, at this point we must reach back into the 1st century somewhat more strongly than usual. Already the Sabaʿiyya, with whom the *K. al-Irjāʾ* argues, was expecting a “resurrection (*baʿth*) before the Hour (of the Last Judgement)”; this was probably part of the hidden knowledge which they did not find in the Koran.² Nor is it said by them this early on who is actually meant to be resurrected and return; the concept here just as later remains vague. What is certain, however, is that this event was always awaited on behalf of oneself, as a compensation for a wrong one had suffered and some failed aspiration: a community of the chosen returns to an earthly existence, guided by a Mahdī who takes on the features of the respective charismatic leader. For the Sabaʿiyya this was originally ʿAlī,³ for the Kaysāniyya Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya,⁴ but for some in their milieu it was ʿAlī together with Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as well as Mukhtār,⁵ for others still ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya⁶ and later on for certain disappointed partisans of the Abbasids, the person who had the latter put to death, Abū Muslim.⁷

That in the *K. al-Irjāʾ* the *rajʿa* is not explicitly connected with ʿAlī is perhaps no coincidence. Opponents of the Shīʿa in fact soon designated with the word Sabaʿiyya not only those who did not want to admit the

81 Ibid. I, 270, no. 7.

1 On this Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism* 166 ff. In J. I. Smith and Y. Y. Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* the subject is not mentioned at all.

2 Text II, 1, *t-u*.

3 Cf. Halm, *Gnosis* 39 f.

4 Ibid. 48 ff.

5 Thus in any case according to the somewhat too exciting story of the Koran reciter ʿĀṣim b. Abī'l-Najjūd (d. 127/745) in Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫh* v, 89, ll. 3 ff. from bot. The chief ideologue is there an old man who cannot pronounce the letters *ʿayn*, *ḥāʾ* or *ḫāʾ*, hence a Persian.

6 Ashʿarī *Maq.* 22, ll. 11 ff., and below Chpt. B 3.2.2.

7 Ibid. 22, ll. 1 f. In general cf. Friedländer in: JAOS 29/1908/23 ff., and in: JQR, NS 2/1911–12/481 ff.

death of 'Alī but the Kūfan Shī'a in general or at least the radical currents that were spreading among them. With this name Farazdaq taunted the Hamdān who had fought at Dayr al-Jamājim on the side of Ibn Ash'ath (*Dīwān* III, 210, last l., Boucher/301, ll. 1 and 4, Ṣāwī). Another instance is found in A'shā Hamdān (Ṭabarī II, 704, l. 11); of the reading *Sabaliyya* which Geyer has accepted in his edition of the *Dīwān* I cannot make heads or tails (there 334, no. 31, verse 1; cf. the critical apparatus p. 321). For Sālim b. Dhakwān see above p. 198; for Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī above p. 192. Saffāh uses the word in his famous accession speech that he gave in Kūfa (Ṭabarī III, 29, l. 17), but allegedly so did Ziyād earlier in a speech (Balādhurī IV, 245, l. 2, 'Abbās). As much as some of these instances can have been stylistically reshaped later on, it is nonetheless certain that the word is the earliest term of abuse employed against the Shī'a (cf. also W. Qāḍī in: *Akten VII. Kongreß UEAI Göttingen* 300 f.). In the post-Umayyad period the word lost ground. But Ibn Ḥanbal still spoke of A'mash as a *saba'ī ḥarbi* (see above p. 273).

At the time one did not feel that this idea was extreme. Already in the pre-Islamic period one had believed that the fallen hero would again return to life.⁸ When he lay on his deathbed, Kuthayyir is supposed to have claimed with a cheerful spirit that after 40 days he would appear again on his noble steed.⁹ One would perhaps have cringed when people like 'Abdallāh b. Ḥarb allegorized *raja'* and had it take place in a permanent transmigration of souls; in principle this amounted to a denial of the resurrection.¹⁰ But even some of the otherwise moderate followers of Zayd b. 'Alī hoped for the return of their hero. They had a special reason for this; Zayd's corpse had been left hanging on a stake for three years until Walīd II had it taken down at the beginning of his caliphate in the year 125/743.¹¹ One criticized Hārūn b. Sa'd al-'Ijlī for having withdrawn in meditation (*i'tikāf*) by the wooden stake.¹² But one had crucified the dead man once apparitions started to appear at his grave; after that one had him exhumed again.¹³ Subsequently, Walīd had the corpse cremated with the intention, no doubt, of removing any hope of return. For the Shī'ites

8 Bravmann, *Spiritual Background* 265.

9 *Agh.* IX, 17, ll. 14 f.

10 Halm 71 ff.; without any further characteristic recorded as a view of the *ghulāt* in Ash'arī, *Maq.* 46, ll. 11 ff.

11 Cf. F. Gabrieli, *Califfato di Hishām* 28 ff.

12 Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 143, ll. 10 ff.

13 Ash'arī 65, ll. 11 f.; Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 13/1923/47.

this was a shock; now Zayd had no chance of immediately entering Paradise with his body as a martyr.¹⁴ To this day there are no crematoria in the Islamic world. Mughīra b. Saʿīd, who had come forth shortly before Zayd, had practiced necromancy at graves; as a result of his efforts people claimed to have beheld something like grasshoppers.¹⁵ As is known, he too was cremated. Indeed, he had also boasted that he could revive the ʿĀd and Thamūd if he so wished.¹⁶

2.1.3.3.3.1 The Idea of *rajʿa* among the Early Zaydis

The Zaydiyya in fact quarrelled over the problem of *rajʿa*. From the beginning rationalistic tendencies existed in their midst; there over time one probably rejected *rajʿa* more and more.¹ On the other hand, one repeatedly had to come to terms with political failures; the Jārūdiyya had supported, one after the other, al-Nafs al-zakiyya, Muḥammad b. Qāsim and Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, and each time there were those among them who did not want to believe in the death of their hero.² In an elegy on behalf of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, Ibn al-Rūmī used the Mahdī (*imām al-ḥaqq*) to stir up fear among the Abbasids whom he attacks in no uncertain terms. To him they were the embodiment of the forces of darkness: they have yellow faces and blue eyes like the Byzantines. He probably equated the Mahdī with his sorely missed Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar.³ Some time later, during his studies in Baghdād, Kaʿbī still came across one of the latter's disciples.⁴

People who venerated the wooden stake of Zayd b. ʿAlī, with a certain misleading use of words came to be called *khashabī*, as for example

14 Christians were also burned in Lyon at the time of Irenaeus so they would have no hope of being resurrected (McDannel/Lang, *Heaven. A History* 49).

15 Ṭabarī II, 1619, ll. 9 f., following a report of Aʿmash. On this cf. Wasserstrom in: *History of Religions* 25/1985/7 f. (where the passage, however, is incorrectly translated). Likewise, the wife of the Syrian mystic Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī felt reminded of the resurrection by the bustling throng of grasshoppers (Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* VIII, 349, ll. 5 f.).

16 Ṭabarī, *ibid.*, ll. 7 ff.; however, according to Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 623, ll. 2 f., he attributed this power to ʿAlī.

1 Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 96, ll. 2 f. from bot., in connection with the Jārūdiyya; Ashʿarī, *Maq.* 69, l. 2, in connection with the Butriyya.

2 Cf. the evidence above p. 308 f.; on this Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* IV, 179, ll. 9 ff. That many of them acknowledged the *rajʿa* as well as the temporary marriage appears also in *Mizān* II, 93, ll. 2 f. from bot.

3 *Dīwān* II, 497 (no. 366), verses 71 ff. = Abū'l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 656, ll. 9 ff.; on this S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī* 121. That the poet was inclined to the more extreme Zaydis also emerges from the fact that he detested eel (Boustany 124).

4 According to Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl* I, 21 b.

Abū'l-Nu'mān al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīra al-Azdī,

a freedman from Kūfa who, although Sufyān al-Thawrī and Abū Mikhnaf received traditions from him directly, is still reckoned among the *tābī'ūn*. He lived during the first half of the 2nd century.⁵ The merits (*faḍā'il*) of the Prophet's family were very dear to his heart;⁶ for this reason Naṣr b. Muzāḥim in his *K. Waq'at Šiffīn* also frequently refers back to him.⁷ Before the Abbasid revolution he undertook propaganda against the Umayyads with an alleged saying of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.⁸ Among his direct disciples was

Abū Muḥammad Ṣabbāḥ (b. Qays?) b. Yaḥyā al-Muzanī,⁹

who stood out in Kūfa because he combined rejection of Abū Bakr and 'Umar with belief in *raġ'a* but without making common cause with the Rawāfiḍ, and for this reason he succeeded in becoming the head of a Zaydī sect.¹⁰ He transmitted from Bāqir and Ja'far al-Šādiq;¹¹ he once visited the latter together with Shayṭān al-Ṭāq and other scholars.¹² He made no secret of his enthusiasm for 'Alī; he had the Prophet say that he and 'Alī originated from the same tree,¹³ and maintained that 'Alī, when he was sent to the Yemen, had been blessed with juridical knowledge by the Prophet's laying on of hands – entirely in accordance with the theory of inspiration which Rāfiḍites and Jārūdites advocated

5 Dhababī, *Mizān* no. 1613, and *Ta'riḫ* VI, 49, ll. 7 ff.; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 205 (with an incorrect quotation from TT V, 253) and Index s. n.

6 'Uqaylī, *Ḍu'afā'* I, 217, ll. 13 f.; TT II, 140, 8 f.

7 Cf. Index s. n.

8 Nagel, *Untersuchungen* 10.

9 On the disciple relationship cf. Ardabilī I, 172. Evidence for this in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim (363, ll. 3 ff.; on this U. Sezgin 143), in Ibn al-Šaffār (*Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* 135, ll. 11 f., and 141, l. 2), in Mufīd (*Ikhtišāṣ* 176, ll. 1 ff., and 276, ll. 6 ff. from bot.) and above all in Majlisī (*Biḥār* XVII, 138 f., no. 32; XVIII, 98 ff., and 106, no. 3; XXVI, 282, no. 34; XCII, 59, nos. 44 and 46; ibid. 87, no. 23, etc.). In many of these passages he goes back via his teacher to Aṣḥab b. Nubāta (on him see below p. 337).

10 Thus Qummī, *Maq.* 71 § 138; anonymously cited in Ash'arī, *Maq.* 69, ll. 10 f. Both passages for the first time combined in Madelung, *Qāsim* 52, fn. 46.

11 Najāshī 142, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ* II, 96, no. 5723; Ardabilī I, 411 a. Since one had "a book" by him, he is also registered in the *Fihrist* of Ṭūsī (169 f., no. 362), as Ṣabbāḥ b. Yaḥyā as in Najāshī.

12 *Biḥār* XVIII, 354, no. 66.

13 'Uqaylī, *Ḍu'afā'* II, 212, no. 747 > *Mizān* no. 3850 > *Lisān al-Mizān* III, 180, no. 729; here as well only *Ṣabbāḥ b. Yaḥyā*.

in common.¹⁴ The former supplemented the tradition to the effect that (at the time?) the future was also made visible to him up to the Last Judgement.¹⁵ – Presumably quite close to him was

Abū'l-ʿAqzān ʿUthmān b. ʿUmayr al-Bajalī al-Thaqafī,

whom at the time Zayd had sent to Aʿmash in order to win him over to Zayd's cause;¹⁶ he too believed in *rajʿa*.¹⁷ He lived long enough to participate in the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh and therefore must only have died after 145/763.¹⁸

On the other hand, matters are probably different with Abū Bakr Fiṭr b. Khalīfa al-Makhzūmī al-Ḥannāṭ (died presumably 153/770),¹⁹ a Qurayshī who in his old age likewise still supported Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh.²⁰ Ibn Ḥanbal once described him as an “immoderate Khashabite”.²¹ But this was evidently not meant so seriously; according to his son's testimony in the *K. al-ʿIlal*, he expressed himself much more mildly.²² Nowhere is it stated that Fiṭr believed in *rajʿa*; by contrast, it is clear that he placed ʿAlī above ʿUthmān and in his judgement regarding ʿUthmān he did not restrain himself from speaking frankly.²³ On the other hand, he accepted *ḥadīths* that went back to Abū Bakr.²⁴ Thus he belongs in the same category as Aʿmash concerning whom Ibn Ḥanbal spoke with similar

14 Wakiʿ, *Akhbār* I, 87, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; moreover the hand is not laid on the head but “between the nipples of the breast” because that is the seat of the heart.

15 Biḥār XXII, 461, no. 10. According to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, he transmitted ʿAlī's testament to Ḥasan (ibid. LXXVII, 166, l. 3 from bot.). An additional tradition about ʿAlī in Kashshī 44 f., no. 94, where Ṣabbāḥ is introduced as *min aṣḥābinā*. According to Qādī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* XX₂, 185, ll. 7 f., his followers were different from the Jārūdiyya because they described the first two caliphs as infidels and not simply as sinners as did the latter. In this passage moreover the father of Ṣabbāḥ is called Qāsim and not Qays as in the Shīʿite biographers.

16 *Maqātil* 147, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; van Arendonk 284.

17 ʿUqaylī, *Duʿafāʾ* III, 211 f., no. 1214 > Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 5550, as well as *Taʾrīkh* v, 108, ll. 4 ff. from bot. and VI, 100, ll. 4 ff.; TT VII, 145 f., no. 292.

18 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 167, no. 1029; TT VII, 145, l. 2 from bot.

19 Thus Khalīfa, *Ṭab*. 393, no. 1275, and *Taʾrīkh* 661, l. 10; also the year 155 is transmitted.

20 *Maqātil* 356, l. 1.

21 ʿUqaylī, *Duʿafāʾ* III, 464, ll. 4 f.

22 147, no. 912: *yataṣḥayyaʾ*; adopted in ʿUqaylī 464, ll. 6 f. Similarly Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif* 624, f. 12.

23 TT VIII, 302, ll. 2 and 8 f.

24 Suyūṭī, *Laʾālī* I, 284, ll. 8 ff. from bot.

severity;²⁵ he received traditions from Salama b. Kuhayl,²⁶ and passed them on to Wakīʿ, Faḍl b. Dukayn and ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr.²⁷

Khwārizmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* also speaks of a Khashabiyya among the Zaydīs;²⁸ he links it to a certain Ṣurkhāb al-Ṭabarī about whom we otherwise know nothing else. But he then falls into the trap of the name's ambiguity; he maintains that they had fought with Mukhtār and at the time used weapons made of wood. One must also probably deal with the notice in the *K. Waṣf al-īmān* of Zubayr b. Aḥmad in the same manner.²⁹ Abū'l-Maʿālī probably borrows from Khwārizmī in *Bayān ul-adyān* 35, ll. 5 f. The connection is wholly unrecognizable when Khashabiyya is replaced by Kaysāniyya as in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* IV, 179, ll. 5 f. from bot.; the latter then sees the common ground between the Kaysāniyya and the Zaydiyya in the combination of activism and chiliastic expectations. Moreover, Ṣurkhāb is probably only a variant of the Persian name Suhrāb (cf. Nöldeke in: SB *Wiener Akad. Phil-hist. Kl.* 116/1888/404); one will have no need to think about "Redwater". Even less so does the man from Ṭabaristān have anything to do with "the sea devil" Surḥūb (see above p. 294). – That Kathīr al-Nawwāʿ and Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ also professed belief in *raġʿa*, as Ibn al-Dāʿī says,³⁰ one will have to treat with caution.

Someone who expressed himself in a conciliatory manner concerning this question was

Yaʿqūb b. ʿAdī al-Kūfī.

He stuck by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar but tolerated the attitude of refusal of the Rawāfiḍ; likewise he disapproved of *raġʿa* but still did not dissociate himself from its adherents.³¹ At the time one probably never distanced oneself much further than this.

25 See above p. 273.

26 HT 16: in the *isnād* of a predestinarian *ḥadīth*.

27 IS VI, 253, l. 8; Fasawī II, 798, l. 12.

28 21, ll. 9 ff.

29 Ms. München 893, folio 157 b, ll. 1 f. On the work cf. GAS 1/495.

30 *Tabṣira* 187, ll. 2 ff.

31 Thus Qummī 71, ll. 3 f. from bot.; somewhat divergent Ashʿarī, *Maq.* 69 ll. 12 ff. > Baghdādī, *Farq* 24, ll. 3 ff. from bot./34, ll. 9 ff., and Ibn al-Dāʿī, *Tabṣira* 187, ll. 6 f. He is mentioned in Masʿūdī who probably follows Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq, but is there called Yaʿqūb b. ʿAlī (*Murūj* v, 474, l. 7/IV, 45, ll. 11; on this above p. 309 f.).

2.1.3.3.2 Adherents of *raja* Among the Shī'ite Authorities of the 1st Century

Thus it is explained that in the long run among the Shī'a one agreed in condemning the Saba'iyya and the Kaysāniyya,¹ but then many of those who in fact belonged to the latter groups went on being accepted as authorities. This is true for the enigmatic figure of

Rushayd al-Hajarī,

who was executed under 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād apparently in connection with Ḥusayn's revolt in Kūfa and was hung up on the cross. He perhaps originated from Iṣfahān and was a slave (*ghulām*) of Ḥujr b. 'Adī.² However, he was old enough to have known 'Alī.³ He preserved sermons of the latter⁴ and is supposed not to have believed in his death when he saw his murdered body lying under the pall: "He now understands what we say and returns our greeting. He breathes like a living person and sweats beneath the snug cover . . .".⁵ This story may have developed explosive force when Ḥusayn drew near to Kūfa in order to lay claim to 'Alī's rights. In any case, the governor had Rushayd's tongue torn out. The Shī'ite sources only preserve the memory of his martyrdom; 'Alī is supposed to have foretold it to him.⁶ He had allegedly also bestowed on him the gift of foreseeing the hour of other persons' death.⁷ The Nuṣayrīs made him

1 Halm, *Gnosis* 33 ff. and 49 ff.

2 Cf. Ṭabarī II, 126, ll. 4 f., under the year 51, where the *nisba* however is not mentioned. It could be taken as support for the identification that in Kashshī he is described as *mustaḍ'af* (409, l. 6). According to the parallel *Agh*. XVII, 143, l. 1, he was taken prisoner near Iṣfahān.

3 Barqī, *Rijāl* 4, l. 5. Should one conclude from the context of this passage that he belonged to the *shurṭat al-khamīs*, 'Alī's crack troops.

4 Jāhīz, *Risāla fī'l-ḥakamayn* in: *Mashriq* 52/1958/441, ll. 6 f. In another passage Jāhīz also speaks of poems that Rushayd composed about 'Alī (*Uthmāniyya* 128, ll. 3 f.). This sounds less plausible in view of his origin.

5 Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl* 23, ll. 1 ff.; somewhat divergent traditions in 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā* II, 63 f., no. 503 > *Mizān* no. 2784 and *Lisān al-Mizān* II, 460 f., no. 1859.

6 Kashshī 75 ff., no. 131 f.; Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ* 72, ll. 2 ff. (where the traditions in part are transmitted via his daughter Qunwā). One still knew exactly where he had been executed, at the entrance to the house of the Companion of the Prophet, 'Amr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī (Kashshī 79, l. 4; also Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* XIII, 385, ll. 1 ff. and *Mizān*, op. cit.). Mitham b. Yaḥyā, a *mawlā*, shared his fate (see below p. 453). On 'Amr b. Ḥurayth see above p. 264, fn. 5.

7 Kashshī 76, ll. 11 ff.; Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir* 264, l. 7 from bot., and 265, l. 10; also Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 484, l. 6 from bot.

into the *bāb* of Ḥusayn.⁸ For Fasawī, on the other hand, he is “almost actually a Rāfiḍite”.⁹ – In the passage in question, Fasawī says the same about

Abū'l-Qāsim Aṣḅagh b. Nubāta b. al-Ḥārith al-Mujāshī'ī al-Dārimī al-Ḥanzalī,

a Tamīmīte¹⁰ who under 'Alī was police chief in Kūfa, evidently at a very young age.¹¹ Apparently he lived to be quite old;¹² Abū'l-Jārūd even met him.¹³ Thus it is no surprise that one questioned him about the caliph, and the past took on a lofty aura in his memory. He had participated in the Battle of Ṣiffīn and claimed to have seen how at the time Uways al-Qaranī had come in order to swear allegiance;¹⁴ indeed the Prophet had ordered that one enter the field with 'Alī “against those who break their word, the sinners and the apostates”.¹⁵ Kūfa, so 'Alī had said, was the refuge of Islam whither one must accomplish the second *hijra* (*al-hijra ba'da'l-hijra*); God will bestow victory through its inhabitants just as He took revenge on the people of Lot through the rain of stones.¹⁶ And yet defeat lay ahead: 'Alī had prepared them indicating that they would gain no riches through their commitment; but as with the people of Israel, every one among them would also be a prophet in the end.¹⁷ 'Alī had also known what was in store for himself as well; because “my friend (*khalīlī*, i.e. the Prophet) has informed me that I will receive a blow on the 17th of Ramaḍān – this is the night (*al-layla*) on which Moses died – and that I will die on the 22nd of Ramaḍān, during the night Jesus was taken up to heaven”.¹⁸ If Aṣḅagh really believed in *raja'*, as the Sunnī biographers maintain,¹⁹ then this was an allusion to it: 'Alī, like Jesus, did not really die. One had already attributed this docetic

8 Halm, *Gnosis* 302.

9 III, 190, ll. 7 ff.; a negative judgement also *ibid.* 51, l. 2.

10 On the genealogy cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 231, ll. 15 f.; IS VI, 157, ll. 7 ff.

11 Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh* 231, l. 12; IS VI, 157, ll. 10 f.; also Kashshī 103, no. 165; Mufīd, *Ikhtisās* 60 f.

12 Cf. the story in Kashshī 221 f., no. 396.

13 *Ibid.* 5, ll. 5 f., and 103, no. 164.

14 *Ibid.* 98 ff., no. 156.

15 Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 1014 and *Ta'rikh* IV, 92, l. 18; on the context of this *ḥadīth* cf. my *K. an-Nakt* 81 ff.

16 Ṭabarī I, 2514, ll. 14 ff.; cf. surah 11/82 f.

17 Kashshī 5, no. 8; the *ghayra annakum lastum bi-anbiyā'* at the end I take to be a later dogmatic addition.

18 'Uqaylī, *Ḍu'afā'* I, 130, ll. 8 ff. (with mutilated date) > *Mizān*, *op. cit.*

19 'Uqaylī I, 129, l. 5 from bot. > TT I, 363, l. 4. Also a negative judgement in Fasawī III, 39, l. 7, and 66, ll. 8 f.

idea to Ibn Saba'.²⁰ – Another Tamīmīte, who was old enough to have met 'Alī and was awaiting his return, was

Muslim b. Nudhayr al-Sa'dī.²¹

But he has left behind no further trace. On the other hand,

Abū'l-Ṭufayl 'Āmir b. Wāthila al-Kinānī

profited just like Aṣḅagh b. Nubāta from his biblical old age. His reputation rose even higher because, in contrast to Aṣḅagh, he had been born during the Prophet's lifetime. However, the attempt to link him to certain dates and events, the battles of Badr and Uḥud, or the years of the *hijra*, only led to fanciful combinations and forged eye-witness reports. At Ṣiffīn he fought on 'Alī's side; at the time he was the spokesman for his tribe.²² As such he likewise came forward with poems; he not only sang the praises of his tribe and his own bravery but he praised 'Alī as well.²³ And yet he subsequently also kept company with Mu'āwiya; in an audience with the latter he is supposed to have been abusive towards Marwān as well as 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and the latter's brother Sa'īd because they had spoken unfavourably about him.²⁴ Later on he supported Mukhtār; he was one of the leading figures of the expeditionary force that released Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya from his prison in 'Ārim.²⁵ But then he never again returned to Iraq; instead he accompanied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya on his first trip to Damascus.²⁶ In Shī'ite circles one preserved verses in which he addressed the latter as Imam and Mahdī, whereas he called 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr a *mulḥid*

20 Halm, *Gnosis* 37. Cf. also Kashshī 316, ll. 1 f., in connection with Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya.

21 Thus according to IS VI, 159, l. 13 > TT X, 139, no. 256.

22 Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* 349, ll. 5 ff.; 408, ll. 3 ff., etc.; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ* III, 164, ll. 7 ff.

23 Cf. the collection of fragments by al-Ṭayyib al-'Ashshāsh in: *Hawliyyāt al-Jāmi'a al-Tūnisiyya* 10/1973/171 ff.; there nos. 1, 5–6, 8, 12 (but the verses in praise of 'Alī are poorly attested). In his introduction al-'Ashshāsh also gathers together the biographical information; but he has not utilized all the sources and he tends to harmonize the information too much. An additional collection by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Ḥaydarī in: *Maj. al-Balāgh* (Baghdād) 5/1975, No. 7, pp. 27 ff. Cf. also GAS 2/412.

24 'Ashshāsh no. 3.

25 *Agh.* xv, 150, ll. 13 ff.

26 Cf. in detail Wadād al-Qāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fī'l-ta'rīkh wa'l-adab* 104 ff. and 309 ff.

and compared him to the Sāmīrī who appears in surah 20/85 ff.²⁷ We only hear about him again in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath; at that time, in the name of his tribe and with the authority of his advanced age, he demanded the dismissal of Ḥajjāj and called for people to swear allegiance to Ibn al-Ash‘ath.²⁸ His son Ṭufayl then fell among the ranks of the rebels; the father mourned his loss in an elegy.²⁹ Ḥajjāj spared him, allegedly because Abū’l-Ṭufayl was in ‘Abd al-Malik’s good books.³⁰ But besides that he was unable in any case to get hold of him; because Abū’l-Ṭufayl, by this time at the latest, had withdrawn to the Ḥijāz. And that is also where he died, in Medina,³¹ allegedly around the year 100 or even later.³² He recounted for anyone who was interested to know that he was the last living Companion of the Prophet³³ – just as earlier he had maintained he was the only person who still remained from the *shī‘a*,³⁴ here using the word *shī‘a* in a chronologically restricted sense which soon disappeared: as “the party” of ‘Alī and, at most, of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya as well.

This curriculum vitae reveals nothing indicating that after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya in the year 81 he was awaiting the latter’s return; at the time, he actually agitated directly against Ḥajjāj. When Ibn Qutayba ascribes this to him,³⁵ he may simply have made an undue generalization. But the Imāmītes also assumed the same: Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is supposed to have remarked that Abū’l-Ṭufayl was convinced that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya was still alive. Now a tendentious viewpoint is connected with this. Namely, a verse by Abū’l-Ṭufayl circulated, according to which he was awaiting a turning-point (*dawla*) for “the adherents of the truth” (*ahl al-ḥaqq*), and “turning-point” in these circles was understood as return.³⁶ This did not suit the Imāmīte narrator. At such a turning-point it is always ‘Alī who returns but with his entire family³⁷ – and here even with the

27 ‘Ashshāsh no. 4. Cf. also Kashshī 205, no. 360, where the attempt is made to reinterpret this partisanship on behalf of an unnamed Mahdī whose arrival one still awaits.

28 Ṭabarī II, 1054, ll. 4 ff.: according to his son Muṭarrif.

29 ‘Ashshāsh no. 2. Cf. also Sharīf Qāsim, *Shī‘r al-Baṣra* 161.

30 Kashshī 124, l. 3.

31 Khalīfa, *Ṭab.* 285, no. 841.

32 Cf. the information in the biographers; summarizing, TT v, 82 ff., no. 135. The hyperexact dating 1/622 – 110/728 in U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 134, demands a great deal from the reader.

33 Fasawī III, 277, ll. 2 f. from bot.; Ṭabarī I, 1790, ll. 7 f.

34 *Agh.* xv, 151, l. 5.

35 *Ta‘wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* II, ll. 4 ff. from bot. = 10, ll. 10 f./transl. Lecomte 9; *Ma‘ārif* 341, l. 19.

36 Kashshī 94 f., no. 149. On the use of *dawla* cf. Text II 1, t, and in general Nagel, *Untersuchungen*, Index s. v.

37 Fasawī I, 537, ll. 1 ff.

false kinship. This shows that Abū'l-Ṭufayl had not wholly integrated himself. Otherwise, he appears to be a “normal” Shī'ite. He speculated about Dhū'l-Thudayya, the demonic opponent of 'Alī whom the latter had recognized by his deformity,³⁸ and he reported how the caliph had interpreted enigmatic passages of the Koran.³⁹ Not without some basis he appears in the *isnād* of the *ḥadīth* about the two “burdens” (*thaqalayn*), the Koran and the holy family; the two will never separate, so the Prophet says, until they meet him again at the reservoir, i.e. on the Day of Judgement.⁴⁰ Obviously apocryphal is the longer report on 'Alī's pleading during the *shūrā* and how he justifies his self-restraint at the choice of Abū Bakr; Abū'l-Ṭufayl at the time is supposed to have listened by the door.⁴¹ Despite all this, it is interesting that he nevertheless also relies on Ibn 'Abbās in exegetical matters;⁴² that the latter had taught him and at the same time showed him consideration with a gift, he gratefully notes in a verse.⁴³ The boundaries were more fluid than the heresiographers would have us believe. This also becomes clear through his later influence. In Sunnī *Ḥadīth* he holds an honourable position.⁴⁴ Among his disciples, however, there is someone whom Kashshī considered a Kaysānite:

'Alī b. (Abī Fāṭima) al-Ḥazawwar al-Kunāsī al-Ghanawī.

Kashshī is surprised that “the people”, i.e. the Sunnīs, transmitted from him.⁴⁵ The latter in fact did not notice anything of his Kaysānite tendencies. That he was a Shī'ite could not be missed; he transmitted a *ḥadīth* of 'Ammār b. Yāsir according to which the Prophet had said to 'Alī: “Blessed are those who love you and speak the truth about you! But woe unto those who hate you and spread lies about you”.⁴⁶ It may be that Kashshī's judgement is to be explained by the fact that Ibn al-Ḥazawwar transmitted via an informant also used by

38 Ibid. III, 315, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; on Dhū'l-Thudayya cf. my *K. al-Nakṭ* 82 ff.

39 *Agh.* XV, 147, ll. 17 ff.; Ṭabarī I, 74, ll. 15 ff.

40 Fasawī I, 537, ll. 1 ff. On the *ḥadīth* cf. the variants in Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir* 412 ff. and in *Conc.* I, 294 a; on this Moosa, *Extremist Shītes* 77 ff. and Ayoub in: *Approaches*, ed. Rippin 180.

41 Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I, 361, ll. 12 ff.

42 Ṭabarī I, 297, ll. 11 f., and 306, ll. 14 ff.

43 'Ashshāsh no. 11, verse 3.

44 HT 22 ff.

45 314, no. 567. Also Ardabili I, 564 b.

46 *Mizān* no. 5803. Cf. Bukhārī III₂, 292, no. 2440; IAH III, 182, no. 999; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* III, 226 f., no. 1227; Qāḍī, *Kaisāniyya* 215 f.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.⁴⁷ – A second disciple⁴⁸ was more famous but at least just as colourful a figure:

Jābir b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith ‘Abd Yaghūth al-Ju‘fi,

a South-Arab from the tribal federation of the Madhḥij⁴⁹ who according to the majority of the sources died in the year 128/745.⁵⁰ Thus he had lived in the time of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and attached himself to the circles in Kūfa that expected their salvation from the latter. Consequently, the later Imāmite tradition could no longer do without him. He also left behind several historical monographs which were dear to the Shī‘ites: on the Battle of the Camel, on Ṣiffīn, on Nahrawān, on the murder of ‘Alī and the death of Ḥusayn;⁵¹ Naṣr b. Muzāḥim quoted extensively from the *K. Ṣiffīn*.⁵² Even Sunnī authorities who did not deny their sympathy for ‘Alī, such as Sufyān al-Thawrī or Shu‘ba had recourse to him;⁵³ Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja in this way took over some *ḥadīths* from him. Bukhārī and Muslim, however, did not trust him.

In fact, in the confused brains of Bāqir’s Kūfan disciples so many fantasy constructs sprung up that neither accorded with Sunnī nor with orthodox Shī‘ite ideas and later became a burden to Jābir’s legacy. Attractively narrated miracle stories are among them, fairy tales from the spirit world or about bewitched pots with which ordinary folk among whom they circulated confirmed the supernatural powers of the Imams.⁵⁴ Later, prophecies with the *isnād Jābir ‘an Bāqir* also sold well.⁵⁵ But alongside them are found gnostic speculations which continue to proliferate more and more. Muḥammad and his descendants become understood as pre-existing beings that previous to

47 Nu‘mānī, *Ghayba* 290 f., no. 7.

48 U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 134.

49 Not their *mawlā* as Halm maintains, *Gnosis* 97 f. and in: *Der Islam* 58/1981/29, fn. 52.

50 Cf. with this and what follows the article by Madelung in EI², Suppl. 232 f. Sometimes one finds completely fantastical death dates such as 167 (in *Mizān* 1, 384, l. 8) or 166 (in Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* 1, 323, l. 21).

51 Najāshī 94, ll. 11 ff.; on this GAS 1/307 and Prozorov, *Istoričeskaya literatura* 46 ff. Quotations from the *K. Maqāt al-Ḥusayn* for instance in Abū’l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 83, l. 9; 85, ll. 5 f. and last l. ff.

52 Cf. *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, Index s. n.; on this U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 133 ff. Petersen, *‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya* 62 f., draws attention to the fact that Jābir here stands out through forged eye-witness accounts.

53 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* 1, 191 ff., no. 240, and *Mizān* no. 1425; cf. also Halm, *Gnosis* 96.

54 On this in detail Halm, *Gnosis* 101 ff.

55 *Maqātil* 542, ll. 7 ff., connected with the year 199, i.e. from the time of Abū’l-Sarāyā.

all other creation stand before God as specters (*ashbāh*), shadows of divine light in a world which still knows no spirits.⁵⁶ Jābir receives secret knowledge from Bāqir in the form of an apocalypse which after a complicated process of transformation has come down to us in the late *Umm al-kitāb*. The memory of his person is here greatly distorted and only still indistinctly preserved; but the core of the text nonetheless seems to reach back to the middle of the 2nd century.⁵⁷ Among the Nuṣayrīs, Jābir has become the *bāb* of Jaʿfar al-Šādiq.⁵⁸ The Imāmites have attempted to chip away these baroque ornaments; they hold some of his disciples responsible for the extremisms. But the uncontrolled growth is not so easily trimmed back; ʿAmr b. Shamir al-Juʿfī (d. 157/774), for example, who is reckoned among the villains and has certainly transmitted much that is strange from his teacher, is likewise frequently found in the *isnād* of the historical materials used by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim.⁵⁹ The Imāmite ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī in his *Tafsīr* also reaches back to Jābir through him.⁶⁰

And there is something else to add: Jābir evidently had certain ties with Mughīra b. Saʿīd who came forth shortly after the death of al-Bāqir; the latter's followers, as Ashʿarī says, accorded him the same rank as that of their leader.⁶¹ Probably here as well he had felt attracted by gnostic ideas. Consequently, when one wished to acquit him of such ideas, one represented Jaʿfar al-Šādiq as also clearing his name by comparison with Mughīra.⁶² Naturally, for this reason he was suspect to the government authorities. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, who as governor of Kūfa had Abū Maṣṣūr al-ʿIjlī executed some time between 120/738

56 Halm 109 f.; also in: *Der Islam* 58/1981/30 ff. and previously 26. On this Rubin in *IOS* 5/1975/99 and 110.

57 Halm possesses the merit of having for the first time separated the individual layers in a convincing manner; cf. *Gnosis* 139 ff. and previously 113 ff. on the history of the relevant research. – A different Bāqir-Apocalypse is transmitted from him by ʿAmr b. Abī'l-Miqdām (see above pp. 315).

58 Halm 302.

59 Cf. Halm 97 and 100 ff. with U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 131 f.; on this GAS 1/310. On the death date of Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* 11, 75, ll. 6 ff. from bot. Even *ḥadīths* in which ʿĀ'isha is positively depicted circulate via this *isnād* (*Mizān* 1, 382, last l. ff.; another one in ʿUqaylī, *Duʿafāʾ* 111, 276, ll. 3 ff.). Cf. also Nawbakhtī 31, ll. 4 ff.

60 Cf. for example *Tafsīr* 25, l. 8.

61 *Maq.* 8, ll. 12 f. Halm translates: "The followers of Mughīra put him in the latter's place" (p. 92) and concludes from this that he became Mughīra's successor (p. 96). But such was never the case; hence, neither did Nawbakhtī and Qummī keep silent about anything, as Halm then has to assume. Only Nashwān al-Ḥimyārī, *Hūr* 168, ll. 5 f. from bot., lets himself to be won over to this thesis; but Nashwān probably just gives an inadmissible reformulation of the single source that everywhere provided the basis for this.

62 Halm 97.

and 126/744, kept a close eye on him. Jābir had to pretend to be insane in order to escape from an arrest order of Hishām: one saw him passing through the alleyways riding on a reed cane with a date basket on his head.⁶³ Yet he is still supposed to have incited the population against Yūsuf's successor Maṣṣūr b. Jumhūr, Yazīd III's governor.⁶⁴

In the end, he appears to have decided in favour of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq like the majority of the Kūfan Shī'ites. Sufyān b. 'Uyayna allegedly rejected him when he heard him maintain that the Prophet had passed on his knowledge to 'Alī, then to Ḥasan, and so on up to Ja'far.⁶⁵ This amounted to declaring that he attributed no authority to the "knowledge" that the Sunnīs transmitted. Of course, this did not mean that this prophetic knowledge was already gnostic; one preserved a bundle of legal traditions, an *aṣl*, from him.⁶⁶ But he also transmitted that Ja'far had been presented by his father as the *qā'im*, the Lord of the end of time;⁶⁷ he is supposed to have received from the latter writings which he should only pass on after the fall of the Umayyads (which he did not actually live to see).⁶⁸ Along with the *aṣl* there was a *Tafsīr* by him that was perhaps not so orthodox;⁶⁹ Halm has surmised that this work comprised the core of the *Umm al-kitāb*.⁷⁰ The reports that associated Jābir with belief in "the return" may also have found nourishment in it. In particular, they provide concrete exegetical references. This is not self-evident. What one attributes to 'Abdallāh b. Saba' and his early followers circulates rather in the realm of folk belief: 'Alī will appear among the clouds; the thunder is his voice and the lightning is his whip.⁷¹

63 Halm 98, following Kashshi; cf. also Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 396, ll 13 ff., and Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ* 62, ll. 2 ff. The story would be dated before 125/743. An allusion to it in Muḥāsibī, *Makāsib* 108, ll. 3 f. from bot.; the poems that Mufid recited as proof of his insanity unfortunately are no longer preserved for us (Najāshī 93, ll. 5 ff. from bot.). Since here Najāshī so clearly stresses Jābir's mental disorder (*ikhtilāṭ*), we must reckon with the possibility that this is all just a ploy to eliminate Jābir's "extreme" traditions from the world as so much "madness".

64 Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 217.

65 *Mizān* I, 381, ll. 5 ff; on this Nagel, *ibid.* Sufyān b. 'Uyayna only died in 196/811!

66 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 73, no. 139; juridical material also in *Mizān* I, 382, ll. 15 ff.

67 *Kāfi* I, 307, no. 7.

68 Kashshī 192 f., no. 339. He maintains that at the time he was still young; according to this, if the story is at all true, he would not have lived to be an old man.

69 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* *ibid.*

70 *Gnosis* 120. One feels doubt when one sees that Najāshī still had the work before him (93, ll. 2 ff. from bot.). Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr* also occasionally quotes Jābir.

71 Halm, *Gnosis* 37; also already Friedländer in: JAOS 29/1908/42 f. Shī'ite traditions with this content now in Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* 408, last l. ff.

But in detail the materials are once again very problematic. ‘Amr b. Shamir has Muḥammad al-Bāqir advocate that Jābir had already recognized the connection of surah 28/85 with *raj’a*; but when doing so, the Imam remembers Jābir with the formula *rahimahū’llāh*, whereas the latter in fact outlived him by a decade.⁷² Once again the crown witness in the Sunnī sources is Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna. He maintained that Jābir had connected the “animal of the earth” (*dābbat al-arḍ*) of surah 27/82 with ‘Alī.⁷³ The context of this Koranic passage is actually eschatological: “And when the verdict is given, We will make an animal come forth for them from the earth which will speak to them (and say) that the people were not convinced by Our signs”. That one racked one’s brain over the verse is obvious.⁷⁴ But that one recognized ‘Alī in it is a reproach that, generally speaking, the Sunnīs levelled against the Kūfan Shī’a. One had Ḥasan b. ‘Alī take a stance against it – who, in any case, once he lived in Medina in respectable retirement, was readily adduced for sober comments.⁷⁵ Finally, one even brought in ‘Alī himself: he is supposed to have not at all been pleased when Rushayd al-Hajarī equated him with the animal; after all he had immediately before said in his sermon that “it feeds with its snout and defecates with its behind”.⁷⁶ The Shī’ites did not simply let this challenge lie; in their opinion ‘Alī had actually described himself this way, and once again in a sermon.⁷⁷ Therefore, the exegesis was what concerned them. Jābir, however, no longer sufficed as an authority.⁷⁸

Still more popular was another example. Jābir is supposed to have cited a verse from the Joseph surah on behalf of his interests. There Joseph’s eldest brother says: “I will not leave the country as long as my father does not permit me or God does not make a judgement for me” (surah 12/80). Now Sufyān

72 Qummī, *Tafsīr* 23, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

73 ‘Uqaylī, *Du’afā’* 1, 194, ll. 9 f. > *Mizān* 1, 374, l. 5; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* 11, 113.

74 Cf. for instance Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* 2xx, 14 ff.; also Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* 1, 322, ll. 22 ff. The second passage where *dābbat al-arḍ* occurs in the Koran, surah 34/14, does not lend itself to being used in this connection (on this cf. Eisenstein in: WZKM 79/1989/131 ff.).

75 1S 111, 26, ll. 9 ff.; similarly Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 42, ll. 3 ff., both times with the juridical argument that in fact the inheritance of the deceased had finally been divided up. And it was said about Ḥasan that out of loathing he washed away the ink in “books” he received from Kūfa (Fasawī 11, 756, l. 3 ff.; on this 759, ll. 1 ff.).

76 ‘Uqaylī, *Du’afā’* 11, 63, ll. 9 ff. > *Mizān* 11, 52, ll. 3 ff.

77 Kāfī 1, 198, ll. 6 f. from bot.; according to Muḥammad al-Bāqir. Summarizing, *Bihār* L111, 110 ff., no. 3 ff. and previously 100, no. 120.

78 On the subject cf. also Mohamed Osman Salih, *Mahdism in Islam up to 260 A. H./874 A. D.*, PhD Edinburgh 1976, pp. 109 ff.

claimed to have heard how, when someone asked Jābir for exegesis of this, he replied evasively: “The interpretation of this verse has not yet occurred”. Sufyān explained: “The Rāfiḍites maintain that ‘Alī (hides himself) in the clouds and will not come forth with those of his descendants (he will choose for this) until someone calls out from the sky: ‘Set out with so-and-so!’”⁷⁹ This is presumably staged; one can scarcely imagine that someone would ask about the sense of verse 12/80: what it refers to is as plain as daylight. The point the story also wants to make is: “the Rāfiḍites” do not know what they are doing.

References to Jābir’s belief in *raj’a* also occur elsewhere; but they are probably all derived from these anecdotes. Cf. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 208, ll. 9 f.; Bayhaqī, *Manāqib* I, 118, last l. f.; ‘Uqaylī I, 191 ff. > *Mizān* no. 1425 and TT II, 75 ff., in several places. In Ibn Sa’d’s view he is a notorious forger (VI, 240, ll. 18 ff.).

2.1.3.3.3 Early Shī’ite *Tafsīr* as a Possible Purveyor of the Idea of *raj’a*

When Jābir al-Ju’fī has recourse to the Koran for his ideas, the assumption suggests itself that similar ideas had also penetrated into the early Shī’ite *Tafsīr*-works. This could explain why many such works were later only used with caution within the Shī’a. In any case, one of the oldest among the Kūfan Koran commentators,

Abū’l-Naḍr Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib b. Bishr al-Kalbī,

who died 146/763 and was likewise well known as a historian¹ and a genealogist, is supposed to have described himself with ample pride as a Saba’ite.² Traditions about the Mahdī were still known from his works later on.³ Ibn Ḥibbān thinks he was one of those who were waiting for ‘Alī to return within the clouds.⁴ He then embellishes this picture further: the Prophet, in Kalbī’s

79 Fasawī II, 715, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* I, 20, last l. ff.; Bayhaqī, *Manāqib al-Shāfi’ī* I, 540, ll. 6 ff.; ‘Uqaylī I, 193, ll. 6 ff. from bot. > Dhahabī, *Mizān* I, 381, ll. 3 ff. from bot. and *Ta’rīkh* V, 53, l. 13; Lammens, *Fātima* 131, fn. 4.

1 On this Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography* 58 ff.

2 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu’afā’* IV, 77, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* II, 253, l. 3 from bot. On him and on his family cf. W. Atallah in EI² IV, 494 f. s. n. *Kalbī*. He as well is a South-Arab; his genealogy is found in IS VI, 249, ll. 18 ff.

3 Quoted in ‘Abd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī, *K. al-Naqd* 259, ll. 9 ff.

4 *Majrūhīn* II, 253, ll. 8 ff. > *Mizān* no. 7574. Cf. also Friedländer in: JAOS 29/1908/25, following Ibn Khallikān.

view, dictated to ‘Alī revelations he had just received from Gabriel, and this occurred in private, with the result that one could always assume that ‘Alī preserved parts of the Koran which had not entered into the official version.⁵ It also seems typical to him the way Kalbī claimed to be cured of a memory loss that he had suffered after an illness: “the family of Muḥammad” had spit into his mouth – probably several descendants of the Prophet at the same time –, and he had remembered his entire knowledge once again.⁶ The anecdote transmitted in the *Fihrist* accords with this, namely that when Sulaymān b. ‘Alī invited him to Baṣra as a guest professor (presumably during his governorship between 133/751 and 139/756), one rejected him there because he interpreted the ninth surah differently; we know that the Shī‘ites connected the beginning of the surah (verses 1–5) in a special way with ‘Alī.⁷

But after all this what is really surprising is the popularity of his *Tafsīr* in non-Shī‘ite circles, above all among the Karrāmiyya. The work is preserved in numerous manuscripts;⁸ later on it had an impact as an authentic form of the Ibn ‘Abbās tradition, especially in Khorāsān.⁹ Moreover, one cannot ignore the fact that the Imāmites took scarcely any notice of Kalbī; that in their view “he was wrong” emerges clearly from the particular tradition – like most, fictitious – that in Medina he had turned to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, the father of al-Nafs al-zakiyya, in order to be instructed by him in the legal intricacies such as substitute shoe-rubbing but was referred to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.¹⁰ Ibn Qutayba typically counts him among the Murji‘ites;¹¹ his father had in fact fought with Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr against Mukhtār.¹² However, it is then amazing that Ibn Ḥanbal is supposed to have forbidden the use of his work.¹³ What is certain is that Ṭabarī did not consult it, at least not in his commentary: only the *Ta‘rikh* contains some citations.¹⁴

Several of these discrepancies would probably become clarified if the history of the transmission of his work were studied more closely. And presumably

5 Ibid. 253, last l. ff.

6 Ibid. 254, ll. 6 ff.; also ‘Uqaylī iv, 77, ll. 8 ff. On spitting in the mouth see below Chpt. C 1.4.2.

7 Ibn al-Nadīm 107, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; on this see below p. 443 f.

8 Cf. GAS 1/34 f.

9 Cf. my *Ungenutzten Texte zur Karrāmīya* 44 and Index s. n.; and also the chains of transmission in the *Tafsīr* of Ibn ‘Abbās in: *Der Islam* 58/1981/130 ff.

10 *Kāfi* I, 349, ll. 1 ff.

11 *Ma‘ārif* 625, l. 6; cf. also ‘Uqaylī iv, 78, ll. 8 f., and Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, *Bida‘* ix, 19.

12 But previously the whole family had supported ‘Alī (cf. EI², op. cit.; Caskel, *Jamhara* I, 72).

13 *Mizān*, op. cit.

14 Nor do they allow an unequivocal conclusion about Kalbī’s attitude (cf. Petersen, *‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya* 73 ff.).

it would be rewarding to compare the manuscripts with the excerpts that the Shī'ite Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266)¹⁵ has preserved in his *K. Sa'd al-su'ūd*; he had before him *juz'* 11 to 19 of the work in the edition of Yūsuf b. Bilāl.¹⁶ This version was also used by the Sunnīs;¹⁷ but the Shī'ites acquired knowledge of the work through still other informants.¹⁸ The person from whom Kalbī had himself informed about the exegetical tradition of Ibn 'Abbās also comes from a Shī'ite milieu: Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām. He was a *mawlā* of Umm Hānī', a sister of 'Alī.¹⁹ Presumably, the editors modified or cleaned up the text, each according to his own ideas.²⁰

Wansbrough has analyzed the *Tafsīr* of Kalbī in accordance with the manuscripts.²¹ But he does not go into questions of content; he concentrates on the methodological-technical side of the work. Here he sees parallels above all with Muqātil b. Sulaymān; just as the latter, Kalbī works with the smallest units of explanation and stereotype equivalents.²² Both commentators leave out of consideration evidence from poetry.²³ Kalbī, however, sometimes provides several interpretations for one passage, without himself judging between them.²⁴ On the other hand, in the fragments in Ibn Ṭāwūs, which remained unknown to Wansbrough, it is striking that he presents larger historiographical sections; the *Sīra* of Ibn Iṣḥāq was not yet actually known at the time or had only just been written. It is interesting that Kalbī makes quite extensive use of the means of abrogation.²⁵ Even more interesting is how he does this: he takes it for granted that not only commands but also pure statements about salvation

15 On him GAL² 1/656 f. Suppl. 1/911 ff.

16 P. 209, l. 8 from bot. to p. 216, l. 9. The reference to Yūsuf b. Bilāl is to be found on p. 210, last l.; but perhaps it does not apply to all the excerpts.

17 *Ungenützte Texte* 53 and 44.

18 Thus via a certain Ayyūb b. Sulaymān (cf. the text *Bihār* XXIV 317, no. 22); he transmitted from Kalbī's *rāwī* Muḥammad b. Marwān (on him see below).

19 IS V, 222, l. 17; on this also *Ungenützte Texte* 46 f. and, with a greater degree of guesswork, Massignon, *Opera minora* I, 464, fn. 3. On Umm Hānī' cf. IS VIII, 32, ll. 10 ff., and 108, ll. 13 ff., as well as Ṭabarī III, 2464, ll. 16 ff.

20 The Karrāmiyya could have found the work to their liking because in accordance with Kūfan tradition it did not reinterpret the anthropomorphic elements.

21 In: *Quranic Studies*, especially 130 ff.; but cf. also the Index s. n.

22 *Ibid.* 130 f.

23 *Ibid.* 142.

24 *Ibid.* 136.

25 *Ibid.* 149 f.

can be abrogated in the Koran.²⁶ Apparently, this position had already been advocated by the extreme Shī'a in the 1st century.²⁷

Important for our purposes is Wansbrough's observation that Kalbī in contrast to Muqātil does not make use of *Ḥadīth*.²⁸ Caskel had already pointed this out and from it drew the conclusion that the work only encountered criticism once *Ḥadīth* had become an indispensable instrument of theological expression in broad circles, i.e. a generation later when the son of the author, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821), was passing it on.²⁹ This is possible; but it is noticeable that here again the latter was also close to the Shī'a. He composed monographs about the Battle of the Camel and about Ṣiffin that were used by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd.³⁰ His *K. al-Mathālib*, in which he is especially interested in mésalliances in Qurayshī families,³¹ is relied upon for Shī'ite polemic by Ḥillī in his *Minhāj al-karāma*, a work which incited Ibn Taymiyya to write his *Minhāj al-sunna*.³² – Also a Shī'ite was a second disciple and *rāwī* of the older Kalbī, namely

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad b. Marwān b. 'Abdallāh al-Suddī,

“the younger Suddī” in relation to Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī, who was often confused with him and cited on his own, and who had already died a decade and a half before Kalbī in the year 127/745.³³ It is said of him with regard to surah 10/58, where people are admonished to be pleased with God's grace and His mercy, that he equated the grace with Muḥammad and the mercy with 'Alī.³⁴ In fact, he had a penchant for personalization: he interpreted the enigmatic *sijill* of surah 21/104 as the name of an angel who, as is then further concluded, on the Day of Judgement rolls up the Book.³⁵ The Imāmites evidently

26 Cf. the extensive fragment in Muḥāsibī, *Fahm al-Qur'ān* 356, last l. ff. (with reference to surah 21/98 and 101); also *ibid.* 473, ll. 3 ff. from bot. An additional example *ibid.* 358, ll. 1 ff.

27 See above p. 41 f.

28 *Ibid.* 133.

29 *Jamharat al-nasab* I, 78.

30 GAS 1/271. On his role as historian cf. Prozorov, *Istoričeskaya literatura* 70 ff. and Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography* 67 ff.; in general I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* 349 ff.

31 GAS 1/270, no. 4. On the content cf. Monnot in: MIDEO 13/1977/315 ff. = *Islam et religions* 199 ff.

32 Cf. Laoust, *Schismes* 78 and in: REI 34/1966/39.

33 On him GAS 1/32 f.; Schützinger in: *Der Islam* 40/1965/123 ff.

34 *Mizān* no. 8154.

35 Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Kashf* II, 114, l. 4 from bot.

accepted him; he transmitted much from Ja'far al-Šādiq but allegedly also even from Muḥammad al-Bāqir and likewise typically from 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ya'fūr who himself was relatively close to the Sunnīs.³⁶ Naṣr b. Muzāḥim cites him with an exegesis on surah 2/207 that follows Kalbī.³⁷ At times he was directly accorded the *nisba* al-Kalbī.³⁸ The Sunnīs were wary of him as well; the *isnād* which he traced back to Ibn 'Abbās via Kalbī was regarded as *sisilat al-kadhib*.³⁹ Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, the *qāḍī* of Marv and himself interested in Koran exegesis,⁴⁰ had Suddī explain 70 Koranic verses for him during a visit to Kūfa but then skipped attending the latter's lectures because he "slandered Abū Bakr and 'Umar".⁴¹

The two Suddīs could be related to one another; because the older of them, Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had a son named 'Abdallāh,⁴² and the name of the younger one is extended by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī beyond Muḥammad b. Marwān b. 'Abdallāh precisely with Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.⁴³ But then three generations would lie between them; that would be quite a lot for a disciple of Kalbī. The connection is not impossible because of this; between Kalbī and his son there is also a timespan of 60 years, and the older Suddī, as was mentioned above, in fact died a decade and a half before the former. Both Suddīs were *mawālī*; the older had attached himself to the Hāshimids,⁴⁴ whereas the younger was attached to the family of the Companion of the Prophet, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb.⁴⁵

36 Ardabilī II, 190 ff.; also Kashshī 211, ll. 4 f. from bot. On Ibn Abī Ya'fūr see below p. 370.

37 *Waq'at Šiffīn* 367, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

38 Ardabilī, *ibid.*; confirmed in TB III, 293, l. 1, and 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* IV, 136 f., no. 1696. But there were several Shī'ite transmitters named Muḥammad b. Marwān; Kashshī warns against mixing them up (214, no. 383). It is striking that neither Tūsī in his *Fihrist*, nor Najāshī, deals with Suddī.

39 Suyūṭī, *Itqān* II, 189, ll. 2 f.; following him, Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II, 247, ftn. 2.

40 On him see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.2.

41 Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Ma'rifa* 137, ll. 1 ff. On him cf. Bukhārī I, 232, no. 729; IAH IV, 86, no. 364; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* II, 286, ll. 5 ff.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'* II, 261, no. 3464; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* VII, 63, ll. 1 ff.; Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn* II, 254, no. 583; TT IX, 436 f., no. 719. He is not recognized in U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf* 130, ftn. 1, nor in Goldberg in: *Der Islam* 58/1981/129, ftn. 30.

42 Cf. R. Khoury, *Umāra b. Waṭīma* 126.

43 TB III, 291, no. 1377.

44 Fasawī III, 186, ll. 11 f.; Sam'ānī VII, 62, ll. 2 ff.

45 TB, op. cit.; on 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb* 833 f., no. 1415.

The younger Kalbī played no role at all in the Khorāsānian Ibn ‘Abbās tradition which was linked to the work of his father. By contrast, the younger Suddī, though he was certainly as much or as little a Shī‘ite, there occupies a central position.⁴⁶ That the work took no account of *Ḥadīth* apparently caused no trouble in Khorāsān. Towards the end of the 3rd century appears the first preserved witness of this chain of transmission: the *Tafsīr al-Wāḍiḥ* of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak al-Dīnawārī.⁴⁷ It is closely associated with Kalbī but, as far as a cursory examination allows one to judge, does not contain any dogmatic extravagances.⁴⁸ – Among the Imāmites, over the course of time, another *Tafsīr* established itself much more firmly which likewise must have arisen in the environment of Kalbī, namely that of

Abū Ḥamza Thābit b. Abi Ṣafiyya Dīnār al-Azdī al-Thumālī,

who died 148/765⁴⁹ and was a follower of the Muhallabids. Moreover, three of his sons had fallen within the ranks of Zayd b. ‘Alī.⁵⁰ His work evidently had everything which appeared to be lacking in Kalbī by comparison with Muqātil: “mythological” breadth and rich materials regarding the stories of the prophets.⁵¹ The relationship to Muqātil, or that which circulates under his name,⁵² remains to be investigated; one could imagine that much has simply undergone “a change of signature”. The author also still stood between the parties. Indeed, one relates about the strict ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak⁵³ that he rejected a *ṣahīfa* by him because ‘Uthmān had not been treated with proper

46 Cf. *Ungenützte Texte* 44 and 47.

47 Wansbrough also consulted this book (*Quranic Studies* 146). But following Sezgin, he identifies the author incorrectly (cf. GAS 1/42; on this *Ungenützte Texte* 50 ff.).

48 Perhaps here it is worth recalling the information that Kalbī first commented on 500 verses – the 500 verses with a juridical content like Muqātil b. Sulaymān? – and only then did he expand his work (Ibn Ḥibbān II, 256, ll. 7 ff.).

49 Thus according to Yahyā b. Ma‘īn (cf. ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* I, 172, ll. 8 ff.). The information in IS VI, 253, l. 12 or Kashshī 201, ll. 5 ff. and in the sources dependent on them is altogether vaguer.

50 Najāshī 83, ll. 7 ff. He is normally described as a *mawlā*; only Kashshī calls him a free Arab (201, l. 2). Among the Azd the difference was not all that great.

51 Cf. the quotations in *Bihār* XI, 43 ff., no. 49; 258 f., no. 2; 377 ff., no. 3; XII, 271 ff., no. 48; XIV 399 f., no. 3; 507 f., no. 32; 510 ff., no. 38, etc., mostly according to Bāqir (hence as in the *Tafsīr* of Abū’l-Jārūd). Ṭabrisī also cites him. But strangely in Ṭūsī (*Fihrist* 71 f., no. 136) his *Tafsīr* in particular is not mentioned. In general Ardabīlī I, 134 ff.; GAS 1/531.

52 See below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1.2.

53 On him see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.2.

respect in it.⁵⁴ But in Kūfa one did not get worked up about such things; Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ and Faḍl b. Dukayn took over materials from Thumālī.⁵⁵ In this way, he also came to be among the sources of Tha'labī's *Kashf wa'l-bayān*;⁵⁶ and thus like Kalbī he spread to the East. To begin with he appeared suspicious to the Rawāfiḍ because he drank *nabīdh*;⁵⁷ possibly he had still retained a few Zaydī bad habits. But they held him in esteem because he had lived through the period of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, as if to say he belonged to the old comrades.⁵⁸ Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is supposed to have predicted his death;⁵⁹ both of them died in the same year.⁶⁰ Yazīd b. Hārūn from Wāsiṭ (d. 206/821), himself a Koran commentator,⁶¹ maintained that he believed in the *raǰʿa*.⁶² In fact, Muḥammad al-Bāqir warned him not to follow the Kūfan trend of excessively elevating ʿAlī; only belief in the latter's return was permitted.⁶³ This probably meant that he was thereby regarded as "orthodox" among the Shīʿites. He is not supposed to have adhered to the usual anthropomorphism of the time; for him God was *shay' lā ka'l-ashyā'*.⁶⁴ But he considered Muḥammad to be a light-being.⁶⁵

Interpretations of Koranic passages which circulated under the name of Imams were later collected together as *Tafsīr ahl al-bayt*. Ibn Ṭāwūs selected some samples of these in his *K. Saʿd al-suʿūd* (120, ll. 12 ff.). Cf. also the citation in *Biḥār* xxiv, 325 ff., no. 41. – The so-called *Tafsīr* of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq should be kept separate from this. It has nothing at all to do with our context. It only becomes tangible in Shīʿite literature due to the efforts of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī (d. circa 360/971), a disciple of Kulīnī who compiled the text from earlier materials. Alongside it, however, is a Sunnī version which was already put together by the mystic

54 TT II, 7, ll. 13 f.

55 *Mizān* no. 1358; Samʿānī III, 147, 5 ff.

56 Introduction, ed. Goldfeld 50, ll. 4 ff.

57 *Kashshī* 201, ll. 4 f., and no. 354.

58 That he belonged to the followers of ʿAlī as it says in Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist* 36, ll. 18 f.) is certainly a misunderstanding. In Sunnī *riǰāl*-works one noted that he transmitted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir (*Bukhārī* I, 165, no. 2073; *IAH* I, 450 f., no. 1813).

59 *Kashshī* 202, no. 356.

60 *Ibid.* 124, ll. 5 ff.

61 On him see below Chpt. B 2.3.

62 ʿUqaylī I, 172, ll. 5 f. from bot.; TT II, 7, ll. 12.

63 *Biḥār* LIII, 50, no. 22.

64 Thus at least according to Ibn al-Dāʿī, *Tabṣīra* 174, ll. 6 ff. from bot. For more see below pp. 391.

65 *Biḥār* XV, 9 f., no. 10.

Aḥmad b. ‘Atā’ (d. 309/922) and is preserved in the *Tafsīr* of Sulamī. It has been edited by P. Nwyia in MUSJ 43/1968/181 ff. and is distinguished by speculation based on letters of the alphabet and the doctrine of four-fold meaning in Scripture (cf. for instance 188 ad 1, 1). There as well the first four caliphs, i.e. not only Abū Bakr and ‘Umar but even ‘Uthmān are addressed as “the lights of earth” (ibid. 212. l. 16). Cf. on this version Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique* 156 ff. and Böwering, *Mystical Vision of Existence* 141 f.

2.1.3.3.3.4 The Decline of the Kaysāniyya

As old as Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī may have become, he still represents a new type. He is brought into the “Imāmite” picture of history by his providing a bridge back to Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. The “Saba’iyya” had wasted no thoughts on Zayn al-‘Ābidīn; they only thought about ‘Alī, possibly also about Ḥusayn or Mukhtār, but not about the son of Ḥusayn who sat in far-off Medina. Nor were they concerned about the prerogative of the Ḥusaynids. This made it easier for the Zaydī groups to take over the idea of *raj’a*; conversely, that is why the early adherents of *raj’a* were ignored by Najāshī.¹ Naturally, the Imāmites knew about this lacuna; after the death of Ḥusayn almost everyone in Kūfa, so they said, had “fallen away”.² But now the boot was on the other foot. Saba’ite was now only an empty word, and the Kaysānites, deprived of a living Imam since the turn of the century,³ died out. The Imāmites happily illustrated this through the example of

Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd, called al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī,

on whose verses – as well as those of Kuthayyir – the bulk of their heresiographical materials about the sect are based;⁴ ultimately he converted to Ja‘far al-Šādiq (*taja‘fara*) and composed eulogies on him. Then one even had him defend *raj’a* in the Rāfiḏite sense, without reference to his earlier Imam.⁵ But the matter is full of problems. From a later point of view, the poet would in fact have had a reason for becoming resigned. He was allegedly only born in 105/723, that is to say almost a quarter of a century after the death of Muḥammad b.

1 Kashshī, as we saw, is more liberal.

2 Kashshī 123, ll. 8 ff.

3 This, if we assume that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya’s son, Abū Hāshim, had been acknowledged in advance and did not come into play simply through Abbasid propaganda; but otherwise even earlier. On the development in general cf. Halm, *Gnosis* 43 ff.; on Abū Hāshim 78 ff.

4 Thus already Friedländer in: JAOS 29/1908/36 ff.

5 Mufid, *Fuṣūl* 1, 58, ll. 4 ff./61, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; *Bihār* x, 233, ll. 7 ff.

al-Ḥanafīyya.⁶ Moreover, he originated from an Ibādīte family; he must therefore have had a reason for converting to the Kaysāniyya. But at any rate, up to the time of their revolution the Abbasids exploited the Kaysānite hopes; one in fact expected that the Mahdī from the Raḍwā Mountains would destroy Damascus' very foundations.⁷ Later he could have then placed his hopes in Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, the revolutionary of the year 145. In a poem the Sayyid scolds the Mahdī because he has made his disciples wait for 70 years – i.e. up to 151, three years after the death of Ja'far al-Šādiq.⁸ Going by this, his *rāwī* is right when he rejects the *qaṣā'id Ja'farīyya* as a shoddy effort by an Imāmīte.⁹ Wadād al-Qāḍī provided the proof in detail;¹⁰ the Imāmiyya, it seems, could not withstand the temptation to appropriate for themselves so important a Shī'ite personality. But the verse used as evidence also contains proof: instead of 70 it says 60 elsewhere,¹¹ and an additional variant is even content with 20.¹² According to this, we arrive at the year 101, virtually in the Sayyid's pre-natal phase. It appears that the poem has been repeatedly adjusted; the Sayyid's authorship is anything but certain. Perhaps, as so often, a confusion with Kuthayyir is the basis for this.¹³

Thus as much as the decline of the Kaysāniyya is a fact – one must bring in other examples. Kashshī shows how Ja'far al-Šādiq went on disagreeing insistently with a certain

Abū'l-Hudhayl Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj,

who denied the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya – employing the often repeated argument that his wives had remarried and one had divided up his estate.¹⁴ This

6 GAS 2/458. But the date is suspect because it corresponds exactly with the death date of Kuthayyir.

7 Halm 53.

8 Cf. *Dīwān* no. 155, verse 10; also Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl* 27, ll. 17 f.

9 *Agh.* VII, 233, ll. 2 ff.

10 *Kaysāniyya* 339 ff.

11 Cf. the sources in Qāḍī 337, ftn. 2.

12 Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 42, l. 4. Not considered in Qāḍī 337 ff.; hence the explanations presented there are untenable.

13 On this cf. Qāḍī 315 f.; also 'Abbās in EI² v, 552 s. v. *Kuthayyir* and my *Frühe mu'tazilit. Häresiographie* 34. On the life of the Sayyid see now M. Nouiouat in: REI 48/1980/51 ff.

14 314 ff., nos. 568–70; cf. also Ibn Bābōya, *Iknāl al-dīn* 34, ll. 5 f. from bot., and 35, ll. 1 ff. The argument was also applied to 'Alī, on the part of his son Ḥasan (see above p. 344, ftn. 74) or Ibn 'Abbās (Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl* 22, last l. f.; ShNB v, 7, ll. 3 f.; Goldziher, *Richtungen* 269).

story was probably meant to prove that this Ḥayyān had become a Rāfiḍite; because under Mūsā al-Kāẓim he turned up as the latter's agent and authorized financial manager (*wakīl*) in Kūfa.¹⁵ That he had been a Kaysānite was also still known to Ka'bī; only he presented his doctrine with somewhat more differentiation: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya is indeed dead and is now in the Raḍwā Mountains, but he will return with his party (*shū'a*) before the Day of Judgement. Then all their remorse will be of no avail to his adversaries; because "on the day when any of the signs of your Lord come (over the people), his belief will be of no use to someone who did not (already) previously believe" (surah 6/158).¹⁶ Ḥayyān thus had recourse to the Koran; Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya is, as it were, an Ayatollah, "a sign of God". He then seems simply to have transferred this to Mūsā al-Kāẓim; and once again he evidently did not believe in the latter's death.¹⁷ – Ṭūsī mentions a second name:

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Bajalī,

who likewise lived well into the period of ‘Alī al-Riḍā or even beyond.¹⁸ Interestingly, he was also a *wakīl*, and there is no doubt about his wealth; he traded in *sābirī* cloth.¹⁹ Perhaps they both sought a new Imam because they also profited financially.²⁰ All this does not mean that the Kaysāniyya was completely dead.²¹ In Madā'in the Ḥarbiyya may have maintained itself for some time in esoteric circles.²² In Multān a descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya was executed as a Kaysānite probably in the first half of the

15 Ibid. 459, ll. 3 f. from bot.; also Ardabīlī I, 288.

16 The report of Ka'bī is preserved in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Hūr* 159, ll. 10 ff.; in shortened form also Maqdisī, *Bad'* v, 129, ll. 1 ff. On this Madelung in E1² IV, 837 a.

17 Cf. J. M. Husain in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 5/1982, No. 4, pp. 25 f. Some of his followers did not acknowledge Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as Imams and therefore from the point of view of the Imāmites showed themselves to be Kaysānites (‘Alī b. Abī'l-Ghanā'im, *Majdī* 14, ll. 4 ff., following the *Maqālāt* of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq). He himself had originally supported the Abbasids (*Akḥbār al-Abbās* 192, l. 2).

18 *Fihrist* 180, no. 385.

19 Ardabīlī I, 447 ff.; also Ḥusayn, *ibid.* On the *sābirī*-fabrics see below p. 451, fn. 13.

20 Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj became suspected of denying Mūsā's death because he had important sums of the latter's money in his custody (cf. Sachedina in: *Festschrift Wickens* 203 f.; on this below Chpt. C 1.4.1). The Imāmite sources may have described him as the *wakīl* of Mūsā simply because he managed "the party wealth" of the Kaysāniyya and only he could transfer it to a successor organization.

21 On Imāmite polemic against the Kaysāniyya cf. Qāḍī 272 ff.

22 On this Halm, *Gnosis* 69 ff.

3rd century.²³ Abū Dulaf (d. circa 390/1000) reveals in his *Qaṣīda Sāsāniyya* that it paid to go begging from a Kaysānite – presumably if one went along with their extravagant fantasizing.²⁴ Only a little later Bīrūnī mentions them.²⁵ But this is their last trace; soon afterwards the sect appears to have died out.²⁶

2.1.3.3.3.5 The Change of the Idea of *raj'a* in the Imāmiyya

In the course of this development the idea of *raj'a* did not simply switch over from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya to 'Alī; it also changed its countenance in other respects. Indeed, there were always people who had hopes in 'Alī; that he was in the clouds was somehow understandable because the location of his grave was unknown.¹ Jāḥiẓ still knew a barber who was convinced of it.² The Rāfiḍites did nothing to eliminate this folk belief. But after all, in the long run, it was still only a folk belief. Those who looked at matters with a sober view, the theologians as well as the historians, did not doubt in a single fiber of their being that 'Alī was dead. He lived on in his descendants. More and more one became accustomed to the Ḥusaynids assuring continuity of leadership, and when this expectation as well proved to be deceptive with the death of the eleventh Imam, one put hope in the latter's son who had evidently only withdrawn himself from view. When he did not emerge from his "occultation", he became one of those whose death was disputed. But 'Alī remained what he had already been for a long time: the ideal past.

Wherever it was seen in this light, the idea of *raj'a* lost in topicality. It did not attach itself for instance to the twelfth Imam; there, with a somewhat different perspective, one spoke of *ghayba*. Rather it had already long since been associated with events of early times. 'Alī, so it was said, will again fight against Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffīn, and none of his opponents will remain alive.³ Or: Ḥusayn will be the first to return and, once he has won victory over Yazīd, he

23 His followers later became Ismā'īlis; cf. MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind* 130.

24 Bosworth, *Underworld* II, 199 and 244 f.

25 *Al-Āthār al-bāqīya* 212, l. 10.

26 Qāḍī, *Kaysāniyya* 265 ff., with reference to untested modern reports according to which some surviving groups still exist in the Raḍwā Mountains up to today. Also EI² IV, 838 b. Interestingly, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya has become the hero of a Malayan folk romance; he appears there as the avenger of Ḥusayn (cf. L. F. Brakel, *The Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah*; den Haag 1977).

1 Cf. Friedländer in: JAOS 29/1908/43.

2 Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara* II, 132, ll. 4 f.

3 *Bihār* LIII, 74, no. 75.

will assume rule.⁴ Or oriented more strongly towards eschatology: 'Alī, with his followers, will fight against Satan in the vicinity of Kūfa; then he will rule for another 44,000 years and finally enter Paradise near the Mosque of Kūfa.⁵ Only when one eliminated the expectation of the impending end of time, could the idea survive on a broader basis; just as was later the case with the concept of *ghayba*, the idea of *raj'a* came to reconcile itself with Imāmite quietism.

At the same time, the emphasis shifted from 'Alī to the community. 'Alī will of course return; but with him will be "the dead", i.e. probably all believing Shī'ites who under his rule will then experience the happiness and justice which had not been bestowed on them on earth.⁶ They will not, for instance, emerge from their graves but will suddenly all be there – in the Wādī al-Salām outside Kūfa, as many claimed to know precisely.⁷ That this is possible, one gathered from the history of the Israelites: among them as well people had been brought back to life again.⁸ The source does not reveal which precedents exactly one had in mind; but elsewhere Jesus is mentioned: he as well had raised up the dead.⁹ This is a familiar comparison but in a typical variation: that Jesus himself had not suffered death is no longer emphasized.

The expectation was noticeably collectivized.¹⁰ At the same time, however, the arguments show that one had come to be on the defensive; the more one suppressed the chiliastic aspect, the more one had to face up to theological scruples. Only now did one stop to think of the Koran; the supporting evidence that one found there is clearly an afterthought.¹¹ One also felt more and more uneasy about the idea that with *raj'a* – and after it – the Last Judgement could scarcely be more than a formality; in the long run the traditional awareness of having been chosen grew weaker in favour of individual responsibility.

4 Ibid. 46, no. 19, and 76, no. 78.

5 Ibid. 42, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

6 Ash'arī, *Maq.* 46, ll. 6 f.; Abū Muṭī', *Radd* 85, ll. 2 ff.; Mufīd, *Fuṣūl* 1, 103, ll. 13 ff./115, ll. 11 ff. On the development in general cf. also Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien* 93 f.

7 *Bihār* VI, 268, no. 118.

8 *Maq.* 46, ll. 7 ff.

9 Ibn al-Rēwandī in *Intiṣār* 96, ll. 15 f.

10 According to Ash'arī, *Maq.* 8, ll. 9 f., however, Mughīra b. Sa'īd already believed that all the dead will return to life. But this is probably only a doxographical generalization; on the other hand, cf. Nawbakhtī 37, ll. 8 f.

11 Cf. for instance *Intiṣār* 96, ll. 7 ff. (surahs 40/11 and 2/259); Qummī, *Tafsīr* 22, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; Ibn Bābōya, *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* II, 201, last l. ff. Also Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj who as a Kaysānite had recourse to the Koran (see above p. 353 f.) is already relatively late.

By then Ibn al-Rēwandī was satisfied to be able to say that *raj'a* did not contradict reason.¹² The old existential basis only occasionally still shone through – when for instance 'Alī al-Riḍā admits that “the Shī'a for the last 200 years have nourished themselves on hopes” (*turabbā bi'l-amānī*); if from the outset, he continues, one had said that it would go on this long, one would have lost the hearts of the people.¹³ In reality, from the second half of the 2nd century one no longer took much trouble to win them over in this way.¹⁴

2.1.3.3.4 *Rejection of the First Two Caliphs*

Instead of the idea of *raj'a*, what now moved wholly into the foreground as characteristic of the Rāfiḍite way of thinking was what gave them their name: rejection of the first two caliphs. This also goes back some way in time. We may recall that Sālim b. Dhakwān, probably shortly after the turn of the century, perhaps even earlier, referred to the Saba'iyya as proof that some people dissociated themselves from Abū Bakr and 'Umar.¹ Not long afterwards, Muḥārib b. Dithār described the hatred towards the two caliphs as *nifāq*.² Muḥīra b. Sa'īd, who was executed only a few years after Muḥārib's death, sketched the picture of a conspiracy against 'Alī, in which 'Umar had been the driving force; he is Satan.³ Many of Abū Muslim's comrades-in-arms gave their support to this conviction.⁴ Around the same time, the Baṣran poet, Iṣḥāq b. Suwayd al-'Adawī, in his polemic against those who “when they utter the name of 'Alī, present their compliments to the clouds”, stresses that he himself stands firm alongside Abū Bakr.⁵

But the attempt to go further back into the 1st century meets with difficulties. In fact, it can be said that the idea of 'Alī as the executor of the Prophet's last will and testament (*waṣī*), which becomes manifest at the time of Mukhtār, already contained *in nuce* the rejection of the previous caliphs.⁶ Actually, the

12 *Intiṣār* 95, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; cf. also later al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Rasā'il* 1, 125 f.

13 *Kāfi* I, 369, no. 6.

14 The different tendencies can clearly be seen in the relevant chapter, *Biḥār* LIII, 39 ff.; cf. also the work of Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (d. 1104/1693), *al-Īqāz min al-haj'a bi'l-burhān 'alā'l-raj'a* (Qum 1341/1923).

1 Text II 2, *i*; on this p. 198.

2 Text II 4, verse 18; on him p. 193.

3 Halm, *Gnosis* 92.

4 Nagel, *Untersuchungen* 33.

5 Jāhiz, *Bayān* I, 23, ll. 5 f.; for additional sources see below Chpt. B 2.2.6.1.1. Translated in Halm 38.

6 Thus Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat* 167.

Kaysānite Khindiḡ b. Murra al-Asadī, whom Kuthayyir mourned in two elegies, was killed by two angered pilgrims because allegedly he publicly “abused Abū Bakr and ‘Umar”⁷ – typically in the Ḥijāz and not in Kūfa. However, this is only found in the *khobar* and only in one out of two; the parallel report of ‘Umar b. Shabba⁸ simply says that Khindiḡ stood up for the rights of the Prophet’s descendants.⁹ Kuthayyir himself is also supposed to have dissociated himself from Abū Bakr and ‘Umar in two verses;¹⁰ but alongside this is found a poem with a very strange sequence of caliphs in which, irrespective of how one classifies them individually, Abū Bakr stands in the frontmost position.¹¹ Kumayt in fact considers the first three caliphs as usurpers; but he does not curse them.¹² The Saba’iyya is often distorted or incorrectly written as the Sabbābiyya;¹³ but the *K. al-Irjā’* takes as its starting point that the community because of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar “has not yet ended up in disagreement or had doubts about their affair”.¹⁴ In the attack against the Saba’iyya which then follows, this point is also not touched on.¹⁵

Even in Kūfa the resistance was very strong until far into the 2nd century. Mālik b. Mighwal (d. 158/775) spit whenever there was mention of the Rāfiḏa.¹⁶ Even parts of the Shī’a protested, as we saw; several “Butrites” even put in circulation *ḥadīths* against the Rawāfiḏ.¹⁷ One knew that the development was particularly a provincial phenomenon, namely a purely Kūfan one. Above all, the ‘Alids in the Ḥijāz thought differently; the opponents of the Rawāfiḏ did

7 *Agh.* XII, 174, ll. 6 ff.; *Dīwān* pp. 215 ff., nos. 21–22, ‘Abbās.

8 On him GAS 1/345.

9 *Agh.* XII, 174, ll. 12 f.

10 *Dīwān* no. 125, ‘Abbās.

11 *Dīwān* no. 131; translated in Gabrieli, “Poésie religieuse” 21 and, not entirely correct, in Rubinacci in: *Festschrift Gabrieli* 662 f. But the verses in Jāhiz, *Bayān* III, 86, ll. 7 ff., with somewhat divergent names are placed in the mouth of A’shā Banī Rabī’a (Geyer, *Dīwān of al-A’shā* 280, no. 12).

12 *Hāshimīyyāt*, ed. Horovitz, 6, verse 10.

13 From *sabba* “to revile”; cf. Jawād ‘Alī in: MM’I’I 6/1959/98 and Friedländer in: JAOS 29/1908/143, fn. 2.

14 Text II 1, o.

15 This is moreover further evidence of the great age of the text, perhaps also for its non-Kūfan origin.

16 Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 272, ll. 9 ff.; on the rejection of Rāfiḏite traditionists cf. for example al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya* 123, ll. 11 ff.

17 See above pp. 277 and 285 f.; also Abū’l-Qāsim al-Kūfī, *K. al-Istighātha* II, 2 ff. In general Goldziher, “Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī’a” (in: *Ges. Schr.* I, 265 f.); Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 237 ff.

not tire of emphasizing this. In any case, ‘Alī had had a son named ‘Umar;¹⁸ likewise a brother of Zayd b. ‘Alī, i.e. a grandson of Ḥusayn and a brother of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, bore this name.¹⁹ Zayd b. ‘Alī is supposed to have left no doubt that he considered this attitude as sectarian,²⁰ as did similarly ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, the father of al-Nafs al-zakiyya.²¹ The latter explains to the Iraqi ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Rabbih al-Yashkurī that he holds Abū Bakr and ‘Umar in high esteem; ‘Alī had after all married his daughter Umm Kulthūm to ‘Umar. But he did not want to write this to the Iraqis; they were already insubordinate enough.²² Naturally, this is exaggerated for literary effect. But the argument based on kinship already carried weight; Ja‘far al-Šādiq on his mother’s side descended from Abū Bakr,²³ and one can imagine that neither he nor his father had a great interest in denigrating Abū Bakr.²⁴ Later, the Shī‘ites typically tried to explain differently the referred to mésalliance of ‘Alī’s daughter, as being forced on the family by ‘Umar, by means of deceit or even by means of a rape.²⁵

The matter became extreme for the first time in the case of the gnostics. Mughīra b. Sa‘īd had made the beginning; one generation later a grain merchant (*sha‘īrī*) named Bashshār put forward the theory of the five “adversaries” (*aḍḍād*) who permanently disrupted the course of history: Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, Mu‘āwiya and ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās.²⁶ An “exaggerator” whose memory Jāḥiẓ has preserved for us – not without mentioning his Persian name and thereby discretely indicating where all this came from – laid into the donkey of a street sweeper because it had Abū Bakr and ‘Umar in its belly; he perhaps believed in the transmigration of souls.²⁷ He also had at his disposal a whole gamut of verbal insults for the two of them: “Dirt and Grease” (*Uff wa-Tuff*), “Game-Leg

18 Cf. Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 42, ll. 14 ff.; he fell with Mukhtār (Dhahabī, *Ta‘riḥ* 111, 54, ll. 12 f.).

19 ‘Alī b. Abī’l-Ghanā‘im, *Majdī* 148, ll. 2 ff.; Ardabīlī I, 636 b. Additional examples can easily be found. Cf. also Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 27.

20 Ṭabarī II, 1699, ll. 12 f.

21 TD (‘Ayn) 149, ll. 6 ff.

22 Kardarī, *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* II, 110, ll. 4 ff.

23 Cf. EI² II, 374 b; even in Nawbakhtī 57, l. 7.

24 Traditions in this sense in Dhahabī, *Ta‘riḥ* VI, 46, ll. 15 ff., and 300, ll. 8 ff.; Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna* 42, ll. 8 ff.; Šafadī, *Wāfi* IV, 102, ll. 11 ff. (following “the Butrite” Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa, among others). On this Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 168.

25 Cf. Levi Della Vida in: AIUON 14/1964/238 and 240 for a work from the 4th century (Shalmaghānī?). Naturally, a single marriage does not say anything about peace between two clans; it can serve directly to set a seal on a temporary peace agreement.

26 Halm, *Gnosis* 228; on the dating of the *sha‘īrī* ibid. 229.

27 Thus if the information in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* IV, 182, ll. 7 ff., would apply here. But then how do both of them come to be in a single donkey?

and One-Eye" (*Kusayr wa-'Uwayr*), Munkar and Nakīr or al-Jibṭ and al-Ṭāghūt, after the two idols from surah 4/51.²⁸ But "the normal" Rāfiḍites soon followed suit; they spoke of "the two guys" (*al-rajulān*) or "the two desert vagabonds" (*al-a'rābiyyān*).²⁹ Out of Abū Bakr one made Abū'l-Faṣīl; the name 'Umar they turned into Ruma'.³⁰ Where it says in surah 49/7 that God "has made detestable to you unbelief, wickedness and rebellion", one here saw allusions to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān.³¹ Theologians like Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and 'Amr b. Abī'l-Miqdām extended the verdict of condemnation to the Prophet's Companions generally;³² to this end they also cited Koranic verses.³³ This fanaticism was one of the reasons that al-Mahdī intervened against the Rāfiḍite Shī'ites.³⁴

The question of the original meaning of the word *rafīḍ* must be strictly separated from this description of the phenomenon. Friedländer, in a laudable study³⁵ rich in materials, agrees with Ṭabarī in seeing the starting point in Zayd b. 'Alī; the latter, when the Kūfans refused to give him their allegiance because he acknowledged the first two caliphs, is supposed to have said in disappointment: "You have abandoned me (or rejected me)".³⁶ But obviously this is simply an aetiological legend with a pro-Zaydī tendency; and thus, only convincing to a Zaydī. Typically, Ṭabarī relied on Abū Mikhnaf; the latter was a Shī'ite but

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- 28 *Ḥayawān* III, 20, ll. 2 ff. On *kusayr wa-'uwayr* cf. WKAS I, 185 b; it is apparently a proverbial turn of phrase for all things bad. On *jibṭ* and *ṭāghūt* also Goldziher in: WZKM 15/1901/323 (= *Ges. Schr.* IV, 297), but following an Ismā'īlī source; *Richtungen der Koranauslegung* 288. In general Paret, *Kommentar* 96 and Serjeant in CHAL I, 124. Both of these names were also applied to Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-Āṣ (Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ* II, 352, l. 19). For more on all this Kohlberg in: JSAI 5/1984/162 ff.
- 29 *Kāfi* I, 353, l. 7, and VIII, 57, l. 7; also Goldziher in WZKM, *ibid.* 328 (= 302), *ftn.* 5.
- 30 *Bihār* XXVIII, 58, l. 5; *bakr* is a strong young camel, *faṣīl* by contrast is a young camel that has just been weaned from its mother. The root *r-m-'* does not exist. Perhaps what we have here are cover names.
- 31 *Kāfi* I, 426, ll. 8 f.
- 32 See above p. 315 and below pp. 442 f.; on this Nagel in: W1 15/1974/110 f.
- 33 Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 102, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; additional arguments for instance Ibn Bābōya, *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* II, 185, ll. 6 ff. from bot.
- 34 Ṭabarī III, 537, ll. 8 ff. At any rate, they sometimes spoke of 'Abbās disparagingly as *U'aybis* (*Kāfi* I, 323, l. 9). Statements against *sabb al-shaykhayn* and *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* in great abundance in a treatise on the subject by Suyūṭī (ed. Arazī in: JSAI 10/1987/241 ff.
- 35 In: JAOS 29/1908/137 ff.
- 36 *rafadtumūnī*. Thus as actual direct speech only in Ash'arī, *Maq.* 65, ll. 7 ff. or Baghdādī, *Farq* 25, ll. 10 ff./35, ll. 3 ff.; Ṭabarī has, much less unequivocally, *fā-sammāhum Zayd al-Rāfiḍa* (II, 1700, l. 12). Cf. also *al-'Uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq* I, 97, ll. 9 ff., and Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* v, 75, ll. 3 ff.

not a Rāfiḍite. Zayd here represents the standpoint of the Butriyya; the whole discussion, which according to Abū Mikhnaf precedes Zayd's statement, is meant as a paradigm. Abū Mikhnaf notes, moreover, that the Rāfiḍites see the development differently; in their opinion the nickname stems from Mughīra b. Sa'īd. Naturally, this is likewise said on purpose; Mughīra was a disreputable reference.³⁷ But it was at least the older explanation against which Abū Mikhnaf launched his own. Moreover, it is elsewhere frequently maintained; Mughīra is supposed to have supported al-Nafs al-zakiyya's claim to be the Mahdī and for this reason met with rejection by the adherents of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in Kūfa.

Thus for example Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Shī'a* 58, ll. 8 ff.; Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl al-niḥal* 46, ll. 10 f.; Ash'arī, *Maq.* 8, ll. 14 ff.; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* xx₂, 179, ll. 6 ff.; on this Wasserstrom in: *History of Religions* 25/1985/22 f. The report of Abū Mikhnaf also shows itself to be tendentious in that at the end it says some Kūfans had previously asked Ja'far al-Ṣādiq for advice and were instructed by him to support Zayd (1700, ll. 13 ff.); it is thus made clear to the reader that the Rawāfiḍ did not even agree with their own Imam. But this does not fit well with the immediately preceding remark that the Kūfans did not yet know that Muḥammad al-Bāqir had died (1700, ll. 8 ff.). The contradiction is covered up in a makeshift manner by having the envoys allegedly be silent about Ja'far's instructions upon their return. Against Friedländer see already Strothmann, *Staatsrecht* 26: as well as van Arendonk, *Opkomst* 28; Watt in: *Oriens* 16/1963/16 and *Formative Period* 157 ff. My own remark in: *Der Islam* 47/1971/251, fn. 29, is based on false assumptions (Shumayṭī was no Rāfiḍite).

Yet doubts make their presence felt in this second explanation. Namely, there is much that speaks in favour of Mughīra's followers, after the latter's death – and then only some of them – having first sought their salvation with the future Mahdī.³⁸ One has difficulty imagining that, being small in number as they

37 Ṭabarī II, 1700, ll. 12 f.; differently, but also with equal tendentiousness, al-Manṣūr bi'llāh, *Shāfi* III, 77, ll. 8 ff.

38 Ash'arī, *Maq.* 13, ll. 8 ff.; during his lifetime his followers considered him the *waṣī* of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (ibid. 23, l. 14). He also transmitted from him (cf. Nu'mānī, *Ghayba* 305 f., no. 16). It was apparently only in Abwā' after the death of Yazīd III that one in fact came to agree on Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh.

were, they gained acceptance with a disparaging nickname.³⁹ Presumably, from the outset the term was connected with the *rafḍ al-shaykhayn*.⁴⁰ When exactly it sprang up, however, cannot be determined with certainty; in any case that Zayd b. ‘Alī already made use of it, is not said. It is also not true that all Shī‘ites who were classified as Zaydīs would have refrained from *rafḍ* in this sense.⁴¹ Only when one was ignorant of this and the names had become mere labels could the Rāfiḍites and Zaydīs be clearly separated from one another.

Thus for instance in Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* I, 7, ll. 10 ff.; Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (recently cited by Pines in: IOS 2/1980/167 f.); Kashshī 295, ll. 5 f. The Rāfiḍites also later attempted to attribute a positive sense to the name; Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq himself is supposed to have chosen it as an honorific title (*Kāfi* VIII, 34, ll. 4 ff.). On this in general, cf. Tritton, *Muslim Theology* 20, and now E. Kohlberg in: JAOS 99/1979/677 f.; idem also briefly in: SI 52/1980/48.

2.1.3.3.5 *Maintaining Secrecy* (taqiyya)

Shī‘ites, who reproached the Zaydiyya for their activism, no longer had any reason to ignore what just as much as *rafḍ* characterizes them in the eyes of the Sunnīs up to today: maintaining secrecy, *taqiyya*. As we have seen, it was actually the Zaydīs who were first to be shocked by it.¹ Diplomacy and caution, possibly the discipline of secrecy, are on the whole normal forms of behaviour for minorities and sects. In this sense, as G. E. von Grunebaum already emphasized, we also find *taqiyya* outside Islam: among Elkesites and Mandaeans, among Manicheans in a Christian environment as well as among Zoroastrians in a Muslim milieu.² Within the Shī‘a, apparently the Kaysānites were the first to work with the concept: ‘Alī according to their view had practiced *taqiyya* before he took over the caliphate,³ and they also considered themselves as inhabitants of an Islamic ecumenical world which gave them reason to be

39 Friedländer also rejects this explanation (143, fn. 2). Members of this group are occasionally still mentioned (for instance in Nu‘mānī, *Ghayba* 230, ll. 1 ff.); one is even known to us by name (see below p. 372).

40 Thus Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 16, l. 11; against this Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 459, fn. 16.

41 See above p. 333.

1 See above p. 328.

2 *Medieval Islam* 191 and Add. p. 354. Also now in general cf. Kippenberg, “Zur Maxime der Verstellung in der Antike und frühislamischen Religionsgeschichte”, in: *Festschrift Lebram* 172 ff.

3 Halm, *Gnosis* 50.

cautious: a *dār al-taqīyya*.⁴ Kumayt (fallen 126/743 or 127/744) distinguished between “those who practice *taqīyya* and those who speak openly” (*taqīyy^{un} wa-mu‘rib^{un}*) in connection with an unnamed verse of the Ḥā-Mīm surah, in which T. Nagel was probably right in recognizing surah 42/23. For Kumayt the catch-phrase there *al-mawadda fī’l-qurbā* was important, which for some time in Kūfa one had applied to the love among – and also for – the Prophet’s relatives, though not entirely without controversy.⁵

Among the Rawāfiḍ the attitude must have gained ground all the more strongly, the more they caused offense by means of their *rafḍ*. Their financial conduct as well, the secret fund which they maintained in Iraq and elsewhere for their respective Imams,⁶ also imposed secrecy upon them. And naturally their latent chiliastic expectation also had a conspiratorial character. One only spoke of “the affair” (*al-amr*), the hour x, among the initiated; the closer “the affair” approaches, the higher is the degree of maintaining secrecy.⁷ The test then came with the persecution under al-Mahdī;⁸ now the fact that the Rāfiḍites revealed themselves through certain peculiarities of ritual played a big role. One could not exclude oneself from prayers with the congregation. Thus many of them at the time repeated the prayers at home; others were even too afraid to do so.⁹ The historian Wāqidi (d. 207/823) was known for not openly showing his Shī‘ite tendencies.¹⁰ Sometimes one was saved if one pretended to be a Zaydī.¹¹

The term was probably consciously chosen, and by the Shī‘ites themselves, in a positive sense. The Koran sanctioned the practice; one was allowed, so it could be concluded from surah 3/28, to have a friendship with unbelievers, if one was afraid of them (*illā an tattaqū minhum tuqāt^{an}*). Here it seemed

4 Qummī, *Maqālāt* 22, l. 11.

5 *Hāshimīyyāt*, ed. Horovitz, no. 2, verse 29. On this Nagel, *Untersuchungen* 88 ff.; also Goldziher in: ZDMG 60/1906/219 (= *Ges. Schr.* v, 65).

6 On this see above pp. 353 f. and below p. 457.

7 *Kāfi* II, 220, l. 11. Otherwise one understood by “the affair” simply the fact that someone kept himself in readiness as Imam and everything that was connected with this (Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi‘a Islam* 298).

8 Wakī‘, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III, 155, ll. 13 ff.; for more information see below Chpt. C 1.2.4. Subsequently, one relocated such persecutions in the time of Bāqir (*Kāfi* II, 221, ll. 1 ff.).

9 Kashshī 558, ll. 11 f.; on this cf. Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 58, ll. 9 f.

10 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 101, ll. 3 f.

11 Thus at least in the time of Hārūn; then one could find acceptance as an ‘Abbāsī, i.e. as someone who approved the Abbasids’ claim on the basis of their belonging to the Prophet’s family (Kashshī 501, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; following this, Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 398).

reasonable then to associate *taqīyya* with *taqwā*;¹² *taqīyya* is “the good” with which, according to surah 28/54, one wards off what is wicked,¹³ and thus belongs to “God’s religion”.¹⁴ Earlier prophets have set an example: Joseph had consciously dissimulated when he accused his brother of theft;¹⁵ the Seven Sleepers in the beginning took part in the pagan celebrations and then when one demanded too much of them, they withdrew into the cave.¹⁶ God wishes to be worshipped even in secret.¹⁷ For this reason one should also not discuss “religion” with others;¹⁸ *a fortiori* one should not carry on missionary work.¹⁹ A brother in the faith who is a chatterbox should be hindered from talking;²⁰ whoever divulges the secret will be humbled by God.²¹ It remained safeguarded until it ended up in the hands of “the offspring of Kaysān” (*wuld Kaysān*); they then went on talking about it in the country roads and in the villages of the *sawād*.²² For Ibn Bābōya *taqīyya* was not only allowed but virtually obligatory.²³ Mysticism adopted this standpoint when it reprimanded Ḥallāj for *ifshā’ al-sirr*.

It was then important to know how far one could go. Nine-tenths of “religion” falls under *taqīyya*, so one said²⁴ – perhaps the same nine-tenths that the Sunnīs had withheld from the Koran according to the view of the early Saba’iyya.²⁵ Only under no circumstances should one drink date wine or practice substitute shoe-rubbing²⁶ – the last example astonishing inasmuch as this of all things became a shibboleth. That one committed perjury due to *taqīyya*

12 Cf. Kohlberg in: JAOS 95/1975/396; thus already in the above-cited verse of Kumayt. On *taqwā* see above pp. 18 ff.

13 *Kāfī* II, 217, no. 1, and 218, no. 6.

14 *Kāfī* II, 217, no. 3; also in the gnostic “Book of Shadows” (Halm, *Gnosis* 257).

15 *Kāfī* II, 217, ll. 10 ff.

16 *Ibid.* I, 448, ll. 6 ff. from bot., and II, 218, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh* II, 232, l. 1. One had Ja’far al-Ṣādiq speak of “the cave of *taqīyya*” (Ivanow, *Rise of the Fāṭimids* 297).

17 *Kāfī* II, 224, ll. 3 ff.

18 *Ibid.* II, 213, l. 14.

19 *Ibid.* II, 213, l. 3.

20 *Ibid.* II, 222, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

21 *Ibid.* 222, ll. 6 ff.

22 *Ibid.* 223, ll. 12 ff.

23 Arjomand, *Shadow of God* 36 f.

24 *Kāfī* 217, ll. 6 ff.

25 See above p. 326.

26 *Kāfī*, *ibid.*

seems to have taken place.²⁷ Naturally, one should also not reveal the Imam; Ja'far allegedly demanded that one not greet him in the street.²⁸ When Ḥasan concluded peace with Mu'āwiya and pledged allegiance to him, this was also *taqīyya*.²⁹ Only when one also accorded the Imam the right to practice *taqīyya* with his own followers was the principle stood on its head; here began the protest of the Zaydīs.³⁰

2.1.3.3.6 *God Changing His Mind* (*badā'*)

The last old element of Shī'ite thought in Kūfa that we will speak about is the doctrine of *badā'*. We already touched on it briefly in the context of the Sunnī model of abrogation.¹ Yet it actually has nothing to do with the Koran; just like the idea of *raj'a*, it was an instrument for coping with the past. Whenever things turned out differently than one had hoped, one could console oneself by imagining that God changed His mind (*qad badā lahū*). But the *tawwābūn* did not yet do this. Sunnī heresiographers associate the idea with Mukhtār.² In any case it is probably Kaysānite;³ according to a report of Abū Mikhnaf, a certain 'Abdallāh b. Nawf al-Hamdānī made use of it to explain Mukhtār's defeat by Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr.⁴ The term itself does not appear there but the Koranic verse one always subsequently evoked does, surah 13/39: "God extinguishes what He pleases or lets it exist. The archetype of the Book is with Him".⁵

For the Imāmiyya, the idea was linked with Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; in this way he is supposed to have consoled himself for the death of his son Ismā'īl.⁶ This

27 Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 246, ll. 8 f.

28 *Kāfi* II, 219, ll. 1 ff. Consider the assumed names under which the Imams of the Ismā'īlīs lived before the emergence of the Mahdī 'Abdallāh.

29 Pseudo-Nāshī', *Uṣūl* 23, ll. 23 ff.

30 On the phenomenon in general cf. Goldziher in: ZDMG 60/1906/213 ff. (= *Ges. Schr.* v, 59 ff.); Jafri, *Origins* 298 ff.; Kohlberg in: JAOS 95/1975/395 ff.

1 See above pp. 41 f.; on the subject in general EI² I, 850 f., s. v. *Badā'*, and McDermott, *Mufīd* 329 ff.; now also Madelung in *Iran* III, 353 f.

2 Baghdādī, *Farq* 35, ll. 2 ff. from bot./50, ll. 3 ff.; Shahrastānī 110, ll. 7 ff./285, ll. 1 ff. (on this Gimaret, *Livre* 440 f.).

3 Thus Madelung in *ER* XIII, 242.

4 Ṭabarī II, 732, ll. 14 ff.; 'Abdallāh b. Nawf was allegedly the one who made the famous chair for Mukhtār which the latter then had venerated (Ṭabarī II, 706, ll. 14 f.).

5 On this cf. *Intiṣār* 93, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; there also *ḥadīths* provide support.

6 Evidence in Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 485, ftn. 55. Concerning statements about *badā'* in the *Kāfi* of Kulīnī cf. also Hāshim Ma'rūf al-Ḥasanī, *Dirāsāt fī'l-Kāfi* 213 ff.

was perhaps projection; we do not know whether the thought pattern was also known in the Hijāz.⁷ But in Kūfa it was certainly disseminated among his followers;⁸ to that extent the Sunnī reports may be right, according to which Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb excused himself in this manner before his followers for the failure of his revolt.⁹ In the mouth of a Sunnī this was naturally pure derision; here at any rate one had never kept one's criticism quiet. This gradually intensified to the point that when matters turned out differently than a person expected, according to this idea they also turned out differently than God had expected – or better yet: God had not in fact expected anything because He possessed no foreknowledge.¹⁰ In their own system the Imāmites came up against the difficulty that if the whole time God could change His mind, the Imam would not be able to know the future in advance.¹¹ Nor was the idea consistent with revelation; divine knowledge, once it was “made public”, cannot be cancelled.¹² But this is theology in an advanced form. Now we must focus our attention more closely on this.¹³

2.1.3.3.7 *Rāfiḍite Theological Schools*

The way in which theology developed on the basis portrayed up to here is an interesting phenomenon. Its beginnings reach back to the early 2nd century. Sometime under the imamate of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, presumably after the collapse of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb's revolt and after the death of Ismā'īl, a fundamental transition came about: mythologizing gnostic models were replaced by rational

7 To that extent McDermott's remark seems to me premature that Ja'far “introduced” the concept into the Imāmite tradition (p. 331).

8 See below p. 385 f. for Zurāra b. A'yan; also Text 111 6 and above p. 42 f. On this Ash'arī, *Maq.* 36, ll. 12 f. = 491, ll. 12 f.

9 Reported in Nawbakhtī 59, ll. 15 f. > Qummi 82, ll. 3 f. (with a better text transmission).

10 Cf. for instance Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār *Mughnī*, xvi, 59, 10 f., and 65, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn Mattōya, *Muḥīṭ* 1, 301, ll. 15 f., 'Azmi/311, ll. 19 f., Houben.

11 On this Ayoub in: JAOS 106/1986/627 and 629.

12 Ash'arī, *Maq.* 39, ll. 6 ff.; on this Kulīnī, *Kāfi* 1, 147, ll. 13 ff. and ll. 4 ff. from bot., where this argument is projected back onto Muḥammad al-Bāqir. Cf. also al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Rasā'il* 1, 116 ff. Of course, the normal cases of *badā'* do not belong in the domain of revelation; as one said, God keeps that particular knowledge to Himself (Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* 109, ll. 9 ff.).

13 On the further development of the *badā'*-concept cf. Ayoub, op. cit., and Madelung in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 131, fn. 25.

discourse. The former are not once and for all dead because of this; later they will revive again in a modified form among the Nuṣayrīs or the Ismāʿīlīs.¹ But for the time being they were repressed in Kūfa. Above all, the objective changes. Early Kūfan gnosticism was the expression of a religion of redemption, in which the law did not play an essential role, in fact it was sometimes simply understood as punishment;² by contrast, Rāfiḍite Islam, despite all the concessions on behalf of ʿAlī's intercession, always remained legalistic, at least in its Imāmīte manifestation which is to be dealt with here.

Once again the original thought patterns can still be clearly recognized. Kuthayyir not only believed in a quick return but also linked this with the model of the transmigration of souls which he discerned in the Koran,³ similarly to the gnostic Ibn Ḥarb with whom he otherwise has nothing to do.⁴ Kalbī transmitted from Muḥammad al-Bāqir that eels were metamorphosed Israelites⁵ – as a result of the same *maskh* which would later come to play so big a role among the Nuṣayrīs and which had already done so in the case of Ibn Ḥarb.⁶ And once again much was not actually abandoned but entered a new phase of development. For example, there is the idea that God consists of light and has human traits;⁷ later we will have to come back to this. It fits in well with the idea that a spark of light entered the Prophet and his descendants and conferred supernatural knowledge on them.⁸ And connected with this there is the idea about how God perceives: namely, through senses, not through His spirit.⁹ This had as a consequence that He only perceives things which already exist; they were not pre-existent as ideas in His spirit. Therefore, He does not think and know them in advance. And finally, there is the motif of the heavenly ascension by means of which the occurrence of revelation is explained. Abū Maṣʿūd al-ʿIjlī had maintained that God had him ascend to Himself and spoke with him in Persian; afterwards He designated him as a prophet (*nabī*) and

1 On the Nuṣayrīs cf. Halm, *Gnosis* 284 ff. and previously; on the gnostic systems of the early Ismāʿīliyya idem, *Kosmogonie und Heilslehre*, passim.

2 Halm, *Gnosis* 76. Examples of antinomianism ibid. 54, 73, 87, 203 f., and 209 f.; cf. the presumed formula of redemption ibid. 63 f.

3 *Agh.* IX, 17, ll. 3 f.

4 Halm, *Gnosis* 71 ff.

5 *Biḥār* XIV, 50, no. 3. On the eel taboo see above p. 276.

6 Halm, *Gnosis* 72 and 303; on this below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.7.3.

7 Halm 58 and 60 (Bayān b. Samʿān); 145 (Jābir-Apocalypse).

8 See above p. 323 and below p. 521 f.

9 Halm 145.

messenger (*rasūl*).¹⁰ For later theologians this was certainly without a doubt pure blasphemy; but it perhaps explains why they dealt with the theme of the *mi'rāj*, i.e. Muḥammad's ascension to heaven, with such intensity.

Moreover, the continual existence of particular cosmological ideas is interesting. Mughīra b. Sa'īd had believed that people are similar to God because in a certain way they originate from His body. Namely, when God for the first time thought about the wickedness of His creatures, He broke out in a sweat. This sweat collected itself in two oceans, in a dark salty one and a clear sweet one; from them God created the bad and the good people. At the same time, it appears that the latter were at first the shadow that as a light-being He cast upon the two primordial oceans.¹¹ In the Imāmite "*Ḥadīth*" this idea has parallels which come from Muḥammad al-Bāqir, i.e. the very Imam whose legacy Mughīra as "a prophet" attempted to perpetuate.¹² One of the traditions goes back to Zurāra b. A'yan, one of the theologians about whom we will have occasion to speak in what follows: an ocean of sweet water is the primordial material of Paradise and good human beings, whereas an ocean of salt water is the origin of Hell and wicked people.¹³ Or, this time according to Jābir al-Ju'fi: God first created water; in it was contained all other things.¹⁴ The mountains came to exist, for example, when the primordial ocean was whipped up into white-caps by the four winds.¹⁵

At the same time, it is clear that we are not here dealing with a one-dimensional dependence. Cosmogony was everywhere a dominant subject.¹⁶ However, the idea of the primordial ocean, as is known, stretches far back into the ancient Orient;¹⁷ Ibn al-Nadīm develops it in his report about a non-Islamic mythology probably of Phoenician origin.¹⁸ According to the Koranic

10 Ibid. 86 and 89. Halm based himself on the text of Nawbakhtī according to which God spoke Aramaic and not Persian; but it is probably a question of a mistake in transmission (cf. Gimaret, *Livre* 520, fn. 88).

11 Halm 91.

12 Ibid. 90.

13 *Biḥār* LXVII, 93, no. 14. On Zurāra see below pp. 373 ff.

14 Ibid. LXVII, 93, no. 44. Muḥammad al-Bāqir here explicitly set forth this conception against others, according to which God first created a hypostasis: His power, His knowledge or "the Spirit" (*rūḥ*).

15 Ibid. LVII, 86, no. 71, and 87 ff., no. 73.

16 More details on this below Chpt. D 1.3.2.1. As with the rest of the creation myths collected in the relevant chapter of the *Biḥār al-anwār*, most are also ascribed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir (LXVII, 77 ff.); they are therefore probably equally old.

17 On this cf. O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel*.

18 *Fihrist* 405, ll. 2 ff.; on this now Aggoula in: JA 278/1990/1 ff. Tucker refers to relevant Manichean ideas in: *Arabica* 22/1975/41 f.

conception, the Throne of God from the beginning rests on the water.¹⁹ That this was divided into two oceans appeared from the fact that both of them came together somewhere at the outer limit of the world in the *majma' al-baḥrayn*.²⁰ The Babylonians already spoke about the masculine sweet water and the female salt water.²¹ Likewise, the idea of God as light was widespread; according to surah 24/35, He was “the light of heaven and earth”. When someone in the 2nd century is called Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Abd al-Nūr,²² he thereby shows that his father worshipped God as light, without presumably being a Shī‘ite however. Gnostics and rational theologians drew on a common Kūfan repertoire of ideas which sometimes can only be detected by inference from their systems.

2.1.3.3.7.1 The Beginnings

During the sixth decade of the 2nd century, al-Mahdī had a police officer draw up a list of the Shī‘ite “sects”.¹ The list says nothing about the Zaydiyya and their subgroups; the latter at the time enjoyed the trust of the government, at least of the vizier.² By contrast, the spectrum of the Rāfiḍiyya is well recorded; the action takes place presumably in the period in which Mūsā b. Jā‘far, who had learned to swallow his anger (al-Kāzim), was brought to Baghdād for the first time and was there placed under supervision.³

2.1.3.3.7.1.1 Pro-Murjī‘ite Groups

When we peruse the list, we first of all come upon Sulaymān al-Aqṭa‘, i.e.

Abū‘l-Rabī‘ Sulaymān b. Khālīd b. Dihqān b. Nāfila al-Hilālī,

19 Surah 11/7; on this cf. *Biḥār* LVII, 204 f., no. 152.

20 Surah 18/60.

21 Kaiser, op. cit., 49.

22 Cf. TT I, 61, no. 105, where the grandson is listed who died in the year 246/860.

1 Kashshī 265, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; also 269, ll. 3 f. from bot.; Astarābādī, *Manhaj al-maqāl* 363, ll. 4 f.; on this Ritter in: *Der Islam* 18/1930/34 and Strothmann, *ibid.* 19/1931/224 f. The name of the police officer is always given in the secondary literature as Ibn Mufaḍḍal; but the new edition of Kashshī instead has Ibn al-Muq‘ad. The divergence does not make much difference; at any rate, the man cannot be identified.

2 See below Chpt. C 1.2.4.

3 *Ibid.*; naturally, it is conceivable that the Imāmīte source consciously left out the Zaydites.

a *mawlā* of ‘Afif b. Ma‘dī Karib, a close relative of Ash‘ath b. Qays.¹ He was a Koranic reciter and a *faqīh*; one possessed “a book” by him. Imāmite jurisprudence could not do without him; a quantity of traditions from Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq are transmitted via him.² He evidently honoured Ja‘far greatly; he credited him with knowledge of hidden things.³ Time and again the relationship of trust breaks through in the sources.⁴ And yet he had participated in the revolt of Zayd b. ‘Alī – the only one among the followers of Muḥammad al-Bāqir to do so, as the Imāmite sources hasten to affirm. In the process his thumb was hacked off;⁵ this is how he acquired his epithet. But this did not put a stop to his revolutionary élan; he wanted to launch a revolt in Kūfa when the authority of the central government broke down there, that is to say around 130/748. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq whom he wished to help to power was allegedly very vexed by this.⁶ If he actually did gather “a school” around him as the police report prompts one to assume, then it probably consisted of people who worked against the separation of the Zaydiyya.⁷ We are dealing here with a conservative wing. This is also true in another sense about a second group which is named in the same place, the Ya‘fūriyya, i.e. the followers of

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ya‘fūr Wāqid (?) al-‘Abdī,

-
- 1 Najāshī 130, ll. 8 ff. from bot., where ‘Afif is described as the paternal uncle of Ash‘ath. But other kinship relations are also transmitted (cf. Khalifa, *Tab.* 166, no. 488, with accompanying footnote). On Ash‘ath b. Qays cf. E1² I, 696 f. The *nisba* is not entirely clear: Kashshī has *al-Nakha‘ī* (356, last l.); *al-Hilālī* is found alongside *al-Bajalī* (misread for *al-Nakha‘ī*?) in Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘ al-ruwāt* I, 377 b, l. 3 from bot. There it also says he was a *mawlā* of the Banū Hilāl.
 - 2 Cf. the list in Ardabīlī I, 377 ff.
 - 3 Kashshī 356 f, no. 664.
 - 4 *Kāfi* II, 224, ll. 7 ff.; 234, l. 1; 235, l. 14.
 - 5 According to others, the whole hand (cf. Najāshī and Ardabīlī, op. cit.). Also *Kāfi* VIII, 250, ll. 1 f.
 - 6 Kashshī 353 f, no. 662. This is also the last date for him; he died during Ja‘far’s lifetime, i.e. before 148/765 (Najāshī, op. cit.). As is known, Ja‘far is likewise supposed to have refused when the Kūfan Shī‘ite leader Abū Salama offered him the caliphate after the defeat of the Umayyads (Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā’* 86, ll. 6 ff.; Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh* II, 418, ll. 10 ff.; on this Shaban, *Abbasid Revolution* 164 and Jafri, *Origins* 273).
 - 7 In accordance with this, the Rāfiḍite tradition attempts to have him adopt a position against Zayd b. ‘Alī (Kashshī 360 f., no. 666 ff.). Cf. also *Kāfi* VIII, 160, ll. 1 ff., and 161, ll. 6 ff.

a *mawlā* of the ‘Abd al-Qays who likewise also died during the lifetime of Ja‘far al-Šādiq, in “the year of the plague”, i.e. probably 131/749.⁸ He was a Koranic reciter in Kūfa⁹ and evidently not rich; when he wanted to make the pilgrimage, he depended on financial donations.¹⁰ Many Shī‘ite Murji‘ites accompanied his funeral.¹¹ In this way his religious outlook is probably also indicated. He was very devoted to Ja‘far al-Šādiq¹² and carried out propaganda for him;¹³ but he did not want to sever the old tie with the Murji‘a. His father and his brother Yūnus were in any case Sunnīs.¹⁴ This is probably the reason why he did not consider acknowledging the Imam to be a necessary and immediately evident article of faith, as was usual later on;¹⁵ he adhered firmly to the community of the believers in which the Murji‘a placed such great value. He believed that one is not yet definitively damned, if one does not recognize the Imam; rather, one is then neither a believer nor an infidel, but virtually in a *manzila bayn’l-manzilatayn*.¹⁶ In matters of faith one should also not start quarrels.¹⁷ Typically, Ibn Abī Ya‘fūr did not overly elevate the person of the Imam; the Imam is a scholar and a pious man, but he is no prophet.¹⁸ – His opponent regarding this last issue was

8 Thus Kashshī 246, no. 454; on “the plague” see below Chpt B 2.2.6.1.1. Accordingly, he could not then have belonged to the intellectuals who after Ja‘far’s death decided in favour of Mūsā al-Kāzim, as Nawbakhtī maintains (*Firaq al-Shī‘a* 66, l. 12 > Qummī, *Maqālāt* 88, ll. 4 f. from bot.).

9 Najāshī 147, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; Ardabīlī I, 467 ff.

10 Kashshī 169, no. 285; cf. also *Bihār* XLVII, 374, no. 96.

11 Kashshī 247, no. 458.

12 Ibid. 180, no. 313; 246, no. 453; 249, no. 462. That he had stayed with the Imam in Medina emerges from the anecdote *Bihār* VI, 199 f., no. 53.

13 Ibid. 427, no. 802.

14 Fasawī II, 159, ll. 7 f.

15 Cf. *Maq.* 53, ll. 14 ff.; on the exception of ‘Alī b. Mītham see below Chpt. B 2.2.9.

16 Ibid. 49, ll. 13 f.; on the problem cf. Kulīnī, *Kāfī* I, 378 f., no. 2. That the thesis that one may possibly not be able to know the Imam is connected with the situation after Ja‘far al-Šādiq’s death as Brentjes assumes (*Imamatslehren* 40), should probably not be retained in view of the death date. What is meant is not that one does not know the Imam’s identity but that one does not know of his existence.

17 *Maq.* 50, ll. 2 f.

18 Kashshī 246 f., no. 456; see above p. 323 f. But he is supposed to have believed ‘Alī was *muhaddath* (Ibn Šaffār, *Bašā‘ir al-darajāt* 321, no. 2, and 322, no. 7). The Ya‘fūriyya is still mentioned in Maqdisī, *Bad’* v, 124, l. 4, and 134, l. 9, but without further explanation. Khwārizmī derives the group from a *Muhammad* b. Ya‘fūr and classifies them under the *ghulāt* (*Maḥāṭib al-‘ulūm* 22, ll. 7 f.); probably he is poorly informed. [But cf. GIE II, 699 f.]

Mu‘allā b. Khunays,

a Kūfan cloth merchant who had followed Mughīra b. Sa‘īd and then shortly after the Abbasid revolution because of his sympathies for al-Nafs al-zakiyya was executed in Medina by the local governor, Dāwūd b. ‘Alī (d. 133/751).¹⁹ Both theologians were thus radically different in their political temperament. They then also quarrelled over a juridical question: namely, whether it is allowed for one to eat meat that has been slaughtered by a Jew – that is to say in the correct ritual manner but without the *basmala* having been pronounced in the process. Here Ibn Abī Ya‘fūr was more strict: he rejected such behaviour.²⁰ In all this the role that Ja‘far al-Šādiq is here supposed to have played is interesting. Allegedly, he agreed with Ibn Abī Ya‘fūr regarding the juridical question; but financially he was closely linked with Mu‘allā b. Khunays. The latter was in fact one of his financial administrators; the money that he had collected for him was confiscated by Dāwūd b. ‘Alī.²¹ Perhaps this was even the real reason for his execution. In any case, Ja‘far is supposed to have had his son Ismā‘īl take revenge on the responsible police officer for Mu‘allā’s death;²² later when Ismā‘īl had become a non-person, people recounted that the governor himself owed his surprising death to a curse by the Imam.²³ The separation between radicals and quietists was not yet fully accomplished. Ja‘far is meant to have appealed to Mu‘allā’s conscience “not to divulge the affair”;²⁴ he then allegedly also predicted the latter’s execution.²⁵

19 Ibid. 376 ff., no. 707 ff.; on him also Najāshī 296, ll. 7 ff., and Ardabilī II, 247 ff.

20 Thus at least according to the oldest source (Kashshī 248, no. 460 > *Bihār* LXVI, 26, no. 24). Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā transmits the matter exactly the other way round (*Bihār* LXVI, 17 f., no. 7, following the latter’s *Jawāb al-masā‘il al-Ṭarābulusīyyāt*). Perhaps it was primarily a matter of camel meat which in fact the Jews themselves were not allowed to eat (Leviticus 11, 4 and Deuteronomy 14, 7; cf. the exegetical remarks by Ibn Abī Ya‘fūr on surahs 3/93 and 4/160 in: *Bihār* IX, 191, no. 31, and XIII, no. 54). On the problem see also Chpt. B 3.1.2.4.

21 *Kāfi* II, 557, no. 5; *Bihār* XLVII, 177 f., no. 24 (also 343, ll. 2 ff.). On this J. M. Husain in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 5/1982, No. 4, p. 25 and p. 45, fn. 3, as well as F. Omar in: *Arabica* 22/1976/177.

22 Kashshī, op. cit.

23 Ṭūsī, *Ghayba* (Tabrīz) 224, ll. 11 ff./ (Najaf 1385) 210, ll. 14 ff.; *Bihār* XLVII, 97 f., no. 113.

24 Kashshī 380, l. 4 from bot.; Jafri, *Origins* 298.

25 *Bihār* XXV, 380 f., no. 34.

2.1.3.3.7.1.2 *Zurāra b. Aʿyan and His Circle*

The future lay in the hands of a third group, namely the circle around a *mawlā* of the Shaybān,¹

Abū'l-Ḥasan (Abū 'Alī) Zurāra b. Aʿyan b. Sunsun.

For Ibn al-Nadīm he is characteristically the earliest scholar of the Shī'a in the fields of jurisprudence, *kalām* and *Ḥadīth*.² With the Murjī'a he also still had something in common; he defined faith in a similarly broad manner as Abū Ḥanīfa.³ But he was a Qadarite;⁴ he wrote a *K. Istiṭā'a wa'l-jabr*⁵ in which he advocated the view that the ability to act was conferred on man from birth along with his health.⁶ In this regard he manifestly based himself on surah 3/97 where it says that every believer should make the pilgrimage to Mecca, provided he is "capable of doing so". He is indeed "capable" if he is in good health and has the necessary money – and this irrespective of whether he then actually performs the *ḥajj* or not.

This argumentation emerges from the anecdotes in Kashshī 145, no. 229, and 147, no. 234; but in them the Imam is supposed to have rejected the doctrine (on this, Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 222 f.). The cited Koranic verse played an important role from early times in the discussion about the duty to perform the pilgrimage (cf. for instance Muranyi, *Ein altes Fragment medinensischer Jurisprudenz aus Qairawān* 40 ff.; also Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *Wathā'iq* 405, l. 8, or 407, l. 6 from bot., Chalmeta); but in general one saw no grounds for deriving theological consequences from it. On the other hand, Zurāra's interpretation is shared, among others, by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (Ibn Bābōya, *Tawḥīd* 285, ll. 7 ff.). Later, above all Shī'ite exegetes with a Mu'tazilite orientation draw attention to it (Ṭūsī, *Tibyān* II, 538, 2 ff.; Ṭabrisī, *Majma'* II, 479, ll. 7 f.).

1 More exactly: of a grandson of As'ad b. Hammām b. Murra (Najāshī 125, ll. 6 f.; also Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* VII, 122, l. 3). On the latter cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 470, ll. 7 f.

2 *Fihrist* 276, ll. 8 f.

3 Kashshī 145, no. 230, and 149, no. 239. But the texts are not completely unequivocal.

4 See below; thus perhaps also the seemingly corrupt passage *Bihār* v, 45, l. 1.

5 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 143, ll. 3 ff. (with two *riwāyāt*). Ibn Bābōya (d. 381/991) had still seen the book (Najāshī 125, ll. 10 f.). I do not know whether in Ṭūsī the words *wa'l-uhūd* that follow belong to the same title or describe another book; the words are left out wherever this information of Ṭūsī is cited.

6 Text IV 6, a.

In this regard, Zurāra becomes a forerunner of the Mu'tazilites; in Kūfa no one advocated this doctrine before him. But his argumentation was not based so much on theology as on jurisprudence, and he had then especially distinguished himself as a jurist; one notices this in the number of traditions which are transmitted through him in the *Kāfi* of Kulīnī or elsewhere.⁷ But this is not true of him alone; he is the center of a large family which was loyally devoted to the Ḥusaynids Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and which exchanged among themselves information they had received from the Imams during visits to Medina. The family tree can be extensively reconstructed from the genealogical materials which a later descendant collected together in the year 350/961; Shī'ite biographers have continued to draw on this source up until today.⁸ It is astonishing how quickly property and erudition apparently came together in this case. The ancestor, a slave by the name of A'yan, was purchased in Aleppo by a Shaybānī. He had shown himself to be so clever and had so eagerly "learned the Koran" that his master allegedly suggested that he adopt him; but the latter preferred the client relationship.⁹ His father, a monk (!) by the name of Sunsun, went on living in the Byzantine region; one claimed that he had belonged to the Banū Ghassān who had settled in Northern Syria.¹⁰ A'yan in particular proved capable of bringing numerous children into the world; as many as seventeen sons are mentioned.¹¹ But as it turned out, it is meant to have been a daughter who first became initiated into "the affair", i.e.

7 Cf. Ardabīlī I, 324 ff. who summarizes; also the remark in Kashshī 276, ll. 8 f., and 238, ll. 6 f. But a part of the material is probably not authentic.

8 Completely preserved in Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, *Kashkūl* (Najaf 1381/1981) I, 180 ff.; the first part, which contains the essential information on the family history, also edited by Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn in: *Nafā'is al-makḥṭūṭāt* II, 53 ff.; extracts in *A'yān al-Shī'a* XLV, 304 f. and elsewhere. On the author cf. Tūsī, *Fihrist* 40 ff., no. 75; Ardabīlī I, 67; *A'yān al-Shī'a* x, 67 ff.; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam* II, 108. He lived from 285/898 to 368/979 and is mostly cited under his *kunya* as Abū Ghālib al-Zurārī. It is a question of no. 66 in the fold-out genealogical tree of the present volume.

9 Perhaps to spare himself hostilities on the part of the Arab family; cf. the text in *Nafā'is al-makḥṭūṭāt* II, 63, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

10 Ibid. 63, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; Tūsī, *Fihrist* 141, l. 2 (where the commentator 'Alam al-Hudā explicitly vocalizes the name). In the editions of Ibn al-Nadīm *Sinbis* is a mistake (*Fihrist* 276, l. 8; on this cf. ed. Flügel 220, l. 20 with commentary p. 96). Also Pellat in: *Oriens* 16/1963/104 (not entirely without errors). If the father of A'yan in Khwārizmī, *Mafāṭih* 20, l. 6 from bot., is called Abū Zurāra this is unique and probably a mistake; the monk in fact bore no *kunya*.

11 Ibid. 67, ll. 4 ff.; also 66, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

who joined the Shī'a.¹² Zurāra was one of the younger among the sons; four brothers died in the time of Ja'far al-Šādiq, i.e. before 148/765,¹³ one of whom, Ḥumrān, a grammarian and a Koranic reciter, perhaps already around 130/748.¹⁴

Zurāra himself – actually 'Abd Rabbih, Zurāra simply being his nickname¹⁵ – outlived Ja'far by a short timespan. The chronology is obscured by the fact that from the later perspective the line of the imamate after Ja'far's death experienced a hitch. There is no doubt that Zurāra, like all other Kūfans, took it for granted that 'Abdallāh, Ja'far's eldest son, would assume the succession. Even when the premature death of 'Abdallāh obliged all those who wished to believe in a living Imam to look about for an alternative and the majority went over to Mūsā al-Kāẓim, this did not necessarily mean that one had to disavow 'Abdallāh's imamate; only later did the idea establish itself that after Ḥasan and Ḥusayn two brothers could no longer consecutively be the Imam.¹⁶ The fissure ran through the middle of the family; Zurāra's son, 'Ubayd, renounced 'Abdallāh;¹⁷ his nephew, 'Abdallāh b. Bukayr, on the other hand, had gone on to recognize him as Imam without dissociating himself for this reason from Mūsā.¹⁸

12 She was called Umm al-Aswad (ibid. 64, ll. 5 ff.) and was won over by a certain Abū Khālid al-Kāhili, behind whom is perhaps concealed Abū Khālid al-Kābulī (on him cf. my *Friihe mu'tazilitische Häresiographie* 30 f.). But there was also a rival tradition that conferred this honour on the sons; according to it, 'Abd al-Malik b. A'yan was converted by Šālih b. Mitham (on him cf. *Ardabilī I*, 409 a; also below p. 453 f.) and then his brother Ḥumrān by Abū Khālid (who here again is called al-Kāhili; ibid. 65, ll. 4 f. from bot.).

13 Kashshī 161, no. 270.

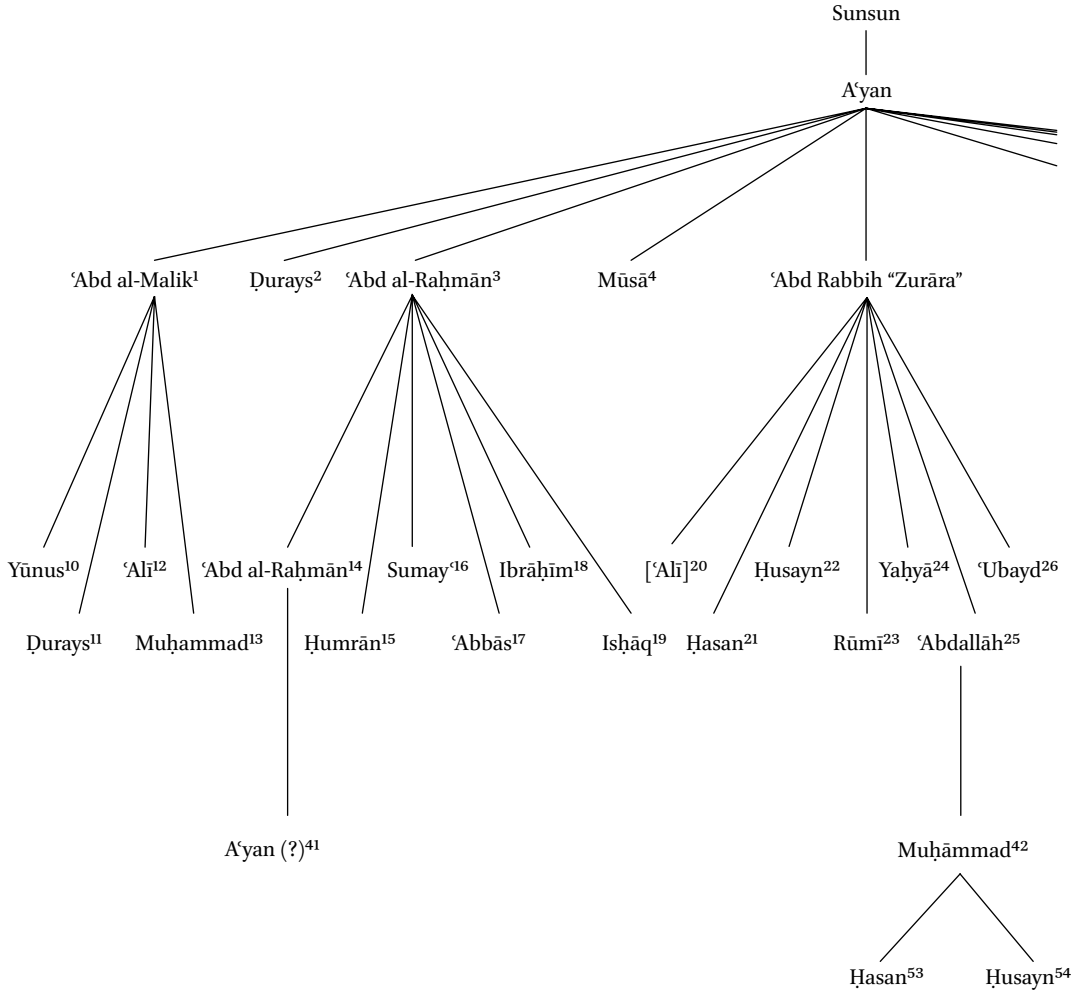
14 According to a supposition of Dhahabī in Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tab.* no. 1189; thus he was one of the teachers of Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb (d. 156/773; cf. *GAS* 1/9) and himself had attended lectures of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, among others. It appears that he recited the Koran to popular melodies (so-called *qirā'a bi'l-alḥān*; cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif* 533, ll. 9 ff. and below Chpt. B 2.2.5.6). More on him *TT III*, 25, no. 32, and Dhahabī, *Mizān* no. 2292 as well as *Ta'riḫh v*, 238, ll. 16 ff.; he is cited by Ibn Māja (cf. also Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 34). No trace of his activity as a grammarian has been preserved. According to a note of the editor of Kashshī, *Rijāl*, Najaf without year (p. 157, ftn. 1), his name should be read as Ḥamrān; but one can probably ignore this.

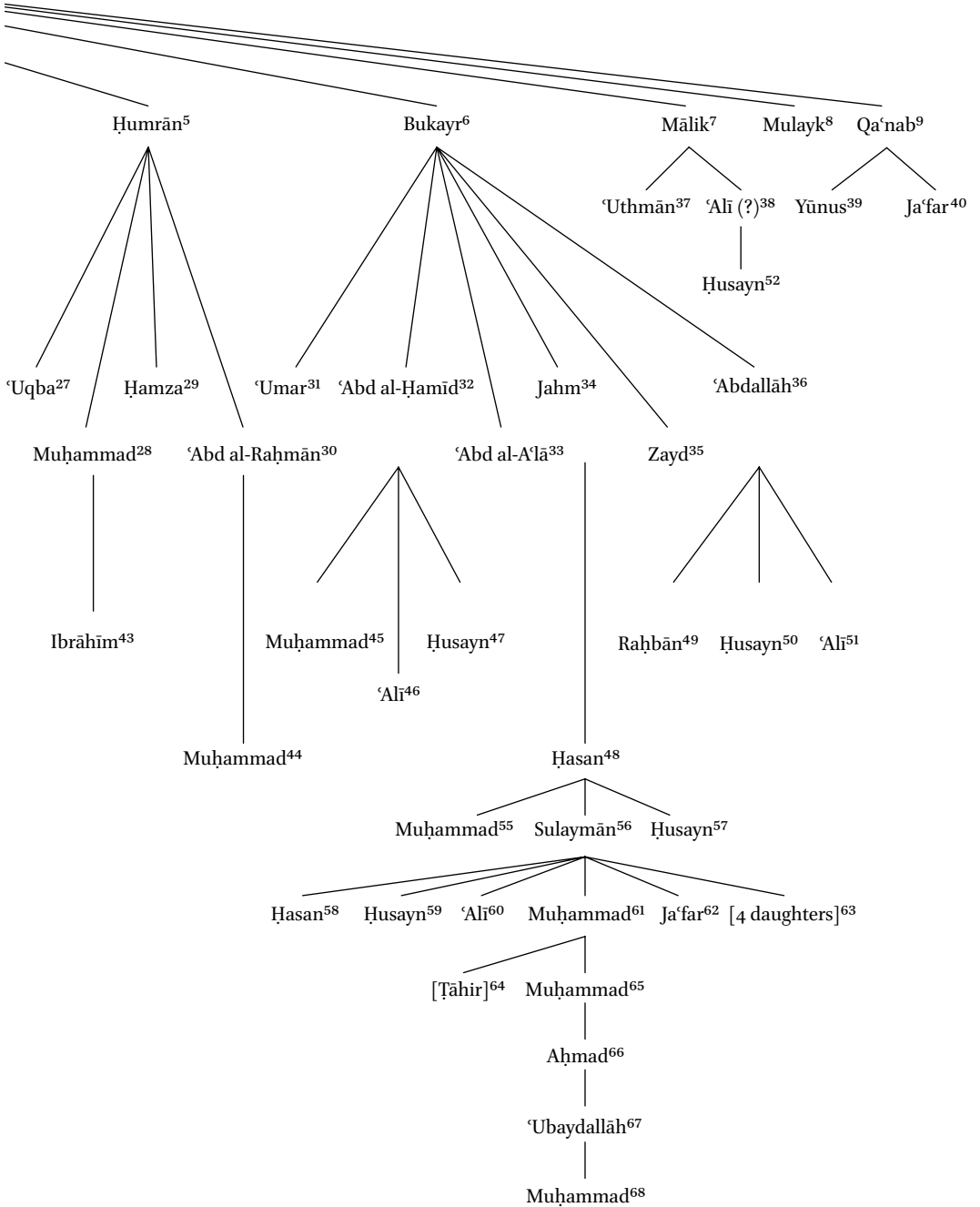
15 Kashshī 133, no. 208. – Zurāra was also a place name in Kūfa (cf. Šālih al-'Alī in: *Sumer* 21/1965/238 f.). There was also a locality there named Ḥammām A'yan; but it had nothing to do with our A'yan (ibid. 239; Lassner, *Shaping of Abbasid Rule* 146; Morony, *Iraq* 269).

16 On this cf. Kashshī 254, ll. 2 f. from bot.; also Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 33 and Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 488, ftn. 69. Watt provides a summary in *SI* 31/1970/293 ff.

17 Nawbakhtī, *Fīraq* 66, l. 13.

18 Ibid. 67, ll. 2 f.; for him, cf. the genealogical tree on p. 378, ftn. 36.





On the family in general, besides the work of Abū Ghālib Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (= no. 66) mentioned above on p. 374, ftn. 8, cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm 276, ll. 5 ff. and Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 141, ll. 1 ff.

1. Kashshī 175 f., no. 300–302; Ardabīlī, *Jāmiʿ* I, 519. Also below p. 381.
2. Mentioned in Abū Ghālib 66, l. 3 from bot.
3. Ibid.; in greater detail in Ardabīlī I, 446 f. “A book” by him is mentioned in Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 180, no. 384.
4. Ibid.
5. Kashshī 176, no. 303 ff.; Ardabīlī I, 278 f. On him below p. 380.
6. Kashshī 181, no. 315 f.; Ardabīlī I, 129 f.; *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* XIV, 93 ff.
7. Abū Ghālib 64, l. 4, and 66, l. 3 from bot.; Kashshī 181, no. 317. On this cf. Ardabīlī II, 36 f.
8. Abū Ghālib, *ibid.* Just like no. 9, he was no Shīʿite (*ibid.* 66, l. 5 from bot.).
9. Abū Ghālib, *ibid.* Kashshī 181, no. 317. He was born in the Fayyūm (*Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* LII, 113, no. 11402).
10. He transmits from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (Abū Ghālib 65, l. 11; *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* LII, 113, no. 11402).
11. Abū Ghālib 64, l. 13; Kashshī 313 f., no. 566; Ardabīlī I, 418 f. He was married to the daughter of Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan (no. 5).
12. Abū Ghālib, *ibid.*; Ardabīlī I, 591 b.
13. Abū Ghālib, *ibid.*; Ardabīlī II, 146 a.
- 14.–19. Mentioned in Abū Ghālib 64, ll. 5 f. from bot.
20. Only inferred from his father’s *kunya* (see above p. 373). This son, if the *kunya* was ever applied to a real offspring, perhaps already died at a young age.
21. Ardabīlī I, 199.
22. Ibid. I, 240.
23. Ibid. I, 322.
24. Ibid. II, 328. Ibn al-Nadīm, who otherwise lists the sons of Zurāra, leaves him out.
25. Abū Ghālib 64, l. 9; Kashshī 138, ll. 6 f.; Najāshī 154, ll. 6 f.; not indicated in Ibn al-Nadīm. Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 141, last l., instead has the form ‘Ubaydallāh. Ardabīlī takes this form for granted and when he cannot document it, wants to equate this son of Zurāra with no. 26, ‘Ubayd (I, 528).
26. Ibn al-Nadīm 276, l. 11; Ṭūsī 141, ll. 5 f.; Ardabīlī I, 524 ff. Abū Ghālib has instead ‘Ubaydallāh (64, l. 8). He had left behind “a book” (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 202, no. 438).
27. Ardabīlī I, 539.
28. Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 290 f., no. 629 > Ardabīlī II, 105; he left “a book”.
29. Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 117, no. 225; Ardabīlī I, 280 f. He left “a book”. On 27.–29. cf. also Abū Ghālib 64, l. 12.
30. Mentioned in Abū Ghālib 63, l. 9; see here no. 44.
31. Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 188, l. 3 from bot. is very unusual in Shīʿite families, and in *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* XIV, 93, l. 7 from bot., it is read as ‘Amr.
32. Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 188, l. 3 from bot.; Ardabīlī I, 439 b.
33. Abū Ghālib 64, l. 10; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 188, l. 3 from bot.
34. Ṭūsī, *ibid.*; he was married to a daughter of ‘Ubayd b. Zurāra (no. 26; cf. *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* x, 68, l. 5 from bot.).
35. As an addition mentioned in *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* XIV, 93, l. 7 from bot.
36. Kashshī 345, no. 639; Najāshī 154, ll. 5 ff.; also below pp. 380 and 384. One knew of “a book” by him about *uṣūl* (Ibn al-Nadīm 243, ll. 11 f.; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 188, no. 405). For excerpts from “the book” of ‘Abdallāh b. Bukayr cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Scholar* 219.
37. Just like no. 39, he was buried in the Fayyūm (Abū Ghālib 65, ll. 7 f. from bot. > *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* LII, 113, no. 11402).
38. He is only mentioned in the genealogy of no. 52. His descent from Aʿyan is not assured. Besides, if such were the case, possibly one or more links between him and no. 7 would have to be added (see below p. 381 with ftn. 31). Mālik was certainly no Shīʿite; it would be very unusual if along with a son named ‘Uthmān he had another son named ‘Alī.
39. Cf. no. 37.

40. Mentioned in Abū Ghālib 65, l. 12, and Ardabīlī 1, 155 b; his descendants lived in the Fayyūm (Abū Ghālib 65, l. 12).
41. Not referred to by the Imāmite biographers presumably because he was a Wāqifite. He occurs in a relevant story in Ṭūsī, *Ghayba* 41, l. 2/37, l. 2 from bot. But there he is called Aʿyan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aʿyan; according to this, he would instead have been a son of no. 3. However, the story takes place in the year that Mūsā al-Kāzīm, under al-Mahdī, was ordered to Baghdād, i.e. probably after 165/782 (on this cf. below Chpt. C 1.2.4); Aʿyan at the time was apparently still quite young. Moreover, one has the impression that the individuals Abū Ghālib mentions one after the other in nos. 14–19 represent all the sons of no. 3. Hence it is not very likely that no. 41 should be added to their number; one has probably simply left *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* out in his name.
42. Kashshī, Index 256 s. n.; Ardabīlī 11, 141.
43. He was also a Wāqifite and is only found in Ṭūsī, *Ghayba* 41, l. 10/38, l. 9.
44. He bequeathed his house in Kūfa to the family in perpetuity; but it remained with the Banū ʿUqba of the Shaybān. Only in the year 364/975 did Abū Ghālib again assert his rights on the basis of an old document. But he was not entirely sure whether the Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥumrān who is mentioned there was a great-grandson of Aʿyan (Abū Ghālib 63, ll. 8 ff.).
- 45.–47. Mentioned in Ardabīlī 1, 473 a, ll. 2 f. from bot.
48. Abū Ghālib 58, ll. 11 f.; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 87, no. 171; Ardabīlī 1, 191. He was close to ʿAlī al-Riḍā and composed *masāʾil*.
- 49.–51. Abū Ghālib 64, ll. 3 f. from bot.
52. He was the person given in apprenticeship to no. 66 (see below p. 381).
- 53.–54. Ardabīlī 11, 141.
- 55.–57. Abū Ghālib 59, ll. 2 ff.; nos. 55 and 57 had no descendants. No. 56 died after 250/864 (ibid. 62, l. 9); he was the one who adopted the *nisba* al-Zurārī for the family. Originally, one had spoken of the *wuld Jahm* (no. 34), and later one spoke of the *wuld Bukayr*. The pretext for the name change was the fact that Jahm b. Bukayr had married a daughter of ʿUbayd b. Zurāra (no. 26). But the cause was probably that Sulaymān immigrated to Nēshāpūr and there became a man of distinction (see below p. 381, ftn. 32). In his handwritten communications (*tawqīʿāt*), the eleventh Imam Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī always referred to him under this assumed name (Abū Ghālib 69, ll. 5 ff.).
- 58.–63. Abū Ghālib 60, ll. 4 f. from bot.; nos. 60 and 61 were biological brothers. On no. 60 cf. Najashī 184, ll. 5 ff.; no. 61 died in Muḥarram 300/Aug.–Sept. 912 at the age of 63 (Abū Ghālib 62, ll. 6 f. from bot., and 70, l. 6; and not entirely correct Ardabīlī 11, 120).
64. He lived from 237/852 to 301/914 (Ardabīlī 11, 120).
65. He already died in his twenties around 280/893 (Abū Ghālib 70, l. 3).
66. This is Abū Ghālib, the author of our source.
67. TB x, 378, no. 5542 > Anbārī, *Nuzha* 302, no. 114 and Samʿānī, *Ansāb* v1, 278, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb* 1, 498, ll. 6 ff.
68. For him Abū Ghālib wrote his family history. He was called after the latter's *kunya* Ibn Abī Ghālib and was born in the year 352/963 (according to the *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa* x, 69, ll. 2 f. from bot.). The biography, ibid. XLV, 303 ff., instead gives the incorrect date 283/856; this has been taken over in Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam* x, 276 f.

Zurāra had nothing more to do with this conflict. Thus both parties appealed to him. The followers of ‘Abdallāh had an easier time of it; he had not actually repudiated ‘Abdallāh’s imamate. Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār still knew of a group of them.¹⁹ The others attempted to lay claim to him for their standpoint either by maintaining that he was aware of ‘Abdallāh’s lack of knowledge and therefore came over to Mūsā,²⁰ or that he sent his son ‘Ubayd to Medina to find out about the succession but had already died before the latter returned – barely two months after Ja‘far, as it is said by way of explanation.²¹ In his perplexity he was only still able to see as his Imam the Koran itself.²² The different versions clearly show that they have simply been created in order to cover up an embarrassment; and for this reason the chronology that they are based on is also fictitious.²³ We will most plausibly agree with Ibn Bābōya when he reports the year 150 as an approximate date of death.²⁴

The family was at home in Kūfa. There Zurāra, just like his brother Ḥumrān, had studied with Ḥakam b. ‘Uṭayba.²⁵ But evidently they often travelled to the Hijāz and in that way kept up contact with the Ḥusaynids.²⁶ This presumably

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- 19 *Mughnī* xx₂, 180, ll. 16 f. with a supplementary doxographical remark that apparently goes back to Ka‘bī (Nashwān, *Hūr* 164, ll. 4 ff., and Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 28, ll. 4 f.). In Kūfa there were followers of ‘Abdallāh up to the time of ‘Alī al-Riḍā (Kashshī 563, no. 1062). Later as well he remained so established in the world’s memory as Ja‘far’s authorized heir that the Fāṭimid Mahdī ‘Abdallāh referred to him as his ancestor in order to give himself an impressive genealogy (on this recently A. Hamdani and F. de Blois in: *JRAS* 1983, pp. 172 ff., and Halm in: *REI* 54/1986/133 ff.).
- 20 *Hūr* 164, ll. 6 ff. = Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 28, ll. 5 ff.: both following Ka‘bī; also Baghdādī, *Farq* 52, ll. 8 ff./70, ll. 2 ff. The basis is probably provided by traditions such as Mufīd, *Irshād* 292, ll. 10 f./transl. Howard 442 (but where by contrast with the original source *Kāfi* I, 352, l. 17, Zurāra is subsequently substituted for Fuḍayl al-Rassān!).
- 21 Kashshī 142, last l. ff. Zurāra is supposed to have been around 90 at the time (Abū Ghālib in *Nafā’is al-makhṭūṭāt* II, 65, ll. 2 ff. from bot.).
- 22 Ibid. 153 ff. with several versions (nos. 251–256); *Bihār* XLVII, 339, nos. 19 and 21; briefly indicated *Hūr* 164, l. 9 (again probably following Ka‘bī). A mixed version in Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 59, ll. 5 ff. (here as previously it is assumed that Zurāra himself goes to Medina). Cf. also Shahrastānī 142, ll. 5 f. from bot./401, last l. ff.; on this Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 189 f. and Gimaret, *Livre* 537, ftn. 189.
- 23 “Less than two months after Ja‘far” because ‘Abdallāh also only outlived his father by around 70 days.
- 24 Najāshī 125, ll. 11 ff. > Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 76, l. 3 from bot. A somewhat divergent emphasis of the sources in Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 19/1931/224 f. The position on this adopted by Brentjes (*Imamatslehren* 34) is pure harmonization.
- 25 Kashshī 210, ll. 3 ff.; on him see above p. 278 f.
- 26 Whether they also had contact with other ‘Alids does not emerge from our sources.

occurred not only on the *hajj* but for business affairs; because in Egypt as well there also lived some brothers and nephews of Zurāra, who had apparently never come over to the Shī'a.²⁷ Another brother, 'Abd al-Malik, resided for a while in Mecca and was buried there;²⁸ in Kūfa he used to undertake the correspondence which illiterate members of the community carried on with the Imam.²⁹ A son of Ḥumrān apparently worked in the Yemen.³⁰ This seems to indicate a commercial enterprise with numerous branch offices. Abū Ghālib, the author of the family history, was consigned by his grandfather to "a cousin", probably an Egyptian relative, to go into the cloth business;³¹ perhaps the business had already been set up at the time.³² The Banū A'yan had their own mosque in the quarter (*khittā*) of the Banū As'ad b. Hammām.³³ From the fact that 'Abd al-Malik – like his brother Ḥumrān – enjoyed a certain recognition outside the Shī'a,³⁴ we may probably conclude that the Shī'ite texts project back later conditions when they speak of hostilities towards the family.³⁵ Zurāra himself had allegedly already come to Medina as a young man;³⁶ he knew much *Ḥadīth* from Muḥammad al-Bāqir.³⁷ For this reason one may even have come up with the idea that under commission from the latter he had already had discussions with 'Umar II.³⁸

His devotion was characterized by Kūfan rigorousness. In view of the shadows which later fell upon his orthodoxy, it became easier for the sources to

27 Abū Ghālib 66, l. 5 from bot.

28 Kashshī 175, no. 300.

29 *Bihār* V, 221, no. 3; LVII, 84, no. 66; LXIX, 73, nos. 2 f. and 28, etc.

30 Kashshī 146, l. 12; it is a question of no. 29 of our genealogical tree.

31 *Nafā'is al-makhtūṭāt* II, 70, ll. 13 ff.; no. 52 is meant on the genealogical tree.

32 But one must also take account of the fact that a girl from the family, the stepdaughter of Ḥasan b. Jahm b. Bukayr (no. 48), became married to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir and bore him a son named 'Ubaydallāh (Abū Ghālib 59, ll. 4 ff. from bot.). Naturally, this gave a boost to the whole clan; for this reason Ḥasan's son moved to Neshāpūr (ibid. 60, ll. 1 ff.). But this marriage was probably the consequence rather than the starting point of economic power.

33 Ibid. 63, ll. 6 f., and 59, ll. 7 f.; the As'ad b. Hammām belonged to the Shaybān (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 470, ll. 7 f.).

34 Ibn Ḥanbal, *ʿIlal* 199, no. 1230; Fasawī III, 370, ll. 7 f.; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* III, 33 f., no. 989; *Mizān* no. 5190; TT VI, 385, no. 726. He is cited in all six canonical collections.

35 Kashshī 138, ll. 7 ff.

36 Ibid. 178, l. 7.

37 Ibid. 133, ll. 3 f. from bot., and 136, ll. 9 f.

38 Azdī, *Ta'rikh al-Mawṣil* 5, ll. 6 ff.; cf. also Ibn Abī 'Awn, *al-Ajwiba al-muskita* 51. One had Sufyān al-Thawrī express extreme scepticism *vis-à-vis* these stories: according to him Zurāra is never supposed to have met Muḥammad al-Bāqir ('Uqaylī II, 96, ll. 11 ff.; *Mizān* II, 70, l. 5; *Lisān al-Mizān* II, 474, ll. 6 ff.).

admit that in this respect he exceeded sound measure. He advocated exclusivity with regard to non-Shī'ites; Muḥammad al-Bāqir, on the other hand, pleaded in favour of gentleness.³⁹ He was of the opinion that all non-Shī'ites, like "unbelievers" would enter Hell; Muḥammad al-Bāqir wished to leave this up to the will of God.⁴⁰ He did not want to marry women outside his community and therefore confined himself to female slaves; Muḥammad al-Bāqir advised him against this extremism.⁴¹ Probably he considered the Imam to be *muḥaddath*.⁴² In Sunnī circles one related that he had wished to know from Ja'far al-Šādiq what awaited him in the afterlife, and when the latter prophesied Hell on his behalf because of this heretical question alone, he considered this simply to be *taqīyya*.⁴³ Even his own adherents did not keep it wholly concealed that he had seen the end of time as close at hand and had expected exact information about its date from the Imam.⁴⁴

In fact, Jāḥiẓ has preserved some verses by him in which he describes the signs of the Mahdī. A child has arisen that is still in swaddling-clothes; at some time he will put a bridle on the Phoenix, and the ocean will freeze over. The form of expression is obscure, and we do not know whether Jāḥiẓ is right when he calls Zurāra in this context "the head of the Shumayṭiyya".⁴⁵ But if this is true, then one can scarcely think otherwise than that Zurāra wrote the poem in question at the birth of Ja'far al-Šādiq's youngest son Muḥammad whom in any case his father gave the name that he would have to bear as the Mahdī. We know that still later many Shī'ites also put their hopes in Muḥammad b. Ja'far and that finally in his old age he attempted to make good the claim.⁴⁶ Certainly, Zurāra believed in *raĵ'a*. He justified it by explaining that all murder victims had to return once more to the earth in order "to taste death",⁴⁷ 'Alī and Ḥusayn were indeed both murdered; they must have the opportunity to live

39 *Kāfi* II, 382, 4 ff.

40 *Ibid.* II, 385, ll. 6 ff.; similarly Kashshī 142, ll. 5 ff., where Muḥammad Bāqir is replaced by Ja'far al-Šādiq.

41 *Kāfi* II, 402, l. 4 ff.; similarly Kashshī 141 f., no. 223, once again connected with Ja'far al-Šādiq. According to this, the Shī'ite community would have to have been very small.

42 Mufid, *Ikhtišāṣ* 323, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; Ibn al-Šaffār, *Baṣā'ir* 322, no. 5, and 368 ff., nos. 2–3, 6–10, 12–13, and 19.

43 Fasawī II, 671, last l. ff.; 'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'* II, 96, ll. 3 ff. from bot. > *Mizān* no. 2853. With this one should compare Kashshī 133, no. 208.

44 Kashshī 157 f., no. 261.

45 *Ḥayawān* VII, 122, ll. 3 ff.; on this Pellat in: *Oriens* 16/1963/107. Also one of the verses with some divergence in Jāḥiẓ, *Burṣān* 357, ll. 6 f.

46 More on this below Chpt. C 2.1.

47 *Bihār* LIII, 65 f., no. 58, and 71, no. 68.

their life to the end. Moreover, in “extremist” texts like the *K. al-Haft wa’l-azilla* Zurāra is also cited as a source.⁴⁸ One should not necessarily reject this strand in tradition as apocryphal; because in another verse, which evidently belongs to the same poem, he imagines God as a radiant light,⁴⁹ and from there it was not very far to “the shadows”. Khwārizmī, in his *Mafātiḥ al-‘ulūm*, classified him among the anthropomorphists.⁵⁰ In the early *Ḥadīth* collection of Durust b. Abī Manṣūr,⁵¹ he bases himself on Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq for the doctrine that God created first the letters of the alphabet.⁵² Zurāra was certainly not yet “orthodox” in the later sense.

But he retained his high reputation because as a jurist, in the period when Abū Ḥanīfa was at the peak of his fame, he preserved an individual profile for the Shī‘ite community. In so doing, he was here as well by no means wholly in accord with the later line of thought. He followed the view of his teacher Ḥakam b. ‘Utayba that during the pilgrimage after the departure from ‘Arafāt one should perform the evening prayer not in but just before Muzdalifa, and thereby placed himself in opposition to the Ḥijāzī pactice of the Imams.⁵³ He considered that a ritual act was only valid once it was completed; an interrupted prayer cannot therefore be carried to conclusion but must be fully performed anew.⁵⁴ This was a minority opinion which was only once again well received in the case of the Mu‘tazilite Hishām al-Fuwaṭī.⁵⁵ But above all he believed that one should only perform the *maghrib*-prayer after sunset.⁵⁶ This was a touchy subject; because Abū’l-Khaṭṭāb had also advocated this view.⁵⁷ And yet evidently the practice went back to the time of ‘Alī.⁵⁸ Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, who

48 Halm, *Gnosis* 111; on the text itself *ibid.* 240 ff.

49 Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ al-Luma‘* 485, ll. 5 ff.; Saksakī, *Burhān* 31, ll. 6 ff. from bot. He is also supposed to have held that He was compact; but Ibn al-Dā‘ī disputes this (*Tabṣira* 173, last l. ff.).

50 P. 20, ll. 7 f. from bot.

51 On him see below p. 408, fn. 118.

52 In: *al-Uṣūl al-sitta ‘ashar* 160, ll. 6 f.

53 Kashshī 158, no. 262, and 209, no. 368; on this cf. Rubin in: *JSAI* 10/1987/43.

54 Mufīd, *Awā‘il al-maqālāt* 69, ll. 5 ff./transl. Sourdel 295 f., no. 78; on this Kohlberg in: *SI* 57/1983/62.

55 See below Chpt. C 4.1.1.1.

56 Kashshī 143, no. 224.

57 Perhaps with a special gnostic justification (Halm, *Gnosis* 205 f.).

58 Thus according to a verse in a larger fragment of a poem which could belong to Zurāra’s *qaṣīda* (Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd, *ShNB* v, 8, l. 5). Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd does not mention the name of the author; but rhyming letters and the meter are identical. This would make an additional 16 verses we have gained for Zurāra. In this case they deal with ‘Alī and are striking for their

had founded Kūfa, is also supposed to have met with protest among the early settlers because he flouted their special customary practices for performing the prayers.⁵⁹ Interestingly, in pre-Islamic times the Jews already discussed the same problem in connection with the evening recitation of the *Shema' Yisra'el*. The Muslims in Kūfa seem to have linked up with this practice.⁶⁰

However, Zurāra caused more of a stir with his *istiṭā'a*-thesis. In his family opinions were divided during his lifetime. One of his brothers, Qa'nab, was a Murji'ite and for this reason, as with another brother, 'Abd al-Malik, the Shī'ite tradition took scarcely any notice of him;⁶¹ likewise Ḥumrān, the Koranic reciter of the family, kept himself somewhat out of the picture when it came to this subject.⁶² But in the next generation, as we learn from Ash'arī, his son 'Ubayd and his nephew 'Abdallāh b. Bukayr carried on his teachings.⁶³ And besides his immediate relatives he was already able to rely on broad approval among his contemporaries. That the Kūfan jurists and theologians, who made common cause with him, just like himself were not wholly isolated within the Shī'ite milieu, is clear from the fact that one had the Imams themselves confirm their excellence: Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is said to have spoken of them as "the guardians (*huffāz*) of religion" and "trustees" of his father "in what is permitted and forbidden,"⁶⁴ and Mūsā al-Kāzīm allegedly described them as "the apostles" (*hawārī*) of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 150, ll. 3 ff.; in another context, Kashshī 10, ll. 4 ff. The reason for these eulogies was perhaps, along with their juridical competence, the fact that they were not taken in by the chiliastic slogans of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (Kashshī 137, no. 220).

Apparently, they found support among a group of the Taym; because the Zurāriyya was likewise called the Taymiyya,⁶⁵ and the *mutakallim* "Shayṭān"

almost heretical exaltation of his person (ibid. 7, last l. ff.). In general cf. Rubin, op. cit., 59 f. (But see Supplementary Remarks).

59 Fasawī II, 754, ll. 3 ff.

60 On this S. M. Wasserstrom in: *Festschrift Wickens* 269 ff.; cf. already Goldziher, *Ges. Schr.* II, 331 f.

61 Kashshī 181, no. 317 f. Moreover, both of them evidently lived in Egypt (see above p. 381).

62 Ibid. 148, l. 5.

63 Text IV 6, a.

64 Kashshī 136, no. 219; more briefly also no. 218; similarly 170, no. 286 f.; otherwise 248, no. 432; with a less enthusiastic addition 185, no. 325. Further parallels below pp. 387 f.

65 Ash'arī, *Maq.* 36, l. 5. "Tamīmiyya" ibid. 28, ll. 7 f. is perhaps simply a misprint; in any case, it is not taken up in the Index. *Taymiyya* is also protected by the meter in a verse of Ma'dān

al-Ṭāq, who continued the ideas of Zurāra, as a negatively oriented tradition remarked, plied his line of work among “the dirty Taym”.⁶⁶ But unfortunately the name Taym is anything but unequivocal. Perhaps we should think of those Taym who formed a subtribe of the Shaybān,⁶⁷ but perhaps also of the Taym Allāh, among whose clients belonged Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb, for example, who had studied Koranic recitation with Ḥumrān b. Aʿyan.⁶⁸ Yet doubts are raised by the fact that except for Shayṭān al-Ṭāq – and then only through that chance remark – in the case of none of the other scholars mentioned can a direct link to this tribal group be demonstrated.

Shīʿites from other tribes and city neighbourhoods presumably from the outset voiced criticism. In doing so, they too based themselves on the Imam. But the verdict had different degrees of severity. Zurāra seems to have been content to demonstrate his thesis with the example of the Jews and Christians: after all, God will scarcely Himself have wanted their unbelief.⁶⁹ Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is supposed to have felt that raising this issue was unusual and typical of Zurāra’s circle, “the Aʿyan family”; up to then one had always simply wanted to know whether one was allowed to share meals with the *ahl al-dhimma*.⁷⁰ Along with this polite distancing, from the same mouth then came verdicts of condemnation.⁷¹ They were sometimes formulated very generally but were primarily connected with this point.

Cf. for instance the indications in Kashshī 146, ll. 3 f. from bot., and 148, l. 2; also the remark of Abū Baṣīr 145, next to last l. Kashshī, moreover, has organized his material according to groups of subjects; accordingly, one may assume that the additional, less explicit information belongs in the same context. Strothmann’s assumption that Zurāra, because of his agreement with the juridical teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa, could have fallen into disrepute with the Imam (*Der Islam* 19/1931/225) is evidently based

al-Shumayṭī (cf. Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* II, 270, l. 3 = *Oriens* 16/1963/101 and 104). Consequently, the reading *ibid.* VII, 122, l. 4, should be corrected according to the manuscripts. Through correction the name in Kashshī 152, l. 2, is also restored.

66 Kashshī 190, l. 2 from bot.

67 Caskel, *Jamhara* II, 542 b; Zurāra was in fact a *mawlā* of the Shaybān.

68 Samʿānī, *Ansāb* III, 121 ff. In addition in Kūfa lived the Taym al-Ribāb.

69 Kashshī 153, no. 250.

70 *Ibid.* 152, no. 247; on this Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 223. On the problem of sharing meals see above p. 372.

71 *Ibid.* 145, no. 230 ff.; also 160, no. 267 ff. On this Kohlberg in *JSAI* 7/1986/158 f. and Sachedina in: *Festschrift Wickens* 198 ff.

on an incorrect understanding of these passages in Kashshī 145, no. 230 f., and 149, no. 239 (on this cf. above p. 373, fn. 3).

But what is significant is that one point which always upset the Sunnīs, whether they were determinists or Qadarites, played no role at all in the Shī'ite criticism: namely, that God cannot want the unbelief of the Jews and Christians – or at least cannot want it in advance – because He does not know anything about it; His knowledge, in fact, only arises during the moment when the object of His knowledge enters existence.⁷² Naturally, there are things that are only in the power of God, and not man's power; but likewise in God only a *qudra* that arises during the moment of its operation corresponds to these *maqḍūrāt*.⁷³ Later heresiographical reports want to give the impression that Zurāra also assumed something similar for all other divine attributes;⁷⁴ but this is probably only the fruit of subsequent generalization. In Ash'arī, along with knowledge it is only said about divine sight and hearing that they are first there when God creates them for Himself⁷⁵ – this probably means: during the moment of their engagement with real things. But they are situated on one and the same level with knowledge.⁷⁶ For Zurāra it was not yet a matter of a doctrine of attributes but solely one of the relationship between the action of human beings and divine planning and willing. He still believed in *badā'*: God must be able to adapt Himself to changing situations.⁷⁷ But that God's attributes only first emerge in time, his brother 'Abd al-Malik is supposed to have learned from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq himself.⁷⁸ Thus, it was also not regarded as objectionable by the later tradition.

72 Baghdadī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 95, ll. 7 f.

73 Ibid. 93, ll. 10 f.

74 Ibid. 105, ll. 6 ff., and *Farq* 52, ll. 10 ff./70, ll. 3 ff. = 218, ll. 12 ff./230, ll. 1 ff., and 323, last l. ff./335, ll. 11 ff. > Shahrastānī 142, ll. 11 ff./401, ll. 6 ff. (Gimaret, *Livre* 537) > Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* VI, 278, ll. 1 ff.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs* 84, ll. 15 f.

75 *Maq.* 36, ll. 3 ff. > Baghdadī, *Uṣūl* 96, ll. 10 f.

76 The same is true for *rāziq* "bestowing sustenance" and *khāliq* "creator", regarding which some of the followers of Mughīra b. Sa'īd at the time maintained that like *'ālim* "knowing" one can only assert about God once He actually undertakes these actions (Qummī, *Maqālāt* 77, l. 3 from bot.).

77 Thus according to the verses in Shirāzī and Saksakī mentioned above on p. 383, fn. 49; cf. also Ibn Bābōya, *Tawhīd* 272, ll. 3 ff.

78 In a letter which is chiefly about the speech of God (*Bihār* LVII, 84, no. 66); accordingly then the Koran is also *muḥdath*.

Zurāra, with those who like him are remembered with praise in the positive tradition of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, always forms a foursome. However, only three of the names are always the same; the fourth varies. First of all, there is

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Rabāḥ al-Thaqafī al-Ṭāʿifī al-Awqaṣ.⁷⁹

That he shared Zurāra's view of *istiṭā'a* and also came to the same conclusion for divine knowledge, is clearly stated in Kashshī. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is supposed to have cursed him because of this.⁸⁰ The last point is once again obviously biased slander (and moreover also comes down via the same *isnād*);⁸¹ Muḥammad b. Muslim had in fact studied for four years with Muḥammad al-Bāqir and was regarded as an important expert on law.⁸² The traditions which one transmitted from him are even more numerous than those of Zurāra;⁸³ "a book" by him contained 400 *quaestiones* of juridical content.⁸⁴ He apparently originated from Ṭāʿif; but he immigrated to Kūfa.⁸⁵ He was a *mawlā* of the Thaqif,⁸⁶ but very wealthy;⁸⁷ by profession he was a miller.⁸⁸ Like Zurāra he died around the year 150, at the age of approximately 70.⁸⁹

Whether he is identical with Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṭāʿifī, whom Ibn Ḥanbal criticized very harshly as a traditionist (*ʿIlal* 32, no. 167 = 270, no. 1743), is questionable. In any case, he has nothing to do with the transmitter of this name from whom Ṭabarī presents two reports (I, 1246, l. 7, and 1252, l. 9); the latter only died in 177/793 (*Mizān* no. 8172). – In Kūfa he had a son-in-law by the name of Muḥammad b. Mārid who, as Ṭūsī emphasizes, was a pure Arab and belonged to the Tamīm; he transmitted "a book" from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 314, no. 684; *Ardabilī* II, 186).

79 In Kashshī 164, l. 4 from bot., the nickname al-Qaṣīr also appears. Muḥammad b. Muslim evidently maintained a long beard (*ibid.* 166, last l. f.).

80 *Ibid.* 168 f., no. 282, and 169, no. 284. On this Kohlberg in: *JSAI* 7/1986/159 f.

81 See below p. 389, fn. 104.

82 Kashshī 167, no. 280, and 163, no. 276; also 161 f., no. 273. On his reputation as a jurist cf. *ibid.* 238, no. 431; 167, no. 280; 162 f., no. 275; 163 f. no. 277. Also Mufīd, *Ikhtisāṣ* 196 ff.

83 Cf. the list in *Ardabilī* II, 193 ff.

84 *Najāshī* 226, ll. 2 f. from bot.

85 *Ardabilī*, *ibid.*

86 *Najāshī* 226, l. 4 from bot. > Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 149, no. 59.

87 Kashshī 165, ll. 2 f.

88 *Ibid.* 161, no. 272, and 164 f., no. 278.

89 Thus according to *Ardabilī* and other biographical sources; but both facts were probably calculated at a later time.

The second name that always comes up in this context is

Abū'l-Qāsim Burayd b. Mu'āwiya al-'Ijlī,

a free Arab, domiciled in Kūfa, who perhaps was born while Ja'far al-Šādiq was still alive.⁹⁰ In his case, the situation was once again the same: Ja'far is supposed to have promised him Paradise⁹¹ but also to have spoken negatively about him.⁹² Allegedly he did not want to convert from the "innovation" which he advocated along with Zurāra, even after a demand by the Imam.⁹³ Also frequently mentioned is

Abū Baṣīr Abū Muḥammad Layth b. al-Bakhtarī al-Murādī,

a blind man⁹⁴ who already turned up in the environment of Muḥammad al-Bāqir but who lived into the period of Mūsā al-Kāzīm.⁹⁵ Perhaps he came from an Arab family; in any case he was very well-off.⁹⁶ Like Zurāra, he appeared to have imagined that the end of time was near;⁹⁷ in 'Alī he saw "the animal of the earth"⁹⁸ and believed in *raj'a*.⁹⁹ For this reason, just like Zurāra

90 Najāshī 81, ll. 13 ff. > Hillī, *Rijāl* 26, ll. 2 ff. from bot. (yet both have the stereotypic date 150/767). Najāshī has *al-Bajalī* instead of *al-'Ijlī*.

91 Kashshī 170, no. 286.

92 Ibid. 239, no. 435 f.

93 Ibid. 148, no. 236 = 240, no. 437 (where the text is probably read incorrectly).

94 On Abū Baṣīr as *kunya* for the blind cf. Jāḥiz, *Ḥayawān* III, 439, ll. 8 f.; on the name Baṣīr in general Malti-Douglas in: COA 1/1979/8 ff.

95 Kashshī 171 f., no. 292 f. According to this, he had not retained much of Mūsā's knowledge (cf. also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'i Law* 28). Otherwise, 273, last l. f. On his juridical traditions cf. Ardabīlī II, 34 f.; he left behind "a book" (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 262, no. 576). Numerous traditions from him are found in the *uṣūl* of 'Āṣim b. Ḥumayd al-Ḥannāṭ and of Muthannā b. al-Walīd al-Ḥannāṭ (in: *al-Uṣūl al-sitta 'ashar* 21 ff. and 102 ff.). Khwānsārī (d. 1313/1895) collected together the information about him (*Ris. fī aḥwāl Abī Baṣīr* in: *al-Jawāmi' al-fiqhīyya*, Teheran 1276, pp. 32 ff.). On him also Najāshī 225, ll. 9 ff. > Hillī 136 f. We even know the name of the person who served as his blindman's guide: a *mawlā* of the Anṣār named 'Alī b. Abī Ḥamza al-Baṭā'īnī (Barqī, *Rijāl* 25, ll. 5 ff.; Ardabīlī I, 537 ff.). After the death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm the latter became a Wāqifite (Ṭūsī, *Ghayba* 244, ll. 4 f. from bot.).

96 Ibid. 169, no. 285.

97 He asks about the actual date when it will happen (*Kāfī* I, 371, no. 3).

98 *Bihār* LIII, 52 f., no. 30; on this see above p. 344.

99 *Kāfī* VIII, 50 f., no. 14.

he has been drawn into the *ghulāt*-tradition of the *K. al-Haft wa'l-azilla*.¹⁰⁰ That he was theologically in agreement with Zurāra resonates in a remark one had him make to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq when the latter became indignant about Zurāra. He asked whether fornication was to be blamed on God, and forced the Imam to reply: "Fornication is a sin".¹⁰¹ This was one of the touchstones of predestinarian thought.¹⁰² We are pointed in the same direction when Abū Baṣīr considered the pain of under-age children to be undeserved; this shows that reflections on theodicy were not foreign to him.¹⁰³ Yet the party which later attempted to discredit Zurāra was much more easy on Abū Baṣīr.¹⁰⁴

Could this be the case because Ḥafṣ b. al-Bakhtarī, who persued the A'yan family with malicious slander, was his brother? He likewise originated from Kūfa but then lived in Baghdād. He as well still transmitted from Mūsā al-Kāzim (Najāshī 97, ll. 5 ff.; Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 58 > Ardabīlī I, 261).

Abū Baṣīr, in Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's praise which was our starting point, is sometimes replaced as the fourth person in the group by

Ismā'īl b. Jābir al-Khath'amī al-Ju'fī.¹⁰⁵

But we do not know how he stood in relation to Zurāra and the latter's theology. He had already studied with Muḥammad al-Bāqir¹⁰⁶ but above all his

100 Halm, *Gnosis* 112 and in: *Der Islam* 58/1981/27 (where the name is once misread as *Abū Nuṣair* and once as *Abū Buṣair*).

101 Kashshī 145, l. 2 from bot.; cf. also Ibn Bābōya, *Tawḥīd* 284, ll. 5 f. from bot.

102 See above p. 23.

103 Ibn al-Dā'ī, *Tabṣīrat ul-'awāmm* 176, 7 ff., together with Hishām al-Jawālīqī and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (= Text IV 43; on this see below p. 438). Yet that we are not dealing with a projection back in time, is shown by the fact that the early "exaggerator" Bayān b. Sam'ān is also named along with them.

104 Cf. the story in Kashshī 148, no. 236, with the usual hostile *isnād*. Interesting is the remark, *ibid.* 148, ll. 2 ff., where Ja'far al-Ṣādiq justifies his doubt about Zurāra's judgement saying that when he restored Abū Baṣīr's sight, Zurāra then simply took him to be a magician. This is further developed from the legend, *ibid.* 174, no. 298, in which Muḥammad al-Bāqir caused him to regain his sight for a short time (cf. also Gramlich, *Wunder* 45). Even Kashshī here declares his doubt regarding the authenticity. Similarly Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir* 270, no. 4 f., and 271 f., no. 7.

105 Kashshī 199, no. 349 f.; Ardabīlī I, 93 f. The statement of Ja'far is found in Kashshī 169, no. 282 = 199, no. 350 = 239, no. 435. In each case it says that still a fifth person was named but the informant no longer remembers who it was. Is Abū Baṣīr here meant to be exonerated?

106 Najāshī 23, ll. 3 ff. from bot. > Ḥillī 8, l. 3.

views were close to Ja'far al-Šādiq. He was together with Ja'far in Mecca¹⁰⁷ and was dispatched by him to his heretical fellow tribesman Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar (to Kūfa?) to scold him on account of his sympathies for Ismā'īl and Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb.¹⁰⁸ But apparently he himself did not remain entirely unaffected by these tendencies.¹⁰⁹ There were still further critical traditions about him which were often hushed up, however, in the later literature.¹¹⁰

"A book" by him is mentioned in Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 56, no. 102. The somewhat dubious connection with Mufaḍḍal raises the suspicion that we are dealing with a son of Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī to whom the heretical Mufaḍḍal-traditions go back (on him see above pp. 341 ff.). But Jābir was an authentic Arab; Ismā'īl, by contrast, appears to reveal his client status through his double *nisba*.

The *istiṭā'a*-problem is also supposed to have come up for discussion in a broadly conceived *disputatio* to which a Syrian challenged the Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq in the presence of his best theologians (Kashshī 275 ff., no. 494). The report about it is entirely legendary. But what is interesting is that now the Imam did not appoint Zurāra, for instance, to cross swords with the opponent but a certain al-Ṭayyār (276, l. 12). Probably Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭayyār is meant, a *mawlā* of the Fazāra, who along with Zurāra had been a student of Ḥakam b. 'Utayba (Kashshī 210, ll. 3 ff.; Ardabīlī 11, 133 f.; also Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 150, ll. 6 f. from bot.). He knew something about Koranic recitation (Kashshī 347, no. 648) and had contact with Ḥumrān b. A'yan who was active in the same discipline (Barqī, *Maḥāsin* 192, ll. 1 ff.). But he was evidently also a *mutakallim* (Kashshī 348 f., no. 650). He shared Zurāra's view that an interrupted ritual act had no value (Mufīd, *Awā'il al-maqālāt* 69, ll. 3 f. from bot.; on this McDermott, *Theology of al-Mufīd* 161). On the other hand, he probably did not agree with him regarding *istiṭā'a*; perhaps it is for this very reason that he came into the story. On his son Ḥamza (Ibn) al-Ṭayyār, who might just possibly be meant, cf. Kashshī 439, no. 651 f., as well as Ardabīlī 1, 281 f. and 283.

107 Kashshī 376, no. 707.

108 Ibid. 323, no. 586. On this Halm in: *Der Islam* 55/1978/225.

109 Ibid. 325 f., no. 590, if Halm's emendation of Ismā'īl b. 'Āmir (which is nowhere attested) to Ismā'īl b. Jābir is correct (ibid. 227).

110 Ḥillī 8, ll. 2 f.

2.1.3.3.7.1.3 *The Discussion About God's Image*

The gnostic idea of God as a light-being, which Zurāra apparently adopted without criticism, prompted some of his contemporaries to further reflections. At least this is the case if we can rely on Ibn al-Dā'ī (first half of the 6th/12th century),¹ who gathered some isolated reports from an older unknown source. He mentions for instance

Abū'l-Faḍl Sadīr b. Ḥukaym b. Ṣuhayb al-Ṣayrafi

in connection with the doctrine that God is pure light which moves and is capable of becoming united with every body.² The idea of "movement" in God will occupy us later on.³ By "becoming united" is perhaps meant that God when He perceives things, pours forth his light over them. Sadīr was a *mawlā* of the Ḍabba in Kūfa⁴ and evidently a money-changer or banker. We hear that during the period of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq he once spent time in prison.⁵ Perhaps he had helped Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb to finance his revolt; because he is said to have scolded Ja'far for being unable to make up his mind to act, although 100,000 *mawālī* and followers were at his disposal.⁶ He turns up in Sunnī *rijāl*-works where he sometimes even receives some positive ratings.⁷ But one held it against him that he placed his traditions from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq above those of 'Alī.⁸

He was confronted by a group of scholars who, according to Ibn al-Dā'ī, simply viewed God as *shay' lā ka'l-ashyā'* and were not willing to confer on Him either body or form.⁹ Three of them are already known to us: Ḥumrān b. A'yan,

1 Here I still follow the convention that the *Tabṣirat ul- 'awāmm*, as is indicated on the title page, was composed by al-Sayyid Murtaḍā Ibn al-Dā'ī (cf. Āghā Buzurg, *Dhari'a* III, 318 ff., no. 1177, and my *Ungenüzten Texte zur Karrāmīya* 12). But it should be emphasized that in the work, among others, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is cited who only died 606/1209. Reflections on the person of the real author are found in Monnot in: MIDEO 11/1972/38 = *Islam et religions* 72. [Cf. now Josef van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, Berlin 2001, pp. 1017 ff.]

2 *Tabṣira* 174, ll. 7 f.

3 See below p. 342.

4 Thus according to 'Alam al-Hudā, *Naḍd al-īdāh* 70, l. 10.

5 Kashshī 210, no. 372; cf. also Ardabīlī I, 350 f.

6 *Kāfi* II, 242, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

7 Bukhārī II₂, 214, no. 2547; IAH II₁, 323, no. 1412; Fasawī III, 74, l. 9, and 110, l. 9; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 354, ll. 8 f.; *Mizān* no. 3081.

8 'Uqaylī, *Ḍu'afā'* II, 180, ll. 5 ff. His son Ḥanān, who was likewise important as a transmitter for the Imāmites, did not acknowledge 'Alī al-Riḍā (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 199, no. 260; Ardabīlī I, 350 f.).

9 *Tabṣira* 174, ll. 7 ff. from bot.

the brother of Zurāra,¹⁰ the Koran commentator Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī¹¹ and Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Thaqafi.¹² Along with them also appears

Abū Saʿīd Abān b. Taghlib b. Rabāḥ al-Bakrī,

a *mawlā* of the Banū Jurayr b. ʿUbād who died 141/758 or perhaps only in 153/760¹³ and who like Ḥumrān was especially distinguished as a Koranic reciter. He wrote a *K. al-Gharīb fī'l-Qurʾān*, which was perhaps the oldest of its kind.¹⁴ A fragment from a juridical *aṣl* by him is still preserved.¹⁵ He was also interested in grammar and poetry.¹⁶ Among the Sunnīs, he was regarded as a trustworthy traditionist; but naturally he was not able to hold his tongue with regard to ʿUthmān and ʿAlī.¹⁷ His *K. al-Faḍāʾil* perhaps contained traditions in praise of ʿAlī.¹⁸ – Probably born around the same time was

Ishāq b. Ghālib al-Asadī,

a pure Arab, who like his brother ʿAbdallāh was a poet but in addition also transmitted from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.¹⁹ Younger than Ishāq was

ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān b. Ṭarīf (or Zārīf),

who was treasurer (*khāzin*) under several Abbasid caliphs, from Manṣūr to Rashīd. Thus, he could scarcely have lived in Kūfa. Although he also left behind “books”,²⁰ one gets the impression that, just as in the case of those who preceded, he was not particularly occupied with theology. Ibn al-Dāʿī’s statements

10 See above p. 380.

11 See above pp. 350 f.

12 See above p. 387. Ibn al-Dāʿī only has *Muḥammad b. Muslim*, without the *nisba*.

13 Both dates in Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt* I, 4, no. 1; otherwise always only 141. In Ibn al-Jazarī the name as well varies somewhat.

14 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 5 ff., no. 4; according to Ibn al-Nadīm 276, l. 2, the work was called *K. Maʿānīʾl-Qurʾān*. On this Najāshī 7, ll. 8 ff. with a detailed notice; Ardabilī I, 9 ff.

15 In Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-ʿIjlī al-Ḥillī, *al-Sarāʾir* 475, ll. 2 ff.

16 Yāqūt, *Irshād* I, 34, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* I, 404, no. 803; also Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam* I, 1, as well as GAS 1/24 and 2/131 with further information.

17 ʿUqaylī, *Duʿafāʾ* I, 36 f., no. 20; *Mizān* no. 2.

18 Ṭūsī and Yāqūt, op. cit. On his role in the transmission of the *burda*-legend cf. Zwettler in: JSAI 5/1984/343. Now in general GIE II, 344 ff.

19 Najāshī 52, ll. 5 ff. from bot., and 154, ll. 11 ff.; Ardabilī I, 87 a, and 499.

20 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 191 f., no. 410; Najāshī 148, 9 ff.; Ardabilī I, 487 ff.; Kaḥḥāla VI, 62.

in this regard remain problematic. The formula *shay' lā ka'l-ashyā'* is used in the school of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam;²¹ previously it appears in Iran probably among the Jahmites.²² But in association with the pen of Ibn al-Dā'ī it seems to be unspecific; he or his source did not wish to say more than that already in the first half of the 2nd century as well there were Shī'ites who could not find something positive in any particular form of anthropomorphism.

2.1.3-3:7.2 The Next Generation

Who adopted ideas from Zurāra in the next generation, we know through Ash'arī.¹ Zurāra's son 'Ubayd and his nephew 'Abdallāh b. Bukayr have already been mentioned. Others among them include

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ḥukaym² al-Khath'amī,

who transmitted from the Imams Ja'far and Mūsā.³ Ja'far is supposed to have given him special permission for *kalām*;⁴ on instructions from Mūsā, he allegedly had discussions with Medinans about theological subjects, for instance about punishment in the grave.⁵ One preserved “a book” by him which his son Ja'far had passed on.⁶ – Another name in the text of Ash'arī is obviously corrupt. However, one is tempted to read it as

Jamīl b. Darrāj (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī).⁷

Above all, the latter had a reputation as a jurist but he often turns up in the circle that we have dealt with.⁸ He was a rich man⁹ and lived up into the time

21 See below p. 419.

22 Cf. Text XIV 19, c, and 20, o.

1 Text IV 6, a.

2 On the reading cf. al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Naḍd al-īdāh* in Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 290, l. 3 from bot.

3 Najāshī 253, ll. 15 ff.; Ḥillī 151, ll. 1 f.; Ardabīlī II, 103.

4 Kashshī 448 f, no. 843; on this see below p. 396 f.

5 Ibid. 449, no. 844. This is in fact probably what is meant by *ṣāhib al-qabr*.

6 Najāshī 253, ll. 16 ff.; also Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 290, no. 625, with another *riwāya*. On the son cf. Ardabīlī I, 158, and Prozorov, *Istoričeskaya literatura* 96 f.

7 Cf. the commentary to Text 6, a.

8 Kashshī 375, no. 705; also 134, no. 213, and 154, no. 252. Nawbakhtī, *Firaq* 66, l. 14.

9 Kashshī 251, last l.

of ‘Alī al-Riḍā whose imamate he did not acknowledge at first.¹⁰ He appears to have considered Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq as “the will of God” (*al-mashrā’a*); likewise, for him *qaḍā’* and *qadar* were created entities.¹¹ His brother Nūḥ b. Darrāj became *qāḍī* in Kūfa under Hārūn;¹² according to the Shī‘ite sources, he is said to have been close to the Shī‘a and simply did not show his sympathies openly.¹³

2.1.3.3-7.2.1 *Shayṭān al-Ṭāq and Hishām al-Jawālīqī*

More important for Shī‘ite theology in this generation than those mentioned so far are the remaining two persons on Ash‘arī’s list. The first of them also appears time and again in the foursome we have previously dealt with.¹

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad (b. ‘Alī) b. al-Nu‘mān b. Abī Ṭarīfa al-Aḥwal al-Bajalī, called Shayṭān al-Ṭāq.²

He was probably not born early enough to have known Muḥammad al-Bāqir. He was, however, personally acquainted with Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq;³ one has transmitted a long exhortation (*waṣīyya*) which the Imam had had sent to him.⁴ After the latter’s death, he went over to Mūsā al-Kāẓim and rejected the imamate of ‘Abdallāh.⁵ But whether he lived to see Mūsā’s death in the year 183/799 and “awaited one of his grandchildren (as the Mahdī)”, as it says in Baghdādī,⁶ must remain questionable. But certain things do speak in favour of Ṣafadī’s statement that he died around 180/796.

10 Ṭūsī, *Ghayba* 47, ll. 3 ff.; *Bihār* XLVIII, 258, ll. 3 ff. On him still Kashshī 251 f.; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 80, no. 153; Najāshī 92, ll. 1 ff.; Ardabīlī I, 165 f. A brief extract from his *aṣl* mentioned in Ṭūsī, i.e. his juridical traditions following the Imam, is found in Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-‘Ijlī, *Sarā’ir* 476, ll. 1 ff.

11 Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā’ir* 240, no. 17.

12 Wakī‘, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* III, 182 ff. and 107, ll. 10 ff.; ‘Uqaylī, *Du‘afā’* IV, 305, no. 1906; TT X, 482 ff., no. 871, etc.

13 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 80, l. 6.

1 Kashshī 135, no. 215 = 185, no. 325 f. = 239, no. 434 = 240, no. 438.

2 Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Nu‘mān in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* IV, 93, l. 12, is an error; presumably here the *kunya* had an influence. On him summarizing, Ardabīlī II, 158; ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Safīna* I, 333, ll. 5 ff., and II, 100, ll. 13 ff.; Kaḥḥāla XI, 67 f.

3 *Bihār* XVIII, 354, no. 66.

4 Ibid. LXXVIII, 286 ff., no. 2.

5 Nawbakhtī 66, l. 13 > Qummī, *Maq.* 88, ll. 3 f. from bot.; there is nothing about this in the Imāmite biographers.

6 *Farq.* ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid 71, ll. 2 ff.; in the edition Badr the passage is mutilated (53, ll. 8 f.).

Thus in *Wāfi* IV, 104, l. 2; accompanied by the erroneous assertion that he was a Mu‘tazilite. Unfortunately, Ṣafadī’s source is unknown. – Ziriklī instead opts for 160/777 but without support in the sources (*A‘lām* VII, 154; adopted by Prozorov, *Istoričeskaya literatura* 58 f.). That he was thrown in prison by Hārūn al-Rashīd, as Marzubānī maintains (*Akhbār shu‘arā’ al-Shī‘a* 84, last l.), and therefore must have been alive at least up to 170/786, loses much of its validity as proof because of the legendary context in which it occurs; the basic motif of the report has been transferred to him from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (see below p. 412, fn. 14).

He was a client of the Bajīla,⁷ as was his great uncle Mundhir b. Abī Ṭarīfa who had transmitted from Zayn al-‘Ābidīn and Muḥammad al-Bāqir.⁸ He earned his living as a money-changer or banker (*ṣayrafi*); he had his office at “the Arch of the camel litters” (*ṭāq al-maḥāmīl*) in Kūfa.⁹ With reference to this locality, he was mostly known as: *ṣāhib al-Ṭāq*¹⁰ or, as one soon got in the habit of saying, *shayṭān al-Ṭāq*.¹¹ The latter was meant as a compliment: “Satan” in the sense of “awesome character, hell of a guy”. Marzubānī is probably right when he explains his nickname on the basis of his skill in theological discussions.¹² Shī‘ite sources generally prefer a different interpretation: he is supposed to have spotted a counterfeit gold coin.¹³ But probably all that is herein revealed is that by this time dilectical agility in religious matters was not necessarily regarded in a positive light. Likewise, in the long run the name generally lost its positive tone. Those with different religious beliefs mocked it so much that one replaced it by *Shāh al-Ṭāq* with the same initial sound¹⁴ or *Mu‘min al-Ṭāq*

7 Najāshī, 228, l. 5 > Ḥillī 138, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

8 Najāshī 228, ll. 7 ff. In the sources the family relationship is not described entirely unambiguously: *‘amm abihi* in Najāshī > Ardabīlī 11, 158; simply *‘amm* in Ardabīlī 11, 264; *ibn ‘amm* (!) in Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* 302, no. 355. Moreover, we also know a grandchild of our theologian: Suhayl b. Ziyād al-Wāsiṭī; he lived under the 11th Imam, in the middle of the 3rd century (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, no. 343; Najāshī 136, last l. ff. > Ardabīlī 1, 394).

9 Marzubānī, *Akhbār* 83, ll. 3 f.; Najāshī 228, ll. 6 and 20; Ibn al-Nadīm 224, fn. 4.

10 Cf. e.g. Kashshī 185, l. 2 from bot.; Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 351, ll. 10 and 16 f.

11 Muslim scholars continually refer to the notice in Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs* s. v. *ṭāq*, that Shayṭān al-Ṭāq had lived in a fortress by the name of Ṭāq in Ṭabaristān. It had really existed (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* s. v.); but linking it with the theologian is no more than learned speculation. Cf. Gimaret, *Livre* 539, fn. 198 f.

12 *Akhbār shu‘arā’ al-Shī‘a* 91, ll. 2 f. from bot., yet again not in general but following upon an anecdote.

13 Kashshī 185, no. 324; Ibn al-Nadīm 224, fn. 4, etc.

14 Ibn al-Nadīm, *ibid.*; also Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* 302, l. 2 from bot.

with a consciously antithetical formulation.¹⁵ He himself probably no longer had any hand in this tinkering.

Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, a contemporary and member of the same circle within the Shīʿa, in the title of a written refutation also calls him Shayṭān al-Ṭāq (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 355, next to last l.), as does later the Zaydī Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (in *Agh.* VII, 245, l. 3). Naturally, his profession was somewhat shady (Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* I, 141, ll. 4 ff. from bot.). But within the Shīʿa, where many people were involved with money, one looked at this differently. One claimed that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī warned against any contact with money-changers. Muḥammad al-Bāqir responded to this that one must simply be honest; even the Seven Sleepers were money-changers (*Bihār* XIV, 429, no. 15). For this reason, one typically maintained that Muḥammad b. Nuʿmān charged no interest (Najāshī and Ardabīlī, op. cit.). He was probably only this undemanding in the case of his brethren in the faith. On the question in general cf. Benjamin N. Nelson, *The Idea of Usury. From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood* (Princeton 1949). – Ṣafādī, moreover, knows of a second Shayṭān al-Ṭāq who bore the name ʿAbdallāh b. Faḍl (*Wāfi* XV, 218, l. 11); but unfortunately he devotes no biography to him.

The fact that Marzubānī in his *Akḥbār shuʿarāʾ al-Shīʿa* consecrates an entry to him shows that he enjoyed some renown as a poet; one related that Bashshār b. Burd appreciated his verses.¹⁶ But his fame lay in the field of *kalām*; there evidently he had opened up new horizons for the Shīʿa.¹⁷ But as a Shīʿite, to a certain extent he had need of permission from the superior authority; without the Imam he would certainly not be able to find his clever answers, so one insinuated,¹⁸ or: only he could disregard Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's prohibition of *kalām*.¹⁹ Naturally, if *kalām* was really supposed to be forbidden, one was also allowed to speak negatively about it. Shayṭān al-Ṭāq admits in the Imam's presence that it is only his "hot-headedness" (*ḥamiyya*), i.e. his pugnacity, that drives him in the discussion²⁰ – with "the dirty Taym", as we are told –, and for his part

15 Ibn al-Nadīm, *ibid.*; in a form of address by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq in Kashshī 276, l. 10.

16 Ṣafādī, *Wāfi* IV, 104, l. 8. But Marzubānī only provides a single poem by him, a eulogy on behalf of the Prophet's family.

17 Cf. the classification in Kashshī 276, ll. 10 f.; also *ibid.* 186, no. 328, and 188, no. 331.

18 *Ibid.* 189, no. 332. Cf. also below p. 398 with ft. 31.

19 *Ibid.* 185, no. 327.

20 *Ibid.* 190 f., no. 333 f.

the Imam lets it be known that not one word is true in the argumentation; it only has dialectical value.²¹ Probably hidden behind these stories is the fact that during the lifetime of the theologian, no longer under Ja'far al-Šādiq, however, but later on when the atmosphere had worsened during the caliphate of Maḥdī, the Shī'a in Iraq were obliged to refrain from any intellectual provocation; Mūsā al-Kāzīm at the time forced Shayṭān al-Ṭāq as well as the latter's younger colleague Hishām b. al-Ḥakam to avoid all public appearances and discussions.²²

Originally matters had certainly been different. Shayṭān al-Ṭāq is presented to us as he silences his distinguished contemporaries: Zayd b. 'Alī,²³ the Khārijites Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays²⁴ and Ibn Abī Ḥadhara,²⁵ his own fellow student Jamīl b. Darrāj,²⁶ the Kaysānite al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī,²⁷ the *zindīq* Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā'²⁸ and above all Abū Ḥanīfa.²⁹ The arguments that he employs are in part freely available, ranging from anonymous formulations to the views of paradigmatic personalities, and therefore at times become implausible from a

21 Ibid. 188, no. 331.

22 Shahrastānī 143, ll. 11 f./406, ll. 6 f. > Šafādī, *Wāfi* IV, 104, ll. 17 f.; on this below p. 413. The reference to surah 53/42 in this late source could go back to passages like Kashshī 266, l. 8. – Other theologians as well about whom one knew that they had really conducted debates, naturally then needed this special permission so as not to be shown to be disobedient, for example Muḥammad b. Ḥukaym (see above p. 393) and retroactively even Muḥammad al-Ṭayyār (Kashshī 348 f., no. 648; on him see above p. 390).

23 Kashshī 186 f., no. 329; Astarābādī, *Manhaj al-maqāl* 310, ll. 24 ff.

24 Kashshī 187 f., no. 330.

25 Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 144, ll. 1 ff.; *Biḥār* XLVII, 396 ff., no. 1. In great detail already in Marzubānī, op. cit., 86, ll. 13 ff., but where the interlocutor remains anonymous.

26 Thus according to Qummī, *Safīnat al-Biḥār* II, 100, l. 11: it was a question of whether Satan belongs to the angels or not.

27 The Sayyid reacts to the refutation with a poem (*Agh.* VII, 245, ll. 3 ff. = *Dīwān* 50 f., no. 2; also Marzubānī 84, ll. 9 ff., in the presence of Ja'far al-Šādiq). That Shayṭān al-Ṭāq himself left Abū Ḥanīfa and went over to Ja'far al-Šādiq as Nagel maintains (*Untersuchungen* 85) is a misunderstanding of the explanations of Barbier de Meynard in JA, 7th Series 4/1874/246 – themselves somewhat problematic.

28 Qummī, *Safīna*, ibid.; *Biḥār* X, 202, ll. 14 ff., an argument with an anonymous *zindīq* about the contradiction between surah 4/3 and 4/129 (but during which the answer comes from Ja'far al-Šādiq).

29 Kashshī 187, ll. 10 ff. (further developed in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIqd* IV, 42, ll. 10 ff.) and 190, ll. 5 ff.; Marzubānī 83, ll. 6 f., and 84, ll. 4 ff.; also Ibn al-Nadīm 224, ftn. 4; Mufīd, *Ikhtisās* 106, last l. ff.; TB XIII, 409, ll. 7 ff.; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 148, ll. 4 ff.; Ābī, *Nathr al-durr* II, 158, ll. 5 f., and 171, ll. 3 ff.; *Biḥār* X, 230 f., no. 1; XLVII, 396 ff., no. 1; 411, no. 17; *A'yan al-Shī'a* XLVII, 100 f. On one of the examples (about *mut'a*) also Madelung in: *Islamic Society and the Sexes* 72.

purely chronological perspective;³⁰ alternatively, he himself is soon replaced in the dialogue with Abū Ḥanīfa by the Imam Ja‘far al-Šādiq.³¹ In the anecdotes ideas may be reworked which Shayṭān al-Ṭāq put forward in his writings, for example in his *K. al-Imāma*, and perhaps also in his *K. al-Radd ‘alā’l-Mu‘tazila fī imāmat al-mafḍūl*.³² On the other hand, Najāshī (and only he) mentions two books in which the anecdotal material had probably already been collected together: a *Kitāb Kalāmihī ‘alā’l-Khawārij* and a *K. Majālisihī ma‘a Abī Ḥanīfa wa’l-Murjī‘a*.³³

The number of “the books” is greater than in the case of Zurāra and the other predecessors but, by contrast, smaller than in the case of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. Alongside the two named treatises, there is a *Kitāb fī Ithbāt al-waṣīyya* and a *K. al-Iḥtijāj fī imāmat amīr al-mu‘minīn* which both also deal with the problem of the imamate. But since these two titles are not mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm, the one only first appearing in Ṭūsī and the other in Najāshī,³⁴ the possibility cannot be excluded that in the one or the other case we are merely dealing with a doublet of the *K. al-Imāma*. Likewise, with the *ithbāt al-waṣīyya* all that may be meant is an *iḥtijāj fī imāmat amīr al-mu‘minīn*, that is to say the proof that the Prophet had appointed ‘Alī as his *waṣī*. The *K. al-Imāma*, as malicious Mu‘tazilite propaganda maintained, is supposed to have talked about how surah 9/40, according to which Abū Bakr spent time in the cave with the Prophet during the *hijra*, had never been in the (authentic) Koran;³⁵ presumably, Shayṭān tackled the subject of Abū Bakr in his anti-Mu‘tazilite work on the *imāmat al-mafḍūl*.³⁶ The *K. If‘al wa lā taf‘al* was quite extensive; Najāshī still had a copy in his hands. But he also thought that it contained later interpolations; many *ḥadīths* in it were unsuitable to him. In it Shayṭān al-Ṭāq

30 Thus with reference to Zayd b. ‘Alī and probably also still to Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays; a pure *adab*-story occurs in Marzubānī 83, ll. 8 ff. = Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn* 11, 203, ll. 11 f. = Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd* 11, 465, ll. 14 ff.

31 Thus already Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat* 222. The switch is facilitated by the fact that Abū Ḥanīfa frequently addresses Shayṭān al-Ṭāq by his *kunya* Abū Ja‘far. As occasionally already in Ja‘far’s criticism of Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, in these secondary versions above all it is a question of the methodological inadequacy of *qiyās* (on this see above p. 218).

32 Cf. Werkliste IV a, nos. 1 and 3.

33 Ibid., nos. 8–9.

34 Ibid., nos. 2 and 4.

35 Jāhīz in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* IV, 181, l. 4 from bot.; Šafadī, *Wāfi* IV, 104, ll. 8 f.

36 Interestingly, the alleged discussion with Ibn Abī Ḥadhara (or with the unnamed Khārijite in Marzubānī, *Akhbār* 86, ll. 13 ff.) focuses on the assessment of Abū Bakr and consequently, among other things, on the episode of the cave; but the latter is in no way there presented as un-Koranic.

had drawn attention to contradictions in the statements of the Companions of the Prophet.³⁷ The title seems to indicate that it is about juridical matters; in each individual case he perhaps advised whom one should follow and whom one should not. Thus, in the same work he probably came to the point of setting apart the Shī'a from the other groupings; for him the Shī'ites, as Shahrastānī still believed, were *al-firqa al-nājiya*. In addition, he distinguished Khārijites, Qadarites and "the great mass" (*al-ʿamma*), i.e. the *ahl al-sunna* or *ahl al-ḥadīth*.³⁸

According to this enumeration it is interesting that Shayṭān al-Ṭāq does not present the Mu'tazila as separate; here they were apparently identical with the Qadarites for him. But that he distances himself from the Qadariyya is astonishing inasmuch as he in fact started out from Zurāra's position. Only the other Qadarites were after all not Shī'ites, and moreover he modified Zurāra's doctrine: the ability to act is still identical with health; but action only comes about, if God wishes it so.³⁹ This concession to deterministic thinking is probably not imposed from outside but is to be explained as inherent in the system. As Shayṭān al-Ṭāq declared, man is in fact also not free in his intellectual action, his cognition; he does possess a cognitive faculty just as he possesses the ability to act but he does not acquire his cognitive perceptions by himself but receives them from God, and God can deny them to him.⁴⁰

One should not feel disappointed by the all too laconic report which Ash'arī gives about this doctrine: while here talk is only of man's intellectual dependence on God, he certainly also has in mind – and probably first and foremost – reliance on the Imam. Some of the anecdotes about Shayṭān al-Ṭāq's conduct show quite clearly that *qiyās*, i.e. precisely what at the time most distinguished Kūfan thought, had fallen into disrepute in Shī'ite circles; the truth is not recognized as autonomous but lies with the inspired leader of the community.⁴¹ In the case of Ash'arī as well, the context leaves no doubt in this regard.⁴²

37 Werkliste no. 7; on this Najāshī 228, ll. 12 ff.

38 *Mīlal* 143, ll. 8 ff./405, ll. 7 ff. The Shī'a considered themselves to be "elite" (*khāṣṣa*); they were in fact actually a minority.

39 Text IV 6, a–b.

40 Text IV 1. The intensive focus on the epistemological theory can already be confirmed in the reports about Zurāra and his generation (*Bihār* V, 221 no. 3, 223 no. 11; LXVII, 135, no. 7, etc.); that knowledge is created by God was transmitted from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq by both Jamil b. Darrāj and Muḥammad b. Ḥukaym (Ibn Bābōya, *Tawhīd* 336, ll. 4 ff.; on them see above p. 393).

41 See above p. 396 f.; in general p. 322 f.

42 Cf. reports *Maq.* 51, ll. 9 ff., and 52, ll. 16 ff.; also Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 37 ff., where the position of Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, however, is in part misunderstood.

But above all, Shahrastānī, following an unknown source, recorded that the Zurāriyya were generally of the opinion that “knowledge is predetermined, and one cannot not know the Imams . . . Everything that others come to know by means of speculation (*nazar*), they possess themselves a priori and as given in advance; others cannot attain the insights which were actually inborn in them (*fiṭriyyāt*)”.⁴³ The exclusivity of this standpoint cannot be ignored: if cognitive perceptions are God-given, what is intended are those of “the elite”, not those of the general mass of Muslims. God can actually even hold back knowledge, as Shayṭān al-Ṭāq explains; this is the reason for the obdurateness of the non-Shīʿites. At the same time, however, he emphasized that those who do not have knowledge bestowed on them, are nonetheless under an obligation to possess it and are therefore guilty.⁴⁴ This reveals familiarity with the *qadar*-discussion; Shayṭān al-Ṭāq represents the *taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*. He presumably set forth these ideas in his *K. al-Maʿrifa*.⁴⁵

He also shared Zurāra’s view about God’s knowledge being linked with its object. One of the anecdotes about him takes this for granted,⁴⁶ and the heresiographers pick up on it.⁴⁷ But he approaches the problem with a refined set of tools. One appears to have reproached the Shīʿite theologians for denying God’s *taqdīr*, and Shayṭān al-Ṭāq now made clear that they simply understood the concept differently: not as predetermination but as an act of will through which and along with which the object enters existence.⁴⁸ In fact, the time dimension in the Arabic word was not actually defined in advance; it only first came up because of the dispute between the predestinarians and the indeterminists and then became reinforced through the Muʿtazilite distinction between eternal omnipotence and moment-bound willing. The Shīʿites at the time could rightly say that they stood “in between *jabr* and *tafwīd*”.⁴⁹ Neither did Shayṭān al-Ṭāq want to accept as a consequence that in his formulation God is not intrinsically (*fi nafsihī*) knowing.⁵⁰ It is likely that he only wanted to avoid saying that God always knows everything.

43 *Mīlal* 142, ll. 4 ff. from bot.

44 Text IV 1, c.

45 Werkliste no. 6.

46 Kashshī 189, ll. 6 f.

47 Text IV 2, b–c, and 3, a and c.

48 Text IV 2, d, and 3, b.

49 HT 152; *Maq.* 41, ll. 4 ff.; on this Madelung in: *Islamic Philos. Theology* 124. Thus also perhaps Abū Ḥanīfa (see above p. 235 f.).

50 Text IV 2, a.

Probably through polemical clashes, in the Shī'a one also came to define how one understood divine willing and what makes an object into an object, "a thing" (*shay'*) into "a thing". Shayṭān al-Ṭāq had a part in these deliberations; but we can no longer exactly determine his input. He is mostly not mentioned on his own with regard to this point,⁵¹ and when it happens once that he is, this is expressly denied in a parallel version.⁵² Perhaps it is not a pure coincidence that the book titles usually transmitted as belonging to him reveal no connection with this subject.⁵³ Willing, as we hear, is "a movement" (*ḥaraka*) in God; thereby He knows or perceives what He wills.⁵⁴ "Movement" here, as in the case of man, probably very generally means "acting", whereby in the case of man, however, moments of rest are also subsumed.⁵⁵ This does not necessarily have to mean that man is constantly in movement. Rather, what one primarily seems to have in mind is probably that action, in the case of God as well as man, manifests itself as movement out of a state of rest. Before the world's creation God was wholly unmoved.⁵⁶

There can scarcely be any doubt that this theory contained a strong anthropomorphic element. Shayṭān al-Ṭāq could only imagine something that has being as corporeal being.⁵⁷ Everything that is caused is three-dimensional ("long, broad and deep");⁵⁸ the movements, i.e. the actions, of human beings are also like this.⁵⁹ How one arrived at this theory, which is both simple and extreme at the same time, is not completely clear. Probably phenomena to do with language are at the root of this. Acting and causing are not separated – further still: the act of causing and its result, the caused object, are described

51 Text IV 4 and 5.

52 Cf. Text IV 3 with commentary. If something there does not belong to him, it can really only be sentence *d*; *a-c* in fact also appear in IV 2 and can moreover be traced back to Zurāra. But IV 2 also only speaks of "the followers" of Shayṭān al-Ṭāq.

53 Only Bağdatlı Paşa has a reference, though somewhat mutilated, to a (*Kitāb*) *fī'l-istiṭā'a* (Werkliste no. 10). It may be a question of a mistaken attribution.

54 Text IV 3, *d*, and thus the very passage discussed in fn. 52.

55 Cf. Text IV 4, *a*, and 5, *a*; also assumed in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal* II, 120, ll. 2 ff. and previously. On this Madelung in: *Islamic Philos. Theology* 122 and 130, fn. 11.

56 Cf. here as well the *ex cathedra* information of the Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in *Bihār* LVII, 84, no. 66. Naturally, it is worthwhile to compare with this the ideas of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, about which we are better informed (see below p. 424). But given the diffuse state of the sources, one should avoid making premature identifications.

57 Text IV 4, *b*.

58 Text IV 5, *b*.

59 Text IV 4, *a* and *c*.

with the same word (*fi'l*).⁶⁰ Here then action, even as a mere event, may acquire the qualifications of the object. It is also certainly important that *shay'* "something" at the same time always means "thing". But if God is "something", a being as we would more readily say, the question then arises as to whether He is not also "a body". In fact, the context of the theory becomes clearer if we turn our attention to "the corporealists" (*mujassima*) with whom Shayṭān al-Ṭāq was continually associated.⁶¹ The one among them who was closest to him was

Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. Sālīm al-Jawālīqī al-Ju'fī,

a maker of sacks from Kūfa but who later became a merchant in fodder (*'allāf*).⁶² His profession already reveals that he was a *mawlā*; but it is not entirely clear with whom he had a client relationship. Occasionally he is assigned to the Shī'ite-oriented Banū Ju'fī; from them then he acquired his second *nisba*.⁶³ But in addition he appears as the client of Bishr b. Marwān; if, as is hardly otherwise conceivable, Bishr b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam is meant, the brother of 'Abd al-Malik, who came to Kūfa in the year 72/691 and for two years until the time of his death was governor of Iraq, then we have before us a client relationship with the entire family.⁶⁴ The same is probably also true if he is classed among "the prisoners of war from Jūzjān".⁶⁵ Perhaps his grandfather already came to Kūfa as a slave around 33/654 when the region between the Murghāb and the Āmū Daryā was conquered by the Kūfan troops under Aḥnaf b. Qays.

Cf. EI² II, 608 b. But the possibility cannot be excluded that Hishām b. Sālīm himself came to Kūfa as a prisoner of war when Asad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī had defeated the Khāqān of Jūzjān (*ibid.*). He would then owe his emancipation to the family of Bishr b. Marwān. But in this case his career would be most astonishing.

60 This still comes across in the formulations of the doxographers (cf. IV 5, *a*, and 4, *c*).

61 Cf. Text IV 4 and 5; also IV 3 is described in a parallel as "the view of many anthropomorphists" (cf. the commentary on the passage). On this also Text IV 11, *a*, and Maqdisī, *Bad'* V, 132, l. 11.

62 Kashshī 281, ll. 2 f.; Barqī, *Rijāl* 34, last l. f.

63 Ardabili 11, 314.

64 Najāshī 305, ll. 6 ff. Perhaps the words *Abū'l-Ḥakam* that here follow Bishr b. Marwān and are otherwise the *kunya* of Hishām b. Sālīm, are an old mistake for *Ibn al-Ḥakam*. Barqī already presents the *kunya* Abū Muḥammad.

65 Kashshī 281, l. 2.

When Ja'far al-Šādiq died in Medina in the year 148/765, Hishām b. Sālīm was present along with Shayṭān al-Ṭāq; once back in Kūfa, he promoted the cause of Mūsā al-Kāzīm. From the manner with which he later described his renunciation of 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, it emerges that he, more than his colleague, was the driving force in this domain;⁶⁶ typically the followers of Mūsā were known under the name Jawālīqiyya in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī who perhaps, as so often, here relies on Ka'bī.⁶⁷ There it is also said that they based themselves on a *naṣṣ*, that is to say Ja'far al-Šādiq's explicit words of investiture.⁶⁸ One will have to have done this particularly in the case of Mūsā because, in contrast to his brother 'Abdallāh, he was the son of a female slave;⁶⁹ this certainly counted for more in Medina than among the Kūfan *mawālī*. Moreover, at the death of his father he was not yet quite 20 years old. Whoever pledged himself to him must have also deeply interiorized the principle of succession and in addition have been a loyal follower of the Ḥusaynids. Not without reason did one subsequently relate that Mūsā had placed himself on glowing coals in order to show that he was the correct Imam.⁷⁰ He could have spared himself this if he had already been given an official *naṣṣ*.

Hishām b. Sālīm appears not to have lived to see the death of Mūsā in the year 183/799. The last we hear of him is that Mūsā al-Kāzīm had it communicated to him and to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam through a messenger that they should abstain from all theological debates.⁷¹ This occurred in the time of Mahdī, that is to say before 169/785; at any rate, the Jawālīqiyya figured on the list of sects that Mahdī had drawn up by his police officer.⁷² That Hishām discussed with the gnostic Muḥammad b. Bashīr who after Mūsā al-Kāzīm's death attempted

66 Kashshī 282 ff., no. 502, and Kulīnī, *Kāfī* I, 351, ll. 9 ff. > Mufīd, *Irshād* 291, ll. 7 ff./transl. 440 ff.; on this Nawbakhtī 66, ll. 11 f. > Qummī 88, l. 4 from bot.; also Strothmann in: *Der Islam* 19/1931/223. The story is tidied up; it contains an element that is also used elsewhere (cf. Kashshī 282, ll. 11 ff., with *ibid.* 348, no. 649).

67 *Ḥūr* 164, ll. 12 f.

68 It is probably no coincidence that Jawālīqī in particular, following Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī, transmitted Muḥammad al-Bāqir's *naṣṣ* on behalf of Ja'far al-Šādiq (*Kāfī* I, 307, no. 7 > Mufīd, *Irshād* 271, ll. 10 ff./transl. 409). But the theoretical justification was probably first presented by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (see below pp. 443 ff.).

69 Nawbakhtī 64, ll. 16 f.; on this EI² II, 375 a. Competing groups such as the Ismā'īlīs are happy to emphasize this (e.g. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, cited in *JRAS* 1983, p. 191).

70 *Bihār* XLVIII, 67 f., no. 89; on him Gramlich, *Wunder* 227.

71 Kashshī 269 f., no. 485. On the messenger, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Bajalī, see above p. 354.

72 See above p. 369. Neither Hishām b. al-Ḥakam nor Shayṭān al-Ṭāq appears on it; thus the latter was also presumably younger.

to snatch up the succession to the latter, does not necessarily have to contradict this chronology; Ibn Bashīr could also have previously advocated the gnostic-dualistic doctrine about which their conflict was allegedly concerned.⁷³ The other reports go back to the period of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq but are for the most part legendary. Hishām b. Sālīm appears as the best expert on *tawhīd*;⁷⁴ Ja'far declares himself in agreement with the latter's doctrine.⁷⁵ Expert legal opinions of the Imam circulated through him;⁷⁶ it is probably these which have been summarized in an *aṣl*.⁷⁷

Apart from that, he evidently did not write as much as Shayṭān al-Ṭāq. Ibn al-Nadīm knows of him as an author but does not name any works by him.⁷⁸ The Shī'ite tradition as well has only preserved three or four titles. Along with the juridical *aṣl* there is a *K. al-Ḥajj*.⁷⁹ But above all there was a *Tafsīr* by him.⁸⁰ He every now and then relied on the commentary of Thumālī,⁸¹ but he appears to have concentrated on the figures of the prophets. We find statements about Abraham,⁸² Ishmael,⁸³ Lot,⁸⁴ Joseph,⁸⁵ David,⁸⁶ Solomon,⁸⁷ Job,⁸⁸ Dhū'l-Qarnayn,⁸⁹ Zacharias,⁹⁰ Jesus,⁹¹ and the *aṣḥāb al-rass*;⁹² *tafsīr* and

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- 73 The context of the report really suggests an earlier dating (cf. Kashshī 478, no. 907 = Qummī, *Maqālāt* 91, ll. 2 f. from bot.; transl. Halm, *Gnosis* 237). On the situation see below Chpt. C 1.4.1.
- 74 In the same story in which Zurāra and Shayṭān al-Ṭāq are assigned their individual roles (Kashshī 276, l. 4 from bot.; also Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 171, ll. 13 ff., and 351, l. 13; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 123, ll. 4 ff.).
- 75 Kashshī 281, l. 3 from bot.
- 76 Cf. for example *Kāfi* VIII, 91, l. 10 (but with Abū Baṣīr as intermediate link); in general Ardabili II, 314 ff. He was regarded as very reliable.
- 77 Werkliste no. 4.
- 78 *Fihrist* 226, l. 8.
- 79 Werkliste no. 1.
- 80 Ibid. no. 2.
- 81 Thus *Biḥār* IX, 230, no. 8, and XIV, 70, no. 7.
- 82 Ibid. XII, 41 f., no. 35.
- 83 Ibid. 110, no. 35.
- 84 Ibid. 147 ff., no. 1.
- 85 Ibid. 291 ff., no. 76, and 309 f., no. 122.
- 86 Ibid. XIV, 8, no. 16; 20 ff., no. 1, etc.
- 87 Ibid. XIV, 69, no. 4.
- 88 Ibid. XII, 351 f., no. 21 f.
- 89 Ibid. XIV, 2, no. 5; also in general about the prophets who at the same time were kings.
- 90 Ibid. XIV, 181, no. 22.
- 91 Ibid. XIV, 208, no. 4, and 271, no. 3.
- 92 Ibid. XIV, 155, no. 5; cf. surah 50/12.

qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' at the time had not yet become separated. Muḥammad himself remained omitted; a special work was reserved for him, the *K. al-Mi'rāj*.⁹³ It has possibly been entirely preserved for us;⁹⁴ but an investigation into the matter is still pending.⁹⁵

First and foremost, it would be natural to ask what in particular Hishām thought he had to gain from this last subject. That he thereby stands in the tradition of the gnostics or reacts against it, had already been said. He was following a trend; the elaboration of the night journey from surah 17/1 (*isrā'*) into a heavenly ascension can be observed before him in Transoxania, as well as in the Ḥijāz in Ibn Ishāq.⁹⁶ Ṣabbāḥ al-Muzanī⁹⁷ believed that the Prophet had undertaken the *mi'rāj* 200 times.⁹⁸ The motif of a heavenly journey certainly had a long prehistory⁹⁹ and was in one form or another presumably known to most people of the time. But there is another aspect to this as well. In general the ascension was connected with the vision of God; Hishām hereby gained an argument in favour of his anthropomorphism.¹⁰⁰

But he made an effort as well to refine the image of God. God is not made up of flesh and blood for instance but of light; indeed the gnostics had also said this. He has a human appearance; but He no longer has two eyes but only one – perhaps because this is sufficient for the function of sight. He also only has one ear but also one nose and one mouth, in addition to one hand and one foot; because like a human being He has five senses and in order to make use of them He has need of the corresponding organs.¹⁰¹ Only by means of these

93 Werklisse no. 3.

94 *Bihār* XVIII, 319–331. Ibn al-Dā'ī acts as though Jawāliqī's books are still accessible to him (*Tabṣira* 172, ll. 7 f.); but he makes use of a somewhat stereotype formula.

95 One should compare the remaining quotations (for instance *Bihār* VI, 141, no. 2; XIII, 5 f., no. 1; XIV, 208, no. 4; LVIII 89, no. 2; LIX, 171 ff., no. 2, and 249, no. 3).

96 For Transoxania see below Chpt. B 3.1.2.1.1; for Ibn Ishāq cf. *Sīra* 268, ll. 2 ff. On this in general T. Andrae, *Person Muhammeds* 39 ff. and Index s. v. *Himmelfahrt*; Asín-Palacios, *Escatología musulmana* 425 ff.; Widengren, *Muhammed, The Apostle of God and His Ascension*; Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies* 67 ff.; below Chpt. D 1.2.1.2.

97 On him see above p. 333.

98 *Bihār* XVIII, 387, no. 96.

99 On this summarizing, now A. F. Segal in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 23.2, pp. 1333 ff. and I. P. Culianu, *Psychanodia* I (Leiden 1983); more recent literature is mentioned in C. Kappler (ed.), *Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au-delà* (Paris 1987).

100 On the context cf. for instance *Bihār* III, 307, no. 45. In Hishām's own *mi'rāj*-account which he received from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (or which one subsequently traced back to the latter) a direct statement about Muḥammad's vision of God is avoided (*Bihār* XVIII, 329, ll. 1 ff.); but cf. Ibn al-Dā'ī, *Tabṣira* 174, ll. 2 f. from bot.

101 Text IV 7 and 8, b.

senses can He perceive things at all and have knowledge.¹⁰² That this knowledge cannot exist without the things and before them is self-evident. The key term here was *ṣūra*, “form”. We may assume that Hishām took this as well from tradition, even if perhaps not from gnosis but from popular beliefs as they passed into the *Ḥadīth* from outside the Shī‘a. God had visited Muḥammad at night “in the most beautiful form”, so it says there,¹⁰³ or: Muḥammad had beheld Him “in the most beautiful form”, namely during his ascension.¹⁰⁴ But above all, God created Adam after His own form, as one said with reference to Genesis 1.27.¹⁰⁵ ‘Ubayd al-Muktib in Kūfa based himself on this last testimony,¹⁰⁶ and it is also associated with Hishām al-Jawālīqī and Shayṭān al-Ṭāq.¹⁰⁷ That Hishām proceeded from this set of traditions is suggested by the fact that, following a report of Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq, he attributed to God a black shock of hair (*wafra*),¹⁰⁸ because in many of the *ḥadīths* in which He is described, God has black and abundant (*muwaffar*) hair.¹⁰⁹ And just as there, He is also described by Hishām as a youth (*shābb*) who is around thirty.¹¹⁰ And naturally, for Hishām the black shock of hair consists of light – of black light, as he was obliged to assume. Naturally, he could not say darkness; otherwise one could have taken him for a dualist.

The problem with this interpretation is that “the form”, if it really only includes one eye and one ear for the sake of its ideal functioning, comes out as cubistically deformed. One wonders how in that case God is supposed to have created man “after His own form”. Now one could also

102 Text IV 8, a.

103 *‘alā aḥsani ṣūratin*; *Conc.* III, 438 b. Mentioned as the basis for anthropomorphic theology in Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *ShNB* III, 226, ll. 7 ff.

104 Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele* 445 f. [Now in Eng. transl., O’Kane, *Ocean of the Soul*, p. 459 f.]

105 *Conc.* II, 71 a; for a detailed treatment see below Chpts. D 1.2.1.1–2.

106 See above p. 244 f.

107 For Jawālīqī cf. *Kashshī* 284, l. 11; for Shayṭān al-Ṭāq cf. *Shahrestānī* 143, ll. 3 f./404, ll. 9 f.

108 Text IV 7, f.

109 For instance *TB* XIII, 311, l. 17 or Bayhaqī, *al-Asmā’ wa’l-ṣifāt* 561, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; also further materials on this in Chpt. D 1.2.1.1.

110 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 100, last l. ff.; *Bihār* III, 300, ll. 2 from bot. If *muwaffaq* occurs instead of *muwaffar* in both printed editions, this is presumably an error; the word is otherwise never used in this context, nor does it make proper sense. The explanation Majlisī gives for it (301, ll. 1 ff.) shows that the mistake was already in his source (the *K. al-Tawhīd* of Ibn Bābōya, there p. 57, l. 4), but is no more than guesswork; he himself considers it a misreading (for *mu’niq*, “handsome”). [But cf. Nu‘mānī, *Ghayba* 2125, last l.]

understand the singular of *ʿayn* and *udhn* in general terms in the sole textual source for the idea. But in the description of the doctrine of Muqātil b. Sulaymān, who in fact did believe in two eyes, *ʿaynayn* is actually stated (*Maq.* 153, l. 2, and 209, l. 9 = Text XIV 21). In a similar way the differentiation is brought out in the summarizing report *Maq.* 195, ll. 12 f. Later on, Farrāʾ believed that the singular was sufficient because at any rate it expressed the same thing (*Maʿānīʾl-Qurʾān* II, 412, 7 ff.); but in any case he understood these attributes in a figurative sense. Perhaps an old exegetical problem lies at the root of this. There was a *ḥadīth* which stressed that God was not one-eyed (Bayhaqī, *Asmāʾ* 395, ll. 9 ff.); this could be a statement based on the fact that in the Koran there is never mention of God having two eyes, but only the singular and the plural occur (see below Chpt. D 1.2.1.4).

An additional question is what is to be made of the foot (again only one?). The mouth stands for the sense of taste, the hand presumably for the sense of touch. The foot, quite apart from its belonging to “the form”, could have come into the picture through a *ḥadīth* on which anthropomorphists – among the Sunnīs however – happily relied (on this cf. Text XX 15–16). It would then be a parallel with the shock of hair. Besides this, in connection with Jawālīqī, Kashshī also mentions God’s flank (284, l. 12). This may have been deduced from surah 39/56. – The anecdote in Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ* III, 189, ll. 3 ff. = *Akhlāq al-wazīrayn* 233, ll. 1 ff., foists upon him an image of God which instead suits Muqātil and Dāwūd al-Jawāribī. Unfortunately, the heresiographers as well do not always make sharp enough distinctions (cf. the commentary to Text IV 7).

Shayṭān al-Ṭāq probably agreed with this refined anthropomorphism in every detail; Madelung’s consideration that he could have perhaps distanced himself from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam more strongly than Jawālīqī did, does not seem to me to be solidly enough established.¹¹¹ There may rather have been

111 In: *Islamic Philos. Theology* 134, fn. 43. The passage in Shahrastānī on which Madelung bases himself (143, ll. 2 f./404, ll. 8 f.) wishes to express a contrast between Shayṭān al-Ṭāq and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, but no such difference between him and Jawālīqī; it coincides with *Maq.* 34, ll. 5 f. = 210, l. 1, where no name is given. Shahrastānī probably only very generally knew that there were two blocks, the one that worked with the term *šāra*, the other with the term *jism* (see below pp. 422 f. and 449 ff.). In Ibn Abīʾl-Ḥadīd, Shayṭān al-Ṭāq is directly claimed for Jawālīqī’s theory (III, 224, ll. 3 ff.); in Maqdisī he is moved into the vicinity of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (*Badʾ* v, 132, ll. 10 f. and Text IV 11, a).

an opposition regarding the theory of divine willing; here Jawālīqī is supposed to have already explained the relationship of “movement” to the divine being with the same formula as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.¹¹² But perhaps we are once again simply confronted with a mistaken identity, i.e. an incorrect broad generalization.¹¹³ Faced with this uncertainty, it can no longer be clarified whether Jawālīqī in fact considered this movement in God’s case as a *ma’nā*, as it says in the relevant text, or rather as a body by analogy with human action; all that can be said is that with regard to his anthropology he shared the corporealism of Shayṭān al-Ṭāq.¹¹⁴ But he distinguished himself from the latter in that he regarded the ability to act, on the basis of its physicality, also to be “a part” (*ba’d*) of man.¹¹⁵ Presumably, this means that it is permanently inherent in man – by contrast with all those other “bodies” which come about in him as acts; they only possibly exist for a short time. In this case, “a body” did not have the qualities of a substance; it was equipped for transitoriness. It was even to be assumed concerning “the form” of God that it “was doomed except for His face”.¹¹⁶ Its “movements”, in other words the divine acts of will, for Jawālīqī as well were simultaneous with the objects which come about through them.¹¹⁷ Once the world no longer exists, they will likewise cease, just as presumably God will no longer have need of His senses.¹¹⁸ – Somewhat in the shadow of the preceding two figures stands

Abū Mālik al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Ḥaḍramī,

an authentic Arab, as the *rijāl*-books emphasize,¹¹⁹ and evidently originating from the Ḥaḍramawt. He goes back to the time of Ja’far al-Ṣādiq but primarily

112 Text IV 9. On this below pp. 439 f.

113 Madelung also plays with this idea, op. cit.; one must then assume that Ash’arī or his source was unable to identify an underlying Hishāmiyya. In fact, in *Maq.* 42, ll. 1 ff., the same doctrine is only connected with Hishām, i.e. probably Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. Still later Shahrastānī also joins Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and Hishām b. Sālim together under a single Hishāmiyya (141, ll. 2 ff./396, ll. 1 ff.). Although he then differentiates again, manifestly he still persists in confusing the two (cf. Text IV 52).

114 Text IV 4 and 5.

115 Text IV 6, c.

116 Thus Bayān b. Sam’ān basing himself on surah 28/88 (Halm, *Gnosis* 60).

117 Barqī, *Mahāsīn* 190, ll. 7 f. from bot., as a saying of Ja’far al-Ṣādiq which Jawālīqī transmitted.

118 The question of whether God wills unbelief is dealt with in a debate between Hishām al-Jawālīqī, Muḥammad al-Ṭayyār (or his son, see above p. 390) and Abū Baṣīr, which Durust b. Abī Manṣūr recorded in his *Kitāb (al-Uṣūl al-sitta ‘ashar* 261, ll. 5 ff. from bot.).

119 Najāshī 145, ll. 1 ff.

transmitted from Mūsā al-Kāzim.¹²⁰ In fact, in his case the Zurāra tradition already combines with the anthropomorphism of Hishām al-Jawālīqī. He wrote a book about *tawḥīd* in which he probably adopted a position that for the most part agreed with the latter's views.¹²¹ This brings him into proximity with Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, with whose theory of cognition he apparently professed solidarity.¹²² More so than the latter, he was concerned with the problem of how one should imagine the divine act of will if one defines it as movement; here he positioned himself against Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.¹²³ What he thought about man's ability to act, already by the time of Ash'arī could no longer be determined; the latter transmits two contradictory heresiographical notices. Zurqān ascribed to him the rather Mu'tazilite-sounding doctrine that the ability to act already exists before acting, and consequently that the freedom to do something or to omit doing it, really does exist. By contrast, according to the other report, man only possesses the ability to act in the moment of acting itself; otherwise, he is capable of acting but without already having the ability to act.¹²⁴ If we can conclude anything from this discrepancy, it is at most that he was under pressure to clarify Zurāra's position; he evidently had difficulty in adhering to the middle road between determinism and freedom to choose which the Shī'a wished to follow.¹²⁵

Strangely enough, Mas'ūdī treats him as a Khārijite (*Murūj* v, 442, l. 6/IV, 28, l. 3). In Ibn al-'Arabī he appears as *shaykh al-Sharawiyya* (*Awāsim* 85, ll. 2 f.). Perhaps in this regard both go back to the same source, namely the apocryphal report about "a symposium" during which the Barmakids had a series of theologians speak on the concept of love (more on this below Chapt. C 1.3). Mas'ūdī cites this text in excerpts in another place and there introduces Abū Mālik as a Khārijite (VI, 369, l. 7/IV, 237, l. 5); Ibn al-'Arabī

120 Najāshī, *ibid.*; Ardabīlī I, 418.

121 Najāshī 145, ll. 4 ff.; on this Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *ShNB* III, 224, ll. 3 ff. There was a *mi'rāj*-tradition from him which via Ismā'īl b. Jābir al-Khath'amī (see above p. 389) went back to Muḥammad al-Bāqir (*Bihār* xvIII, 339, no. 41). Ibn al-Nadīm only has his name (*Fihrist* 226, l. 8), as does Ibn Baṭṭa (*Ibāna* 92, l. 9).

122 The report in Ash'arī, *Maq.* 51, last l. ff., agrees word for word with the preceding one about Shayṭān al-Ṭāq (= Text IV 1). This is rather strange; but I see no possibility of differentiating between the two by conjecture.

123 See below pp. 421 and 439 f.; on this Text IV 61.

124 *Maq.* 43, ll. 13 ff.

125 In the light of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's theory of action, one may attempt to harmonize the two reports with one another as Madelung has done in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 132. But given the state of the sources at the moment, this must remain hypothetical.

paraphrases him in the passage just mentioned. It seems plausible then to assume that the enigmatic sect named Sharawiyya by him is derived from *shurāt*, the nickname of the Khārijites. This appears in fact in Mas'ūdī, op. cit.; in a parallel version Abū Mālik is directly called *al-Shārī* ('Abbās al-Qummī, *Kunā* I, 174, l. 13). Other explanations of the *nisba* do not lead very far (cf. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* VII, 327 f., and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* s.v. *al-Sharāt*). Mufid wrote *Masā'il Sarawiyya*; but the title is connected with the city Sāriya in Ṭabaristān (McDermott, *Theology of Mufid* 38, no. 145).

2.1.3.3.7.2.2 *Hishām b. al-Ḥakam*

The most important figure of this generation, and also about whom we know the most, is

Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. al-Ḥakam,

a *mawlā* of the Kinda, who was actually born in Kūfa but grew up in Wāsiṭ.¹ Later he returned to Kūfa and resided there among the Banū Shaybān whose client he became.² Thus he came into the direct vicinity of Zurāra b. A'yan who was attached to the same clan. He would also have had other relationships in the city – this above all if his nephew 'Umar b. Yazīd, who is mentioned in Kashshī,³ is identical with 'Umar b. Yazīd Bayyā' al-sābirī, who knew Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and through his sons became important for the Imāmite tradition.⁴ Like the latter he was in the textile business; he dealt in heavy silk fabrics (*khazz*). In this the Ibādīte 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd⁵ was his partner; already Jāhiz found this to be unusual.⁶ Later both of them settled in Baghdād, again

1 Najāshī 305, ll. 4 f. > Ḥillī, *Rijāl* 178, ll. 8 f.; the source is Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/874) who still saw Hishām's house in Wāsiṭ (Kashshī 255, no. 475).

2 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 355, ll. 1 f.; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 223, l. 4 from bot.

3 P. 256, l. 3.

4 On him cf. Kashshī 331, no. 605; Najāshī 201, ll. 6 f. from bot.; and Ardabili I, 638 f. He was also among those who distanced themselves from 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far. And notice the "un-Shī'ite" sequence of names (*ʿAmr b. Yazīd* in Nawbakhtī 66, l. 12 > Brentjes, *Imamatslehren* 34 is probably an error). – A grandson of Hishām appears in Kashshī 459, ll. 3 f.

5 On him see below p. 477 ff.

6 *Bayān* I, 46, ll. 2 f. from bot.; also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* v, 443, ll. 6 ff./IV, 28, no. 2193 and Ibn Ḥazm, *Nakt al-'arūs* 247, ll. 1 f./transl. Seco de Lucena 141 f. But Mas'ūdī adds that Hishām refused to give his daughter Fāṭima in marriage to 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd because she was "a believer"; here it is probably a question of a tendentious Shī'ite tradition. – In the *Murūj* VII, 232, l. 4/v, 21, l. 15, Hishām's profession is given as *ḥarrār*. This entails no difficulties as far as the meaning is concerned but because of a parallel in Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī where *ṣāhib khazz* occurs, should

presumably for business reasons; in economic matters the capital quickly outstripped the rank of the old commercial centers. It is no surprise that he settled in Karkh; his house stood there in the Darb al-Jubb in the vicinity of the Qaşr al-Waḍḍāḥ which was built under Mahdī.⁷ His office, now presumably separate from that of ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd, was located at the Bāb al-Karkh.⁸

He was evidently a man of unusual intellectual curiosity. Not simply because he combined theology and jurisprudence with one another;⁹ his predecessors and contemporaries also did this. But in fact he included the natural sciences in a broad measure as well; and thereby he decisively shaped early Islamic theology. With respect to Hishām al-Jawālīqī and Shayṭān al-Ṭāq he emphasized his independence; he attacked both of them in separate works.¹⁰ And so one was hardly surprised when Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, who had become vizier on Hārūn’s accession to power in the year 170/786, drew him into his theological discussion group.¹¹ There, among others, he is supposed to have discussed with ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd¹² and the Mu‘tazilite Ḍirār.¹³ In this way he led the Shī‘a forth out of their ghetto; more so than Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, who never left Kūfa, he made use of *kalām* to set his opinion on an equal footing with that of the other theologians. This probably also coincided with the religious policy of the Barmakids. Nonetheless, it had its dangers; the Imāmite sources continuously portray how Hishām saw himself exposed to captious questions

probably be changed to *khazzāz*; *ḥarrār* would result in *ṣāḥib ḥarīr* (cf. Madelung, Intro. to Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, *K. al-Najāt* 4, fn. 6). In other editions *kharrāz* occurs instead, i.e. “leather worker, cobbler”; But in this craft one probably rarely worked with a partner. All the more so to be rejected is the reading *jazzār* “butcher” in Ibn al-‘Arabī, *‘Awāṣim* 85, l. 4.

7 Kashshī 255, ll. 2 ff. from bot., with precise location given; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 356, ll. 7 f.; Ibn al-Nadīm 223, l. 4 from bot. and last l. On Qaşr al-Waḍḍāḥ cf. Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān* 245, ll. 7 ff.; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* s. v. and Le Strange, *Baghdad* 198. The Birkat Banī Zarzar mentioned in Kashshī is perhaps identical with Birkat Zalzal in Yāqūt s. v. (more on this in Ş. A. al-‘Alī, *Baghdād* I, 24).

8 *Bihār* x, 235, ll. 6 f. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd at the time apparently went to the Yemen (see below p. 477).

9 Cf. Werkliste, there nos. 28–29. With his juridical works he exercised relatively little influence.

10 Ibid., nos. 6–7.

11 Ibn al-Nadīm 223, last l.

12 Mufid, *Fuṣūl* I, 25, ll. 4 ff. from bot./27, ll. 2 ff. = *Bihār* x, 294, ll. 1 ff., no. 2.

13 Mufid, *Fuṣūl* I, 9, ll. 4 ff./9, ll. 6 ff. from bot. = *Bihār* x, 292 f., no. 1; also ibid., XLVIII, 199, ll. 8 ff., and LXXII, 148 ff., no. 28; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-mu‘minīn* 153, ll. 21 ff.: on *imāma*.

from the vizier or was overheard by the caliph himself from behind a curtain.¹⁴ Naturally, these anecdotes are literature, an expression of the apprehensions which pursued the Shī‘a; there would scarcely have been records kept of the talks in the vizier’s palace. But they are recounted – or at least preserved – due to the experience that the experiment really did go wrong; in the year 179/795 the Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim was placed under arrest in Baghdād.¹⁵ Hishām b. al-Ḥakam withdrew to Kūfa where he hid away in the house of a certain Bashīr al-Nabbāl.¹⁶ There he died “in concealment” as it is said in Ibn al-Nadīm.¹⁷

Among those who shared his views, especially those who like the Imam were imprisoned,¹⁸ the impression spread that he had betrayed the Shī‘a cause or at least that he had exposed himself without good reason since, after all, he was unable to dispel the ever-present latent suspicions of a revolutionary mindset. The story was told how the Zaydī Sulaymān b. Jarīr, who in fact probably belonged to Yaḥyā b. Khālīd’s circle, forced him to admit that he would always obey his Imam – and then naturally even if the latter called for rebellion; forewarned by Yaḥyā b. Khālīd, Hārūn overheard the discussion and then clamped down with severity.¹⁹ That a Zaydī in particular would have been wary of bringing up such a subject was overlooked by everyone; one was happy to have the opportunity once again to be indignant about the disloyal brethren.²⁰ But that through his clumsiness Hishām b. al-Ḥakam had done harm to the

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- 14 Cf. for instance Mufīd, *Fuṣūl* I, 24, ll. 3 ff. from bot./26, ll. 3 ff. = *Bihār* X, 293, ll. 1 ff.: concerning the dispute over inheritance between ‘Alī and ‘Abbās; Hishām is supposed to have skilfully extracted himself from the affair with a quotation from the Koran. Less explicit in Sunnī works (Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn* II, 150, ll. 3 ff., and *Ta’wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* 59, ll. 9 ff. = 48, ll. 8 ff./transl. Lecomte § 54; *Iqd* II, 412, ll. 5 ff.). Later one recounted the same about Shayṭān al-Tāq (see above p. 394).
- 15 For more on this see below Chpt. C 1.4.1.
- 16 *Bihār* XLVIII, 202, ll. 8 ff. from bot.; on Bashīr al-Nabbāl who transmitted from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, cf. Ardabili I, 124 f.
- 17 *Fihrist* 224, l. 1. Moreover, according to Kashshī 262, l. 3 from bot., not in the house of Bashīr al-Nabbāl but in the house of an Ibn Sharaf; according to ibid. 267, l. 3, in the house of Muḥammad and Ḥusayn al-Ḥannāṭ. – There is a monograph on him by ‘Abdallāh b. Nī‘ma (*Hishām b. al-Ḥakam*, Cairo 1959). It presents the usual Sunnī source materials without historical criticism, but in an order that provides an easy overview. Madelung offers by far the best summary up to now in EI² III, 496 ff.
- 18 Thus for instance the theologian ‘Alī b. Mitham (see below Chpt. B 2.2.9); on this Kashshī 262, ll. 2 ff. from bot.
- 19 Kashshī 258 ff., no. 477.
- 20 It is typical that Sulaymān b. Jarīr always uses the Zaydī formula of *al-imām al-mafrūd al-tā‘a* (cf. 261, ll. 11 ff.). Hishām, on the other hand, emphasizes that his Imam would never give the order to revolt (261, l. 3 from bot., and 262, l. 1).

image that one otherwise portrayed of him as the ever-victorious *mutakallim*, was toned down by claiming that at the time he was already fatally ill.²¹ On the other hand, it was said that he ascribed this illness to the shock he had suffered on the occasion when he was threatened with execution.²²

This contradiction is only a first example of how much and in how varied a way his image was deformed as a result of the depicted accusation. Above all, his relationship with the Imam was no longer clear. On the one side, there were those who attempted to demonstrate that he was very close to Mūsā al-Kāẓim: the Imam is supposed to have entrusted him with 15,000 dirhams for the purpose of conducting business with the sum;²³ when he sought someone to carry out a task for him during the pilgrimage feast only Hishām was prepared to do so.²⁴ ‘Alī al-Riḍā is represented as asserting that Hishām was only slandered out of envy.²⁵ On the other hand, one claimed to have heard from the same authority that by his talk Hishām dragged Imam Mūsā into perdition;²⁶ in the time of ‘Alī al-Naqī (d. 254/868) this view was still vigorously upheld.²⁷ ‘Alī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥukaym al-Azdī from Madā’in is even supposed to have advocated that one should not pray behind Hishām’s followers, and received the consent of the ninth Imam for this.²⁸ He should in fact have conformed to Mūsā’s ban on *kalām*, so one believed; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj was meant to have admonished him.²⁹ Here one forgot that this interdiction was issued in the time of the caliph al-Mahdī and thus occurred more than a decade before. Moreover, his friends pointed to the fact that Hishām did not even turn up on the latter’s list of sects and concluded from this that he had restrained himself still more than the others.³⁰

The latter point was probably likewise well intentioned but in reality false. If Hishām was not mentioned on the list, it was rather because at the beginning

21 Referring to this illness, at first he does not wish to begin the discussion at all (261, ll. 4 ff.). At any rate, the story is told by his disciple Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (on him see below p. 454).

22 Ibid. 258, ll. 2 f.

23 Ibid. 269, no. 484.

24 Ibid. 270, no. 487.

25 Ibid. 270, no. 486.

26 Ibid. 278, no. 496.

27 Ibid. 268, ll. 10 f.

28 Ibid. 279, no. 499. But by contrast with Hishām he believed in the imamate of ‘Abdallāh b. Ja’far (Ardabīlī I, 563 f.; nothing about this in Najāshī 195, ll. 12 ff.).

29 Ibid. 270 f., no. 488; also 278 f., no. 498. On this see above p. 403.

30 Ibid. 265 f., no. 479; 269 f., no. 485. In this regard, the doubts of Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ibid. 267, ll. 4 ff.

of the sixth decade of the 2nd century he did not yet have enough of a profile. He may well have already aroused admiration for his intelligence under Ja'far al-Šādiq; but then it was said that he was the youngest of all the theologians at the time,³¹ and if in the relevant stories like an *enfant prodige* he winds up the discussion in his own favour, this is always so strongly coloured in a paradigmatic manner that we are obliged to reckon with a later transference to his person. For the chronology nothing at all is gained in this way.

Certainly this is true for the earlier mentioned dispute with the Syrian against whom in the same session the Imam had his whole intellectual guard come forth (see above p. 390). The story is related in at least two different versions. The text in Kulīnī (*Kāfi* I, 171, ll. 2 ff., no. 4), which was taken over by Mufid (*Irshād* 278, ll. 1 ff./transl. Howard 420 ff.), lovingly depicts Hishām's argumentation. The description in Kashshī passes over this but stresses Hishām's triumph by having the converted Syrian become his disciple; one claimed to have seen him later bring gifts to Hishām out of sheer gratitude (277, last l. ff.). Especially suspect is that the *isnād* is here traced back to Hishām al-Jawālīqī (275, l. 4 from bot.), whereas the latter appears later in the third person (276, next to last l.); the narration is presumably transferred from Hishām al-Jawālīqī to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. Naturally, the biographers later adopted it (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm 224, ftm. 1; Ardabīlī II, 313 f., etc.). – One will probably also have to judge the same way Hishām's discussion with the aged 'Amr b. 'Ubayd. It could at the latest have taken place 143/760 and is entirely built up according to the pattern "young rising talent overcomes the experienced master"; it abounds in improbabilities. The argumentation is probably taken from a book of Hishām (see below p. 443 f.). Cf. Kashshī 271 ff., no. 490; *Kāfi* I, 169 ff., no. 3; Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 176, ll. 11 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* VII, 234 f./V, 22 f., no. 2919 (following the *K. al-Majālīs* of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq), etc. – Naturally, occasional *isnāds* say nothing about a real connection with Ja'far al-Šādiq (as for instance *Kāfi* II, 192, l. 15; Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* II, 247, ll. 5 ff.: on the consumption of salubrious earth, a wholly Iranian subject).

In the midst of this shifting ground what seems most likely to be sure is the date of his death. At first sight, here as well the sources in no way offer a coherent picture. Ibn al-Nadīm believes that Hishām died "a little while" after the fall of the Barmakids, i.e. 187/803 or shortly thereafter; at the same time he notes that

31 Ibid. 271, ll. 2 f. from bot.; also *Kāfi* I, 172, ll. 1 f.; Mufid, *Fuṣūl* I, 27, l. 10/28, l. 7 from bot.

others offered later dates, up to the time of Ma'mūn, i.e. after 198/813.³² With this accords a precise date that frequently appears in the biographical literature: 199/814.³³ But with a degree of certainty this goes back to a statement in Kashshī in which one misread *sab'in* as *tis'in*; that there 179 instead of 199 was meant is clear from what is added next: "under Hārūn al-Rashīd".³⁴ Thus we are exactly in the year in which Mūsā was imprisoned and which all the anecdotes so far mentioned refer to. Even when it is said that Sālim, the director of the *bayt al-ḥikma*, visited Hishām two months before his death during Mūsā's captivity,³⁵ this does not contradict the dating. Ibn al-Nadīm's statement "during the caliphate of Ma'mūn" is probably simply calculated on the basis of 199; "a little while after the fall of the Barmakids", by contrast, is concluded from the fact that Hishām is time and again in the company of Yaḥyā b. Khālid but never appears together with 'Alī al-Riḍā or other later personalities.³⁶

At all events, it causes confusion that Hishām appears as a Qaṭ'ī in Ash'arī,³⁷ that is to say as someone who accepted as a fact the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim (in the year 183). But Ash'arī also simply describes as Qaṭ'iyya the Twelver-Shī'ites who believed that every Imam appointed his successor by means of a *naṣṣ*,³⁸ and he wished rightly to count Hishām among them; the latter had belonged to those who disqualified 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far as Imam.³⁹

Finally, the *Waṣīyya* that Mūsā al-Kāẓim sent to Hishām is unproblematic from a chronological point of view as well. It is not a matter of a legacy

32 *Fihrist* 224, l. 1.

33 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 355, ll. 1 f.; Najāshī 304, ll. 15 f. > Ḥillī 178, ll. 6 f.; Bağdathī Paşa, *İdāh* 1, 48, ll. 16 f. (according to all in Baghdād, not in Kūfa).

34 *Rijāl* 256, l. 2; also thus in the quotations in 'Abbās al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-Bihār* 11, 719, ll. 8 f., and Āghā Buzurg, *Dharī'a* IV, 484, ll. 7 ff. Cf. as well Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt* 224, last l. f.

35 Kashshī 266 f., no. 480. Sālim with a long vowel seems to be an unacceptable plene-form for Salm; Salm or Salmān al-Ḥarrānī is meant (on him cf. Eche, *Bibliothèques* 39).

36 Cf. also my reflections in: *Oriens* 18–19/1965–66/115; likewise, Madelung in EI² III, 497 a. Prozorov, *Istor. Lit.* 65, has the usual date 199. Sezgin, *GAS* 1/614, says "around 190/805". One recounted that Hishām acknowledged 'Alī al-Riḍā as the future Imam already during the lifetime of the latter's father (Ibn Bābōya, *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* I, 18, no. 3).

37 *Maq.* 63, l. 11; also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* v, 443, l. 2 from bot./IV 28, l. 11, and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī in *Text* IV 15, a.

38 *Ibid.* 17, ll. 10 ff.

39 Cf. Nawbakhtī 66, l. 14 > Qummī 88, ll. 2 f. from bot. In this connection Strothmann is probably struggling with a non-problem in: *Der Islam* 19/1931/221.

which he had only handed over on his deathbed but of an ascetic-sounding exhortation which, if it is authentic, could also be dated considerably earlier. The text is apparently attested for the first time in Kulīnī (*Kāfī* 1, 13, ll. 9 ff.: as a transmission from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam himself), then approximately half a century later in the *Tuḥaf al-ʿuqūl* of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarrānī (pp. 286 ff.; on the author cf. GAS 1/332) and finally, of course, in the *Bihār al-anwār* (1, 132 ff.: with commentary; cf. also GAS 1/535). The paraenesis is built upon the high role of reason (*ʿaql*) for human action; but the intention is that one should not make use of the intellect for *kalām*. One should not pride oneself too much on one’s knowledge (*Tuḥaf* 297, l. 7) and not mix among people (297, l. 13 ff.); maintaining silence is better than speaking (296, ll. 5 f. from bot.). Hishām is specifically blamed for having given power to his personal desire (*hawā*) over reason (288, ll. 5 f. from bot.). This could fit in with the time of Mahdī. But it is obvious that his connection with the Barmakids is meant to be denounced and thus, as so often, here as well the text is subsequently placed in the mouth of the Imam. – Above all, the conclusion is noteworthy. Here *ʿaql* appears as a hypostasis: it was created from God’s light as the first spiritual being on the right of the Throne; then, according to the well-known *ḥadīth*, it had to show itself from the front and from the back. Next God also created ignorance “from the dark salty ocean”; but it was arrogant and did not want to show itself from the front. Since then intellect and ignorance fight one another; in the process 75 “armies”, consisting of virtues and vices, stand at their side (299, ll. 7 ff.). Later on, this last part was also transferred to Jaʿfar al-Šādiq (cf. *Bihār* 1, 109 ff., no. 7, following the *K. al-Khiṣāl* of Ibn Bābōya).

Hishām’s thought acquired a particular tone through his encounter with the *zindīq* Abū Shākir al-Dayṣānī.⁴⁰ The opponents, whether inside or outside the Shīʿa, never forgot this; he was the latter’s “disciple” (*ghulām*), so they said.⁴¹ Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār even claims to know that when Abū Shākir was crucified under Mahdī, Hishām was arrested with him but then, as a Shīʿite, i.e. as a Muslim, he was set free again thanks to someone’s intercession.⁴² His followers attempted to cover this up: according to the Shīʿite sources, Hishām only met with Abū Shākir in order to discuss with him; at any rate, he wrote a *Radd*

40 On him see below pp. 512 f.

41 Cf. for instance Kashshī 278, no. 497, or Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 37, ll. 6 f. (= Text XXII 115, i); completely clear also Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* v, 20, last l. (following Mismāʿī). Somewhat more vague and without mentioning names Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* 19, l. 12/24, ll. 14 ff.

42 *Tathbīt* 225, ll. 6 ff.

‘alā’l-zanādiqa.⁴³ He beat him regularly in debate – however, not without having gotten advice from Ja‘far al-Šādiq beforehand (not for instance from Mūsā al-Kāẓim!).⁴⁴ That this, if only because of the geographical distance, was completely improbable was not noticed. On the contrary: the stories in which the Imam himself fights with Abū Shākir or any other *zanādiqa*, are legion; the entire arsenal of anti-dualistic polemic is fired off.⁴⁵ Hishām, for his part, is brought into a direct disciple relationship with Ja‘far; he is supposed to have originally been a Jahmite and was then converted by the Imam.⁴⁶ What specifically the Imam took exception to is not stated; but since the Jahmiyya in particular was chosen as a counter-image, we may be allowed to assume that first of all one had in mind Hishām’s idea of God. In fact, the Jahmites from a later point of view were severe opponents of anthropomorphism. Hishām was not, as one knew; that he was not, was now meant to be thanks to the Imam. Hence precisely this, his doctrine about God as “a body”, he will in reality probably have adopted from Abū Shākir.⁴⁷

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.1 “Ontology”

But this image of God, which is already familiar to us, is now more than in the case of Jawālīqī embedded in a comprehensive conceptual framework. The relationships have been clarified by Pretzl¹ and Pines.² Like Abū Shākir, Hishām recognized no accidents; there are only bodies (*ajsām*) on which certain characteristics (*ṣifāt*) can then appear.³ One should not let oneself be misled into equating these characteristics with qualities in the usual sense. Colours, smells, etc., are not regarded as characteristics but once again are bodies in their own right. They form, along with the body that we observe them

43 Werkliste no. 4. Along with it a refutation of the dualists (no. 3).

44 *Kāfi* I, 79, ll. 3 ff. (on this below p. 514, fn. 16) and 128, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; *Bihār*, 323, no. 21; Ivanow, *Alleged Founder* 97/*Ibn al-Qaddāh* 94 f.

45 *Kāfi* I, 79 f., no. 4; Mufid, *Irshād* 281, ll. 14 ff. = *Bihār* x, 211, ll. 7 ff. (with Abū Shākir). Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 71, ll. 15 ff. and 142, ll. 2 ff. = *Bihār* x, 209, no. 11; *ibid.*, 219, no. 16 (with Ibn Abīl-‘Awjā). Ṭabrisī II, 69, ll. 7 ff.; *Bihār* x, 164 ff. and 194, ll. 3 ff. from bot. (with an anonymous *zindīq*). *Kāfi* I, 172, ll. 7 ff. (with an Egyptian *zindīq* named Abū ‘Abdallāh ‘Abd al-Malik). This material will be taken up again from a systematic point of view below pp. 451 ff.; there also traditions which allegedly were passed on by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

46 Kashshī 256, ll. 3 ff.; also Ibn al-Nadīm 224, fn. 1, l. 5. It is also a matter of instruction by the Imam in the tradition in Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 262, ll. 12 ff.

47 Cf. also Madelung in: *Islamic Philos. Theology* 135, fn. 46.

1 *Attributenlehre* 38 f. and 49.

2 *Atomenlehre* 17 ff.

3 Text IV 15, f. and 32, a.

on, a unity and are also identical with one another on it.⁴ The same is true, for example, of the dimensions of the body in question, of its length, width and depth; nor are these something that can be considered as separate or that could be added to it but are constitutive of it and are only actualized in it and with it.⁵ Their relationship to one another Hishām explained as that of (inter) penetration (*mudākhala*),⁶ this as well a model which was passed on to him in dualistic circles, once again probably by Abū Shākir.⁷

Therefore, we are not surprised to hear that he is likewise supposed to have worked with the closely related concept of “latency” (*kumūn*); bodies can be concealed within other bodies. But the examples that the sole doxographical testimony offers us are quite naïve: oil is concealed in the olive or the sesame seed, fire in the flintstone. Moreover, Hishām does not stand alone in this regard.⁸ Thus we do not know whether with the varying state of concealment and on-the-surface appearances of certain bodies he also explained changes in temperature, consistency, etc., as al-Nazzām did this later.⁹ What is certainly clear is that he only explained differences of things among themselves (*taghāyur*) as coming from the bodies themselves, not for instance from accidents or (in his language) characteristics which alternate or emerge in different ways on the individual bodies.¹⁰ In this respect as well, Abū Shākir had preceded him.¹¹

To a greater degree than al-Nazzām, he may have brought God into play in explaining change. At least, metamorphoses of an extreme type, miracles in the ordinary meaning of the word, he no longer interpreted physically but theologically: God can transform a mustard seed into a mountain or, in

4 Text IV 34, *a*; as well as 17.

5 Text 10, *d*; also 23, *c* (but with which the commentary should be compared).

6 Text 19, following Zurqān. Ash’arī in fact here voices doubt; in his time the report could no longer be confirmed. Thus, manifestly Hishām’s school no longer still cultivated the theory which, a generation after him, had been developed further and modified by Nazzām. But for Hishām it is attested through Text IV 28, *b* (see below p. 429).

7 See below p. 497 f.

8 *Maq.* 329, 1 ff. = Text XXII 48.

9 On this see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.3.1. The latter is in fact mentioned alongside him in the cited passage but so is Abū’l-Hudhayl, a thinker who is scarcely typical with regard to this point.

10 Text IV 32, *b*, and 35, *c*.

11 See below p. 512 f. But according to Shī’ite thought, Hishām took the *kumūn*-idea rather from Ja’far al-Šādiq who brings it into play against a *zindīq* (*Bihār* LIX, 330, no. 3).

accordance with the well-known Koranic example, men into monkeys;¹² but then here these are obviously not latent predispositions emerging on the surface. Nor is anything in the way of accidents added here – as for instance further length and width in the case of the mountain which by comparison with the mustard seed increases in these dimensions.¹³ Amplitude is simply given with each respective body; it is not added atomistically. Thus a body is finitely divisible in its extension, whereas it is infinitely divisible in the imagination.¹⁴

On the other hand, what Hishām describes as “a characteristic” has nothing to do with the permanent peculiarities of a body and does not explain the transition of one enduring attribute into another, for instance of warmth into cold.¹⁵ Rather, thereby a momentary occurrence was meant: standing and sitting, willing something and not willing it, obedience (to God) or sin, faith or unbelief, as he explains with his own examples.¹⁶ Thus action is meant (*fiʿl*) or as he prefers to say “movement”. Like his Shīʿite colleagues, Hishām used this word terminologically, and apparently in a very generalized sense. Now Ashʿarī formulates his doctrine as if it applies to “movements and the other actions”;¹⁷ but Zurqān, who here in particular always offers distinctive material, in fact reveals for us that movement is not merely the opposite of rest. Apparently, Hishām did not at all have in mind the idea of rest in this connection. Movement alone is action or causation;¹⁸ it alone is observable and has certain reality. This reality, however, is different from that of a body: a body is “something”, “a thing” (*shayʿ*) and as such existent (*mawjūd*),¹⁹ whereas movement – and along with it every “characteristic” generally – is only “a momentum” (*maʿnā*).²⁰ For this

12 Cf. surah 5/60; it is a question of so-called *maskh*. On this above p. 367. The transformation of the world into a mustard seed already occurs as a paradigm both in writings of John Philoponus as well as in India (cf. Pines in: REJ 103/1937/7, fn. 33 = *Collected Works* 1, 7, fn. 33).

13 Text IV 22–23. Nazzām criticized this view (Text XXII 79, b).

14 Text 20–21, but in 21 together with al-Nazzām. For this reason it is possible that later argumentation has there seeped in as well (cf. for instance 21, d, with XXII 16).

15 Warmth is designated as “body” in Text IV 19.

16 Text 32, a, and commentary on the passage. Thus, by faith and unbelief no pre-existent habit is meant here but a decision of the moment; *īmān* and *kufr* are evidently still entirely understood as verbal nouns.

17 Text 32, a.

18 Text 34, b.

19 Text 16.

20 Text 33. If Zurqān here says that according to Hishām’s view repose was not actually a *maʿnā* (c), he thereby again incurs a sceptical remark from Ashʿarī (d); but this in fact shows clearly that Ashʿarī, as already in the case mentioned above in fn. 6, simply

reason, one cannot say that characteristics are identical with the body or that they penetrate into it in the manner of *mudākhala*; they are indeed connected with it and not separable from it, but in a way that cannot be defined further: “neither itself, nor not itself” (*lā hiya huwa wa-lā hiya ghayruhū*), as Hishām says with a flexible formula, which once again he picked up from the dualists.²¹

He seems to have demonstrated this chiefly with the example of human action. We know that this action does not exist outside of us in its own right; but nor is it completely we ourselves, which probably means it is distinguishable apart from our actual sense of individual identity.²² But along with this psychological justification Hishām also had an ontological argument at his disposal which appeared to the doxographers to be rather remarkable: a characteristic cannot for its part again have a characteristic or, as this can also be understood, an attribute cannot itself be endowed with an attribute or a predicate cannot itself be given a predicate. But this is exactly what would happen if one said of an action that it was identical or different.²³ This was an axiom that one otherwise applied to accidents;²⁴ Aristotle had already formulated it.²⁵ Hishām was indeed acquainted with “accidentalistic” systems and presumably reacted against them consciously.

disposed over no further materials as evidence. Zurqān was evidently well informed on individual points (also in Madelung’s view in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 133, fn. 38). Ibn Ḥazm in Text 17 effaces the differences.

- 21 Text 32, *a*, and 36, *a*. For Abū Shākir see below p. 512.
- 22 Text 35, *b–d*, in a discussion with Abū’l-Hudhayl. This discussion may be fictitious; it takes for granted that Hishām was already well oriented regarding Abū’l-Hudhayl’s thought (*e*), although the latter must have still been quite young at the time (cf. also Chpt. C 3.2.1.2). But the arguments are probably assigned to their correct place. At all events, one might only wonder whether the arguments should be ascribed to his school rather than to Hishām.
- 23 Text 36, *b*, and 39, *f*; Pretzl, *Attributenlehre* 17. In this too he concurs with Abū’l-Hudhayl (see below Chpt. C 3.2.1.3.1.8). Whether he really wished to say that the formula “neither identical nor different” not only ontologically describes a state of suspension but also logically considered does not to the same extent have the character of a predicate like “identical” or “different” on their own, one will probably have to leave open.
- 24 Cf. Text XXII 179, *b*, for Nazzām; XXV 8, *b*, for ‘Abbād; XXXIII 6, *h*, and 25, *c*, for Ibn Kullāb; for later Mu’tazilites Ash’arī, *Maq.* 358, l. 5, and Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* III, 88, ll. 2 f., as well as 89, ll. 10 ff. As a principle of the *mutakallimūn* in general, recorded in Maimonides, *Dalālat al-ḥā’irīn* 210, ll. 16 ff.; for Christian theology Elias of Nisibis in: *Mashriq* 52/1958/460, l. 8.
- 25 *Met.* IV 4. 1007 b 2 f.

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.2 The Concept of God

This vocabulary is now applied *en bloc* to God. God is “something” and as such existent; but “a something”, “a thing”, is also always corporeal.¹ As a body, God can be a carrier of “characteristics”, namely His attributes (*ṣifāt*) which, as in the case of earthly things, are neither He Himself nor are they not He Himself;² therefore, they have no independent existence and according to their nature are movement. One can also turn this the other way round; action, movement, can only come forth from a body; therefore, God must be a body.³ Or put somewhat differently: there is nothing except bodies and their action (*fiʿl*). But action is also always caused (*fiʿl*); for this reason God cannot be action (*fiʿl*). Therefore, He is a body.⁴ Consequently, Hishām is far removed from the Aristotelian idea that God is *actus purus*; he attacked Aristotle in a written work precisely in connection with his concept of God (*fiʿl-tawhīd*),⁵ and Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, as later Shīʿite legend maintains, is supposed to have resented him in particular for his criticism of “the philosopher”.⁶

But a body is also always limited;⁷ a paradigmatic debate, which Ibn Qutayba recorded because of its dialectically exaggerated character, demonstrates how a follower of Hishām wishes to force a Muʿtazilite, on the basis of the axiom that God is “something” which the latter also approves, to draw the conclusion that He must be finite in the spatial sense.⁸ Whatever exists, as Shayṭān al-Ṭāq had already said, is always three-dimensional; this is therefore

1 Text IV 15, *f*, probably following Kaʿbī. The doxographer represents the situation here as if *shayʿ* was an overarching concept that included existent/corporeal and non-existent/non-corporeal. However, in so doing he contradicts the other evidence according to which “something” means only the existent/corporeal, in-itself-subsistent (cf. above all Text IV 16). In addition the passage is corrupt. Cf. also Jāḥiẓ, “Risāla fiʿl-ḥakamayn” in: *Mashriq* 52/1958/460, l. 2, and Ashʿarī, *Maq.* 59, ll. 12 ff.

2 Text 39, *d* and *i*; 40, *a*.

3 Bakrī, *Simt al-laʿālī* 856, ll. 2 f.

4 Thus in a tendentious tradition in which one had the Kūfan “exaggerator” Yūnus b. Ḍabyān (on him cf. Halm, *Gnosis* 217) report Hishām’s standpoint; Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (already he and not Mūsā al-Kāzim!) is supposed to have been appalled and rejected the idea (*Kāfī* I, 106, ll. 1 ff; also Mufid, *Fuṣūl* II, 120, ll. 16 ff./285, 10 ff.; *Biḥār* III, 302, no. 36). Elsewhere Hishām himself is refuted on this point by the Imam (*Biḥār* x, 453, ll. 4 ff.). The texts probably originate from the Muʿtazilite environment of ʿAlī al-Riḍā (see below C 2.2). Qirqisānī also says that “the anthropomorphists” regarded every active principle (*faʿʿāl*) as corporeal (*Anwār* 166, ll. 11 f.).

5 Werkliste no. 8.

6 Kashshī 258, ll. 7 f.

7 Text IV 10, *b*, and 11, *a*.

8 Text 18.

true of God as well, otherwise He would be non-existent.⁹ Naturally, the question arises as to how Hishām imagined this. Here the reports diverge from one another. Opponents accused him of inconsistency; as Naẓẓām remarked ironically (and ever since one readily repeated), in one and the same year he is supposed to have advocated the most different standpoints.¹⁰ His school, which continued to exist over many generations, came to his defense against the reproach of “anthropomorphism” – presumably under pressure of Mu‘tazilite polemic.¹¹ Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, both a Shī‘ite and a Mu‘tazilite, attempted to reduce everything to a matter of terminology, namely the use of the concept of body, and to blame the anthropomorphic “excesses” solely on the Mu‘tazilite polemic of Naẓẓām; that polemic would then have become widely disseminated by means of Jāḥiẓ’s pen.¹²

In fact, Hishām shows a clear tendency towards sublimation. For him God does not have a human appearance, nor limbs¹³ and probably also no shape or “form” (*ṣūra*) in the sense that Hishām al-Jawālīqī understood this.¹⁴ “Body” (*jism*) is not simply another word for “shape” but a conceptual innovation with which higher abstraction was linked.¹⁵ The Shī‘ites themselves acknowledged this difference;¹⁶ thus the legend not unrightly took it for granted that Abū Shākīr’s influence by means of general ontology had also worked its way into the image of God.¹⁷ To this extent it was true what the school continually emphasized later: namely, that God is a body “unlike other bodies” (*jism lā ka’l-ajsām*)¹⁸ or “a thing/something not like other things” (*shay’ lā ka’l-ashyā’*)¹⁹

9 Text 10, *o*.

10 Text 10, *v–w* and commentary on the passage.

11 Text 12, *g–h*. Already accepted by Ka‘bī (Text 13, *a*; also *e*).

12 *Al-Shāfi‘īl-imāma* 12, ll 16 ff., and 16, ll. 21 ff.

13 That this was regarded as something typical is clear from an anecdote which one told in the presence of the Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād (Tawḥīdī, *Akhḫāq al-wazīrayn* 233, ll. 1 ff. and *Imtā‘* 111, 189, ll. 3 ff.).

14 But cf. Text 3, *f*.

15 Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 21, ll. 9 f.

16 *Maq.* 34, ll. 5 f., and 210, ll. 1 f.; also below p. 462 f.

17 See above p. 393.

18 Text IV 10, *x*; 2, *g*; also 10, *r*, and 13, *a*. Thus also Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 106, ll. 13 ff. > Mufid, *Fuṣūl* 11, 120, ll. 12 ff./285, ll. 5 ff. and Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* 11, 155, ll. 8 ff. from bot. (but then even this is rejected by the Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim); on this now, if somewhat chaotic, Muḥ. Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī in: *Turāthunā* 5/1410 h., No. 2/7 ff. Madelung assumes that Hishām already developed this formula himself (cf. *Isl. Philos. Theology* 122).

19 Thus in Kashshī 284, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; on this above pp. 391.

and that with this one did not want to bestow on Him an external appearance (*hay'a*) but only to express that He exists (*ithbāt*).²⁰

On the other hand, anthropomorphism in his environment was not yet something improper. Hishām had quite concrete ideas about how matters stood with God's three-dimensionality. God, so he said, has the same length, width and depth;²¹ thus he has the form of a cube or, as Qāsīm b. Ibrāhīm expresses this, a body with six sides.²² Hishām probably wished hereby to emphasize the absolute perfection of this form, for example in the sense of a Platonic body; because Ash'arī adds that his followers only claimed to know the uniformity of the dimensions as understood in a figurative sense.²³ This is confirmed by the fact that the images with which he illustrates his conception cannot be brought into full conformity with this geometric description. Indeed, the description still fits for the bar of metal (*sabika*) with which he occasionally compared God,²⁴ but less so with the crystal (*billawr*)²⁵ that is mentioned elsewhere, and no longer at all with the cube-shaped pearl that sparkles on all sides.²⁶ In a parallel version it likewise says that the crystal is perfectly round (*mustadīr*) and appears everywhere uniform from whatever direction one approaches it.²⁷ What is here meant to be expressed is its ideality; the body may be round or angular but in any case it is evenly proportioned.

This was also the meaning of Hishām's frequently circulated statement that God is seven spans tall but according to His measures, not ours.²⁸ Seven spans was at the time the standard size of a person (roughly a meter and a half, as still today in the Yemen); that is why Hishām chose this number.²⁹ Only no one actually knows how big divine spans are. God is *lā ka'l-aqsām* but certainly ideally formed like a physically well-developed human being. When

20 Text 12, *h*; also Qirqisānī, *Anwār* 1, 168, ll. 4 f. Still in Tawhīdī's time, in the presence of the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, a Karrāmite defended Hishām's doctrine with the remark that something incorporeal is not imaginable (*Akhlāq al-wazīrayn* 229, ll. 2 ff. from bot.). On all this cf. Gimaret, *Livre* 532, fn. 158.

21 Text 10, *c*.

22 Cf. Madelung, *Qāsīm* 146.

23 Text 10, *e*. When it says in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī in contradiction to the other sources that as a body God is neither long nor wide (Text 15, *a-b*), this is probably a later spiritualizing tendency that emerged at this point.

24 Text 10, *f* and *v*; 11, *d*; 12, *d*; 15, *e*.

25 Text 10, *v*.

26 Text 10, *g*; 11, *d*; 15, *e*.

27 Text 12, *e*.

28 Text 10, *w*, with commentary; also 12, *c*, and 13, *b*. Cf. especially Ash'arī, *Maq.* 208, ll. 15 ff.

29 Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 262, l. 5 from bot.: *li-annahū awsaṭ al-aqdār*.

Abū'l-Hudhayl maintained that he had lured Hishām into affirming that Mt Abū Qubays near Mecca has greater dimensions than God, this is probably no more than a triumph in dialectics, if not simply an invention.³⁰

Along with the ideality of form two things are essential: all the bodies mentioned in comparison give off light, and they are all solid. There is no doubt that the metal bar is chiefly brought in because it shines; the heresiographers are quite right when they every now and then explain that it is of silver.³¹ It radiates a gleaming light, just as is also said about the pearl.³² Like his contemporaries Hishām here called upon the Verse of Light as testimony; in a rather isolated passage in Maqdisī by way of conformity with this example, it is even mentioned that the divine light shines like a lamp.³³ One may assume that the rays which emanate from God are also part of His “movement”; because by means of them He becomes acquainted with what is under the earth. They are stronger than the rays of sight which the human eye sends forth; they can penetrate into the earth and make contact with the perceived objects. This is how divine knowledge comes about which, as we have seen, is actually only “movement”.³⁴ But God radiates from within Himself; He has no need whatsoever of separate attributes.

Now the solidity is essential because God is one; *tawhīd* required that the divine body be “neither hollow nor porous”.³⁵ This was perhaps polemically aimed against the ideas which around the same time were advocated among Sunnīs in nearby Wāsiṭ.³⁶ God is not an idol like a hollow bronze statue. Man is hollow and for this reason must eat and drink; God has no need of this.³⁷ But everything speaks in favour of Hishām, just like those whom he criticized, also having developed this exegetically on the basis of surah 112, from which one had always derived the formulas for *tawhīd*.³⁸ *Muṣmat*, “solid”, was an interpretation for the divine attribute *ṣamad* which appears in the surah; this

30 Text 10, *p*. Deviating somewhat ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faql* 262, ll. 6 ff. from bot.

31 Cf. the commentary to Text 10, *f*.

32 Text 10, *f–q*, etc.; on this 15, *c*.

33 Text 12, *i*, with commentary. This is possibly a later development; in Ash‘arī a similar (the same?) conception of “the pure light” as a lamp is attributed to another, anonymous group of Rāfiḍites (*Maq*. 34, ll. 13 ff.).

34 Text 10, *s–t*; on this below p. 429 f.

35 Text 11, *b* and *e*; 15, *d*.

36 See below Chpt. B 3.3. Naturally, it is always possible that the doxographers first produced the opposite position.

37 *Bihār* LXVI, 312 f., no. 2: transmitted by Zurāra as a saying of Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

38 See above pp. 12 f. and 274; details on this Chpt. C 1.1.

equivalence is also well attested for the Shī'ite tradition.³⁹ Hishām is supposed to have described God as a *jism ṣamadī nūrī*, “a compact body of light”, as we should probably translate it.⁴⁰ He wrote a *K. al-Tawhīd*;⁴¹ presumably this was among the ideas he presented there.

Evidently, the idea of God's solidity did not hinder Hishām from assuming in His case a certain interpenetration which he also assumed in the case of earthly bodies. The term *mudākhala* is not actually attested in this context; but we hear that God is endowed with colour, taste, etc., and that these things – by no means simple “characteristics”, as we know – are identical with one another and with Him.⁴² He is Himself colour, as is said in Ash'arī, and when He sends His rays into the earth's ground, even there Hishām did not deny an intermingling.⁴³

Moreover, that God is endowed with colour, taste, etc., now means that He can be perceived with the senses. To this extent knowledge of God is “necessary”; He confers it on whom He wishes.⁴⁴ But here is probably meant the manifestation of light which He bestows upon the believers in the hereafter; the *visio beatifica* was not yet a problem for Hishām.⁴⁵ On earth one is in need speculation in order to understand God,⁴⁶ and in the process the correspondences in ontological structure prove to be helpful: earthly bodies precisely because of their similarity to God are suitable for “referring” to Him.⁴⁷ In the process Hishām probably had more in mind than simply proof of God's existence;⁴⁸ it was actually also possible to say something about His “form” by assuming an ideal corporeality. But even in this corporeality God's individual reality is not disclosed; as we hear, God has a quidditas (*māhiyya*) which He

39 For instance *Bihār* III, 220, nos. 7 and 9; 228, no. 17. For the *mujassima* in general cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *Tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* 56, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; Gimaret, *Nom divins* 322. Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 124, ll. 2 ff., turns vehemently against it; cf. *Bihār* III, 223, ll. 6 ff.

40 *Kāfi* I, 104, no. 1; Ibn Bābōya, *Tawhīd* 57, ll. 5 f. from bot.

41 Werkliste no. 1.

42 Text IV 10, *h–k*.

43 *Ibid.*, *t*.

44 *Kāfi* I, 104, ll. 6 ff.; also *Bihār* III, 301, no. 35, following the *K. al-Tawhīd* of Ibn Bābōya.

45 Thus Ibn al-Dā'ī, *Tabṣira* 174, ll. 2 f. from bot., where Abū Baṣīr (see above p. 389) is also already enlisted for *ru'ya bi'l-abṣār*. Cf. the book title Werkliste no. 9.

46 Text 48.

47 Text 10, *q*.

48 According to Ibn Bābōya, *Tawhīd* 197, ll. 11 ff. > *Bihār* III 229, no. 19, he is supposed to have been taught the proof of God from the order of creation (*ittiṣāl al-tadbīr* and *tamām al-ṣun'*) by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. For more on this see below p. 533 f.

alone is acquainted with.⁴⁹ Thus it seems that Hishām distinguished between a *māhiyya* and an *anniyya* (simple existence), as we otherwise know this distinction from his Kūfan environment⁵⁰ and as the Shī'ite tradition already placed it in the mouth of Muḥammad al-Bāqir.⁵¹ In this way, moreover, he remained true to his principle to comprehend God and creation with an absolutely parallel terminology; for earthly bodies we can likewise demonstrate this distinction in another place.⁵² The more his school committed itself to the formulation *jism lā ka'l-ajsām*, the more strongly it then retracted the thesis of the similarity of all bodies.⁵³

Along with corporeality, the problem of space was also posed. For Hishām there was no such thing as a vacuum; it was simply non-existent. There where we see empty spaces, air is found; but this is a fine body.⁵⁴ Outside the world, by contrast, there is nothing, including no space into which one who is standing at the end of the earth could extend his hand.⁵⁵ Thus God likewise has His

49 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbis Iblīs* 83, ll. 3 f. from bot.; on *māhiyya* as “individual reality” see below p. 433.

50 See above p. 242 and below Chpt. C 1.3.1.4.

51 *Bihār* III, 222, l. 4 from bot., and 224, l. 3 from bot. (*māhiyya*); 224, l. 7 from bot. (*anniyya*). Likewise for Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (*Kāfi* I, 84, l. 2 from bot.; *Bihār* X, 197, ll. 3 f., transmitted by Hishām!).

52 Text 26, *f-h*; on this see below p. 433. As is known, the conceptual pair was later adopted in philosophy. There the term *anniyya* is already found in the compendium on logic by Ibn Bahrīz which was composed for Ma'mūn (there p. 109, l. 16, Dānishpazhūh; on the later development cf. Frank in: *Cahiers de Byrsa* 6/1956/181 ff.; Endreß, *Proclus Arabus* 77 ff.; Ch. Hein, *Definition und Einleitung* 59). The reading *anniyya* instead of *innīyya*, which has been usual in the secondary literature from far back in time is further supported by Endreß; cf. above all pp. 86 f. on the passage from Fārābī's *Alfāz al-musta'mala fi'l-mantiq* which I myself referred to as an argument for *innīyya* in *Frühe islamische Häresiographie* 149. From the evidence that Th. d'Alverny adduces in her pioneering study in *Mélanges Gilson* 59 ff. (there pp. 78 and 88), it emerges that the later Latin translators as well assumed the reading *anniyya*.

53 Text 10, *r*, and 13, *a*.

54 Text 31, *b*. On this see below p. 429 f.; also Kashshī 268, ll. 4 f., from which it emerges that Zurāra, who did not yet have these metaphysical problems, ascribed no existence to air. A school conflict arose over this which one later had Ja'far al-Ṣādiq criticize as being useless (*Bihār* LVII, 182, ll. 8 ff. from bot. and LIX, 341, no. 8). It may have been nourished by the fact that Abū'l-Hudhayl also denied the corporeality of air (cf. Text XXI 32; also 72, *c*).

55 Cf. the discussion with the *mōbad* in Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* II, 153, 1 ff. = *Iqd* II, 411, ll. 14 ff. The *mōbad* agrees with Hishām concerning this assumption; Hishām has probably borrowed here as well. On this in general Ash'arī, *Maq.* 433, ll. 1 ff., and Mufid, *Awā'il al-maqālāt* 110, ll. 8 ff.

particular place and occupies it in a particular direction.⁵⁶ This is what one designates in Koranic language as His Throne; when God fills up His place, it is said that He takes up the same space as the Throne while He is in contact with it.⁵⁷ There were disputes about whether He was bigger than it⁵⁸ or whether He did not extend beyond it;⁵⁹ within the Shī'a one did a lot of thinking about such questions.⁶⁰ Whether Hishām conceded that God could also quit this place, one will probably have to leave open. Abū'l-Hudhayl in fact claims to have heard from him: God sits and also stands up again, He comes and goes.⁶¹ But perhaps he is here only caricaturing Hishām's doctrine of movement; because actually every divine action is movement but not movement in the sense of changing location.⁶² What moves is presumably not the mass of light of the divine body but its rays. But they could probably reach everywhere; because in fact, as we saw, they are the medium of God's knowledge. To this extent even the rather paradoxical formulation in Maqdisī could be true that God is everywhere and (yet) is in one place.⁶³ This place, i.e. His Throne, is in any case not eternal as He is; it only came into being by means of "a movement", a divine act. God was first of all found in Nowhere; He created His space for Himself.⁶⁴ That this occurred by means of movement, one perhaps justified by noting that only movement permitted distinguishing definite points in space; His rays are aimed and have a goal.

Therefore it also seemed reasonable to assume that space had limits (see below p. 430 f.). The resulting thought experiment concerning whether someone at the boundary of the universe could extend his hand or a stick into the void, goes back to Archytas of Tarentum, a friend of Plato (cf. A 24 D Diels-Kranz), and is referred to by Lucretius, among others (*De rerum natura* 1, 963–991). The responses that one came up with in Antiquity

56 Text IV 13, c.

57 Text IV 10, m.

58 Juwaynī (*Shāmil* 289, ll. 3 f.) attributes this view to Hishām.

59 Thus according to the view of one of his followers in *Maq.* 211, l. 1, whereby this information is perhaps only understood from the remark of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq in Text IV 10, y. What Ash'arī in *Maq.* 210, ll. 15 f., maintains from Hishām himself comes very close to this.

60 Cf. for instance *Bihār* X, 198, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

61 Text IV 10, n.

62 Text 13, d, and 38, b.

63 Text 14. But it is conceivable that it is here a question of a misunderstanding or that the text is corrupt.

64 Text 10, l. This coincides with Jewish speculations (cf. Wolfson, *Philo* 1, 247 ff. and below Chpt. D 1.2.2).

were quite diverse (cf. Jammer, *Problem des Raumes* 8 ff.; Sorabji, *Matter, Space and Motion* 125 ff.; J. Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam* 185 f.). John Locke was still occupied with the problem (Gladigow in: *Faszination des Mythos* 69 f.). On Archytas see also below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.5.2.

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.3 Natural-Scientific Questions

That Hishām thought about natural-scientific questions will come as no surprise after all this; moreover, natural science was also part of the dualistic ambience in which he was immersed. He felt himself strong enough to carry on polemic in a work of his own against “the Naturalists” (*aṣḥāb al-ṭabā’i*).¹ That the earth, despite its heaviness, does not continuously fall, he explained by means of a body which presses against it from below and keeps it suspended by an upward rising tendency which corresponds exactly to the earth’s weight; in fact, it had to be a body if in general there was still supposed to be “world” underneath the earth.² But one should not imagine this body in too crudely material a way; as examples of bodies with an upward rising tendency Hishām mentions fire and wind. In the process, the rising was probably more than a simple “movement” and a characteristic; it is in fact an immanent and continuous force. Hishām may have seen in it an operation of the levity which, itself corporeal, penetrated this body, the same way it did so in the case of fire and wind; Nazzām at least presumably could have argued like this.³

That in such cases Hishām like Nazzām willingly had recourse to the *mudākhala* model, we may conclude from his theory about earthquakes: the earth is made up of various “natures” (*ṭabā’i*) which interlock with one another, “mutually hold on to one another”; if the balance between them is disturbed, convulsions occur.⁴ Perhaps “natures” is terminologically out of place here and has only been introduced by the doxographers; what is probably meant is bodies. For this provides the simplest explanation for what now follows; if one of these natures grows increasingly weaker *vis-à-vis* the others, not only does trembling take place but a collapse occurs.⁵ Thus something physical under this spot implodes or is compressed. Even when Hishām explains rain by means of the cycle of water, he might have been thinking of *mudākhala*; in fact, the water then intermingles with the air. But he was not confident about

1 Cf. Werkliste no. 5. On the *aṣḥāb al-ṭabā’i* see below Chpt. B 2.2.1.5.

2 Text IV 29. On the context of the problem see below Chpt. C 3.2.1.3.1.5.

3 See below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.3.3.

4 Text 30, a–b.

5 Text 30, c.

this; to those who saw too much autonomy at play here he seems to have conceded that perhaps God simply created rain in the air.⁶ In the Koran there is never talk of “to rain” but always “to make rain” (*amṭara*).⁷

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.4 The Theory of Perception

Finally, Hishām also made use of the model of *mudākhala* to explain certain kinds of sense perception.¹ In hearing, smell and taste, elements of the perceived object come to fuse with the sense organ involved. A pneuma was probably at play here; Hishām was acquainted with such a concept and makes use of it.² But he does not comment on it; he simply takes it for granted that the process is known. His theory of sense perception stands within a tradition; it is put together from different components.³ It seemed only natural for him to explain the experience of feeling by means of contact (*mumāssa*). In the case of optical perception, on the other hand, he relies on ancient ideas which had already been developed by Plato and Aristotle and were eventually disseminated in the Orient through numerous channels such as the *Optics* of Ptolemy⁴ or the works of Galen. However, it is interesting that perception of shapes, the recognition of “squares and triangles”, is ascribed to the sense of touch;⁵ we would instead think that here the eye would still be responsible. But this point as well coincides with thought of the ancient world.⁶ One only sees “colours and contours”;⁷ already for Aristotle colour is the essential object of sight,⁸ τὸ οἰκεῖον αἰσθητὸν ὄψεως γένος, as Galen said.⁹

Optical perception cannot come about either through *mudākhala* or through touch because it takes place outside the sense organ; the organ for seeing, “sight”, is “conveyed” to the object, presumably by means of rays of vision

6 Text 31, a.

7 Jubbā’ī based himself on surah 6/99 for his view that rain does not originate from rising vapours but falls directly from the sky (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* XIII, 105 ff.).

1 With this and what follows cf. Text 28.

2 See below p. 432.

3 For the theories that were possible on this basis one should especially compare Text XXII 105.

4 On this cf. A. Lejeune, *L’Optique de Claude Ptolémée* (Leuven 1956); also idem, *Euclide et Ptolémée. Deux stades de l’optique géométrique grecque* (Leuven 1948).

5 Text 28, d.

6 Galen v, 639, ll. 3 ff., Kuehn.

7 Text 28, g. At the same time “the contours” are an expression of individuality (see below Chpt. D 2.2).

8 *De an.* 419 a, ll. 1 f.

9 v, 625, ll. 11 ff., Kuehn. On this R. E. Siegel, *Galen on Sense Perception* 85.

which emanate from the eye.¹⁰ In the process, it must traverse a path (*sabīl*) which causes it to strike against the object, to encounter it (*lāqā*). This pathway leads through a transparent medium, the *διαφανές* of Aristotle,¹¹ which Hishām just like Galen equates with the air.¹² The medium in question is activated by means of “radiance”, the glow of the object; in this way colours appear.¹³ “The organ of sight” moves through the air until it cannot go any further because an object causes it to stop; then it returns by the same path and “reports on what lay behind it”. Here Hishām uses the example of the mirror; there it is most clear that something “comes back”. Sight cannot actually penetrate into the mirror; one cannot see behind it but only sees what is immediately behind the point of impact. This is also how it is in the case of normal objects.¹⁴

“The threads-of-feeling theory”, as Meyerhof calls it, came to be broadly disseminated throughout the Arab world; we meet with it in Kindī and in Ḥunayn b. Ishāq.¹⁵ But this is a century later than Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. Naturally, one could look up the ancient theory in the *Placita philosophorum* as soon as a translation was available;¹⁶ but until now we have had no evidence that the theory was used so early by an Islamic theologian. In Hishām’s case, it was probably transmitted through an Iranian intermediary link.¹⁷ For he is said to have also conversed about this with the *mōbad* when he maintained that there is no space outside this world. None exists because one cannot see anything there. However, the reason one cannot see anything there is disputed:

10 In Greek too ὄψις means “eyesight, vision” as well as “ray of vision” (cf. Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* 1282 f.).

11 *De an.* 418 b, ll. 3 ff.; on this Siegel 28.

12 Text 28, f. For Galen cf. Siegel 85.

13 *De an.* 419 a, ll. 9 ff.; here Aristotle also already speaks of the air as a medium but only as one among several. On his theory cf. D. C. Lindberg, *Auge und Licht im Mittelalter* 28 f.; on the continued life of these ideas in Nazzām see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.5.1.

14 Text 28, h. Thus Hishām does not consider reflection as a special case that requires its own explanation; here as well, the object that one sees is directly on the mirror’s surface. On the problem cf. the commentary to Text 28.

15 Cf. Meyerhof and Prüfer in: *Augenheilkunde im Islam* III, 347 ff.; now more nuanced, Lindberg, *Auge und Licht* 47 ff. and 72 ff. The Stoics compared the fathoming of space that takes place during sight with the poking about of a blind man who probes objects with a stick (thus Chrysippus in Diogenes Laertius VII, 157; on this Siegel 39 and Sambursky, *Physikal. Weltbild der Antike* 204).

16 Daiber, *Aëtius Arabus* 202 ff. Next in line comes the report on Hipparchus; but the attribution is problematic (cf. the commentary).

17 More on this below p. 468.

no “radiance” exists there, so the *mōbad* said; no darkness exists there which hindered sight (and therefore would cause it to return?), so Hishām believed.¹⁸

But actually one can also see or hear in another way, as Hishām knew: by means of visions, dreams, hallucinations, etc. For him this is perception with “the heart” (*qalb*), the *sensus communis*. Such perception comes about by someone perceiving, instead of real objects, that which is in the air through which perception followed its path. The result is fantastical perceptions (*tawahhum*) which work with images from reality.¹⁹ Here Hishām evidently made use of an epistemological model which has nothing at all to do with the preceding one. It reminds one strongly of Epicurean ideas as we can best grasp them in Lucretius. The objects secrete “small images” (εἰδωλα) which move through the air. Normally, they pass through the eye into the spirit; but if the sensory apparatus is “turned off” during sleep or in a trance, etc., they can also reach the spirit by way of the pores of the body.²⁰

Hishām covered up the incompatibility of the two theories and apparently was not even aware of it; here as well he probably borrows from an older legacy. What worries him is something completely different: namely, that one could confuse these fantastical perceptions with religious experiences. One should not have any false hopes: whoever in this way thinks he will learn something about *tawhūd*, meets with what in sense perception is tantamount to an impenetrable wall; “the heart” then turns back and only brings with it delusions which it has caught in the air. Knowledge of God, so Hishām seems to want to say, belongs in another genus; it is rational and has nothing to do with images.

Moreover, as Hishām considered, Satan may also cause his promptings to reach man through the air. In any case, he does not himself penetrate into the body of human beings; he does not sit “in their blood” as a well-known *hadīth* maintained (on this cf. my *Gedankenwelt des Muḥāsibī* 57; and as a Shī‘ite tradition *Biḥār* VI, 18, no. 2). Hishām understood this from his reading of surah 114/5; presumably it also sounded particularly suggestive to his ears that there the goal of the promptings is the breast, i.e. the place where the heart sits (Text 50, *b–c*). – When it is subsequently said that Satan deduces from a man’s conduct what the latter thinks in his heart, and acts accordingly (*d*), this also fits in very well; the Text wants to make the point that there is no infringement of God’s privileged knowledge,

18 Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn* II, 153, ll. 3 ff. = *Iqd* II, 441, ll. 17 ff.

19 Text 28, *k–m*. On *tawahhum* cf. also Text 26, *d*.

20 Lucretius, *De rerum natura* IV, 722 ff.; and the commentary on this by C. Bailey III, 1265 ff., with references to Epicurus. Generally on the Epicurean theory of sight *ibid.* 1179 ff.

nor is Satan's power hereby extended too far. However, in the case of this remark there are problems of attribution which cannot be completely resolved (cf. the commentary). On this see below Chpt. C 4.1.1.1; for a parallel thought in Muḥāsibī cf. *Gedankenwelt* 58.

The spirit in which the information we collect through the senses or “the heart” comes together, Hishām designates as *rūḥ*. But this is not only the principle of perception but also of action;²¹ one may therefore just as well translate it as “soul”. This especially since the *rūḥ* confers life on the body and rules it; it is itself incorporeal and of luminous nature. Again this strongly reminds one of Iranian thought; no Islamic theologian exaggerated so greatly the body-soul dualism as Hishām. But for the Kūfan Shī‘a it was not unusual; speculation about the *rūḥ* is found everywhere,²² and the intellect at least is luminous which illuminates the soul. This is found for example in the *waṣīyya* that Mūsā al-Kāẓim is said to have addressed to Hishām;²³ according to it, the reason was actually created from God's light to the right of the Throne.

See above p. 415 f. Compare *Bihār* 1, 96, nos. 2 and 7 with no. 8 where the light-nature of the *‘aql* can be understood by the combination of two *ḥadīths* about the first created being; also *ibid.* 99, l. 9, where the intellect is compared to a lamp. Massignon had already moved a corresponding *‘aql*-definition in Muḥāsibī into the proximity of Hishām (*Gedankenwelt* 70).

It seems reasonable to connect this idea with the preceding one: the rays of vision are nothing else than a pneuma (*rūḥ*) which as the soul's light or radiance pushes itself outside through the eyes. Namely, perception and action also realize themselves within the soul only through movement. As long as the soul is confined within the body, this movement is not a matter of course; it can be suspended during moments of rest when the soul does not perceive or do anything at all (perhaps in dreamless sleep).²⁴ Things are different after death: then the soul expands itself and perceives by its own power, through its *quwwa rūḥiyya*; it returns (*raja‘at*) – presumably to itself in the way the

21 Text 25 and 26, a–b.

22 *Bihār* LXI, 28 ff.

23 Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf al-‘uqūl* 296, 4.

24 Text 26, b.

organ of sight and the heart are also able to do this.²⁵ Its knowledge of reality is just as perfect as it was previously. But not because knowledge belongs to its essence; because then it would not in fact make sense why it still had need of the senses. Rather, it profits from the training that it enjoyed through the senses; only thus does it know what reality actually looks like. It knows through the power of imagination and intuition,²⁶ i.e. similarly as the heart does. But basically in this way one only knows the mere existence (*ann*) of a thing; only through the senses does one know about the latter's *māhiyya*, its individual form and shape: one must first have experienced length to be able to know what it is. Then this no longer gets lost again.²⁷ Here as well is revealed what Hishām understood by *māhiyya*, quidditas: not the idea of a thing, its “essence”, but its actual reality. He is a sensualist.

Naturally, this sensualism correlates with his corporealism. Movement, for example, while always only realized as “a characteristic”, is not only visible but also palpable.²⁸ It does not have to be continuous but can be achieved in “a leap” (*tafra*); one in fact only discusses it because one observes how a body is in different places.²⁹ Likewise, remaining and passing away, and even being created at all, are only discerned as “characteristics” in the things themselves; they are “neither the things themselves nor not the things themselves”.³⁰ This also means that they do not belong to the essence of bodies; bodies actually have no “essence”.

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.5 Human Action

Man has no power over bodies. Thus if the soul gives him the capacity to act, he is nonetheless dependent on the objects “offering opportunity” to him. For this reason his action is free insofar as it comes forth from him as “movement”; he wills it and he “acquires” it for himself while he carries it out. At the same time, however, he is subject to necessity because it requires “a driving cause”

25 Ibid., *a* and *d*.

26 Ibid., *d*.

27 Ibid., *e–m*.

28 Text 35, *a*, but again only in the context of a fictitious discussion. That Hishām, only once he went blind, understood that movement is visible, as is maintained in an anecdote in Tawḥīdī, (*Baṣā'ir* VII, 127 § 194) certainly has no *fundamentum in re*.

29 Text IV 37, without further details. On the idea of “the leap”, which later plays a big role in Nazzām, see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.21.1. There also on its possibly taking root in an Iranian milieu shaped by ancient ideas.

30 Text IV 36.

(*sabab muhayyij*), a stimulus emanating from the object;¹ this cause alone is the triggering moment (*al-mūjib li'l-fi'l*) and it is provided by God.² This reminds one strongly of the synergistic model that his younger contemporary Ḍirār b. 'Amr advocated;³ the latter also made use of the term *iktisāb*. Hishām formulated it in such a way that actions are neither created nor uncreated;⁴ the fact that he did not express himself with a positive “both . . . as well as . . .” is because as “characteristics” they cannot once again be provided with a characteristic, with an attribute.

Attention has been drawn to this by Madelung who was, moreover, the first to bring this theory to light and to assemble the relevant evidence (in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 133, fn. 28, and 124). That Hishām already employed *iktisāb* and *kasb* as terms and to that extent was a forerunner of Ḍirār is by no means being said. In Text 36, *b*, which goes back to Ja'far b. Ḥarb, the word is presumably only an interpretation. – If one looks for a model for Hishām himself, one may think of the first attempt of the Stoic Chrysippus and the latter's well-known example of the cylindrical roller which owes its movement to how it is made as well as to an external stimulus (SVF II, 294, no. 1000; on this briefly A. Dihle, *Antike und Orient* 164 f. and in detail M. Frede in: *Doubt and Dogmatism*, ed. Schofield 235 ff.). Frede supposed that this model continued to have an effect up to John Philoponus (p. 249).

Hishām took the trouble to analyze further this synergy, probably in his *K. al-Istiṭā'a* whose title has been transmitted to us in several places.⁵ When it comes to man, we must not only take account of his momentary action but likewise his permanent conditioning through his health; this should not simply be reckoned as a triggering cause concomitant with action but as pre-existent.⁶ Thus Hishām takes up the position of Zurāra. But he adds further point to it. The acting person must also dispose over the necessary implement: an axe if he is doing a carpenter's work, a needle if he wants to work as a tailor, and he needs “the freedom of circumstances” (*takhliyat al-shu'ūn*), which probably means: he should not be hindered by anything, for instance by chains. It is

1 Text IV 44, *b*.

2 Text IV 46, *c–d*.

3 See below Chpts. C 1.3.1.3 and D 2.1.1.

4 Text IV 45.

5 Cf. Werkliste, no. 9.

6 Text IV 46, *a–b*. The text does not directly say which elements of an action already exist before it; but we can assume that health belongs among them.

also necessary for him to have the time;⁷ we would like to know how this is consistent with action's nature as "a characteristic".⁸ But all four elements lead to nothing as long as "the triggering cause" does not come into play. Here probably nothing else is meant than the object of action.

Madelung has discovered an interesting parallel with this in the *Kāfi* of Kulīnī which provides further information.⁹ As most often, it is detached from Hishām and put in the mouth of the Imam 'Alī al-Riḍā; but Hishām's theory nonetheless clearly provides the basis. The prerequisites are not so clearly laid out as previously: he must be able "to go about freely" (*mukhallā'l-sarb*, parallel to *takhlīyat al-shu'ūn*) and he must be physically healthy and able to make normal use of his limbs. But the cause which "comes from God" is explained further: when someone wishes to commit fornication, then the best health is of no help if a woman is not on hand for him. Then he is free to restrain himself or to act according to his will. The woman is the object of fornication and thereby "the driving cause". That this cause is meant to come from God contains an unintended piquancy. Perhaps it helps us to decide how Hishām imagined this cooperation of God: presumably not in an occasionalistic way so that God furnishes the cause at the moment of action – the woman also acts freely and perhaps for her part sees in the man "the driving cause" – but rather that for His part God created the object of action.

Perhaps in the example's indecency also lies the reason why, as Madelung has already noted (*op. cit.*), Majlisī identified the cause incorrectly. But something else is more important: the tenth Imam, 'Alī al-Naqī, in a detailed epistle which Majlisī likewise preserved (v, 68 ff.), completely reinterprets Hishām's vocabulary; in the process, "the driving cause" is explained in a Mu'tazilite sense as the intention of the person (79, l. 2 from bot.). Thus, the terms in the tradition could be used according to one's own discretion. – Hishām's theory probably also provides the basis for the remark in Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 14, ll. 11 ff., where unbelief is chosen as an example. But there Khayyāt makes no distinction between Hishām and the other Shī'ite theologians of his time.

7 That is probably what is meant by "temporal duration" (*al-mudda fī'l-waqt*). Regarding all this cf. Text iv 46, a. Moreover, similarly later in Jāḥiẓ (cf. Text xxx 6, b–c).

8 Probably Hishām would have seen no difficulty at all; indeed he is no atomist and nowhere does he say that action cannot have duration. Nor does he say the contrary, for that matter, but chiefly because he would then be providing an attribute with another attribute.

9 *Kāfi* I, 160 f., no. 1 > Ibn Bābōya, *Tawḥīd* 283, ll. 9 ff. > *Biḥār* v, 37, no. 54; Madelung, *op. cit.*, 132.

Likewise, the parallel shows that Hishām's theory still had effect. Already quite soon one came to specify that the cause could not be seen here as a fifth element in the ability to act but was to be separated from it as a mere motive (*dā'ir*) for it.¹⁰ But above all, the development towards a rigid determinism, which also already stood out in Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, continued to advance.¹¹ That the thought of Hishām himself was absolutely not deterministic is confirmed by the tradition that put in Hishām's mouth an argument with which Abū'l-Hudhayl defended free will.¹² But outside the Shī'a, where the entire "Rāfiḍite" stage set became blurred into a uniform deterministic front, one quite soon came to believe that Hishām advocated the *taklif mā lā yuṭāq* but simply did not wish to state it so clearly.

Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān* 111, 11, ll. 2 ff. = Ibn Qutayba, *ʿUyūn* 11, 142, ll. 3 ff. and *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* 59, ll. 6 ff. = 48, 4 ff./transl. § 54 = *Iqd* 11, 383, ll. 11 ff. When Hishām is dealing with the Mu'tazilites, he in fact keeps a distance with regard to their indeterminism (cf. Text IV, 41, *q*, and the commentary with it). On the basis of these fluctuations, the contradictory statements are explained in Pazdawī where it is once said that Hishām considered the capacity to act (*qudra*) to be simultaneous with the act itself (*Uṣūl al-dīn* 115, ll. 13 ff.), and shortly thereafter that he saw the ability to act (*istiṭā'a*, normally synonymous with *qudra*) as pre-existing (116, ll. 7 f.). Moreover, in this text Hishām is counted among the Mu'tazilites (cf. 111, l. 16, and 115, ll. 2 f. from bot.).

A special case of action is cognition. Here as well God and man work together: man by reflecting and God by providing "the cause". Just as with action, cognition is "triggered" by it, only that now it is no longer something that would be brought in from outside but "the inherent nature" (*khilqa*) of man himself,

10 Cf. Text IV 47 with its commentary.

11 Text IV 44, *a*.

12 Kashshī 267, no. 481; for Abū'l-Hudhayl Text XXI 86, *g*, with commentary and my article in: ZDMG 135/1985/42, ftn. 85 *a*. The information in Kashshī was probably only preserved because the argument was so strongly abbreviated that one no longer recognized the direction of its thrust; thus it was no longer noticed that here "Qadarites" was to be understood in the unorthodox sense as "determinists". All that one still grasped was that Mūsā al-Kāẓim did not like this approach. In the process, the same train of thought is even attributed to him as an answer to Abū Ḥanīfa (Ibn Bābōya, *Amālī* 368, ll. 1 ff. and Mufid, *Fuṣūl* 1, 42, ll. 3 ff./43, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; on Abū Ḥanīfa's attitude see above pp. 235 f.).

which probably means: his luminous intellect and his senses.¹³ More clearly than before we now see that God's cooperation should not be understood as occasionalistic. The intellect and the senses are there from the beginning with the creation of man and they function autonomously; for example, when particular information is confirmed several times over (*mutawātir*), it then always leads to knowledge through its immanent power of persuasion and thanks to the intellect's ability to reason – likewise even when it originates from unbelievers.¹⁴ This contradicted the axioms of the *muḥaddithūn* and certainly also many an unreflective prejudice; despite all his ties with the Imams and their knowledge of salvation, Hishām is a theologian who thinks rationally. The term *khilqa* that he uses here plays a large role in al-Nazzām later on.¹⁵ In Hishām the word stands somewhat in isolation; nothing indicates that he also ascribed a *khilqa* to inanimate bodies as an expression of their independent effectiveness. But *de facto* this idea is probably not far removed from him.¹⁶

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.6 The Divine Attributes

Hishām also did not compromise Zurāra's axiom that the independence of human action precludes divine foreknowledge. Rather, in his dispute with the Mu'tazilites he further hardened the position. Ibn al-Rēwandī has sketched his argumentation; the reports, which have been preserved by Khayyāṭ, are presumably connected to Hishām's *K. al-Radd 'alā'l-Mu'tazila*.¹ From them we learn that above all Hishām emphasized that human action had the character of a test: if God already knew how man would behave, then one could not in the real sense say that He put him to the test.² Likewise, it would then not have made any sense for God to send prophets into the world; He would in fact

13 Text IV 48. The formula *bi-ijāb al-khilqa* strictly speaking says nothing about whose "inherent nature" one has in mind; what could also be meant is the nature of cognitions themselves, that is to say their immanent logic. But the treatise by 'Alī al-Naqī, already once consulted above, shows how one imagined the matter (*Biḥār* v, 77, ll. 3 ff. from bot.); cf. also Ash'arī, *Maq.* 56, ll. 4 f., for the origin of pain.

14 *Intiṣār* 113, ll. 15 f., and 114, ll. 3 f.

15 See below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.3.1, end.

16 That he did not speak of *tawallud*, as Pazdawī notes (*Uṣūl al-dīn* 111, ll. 15 ff.), is the result of this; Nazzām as well could not do much with this model (see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.2.3). However, perhaps it is not yet known at all to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (see below Chpt. C 1.4.3.1.1.1).

1 Text IV 41 and commentary; with this, Werkliste no. 12. Also Text IV 39, *a-h*.

2 *Ibid.*, *i-l*; also Text IV 40, *h*.

already have known how matters were going to turn out.³ This was easy to document on the basis of the Koran: when God sent Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh, He took it for granted that the latter might perhaps reflect on his situation;⁴ and otherwise it is said several times that God just wants to see whether man will obey Him.⁵ Moreover, not only mankind is subject to being tested but the jinn and angels are as well.⁶ Thus they too have the choice between Paradise and Hell; Satan has already made his choice. Under-age children who were not yet capable of making a choice, are for this reason not cast into Hell-fire; they enter Paradise.⁷ This links Hishām to the Qadarites and the early Mu‘tazilites.⁸ But he is not concerned with the ethics of reward: if children suffer, this is not at all something they deserve; but they still have no right to compensation (*‘iwad*) in later life.⁹ Moreover, by contrast with the Mu‘tazilites he seems to have accepted that in the end the damned as well would enter Paradise. But they are unable to enjoy the pleasures of the blessed; they will be so benumbed by the radiance of Paradise that they will fall into a kind of stupor.¹⁰

What else al-Rēwandī reports about the book does not necessarily have any novelty value; Hishām has here only added greater dialectical polish to the thoughts of his predecessors. The original proposition that eternal knowledge would require the eternal existence of the objects, he thinks through in all its variations; while doing so, he always has in mind the Mu‘tazilite counter-thesis.¹¹ This is also true when, on the basis of the terminology, he once again argues: knowledge can only apply itself to “something”; but in addition this “something” (*shay*’), namely the things (*ashyā*’), must exist.¹² In the face of all this, it is not acceptable to deny him the doctrine of *ḥudūth al-‘ilm*, as al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā had done;¹³ this is simply an attempt at redeeming his honour. The reinterpretation is explained by the fact that in the long run the standpoint even caused offense within the Shī‘a;¹⁴ in this regard, on the other hand,

3 Text IV 41, *m–n*.

4 Ibid., *o*.

5 Ibid., *g–h* with its commentary.

6 Text IV 50, *a* and *e*, with corresponding Koranic justification.

7 Text IV 42.

8 Cf. Text IX 10.

9 Text IV 43, together with Abū Baṣīr and Hishām al-Jawālīqī. The formulation is probably somewhat anachronistic, especially the use of the term *‘iwad*.

10 Text IV 27.

11 Text IV 41, *a–e*; on this Text IV 39, *g*.

12 Ibid., *s*.

13 *Shāfi‘ī fī l-imāma* 16, ll. 4 f. from bot.

14 The Shī‘ite author of the *K. al-Yāqūt* (4th century) also polemicizes against Hishām’s standpoint (pp. 160 f.; on the work cf. GAS 1/542).

Hishām is still completely impartial. At the most, he may have formulated matters somewhat more carefully in the discussion than one was accustomed to do within the Shīʿa; it is noticeable that nowhere in connection with him – as was already the case with Shayṭān al-Ṭāq or Hishām al-Jawāliqī – does the term *badāʾ* turn up. And yet the idea completely complies with his concept: if God wants to test man and does not know his action in advance, He must be able to react to the unforeseeable situations. *Badāʾ* is therefore not the expression of God's arbitrariness but rather of His generosity.¹⁵ But opponents, on the other hand, liked to take it as a sign of His unpredictability; this may have led to one avoiding to use the word openly.

Still with regard to another point, Hishām probably saw the consequences less clearly than several reports, which are under the impact of the later development, would wish to have us believe. The doctrine of the finiteness of divine knowledge had some things in its favour as long as one did not posit it within the framework of a general theory of attributes. By contrast, the matter became troublesome when, probably again because of polemic from outside, one was forced to draw comparisons with other attributes of God, for instance His life or His power (*qudra*). Hishām could not do anything else but consider them as well to be characteristics (*ṣifāt*) which were neither identical with God nor not identical with Him.¹⁶ But this also meant that just as with knowledge they could not be eternal; one was in fact not allowed to endow any characteristic with another one.¹⁷ This seemed to contradict sound human intelligence: after all, God's life should probably endure eternally like He Himself, and likewise His omnipotence could not actually only arise with its objects.¹⁸ For this reason one believed one knew that here Hishām had differentiated.¹⁹ But more probable still is the report that he measured everything by the same yardstick.²⁰ For even from his student Sakkāk we hear that he did not yet distinguish between these attributes.²¹ Whoever saw the *ṣifāt* as "movements" could only ever speak about divine action; as soon as the distinction between *ṣifāt al-dhāt* and *ṣifāt al-fiʿl* was opposed to this position, one came into difficulties.²²

15 Cf. Madelung in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 123.

16 Text IV 39, *i*.

17 Cf. in connection with knowledge *ibid.*, *e-f*.

18 Naturally, on the basis of the axiom any form of predicate was excluded; it was therefore also not said that life and power came to exist in time.

19 Text 39, *i*.

20 *Ibid.*, *i*. On this see the passages in the commentary.

21 *Intiṣār* 82, ll. 10 ff.; on him see below p. 460 f.

22 But this only seems to have happened relatively late (see below Chpt. D 1.3). It is typical that Hishām did not meet with opposition as long as he talked about the divine will (Text IV 9); indeed willing was also regarded by the Muʿtazilites as an attribute of action.

It is certain that Hishām extended the range of divine action much further afield. Indisputably, seeing and hearing belonged to it.²³ And just as God’s knowledge did not have to be foreknowledge, so his power was not necessarily omnipotence; one could understand it, as in the case of man, simply as the ability to act which is bound to an object.²⁴ Even God’s life might still be interpreted as activity; Ash‘arī records Imāmites for whom God has not had life from eternity,²⁵ who is not even Lord and God²⁶ – though we cannot be wholly free of doubt that here too much schematic constraint is at play and that we are faced with malicious mock consequences rather than real doctrinal beliefs.²⁷ In addition, there remained the possibility to consider certain forms of God’s manifestation not at all as *ṣifāt*, but like colour to place them directly in union with His light-body. But we do not know whether Hishām attempted this, for instance in connection with God’s life. At any rate, it would not have helped him very much; because even the light-body was indeed limited. One actually said of him that he believed God was in Himself (*bi’l-dhāt*) limited, but that then he did not extend this to His power – again probably subsequent rationalization of a problem he did not resolve.²⁸ At this point one was also close to the question of how matters stood regarding God’s knowledge of Himself;²⁹ here the connection with the object looked completely different than in the case of things.

23 *Maq.* 38, ll. 1 f.; for Zurāra see above p. 385 f.

24 This position is recorded without more detailed classification in *Maq.* 212, ll. 16 ff.; *qudra* is here treated just like God’s knowledge, willing, hearing and seeing. Cf. also 36, ll. 11 f., and 491, ll. 8 f.: no power exists for “nothing” (*lā shay’*), the same way no knowledge exists about nothing. Rendering the doctrine parallel with human *istitā’a*, which generally complied with the principle of equal terminological coverage, would however come up against the difficulty that even in the case of man the *istitā’a*, at least in some of its elements, is there already before action (see above p. 434).

25 *Maq.* 37, ll. 1 f. = 491, ll. 10 f.

26 *Ibid.* 219, ll. 1 ff.; also 491, ll. 7 f.

27 In a tendentious tradition, in which Mūsā al-Kāzim distances himself from Hishām’s image of God, the reported doctrine of attributes does still contain *qādir*, *mutakallim* and *nātiq* (!), but not *hayy* or *rabb* and *ilāh* (cf. Ibn Bābōya, *Tawhīd* 59, ll. 8 ff.; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 155, ll. 8 ff. from bot.).

28 Text IV, 13, e. The formula *bi’l-dhāt* does not go back to Hishām but to the heresiographers, i.e. Ka’bī. As we saw (p. 421, fn. 1, and 422, fn. 11), the latter has the tendency to “dematerialize” Hishām.

29 Cf. *Maq.* 220, ll. 10 ff.: anonymous Rāfiqites in discussion with unnamed opponents, probably Mu’tazilites.

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.7 The Koran and Prophecy

As much as the disciples of Hishām experienced embarrassment in the area dealt with up to now because of “the paradigm change” forced on them by the Mu‘tazila, so they could just as much profit from his approach regarding another point which he had not foreseen: in the case of the Koran. This too, as divine speech, is a characteristic of God and as such cannot be further qualified; it is therefore neither created nor Creator (*khāliq*).¹ This was a formula which had not yet gone through the experience of the *miḥna*; it is traced back in both Sunnī as well as Shī‘ite sources to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq.² Then within a generation after Hishām’s death, the alternative was no longer “created” or “Creator” but “created” or “uncreated”, and one was pleased to discover that the formula equally forbade one to decide on uncreatedness; thus one could maintain neutrality or each time speak out against a particular standpoint without being in favour of another one.³ The report makes clear that Hishām himself, at least terminologically, did not yet differentiate between *qur‘ān* and *kalām Allāh*. But he is meant to have done so *de facto*: “the articulated sound-formation” (*al-ṣawt al-muqaṭṭa‘*) that one hears during recitation is created by God, just as is the stock of written consonants which it reproduces.⁴

That revelation as the word of God is bestowed by God as a gift is self-evident. But the Prophet does not draw it to himself by proving to be worthy of it in some special way; it is a pure mercy (*tafaḍḍul*) and is, so to speak, imposed on him.⁵ Thus there is no reason to consider him to be sinless; when he sinned, God was able to correct him again with His revelation. Muḥammad had, *de facto* at least, once behaved wrongly, namely when after the Battle of Badr he released a number of Meccan captives for a ransom, and God then

1 Text 40, *a*. For God as *mutakallim* and *nāṭiq* see above p. 440, fn. 27.

2 On this Madelung in: *Festschrift Pareja* 508; as a Kūfan *ḥadīth* in Suyūṭī, *La‘ālī* 1, 4, ll 12 ff. Madelung is probably correct when he sees the somewhat surprising formulation as the result of a dichotomy according to which everything that is not God must be created; if therefore the Koran is not supposed to be created, then it must be identical with the Creator. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq just like Hishām does not accept the validity of this conclusion. By this we do not have to assume that one had once really designated the Koran as “Creator”.

3 Text 40, *b*: according to Ka‘bī who projects this back onto Hishām. Hishām’s disciple, Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān who died before the *miḥna*, is not yet familiar with this extension (Kashshī 490, no. 934).

4 Ibid., *c–d*: according to Zurqān. Cf. also Pretzl, *Attributenlehre* 28. Only the consonants in Arabic grammar are designated as *ṣawt* (sound); the vowels are *ḥaraka* “movement” and as such not constant. For more on *muqaṭṭa‘* see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.4.2.2.3 (Nazẓām).

5 Text 51, *a*.

designated this in surah 48/1–2 as “guilt” (*dhanb*).⁶ Naturally, he continues to be a model of piety; for this piety he will also be rewarded in Paradise, in a special manner assuredly. But in this respect prophethood does not count; it is in fact not a merit.⁷ But precisely for this reason it cannot be simulated by a person either: the miracles of prophets cannot be imitated by means of magic. Human illusory manipulation is capable of some effect; it cannot be excluded that someone walks on water. But no one can transform a walking stick into a snake unless like Moses God has given him the power to do so.⁸ Likewise, Muḥammad, despite being a sinner, performed miracles and predicted the future; his opponents have confirmed this through their very criticism.⁹

2.1.3.3-7.2.2.8 *ʿIṣma and naṣṣ*

This attitude still completely followed the spirit of the Koran and the idea the Prophet had of himself. To later generations it appeared extraordinarily conservative; the rest of the Imāmītes are meant to have rejected it.¹ The contradiction emerged all the more clearly when Hishām ascribed *ʿiṣma*, divine protection from committing sin, to the Imams. From one point of view this was entirely consistent: they no longer actually received revelation and so no longer could be openly reprimanded by God; nonetheless, they were supposed to be role models and speak *ex cathedra*.² In fact, with regard to the imamate Hishām “did carry forward the discussion”, as Ibn al-Nadīm says.³ Not only because he theoretically justified the need for a charismatic leader, but he also presented developments from his point of view historically, and was perhaps the first Shīʿite to do so. By all appearances, his *K. Ikhtilāf al-nās fīʾl-imāma* forms the basis both for Nawbakhtī as well as Pseudo-Nāshī; and

6 Text 52, a–c with the commentary. What the Koranic verse actually refers to is disputed. But in any case it serves as a crown witness that the Prophet did not pass through the world completely without sin.

7 Text 51, b, with correction.

8 Text 49. Apparently Hishām did not know or at least did not take into account that Jesus had walked on water. According to Muslim conception, the characteristic miracle of a prophet in the case of Jesus is his bringing the dead back to life. Jāḥiẓ in his *Radd ʿalāʾl-Naṣārā* mentions the walking on water; but the miracle at Cana, which he mentions immediately before, is typically not recognized by the copyists and the editors (*Rasāʾil* III, 325, l. 9, where *khamr*^{an} should be read instead of *jamad*^{an}).

9 Text 53. Which miracles Hishām is thinking of we do not learn.

1 Baghdādī, *Farq* 50, ll. 4 f. from bot./68, ll. 4 f.

2 Text 52, c–e. On this cf. the text *Biḥār* xxv, 192 f., no. 1; also the exegesis *ibid.* xii, 279, no. 54.

3 *Fihrist*, 223, l. 3 from bot.; cf. also Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Tathbūt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* 528, last l.

Zurqān made use of it as well.⁴ In his *K. al-Mīzān* he argued with competing conceptions of the imamate; even Ibn Ḥazm still had the book in front of him.⁵ Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār informs us that Ibn al-Rēwandī in his *K. al-Imāma* and Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq were dependent on Hishām.⁶

Naturally, the historical and the systemic elements cannot be neatly separated from one another. From the beginning, by having chosen Abū Bakr the majority of the Muslims fell away from the truth. They ignored Koranic indications and perhaps even deleted some of them from the original;⁷ likewise, they turned a deaf ear to the words (*naṣṣ*) that appointed ‘Alī. Basically, they did not even recognize rational proofs. But they are not really to be reproached for this; Hishām is supposed to have been the first to come up with the idea that when there is difference of opinion about rational insights, the Imam as ultimate authority is equally indispensable as is “the heart” as an arbitrator regarding the sense organs.⁸ And the matter is also not so clear regarding the *naṣṣ*. Of course, Hishām knew exactly what this consisted of: the words spoken at the Pond of Khumm and certain other statements which later one also always referred to;⁹ but he nonetheless admitted that ‘Alī had not had recourse to this. ‘Alī was silent out of fear; in fact he only had a minority behind him.¹⁰ Now this minority was, indeed, not only a historical reality but likewise a systemic necessity; it is inconceivable that all Muslims would follow a fallacy.¹¹ God must allow a chance for the truth.

In Malaṭī this train of thought is further radicalized: the Koran is abrogated because of the community’s fall from the faith and was later brought back to heaven. The later text of the Koran that was disseminated was a forgery of ‘Uthmān; the latter, as is known, had the older codices burned (Text 59, *l* and *n*). For the time being we must probably refrain from automatically associating these ideas with Hishām. The Imāmite Shī‘a were

4 Cf. Werkliste no. 13.

5 Werkliste no. 25.

6 *Tathbit* 224, ll. 4 f. from bot., and 225, ll. 5 f. from bot.

7 Thus at least according to the report of Khayyāṭ (Text IV 54) but which may be polemically exaggerated.

8 *Kāfi* I, 172, ll. 6 ff. Hishām is also supposed to have confronted ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd with this argument (Kashshī 272, ll. 8 ff.; translated in E. Schroeder, *Muḥammad’s People* 287 ff.). The situation is perhaps invented (see above p. 414 with information on other sources); but the train of thought may well be taken from one of his books.

9 Text 56, *b*, and 59, *a-d*.

10 Text 57.

11 Texts 55 and 56, *a*. Malaṭī exaggerates this as well (Text 59, *k*).

generally wary about playing up the question of the Koran (see above p. 326). The sole concrete indication we find in connection with Hishām aims at a passage that is still preserved in the Koran: the first verses of surah 9. There the argumentation runs quite differently and is basically very conventional: Muḥammad chose ‘Alī to recite these verses to the Arabs gathered in Mecca for the pilgrimage feast of the year 9, and in this case he rejected Abū Bakr (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 224, ftm. 1, ll. 7 ff.; on this Shahrastānī 122, ll. 8 ff./325, ll. 6 ff. with Gimaret, *Livre* 447 and *Biḥār* XXI, 264 ff.). On the situation cf. GdQ I, 222; R. Bell in: JRS 1937, pp. 233 ff.; now above all U. Rubin in: JSS 27/1982/241 ff. and JSAI 5/1984/13 ff.

It looks as if Hishām resolutely applied the *naṣṣ*-theory to the past, whereas some of his older contemporaries had brought it forth in order to refute the legitimization of ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far. It can scarcely be denied that thereby he not only “carried forward” the discussion but radicalized it as well. He emphasizes himself that ‘Alī’s followers did not deny their fealty to the first three caliphs and did so on the assumption that ‘Alī willingly stood down on their behalf to await his hour.¹² But he considers this an illusion and opportunistic nonsense: as for the Companions of the Prophet who did not declare their support for ‘Alī, no one could have a good opinion of them; they had in fact even intrigued against one another.¹³ They hated ‘Alī because he stood so close to the Prophet and during the latter’s campaigns he had killed their relatives.¹⁴ This is thought out in a wholly Rāfiḍite manner: even Abū Bakr and ‘Umar are now only villains who politically wanted to outmanoeuvre ‘Alī. The minority that stuck by ‘Alī was very small indeed: only Salmān al-Fārisī, ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, Abū Dharr and Miqdād b. al-Aswad.¹⁵ Here Hishām had apparently for the first time

12 Text 58, a–d.

13 Ibid., e; as well as 60.

14 Text 59, o.

15 Ibid., p–q. But here again we must also take into account that this text, as much as it seems to offer a coherent resumé, actually presents a more extreme picture than the other testimony. According to it, Hishām even recounts the story of Fāṭima’s miscarriage caused by the mistreatment she suffered at the hands of Abū Bakr (r, sic! Otherwise ‘Umar is the guilty one; cf. my *K. an-Nakṭ* of Nazzām 29 and 32). However, Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār also says that Hishām began with invectives against Abū Bakr (*Tathbīt* 225, ll. 1 f.) and in the *K. al-Ikhtisāṣ* of Mufid, Hishām in a (presumably fictitious) discussion, combines criticism of Abū Bakr with the topos of the four faithful persons (here ‘Alī is counted among them but Salmān al-Fārisī is absent; *Biḥār* X, 297, no. 6). That Hishām considered ‘Umar to be one of the plotters, emerges from the story in al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra* 1, 54, last l. ff./58, ll. 5 ff.

formulated in an outwardly visible way the conspiracy theory which one would later find to be so typical of the Rāfiḍiyya.

This is the reason why Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār continually cites him as the father of all Shī‘ite ideology (cf. for instance *Tathbīt* 551, ll. 6 ff.; as well as 546, ll. 11 ff.). Nevertheless, ‘Abbās Iqbāl’s assertion that Hishām in general brought forth the *naṣṣ*-theory is not correct (*Khānadān-i Nawbakhtī* 75). Even the conspiracy topos would have been preparing itself for a long time inside the Shī‘ite camp. On the other hand, one must ask oneself to what extent Ibn al-Rēwandī – who consciously harked back to Hishām – with his thesis of the *naṣṣ jalī* and his tendency towards excentric formulations has influenced the image of Hishām that one adopted later on; however, the source material is not sufficient to provide a clear answer (see below Chpt. C 8.2.2.2). Lack of differentiating among the sources he has used unfortunately detracts from the explanations which T. Nagel offers about Hishām’s doctrine (*Rechtleitung* 186 and 416 f.). Several pieces of evidence are taken from the rather problematic story about the discussion with the Syrian (see above p. 390) and furthermore are not there placed in the mouth of Hishām but of Ja‘far al-Šādiq.

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.8.1 *Excursus. Means of Legitimation within the Shī‘a*

Fixation on the *naṣṣ* caused other things on which the Imams based their identity to retreat into the background. There were “insignia” or regalia which had been preserved within the family of the Prophet, e.g. Muḥammad’s weapons: Muḥammad al-Bāqir did not hand over any of them to his brothers (not even to Zayd b. ‘Alī)¹ – or sword, flag and armour (which were compared with the Ark of the Covenant)² – or “book and weapon”³ (here by book perhaps the *muṣḥaf Fāṭima* was meant)⁴ – or his staff with which ‘Alī was already meant to return, hallmark of the *khaṭīb* but also as in Judaism an attribute of the Messiah.⁵ Muḥammad al-Bāqir is supposed to have possessed the staff of Moses; it could speak, if one prompted it to do so.⁶ In this way ‘Alī al-Riḍā was

1 Kāfi I, 305, no. 1; summarizing, Ibn al-Šaffār, *Baṣā‘ir al-darajāt* 174 ff. and *Bihār* xxvi, 201 ff.

2 Kāfi I, 233, ll. 7 ff.

3 Ibid. I, 297, l. 4 from bot., and 298, no. 5.

4 See above p. 325 f.

5 Cf. Friedländer in: ZA 23/1909/321 ff.; on Judaism Klausner, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten*, Berlin 1904, p. 73.

6 Kāfi I, 231, no. 1.

confirmed as the true Imam.⁷ As is well known, the cloak of the Prophet played an important role, i.e. the *burda*.⁸ These props, however, had the disadvantage that they were also displayed outside the Ḥusaynid line. The Imāmite tradition even occasionally assumes that Muḥammad's sword was looked after by the Ḥasanids.⁹ The Abbasids used the cloak, staff and ring as emblems of their grandeur.¹⁰ Mukhtār, who as a parvenu had no access to all these things, under dubious circumstances procured for himself the throne of 'Alī before which the Saba'iyya then displayed their veneration.¹¹

Thus, already early on, one came to abandon these material things which were in fact easy to have replicated. One had greater trust in the reliably transmitted word. But it needed time for the theory to emerge. The precursor of the *naṣṣ* was the *waṣīyya*, succession based on a testamentary appointment. At first nothing more was probably meant by this than the line of transmission in the family, and certainly not an explicit appointment. One had to cover up the fact that one of course put emphasis on being descended within the 'Alid family line but 'Alī himself was not actually descended from the Prophet; all that helped here was the legal fiction of the executor of a testament. The question of how far back this idea may have extended will not occupy us here.¹² In the 1st century, as we saw,¹³ "the House" of the Prophet still had many residences; it included all the Hāshimids. Then one gradually reduced the entitlement to inherit, firstly to the 'Alids, then to "the Fāṭimids", i.e. those 'Alids who descended from both 'Alī and Fāṭima,¹⁴ and finally within the Imāmiyya to the Ḥusaynids. The Abbasids – along with the Kaysānites – belonged to those who, due to the on-going restriction, came to be excluded; they took their revenge by assessing the line of succession according to strictly legal criteria.¹⁵

7 Ibid. I, 353, no. 9.

8 On this Margoliouth, "The Relics of the Prophet Mohammad", in: *MW* 27/1937/20ff., without taking account of the Shī'ite literature; on the emergence of the *burda*-legend and its political significance now M. Zwettler in: *JSAI* 5/1984/313 ff.; on the mantle of a prophet in the Old Testament cf. G. Brunet in: *RSO* 43/1968/145 ff.

9 See above p. 316.

10 Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 309 f.; Sanders in: *EI*² VI, 518 s. v. *Marāsīm*. On the Sunnī polemic against the claim of the Shī'ites cf. Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* XX, 328 ff.

11 Ṭabarī II, 703, ll. 1 ff.; on this Halm, *Gnosis* 45 f. and above p. 365, fn. 4.

12 On this cf. for instance Cahen in: *Revue historique* 230/1963/307; Jafri, *Origins* 92 f.; Halm, *Gnosis*, Index s. v. *waṣī*; Sharon in: *JSAI* 5/1984/137 ff.

13 See above p. 269 f., and especially the article of Madelung in: *SI* 70/1989/5 ff.

14 One then maintained as well that Muḥammad had to some extent adopted his grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

15 See below Chpt. C 1.2.1.1; also above p. 287 f.

However, the upgrading of *waṣīyya* to *naṣṣ* does not immediately follow from this controversy,¹⁶ but arises from the inner-Imāmite dilemma concerning the succession to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. In the process, one outwardly still remained involved with the old theme, as was the case with Shayṭān al-Ṭāq¹⁷ but also Hishām b. al-Ḥakam as well; he wrote in fact about *waṣīyya* and not about *naṣṣ*.¹⁸ Moreover, that he had other worries in the case of Mūsā al-Kāzīm, emerges from his remark that by their external flaws an Imam's brothers already show that they are not worthy of the imamate.¹⁹ 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far had flat feet; that those who adhered to his imamate bore the nickname Fuṭṭhiyya has its own special charm.²⁰ But when al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī thinks that Ma'mūn first put forward the demand for a *naṣṣ* so that every Shi'ite who launched a revolt would not find support, this is probably a malicious Zaydī interpretation.²¹ The word *waṣīyya* in the long run lost its pregnant meaning; in later Imāmite tradition it only comes to mean admonition which the Imam addressed to certain persons.²² The *naṣṣ*-theory developed from traditions such as that of the Pond of Khumm, traditions which in principle were not rejected by the Sunnis.²³ Nor was the position of the Zaydis very far from this when they saw references to the primacy of 'Alī in remarks such as "the sandal repairer".²⁴ Yet with this they did not in fact go beyond 'Alī. By contrast, for the Imāmites the *naṣṣ* developed into the counterpart to the *bay'a*; with the Ismā'īlis it later persisted in a solemnly performed act of investiture.²⁵

16 Against Sharon in: IOS 10/1980/122.

17 See above p. 398.

18 Werkliste no. 17.

19 Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal* IV, 104, ll. 11 ff.

20 That *aftah* in 'Abdallāh's case meant flatfootedness and not for instance a flat nose, is in Ash'arī, *Maq.* 28, l. 2. On evidence for the Fuṭṭhiyya see above pp. 373 f. 'Abdallāh's elder brother Ismā'īl, moreover, had the nickname al-A'raj "the Lame" (Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra* 176, l. 6). The Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh "al-Nafs al-zakiyya" was pockmarked (Ṭabarī III, 254, ll. 18 f., and 223, l. 10).

21 *Al-Risāla fī naṣīḥat al-'amma*, Ms. Ambrosiana C 5, folio 22 b, ll. 8 ff. and *al-Safīna*, Ms. Ambrosiana C 32, folio 180 b, ll. 4 ff.

22 See above p. 415 f.; also the *waṣīyya* of 'Alī on behalf of Kumayl b. Ziyād (*Bihār* LXXVII, 266 ff.) or that of Muḥammad al-Bāqir on behalf of Jābir al-Ju'fī (ibid. LXXVIII, 162 ff.).

23 Cf. EI² II, 993 f. s. v. *Ghadir Khumm*; on this above p. 286, fn. 103.

24 See above p. 297.

25 Corbin, *Cyclical Time* 115.

2.1.3.3.7.2.2.9 *Raj'a*

Hishām like many others believed that a parousia at the end of time would bring compensation for all the oppression and injustice suffered up until then. He did not especially emphasize this idea; but neither did he deny it, when the Mu'tazilites addressed him about it. The latter maliciously referred to surah 6/28 according to which "if they were brought back to life (*ruddū*), they would (just as before) do what was forbidden to them".¹ He did not take the trouble to present his own proofs, nor did he expressly refute the Koranic verse on which they based themselves. He simply remarked that after they had interpreted so many scriptural passages on the question of divine knowledge in a manner contrary to their literal sense, he as well should now practice exegesis.²

2.1.3.3.7.2.3 *Alī b. Rī'āb (?)*

A somewhat enigmatic figure among the theologians of this generation is

Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Rī'āb/Rabāb al-Ṭaḥḥān al-Sa'dī,

a *mawlā* of the Sa'd b. Bakr or the Jarm of the Quḍā'a.¹ He lived in Kūfa and was presumably a mill owner. The only reliable thing we know about him is that he left behind a juridical corpus, a so-called *aṣl*.² It contained notes from Mūsā al-Kāẓim probably along with other materials. His traditions were regarded as so valuable that Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb (d. 224/839 at the age of 75) received a silver dirham from his father for every *ḥadīth* that he wrote down from 'Alī b. Rī'āb.³ Some biographical notices by him, for example about Zurāra, have been recorded in Kashshī.⁴ He belongs in the second half of the 2nd century.

Given his posthumous reputation, it is rather strange that Kashshī does not accord him an entry. According to Mas'ūdī, he is supposed to have been an

1 Text 41, p.

2 Ibid., q.

1 Since the client relationship is not clear, one will also have to treat the *nisba* with caution. Cf. Najāshī 175, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; Ṭūsī, *Rijāl* 243, no. 316; Ardabīlī 1, 579 f. On the Jarm b. Rabbān of the Quḍā'a cf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāq* 536, l. 4 from bot.; Ḥazm instead of *Jarm* in Barqī, *Rijāl* 25, l. 8, is probably a mistaken reading.

2 Ibn al-Nadīm 275, ll. 16 f.; Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 221, no. 474. It is perhaps identical with the *K. al-Diyāt* that Najāshī mentions. He names along with it a *K. al-Waṣīyya wa'l-imāma* as well.

3 Kashshī 585, ll. 9 f. Abū Ghālib al-Zurārī (d. 368/979) still had a copy of these notes in his possession (Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, *Kashkūl* 1, 199, l. 5; on Abū Ghālib see above p. 374, ftn. 8).

4 Cf. for instance 141, no. 223; in general Index 193 s. n.

important Shī'ite theologian.⁵ But this judgement is there linked with that concerning his brother Yamān, who had come forth as a theologian among the Khārijites, and has therefore perhaps no more than a symmetrical character. He would acquire more profile if some of the information Maqdisī gives about his brother could be connected with him as well.⁶ Then he would have seen in the Koranic passages where the enjoyment of wine or of eel is forbidden, simply concealed allusions to the first three caliphs whom God wished to renounce. Nor is he meant to have believed in the Last Judgement but rather considered this earthly world to be everlasting. Naturally, this was outspokenly heterodox; it reminds one strongly of ideas such as were advocated at the time among the followers of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, for example by a certain Ma'mar against whom Ḍirār b. 'Amr wrote a treatise.⁷ The Last Judgement was thus presumably abolished by the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.⁸ That one was grappling with these ideas within the Kūfan Shī'a is shown by the tradition according to which Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is meant to have rebuked Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb because he considered prayer and other ritual prescriptions to be persons.⁹ According to Maqdisī, a peculiar kind of anthropomorphism is to be found here as well: God has human form (*ṣūrat insān*) but at the end of time He will divest Himself of it so that all that remains is His "face". This strongly reminds one of Bayān b. Sam'ān;¹⁰ God then presumably gives up His human form when the exalted believers have beheld Him in (the earthly) Paradise.

One has some difficulty to connect the two complexes of tradition with a single person. Allegorical interpretation of Koranic prohibitions is in general identified with antinomianism, and the 'Alī b. Ri'āb of the orthodox sources was certainly not an antinomian. But the identification is not necessarily compelling; the Ismā'īlis at a later time also practiced lively allegorizing and yet adhered to the law.¹¹

5 Murūj v, 442, l. 8/IV 28, l. 4.

6 *Bad'* v, 132, ll. 5 ff., in the midst of other Shī'ite sects. On the hypothesis see below B 3.1.4.1.1.1.

7 On him Halm, *Gnosis* 209 ff.; for Ḍirār cf. Werkliste xv, no. 24.

8 On this cf. *Maq.* 46, ll. 11 ff.

9 Ibn al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt* 536, nos. 2–4; *Bihār* xxiv, 299, no. 2, and 301, no. 8; on this also 286 ff., no. 1, where Mufaḍḍal al-Ju'fi reports to the Imam about such tendencies.

10 See above p. 408.

11 Cf. for instance the *K. Ta'wil al-zakāt* of Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (GAS 1/578).

2.1.3.3.7.3 The Succession to the Big Theologians

The inner-Shī'ite debate about the image of God continued for a long time. Both Hishām al-Jawālīqī as well as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam found followers. In the process, the school of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, as we saw, succeeded more easily in evading the accusation of *tashbīh* raised by the Mu'tazila; for this reason apparently they held their ground better. But even they were rejected from the beginning of the 4th century by the circle of the Nawbakhtīs and finally died out; at the time one also represented the Imams as speaking out against the positions of both of them.¹ *Tahdīd*, corporeal "limitation", was replaced by *tathbīt*, simple acknowledgement of God's existence.²

2.1.3.3.7.3.1 The School of Hishām al-Jawālīqī

Scarcely any names crop up, at least when it comes to the Jawālīqiyya. We hear about

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Abī Naṣr Zayd al-Bazanṭī,

that, taking the position of Jawālīqī as his starting point, he found Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's model reductionist, in fact as "negation" (*naḥy*).¹ He lived in Kūfa as the descendant of a *mawlā* of the Sakūn and died in the year 221/836.² He probably was a merchant dealing in sugar; in Dhahabī he actually appears with the *nisba* al-Sukkarī.³ After the death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm, he could not at first decide in favour of a successor; but then he went over to 'Alī al-Riḍā. This was not self-evident at the time in Kūfa;⁴ in this way he won the special trust of the

1 Thus above all 'Alī al-Riḍā (cf. *Bihār* III, 300 f., no. 33 ff., and 307, no. 45; only with reference to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, *ibid.* 291 f., no. 10), but also Mūsā al-Kāzīm (= Abū Ibrāhīm, *ibid.* 303, no. 37). When one put it in the mouth of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, sometimes even Hishām b. al-Ḥakam himself is the alleged transmitter (*ibid.* 29, no. 3, and *Kāfi* I, 83 ff., no. 6).

2 *Bihār* III, 29, ll. 6 f. from bot.; similarly also *Maq.* 34, ll. 1 ff. On this *Kāfi* I, 82, ll. 4 ff.

1 *Bihār* III, 307, no. 45.

2 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 36, l. 2, and 37, l. 1; Najāshī 54, l. 8 and l. 4 from bot.

3 *Mizān*, no. 542. That it is a question of the same person we learn from the fact that there his nephew Ismā'īl b. Mihrān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr transmits from him (on the nephew cf. *Kashshī* 589, no. 1102).

4 See below p. 456 f. A letter in which he reports to 'Alī al-Riḍā about the opposition against him, cf. *Bihār* XLIX, 265, no. 8.

Imam.⁵ What he transmitted from him was recorded in “a book”.⁶ Besides that he composed a *Jāmi‘* and a *K. al-Nawādir*,⁷ and according to Ibn al-Nadīm, a *K. al-Masā’il* as well.⁸ Whether he treated theological questions in these works we do not know.⁹ – Someone else who also stood up for Jawālīqī was

Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Umayr Ziyād b. ‘Īsā al-Azdī.

Namely, he is supposed to have taken the latter’s place in a discussion – probably a wholly fictitious one.¹⁰ At any rate, he was his disciple: he passed on his *aṣl* and otherwise also mostly transmitted from him.¹¹ His connection with the Azd resulted from the fact that he was a *mawlā* of the Muhallabids;¹² he lived in Baghdād. There he dealt in fine fabrics;¹³ he was immensely rich.¹⁴ This above all probably explains why Mūsā al-Kāẓim made him his agent (*wakīl*) in Baghdād.¹⁵ This came to cost him dearly when Hārūn had the Imam placed under house arrest in Baghdād. Al-Sindī b. Shāhak, in whose custody he was imprisoned, some time after 179/795 had Ibn Abī ‘Umayr arrested and tortured in order to extract from him the names of the conspirators. He is supposed to

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- 5 Kashshī 587 f., no. 1099 f.; ‘Abbās al-Qummī, *Kunā* 11, 82, ll. 3 ff. from bot.
 - 6 Ibn al-Nadīm 276, l. 18. This book is the basis for many reports in Ibn Bābōya’s *Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* (for instance I, 11, no. 1; 18, nos. 6 and 8; 119 f., no. 49, etc.).
 - 7 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 36, no. 72; Najāshī 54, ll. 10 ff.; also Bağdathī Paşa, *İdāh* 11, 285. Extracts from both books are found in Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-‘Ijlī al-Ḥillī, *al-Sarā’ir* 477, ll. 1 ff., and 472, last l. ff.
 - 8 *Fihrist* 276, l. 18.
 - 9 Kashshī reports about him a story somewhat resembling a fairy tale concerning a copy of the Koran that contained unknown additional material (588 f., no. 1101). On him cf. also Zirikli, *A’lām* I, 192; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu’jam* 11, 104; Prozorov, *Istoričeskaya literatura* 95 f., no. 21.
 - 10 Kashshī 279, l. 4 from bot.
 - 11 Najāshī, 305, l. 9, and Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 356, ll. 13 ff.; on single transmissions cf. Kashshī, Index 307 s. n.; Abū’l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 76, l. 4 from bot. (a chronological notice); *Bihār* XI, 69, no. 29, and 179, no. 26.
 - 12 Thus Najāshī 228, last l. The competing report that his client relationship was connected with the Umayyads, by contrast, has little in its favour.
 - 13 In *isnāds* he occasionally bears the epithet *bayyā‘ al-sābirī* (Ardabili 11, 51 b, ll. 5 f.; 52 a, l. 16, etc.). On *sābirī* cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab* IV, 341 b f., s. v.; the materials were especially fine and translucent (Khallāl, *Musnad* 362, last l.). But there is another Imāmite known by this sobriquet who was one generation older than him: ‘Umar b. Yazīd Bayyā‘ al-sābirī (on him see above p. 410, fn. 4). The *nisba* was quite widely disseminated (cf. Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* VII, 3 f.).
 - 14 According to Kashshī 592, ll. 9 f., he possessed half a million dirhams.
 - 15 Cf. J. M. Husain in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 5/1982, No. 4/26.

have paid 120,000 dirhams to be set free again; according to another report, all his property was confiscated.¹⁶

This also had repercussions insofar as his *Ḥadīth* recordings were for the most part lost; thus one explained that he later worked with incomplete *isnāds*. The 40 fascicles (*jild*) which he still had left over, he summarized under the title *Nawādir*.¹⁷ He had also studied with non-Shī'ite authorities, for the most part jurists; but he is meant to have refrained from transmitting from them so as not to confuse himself and his disciples.¹⁸ He acquired a better relationship with Ma'mūn, evidently because of the latter's pro-Shī'ite policy; one even related that the caliph made him *qādī* somewhere.¹⁹ At that time he also developed a brisk teaching activity, out of which 94 writings are said to have emerged.²⁰ A good number of their titles have been handed down to us in Najāshī. They by no means only deal with legal problems. On the contrary, he also wrote a *K. al-Tawḥīd*,²¹ which is especially important in our context, as well as a *K. al-Istiṭā'a wa'l-af'āl*,²² a *K. al-Badā'*,²³ a *Radd 'alā ahl al-qadar wa'l-jabr*,²⁴ a *K. al-Kufr wa'l-īmān*,²⁵ a *K. al-Ma'ārif*²⁶ and a *K. al-Iḥtijāj fi'l-imāma*.²⁷ Also worth paying attention to are a *K. al-Maghāzī*, a *K. al-Malāḥim* and a *K. Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth*.²⁸ None of these has survived. But in the *Tafsīr* of Qummī there are numerous quotations from him which are transmitted via Qummī's father.

16 Kashshī 591, ll. 4 ff., and 592, ll. 6 ff., also 590, ll. 3 ff.; Najāshī 229, ll. 6 f. The reports exhibit a degree of uncertainty as to the cause and the circumstances. When it is said that he remained locked up for four years (Najāshī 229, l. 11), this would be precisely the amount of time between Mūsā's arrest and death; this is not implausible but perhaps also the result of a calculation. "17 years" in Mufīd (*Ikhtisāṣ* 82, ll. 2 ff. from bot. > *Bihār* XLIX 278, no. 29) is however certainly an exaggeration.

17 Kashshī 590, ll. 5 ff.; on this Kohlberg in: JSAI 10/1987/153, ftn. 139.

18 Ibid. 590, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

19 Ibid. 590, l. 5; Najāshī 229, l. 10. But he is otherwise not found elsewhere as *qādī*.

20 Najāshī 229, 16 f.

21 Ibid. 230, l. 6.

22 Ibid. 230, l. 4, and Tūsi, *Fihrist* 266, l. 7.

23 Ibid. 229, last l. f.; Tūsi 266, l. 8.

24 Tūsi 266, ll. 7 f.; Ibn Abī 'Umayr here probably defended the usual Shī'ite standpoint *lā jabr wa-lā tafwīd*.

25 Najāshī 229, l. 4 from bot.

26 Ibid. 230, l. 6.

27 Ibid. 230, l. 1.

28 Ibid. 229, l. 17; 230, l. 4; 230, ll. 5 f.

Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī directly refers to him in his *K. al-Zuhd*.²⁹ He died in the year 217/832.³⁰ – Probably still somewhat younger was

Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl b. Shu'ayb b. Mītham al-Mīthamī (Ibn) al-Tammār.

We know scarcely anything more about him than that he wrote a *K. al-Nawādir*.³¹ His connection with Jawālīqī emerges from a tradition in Kulīnī.³² The sources describe him as a Wāqifite,³³ but it is not entirely clear what they mean by this. Since he transmits from 'Alī al-Riḍā,³⁴ he will not then have had doubts about the latter's imamate. He probably belonged among those who after the death of al-Riḍā did not acknowledge a further Imam because the latter's only son Muḥammad was still a minor.³⁵ His uncle 'Alī Ibn Mītham enjoyed great prestige; but he lived in Baṣra.³⁶ The family was actually long established in Kūfa. Their progenitor, Aḥmad's great-great-grandfather Mītham b. Yaḥyā, a date merchant, was executed by order of the governor 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād along with Rushayd al-Hajarī and others in the year 60/680 shortly before the arrival of Ḥusayn in Iraq.³⁷ He was the slave of a woman of the Asad; but allegedly 'Alī had purchased his freedom. The family nonetheless retained their client relationship with the Asad in later generations as well. Shī'ite legend maintained that 'Alī had predicted his destiny to him, and although it was said that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq expressed his displeasure because he had not exercised *taqīyya*,³⁸ he was still a famous man. For this reason his descendants called themselves Mīthamī or, after his profession, Ibn al-Tammār.

29 Ed. 'Irḩānīyān, Qum 1979. On the work cf. GAS 1/539; Ibn Abī 'Umayr there relies not only on Hishām al-Jawālīqī but also on Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

30 Najāshī 230, ll. 13 f. On him cf. also Ziriklī VI, 365; Kaḥḥāla X, 12; Prozorov, *Istoričeskaya lit.* 84 ff., no. 17. It is quite surprising that Ibn al-Nadīm does not mention him.

31 Najāshī 54, ll. 1 ff., and Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 25, l. 2.

32 *Kāfi* I, 100, last l. ff.

33 Kashshī 468, no. 890; Ibn Bābōya, *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* I, 17, l. 13.

34 Najāshī 53, last l. f.

35 Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-Sh'ā* 74, ll. 3 ff.

36 On him see below Chpt. B 2.2.9.

37 On this and what follows Kashshī 85 ff., no. 140; Mufīd, *Ikhtišāṣ* 2, ll. 13 f., and 5, l. 2 from bot.; Suyūrī, *Irshād al-ṭālibīn* 372, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; 'Abbās al-Qummī, *Kunā* III, 188, ll. 9 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* III, 504 f., no. 7472; Kohlberg in: JSAI 7/1986/156 with additional sources; Bellamy in: JAOS 104/1984/7. Interesting, but rather enigmatic, is the story in Ibn Mubārak, *Zuhd*, Supplement 8, no. 29.

38 *Kāfi* II, 220, ll. 4 ff.

It is therefore all the more surprising that Mītham's son Shu'ayb and his grandson Ismā'īl, from whom the theologian descended, do not appear at all in the Shī'ite *rijāl*-literature. Three other sons are mentioned there (Kashshī, Index 298). But a Ya'qūb b. Shu'ayb b. Mītham is relatively well attested; one possessed "a book" by him (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 365, no. 796; Ardabilī II, 347 ff.).

2.1.3.3-7.3.2 *The School of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam*

Already among Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's contemporaries there was a person who compiled the latter's debates (*kalām*) into a book which generally circulated under Hishām's name; it bore the title *K. al-Tadbīr* and contained explanations about the image of God and the question of the imamate.¹ He was called

Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Manṣūr

and is mentioned in Kashshī,² Ash'arī,³ Khayyāt,⁴ Mas'ūdī,⁵ Ibn Ḥazm⁶ and Shahrastānī.⁷ We know scarcely any more about him except that he lived in Baghdād. But this in itself is significant; Shī'ite theology gradually spread beyond Kūfa. Hishām himself, by responding to the invitation of the Barmakids, had made the start. His son, who was likewise a theologian, lived in Baṣra.⁸ But the man who most resolutely perpetuated his legacy came from Iran:

Abū Muḥammad⁹ Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qummī.

Kashshī traces many of his reports about Hishām back to him; in one passage he is directly called his assistant (*ghulam*).¹⁰ Evidently, he generally imbued

1 Najāshī 176, ll. 4 f.; on this Werkliste IV c, no. 18.

2 256, l. 1, and 278, l. 1.

3 *Maq.* 63, l. 11.

4 *Intiṣār* 14, l. 12.

5 *Murūj* VI, 372, ll. 2 ff./238 ff., no. 2572 > Daylamī, 'Atf 31 § 114, but in the completely fictitious context of the symposium on love in the presence of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī (on this below Chpt. C 1.3).

6 *Fiṣal* IV, 93, l. 11.

7 *Mīlāl* 145, l. 6 from bot.

8 See below Chpt. B 2.2.9.

9 The *kunya* Abū'l-Ḥārith in Kashshī 278, ll. 4 f. from bot., is not certain.

10 *Rijāl* 539, no. 1025. On him in general Ardabilī II, 356 ff.; Zirikli IX, 345; Kaḥḥāla XIII, 348; Prozorov, Index s. n.; Madelung in: *Islamic Philos. Theology* 130, fn. 10. Is one to understand

Hishām's idea of God with spirituality;¹¹ when he rejects as extremism (*ghulūw*) the doctrine that God can show Himself to man in any shape whatsoever,¹² one has the impression that in this way he also wanted to strike a blow against the school of al-Jawālīqī. In his circle one seems to have demanded that the school's financial support be cut off.¹³ But the only doctrine which the heresiographers preserve as typical for him reveals that he too in no way had in mind a *tanzīh* of Mu'tazilite character: he adhered to the idea that the angels who, according to surah 69/17 carry the Throne, also carry God Himself in His corporeality, and he defended this against the objection that God is probably too heavy for them by referring to the crane whose body is likewise only carried on two thin legs.¹⁴

In any case, he was himself anything but uncontroversial. Kashshī divided his biography into a positive and a negative part;¹⁵ just as much as there were those who praised his piety¹⁶ and held him up as the most intimate confidant of 'Alī al-Riḍā,¹⁷ others reviled him as a *zindīq*¹⁸ and told tales of excommunications that the same Imam was meant to have hurled against him.¹⁹ What lay behind this is not easy to make out. Certainly geographical special developments play a role. Yūnus became "a Church Father" of the Shī'a in Nēshāpūr; chiefly responsible for this was Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/874) whose father had studied with Yūnus.²⁰ Resistance for the most part evidently came from Baṣra;²¹ apparently one also tried to contest his right to the *zakāt*.²² Since the Shī'a did

from Kashshī 226, last l., that Yūnus was the uncle of Salm al-Ḥarrānī, the director of the *bayt al-hikma*?

11 Ibid. 284, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

12 In Qummī, *Maqālāt* 62, no. 122: probably a fragment from his *Radd 'alā'l-ghulāt* (see below).

13 Kashshī 285, ll. 2 ff.

14 Ash'arī, *Maq.* 35, ll. 9 ff.; Baghdādī, *Farq* 53, ll. 2 ff./70, ll. 11 ff., and 216, ll. 10 ff./228, ll. 1 ff.; Shahrastānī 143, ll. 14 ff. /407, ll. 4 ff., with a justification from the *Ḥadīth*. According to Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, ShNB III, 230, ll. 5 ff., he is supposed to have accepted that God is bigger than His Throne.

15 P. 483 ff. The transition occurs in no. 937 (p. 491).

16 Ibid. 485, no. 917 f.

17 The latter had allegedly promised him Paradise several times (484, no. 911 f.).

18 Ibid. 495 f., nos. 950 and 954; also 488, no. 928.

19 Ibid. 492, no. 941 f.

20 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 254, ll. 3 f.; Kashshī 539, no. 1025. On Faḍl b. Shādhān cf. GAS 1/537 f.; on the spread of the Imāmiyya at that time in Iran cf. Husain in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 5/1982, No. 4/41 ff., and now Madelung, *Religious Trends* 77ff.

21 Kashshī 487, no. 924, and 488, no. 928.

22 Ibid. 489, no. 933.

not persist in Baṣra, the Shī'ite tradition later located the opposition in Qum,²³ presumably the city from which he originated himself.²⁴ But he also had friends there;²⁵ even Sa' d b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī who criticized him, worked into his *K. al-Maqālāt wa'l-fraq* two sections from Yūnus' *Radd 'alā'l-ghulāt*.²⁶

He was a man of transition. After the death of Mūsā al-Kāzīm, the Iraqi Shī'a no longer had anyone they could look to. Now in Kūfa lived chiefly Zaydīs, Fuṭhites and Wāqifites;²⁷ Yūnus, who had not grown up there, did not find adequate support. In Baṣra, 'Alī b. Mītham was his opponent; the latter, under the influence of the Mu'tazila, was in many respects distant from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.²⁸ The political destiny of the Shī'a was decided in Baghdād. Yūnus seems to have lived there for a long time; he was a *mawla* of 'Alī b. Yaḡṡīn (124/742–182/798),²⁹ a high-ranking Abbasid civil servant whose father had even participated in the revolution, and who had consequently retained a pro-Shī'ite attitude. The latter fell into disfavour under Hārūn and died in prison after being held in custody for four years.³⁰ It is not likely we will go astray in assuming that his fate anticipated that of Mūsā al-Kāzīm; in fact only one year later the Imam quit this world, likewise after a four-year period of arrest. At the same time Yūnus lost his teacher; he had perhaps primarily served Hishām b. al-Ḥakam in Baghdād.³¹ However, what was subsequently to come filled

23 Thus Kashshī 497, ll. 1 f., and following him the later biographers; also Halm in: *Der Islam* 55/1978/225.

24 Kashshī 483, l. 3 from bot.

25 See below p. 459.

26 There pp. 62 f., no. 122 f., perhaps even more; on this Madelung in: *Der Islam* 43/1967/48 and 52. The title of the book is found in Najāshī 312, l. 7 from bot.; but he is nowhere mentioned in Qummī. A tradition about "the extremist" Mufaḍḍal al-Ju'fi cf. Halm, op. cit.

27 Thus Madelung in ER XIII, 244.

28 See below Chpt. B 2.2.9.

29 Najāshī 311, ll. 15 f. (allegedly a foundling; cf. Kashshī 486, no. 920).

30 Ibid. 194, ll. 3 ff. from bot. He was guardian of the seal under al-Mahdī and Hārūn (Khalifa, *Ta'rikh* 700, ll. 11 f., and 709, l. 6; also Sourdel, *Vizirat* 112, ftn. 3, and 120 as well as Index s. n.). That he was already executed as a *zindiq* in the year 169 as Sourdel and after him Pellat (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* VII, 520) maintain, is based on an incorrect interpretation of a passage in Ṭabarī III, 549, ll. 1 f. (thus already Madelung in: BSOAS 43/1980/18 f., ftn. 2). A work from the *Corpus Jābirianum* is addressed to him (cf. *Fihrist* 421, l. 7 from bot.; Kraus, *Jābir* I, p. xxxix, ftn. 1). His father Yaḡṡīn b. Mūsā outlived him by three years; he died 185/801 (on him cf. Madelung, op. cit., and Gimaret, *Livre des Religions* 541, ftn. 220). The name Yaḡṡīn is inspired by surah 37/146; it is probably meant to symbolize divine help and perhaps has its origin in allegorical Koran exegesis. On the son's "Rāfiḡite" attitude cf. Tawhīdī, *Baṣā'ir* IV, 243, last l. ff.; *Bihār* XLVIII, 136 ff., no. 10 ff.; 38 f., no. 14; 41 f., no. 17; 51, no. 45, etc.

31 Hishām had also known 'Alī b. Yaḡṡīn quite well (*Kāfi* I, 311, l. 9 from bot.).

him with still greater concern. At best the Baghdād Shī‘a was only willing to recognize ‘Alī al-Riḍā as Mūsā’s deputy (*khalīfa*) but not as the Imam. Yūnus believed he understood the real situation. Mūsā’s financial trustees (*quwwām*) had so much money in their safekeeping during his arrest that they had no interest in confirming his death; on the contrary, through bribery they had attempted to stop even him, Yūnus, from supporting al-Riḍā.³² In the heat of battle he is supposed to have once reviled these Wāqifites as “rain-soaked dogs” (*kilāb mamṭūra*) – namely because the latter are not just unclean but they stink as well. To the Imāmites this was so aptly put that they never again abandoned the designation; and the heresiographers adopted it as well. But matters only stood like this in the Sunnī sources; in Nawbakhtī and Qummī, ‘Alī b. Mītham is given the credit for the felicitous find.

Cf. Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 29, ll. 1 ff. > *Farq* 46, ll. 4 ff. from bot./64, ll. 1 ff., and Nashwān, *Hūr* 165, ll. 1 f. against Nawbakhtī 68, l. 14 ff. > Qummī 92, ll. 4 ff. from bot. ‘Alī b. Yaḳṭīn is typically supposed to have been the one who had heard from Mūsā al-Kāẓim a kind of *naṣṣ* for ‘Alī al-Riḍā (*Kāfi* 1, 311, no. 1). Whether from this double transmission one may conclude that Yūnus and ‘Alī b. Mītham worked together regarding this point must remain doubtful. Rather, we are probably dealing with competing local traditions. Nor could one by any means agree which of the two had been the best jurist (cf. Kashshī 484, no. 914, with 590, l. 1, and 591, l. 4 from bot.).

As much as Yūnus stood up for ‘Alī al-Riḍā and apparently did this already early on³³ – when the Imam in the year 201/816 complied with Ma’mūn’s demand to come to Marv, he nonetheless clearly disapproved.³⁴ He was still alive at the time of the latter’s death in the year 203/818 and took up a stance concerning whether the son, despite being a minor, could already make decisions. In this regard he declared himself in favour of the youngster continuing his education until he reached his majority. Inspiration (*ilhām*) alone is not sufficient; nor did the Prophet only rely on his revelations but on their basis thought further for himself.³⁵ Not long thereafter he probably died; the death date of 208/823–24,

32 Kashshī 493, no. 946 > Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 367, ll. 1 f.; Najāshī 311, ll. 4 f. from bot. More on this below Chpt. C 1.4.1. and above p. 353 f.

33 He is supposed to have been the first to join him (Kashshī 489, ll. 3 f. from bot.). But it is not here said that he did so immediately after Mūsā’s death.

34 Kashshī 492, no. 943 f., and 496, no. 953.

35 Qummī, *Maqālāt* 98, ll. 7 ff. and previously; on this above p. 323 f.

which is now and again mentioned in the secondary literature,³⁶ is only attested rather late³⁷ but is highly plausible. He attained a ripe old age; Faḍl b. Shādhān maintains that he was born back in the time of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, i.e. before 125/743.³⁸

The same sober mind which caused him to demand a juridical training for the Imam also led him to mistrust all statements which were legitimized only by the latter’s authority but not on their own merit; in fact ‘Alī al-Riḍā declared that many of them were forgeries.³⁹ He no longer considered human knowledge as God-given but rather as “acquired”.⁴⁰ To what extent this attitude is also due to Mu‘tazilite influence we do not know. On the question of freedom of action, he again adopted the position of Zurāra.⁴¹ He held that Paradise was not yet created;⁴² at that time Ḍirār b. ‘Amr⁴³ also believed this. On the other hand, he is supposed to have played with the idea that Adam bore within himself something of the substantial nature (*jawhariyya*) of God – probably because he was created after His image.⁴⁴ Again this fits more with Jawālīqī. Among the numerous books he wrote – Najāshī lists a total of 34 titles⁴⁵ – there is also one about *badā’*.⁴⁶ In questions of ritual he likewise went his own way: he is supposed to have declared it is *sunna* to perform two *rak‘as* while seated after the evening prayer (*‘atama*).⁴⁷

Still important for theology are his *K. al-Imāma*, his *K. Faḍl al-Qur‘ān* and his *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, as well as perhaps his *K. al-Adab wa’l-dalāla ‘alā’l-khayr*. The other works were rather of juridical content. In this area he

36 First of all in Ritter, Index to Nawbakhtī 114.

37 Thus in Astarābādī, *Manhaj al-maqāl* 377, l. 16; also *A’yān al-Shi‘a* LII, 101 ff., no. 11401.

38 Kashshī 224, no. 920 > Najāshī 311, ll. 7 f. from bot.; he is supposed to have been old enough to have known Ja‘far al-Šādiq (Kashshī 489, ll. 9 f.).

39 Kashshī 224, no. 401. This was probably the subject of his *K. Ikhtilāf al-ḥadīth* (Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 367, l. 7).

40 *Bihār* LXXV 337, no. 20.

41 Kashshī 145, l. 4; *Bihār* v, 44, ll. 2 ff. from bot. On both points the tradition has ‘Alī al-Riḍā adopt a position against him; but in this only internal school differences are reflected (*Bihār* LXXV, 337, no. 21; v, 116 f., no. 49, and 122, no. 69, with a well-known topos; on this *Anfänge* 211).

42 Kashshī 491, nos. 937 and 940.

43 See below Chpt. C 1.3.1.5.1; more on this Chpt. D 3.

44 Kashshī 492, no. 942, and 495, no. 950. Cf. also Ibn al-Dā‘ī, *Tabṣira* 173, ll. 1 f.

45 P. 312, ll. 10 ff.; cf. also Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 367, ll. 5 f.

46 Ibn al-Nadīm 276, l. 15; Najāshī, 312, l. 15.

47 Kashshī 490, ll. 8 f.

learned much from Ḥarīz b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azdī, an Iraqi merchant who had become a judge in Sijistān (Kashshī 336, l. 4 from bot.; on this Najāshī 105, ll. 4 ff.; on him see below Chpt. B 3.1.3.2).

Kashshī, who himself belonged to the Iranian Shī‘a, has carefully noted the sympathies and the antipathies around Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. Thus, it did not escape him that one of the sons of the latter’s protector, Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Yaḡṡīn, who was likewise a *mutakallim*, did not think highly of Yūnus.⁴⁸ And also a son of the Kūfan *qāḍī* Nūḥ b. Darrāj and thus also the nephew of Jamīl b. Darrāj was not well disposed towards him.⁴⁹ Around the middle of the 3rd century this also began to find expression in the literature. Ya‘qūb b. Yazīd b. Ḥammād al-Anbārī, who was active in the administration under Muntaṣir (ruled 247/861–248/862), wrote a *K. al-Ta‘n ‘alā Yūnus*.⁵⁰ Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh (d. 299/912 or 301/914), the author of the *Maqālāt*, composed a *K. Mathālib Hishām wa-Yūnus* which probably revealed his own critical attitude.⁵¹ Nonetheless, he did not yet meet with universal approval; his contemporary and fellow countryman ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. after 307/919), known to us primarily through his *Tafsīr*,⁵² reacted with a *Risāla fī ma‘nā Hishām wa-Yūnus*.⁵³ Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh once again responded to it.⁵⁴ But ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm shows in his Koran commentary that he still had appreciation for Hishām’s – and Yūnus’ – image of God and probably even shared their view.⁵⁵ In Kashshī we hear of “an assistant” (*ghulām*) of Yūnus by the name of Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Karkhī;⁵⁶ Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Ubayd b. Yaḡṡīn, a distant relative of Yūnus’ patron, preserved a part of his writings and thereby later exposed himself to

48 Kashshī 586, l. 4 from bot.; on this Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, no. 193, and Najāshī 34, ll. 2 ff.

49 Kashshī 572, no. 1083; on him also Najāshī 74, ll. 6 ff. from bot. Typically one traced back to him a tradition according to which ‘Alī al-Riḍā expressly rejected the doctrine of *ḥudūth al-‘ilm* (*Kāfī* I, 107, ll. 6 ff. from bot.).

50 Najāshī 313, ll. 12 f.; also Ardabīlī II, 349 f.

51 Ibid. 126, last l. f.

52 Cf. GAS 1/45 f. and Kaḥḥāla VII, 9, with incorrect dating; on this Madelung in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 130 and Pampus, *Die theologische Enzyklopädie Biḥār al-anwār* 182.

53 Najāshī 184, ll. 1 f. On the connection between the two works cf. Madelung in: *Der Islam* 43/1967/43, fn. 38.

54 Najāshī 126, ll. 6 f. from bot.

55 Cf. Madelung in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 130.

56 Kashshī 566, no. 1071.

Muʿtazilite-inspired criticism.⁵⁷ But closely linked with him, according to the view of Faḍl b. Shādhān, was above all

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Sakkāk.⁵⁸

He as well had also studied with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam⁵⁹ but was quite a bit younger. He lived in Baghdād; there he was either active in the mint or manufactured ploughshares, and perhaps also iron hooks.⁶⁰ His name frequently appears in a corrupted form;⁶¹ even in the older secondary literature a certain confusion is prevalent.⁶² In the capital during his time he was the representative Shīʿite theologian; Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850) had discussions with him,⁶³ as did also Iskāfi (d. 240/854).⁶⁴ He probably died around the same time as they did.⁶⁵

What united him with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam was above all his theory of the imamate;⁶⁶ he wrote against those who refused to believe in the necessity of the *naṣṣ*.⁶⁷ This probably made him especially hated by his opponents. But they primarily attacked him in the area of the doctrine of attributes; here the Muʿtazilites felt they were at their strongest. Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb maintained that

57 Najāshī 235, ll. 13 ff.; also Tūsi, *Fihrist* 311, no. 675, where it says that many suspected him of adhering to the doctrine of the *ghulāt*. On him cf. F. Rosenthal, “*Sweeter than Hope*” 64, fn. 297.

58 Kashshī 539, no. 1025.

59 Najāshī 231, ll. 12 f.

60 Unfortunately, the word *sikka* is not unequivocal; it can mean “ploughshare” as well as “die stamp”. Only rarely, and then in later periods, are terms for professions noted in dictionaries (cf. *Tāj al-ʿarūs* vii, 142, l. 6 from bot.). On *sakkāk* as “someone who works in the mint” cf. Toll in: *Or. Suec.* 19–20/1970–71/135; the punch cutters were at the time perhaps centrally gathered together in Baghdād (cf. L. Ilich in: *Proc. IX Internat. Congress of Numismatics* 781 f.).

61 Sakkāl in Masʿūdī, *Murūj* vi, 374, l. 3; Shakkāl in Shahrastānī 145, l. 6 from bot./418, l. 5; Şakkāk in Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīṣal* iv, 182, l. 12.

62 Cf. for instance Friedländer, *Heterodoxies* 52 and commentary 66 where one finds al-Shakkāk, “the Sceptic”.

63 *Intiṣār* 82, ll. 8 ff.

64 *Ibid.* 103, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

65 On him cf. also Ardabīlī ii, 111 f.; Qummī, *Kunā* i, 34. He is mentioned as a Shīʿite theologian in Ashʿarī, *Maq.* 63, l. 12. He has nothing to do with Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Makhramī who is mentioned in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and only died in Shaʿbān 269/February–March 883 (TB v 250 f., no. 2738).

66 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 225, ll. 2 f.

67 Cf. Werkliste iv e, no. 5.

he pinned him down in particular because in connection with the object-boundness of divine action he assumed no difference between knowledge and power or being alive, and he then sneered that if God were not alive from the primordial beginning, He would at some moment have to awaken Himself to life.⁶⁸ This is not necessarily logical; being alive is not an object-bound action like knowledge. But Sakkāk took the objection to heart: he now insisted that knowledge like being alive was an essential quality and God was intrinsically (*fi nafsihi*) knowing.⁶⁹

He stood firm on God's "movement". He understood it even more strongly in the literal sense than did Hishām: he believed that God could change His place, in other words could leave His Throne.⁷⁰ Probably he took into account the *ḥadīth al-nuzūl*, according to which God descends to the lower heavens in order to hear people's prayers and then returns again to His Throne.⁷¹ But now he had to tackle the question of whether God, if He in fact moves like human beings, also performs "the leap" in order to overcome the infinite divisibility of distances. To this, however, he did not want to agree.⁷² His viewpoint is only transmitted in anecdotal form: "to leap" is only possible for something that has an opposite from which it distances itself, or an equal to which it aspires;⁷³ neither of these is true of God. This is perhaps not authentic; in fact it does not actually make reference to the doctrine of movement. But it is worth remembering that Nazzām, whom Sakkāk outlived, also made use of *tafra* in connection with the reversal from warmth to cold; this would already make the idea more understandable.⁷⁴

68 *Intiṣār*, op. cit.; cf. Text XXVIII 9.

69 Text IV 65; "Sakkākiyya" is probably applied to him as well as his disciples. Should we assume that the enigmatic *S-k-niyya* which, according to *Intiṣār* 92, ll. 9 f. from bot., was a group that advocated Hishām's doctrine of the finiteness of divine knowledge, is simply an error in writing for *Sakkākiyya*? We learn that they belonged to the *ahl al-'adl*, but not to the Mu'tazila; this could fit with Sakkāk's *istiṭā'a*-theory about which he wrote a treatise (cf. Werkliste, no. 2).

70 Text IV 66, a.

71 Documented for the Shī'a in 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr* II, 204; also *Bihār* III, 314, no. 7. On this Madelung in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 130, fn. 13. For Sunnī theology see below Chpts. B 3.1.4.2 and D 1.2.1.5.

72 Text IV 66, b.

73 Text IV 67.

74 See below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.1. One also finds an agreement in vocabulary (cf. the commentary on *shakl* in IV 67, b). – On another follower of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam by the name of Ṣaqr b. Dulaf who lived around the same time, cf. Ibn Bābōya, *Tawḥīd* 62, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; he is not mentioned anywhere else.

2.1.3.3.7.3.3 *The Prospect*

We cannot here follow the further development. The subject of *istiṭā'a* with which everything had begun continued to draw attention to itself. Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī dealt with it in a later work;¹ his younger contemporary Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Asadī (d. 312/924), evidently a determinist, wrote a *Radd 'alā ahl al-istiṭā'a*.² Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, the author of the *Firaq al-Shī'a*, came forward with a *K. al-Istiṭā'a 'alā madhhab Hishām*.³ The conflict is also reflected in the dicta with which one had the Imams comment on the problem.⁴ In this way even the memory of Zurāra was tarnished; Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. 'Ubayd b. Yaḡṡīn collected material against him.⁵

But whereas here the decision ultimately hung in the balance due to the Shī'a's dependence on the Mu'tazila which gradually came about during the second half of the 4th century, the struggle over the image of God – for the same reason – ended with the defeat of “the anthropomorphists”. On this point also the judgement of the tradition is more nearly unanimous. Ja'far al-Šādiq is supposed to have rejected any “likening”;⁶ even Hishām al-Jawālīqī had it reported of him that he stood up for *tanzīh*.⁷ Knowing, hearing, seeing and power belong to the essence (*dhāt*) of God, without any object first having to be on hand, so one had him declare.⁸ In the face of Zurāra himself he – or already even Muḥammad al-Bāqir – allegedly rejected the idea of God changing His mind (*badā'*);⁹ and if one did hang on to the notion, then God at least must have known in advance about this change of mind.¹⁰ 'Alī al-Riḏā was made aware that “the *mawālī*” were not in agreement about the question of whether God from the beginning is omniscient or only knows what He does,

1 Najāshī 126, l. 2 from bot.

2 Ṭūsī, *Fihrist* 282, no. 614; on this Madelung in: *Isl. Philos. Theology* 133.

3 Najāshī 47, ll. 13 f.

4 Cf. *Biḥār* v, 44 ff. and 161, no. 21 f.; 195, no. 1.

5 But other reasons could play a role here as well. Cf. Kashshī 159 f., no. 266 f. and 269; on this Ardabīlī I, 325 a, ll. 6 ff. from bot. with viewpoints on the problem. Here one should not pass over the fact that Muḥammad b. 'Īsā also transmits neutral or positive reports (for instance Kashshī 155 f., nos. 255 and 257). On him see above p. 459.

6 *Kāfi* I, 100, no. 1; also 105, no. 4, where no distinction at all is made any longer between the position of Jawālīqī and that of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

7 Ibid. I, 118, no. 11, during the interpretation of the formula *subḥān Allāh*.

8 Ibid. I, 107, ll. 3 ff., interestingly following Abū Baṣīr who had actually advocated Zurāra's standpoint (see above p. 389).

9 Ibid. I, 146 f.; cf. also 148, l. 5 from bot.

10 Ibid. I, 148, ll. 2 f.

and he decidedly supported the first group.¹¹ Only with regard to divine will did one retain the old position;¹² and for the Mu‘tazila this was also only a capacity to act. The formula *in shā’a’llāh* presupposes that God has not yet committed Himself, so one believed to have heard Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq say.¹³ How tenaciously Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s theology hung on is shown by the fact that al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, himself having already completely gone over to the Mu‘tazila, still had to grapple with the question why something that is alive (like God) cannot also be a body.¹⁴

2.1.3.3.8 *General Conclusions*

The Rāfiḍite Shī‘a in Kūfa never spread beyond the urban middle classes. The Arab aristocracy had been inclined towards the Murji‘a; they were probably disturbed first of all by the fact that the Shī‘a were directed from abroad by the ‘Alids in the Ḥijāz. No judge came from their ranks; Nūḥ b. Darrāj whom they counted as one of their own, never declared his adherence to them publicly and perhaps was only being considerate to his brother.¹ They became powerful through money; the merchants who belonged to them were rich, and the *zakāt* that was collected for the Imam had to be managed by bankers. This helped them especially in Baghdād; there the upper class first and foremost consisted of government officials who professionally often had a lot to do with financial matters. Those whose families from the outset had cooperated with the Abbasids, because of their past were not infrequently predisposed to the Shī‘a. The vizier-family of the Banū’l-Furāt illustrates how this went on to develop in the 3rd century.² Conditions such as these were not prevalent in Kūfa. For the Arab upper class money was probably not a relevant category; in any case, one had wealth through landownership. Moreover, the merchants first of all had to earn their wealth; consequently, the further back one goes towards the beginning of the 2nd century, the stronger is the impression of a certain petty bourgeoisie. The rich upper classes of the next generation emphasized this characteristic of the early *ghulāt*; in the heresiographical reports, which actually arose within this class, it is noted with care which craft or trade the leaders

11 Ibid. I, 107, last l. ff.; *ibid.* 108, ll. 5 ff. projected back to the time of Bāqir.

12 Cf. for instance *ibid.* I, 109, ll. 9 ff.

13 Ibid. I, 109, ll. 13 ff., according to Bukayr b. A‘yan.

14 Cf. the Princeton manuscript, ELS 2751, folio 108 b.

1 See above p. 393 f.

2 E1² III, 767 f.; on this below Chpt. C 2.4.2.

of sects had practiced.³ But what is reflected here is probably only the self-satisfaction of the successful; “the style of the little people”, to cite Strothmann,⁴ was generally widespread at that time.⁵

As long as the Shīʿa remained confined to Kūfa, they were politically powerless; they could not hope to receive support from outside. Rāfiḍite-inspired revolts were the work of enthusiastic visionaries; they led to unrest in certain city neighbourhoods but were not a problem for the authorities. When Abūʿl-Khaṭṭāb raised his head, the result was no more than the occupation of a mosque; his followers had to make their lances from lengths of cane.⁶ This situation was clear to the ʿAlids in Medina if they only possessed a modicum of realism. Ḥusayn and Zayd b. ʿAlī had nurtured false hopes; but already Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had restrained himself, and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq concentrated entirely on his erudition. There are some signs that the latter’s son Ismāʿīl did make common cause with Abūʿl-Khaṭṭāb;⁷ but Jaʿfar in fact ultimately distanced himself from this.⁸ He did not designate anyone among his brothers as his successor.⁹ Perhaps in his old age when once more a son was born to him, he consciously deferred his hopes into the future by giving the latter the Mahdī-name Muḥammad.¹⁰

3 Halm, *Gnosis* 25 f.; also already Friedländer in: JAOS 29/1908/64.

4 “Kleinleutestil” in German; cf. in: *Morgenländische Geheimsekten in abendländischer Forschung* 28.

5 Sharon notes the petty-bourgeois background of the pro-Abbasid cells in Kūfa before the revolution (*Black Banners* 144 and previously 136 f.). On the other hand, one should probably take note that for instance Mughīra b. Saʿīd was not only executed under Khālid al-Qasrī but was also the latter’s *mawlā* (Nawbakhtī, *Firaq* 55, ll. 1 f.); so he did not belong to the lowest classes either.

6 Cf. the text in Nawbakhtī 59, ll. 5 ff., translated in Halm, *Gnosis* 200 f. The event took place apparently in the year 138/755 (cf. the text in Halm 202 and in general Sachedina in: Eiran I, 329 f.).

7 See above p. 317, fn. 11. For Nawbakhtī and Qummī the Khaṭṭābiyya is identical with “the real Ismāʿīliyya” (*al-Ismāʿīliyya al-khālīṣa*; *Firaq* 58, last l. ff. > Qummī, *Maq.* 81, ll. 5 ff.; from there *khālīṣa* is probably to be added in Nawbakhtī’s text). But it is also said that Ismāʿīl already died in the year 133/751 in ʿUrayḍ near Medina (Ibn ʿInaba, *Umdat al-tālib* 233, ll. 2 ff.).

8 On this Lewis, *Origins of Ismāʿīlism* 38 f.; Jawād Mashkūr in: *Yādnāme-yi Nāṣir-i Khosraw* 553 ff. – But Jaʿfar is meant to have sent someone to Mufaḍḍal al-Juʿfi to console him for the death of Ismāʿīl (*Kāfi* II, 92, no. 16).

9 At least in Iraq one knew nothing about this (cf. *Bihār* XLVIII, 13, no. 37 and above p. 375).

10 See above p. 382.

But at the same time this was a demonstration against his local Ḥasanid cousins.¹¹ The latter in fact already had a Mahdī: Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh whom after his death one called al-Nafs al-zakiyya, “innocent blood”. He was systematically promoted over years, perhaps over decades;¹² already at the meeting of the Hāshimids at Abwā’ in the year 126 his father appears to have presented him as the Mahdī.¹³ One pointed out that he had been born in the significant year 100 – a conscious antithesis to Abbasid ideology.¹⁴ He was also the only one among the ‘Alids who, along with his brother’s help, attempted to widen the power base for his revolt in Iraq beyond Kūfa.¹⁵ But in Kūfa itself the majority followed Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq and would not join in.¹⁶

The epithet al-Nafs al-zakiyya reflects the disappointment which Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh’s followers experienced because of his death at the “Oil Stones”. The combination of the two words is found in the Koran (surah 18/74); there as well “an innocent person” is meant who died a violent death. But the name cannot have been directly adapted from there; because in the course of the narrative (the Moses-Khaḍir pericope) the person turns out to be not so innocent after all. It is probably a question of a popular turn of phrase. By it one perhaps also understood the suffering Messiah by contrast with the Mahdī as the triumphant Messiah (cf. the prophecy of ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd in Qaḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl* 226, ll. 15 ff.; on this see Chpt. B 2.2.6.2.2.1). For the Imāmites the murder of al-Nafs al-zakiyya precedes the appearance of the *qā’im*; but one awaited this event in Mecca and not in Medina (cf. Madelung in EI² IV, 457 a). Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh himself apparently emphasized his role as Messiah by riding on a donkey (Ṭabarī III, 193, l. 12 and last l.) or on a female donkey (as did Jesus when entering Jerusalem; *al-‘Uyūn wa’l-ḥadā’iq* III, 238, l. 2).

For this reason rendering al-Nafs al-zakiyya as “die reine Seele”, “the Pure Soul”, which generally occurs, should be rejected as inaccurate. But Mas‘ūdī already says that the name was only based on the piety of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh (*Murūj* VI, 189, ll. 7 f./IV, 145, l. 10). Evidently, he also presented himself as a jurist; a fragment of the *K. al-Sīyar* which is

11 This emerges clearly from Abū’l-Faraj, *Maqātil* 240, ll. 6 ff.

12 Cf. for example *ibid.* 239, ll. 12 f.; in general Chapter 237 ff. On this Cahen in: *Revue historique* 230/1963/318; Nagel in: *Der Islam* 46/1970/245 f. and Dürī in: *Festschrift ‘Abbās* 129.

13 See below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.2.2.

14 *Maqātil* 237, l. 5; on this above p. 8.

15 On this below Chpt. B 2.2.6.3.2.2.

16 On this above p. 316 f.

attributed to him has recently been published by R. al-Sayyid (in: *Maj. Kull. al-Ādāb Ṣanʿā* 11/1990/105 ff.). Later, other ‘Alid pretenders also occasionally bore the name (cf. Ibn ‘Inaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 179, ll. 8 f., and the Yemeni inscription in: JA 273/1985/98). On the question in general now see Muh. Qasim Zaman in: *Hamdard Islamicus* 13/1990, No. 1/59 ff.

2.1.3.3.8.1 Rāfiḍite Theology and Its Milieu. Stoic and Jewish Influences

The spreading interest in jurisprudence and theology is also probably a sign of embourgeoisement. Leadership of the community comes into firm hands; uncontrolled wild growth is trimmed back. To a great extent charismatic personalities lose ground. “Prophets” scarcely come forth any longer; the theologians are wary of still using this word in the old broad sense.¹ The miracles with which “the prophets” often gave themselves legitimacy are now denounced as magic and charlatanism.² The image of the Imam is transformed; since the time of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, he is more a teacher than a charismatic leader. Charisma had been used up by the Abbasids; they had at first attracted adherents from the Kūfan Shīʿa and now through their military power were able to hold the latter in check.

Along with the charismatics, women had apparently also forfeited their influence. Women appear in the environment of Mukhtār;³ later, gnostics like Mughīra b. Saʿīd or Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī surrounded themselves with them. By contrast, women had no place among the jurists and theologians; the female ascetics who had lived within the circle of Mughīra and Abū Manṣūr were primarily remembered as terrorists.⁴ The concept of extremism (*ghulūw*) was developed by this generation of theologians.

1 On this cf. Hodgson in: JAOS 75/1955/6. But Ḍirār b. ʿAmr still wrote against the followers of Mughīra b. Saʿīd and Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī who believed that the earth never could be without a prophet (Werkliste xv, no. 25).

2 Cf. the reports in Halm, *Gnosis* 59 (Bayān b. Samʿān), 91 (Mughīra b. Saʿīd), 217 (Yūnus b. Ḍabyān), 237 f. (Muḥammad b. Bashīr; on him also below Chpt. C 1.4.1). Quite typically Qummī, *Maq.* 34, ll. 15 ff. This does not exclude that the Gnostics, via the Aramaic milieu that they perhaps actually came from, had contact with magic; recently in a study on Mughīra b. Saʿīd Wasserstrom very strongly – and rather uncritically – emphasized this aspect (*History of Religions* 25/1985/6 ff.).

3 Cf. W. Qāḍī in: *Akten VII. Kongreß UEAI Göttingen* 296.

4 They were sometimes linked with the so-called *khannāqūn*, “the stranglers” (cf. Jāhīz, *Bayān* I, 365, l. 3 with Text XII 2, verses 31 f., and *Ḥayawān* VI, 389, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; also *Ḥayawān* II, 266, l. 7, and 268, ll. 3 f. On this van Vloten in: *Feestbundel Veth* 57 ff., where the passage from the *K. al-Ḥayawān* is translated; Pellat, *Milieu Basrien* 199 ff. and in: *Oriens* 16/1963/105 f.; Gimaret, *Livre* 519, fn. 83).

At the same time, in the eyes of later generations they themselves were still heterodox with regard to many points. In fact, it is no coincidence that not a single fragment of a Shī'ite theological work is preserved for us from this period, not even from the truly original Hishām b. al-Ḥakam – in contrast to so many juridical “*uṣūl*”, and in contrast to the theological writings of the Murji'a or the Ibāḍiyya. The gaps in the transmitted intellectual heritage were still not fully filled in. Thus, for example, the Imam was regarded as *ma'ṣūm*; but the Prophet was not.⁵ The Imam could foresee the future; but God is able to redirect it if he should change His mind.⁶ God determines the course of the world; but He has not preordained anything. In this sense He is Himself to a certain degree determinable, through the intercession of 'Alī, through prayer of supplication,⁷ but perhaps even through astrology or alchemy; in the tradition both sciences are in fact typically associated with the name of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.⁸

But the synthesis which the Kūfan theologians attempted was an intellectual edifice based on a system of their own. Here it appears that, with regard to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam at least, in several fundamental matters Stoic ideas come to the surface. The model with which he explains the dialectic between divine determination and human freedom has already provided us with an occasion to allude to this.⁹ But his broadly conceived notion of the body could also arise from the same root; the Stoics designated as “body” (σῶμα) everything which exerts an effect or can be subjected to such.¹⁰ When in so doing they assume that volume and dimensionality are not preconditions of corporeality, parallels for this are also to be found in Islamic sources.¹¹ The doctrine of the interpenetration of bodies, which comes to the fore later in Naẓẓām, reminds

5 See above p. 441 f.

6 See above p. 366.

7 Surah 13/39 with which one justified *badā'* (see above p. 365) is sometimes also connected with prayer of supplication in the Imāmiyya (*Bihār* v, 141, no. 11).

8 For alchemy see above p. 325; for astrology cf. e.g. the treatise about choosing days (*ikhtiyārāt*) that Ebied and Young have edited in: *Arabica* 23/1976/296 ff., which goes back to a Middle-Persian original. On the possible role of 'Alī b. Yaḳīn see above p. 456, fn. 30.

9 See above p. 434.

10 On this cf. the still authoritative monograph by E. Bréhier, *La théorie des incorporels dans l'ancien stoïcisme* (diss. Paris 1908); further K. von Fritz in: RE 10 A, column 101 ff. s. v. *Xenon von Kition*; A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy* 152 ff.; R. B. Todd in: J. M. Rist (ed.), *The Stoics*, pp. 137 ff.; Sambursky, *Das physikalische Weltbild der Antike* 201; Sorabji, *Matter, Space and Motion* 83, fn. 18.

11 Cf. Jāhīz, *al-Radd 'alā'l-Mushabbihā* in: *Rasā'il* IV, 7, ll. 6 ff., but without fixed attribution. The heresiographers sometimes say otherwise (see above pp. 418 and 421 f.). Among

one strongly of the Stoic *κράσις δι' ὅλων*.¹² The Stoic idea of the movement of *pneuma* in the body could be the basis for when divine action and especially divine perception are described as movement;¹³ the Stoics compared perception of this kind with a spider which due to the quivering of its web notices that an insect has become caught in it.¹⁴ But if these clues do actually point to a Stoic influence, it has certainly not reached Hishām through a direct channel. The works of the Stoa had long since been forgotten; nor were they ever translated into Arabic. Rather, it has been transmitted through Iranian dualism, through Hishām's teacher Abū Shākir al-Daysānī; here the kinship even extends to details. We will have to come back to this subject later on.¹⁵

But this dimension is simply superimposed. Indeed, Hishām's predecessors also already spoke about movement in God, and perhaps his difference from them was not at all as great as has been made to appear by later school disputes and the simplifications of the heresiographers. But one cannot fail to recognize that originally something entirely different occupied the center, namely the idea of God as a light-being whose action expresses itself in the emission of rays which bring movement into Him. Man beholds this light-being in the hereafter; but the Prophet already did this during his life on earth on the occasion of his ascension. In order to be visible, however, God's light-form must possess dimensions. It may be overwhelmingly large; but it is nonetheless "limited". The limitedness is moreover confirmed by the fact that God sits on His Throne. In this respect, the parallels are now no longer with the Stoa but go back to Babylonian Judaism: to the *merkabā*-literature and the *Shī'ūr Qōmā*.

These two phenomena, due to the influence of G. Scholem, have become a favourite area of Judaic Studies during the last few years, chiefly in the English-language domain. The amplitude of the secondary literature has not necessarily led to an outsider now being able to find his bearings more easily; for that the basic original texts are also too hazy. The *merkabā*-literature, frequently also described as "mysticism", goes back to the visions of God's Throne in Ezekiel (1.4 ff.) and in Daniel (7.9 f.). The Throne rests on wheels; it

the Christian Church Fathers the same idea is found in Tertullian (*Adv. Praxeam* 7 = PL II, 186 A).

12 On this O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* 267 ff.; F. Rex, *Chrysipps Mischungslehre und die an ihr geübte Kritik in Alexander von Aphrodisias De mixtione* (Diss. Frankfurt 1966); R. B. Todd, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics* (Leiden 1976), pp. 29 ff.; Sorabji, *ibid.* 79 ff., etc. For more on this see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.7.

13 See above pp. 401 f. and 427.

14 Sambursky, *Physikalisches Weltbild* 202 ff.

15 See below pp. 498 f. and 511 f., as well as Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.1.3.1. I have already treated these connections in: *Der Islam* 43/1967/257 ff.

is actually a wagon (Hebr. *merkabā*).¹⁶ God sits upon it in the fire; according to Ezekiel, the cherubim carry it with their wings, as guardians and bearers at the same time.¹⁷ The so-called *Shī'ur Qōmā*, “the Measure of the (Divine) Body” is basically nothing other than a commentary on a section in the Song of Songs (5.11–16). The beloved, whose limbs are there praised for their beauty, was long since identified with God in allegorical exegesis; He has “curly locks, black like a raven” (5.11). In this way one came to speculate about His dimensions. The calculations are abstruse and often work with gigantic numbers; but perhaps by this one simply wanted to express God’s incommensurability. The dialogue character of the Song of Songs led to the situation that once the identification had been made, one then had something to offer here that even Ezekiel and Daniel could not offer: a self-portrayal of God.

Cf. on this, following Scholem (*Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmud Tradition* 38 ff.; *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* 63 ff.), now above all Martin S. Cohen, *The Shī'ur qomah. Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (Lanham, University Press of America 1983). The report presented there on pp. 13 ff. summarizes the earlier scholarly discussion. Cohen abandons Scholem’s attempt at dating; contrary to Scholem, he does not see the beginnings already in the Tannaitic or early Amoraic period, i.e. in the late 2nd or early 3rd century of our time reckoning but considers the phenomenon to be post-Talmudic. But for him as well the 9th century is an absolute *terminus ante quem* (pp. 52 ff.); yet this issue is not really relevant for our considerations. The book contains a translation of the *Sefer ha-qōmā* (Ms Oxford 1791, folios 58–70) with a detailed commentary. – For the history of its influence cf. also A. Altmann, “Moses Narboni’s ‘Epistle on Shī'ur Qomā’” in: *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism* 180 ff.

The *Shī'ur Qōmā* is occasionally also touched upon in works dealing with the *merkabā*-literature. This is not only true of the above-mentioned pioneering work by Scholem but also of the book by I. Gruenwald who broadly follows Scholem (*Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, Leiden 1980; there pp. 213 ff.). By contrast, D. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* (New Haven 1980) is more narrowly focused; he also departs from Scholem. The same is true for Ira Chernus, *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism* (Berlin 1982); for him the *merkabā*-speculations are connected with the

16 1 Chronicles 28.18. More on this L'Orange, *Iconography of Cosmic Kingship* 48 ff. and O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen* 180 ff.

17 Keel 23 ff.

interpretation of the Sinai experience. A good typological overview is offered by J. Dan, *Three Types of Ancient Jewish Mysticism* (The Seventh Annual Rabbi Louis Feinberg Memorial Lecture in Judaic Studies, Cincinnati 1984; similarly also in: *Jewish Spirituality*, ed. A. Green, pp. 289 ff.). The texts are now conveniently accessible in: P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen 1981). They are partially translated in: Albert Abecassis, “La Merkabah”, in: *Encyclopédie de la mystique juive*, ed. A. Abecassis and G. Natef, pp. 601 ff., and within the framework of a pleasantly readable introduction, in N. A. Uchelen, *Joodse mystiek. Merkawa, Tempel en troon* (Leiden, 1983). Cf. also Segal in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 23.2, pp. 1363 ff., as well as now Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien*, in particular pp. 285 ff.

The image of God in this tradition of thought is uninhibitedly anthropomorphic. This is less unusual than it seems to us. The Old Testament does condemn the making of idols; but it contains sufficient passages where God is spoken of in human images.¹⁸ Isaiah and Amos see God with their own eyes;¹⁹ Ezekiel describes his vision,²⁰ and Daniel takes it up again. How much in Mesopotamia even in a place of worship pictorial representations were possible is illustrated by the synagogue of Dura-Europos.²¹ During the Islamic period the Karaite Qirqisānī, himself influenced by Mu‘tazilite thought, emphasizes how much the rabbis indulged in *tashbīh*;²² several even imagine that God eats and drinks in Paradise.²³ And the Muslims also know this; Pazdawī as well as Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī note down how the Jews – the followers of Rēsh gālūthā, as Nashwān says – refer to “the Ancient of Days” (*qadīm al-ayyām*) in Daniel 7.9.²⁴

18 On the relationship between prohibition of images, prohibition of foreign gods and transcendence in ancient Israel cf. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen* 37 ff.; the transcendence of God is first emphasized in Hosea.

19 Isaiah 6.5; Amos 9.1. On this Keel, *ibid.* 58 f.

20 God “looks like a human being” (Ezekiel 1.26).

21 From the early Sassanian period, completed in the year 244–45; cf. *The Dura-Europos-Synagogue: A Re-evaluation*, ed. J. Gutmann, Missoula (Mont.) 1973.

22 *Anwār* I, 15, ll. 6 ff. and 31, ll. 10 ff., with reference to the *Shī‘ūr Qōmā*.

23 *Ibid.* 31, l. 3. On Jewish anthropomorphism in general A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* 64 ff.; Neusner, *History of Jews in Babylonia* v, 198 f. and now G. G. Stroumsa in: HTR 76/1983/269 ff.

24 Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 21, ll. 4 ff. (where *qadīm al-anām* is wrong); Nashwān, *Ḥūr* 144, ll. 2 ff. from bot. On this in general Altmann, *Studies* 183 ff.; Gimaret, *Livre* 311, ft. 20; Cook in: JSAI 9/1987/176 f.

The gigantic numbers which these authors of the *Shī'ūr Qōmā* do not hesitate to cite have no parallels among the Kūfan Shī'ites. But within Iraqi Judaism there were attempts to equate the divine limbs with letters of the alphabet;²⁵ and Mughīra b. Sa'īd also did the same.²⁶ The body of the Godhead – or *sh'ekhīnā* – is called *gūf*;²⁷ this corresponds exactly to Arabic *jawf*, that designated the body's cavity in which, among other things, the heart of God resides.²⁸ One had already spoken of “the form” of God in Greek.²⁹ It is striking in *merkabā*-mysticism how often the Throne and He who sits upon it are compared with jewels, just as we also find in Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. But once again this goes further back. In Ezekiel there is already mention of a crystal; he describes thus the platter which is found above the heads of the four creatures who are later to be used as the symbols of the Evangelists.³⁰ The Throne in him is of lapis lazuli (*sappīr*).³¹ The Ethiopian Book of Enoch takes over the image of crystal from the Throne;³² in the Apocalypse “He who sat upon the seat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone”.³³ That in Hishām b. al-Ḥakam the crystal has the form of a cube reminds one of the description of the Holy of Holies in 1 Kings 6.20; the Holy of Holies is where God dwells and the only place in which His name is pronounced.³⁴ God bears a crown; according to the conception of

25 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 130 f.; Dan, *Three Types* 16 ff.

26 Halm, *Gnosis* 90 ff. But one must also refer to “the lettered man” who appears on gnostic gems and amulets; Scholem had already pointed out these parallels. The Valentinian Markos described how the body of ἀλόθεια, the Logos, is made up of the letters of the alphabet (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1, 14.3; on this Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* 126 ff. and now Wasserstrom in: *History of Religions* 25/1985/16 f.).

27 Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit* 13; G. G. Stroumsa in: HTR 76/1983/281 f. (*gūf ha-kabōd* or *gūf ha-sh'ekhīnā*).

28 See below Chpt. D 1.1.

29 μωρφή, thus in the Pseudo-Clementine homilies (3, l. 7, and 17, ll. 7 f. = ed. Rehm, *Pseudo-Clementian Homilies* 59 and 232 f.). On this in general Stroumsa 271 ff., who sees a Jewish concept here and shows the connections with Christianity.

30 Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen* 254 f.

31 Ibid. 255 ff.

32 Gruenwald 35. But Uhlig in his commentary believes that frost is actually meant (*Book of Enoch* 540); Ezechiel also probably had in mind ice (Keel, op. cit.).

33 Apocalypse 4.3.

34 That God dwells there is connected with the fact that He thrones there upon the cherubim (cf. 1 Kings 6.23 with 1 Chronicles 13.6); the altar in the Holy of Holies was even used metonymously for God (Marmorstein 31). Furthermore, the Holy of Holies indicates the direction of prayer for those who are inside the Temple (Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. zum NT* II, 246 f. on Deuteronomy 3.6); if in the rabinnical tradition one understood this from their reading of 1 Kings 8.35, again the word *māqōm* “the place” that is used there is one

merkabā-mysticism the crown is God's secret name.³⁵ Mughīra b. Sa'īd, in line with this, related that the Highest Name flew about and then finally came to settle on the crown.³⁶ Theurgic and magic practices, as have been noted down for the Kūfan gnostics,³⁷ are also characteristic of Hekhālōt-mysticism.³⁸

Interesting for our comparison is the attempt to transfer the anthropomorphisms onto an angel who is, so to speak, the visible God, the *deus revelatus*. He often bears the name Metatron and is represented in the *merkabā*-literature as a youth (Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 50; Gruenwald 195 ff. and 235 ff.; and also in the *Shī'ūr Qōmā* where he only bears witness concerning the divine dimensions; cf. Cohen 124 ff.). This evidently goes far back; Shahrastānī reports it about "the Cave People" (Maghāriyya) whom he dates as "400 years before Arius", i.e. in the 1st century before Christ, and who for this reason have been connected with the community of Qumrān (169, ll. 7 ff./510, ll. 8 ff.). The Karaite Benjamin ben Mōshē from Nihāwand in the middle of the 9th century once more made the idea topical (cf. Wolfson in: JQR 51/1960–61/89 ff.; further literature in Nemoj, *Karaite Anthology* 21 f., as well as in EJud XII, 771, and in Monnot, transl. of Shahrastānī, *Livre des Religions* 606 ff., ftns. 64 and 77). On the other hand, sure parallels are not found among the early Kūfan Shī'a (or at most in Bayān b. Sam'an who distinguishes between a God of the heavens and a God of the earth; cf. Halm, *Gnosis* 62). However, in the circle of Nazzām, that is to say not long before Benjamin ben Mōshē, Jesus was made use of for this role (see below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.7.3). Benjamin himself is perhaps mentioned in Ash'arī under the name of Ibn Yāsīn (*Maq.* 565, ll. 1 ff.); this name sounds Shī'ite and was probably chosen as an allusion to the unknown believer in surah Yā-Sīn (26/20 ff.).

of the most frequent metonymous designations (*kinnāy*) for God (Marmorstein 92 f.). As is known, the Ka'ba is also in fact a cube; in addition, one imagined that a heavenly counterpart to it existed, the *bayt ma'mūr* from surah 52/4, which resembles the Throne (Ṭabrisī, *Majma'* V, 163, ll. 17 ff.; *Biḥār* LVIII, 5, no. 2, and 55 ff.). – I must thank H. P. Rieger, Tübingen, for his help with this question.

- 35 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* 80; also 54. Naturally, the reason for this is that God's name was on the metal headband of the high priest.
- 36 Halm, *Gnosis* 91 and 94. The Mahdī, according to Mughīra's conception, will appear with 17 men, each of whom will receive one letter of the Highest Name (Wasserstrom, op. cit., 8).
- 37 See above p. 466.
- 38 Gruenwald 99 ff.; Dan, *Three Types* 19.

Along with these parallels, which are partly of a quite general nature, one should not overlook the differences. For the Jewish visionaries the epiphany took place rather in fire than in light; here they were following Ezekiel.³⁹ God Himself is not at all visible, so many of them believed, not even for the angels.⁴⁰ But when one described Him, one then frequently thought of Him with a beard, corresponding to “the Ancient of Days” in Daniel;⁴¹ the Muslims felt this was alien.⁴² They therefore entirely went their own way; the parallels are not so much the expression of dependence as a common mental horizon. In any case, Ibn Ṣayyād, a contemporary and rival of Muḥammad, had already developed speculation about the Throne which was based on the Ezekiel vision.⁴³ And yet one is not surprised when in the *Ḥadīth* the Rāfiḍites are designated as “the Jews of this community”.⁴⁴ Sha’bī is already supposed to have used this expression when he drew up a list of Shī’ite borrowings from Judaism; the list appears in various forms in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih,⁴⁵ in Abū Ya’lā⁴⁶ and finally in Ibn Taymiyya.⁴⁷ In the *K. al-‘Ālim wa’l-muta‘allim* it is stated that the idea that God has the form of Adam is of Jewish origin.⁴⁸ Accordingly, Bakrī believes Hishām b. al-Ḥakam became involved with Jewish ideas.⁴⁹ Earlier we have already shown that in the discussion about the time of the evening prayer one was also aware of the kinship.⁵⁰ The image which arose in this way lived on in the anti-Shī’ite polemic.

2.1.4 *The Khārījites*

Khārījites were not entirely so rare in Kūfa as one might expect. Because of their piety and probably also because of their rhetorical skills, they at first blended in with the *quṣṣās*; later, theologians and traditionists emerged from

39 Chernus 104 ff.

40 Gruenwald 233; van Uchelen 49 f.; Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys* 155 ff.

41 Gruenwald 215. But not so if one took the youth from the Song of Songs as a model.

42 Mufid, *Fuṣūl* I, 38, ll. 4 ff./39, ll. 15 ff.; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Asās al-taqdīs* 15, l. 5 from bot. See above fn. 24.

43 On this Halperin in: JAOS 96/1976/213 ff.

44 Isfarā’inī, *Tabṣīr* 44, l. 3/41, l. 2 from bot.

45 *Ṭiqd* II, 409, ll. 5 ff.

46 *Mu‘tamad* 260, ll. 5 ff.

47 *Mūnhāj al-sunna* I, 14, ll. 6 ff., following the *K. al-Laṭīf fī’l-sunna* of Ibn Shāhīn al-Baghdādī (d. 385/995). On this also Wasserstrom in: *Festschrift Wickens* 271 f., and Kohlberg in: JSAI 5/1984/143.

48 Cf. Schacht in: *Oriens* 17/1964/109.

49 *Simṭ al-la‘ālī* 856, ll. 5 f.

50 See above p. 383.

among them. In the 1st century two of them appear in the circle of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 73/692 or 74/693–94), who at the time was the most important Koranic reciter in the city.¹ One of these, Sa’d b. ‘Ubayda al-Sulamī, was evidently his son-in-law;² the second, Shaqīq al-Ḍabbī, was old enough to have met Ibn Mas‘ūd.³ Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who – completely unusual for Kūfa – had sympathies for ‘Uthmān,⁴ is supposed to have warned against both of them; the only *qāṣṣ* whom he trusted was Abū’l-Aḥwaṣ ‘Awf b. Mālik al-Jushamī, whose brother had been murdered by the Khārijites.⁵ And Shaqīq had one time fallen into their hands when they invaded Kūfa; but he had revealed himself as being one of their own by describing himself as “a believer who has undertaken the *hijra* (or wishes to do so)” and as “a Muslim who provides support”.⁶

Two Khārijite traditionists whom we are able to locate in the 2nd century, conspicuously belong to the Bayhasiyya who in general are chiefly attested in Iran.⁷ Perhaps they were contact persons who maintained trade into the city. One of them,

Abū Muḥammad Ismā‘īl b. Sumay‘ al-Ḥanafī,

dealt in *sābirī*-cloth.⁸ Faḍl b. Dukayn reproached him for having lived forty years right alongside a mosque without ever having participated in the Friday congregational prayers;⁹ as a Khārijite he did not want to lower himself to the level of the others. But his *Ḥadīth* was regarded as irreproachable; in fact, a

1 On him IS VI, 119 ff.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’* I, 413 f., no. 1755; TB IX, 430 f., no. 5048; TT V, 183 f., no. 317. He later served the Murji‘ites as crown witness against *istithnā’* (Ṭabarī, *Tahdhīb al-āthār: Musnad Ibn ‘Abbās* 664 f., nos. 987–89).

2 Fasawī III, 147, l. 1. On him IS VI, 208, ll. 10 ff.; TT III, 478, no. 889, etc.: he was the teacher of numerous Kūfan jurists and traditionists, of Ḥakam b. ‘Utayba, of ‘Alqama b. Marthad, of A‘mash, etc.

3 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* II, 186, ll. 4 f.

4 Fasawī III, 134, ll. 1 ff.; on this see above p. 270.

5 Ibid. II, 775, ll. 12 ff., and 779, ll. 7 ff.; IS VI, 120, ll. 6 ff., and 126, ll. 19 ff.; ‘Uqaylī II, 186, ll. 6 ff. On Abū’l-Aḥwaṣ cf. IS VI, 126, ll. 10 ff.; TT VIII, 169, no. 305.

6 *mu‘min muḥājir wa-muslim mu‘āwin* (‘Uqaylī II, 186, ll. 3 ff. from bot.). On the use of the word *hijra* among the Khārijites see above p. 9.

7 See below Chpt. B 3.1.4.1.1.

8 *bayyā‘ al-sābirī*; on this above p. 451, ftn. 13.

9 ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* I, 79, ll. 7 ff.

report on the events in Kūfa after the arbitration of Şifḫīn, which Ṭabarī traces back through him, is free of any Khārījite assessments.¹⁰ He probably died before the middle of the century.¹¹ – Approximately a half century younger was

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥakam b. Marwān al-Ḍarīr;

Ibn Ḥanbal studied with him. He too, as is already clear from this connection, was regarded as respectable. In the course of time he moved to Baghdād; possibly there one did not realize that behind the pious and presumably rather puritanical man was concealed a Khārījite.¹² That he was a Bayhasite is only mentioned in Ash‘arī. There we also learn that in Kūfa he gained followers through a special doctrine: he wanted testimony concerning a capital offense to be proven by more detailed proceedings before one came to a legally binding conviction.¹³ That he took slander to be a great danger can be concluded from a *ḥadīth* which he circulated.¹⁴ The other Bayhasites found his demand somewhat pedantic; they dubbed those who followed him *aṣḥāb al-tafsīr*.¹⁵

The Kūfan Khārījite Muslim b. Ja‘d whom Malaṭī even makes into the founder of a school (*Tanbīh* 138, l. 1/180, last l.) cannot be further identified and is not mentioned anywhere else.

2.1.4.1 The Ibāḍite Community in Kūfa

If we have some further information about the Ibāḍites who lived in Kūfa, it is only because there is an Ibāḍite literature; they did not attract attention as

10 I, 3362, ll. 18 ff.

11 Azmī, *Studies* 142. On him IS VI, 241, ll. 11 f.; Bukhārī I, 356, no. 1124; IAH I, 171 f., no. 579; ‘Uqaylī I, 78 f., no. 85 > *Mizān* no. 2198.

12 TB VIII 225 f., no. 4337; *Mizān* no. 2198.

13 *Maq.* 117, ll. 8 ff.; briefly and without mentioning names also Shahrastānī 94, ll. 10 ff./222, ll. 3 f.

14 TB VIII, 226, ll. 3 ff.

15 The “commentary” in this case probably consisted in making clear the circumstances under which the crime had taken place, not as Gimaret believes (*Livre des Religions* 389, fn. 21) in knowledge of the juridical prescriptions. He demanded circumstantial evidence.

traditionists.¹ But even among the Ibāḍite biographers they come off badly; at the time the center of the community was in Baṣra,² and moreover several of them were there regarded as heretics. Consequently, we do not know as of when we can reckon on the presence of their offshoot in Kūfa. Cook wishes to assume that Sālim b. Dhakwān lived in Kūfa.³ This would be very early; because Jābir b. Zayd al-Azdī already corresponded with him.⁴ But this remains mere conjecture; the *Sīrat Sālim* may just as well have been composed in Iran.⁵ Nor did Shabīb b. ‘Aṭīyya, from whom a short *Radd ‘alā’l-shukkāk wa’l-Murjī’a* in the form of an epistle has been preserved,⁶ live in Kūfa but after the death of Julandā b. Mas‘ūd (in the year 134/751–2) he ruled over a small Ibāḍite principality in ‘Umān.⁷ An anonymous tract, in which the *ahl al-shakk* alone are attacked,⁸ even if it was written in Kūfa, would scarcely have been composed before the second half of the 2nd century; it could have been aimed against Sufyān al-Thawrī and his school.⁹ Nor can we attribute an earlier date to the jurist Abū’l-Muhājir who is mentioned in Ibn Sallām as the only Ibāḍite representative in Kūfa.¹⁰ But around this time we also already know a theologian who appears in a comparatively clear light:

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- 1 Rather to begin with they stand in a certain contrast to the *ahl al-ḥadīth* (cf. Cook 57 and below fn. 9). In Baṣra, however, this changes quite soon with Rabī’ b. Ḥabīb (on him see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.2).
 - 2 See below Chpts. B 2.2 and 2.2.5.
 - 3 *Dogma* 9.
 - 4 On this ZDMG 126/1976/28. On Jābir b. Zayd see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.2.
 - 5 See above p. 199. On its contents cf. for the time being Cook 93 ff. and above p. 196 ff.; Sālim declares that he follows “the Imams from before the outbreak of the *fitna*”, i.e. before ‘Uthmān’s murder and the disputes which resulted from it (p. 187, ll. 2 ff. from bot.). The work is also mentioned along with a *Sīrat ‘Abdallāh b. Ibād* (the alleged epistle to ‘Abd al-Malik?) in Nazwānī, *Ihtidā’* 52, l. 1.
 - 6 In the same manuscript as the *Sīrat Sālim*, as well as in two other text witnesses.
 - 7 Cook 57 and Wilkinson in: *Arabian Studies* 4/1978/195. Moreover, he was supposed not to be an Ibāḍite at all but a Ṣufrite (Barrādī in Ṭālibī, *Ārā’ al-Khawārij* 11, 283, ll. 3 ff. from bot.).
 - 8 Likewise in the same mentioned manuscript (cf. Cook 177, fn. 29).
 - 9 On him see above p. 259. In any case the opponents were probably traditionists; they advocated the superiority of the generation of the early ancestors (*salaf*; Xerox Hinds 367, ll. 5 f.). They were in agreement with the Murjī’ites that when it came to the Battle of the Camel both the Kūfans and the Baṣrans were in the wrong (379, ll. 7 ff. and ll. 5 ff. from bot.).
 - 10 *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* 114, last l. f. For other evidence of him cf. Lewicki in EI² III, 651 a. How wide the Qadarite Ḥamza al-Kūfī’s connections were with Kūfa we do not know (on him see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.3).

Abū Muḥammad¹¹ ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī.

Earlier in our account we came across him as a business partner of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam; like the latter he was a silk merchant and later went to Baghdād.¹² Along with Hishām he let himself be drawn into the discussion circle there which the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālīd had established. When the intellectual experiment foundered shortly before the death of Hishām,¹³ he appears to have gone off to the Yemen where he could count on the support of his coreligionists. As far as his tribal affiliation is concerned, he did not belong there; the Fazāra were North-Arabs. Some families from among them had settled in Kūfa; in this way his *nisba* is explained.¹⁴ But in Yemen he was instead called al-Baghdādī. There he committed himself against the Ṣufrites; apparently the tribes among which he lived had shortly before, under the influence of two missionaries, gone over from the Ṣufrite to the Ibāḍite creed.¹⁵ We do not know what became of his business.¹⁶

Despite his close connection with Hishām – in Kūfa they were associated with the same branch office¹⁷ – he attacked the Shī‘a; he wrote a *Radd ‘alā’l-Rawāfiḍ*.¹⁸ The brief fragment which we still possess shows how he represented Abū Bakr as someone who already very early on took notice of Muḥammad’s mission. In this regard, he based himself on the Baḥīrā-legend which, however, he knew in a version that deviated from that found in Ibn Ishāq.¹⁹ Likewise, the information he put together about the battles of Ṣiffin and Nahrawān would have sounded nasty in the ears of the Shī‘a.²⁰ They took their revenge by

11 The *kunya* is only found in the manuscript of the *K. al-Tawḥīd* (see below).

12 See above pp. 410 f.

13 See above pp. 411 f.

14 We do not actually know whether he was their *mawlā* or an authentic Arab; generally the latter is more likely in the case of an Ibāḍite.

15 Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, *Najāt* 56, ll. 2 ff.

16 On all this cf. Madelung in his Introduction to the *K. al-Najāt* of Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, pp. 4 ff.

17 Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* v, 443, last l./IV, 28, l. 12.

18 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 233, last l.

19 Text VIII 3. The *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq at that time had probably not yet made its way to Kūfa.

20 The information was still known to Barrādī and was used by him in his *Jawāhir al-muntaqāt* (cf. his *Taqyīd* in: Ṭālibī, *Ārā’* 283, l. 9 f.; on this Lewicki in: REI 8/1934/70 and Veccia-Vaghieri in: AIUON 4/1952/14 f.). Even Ṭabarī in one passage appears to go back to him (I, 3283, l. 13, if we may there change ‘*Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Jābir al-Azdī*’ to ‘*Abdallāh b. Yazīd ‘an Jābir al-Azdī*’, as Veccia-Vaghieri, op. cit., already suggested and Madelung in his Introduction to the *K. al-Najāt* 8, fn. 24, once more confirmed). But one must likewise

circulating a story according to which Hishām b. al-Ḥakam gave him a dressing-down in the circle of the Barmakids and as a result received high praise from Hārūn al-Rashīd.²¹

Another work in which Ibn Yazīd indirectly criticized Hishām was his *K. al-Tawḥīd*.²² Sections from it in a rather watered-down form have been included in a later Maghribī compilation which has been preserved for us in a recent manuscript on Jerba.²³ ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd says in it that he defended his views in a circle of differently-minded people.²⁴ He argues entirely in a Mu‘tazilite manner; but he could not fail to note that in the discussion one spoke at cross purposes. For when he referred to the fact that nothing is like God (*laysa ka-mithlihī shay*’, surah 42/11), then he also met with approval from his opponents; by this, they said, nothing more is meant than that “God does not have his match for beauty”, etc. There where he wanted to practice negative theology, they thus understand his statement as positive.²⁵ “I consider God”, so he quotes one of them as saying, “only to be a human being who is superior to all creatures and has power over them. That is why they have come to honour Him. He is in heaven; there He has a seat upon which He sits”.²⁶ In convoluted explanations Ibn Yazīd proves that God cannot be grasped by our senses but only through “clues and signs”;²⁷ the idea was also put in the mouth of Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’.²⁸

Ibn Yazīd, moreover, did not tie himself down exclusively to *theologia negativa*. He speaks of God’s “attributes of perfection” (*ṣifāt kamāl*); He alone is free of flaws (*‘ayūb*).²⁹ Thus, here he is not really so far from Hishām.³⁰ Even when he described the Koran and the other revealed scriptures as “bodies”, this made good sense in Hishām’s terminology: man cannot bring forth the word of God Himself; when he recites the Koran or quotes it, he only brings about

take into account that the same traditionist in Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn* 239, l. 8, appears as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir (U. Sezgin, *Abū Mūḥnaf* 196). On the latter see above p. 113.

21 Majlisī, *Bihār* x, 294 f., no. 3; on this above p. 411 f.

22 Ibn al-Nadīm 233, l. 2 from bot.

23 In the possession of shaykh Sālim b. Ya‘qūb.

24 Folio 10 b, ll. 5 ff.

25 Ibid. 10 a, ll. 12 ff.

26 Ibid. 10 b, ll. 12 ff.

27 Ibid. 11 a, ll. 5 ff.

28 See below Chpt. B 3.1.1.

29 Foliōs 9 b, l. 6, and 13 a, ll. 12 ff.

30 On the latter’s doctrine of attributes see above pp. 437 ff.

something in terms of accidents.³¹ But we do not have a shred of proof that Ibn Yazīd agreed with Hishām's ontological model; his theory can be put together just as well with Baṣran ideas,³² as found for instance in Aṣamm (who was probably an Ibādīte himself),³³ and at any rate Hishām differs when it comes to the Koran.³⁴

The compiler of the text we have used refers in one passage to a *K. al-Rudūd* which Ibn Yazīd wrote.³⁵ This as well has been preserved for us, though in incomplete form;³⁶ however, it is inaccessible for the time being. By contrast, readily to hand since Madelung's edition are numerous excerpts from a refutation of the Qadarites which Ibn Yazīd wrote in Yemen and which was still read when the Zaydī Imam, al-Hādī ilā'l-ḥaqq, came to the country in the year 280/893. One apparently deployed it against the new masters; because al-Hādī's son, Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, roused himself to compose a lengthy rebuttal, in which he displayed his Mu'tazilite schooling.³⁷ Ibn al-Nadīm does not know either of the two works; Yemen lay outside his field of vision. But we do learn from him that 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd to a certain extent had prepared himself for his subject in Iraq, in Kūfa or later in Baghdād, by means of a work on the problem of the capacity to act (*istiṭā'a*) and a book against the Mu'tazila.³⁸ We know from other sources that there were Qadarites in Yemen; they traced themselves back to Wahb b. Munabbih.³⁹

The doctrine of these opponents is still apparent in his arguments: God cannot wish that the unbelievers be without faith;⁴⁰ rather, He allows human

31 Tibghūrīn, *Uṣūl al-dīn* (ed. Ennami in the appendix to his dissertation *Studies in Ibādism*, Cambridge 1971), pp. 57 and 61.

32 See below Chpt. B 2.2.8.4.1.1. Cuperly also points to this kinship (*Introduction* 214 f.; cf. also 86 and 219); but above all he thinks of Ja'far b. Mubashshir who, however, is no longer a contemporary (on this below Chpt. C 4.2.1.2).

33 Ibid. 2.2.8.4.1.

34 See above p. 441. Madelung even thinks that Ibn Yazīd wished to bolt the door against the Shī'ite thesis of the Koran's susceptibility to being manipulated (*K. al-Najāt*, Intro. 11 f.). For similar doctrines cf. Ash'arī, *Maq.* 589, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

35 Folio 17 a, last l.

36 In the possession of 'Ayyād al-'Azzābī in Zwarah, Libya; altogether 40 folios (cf. Ennami, *Studies* 263 and 319, fn. 174).

37 *K. al-Najāt = Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir wider die ibādītische Prädestinationslehre*. Wiesbaden 1985. On the situation cf. Madelung, *Introduction* 12 ff.

38 *Fihrist* 233, ll. 2 f. from bot.

39 See below Chpt. B 4.2.1.

40 *Najāt* 24, ll. 14 ff.

beings to do as they like (*tafwīd*).⁴¹ He does not create unbelief itself but only its designation; i.e. He says in revelation what faith and unbelief are but then man “creates” (*khalaqa*) unbelief by practicing it.⁴² If God were to lead man into error, then He would be unjust (*ẓālim*).⁴³ These are ideas that have parallels within the later Mu‘tazila.⁴⁴ One must therefore ask oneself whether ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd could already be referring to them. In fact, we do not know what the text looked like that Aḥmad al-Nāṣir had before him; it is not to be excluded a priori that over the course of time the text was expanded and adapted to current argumentation. But Aḥmad al-Nāṣir says at the beginning that its language was poor and that it contained numerous repetitions;⁴⁵ this inclines one to surmise that it had remained in its original condition.⁴⁶

Ibn Yazīd is indeed not free of prolixity.⁴⁷ If we may assume that Aḥmad al-Nāṣir followed the layout of the book, then the author began with theoretical statements to which he attached a plethora of Koranic proofs;⁴⁸ then once again at the end there are theoretical arguments.⁴⁹ That the Koranic evidence takes up so much space connects his book with the rebuttal of the Qadarites that one traces back to Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafīyya.⁵⁰ This makes it all the more striking that the two works only cite the same verses in a few places; Ibn Yazīd has most certainly not been influenced by this work.⁵¹ Another difference is that he handles the concept of *istiṭā’a*. He proves that the capacity to act is simultaneous with action; a child when it reaches the age of discretion, is immediately responsible.⁵² If its capacity to act were there beforehand, the

41 Ibid. 179, ll. 6 ff.; on this above p. 235 f.

42 Ibid. 241, ll. 17 ff., and 242, ll. 18 ff.

43 Ibid. 159, ll. 15 ff.

44 For the doctrine that God only creates the designation of unbelief cf. Text xxiii 17 (Ṣāliḥ Qubba) and 18 (apparently with reference to a bigger circle).

45 *Najāt* 19, ll. 11 ff.

46 *khalaqa* with reference to man is already found in Ḍirār b. ‘Amr with whom Ibn Yazīd became acquainted at the latest in the circle of the Barmakids and there already in a compromise-theology (see below Chpt. C 1.3.1). Probably important as well is that the mentioned Qadarites knew nothing of a natural ethics; apparently like faith and unbelief for them good and evil are defined through revelation.

47 Cf. for example section 58, ll. 15 ff.

48 From p. 87, ll. 1 ff. on.

49 From p. 217, ll. 8 ff. on.

50 *Anfänge* 35 ff.

51 Perhaps this book, which was also in circulation in the Yemen and was refuted by Aḥmad al-Nāṣir’s father, only arrived in the Yemen after Ibn Yazīd.

52 P. 58, ll. 15 ff.

capacity would vanish during the action.⁵³ At the same time, Ibn Yazīd also deals with the passage *surah* 3/97, on the basis of which in his time Zurāra b. A'yan had derived his indeterminism and which in Kūfa presumably still played a special role: one has the ability to perform the pilgrimage only when one in fact undertakes it, not when one remains at home.⁵⁴ He does not shy away from saying that a person is “forced” (*jubira*) to act by God,⁵⁵ and he advocated *taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*, without seeing any injustice in it.⁵⁶ God’s foreknowledge about which the Qadarites whom he was addressing had no doubts – in contrast to the Kūfan Shī’ites – potentially already implies predestination,⁵⁷ and the description of something cannot be separated from the thing itself.⁵⁸ No one can get along without divine provision (*rizq*); it is a person’s means of subsistence (*‘aysh*). Even when he acquires something forbidden, this is his *rizq*; he is only punished for his action. It is not a matter of distinguishing the things themselves in such a way that some are *rizq* and others are not; because there are many things that are allowed for one person and forbidden for another.⁵⁹

Just as his opponents, most of the Mu’tazila also understood *rizq* this way (cf. Chapt. C 3.2.1.3.4.3 and D 2.1.1). – An additional question that he only touches on in passing concerns the salvation status of under-age children. He recommends reserving judgement in all problematic cases; only if they grow up in the bosom of Ibāḍite families, among “Muslims”, is the salvation of their soul assured from the beginning (p. 234, ll. 19 ff.). Basically, this was a rejection of rigorism as it otherwise prevailed among Khārījites (see above p. 23 and below Chpt. B 3.1.3.1). For this reason one understood his position as if he wished to accord a chance to the children of those with different religious beliefs; one associated him with those who imagined that the children would have to wait upon the blessed in Paradise (Text IV 64). Other Ibāḍites also shared his view (Ash‘arī, *Maq.* III, ll. 1 ff.; on this see Madelung, Intro. 9.)

53 As Abū'l-Hudhayl actually assumed (see below Chpt. C 3.2.1.3.2.2); the child then has a period of delay (*muhla*) before it must act (ibid. 3.2.1.3.2.3). The demonstration of proof takes for granted an atomistic concept of time. – Moreover, along with *istitā'a* Ibn Yazīd also uses the word *quwwa* (60, ll. 14 ff.).

54 P. 299, ll. 15 ff.; see above p. 373.

55 Ibid. 201, ll. 8 ff.

56 Ibid. 150, ll. 13 ff.

57 Ibid. 19, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

58 Ibid. 264, ll. 16 ff.

59 Ibid. 228, ll. 5 ff.

As we have seen up to now, connections with Baṣran theology should not be entirely ruled out. They would be, at any rate, in the nature of the matter. In fact, we do not know whether ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd was old enough to have been a disciple of Abū ‘Ubayda al-Tamīmī,⁶⁰ in any case, he called him “the teacher” (*al-shaykh*).⁶¹ In Kūfa during his youth one could perhaps not yet receive Ibādīte schooling at all. Later, however, he came into conflict with the Baṣran Ibādīte community; Rabī‘ b. Ḥabīb, who became their head after Abū ‘Ubayda’s death, excluded him.⁶² They were different types; Rabī‘ was a traditionalist,⁶³ whereas Ibn Yazīd worked with the means available to *kalām*.⁶⁴ But somehow he also became drawn into the conflict around the legal opinion that Rabī‘ had issued in favour of the Rustamid ‘Abd al-Wahhāb when in the year 168/784 the latter was chosen as Imam in the Maghrib in somewhat dubious circumstances.⁶⁵ In any case, the Nukkār later aligned themselves with him in theology;⁶⁶ and the Yemeni Ibādītes were evidently also counted among them.⁶⁷

Yet among the opponents of the Nukkār, i.e. among the orthodox Ibādītes, he did not end up being dogmatically sidelined so quickly. Aflaḥ, the son of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, who acceded to his imamate in the year 208/823, cites without any criticism, but also without declaring his own position on the matter, Ibn Yazīd’s doctrine of the determination of human action.⁶⁸ It was only Tibghūrīn, the author of an important dogmatic tract from Jabal Nafūsa, who in the first half of the 6th/12th century⁶⁹ accused Ibn Yazīd, just like Najjār, of equating the capacity for faith with assisting grace (*‘awn*) from God and His protection

60 On this and what follows cf. Madelung, Intro. 6 f.; on Abū ‘Ubayda himself see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.2.

61 *Tawhīd*, folio 5 b, l. 9, with a following *rahimahū’llāh*.

62 Shammākhī, *Sīyar* 105, ll. 5 f.

63 On him see below Chpt. B 2.2.5.2.

64 His adherents later had him emphasize that he had overcome Rabī‘ “by complying with traditions” (Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh bi’l-Maghrib* 477, ll. 3 f. from bot., following Wisyānī; cf. Rebstock, *Ibādīten im Maḡrib* 182, fn. 1); however, this probably shows nothing more than that his opponents denied him competence in this area.

65 More details on this below Chpt. B 2.2.5.2.

66 Ennami, *Studies* 263; more information below Chpts. B 2.2.5.4–5. That the Nukkār are sometimes called Yazīdiyya (cf. Lewicki in: E1¹, Suppl. 186 b), despite the assertion in Ibn Ṣaghīr (*Chronik* 16, ll. 7 f. from bot.) probably has nothing to do with him but with Yazīd b. Fandīn, the leader of the opposition against ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (Madelung, Intro. 7).

67 Madelung, *ibid.* following Wilkinson in: *Arabian Studies* 4/1978/205.

68 Schwartz, *Anfänge der Ibādīten* 53.

69 On the dating cf. Cuperly, *Introduction* 73 f.

(*ʿiṣma*).⁷⁰ But it is interesting that one also reproached him for having exerted influence on the Nukkār in legal matters;⁷¹ here the question as to whether a woman who allows anal intercourse should be expelled from the community especially occupied the imagination.⁷² Thus Ibn Yazīd was obviously not a pure dialectical theologian.

Regarding the above-mentioned juridical question, he was in conformity with several Baṣran jurists – here as well an instance of his connections with that city. A final indication for this assumption is the conflict around a problem that had been brought to Abū ‘Ubayda’s attention. Some “young persons” from his community had asked the latter how they should view a Christian who had grown up somewhere in isolation and had never heard anything about Muḥammad. Abū ‘Ubayda had considered him a *muslim* as long as “the argument” had not reached him and he had not consciously rejected it.⁷³ Here “the argument” (*ḥujja*) was revelation which must first be brought to the attention of the believer before he really, that is to say consciously, is an infidel. As long as this does not happen, he is of course not a *muʿmin* – this someone only becomes through revelation –, but he is at least a *muslim*; because as a Christian he does believe in God. “The young persons” also saw the situation this way;⁷⁴ but they now expanded the example by imagining that this Christian converts a Zoroastrian to Christianity – indeed a person who is already acquainted with Islam. Now there emerged the strange conclusion that the Christian is in fact still “Muslim” but the Zoroastrian is an infidel because he consciously joins the false religion – a contradiction insofar as here one and the same matter of faith is in each case assessed differently. Abū ‘Ubayda did not want to go along with this; for him both were “Muslims”. In his anger he expelled “the young persons”; the conflict could only be ironed out with difficulty by Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb and a colleague.

We do not know who these “young persons” were. But it seems that they allowed themselves to be infected with Qadarite-Muʿtazilite ideas. This corresponded to the trend which was spreading at the time among the Baṣran

70 Cf. the edition of the text in Ennami in the appendix to his dissertation, p. 57; on this Madelung, Intro. 18. For Najjār see below Chpt. C 5.2.1.

71 Rebstock, *Ibāditen im Maḡrib* 182. Probably the name Yaḥyā is there read incorrectly; cf. the parallel in Darjīnī, *Ṭab.* 148, l. 8 from bot., and 149, l. 5.

72 Abū ‘Ammār, *Mūjaz* 11, 206 ff., there 213, ll. 6 ff.; also briefly mentioned in Shammākhī, *Sīyar* 104, last l. f. but where Ibn Yazīd is replaced by another name. On the question in detail see below Chapt. B 2.2.5.5.

73 Text VIII 1.

74 Ibid. f.

Ibāḍites,⁷⁵ and it would make good sense here: the Zoroastrian could not be *muslim* because of his own free will he had decided against Islam. And so it would become clear why ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd intervened in the conflict: he could not relinquish the field to the Qadarites. He understood that for them “the argument” – that is to say the criterion that God applies against human beings in order one day to hold them to account – consists of reason which God has bestowed on them all; thus it is necessary for all people to decide on the basis of it and each person has the freedom to do so.⁷⁶ He himself saw this differently: all human beings have indeed heard God’s argument regarding monotheism; this is a rational postulate, perhaps even conferred on everyone at birth. But it is not conclusive; this is not how one becomes a Muslim. In order to be a Muslim one must be aware of the commandments; but one only learns of them through a prophet.⁷⁷ Indeed, the Prophet called upon all people; but many of them were deaf and blind because God did not grant them right guidance.

Najāṭ 42, ll. 3 ff. Here it should be taken into account that the Ibāḍites in their majority still do not accept any miracles on the part of a prophet; the prophet is a *ḥujja* by his very existence (Abū Ya‘lā, *Muṭamad* 155, ll. 1 f.; somewhat more detailed in *Maq.* 106, ll. 11 f. = Nashwān, *Hūr* 174, l. 8 [abbreviated] > *Farq* 86, ll. 2 ff./106, ll. 3 f. from bot., and 210, ll. 4 ff. from bot./222, ll. 9 f.).

This train of thought was taken over by the Nukkār. In this way he was discredited in the eyes of the Wahbites, as much as he had also greatly wished to build on an approach of Abū ‘Ubayda. The Wahbite Abū Nūḥ b. Zanghīl (middle of 4th/10th century)⁷⁸ pointed to the difficulty that on this assumption even a

75 See below Chpt. B 2.2.5.3.

76 Text VIII 2, f–g. They are shortly thereafter (*h* and *k*) designated as “intellectualists” (*aṣḥāb al-fikr*).

77 This is how I would like to combine the report in Tibghūrīn to which Madelung has recourse Intro. 11, and the presentation in Abū ‘Ammār (= Text VIII 2, a–b). Abū ‘Ammār concentrates completely on “the prophet argument” which is all that is dealt with in the following discussion, and leaves out “the *tawḥīd* argument”.

78 Thus according to Rebstock, *Ibādīten* 176. Cuperly’s doubts about the dating (*Introduction* 70, fn. 95) are not justified. Sa‘īd b. Zanghīl was a contemporary of the Fāṭimid Mu‘izz (ruled 341/953–365/975) and of Buluggin b. Zīrī (ruled 361/972–373/984); Abū Zakariyyā’ offers much information about him (*Sīyar al-a‘imma* 142 ff./transl. *Revue Africaine* 104/1960/377 ff. and 105/1961/126 ff.). But the Ibāḍites knew several scholars with the *kunya* Abū Nūḥ; perhaps the story cited by us was at some time falsely classified.

new convert who has not yet been fully initiated into the faith cannot be called a Muslim; ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd is in fact here supposed to have exercised ἐπιτοχή.⁷⁹ But above all, a certain Sa‘īd al-Ḥada’ī raised an objection. He asked how Ibn Yazīd then hoped to guarantee the universal validity of “the argument”; one cannot take it for granted that all human beings have heard revelation.⁸⁰ This was an objection which had clearly been prepared through Qadarite polemic; the followers of Ibn Yazīd, i.e. probably the Nukkār, always brought up this painful subject.⁸¹ But Sa‘īd was no Qadarite. Rather, he wanted to heal this weak point which he had uncovered, by means of a juridical consideration: ignorance of the law is no protection against punishment; for this reason even someone who is not acquainted with revelation can be held to account by God, even if one does not call him a *muslim*.⁸²

One would not necessarily say that Sa‘īd did justice to Ibn Yazīd’s approach. The vantage-point had shifted – from the question of who must be called an unbeliever to that of how all human beings can be held responsible before God. We will scarcely dare to assume that the two opponents ever discussed with one another in person. Rather, Sa‘īd had before him a text of ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd, a *maqāla fī’l-ḥujja*, which he refuted in writing. He was probably not even a contemporary; we hear that he owned several shops in Qayrawān close to the Great Mosque.⁸³ But he had apparently immigrated there as an Ibāḍīte; because he was an Arab, not a Berber. His *nisba* points to Kūfa; the Ḥada’ were South-Arabs who had settled there.⁸⁴ Thus, in fact there may even have been a certain connection to Ibn Yazīd. And yet everything points to Abū ‘Ammār ‘Abd al-Kāfī, who portrays the controversy, as having personalized what was a later school dispute.

When in the edition of the *Mūjaz* one reads the *nisba* as al-Ḥadhdhā’ “the Shoe-maker”, this is clearly a mistake. Nor should one think of the aforementioned Abū Nūḥ Sa‘īd b. Zanghīl; he was a Berber and was called al-Maṭkūdī (Rebstock 176). On the other hand, one should not exclude the possibility that the Sa‘īd b. Hārūn mentioned in Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 120, l. 9, is identical with Sa‘īd al-Ḥada’ī. Yet the latter is more likely to be the Ibāḍīte Koranic reciter Sa‘īd b. ‘Allāf (see below Chpt. C 5.3).

79 Darjīnī, *Ṭab.* 148, ll. 8 ff. from bot.

80 Text VIII 2, l and r–v.

81 Ibid. e–g.

82 Ibid. c.

83 *Kitāb Ibn Sallām* 133, ll.2 ff. with ftn.

84 Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb* IV, 85 f. with ftn.

The later development in which, as our text shows, everything conspired to drive the opponent into the Qadarite corner had fully concealed that in fact Ibn Yazīd had also had in mind an “argument” based on rational knowledge of *tawḥīd*. We realize how significant this was when we consider another dissenter from the line of Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb,⁸⁵ who again perhaps also belongs to Kūfa: ʿĪsā b. ʿUmayr.

2.1.4.2 ʿĪsā b. ʿUmayr

He could well be identical with the Kūfan Koranic reciter Abū ʿUmar ʿĪsā b. ʿUmayr al-Hamdānī who was a teacher of Kisāʿī (d. 189/805).¹ In favour of this assumption is that the followers of the Ibādīte stood out because they used the Kūfan Koran text of Ibn Masʿūd when they expanded in the Maghrib.² Like the followers of Ibn Yazīd, they did not have much in common with the Wahbiyya. Similarly, they were not Qadarites; because Ibn ʿUmayr, here again in complete agreement with Ibn Yazīd, had expanded God’s “sustenance” (*rizq*) to include forbidden things.³ Yet he saw in reason “the argument” of God and, such being the case, its universal validity as guaranteed.⁴ This then evidently caused him to spare the Jews and Christians from being labelled as “polytheists”;⁵ probably thanks to their power of reason, they possessed in a limited sense a true image of God which elevated them above the pure heathens. His views in these two respects converged with Ibn Yazīd but then he took one further big step. From a later viewpoint all this was certainly not consistent. For he did not want to repeal the legal prescriptions which were in force for the *ahl al-dhimma*; one later reproached him for not making the *asmāʿ* coincide with the *aḥkām*.⁶ That this was not so important to him is evident from another doxographical report: when free people, Muslims of course, are sold into slavery, he considered this to be an unlawful act, but then only as a serious sin (which has expulsion from the community as a consequence) if it is a question of a woman; because

85 Thus according to Shammākhī 105, ll. 5 f., there together with ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd.

1 Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ* I, 613, no. 2499; also *Fihrist* 33, ll. 5 f. from bot. (where Ibn ʿUmar instead of Ibn ʿUmayr); Bukhārī III₂, 397, no. 2765; IAH III₁, 282, no. 1662. He was blind, as we learn from Bukhārī.

2 Cf. Lewicki in EI² III, 659 b–660 a; also SI 9/1958/80. Concerning Ibādīte Koran reciters, in particular those from Baṣra, more will be said in detail in Chpt. B 2.2.5.6 below.

3 Cuperly, *Introduction* 281 f.; cf. with this p. 481 above. Cuperly’s attempt to interpret the doctrine here as Muʿtazilite probably cannot be maintained.

4 Abū Muʿammar, *Mūjaz* II, 139, ll. 6 f. and previously.

5 Ibid. II, 173, ll. 6 ff.; Jannāwunī, *Waḍʿ* 25, ll. 3 ff.

6 *Mūjaz*, ibid.

through slavery sexual intercourse with her becomes permitted. Thus it is not the juridically defined act as such that determines how grave its assessment is but the fact that through it a grave sin, namely fornication, is made possible as a secondary effect.⁷

The single transmitted reports cannot be joined together seamlessly to provide an overall picture; we know too little about Ibn 'Umayr. In addition, he appears in the passage *Mūjaz* II, 173, ll. 6 ff. as Sha'ith b. 'Umayr. But this is either a mistake or a malicious deformation (*sha'ith* means "shaggy, unkempt"); the identity is assured by a parallel (cited in Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria* 60, ftn. 1). Named alongside him in Abū 'Ammār is a certain Ibn Abī'l-Miqdād by whom is presumably meant Ḥafṣ b. Abī'l-Miqdām; on him see below Chpt. B 3.2.1.1. In the chronicle of Ibn Ṣaghīr he is called 'Īsā b. 'Umar (16, ll. 6 f. from bot., Motylinski). – On an 'Īsā b. 'Umar or 'Īsā b. Abī 'Amr, who in a pinch could likewise be identical with him, see below Chpt. B 5.2.

From the circle of his Maghribī followers, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṭrābulusī came forth who presumably lived during the time of the Rustamid Imam Abū Sa'īd Aflaḥ (first half of 3rd century) and became the progenitor of a sect of his own.⁸ He was reproached for totally suppressing the Koran and *sunna* as "argument" in favour of rational deduction (*qiyās*);⁹ he "maintained that human reason by means of all it understands is God's argument *vis-à-vis* man. Man is capable of knowing God of his own accord, as well as Paradise and Hell, and the prescriptions regarding fornication, theft and wine drinking; for such matters one is not in need of supporting evidence (from Scripture or the *Ḥadīth*) . . ."¹⁰ Or put another way: one does not have to know about Muḥammad's historical existence; one only needs to acknowledge prophethood in general.¹¹ In his milieu are probably to be located those "intellectualists" who in the fictitious discussion between 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd and Sa'īd al-Ḥada'ī emerged like a terrifying vision.

7 Ibid. II, 277, ll. 12 ff.

8 Shammākhī 262, ll. 8 ff., together with a certain Ibn 'Umāra; on this Lewicki (above ftn. 2) 660 a and 80 f., as well as Mu'ammār, *al-Ibādiyya bayna'l-firaq al-islāmiyya* 314 f. 'Amrūs b. Fath (d. 283/896), the Wahbite theologian from Jabal Nafūsa, wrote against him (Cuperly, *Introduction* 35 f.). Cf. also *ibid.*, Index s. n.

9 Cuperly 77.

10 Tibghūrīn, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 46 f. in Ennamī, Appendix; translated in Cuperly 182, ftn. 14.

11 Ennamī 279.

The author of the Maghribī compilation referred to above on p. 478 also mentions besides ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd the two last-named theologians. He had before him a treatise with responses to questions of Ibn ‘Umayr, perhaps once again a work that went back to Ibn Yazīd (cf. folios 16 b, ll. 12 f. and 23 a, ll. 2 f.). Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṭrābulusī is cited by his *ism* without his *nisba* (folio 17 b, ll. 3 f.). Here as well it is a question of the concept of faith and the relationship between cognition and revelation. But it is not always easy to know how to classify individual doctrines; the text needs to be examined more closely.

2.1.5 “The Heretics”

As much as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam sometimes relied on the Iranian tradition especially in matters of natural science, he was perfectly aware that the religious context in which this tradition was generally rooted could not be brought into agreement with Islam. Among his books is found a refutation of the dualists and a work against those who had drawn too close to them, the so-called *zanādiqa*.¹ They were persecuted during the sixth decade of the 2nd century under the caliph al-Mahdī;² from then on they no longer represented a danger. But they still continued to be perceived as an intellectual threat; it was only Nazzām who finished them off on this level once and for all.

2.1.5.1 The Term *zindīq*

It is certainly correct that before it spread to Baghdād, this Iranianizing “hereticalness” showed itself to be especially strong in Kūfa.¹ However, one must not let oneself to be deceived; the impression is in part brought about because Sunnī theology and the heresiographers dependent on it continually picked on the connection with the Shī‘a. In Baṣra there were likewise *zanādiqa*,² and in the case of others we have no knowledge at all about which region they belonged to. Everything could be described as *zandaqa* if it had about it a whiff of freethinking: a dualistic explanation of the world, as well as theology that in one way or another appeared to endanger *tawḥīd*, and finally even purely intellectual or moral libertinage. Not infrequently the term was merely a means of denunciation. With the hindsight of an established view of history, it was defined as the opposite of orthodoxy; on the other hand, the phenomena

1 Werkliste IV c, nos. 3–4.

2 More on this below Chpt. C 1.2.2.

1 On this in general cf. Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shī‘r fī l-Kūfa* (Cairo 1388/1968) 224 ff. and 618 ff.

2 See below Chpt. B 2.2.1.

which were labelled this way often simply attest to the fact that at the time “Islamic” thought had more room to manoeuvre in than later on.

The word on its own is therefore not to be trusted. Massignon rightly ascribed the list of *zanādiqa* that Ibn al-Nadīm drew up³ and that has ever since been the point of departure for scholarship,⁴ as “very heterogeneous”;⁵ Ja’d b. Dirham⁶ figures there, just as do the Barmakids.⁷ Elsewhere ‘Abdallāh b. Saba’ receives this predicate and then so does Sayf b. ‘Umar who had spread reports about him;⁸ likewise, the legendary “people” whom ‘Alī allegedly had burned alive and behind whom one saw Shī’ite extremists, again mostly followers of Ibn Saba’, are occasionally called *zanādiqa*.⁹ The traditionist Muḥammad b. Sa’īd, who was crucified in Damascus, was regarded as a *zindīq*.¹⁰ Among the later “dissenters” who had the word attached to them, it is sufficient to mention Dhū’l-Nūn¹¹ or Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī;¹² naturally, al-Ḥallāj is also included in their company.¹³

But in the midst of this, it is not that through long usage the word in Arabic eventually came to be worn down. Rather, the lack of clarity was inherited; it was already present in Middle-Iranian, the source from which the Arabs adopted the word. *Zandīk* there meant someone who followed a commentary (*zand*) on the Avesta that was different from what orthodoxy prescribed;¹⁴ in

3 *Fihrist* 401, ll. 8 ff.

4 Especially Vajda in: RSO 17/1938/173 ff.; German transl. in: *Der Manichäismus*, ed. G. Widengren (Wege der Forschung 168; Darmstadt 1977), pp. 418 ff. The complete passage is translated there. Cf. now also the dissertations by Ahmad Taheri-Iraqi, *Zandaqa in the Early Abbasid Period with special reference to the Poetry* (Edinburgh 1982), and by Melhem Chokr, *Zandaqa et Zindīqs en Islam jusqu’à la fin du II^e/VIII^e siècle* (Paris 1988). The recently published work by R. Giorgi, *Pour une histoire de la zandaqa* (Florence 1989) is without value.

5 EI¹ IV, 1330 a s. v. *Zindīk*.

6 401, ll. 10 ff.; on him see below Chpt. B 2.4.1.2.

7 With one exception (401, ll. 8 ff.).

8 *Mizān* nos. 4343 and 3637.

9 On this my *K. an-Nakt des Nazzām* 50 ff.; Monnot, *Penseurs musulmans* 91, who only bases himself on Bukhārī and Ibn Ḥanbal, takes the report much too seriously.

10 See above p. 157.

11 *Mizān* no. 2701.

12 *Ibid.* no. 10137.

13 *Ibid.* no. 2059.

14 On the etymology cf. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge* 1, 76 ff. (= Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswiss. Kl., no. 6); defended by Molé in: *Oriens* 13–14/1961/1 ff. (against an alternative interpretation by St. Wikander). With this one may compare Kamālpašazāde (d. 940/1533–34), *Risāla fi taḥqīq lafẓ al-zindīq*, ed. Ḥasan ‘Alī Maḥfūz

the Dēnkart the word may in general mean apostate or freethinker.¹⁵ But the term can also have a much more precise meaning, namely “Manichean”; this is how it is already used in the earliest instance in Kartēr’s inscription on “the Ka’ba of Zoroaster”.¹⁶ The Arabs likewise adopted this usage of the word; in any case, Ibn al-Nadīm attaches his list immediately after his description of Manicheanism. Mas‘ūdī understood the state of affairs quite clearly.¹⁷ If one wished to avoid misunderstandings, instead of *zanādiqa* or *zandaqa* one spoke of Mānawiyya/Mānaniyya or *madhhab* (or *aṣḥāb*) *Mānī*.¹⁸

In its unspecific meaning *zindīq* corresponds to *dahrī* or *mulḥid*. Though strictly speaking the words did not mean the same thing, they became associated with one another in the general consciousness and for this reason sometimes occur alongside one another in our sources; thus Bashshār b. Burd, for example, is *al-mulḥid al-zindīq* (*Agh.* III, 249, ll. 13 f.). The word *mulḥid* alone has a Koranic origin. It also already appears in the Koran in its later meaning: *alḥada fī* = “to dissent regarding some matter, to take up a heretical attitude” (surah 7/180, 41/40; cf. WKAS II, 281 a). But from the start another passage became authoritative, namely surah 22/25 where *ilḥād* is used in connection with sinfully violating the Sacred Territory. One remembered the Koranic passage when ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and his brother ‘Amr, whom Yazīd had dispatched against him from Medina, clashed with one another in the Sacred Territory in the year 61/681 (cf. Rotter, *Zweiter Bürgerkrieg* 41 ff.). This led to *vaticinationes ex eventu* in which the infinitive *ilḥād* or its verb-form appear (for instance Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* ²IX, 93, no. 6200, and XII, 9, no. 7043, and also Rotter 145; on this see also WKAS II, 285). This explains why in general the word is used in the *Ḥadīth* with a more special meaning than in the Koran (cf. *Conc.* VI, 95a), and again it is perhaps because of this connection that it has for a long time occupied a less central position in theology than one

in: *Maj. Kull. al-Ādāb Baghdād* 5/1962, Arabic Part, pp. 45 ff. (also in: Afshār-i Shīrāzī, *Mutūn-i ‘arabī* 306 ff.; investigated by Cl. Huart, “Les zindīqs en droit musulman” in: *Actes XI Congrès International Paris III*, 69 ff.), or Majlisī, *Bīḥār* LXIII, 46, ll. 1 ff. An overview of the relevant scholarship is provided by Taheri-Iraqi, *Zandaqa* 21 ff.

15 Cf. de Menasce, *Škand gumānīk vičār* 238 ff., especially 244.

16 On this cf. the translation by M. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran. Sapor and Kartir* (Chicago 1953). Providing a summary, Monnot, *Penseurs musulmans* 98 f.; now also Bailey in: CHI III, 907 f.

17 *Murūj* II, 167, ll. 7 ff./1, 292, ll. 1 ff.; cf. also already Theodore Abū Qurra, *Mīmar fī wujūd al-khālīq* 205, ll. 6 f. from bot. or Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā’il* III, 252, l. 6.

18 Ibn al-Nadīm does the same.

might expect. What the word's relationship is to *lahd* "grave niche" and *alhada* "to dig a grave niche" has up till now remained unclear.

On *dahrī* cf. EI² 11, 95 ff. under *Dahriyya*; also Zaehner, *Zurvan* 23 and 267. More is found below in Chpt. B 2.2.1.5 and D 1.3.2.1; on *dahr* also see above p. 31.

2.1.5.2 Manicheanism in the Early Islamic Period

The history of Manicheanism under Islamic rule only marginally belongs to our subject. Moreover, the meager data that we possess have already been assessed several times.¹ The Muslims at the time of their conquests certainly encountered Manicheans in the most varied regions: in Alexandria and in Beirut perhaps,² as well as in North Africa,³ and possibly even in Damascus.⁴ In these places they probably scarcely took note of them. In Iraq the situation in the beginning was not any different. Like in the regions ruled over by the Byzantines, in Mesopotamia up until the end of the Sassanian period the Manicheans were in fact forced to live underground; as people with the false "commentary", they were exposed to the resentment and persecutions of the Mazdean priesthood. Ibn al-Nadīm reports that they had withdrawn to Khorāsān in the Turkish region and only after the victory of the Arabs when Zoroastrianism was deprived of power, did they return to their native home where Mani himself had appeared at the court of Shāpūr I and his successor Hormizd. Only during the Umayyad period did the Archegos again actually take up his seat in "Babylon", i.e. probably in Madā'in/Ctesiphon; at least the

1 Vajda, op. cit.; Sadighi, *Mouvements religieux* 84 ff.; Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit* 206 ff.; Monnot, *Penseurs musulmans* 91 ff.; Morony, *Iraq* 404 ff. and finally Lieu, *Manicheism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* 82 ff. For source criticism, C. Colpe, *Der Manichäismus in der arabischen Überlieferung* (Diss. Göttingen 1954), pp. 145 ff. Texts on Manicheanism and heretical movements in general are thankfully collected together by Aḥmad Afshār-i Shīrāzī, *Mutūn-i 'arabī va fārsī dar bāra-yi Mānī va Mānavīyyat* (= Taqizāde, *Mānī va dīn-i ū*; Teheran 1355 sh.).

2 On this cf. Jarry, *Les hérésies dualistes dans l'empire byzantin du V^e au VII^e siècle*, in: BIFAO 63/1965/89 ff. Still in the first half of the 3rd century *hijrī* the poet Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim who originated from Egypt bore the nom de plume Mānī al-Muwaswas (on him GAS 2/558 f.). But we do not know how he acquired this name.

3 A man from Cyrenaica (Ifriqiya) became Archegos during the time of Manšūr (Ibn al-Nadīm 398, ll. 3 f.). On this also F. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne* 1, 233 and previously; in general Lieu 85 ff.

4 Another head bore the *nisba* al-Dimashqī (ibid. 398, ll. 11 f.). As is known, a dialogue against the Manicheans is attributed to John of Damascus (PG 94, col. 1503 ff.). For Palestine in the 4th and 5th centuries cf. G. G. Stroumsa in: *Studia Patristica XVIII*, 273 ff.

dignitaries of the community, as well as presumably the Electi, had therefore gone into exile.⁵ Around 600 in the East a new variety of doctrine had developed which in the Arabic sources is known as Dēnāvāriyya.⁶ From there missionaries penetrated all the way into Chinese territory. Their activity perhaps goes back to the 5th century⁷ but visibly gained momentum after the Muslims under Muʿāwiya had reached Afghanistan around 55/675. In a Chinese chronicle they are unambiguously recorded for the first time under the year 694.⁸ Some time between 143/760 and 184/800, Tamīm b. Baḥr al-Muṭṭawwiʿī discovered them in Turkestan among the Uyghurs.⁹

In Iraq they were now suddenly on top. Ḥajjāj and Khālīd al-Qasrī were well disposed towards them – assuredly not for humanitarian reasons but because they were good to use as civil servants. Presumably the Arabs could play them off against the Zoroastrians who until then had had the administration in their hands.¹⁰ We hear about “a scribe” who lived in Madāʿin and worked in the ministries of Ḥajjāj. He was very rich and without being punished could build a monastery there for an ascetic friend who belonged to the Electi.¹¹ After the latter’s death a certain Miqlāṣ became head of the convent who was perhaps an Iraqi Arab if one is to judge by his name;¹² he provoked a schism which,

5 *Fihrist* 400, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; Massignon had suggested that by Bābil in Ibn al-Nadīm was meant Madāʿin (*Passion* 21, 429/1, 381). The word generally means a whole region (E1² 1, 846 s. v.).

6 *Fihrist* 397, ll. 12 ff. from bot. On this Böhlig, *Die Gnosis* III, 63 (with ftn. 210) and 94 (with ftn. 56); Klimkeit in: *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens* 62 f.; Lieu 179.

7 Thus according to the thesis of Lio Ts’un-yan, “Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichean Activities in Pre-T’ang China” in: *Selected Papers from the Hall of the Harmonious Wind* (Leiden 1976), pp. 3 ff.

8 Schmidt-Glntzer in: *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens* 86 f. Based on this, one chiefly dates their penetration into Chinese territory shortly beforehand: 692 (so in Colpe in CHI III, 861) or around 675 (so in Monnot, *Penseurs musulmans* 87). Cf. also Widengren in: CHI III, 988 f., and in detail now Lieu 189 ff. The missionaries were merchants; their arrival is therefore in principle independent of political shifts.

9 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* II, 24 b, ll. 12 ff.; also v, 311, ll. 9 ff. On the dating cf. Miquel, *Géographie humaine* II, 206.

10 But one also criticized Khālīd al-Qasrī because he placed the “Magians” above the Muslims (Ṭabarī II, 1623, l. 6).

11 Ibn al-Nadīm 397, ll. 7 ff. from bot./transl. Vajda 176.

12 The basic meaning is “fat camel” (cf. Lane, *Lexicon* 2560 a). The caliph al-Manṣūr is supposed to have been called thus in his youth. But this is simply taken from a legend about the building of Baghdād; allegedly there had been a prophecy according to which the city was meant to be founded by a certain Miqlāṣ (cf. Lassner, *Shaping of Abbasid Rule* 164). Does this have anything to do with the convent of Miqlāṣ?

as we learn from the *Fihrist*, was ignited by the problem of *wiṣālāt*. The latter term until recently was not clearly explained; but much now suggests that it was a question of the relations of the Manicheans – the Electi? – with members of other religions, that is to say their relationship with the Muslim state.¹³ The sect turned against the idea that “Babylon” was the only legitimate seat of the Archegos; moreover, they reproached the old believers because their former spiritual leader, a man named Mihr, had accepted presents from Khālid al-Qasrī.¹⁴ But under al-Manṣūr the followers of Miqlās, after he had died, gave up the prescriptions which he had issued regarding *wiṣālāt*. Nor did they succeed in maintaining their puritanism; they subsequently frequented the court themselves and even accepted being invited for meals despite the commandment imposing vegetarianism.¹⁵

Thanks to this capacity to adapt, they were able to persist over several generations and within bounds to preserve their high reputation. Under Maʿmūn we hear of a spiritual leader by the name of Yazdānbukht, “redeemed by God”; he worked upon the Arabic version of the *Shābuhragān*. It appears that he was followed by Abū ʿAlī Saʿīd who in the year 271/884 still speculated in a treatise on the duration of the present world.¹⁶ The persecution of heretics which had broken out under al-Mahdī (158/775–169/785) probably did not affect the Manicheans themselves as decisively as is frequently stated. They did have to pull in their head; but generally speaking no heads were cut off within the community.¹⁷ Up until the time of al-Muqtadir (295/908–320/932) they

13 On this cf. Vajda 177 f. with fn. 2; also Monnot 120, who here ignores Vajda and strangely only bases himself on a certain secondary interpretation of Dodge which is already prepared in Flügel (Flügel, *Mani* 103 and fn. 337). Kessler also translates as “social contact with non-Manicheans” (*Mani* 228); Henning is inclined to a similar interpretation (in: *ZDMG* 90/1936/16 f.). Schaefer suggested instead “periods of continual fasting” (in: *Iranica*, Abh. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. III 10, 1934, p. 21, fn. 2); so also Chokr recently, *Zandaqa* 89, fn. 75 (without reference to Schaefer). Sadighi thinks of “rappports sexuels” (*Mouvements* 86). Each interpretation has to take into account that the term already appears in the corpus of Mani’s letters (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm 400, ll. 4 and 9). Hence it is a matter of an old controversial question.

14 Ibn al-Nadīm 398, ll. 4 f. and 8 f./transl. Vajda 177 f.; on this Colpe in: *Festschrift Rundgren* 76.

15 Ibid. 398, 4 f. and 8 f./transl. Vajda 178. On details cf. also Taheri-Iraqi, *Zandaqa* 107 ff. and 283.

16 Further details in Colpe, *Manichäismus* 146 f.; cf. also idem in *CHI* III, 861, and in *Festschrift Rundgren* 75 f., as well as recently in *Das Siegel der Propheten* 233 ff.

17 But cf. the report in Michael Syrus, *Chronique* XII, 1 = Vol. III, 3 a, according to which a place named Pādānā Rabtā where many Manicheans lived was destroyed at that time.

could appear in public life.¹⁸ But then everything went rapidly downhill. The Archegos moved back to Central Asia; he now lived in Samarqand where the government authorities provided protection to the Manicheans for reasons of foreign policy – while they apparently viewed them as “Šābians”.¹⁹ In Baghdād Ibn al-Nadīm in his youth, in the time of Mu‘izz al-Dawla (334/945–356/967), still found approximately 300 of them; when he composed his book around 377/988 there were not even five persons left.²⁰

Muslim antiquarians claimed that in pre-Islamic times there were also Manicheans in the Arabian Peninsula. In this connection they spoke of “the *zanādiqa* of the Quraysh” and believed that the influence originated from the Christians in Hīra. The oldest report is found in Kalbī (d. 204/819?);²¹ Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860)²² and Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889)²³ obviously based themselves on him. This probably is not saying very much; the names that we are given all appear to be taken from the Prophet’s biography: they are opponents of Muḥammad like Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith who did not themselves convert to Islam.²⁴ In any case, it had no significance for conditions in Iraq. Here the Manicheans made an impression by means of their splendidly illuminated codices;²⁵ Mani in later Persian poetry has been remembered as the painter *κατ’ ἐξοχήν*.²⁶ One also took over from them, without always being aware of it, much narrative material from India.²⁷

Consequently, in the long run there arose a scientific interest. The *Shābuhragān*, which went back to Mani himself, is cited in its Arabic version by both Ibn al-Nadīm as well as Ya‘qūbī; Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq and Bīrūnī perhaps

18 Ibn al-Nadīm 400, last l. The sentence is not completely unequivocal. Vajda translates *injalaw* as “ils firent parler d’eux” (p. 178); Massignon evidently understood the word as “they were banished” (*Passion* 21, 429/1, 381).

19 Monnot in: MIDEO 13/1977/40 = *Islam et religions* 130; on this below Chpt. B 3.1.2.4.

20 *Fihrist* 401, ll. 5 f./Vajda 179.

21 On this Monnot in RHR 188/1975/29 = *Islam et religions* 33.

22 *Muḥabbar* 161, ll. 7 ff.

23 *Ma‘ārif* 621, l. 11 > Ibn Rusta, *A’lāq* 217, ll. 9 f. and Nashwān, *Hūr* 136, l. 8. On this in general Monnot, *Penseurs* 94 ff. Schaefer in: *Gnomon* 9/1933/344 f., and Sadighi, *Mouvements* 108, had already referred to Ibn Qutayba.

24 Cf. also Taheri-Iraqi, *Zandaqa* 79 ff. and Chokr, *Zandaqa* 471 ff. The only attempt to organize all this information into a more coherent whole is that of W. Seston in: *Mélanges Dussaud* 1, 227 ff. For another interpretation see below p. 510 f.

25 Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān* 1, 55, ll. 5 ff. from bot./transl. Souami 142 f.

26 On this for instance Asmussen in: OLZ 81/1986/471 and Elran II, 689 f. s. v. *Aržang*.

27 Cf. Bang, “Manichäische Erzähler”, in: *Muséon* 44/1931/1 ff.; also Henning in: BSOAS 11/1943–46/465 ff. and Asmussen in: *Temenos* 2/1966/5 ff.

were acquainted with the whole text. One read other works as well, *The Book of Giants*, *The Pragmateia* and *The Praecepta*.²⁸ The *Fihrist*, along with seven large books, lists 77 treatises which were composed by Mani and his successors.²⁹ One knew much about the muddled mythology of the Manicheans; the detailed report in Ibn al-Nadīm, as is known, was one of the oldest sources for research on the Manicheans.³⁰ Jāhīz looked into this literature and came away with the impression that it contained neither philosophy nor *kalām*-questions but instead it continually dealt with “light and darkness, the promiscuity of devils and the rutting lust of demons”, etc.³¹ The doxographers gave their attention to this material; in recent times their accounts have been systematically examined in connection with the interpretation of new sources.³² However, as soon as they aspire to a theological discussion, the accent shifts. All mythological detail, the drama of the primordial man for instance, and even the biography of Mani himself, recede into the background; interest focuses entirely on the dualistic model as such, and here once again not as one would expect by analogy with the Christian West, for instance with Augustine, on its ethical aspect but on the question of cosmogony.³³

There is a special reason for this. Dualism was certainly what would first of all catch the attention of “one who professes God’s oneness”. Mythology was

28 For details cf. Colpe, *Manichäismus* 123 ff., also 132. Now also Michael Heath Browder, *Al-Bīrūnī as a Source for Mani and Manicheism* (PhD Duke Univ. 1982).

29 400, ll. 1 ff.; on this Taheri-Iraqi 117 ff. On the surviving Middle-Persian fragments of Mani’s writings cf. Boyce in HO IV 2, 1, pp. 67 ff. and CHI III, 1196 ff.

30 G. Flügel, himself editor of Ibn al-Nadīm, translated the report into German (*Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*; Leipzig 1862). Ibn al-Nadīm is also consulted in detail in the latest anthology by A. Böhlig (*Die Gnosis III: Der Manichäismus*. Bibl. der Alten Welt, Zürich 1980).

31 *Ḥayawān* I, 57, ll. 7 ff.

32 Cf. Vajda in: *Arabica* 13/1966/4 ff. in connection with the *K. al-Tawḥīd* of Māturīdī, while bringing together all the parallels identified up till then; Monnot, *Penseurs*, on Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, in particular his *Mughnī* (pp. 152 ff.), but also on the *K. Tathbīt dalā’il al-nubuwwa* (pp. 277 ff.; and again separately in: RHR 183/1973/3 ff.). For Māturīdī cf. again Monnot, *Penseurs* 303 f. and in MIDEO 13/1977/39 ff. (= *Islam et religions* 129 ff.); he probably based himself on the *K. al-Tawḥīd* of Muḥammad b. Shabīb (cf. Vajda, op. cit., 31 and Madelung in: *Festschrift Spuler* 219, ftn. 31). Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār goes back to the *K. Ārā’ wa’l-diyānāt* of Nawbakhtī (cf. Monnot, *Penseurs* 53 ff. and where he corrects Madelung in: *Festschrift Spuler* 214, ftn. 12). The earlier state of research is presented by A. Abel, “Les sources arabes sur le manichéisme” in: *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist. Or. Slaves* 16/1961–62/31 ff.

33 On the polemical literature cf. in general the bibliography by Monnot in: MIDEO 11/1972/5 ff.; to be added now is Abū ‘Ammār ‘Abd al-Kāfī, *Mūjaz* I, 284 ff. For the particular tone set in Augustine cf. F. Decret, *Aspects du Manichéisme dans l’Afrique Romaine* (Paris 1970).

perhaps picturesque but also – in the eyes of a Muslim – “crazy”. It never represented a danger for Islam; there was nothing that offered it a foothold. The Manicheans found themselves in a completely unfamiliar situation. As Nyberg already assumed,³⁴ they may well have returned to “Babylon” with the intention of settling down in Islam just as they had previously done in Christianity and Buddhism. Likewise, the translations of Mani’s writings into Arabic may have been carried out with this view in mind. This would have coincided with the will of the founder; the books should in fact be adapted to the different countries, and his religion should be capable of being learned everywhere.³⁵ Manicheanism had an inclination for reform; it wanted to show the members of earlier religions quite plainly the true and original sense of their scriptures. But Islam had emerged with exactly the same program; moreover, in relation to Manicheanism it was not older but younger. The doctrine of Mani had grown on the tree of ancient syncretism; but the Muslims, at least as far as their religion was concerned, for the time being did not think much of antiquity. There had scarcely been any mythology earlier in the Arabian Peninsula; since the rise of Muḥammad it was under the odium of *shirk* and had completely faded away.

For this reason, we only have meager evidence that the Manicheans ventured to take the next step and made an attempt to come forth under the cloak of Islam. Among the fragments from Central Asia preserved in Berlin, Henning unearthed a Persian *qaṣīda* written in Manichean script in which amidst clearly Manichean content one finds many adapted Muslim phrases.³⁶ Bīrūnī relates that the Manicheans worked with a spurious “Gospel of the Seventy” which, according to its introductory remark, had been written down at the dictation of Salmān al-Fārisī; it therefore seems it was destined for Shīʿite ears.³⁷ But both these cases of evidence pertain to Eastern Iran, and are not sufficient as proof of a specifically Arabo-Islamic “further development of the Manichean system”.³⁸ It never came to a doctrinal adaptation or to subversive activity, at least not in Iraq; in the center of power this would have been deadly. People like the Miqlāṣite Yazdānbukht, who appeared at the court, were able to survive precisely because they admitted their otherness *vis-à-vis* Islam and in this way, similarly to the recognized *ahl al-kitāb*, were able to lay claim to its protection.³⁹

34 In: *Zs. Neutest. Wiss.* 34/1935/74.

35 Ort, *Mani* 116 and 70.

36 Cf. his essay in: *A Locust’s Leg.* Festschrift Taqizadeh 98 ff.

37 *Āthār* 23, ll. 12 ff. But the title shows that the work originally had a Christian air about it.

38 Cf. the title of the lecture by Schaeder in: *Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg IV* (Leipzig 1927).

39 On this cf. the story in Ibn al-Nadīm 401, ll. 3 ff. from bot./Vajda 182. In general Colpe, *Manichäismus* 148 ff.

2.1.5.3 *Zandaqa* as a Social and Religious Phenomenon

The phenomenon of *zandaqa* is to be explained not so much by Manichean missionary activity but rather because certain Muslims, chiefly intellectuals, discovered things in Manichean thought which Islam at the time could not offer them. Many of them may have been neophytes who already brought with them this predisposition. T. Nagel has drawn attention to the important passage in Jahshiyārī according to which in Khorāsān at the time of Naṣr b. Sayyār the clerks of the chancellery (*kuttāb*) who had been Zoroastrians up until then were obliged to convert to Islam if they wished to retain their positions.¹ This took place in the year 124/742 at the order of Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī who at the time was the governor of Iraq. He had taken over Khālīd al-Qasrī’s position and, aside from the personal hostility that led him to fall out with Khālīd, he had evidently also cancelled the latter’s policy towards non-Muslims. The Manicheans in Iraq must have been affected by this as well. When they came over to Islam, they came to be *zanādiqa*.

Yet the key to everything is not to be found in this. Decisive is what we previously noted in the doxographical sources: namely that Manicheanism first and foremost was understood as a cosmogonic system. It came forth in Iraq with a claim to be nothing less than scientific; the idea of two principles, which “mixed together” and caused everything to emerge from them, offered a model for explaining the world that nothing at the time could surpass in rationality.² This aspect was in a certain sense already established in Mani’s writings. *The Kephalaia* answers physiological questions concerning man with claims to being scientific;³ *The Book of Giants* perhaps contained a discourse on the five elements.⁴ The Paraclete, so it says, is meant to instruct the disciples of Jesus about everything; in this way science was included in dogmatics.⁵ But this approach had in the meantime actually been immensely developed. The philosopher al-Kindī, who attacked the Manicheans in several works,⁶ apparently applied himself here above all; we know that he quarrelled with them about astronomical matters.⁷ Likewise, “the dualists” had a preference for reflecting

1 *al-Wuzarā’ wa’l-kuttāb* 67, ll. 3 ff.; on this Nagel, *Rechtleitung* 312 f.

2 On this cf. Colpe, “Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam”, in: *ZDMG* 109/1959/82 ff., especially 88 ff. The question as to whether Colpe’s thesis is correct that Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq speaks “like a Manichean with a Muslim background” or whether he is rather simply a more objective doxographer is irrelevant here. On this cf. below Chpt. C 8.2.1.

3 Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit* 254.

4 Ort, *Mani* 108.

5 Klima, *Mani* 451 f.

6 McCarthy, *al-Taṣānīf al-mansūba ilā faylasūf al-‘Arab*, nos. 148 f. and 251 f.

7 *Ibid.* no. 105.

on the formation of the foetus in the womb;⁸ the problem had been triggered in Islam through the Koran and was pursued in depth especially in the discussion of predestination.⁹ But “the heretics” turned all their attention to “mixing together”. In this way one could not only explain the formation of the world; one could also practice alchemy “rationally” or underpin the humoral-pathological system of medicine.¹⁰

Zandaqa, so it seems, is first of all a phenomenon of acculturation. That the Manicheans consciously initiated it or had smuggled it into Islam is not at all what is being claimed here. We cannot even attest that they had been interested at all in exercising such influence.¹¹ The *zanādiqa*, on the other hand, developed their ideas against an intellectual background which extended far beyond Manicheism. Nor probably did they at all feel that they were contradicting the Koran. As long as the two principles were subordinate to God as Zurvanism had already maintained, then justice was done to the spirit of the Koran; surah 6 began with the words: “Praise be to God who has created heaven and earth and has made darkness and light”.¹² According to Manicheism, as a Muslim was familiar with it, the world was created – but by an angel and from already pre-existing material;¹³ but the angel could easily be replaced and *creatio ex nihilo* was not a central point of contention. But even if one equated one of the principles with God and thereby ended up in a real dualism – did it not say in a prominent passage in the Koran that God is “the light of heaven and earth”? What stopped one from understanding this in the sense that He permeates heaven and earth as light, “mixes together” with them?¹⁴

Moreover, it was by no means only the Manicheans who spoke of “mixing”. One brought into play the Zoroastrians; in their writing as well in connection with a doctrine of elements the concept of *gumēchishn* or *āmēchishn* can be demonstrated, with which they described the mixed situation of our present

8 Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* III 435, ll. 2 ff. from bot./II 356 § 1323.

9 HT 1 ff.

10 The belly is the world of mixture according to the microcosmic model that is advocated in the Mazdean tract about the son who thirsts after learning (transl. Junker 54 and 57). It is clear from this text that the Zoroastrians similarly to the Manicheans assumed that their religion, by contrast with other creeds, is reasonable because of its discernment and experience and consequently compatible with the principles of knowledge (ibid. 44).

11 So also Colpe, *Manichäismus* 145.

12 It is known that Mani is dependent on Zurvanite theology (Widengren, *Religionen Irans* 299; Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit* 205 f.).

13 Ibn al-Nadīm 394, l. 4.

14 Surah 24/35; on this Monnot, *Penseurs* 92 f.

world.¹⁵ But here we can leave them aside. In Iraq one scarcely concerned oneself with them; they had disappeared there very soon after the arrival of Islam.¹⁶ Furthermore, it is not here being denied that they only later first adopt this model; it is first attested in the *Bundahishn*.¹⁷ Much more important for us are “dualists” with whom Muslims had close contact and who did not at all appear so heathen to them because they were in fact near to the Christians: the Marcionites and especially the Daysānites, distant followers of Bardesanes. One still knew how deeply rooted they were in the past: Bardesanes, so says Ibn al-Nadīm, “was called Daysān after the river near which he was born, and was before Mani”; but the Marcionites were “before the Daysāniyya”.¹⁸

2.1.5.4 The Daysāniyya

Bardesanes had indeed lived in Edessa as “the son” of the Daysān which flowed through the city and occasionally overflowed its banks; in the past one had consecrated children to the river god. In the year 222 he died when Mani was only six years old.¹ The latter had taken notice of him; “The Book of Mysteries” contained a refutation of the Daysānites.² How much he was dependent on him is disputed;³ but there is no doubt that Mani did not orient himself according to the Christianity of the Majority Church but according to Marcion and

15 Nyberg in: JA 219/1931/29 and Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems* 88 f.; also Widengren, *Religionen Irans* 303 f., who considers the concept to be of Zurvanite origin.

16 Cf. Morony in: *Iran* 14/1976/53 f. On the theoretical argument with Mazdakism cf. Monnot, *Penseurs* 88 ff. and 137 ff.; on the literary aftereffect idem in: *Islamochristiana* 3/1977/85 ff. (= *Islam et religions* 83 ff.). On Zurvanism according to Islamic sources idem in: JA 1980, pp. 233 ff. (= *ibid.* 171 ff.).

17 Cf. on this C. Colpe, “Die griechische, die synkretistische und die iranische Lehre von der kosmischen Mischung”, in: *Orientalia Suecana* 27–28/1978–79/132 ff. He turns against the early dating and derives the thought in Zoroastrianism from the Manichean and the Sethian system.

18 *Fihrist* 402, ll. 7 and 18.

1 Cf. on him the monograph by H. J. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen 1966). The origin of the name is disputed; already at the time one had concerns about it (cf. Skjaervø in *EIran* III, 781 a).

2 *Fihrist* 399, ll. 10 ff. from bot. On this Flügel, *Mani* 356 f.; Ort, *Mani* 108. A fragment of the work in Birūnī, *Āthār* 27, ll. 12 ff./transl. Sachau I, 54 f.; dealt with in Drijvers 204 f.

3 Cf. the opposed points of view of Drijvers, “Mani und Bardaisan” in: *Mélanges Puech* (Paris 1974), pp. 459 ff., and B. Ehlers-Aland, “Mani und Bardesanes – zur Entwicklung des manichäischen Systems”, in: *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet* (Göttingen 1975), pp. 123 ff.

even Bardesanes.⁴ The Majority Church only first spoke out against him about a century and a half later, through the person of Ephrem the Syrian (306–373); with his hymns Ephrem deployed a dialectical-theological means of expression against him which Bardesanes himself had been the first to develop in Syriac.⁵ His school lived on in Edessa into the late 7th or early 8th century; Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) reports about a *disputatio* between a Šābian from Ḥarrān who advocated astrological fatalism, and a Dayṣānite who stood up for free will.⁶ Abū Qurra, the bishop of Ḥarrān, describes their doctrine as being connected with the Marcionites and the Manicheans which was then the usual view among Muslims as well.⁷ They previously lived in South-Babylonia, as Ibn al-Nadīm knew, in the swamps of the lower reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates, the so-called Baṭā’ih; and they were also dispersed in Khorāsān and in China. They had neither churches nor assembly houses.⁸ Nor was it far from the Baṭā’ih to either Kūfa or to Baṣra. There numerous debates with them took place, whose echo we can still perceive in the sources, especially in Jāhīz and in the *K. al-Intiṣār* of Khayyāt.⁹

Only the question is who debated with the Muslims there. Not necessarily the people from the swamps; the haughty city-dwellers would presumably have little concern for them. Intellectuals only associate with intellectuals; but for this the Dayṣānites, after having emigrated from the countryside and ended up in the metropole, would eventually have risen socially. Only then would they have felt the need to present the books of Bardesanes in Arabic. Ibn al-Nadīm gives the title of three of them: “The Book of Light and Darkness”, “The Book on God’s Spirituality” (? *K. Rūḥānīyyat al-Ḥaqq*) and “The Book of the Mobile and the Inanimate”. The heads of the school, he continues, had also composed books; but these “have not reached us”.¹⁰ Above all, it is interesting

4 Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit* 208 f.

5 Cf. E. Beck, “Bardesanes und seine Schule bei Ephrem”, in: *Muséon* 91/1978/271 ff.; on this critically Tardieu in: *Studia Iranica*, Suppl. 2/1979, Abstracta 17.

6 *Hexaameron*, ed. Chabot 61 b, ll. 3 ff./transl. Vaschalde 49. On this Drijvers, *Bardaisan* 195; also Segal, *Edessa* 36. Drijvers proceeds on the basis that it has to do with a contemporary event (ibid. 228); this is not specifically stated in the source but in fact does seem to be taken for granted.

7 *Mūnar fī wujūd al-khālīq* 209, ll. 7 ff. from bot. = VII, 62 ff.; on this the German translation of Graf, *Traktat über die wahre Religion* 30 and previously.

8 *Fihrist* 402, ll. 14 f. According to Ephrem, they gathered together in caves (Drijvers 162). Nor did the houses of God of the Manicheans have altars or crucifixes, or a church spire (cf. Abel in: *Mélanges Crozet* I 37).

9 More on this below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.4.1.1, and also 3.2.2.2.1.3.

10 *Fihrist* 402, ll. 15 f.

that the three titles are not known to us from the Syriac tradition. They were evidently translated from Pahlavī; one has perhaps too hastily assumed Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was engaged in this.¹¹ We therefore probably are dealing with apocryphal works. Moreover, what al-Jāhīz says about this is important: the works of the Dayṣānites, like those of the Marcionites and the Manicheans would have persisted in their slumber eternally unnoticed among their owners if they had not been brought to the notice of Muslims by Christian theologians (*mutakallimūn*), doctors and astrologers.¹² Thus, one is evidently not so much in touch with a religious sect as with an intellectual ambiance. It is distinguished, as al-Jāhīz again notes, by a particular vocabulary which “the heretics” had put together and which was only used by *mutakallimūn*; here naturally belonged words like “mixture”, “light”, “darkness”, but also fashionable abstract formations like *wijdān* or *buṭlān*.¹³

How one reacted to this was a question of temperament and of political circumstances. A Dayṣānite could be “a heretic”; but sometimes one saw in him simply a representative of a particular system. Dayṣānites are still mentioned for Egypt in the second half of the 3rd/9th century in the environment of Ibn Ṭūlūn – perhaps in this restricted sense.¹⁴ Bardesanes is in fact also spoken of in the *K. Sirr al-khalīqa* which one attributed to Apollonius of Tyana and which was perhaps produced in Egypt.¹⁵

How during these long centuries the original doctrine of Bardesanes was transformed must be decided by the specialists. Many points have simply faded away in the Arabic tradition. The latter knows nothing about the life of the school’s founder. We hear not a word about the way in which Bardesanes understood how to harmonize human freedom with fate¹⁶ – noteworthy, at any rate, in view of the fact that in Jacob of Edessa the Dayṣānite still appeared

11 See below Chpt. B 2.2.1.4.

12 *Radd ‘alā’l-Naṣārā* in: *Rasā’il* III, 320, last l. ff./transl. Allouche 137.

13 *Ḥayawān* III, 366, ll. 5 ff.

14 Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* II, 391, ll. 5 ff./II, 83 § 803.

15 *Sirr* 90, l. 11, and 92, l. 3 ff.; Bardesanes appears here simply as Dayṣān. On this Weißer, *Das “Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung”* 87. But Weißer wishes to assume that the author quotes imprecisely and bases himself on Greek heresiologies (ibid. 53). He is indeed not very well informed. But possibly the thesis proceeds from false assumptions. If the information goes back not to literary tradition but to other contacts (not necessarily with Dayṣānites themselves), then it is not a matter of comparing it with Bardesanes, as occurs on p. 170 f., but with the Arab tradition. On the home of the apocryphal work see below Chpt. B 5.

16 On this Drijvers 85 ff.; also Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit* 211. The subject is thoroughly dealt with in T. Jansma’s monograph, *Natuur, lot en vrijheid* (Wageningen 1969 = *Cahiers*

as the champion of *liberum arbitrium* and that Muslim theologians were also slogging away with the problem. Finally, it is striking to what extent the link between soteriology and cosmology, which is found just as much in Bardesanes as in Mani, is dissolved among the Arabs in favour of the latter component. But cosmology had also already been given special expression by the school's founder. Bardesanes had positioned the four elements between light and darkness. They were then, as he believed, haphazardly confounded but then brought back into order once again by "the word of thought" (*mēmṛā de-tar'ītā*). The elements in his view had an atomic structure; at the same time each one of them possesses a colour of its own as well as an odour, taste, form and sonority – i.e. characteristics which correspond to the five senses. These qualities can be exchanged between them and are meant to be imagined as corporeal. Moreover, everything is corporeal, even if to a different degree. This may have served as a basis for alchemical interests; alongside Stoic influence, which one has always thought of, one must also consider the effects of Hermeticism which was practiced in Ḥarrān.¹⁷ When the school of Bardesanes underwent the influence of Manicheanism, these cosmological features, which in the beginning were only one among several elements, came to acquire stronger interest.

Here we cannot go into the Arabic doxographical tradition in detail. Nor is this particularly necessary; the essential texts are all accessible in translation. As in the case of Manicheanism, here also we may have recourse to the works of Vajda and Monnot.¹⁸ Then recently, Madelung brought to light a detailed original quotation from what for the time being is our oldest source, from the *K. al-Maqālāt* of Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq, which – as well as a second work by the same author, his *K. Iqtīṣāṣ madhāhib aṣḥāb al-ithnayn* – had otherwise previously only been consulted indirectly and in an abbreviated form, for the most part via the *K. al-Ārā' wa'l-diyānāt* of Nawbakhtī. Madelung supposes that Abū

bij het Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift, no. 6). The discussion on this in NThT 24/1969–70/89 ff. and 256 ff.

17 For particulars cf. Drijvers, *Bardaisan* 136 f. and 219 f.; on Hermeticism idem in *Jaarbericht – Ex Oriente Lux* 21/1969–70/197 ff. On the doctrine about elements also Jansma in: *Mémorial G. Khouri-Sarkis* 93 ff. and Kruse in: OC 71/1987/24 ff. (with relevant texts). On Ḥarrān see below Chpt. B 2.4.1.

18 Vajda in: *Arabica* 13/1966/23 ff. (according to Māturīdī, with all important parallels indicated). Monnot following Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār in *Penseurs* 165 ff. (the same already Vajda in *Arabica* 122 f.) and 238 ff. (refutation); in general also 71 ff. Along with it cf. Ivanow, *The Alleged Founder of Ismailism* 86 ff. and *Ibn al-Qaddāh* 75 ff.; Drijvers 122 f. Not included up to now is the refutation of the Dayṣāniyya in Abū 'Ammār 'Abd al-Kāfi, *Mūjaz* 1, 291 ff. But it is a purely scholastic obligatory exercise which offers nothing new as far as content.

‘Īsā was by no means “familiar at first hand with the religion of Bardesanites” but draws on “reports about the debates of Muslim *kalām*-theologians with dualists in the early Abbasid period”.¹⁹ This accords with what we said above: Abū ‘Īsā reports not about a religious group but about representatives of a dualistically conceived cosmological system. For our purposes it is sufficient to present his account here without further commentary:²⁰

The doctrine of the Dayṣānites: What Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq reports about their doctrinal beliefs is for the most part in agreement with the Manicheans. But they differ from the latter in some matters. Among these is that in their view darkness is lifeless, without feeling, unknowing and powerless. Moreover, it is stagnant, and its actions are determined by its nature. Knowledge, power, feeling, intention and movement are specific to light. They explain this by the fact that darkness is the adversary (*ḍidd*) of light and its qualities must therefore be the opposite of light’s qualities . . .

Also among these differences is their doctrine that light is only a single kind (*jīns*) and the same is true of darkness. They say that light has a single sense perception (*idrāk muttafaq*) so that its hearing is identical with its vision, and with its sense of smell, and so on with its sense of taste and touch. The names are different only because of structure and constitution, and because of the darkness’ encounter (*mulāqāt*) with it during their mixing. They say that colour is identical with taste, with smell, with sound and with touch resistance (*majassa*). But it is considered to be colour because darkness is mixed with it in a particular way. The same holds true for taste and the other senses.

They say this simply to confirm their doctrine that each of the two are of a single kind. This they explain by the fact that a kind can only vary by means of an admixture or a penetration (of a foreign substance). Now since light, as well as darkness, was free of its partner before the mixture, each of them must be of one kind. Furthermore, difference only arises between opposite things. But where there is no opposition, agreement must prevail. This is the manner of their explanation of their thesis that light’s hearing is identical with its vision and colour is identical with taste, as we have reported about them. For this reason, it is reported about them that light is entirely white and darkness is entirely black. Additional

19 In: *Festschrift Spuler* 210 ff., there p. 214. The passage is preserved in the *K. al-Mu’tamad* of the Mu’tazilite Malāḥimī (or Ibn Malāḥimī).

20 I follow Madelung’s translation (pp. 212 ff.). The Arabic original is not accessible to me.

differences consist of their doctrine that from all eternity they have been attracted to one another and they collided against their outer surface (*ṣafha*), while each of the two in its own realm remained unmixed with the other until light mingled with darkness.

In addition, they are of a different opinion about what was the cause of the mixture. Some of them maintain that the light suffered pain from darkness because of the latter's asperity and coarseness. It therefore wished to refine the darkness so that it would be softer to the touch. Consequently, (light) built this world and formed these forms. It will continue with this until it has made the darkness fine and then frees itself from it. – It is reported by someone who gave information about them that the light voluntarily penetrated into the darkness in order to improve it. But when it joined the darkness, it came under coercion and sought to free itself from that.

All of them gave as an explanation for this that the light is wise. A wise person seeks to push away harm from himself and makes use of his wisdom for this. But it is inevitable that the light must endure evil when pushing away darkness in order to ward off suffering from itself, since it is alone in this and necessarily must come into contact and have commerce with the dark.

Then they are of a different opinion on another point, and those who maintain that the light intended to penetrate the darkness in order to refine it and to soften its asperity, say that it accords with wisdom that the light use cunning to penetrate the darkness from the place where it is easy for it to do so. For the asperity of darkness which meets it does not come from a difference in its kind. Rather, darkness can be compared with the teeth of a saw by contrast with the softness of the saw's blade. For this reason, the light seeks to work at softening it from within until the light reaches the outer edge which was closest to it at the beginning. It has by then refined what lies behind the edge, and at this point in time it comes forth from it since the harshness of darkness has yielded and its sharpness has been weakened. The penetration of the light into the darkness and its emergence from it in this way are thus easier than its direct contact with the sharp edge and the harshness of darkness at the beginning.

They compare this with someone who encounters a lion and is obliged to drive it away. It would not be in conformity with wisdom to cast oneself against it or to confront it where its fangs and claws come to the fore. Rather, wisdom would dictate that he encounter it where it is soft and its harmfulness is slight. The others contradict them and say it is not

consistent with wisdom and warding off evil that the light intentionally penetrate into the darkness in the knowledge that darkness if light penetrates into it will surround it on all sides so that its evil thereby becomes powerful. They compare this to the case of someone alongside whom there is a cadaver, the stench of which is causing him distress. Wisdom in warding off the harm does not then consist of his penetrating into the interior of the cadaver and then attempting to come forth from inside it. Rather, it consists in pushing it away at the point where it is closest to him. If something of it mixes with himself, he would seek to remove it.

2.1.5.5 The Marcionites

In addition, Madelung's essay also makes available to us Abū 'Īsā's report about the Marcionites. This report is even more important than the report concerning the Daysānites; because apparently here Abū 'Īsā is not simply reporting at secondhand but conveys information which he has heard from representatives of the sect itself. We do not know where they originated from or where he met them. But in any case he found himself confronted with two different traditions which cannot be entirely harmonized with one another. Marcionites were ascetics; consequently, one could most easily recognize them.¹ But they likewise put emphasis on their being Christians; this confused the Muslims. "They hid themselves behind Christianity", as Ibn al-Nadīm says.² Already in the inscription of Kartēr, "the Christians" who are mentioned there were probably Marcionites; the other Christians are there grouped under the name "Nasoreans".³ In Iran they also maintained themselves the longest; Ibn al-Nadīm knew that many of them lived in Khorāsān.⁴ As late as the 6th/12th century, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Naysābūrī, when he comes to speak of the Christians in his *Tafsīr-i Baṣā'ir-i Yamīnī*, also mentions alongside the Nestorians, Jacobites and Melkites who for the Muslims always represent Christianity in a heresiographical trinity, "the Marqūsiyyān who describe Jesus

1 Vööbus, *History of Asceticism* 1, 45 ff.; Trimmingham, *Christianity among the Arabs* 142 f.; also Morony, *Iraq* 402 f.

2 *Fihrist* 402, l. 4 from bot.

3 So Asmussen in CHI 930 according to a hypothesis of de Menasce.

4 *Fihrist*, *ibid.* For the earlier period cf. Gerō in: Hedrick and Hodgson, *Nag Hammadi* 290; in general Lieu, *Manicheanism* 38 f.

as a third god”.⁵ Bīrūnī maintains that just like the Dayṣānites they had their own Gospel which partly diverged from the usual four.⁶

In Mesopotamia, like the Dayṣānites, they had been open to dualism under the influence of Manicheism in pre-Islamic times.⁷ As such, this is presumably how the Muslim *mutakallimūn* became acquainted with them; Theodore Abū Qurra writes about them as a living reality.⁸ In the East, on the other hand, this reorientation never took place; Manicheism was not so close to them there because it had not adapted itself so strongly to Christianity.⁹ For this reason, they there preserved their original characteristics better, and for this reason Abū ʿĪsā’s report now consists of two parts: “an old-Marcionite” section from the Eastern tradition which in many ways coincides with the early Christian sources, and “a young-Marcionite” section for which Abū ʿĪsā relied on the *mutakallimūn* and which basically contains what up till now we already knew from the Muslim doxographers.

1. “The doctrine of the Marcionites: They believe that God Most High is a truth which no one can reject or refute. They teach that the devil likewise exists but without belonging to the ordinance (*amr*) of God Most High. They say that between the two of them, however, is yet a third one who stands in the middle under God and above the devil, by nature peaceable, meek and gentle. Then the devil revolted against him, inflicted injustice on him and mixed himself with him. After that he then built this world from the mixture. But he mixed himself with him in order to benefit from his (the third one’s) activity (*fiʿl*) so as to transform his evil into good, his death into life, his hardness into softness and to find healing through him (*yataṭabbab bih*).

Then he displayed his forces and his cravings (*humūm*) in the world in order to direct and rule it. Among his forces belong the twelve signs of the zodiac, the seven planets, sun and moon and the others. These are the spirits of the devil. Everything that exists in the world in the way of

5 1, 319, l. 11; so also in the anonymous *Tafsīr* Brit. Or. 6573, ed. Matīnī 50, ll. 12 f., but here without names. Hence they must not actually have been a historical reality for him; the name is in fact corrupted. But the false form *Marqūsiyyān* (instead of *Marqiyūniyyān*) may simply have come about through a later misreading.

6 *Āthār* 23, ll. 9 f./transl. Sachau 27. Similarly also Ibn al-Nadīm 402, l. 5 from bot., who mentions an additional book along with it “in which they write about their religious ideas (*dīyānatahum*)”.

7 On their belief in “the two gods” cf. E. Beck, “Die Hyle bei Markion nach Ephrem”, in: OCP 44/1978/5 ff.

8 *Mūmar fī wujūd al-khālīq* 208, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

9 Thus according to a conjecture of Monnot, *Penseurs* 69.

opposing creatures that devour one another and in the way of filth, comes from the devil. The Most Sublime would never have created this. Rather, its maker is the devil, the unclean, the filthy. His forces rule over the world and direct it. He is the maker of fruit-bearing trees as well as those with no fruit and he determines the sustenance of the earth by means of the four seasons. He changes the light of time into night and day. He divides this wealth among his armies; that is why mutual envy prevails among them, and the one infringes on the property of the other. Moral depravity and fear arise among them because of the lying envoys sent to them and the corrupting religions. All this belongs to the cravings of Satan¹⁰ and his forces.

But that things have no ruler over them, as the materialists (*ahl al-dahr*) believe, cannot be right; because the world ruler is too obvious and clear for the proof of this to be in doubt. But that the Most Sublime, as those who profess God's oneness say, created these things from nothingness, is not within his power, and creating evil is not a quality of the wise. Finally, that the maker of human beings and animals is a devil and the creator of the rest of the world is the Merciful Compassionate One, as the dualists say, cannot be right either; because if animals cause calamity and death, so does the hot through its heat and the cold through its icy chill. Water drowns, stones strike, iron cuts and fire burns. But rather, this world is ruled by someone whose governance is continual, whose qualities conform to wickedness and who wills calamity.

When the Most Sublime beheld this, he had compassion for the gentle intermediary who was a prisoner in the hands of the devil. But he did not want to fight with him and befoul himself with the latter's filth. That is why he sent a spirit from himself and let him flow into this world.¹¹ This is Jesus, the spirit of God and his son. He sent him as a warner and as a mercy; therefore whoever follows his way of life, does not kill anything, does not enter into marriage with women, avoids fatty meat (*zuhūmāt*)¹² and intoxicating drink, prays all his life to God and constantly fasts, he will extricate himself from the snares of the devil. This, so they maintain, is the unanimously agreed view of the state of affairs (? *ijmā' al-amr*) . . ."

10 In the manuscript *al-S.ṭ.na*, perhaps for the Syriac *sāṭānā*.

11 *Fa-sayyahāhū*. On the other hand, the parallel passage in Shahrastānī (195, l. 14/644, l. 3) has *masīhīyya*. Then it would be translated: "That is why he sent a messianic spirit from himself into the world".

12 On the meaning of *zuhūmāt* cf. Vajda in: *Arabica* 13/1966/35, ftn. 2, and 124, ftn. 3; Monnot, *Penseurs* 168, ftn. 3.

II. “Abū ʿĪsā said: The informants (*mukhbirūn*), that is to say some of the *kalām*-people, report that along with some of what we have described they teach that the third being is the sentient, perceptive man who has existed from all eternity. They teach that it is he who mixed together the light and darkness, and blended them in an equilibrium (*ʿalāʾl-taʿdīl baynahumā*). They explain this by the fact that both the basic elements are opposed to one another. Thus it is inadmissible that they would have come together to construct the world, and there was an absolute need for a third one to bring the two together. Furthermore, it was inevitable that he should be different from the two of them; because if he were of their kind, he would have been subject to the same limits as they were. In that case, once again there would have been no activity and no governance because two different things would not have been able to unite themselves for one governance.

The informant maintained about them that (they taught) that the man is the life which is found in this body.”¹³

Somewhere in Iran, probably in Transoxania,¹⁴ a group of them split off which went back to a certain Māhān.¹⁵ It was less ascetic and had no objections either to marriage or to slaughtering animals.¹⁶ Abū ʿĪsā emphasizes that these innovators had churches and crosses like Christians;¹⁷ this may mean that they formed normal communities, whereas the Marcionites to whom celibacy was recommended in order “to escape the snares of the devil” perhaps lived as hermits. They simplified their system by equating Jesus, the spirit sent forth into the world by God, with the initial third principle as “the equalizer” (*muʿaddil*). This recalibration was in fact discussed among the Marcionites;¹⁸ in this way the soteriological aspect was pushed into the background and asceticism was

13 Madelung 215 ff.; the remarks are taken over from there. Madelung offers a pertinent commentary in which following the work of Harnack (*Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*. Leipzig 1921) all the parallels to the first section are collected. With the second section should be compared: Vajda in *Arabica* 13/1966/31 ff. (following Māturīdī) and Monnot, *Penseurs* 167 ff., as well as 267 and 297 (following Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār and Nāshīʾ al-akbar). And again Abū ʿAmmār, *Mūjaz* I, 295 ff., should be added.

14 Thus according to Shahrastānī 194, l. 1/637, l. 6, who classifies the group as Mazdakites.

15 Nashwān, *Hūr* 141, l. 9, probably following Kaʿbī.

16 So in any case according to the majority of the sources: *Fihrist* 402, ll. 2 f. from bot.; Abū ʿĪsā; Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (on this Vajda 124 and Monnot 168). Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī maintains the opposite (141, l. 10).

17 Madelung 217.

18 Ibn al-Nadīm 402, ll. 9 f. from bot.

perhaps made superfluous.¹⁹ This nuance is unimportant for us; apparently the Māhāniyya never emerged in Iraq.

2.1.5.6 The Kantaeans

Much more significant are the consequences which result from a final fragment of Abū ʿĪsā. Not that it actually provides many details; but it allows us to establish the so-called Kantaeans as living in South-Babylonia in close proximity to the Mandaeans. H. H. Schaefer, against the opinion of Pognon¹ and especially against the Syriac sources,² had explained the name as a copyist's mistake and thereby attempted to eliminate their very existence.³ This is no longer tenable; the new text makes it possible to confirm further Arabic evidence in which the name was either distorted or where they appeared under the variant designation Ṣiyāmiyya "the Fasters".⁴ They were also ascetics; they fasted continually and retired into the desert.⁵ But they did not live in a sufficiently withdrawn manner to avoid being discovered by the *mutakallimūn*; Shahrastānī relies on a number of them (*jamāʿa*) for his information.⁶

What they report typically concerns a doctrine about the elements; in the Syriac sources this point in particular is unknown. At the same time, one does not necessarily want to speak about dualism. In fact, they based themselves on three primordial principles: water, earth and fire. These mix with one another and thus cause "a world governor for good and bad" to emerge from themselves. Fire, due to the reform of a certain Battai who appeared in Babylonia under Pērōz (459–487), occupied a special position. The Sassanian ruler, as Theodore bar Kōnī reports, had forbidden all religions except Mazdaism; Battai, along with his community, complied with the circumstances and adopted the name

19 Thus Madelung 220; in *Religious Trends* 6 he considers Mazdakite influence.

1 *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir* (Paris 1898–99).

2 For example Theodore bar Kōnī, *Liber Scholiorum* II, 342 ff.

3 "Die Kantäer", in: WO 1/1947–52/288 ff.; K. Rudolph follows him, *Die Mandäer* I, 31 ff.

4 Madelung 221 ff. In the School of Nisibis Nātñi'el of Sīrṣōr (before 628) wrote against the Kantaeans (Vööbus, *School of Nisibis* 293).

5 Nāshi', *Awsat* 73, § 4.

6 *Milal* 196, ll. 6 ff. from bot./648, ll. 1 ff. (transl. *Livre des Religions* 671); there instead of *Kantawīyya* one finds with false diacritical points *K.y.nawīyya*. Madelung moreover argues in an added remark at the end of his essay (in: *Religious Schools and Sects*, no. XX, p. 224 a) for a reading with th; then one would have to write "Kanthaeon". The name is presumably to be derived from the root *k-n-n* and probably goes back to Syriac *kantā* "hide-out, place of shelter" (*Religious Trends* 4).

Yazdānī or Yazwānī.⁷ Bashshār b. Burd may have been influenced by the cult of fire⁸ which the Kantaeans from that time on practiced with fanaticism.⁹

2.1.5.7 Excursus: Mazdakites in the Islamic World

Madelung plays with the idea that Battai, through his doctrine of elements, could have exercised influence on Mazdak.¹ Naturally, the latter cannot have failed to be classified among the dualists by the doxographers. But he captivated the imagination much more by his measures as a revolutionary, especially through his alleged communism and his permission to hold wives in common.² Only the chapter in Shahrastānī forms an exception;³ the cosmological theory reported there, in which among other things two groups of angel-beings, the one a series of seven and another of twelve, play a role, stands competely in isolation. The influence on the Ismā'īliyya is unmistakable; but the section particularly because of its Iranian terminology cannot be dismissed as a shoddy piece of Ismā'īlī work.⁴

In pre-Islamic times the Mazdakites at one point may also have acquired a foothold in the Arabian Peninsula. Kister has recalled a passage from the *Nashwat al-ṭarab* of Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, according to which Mazdakite influence at the time of Kavādh (488–531) penetrated among the Kinda and even reached Mecca.⁵ Yarshater instead thinks that Mazdakite convicts accompanied the army of Kavādh's successor, Khosraw I, when he waged war against Sayf b. Dhī Yazan.⁶ In this regard both scholars base themselves on reports about "the *zanādiqa* of the Quraysh"; but, as we saw, these reports are thoroughly

7 On the form of the name cf. the literature mentioned in Madelung 224, ftn. 52; on the person now *Religious Trends* 3, and Elran III, 873.

8 On this see below Chpt. B 2.2.1.1.

9 Shahrastānī 197, ll. 2 f./649, ll. 7 f.

1 P. 224; *Religious Trends* 5.

2 On this Monnot, *Penseurs* 75 f. and 164 f.

3 *Mīlal* 192, ll. 2 ff. from bot./631, ll. 3 ff.

4 Halm thinks of connections with the Šābians (in: ZDMG, Suppl. II = *DOT Lübeck* 1972, pp. 170 ff.; cf. also *Kosmologie und Heilslehre der frühen Ismā'īliya* 91 ff.). The chapter is translated by Monnot in: *Livre des Religions* 663 ff. and by M. Shaki in: *Papers in Honour of Prof. Mary Boyce* 527 ff. (with a detailed, somewhat hypothetical commentary). Cf. further on this Klima, *Mazdak* 188 ff., and again in: *Studien zum Menschenbild in Gnosis und Manichäismus* 191 ff., as well as Yarshater in CHI III, 1006 ff.

5 *Arabica* 15/1968/144 f. = *Studies in Jāhilīyya and Early Islam*, no. III.

6 In CHI III, p. lxx.

controversial as to their validity.⁷ During the Islamic period the Mazdakites only exerted influence in Iran; but one will have to examine very carefully the movements represented as having a connection with them.

These movements are generally designated by the term *Khurramiyya*. The connection between the two phenomena is affirmed by Madelung in EI² V, 63 ff., under *Khurramiyya*, and Yarshater CHI III, 1001 ff. On Mazdakism in general see *ibid.* 991 ff. and Gh. Gnoli in: ER IX, 302 f.; H. Gaube is critical of the whole tradition in: *Studia Iranica* 11/1982/111 ff. Madelung has recently attempted to interpret Mazdaism as a Zoroastrian reform movement which responded to the religious and social needs of the simple people; he speaks in this connection of a “Low Church” (*Religious Trends* 2). We possess from pre-Islamic times (6th century) a vessel which apparently was used by the Mazdakites as an ossuary (cf. Hrbas-Knobloch, *Kunst Mittelasien*, plate 26). There were regions in Iran which far into the Islamic period were still inhabited exclusively by them (see below Chpt. B 3.2.3.3). In the environs of Rayy was a village where houses were built from animal bones because the Mazdakites who lived there had adopted the role of knackers; they shocked the Muslims because they ate the flesh of animals that had died of natural causes (Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* III, 27, ll. 5 ff./II, 124, ll. 1 ff.). A group of them only finally converted under the influence of Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ (Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 9 ff.). – On the *Mazdaknāma* see below Chpt. B 3.2.1.4.

2.1.5.8 *Zandaqa* in Kūfa

As a phenomenon of acculturation *zandaqa* stretches far back into the past. But it only becomes truly tangible in its late phase when it also took hold in Baghdād and thus entered the light of literary sources. Why previously it had spread to such an extent, particularly in Kūfa, is not easy to explain. The sources always only stress some aspects, and these for the most part fit together rather poorly. Concerning the non-Islamic religious communities which we have dealt with thus far, we learn a lot relatively speaking about doctrine but, by contrast, very little about the whereabouts of their representatives; one must sometimes wonder whether doxographical book learning is not simply being reproduced. Concerning the inner-Islamic *zanādiqa* the situation is still more complex. We have the names of persons whose doctrine is described but without knowing anything about their social position and, on the other hand, we are acquainted with a sizeable number of “intellectuals” whose profession and

⁷ See above p. 494.

environment becomes more or less clear but about whose views very little is explained. The reports relevant to these matters belong to the middle of the 2nd century. When we grope our way further back in time, for the most part, we encounter projections which are motivated in each case by the particular image of history involved.

2.1.5.8.1 *Cosmology and Natural Philosophy*

How wide the circle of subject matter was about which the *zanādiqa* spoke is revealed by a passage in the *Mughnī* of Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār.¹ Nawbakhtī, following an older source,² had collected materials on how they thought “about space and air, about accidents, about the validity and the uselessness of deductive procedure,³ about renouncing punishment and retaliation, about medical treatment (? *‘ilāj*) and the appointment of the head of the community (*imām*) or the ruler”. But the Qāḍī dismisses all this: “These doctrines are not specific to the dualists. We do not therefore have to report on them (here) . . .” In this way he cuts out precisely those things which were probably adopted with the least hindrance into the thinking of the *mutakallimūn*. In Nāshī’ as well, who apparently had the same passage before him, there is not much more that has remained.⁴ Since the “sects” dealt with no longer possessed any reality at the time, they had shrunk to being a single variety of dualistic thinking. We notice this in the persons whom the Qāḍī mentions in what follows. There one finds someone whom we already know as a Kūfan because he had influence on Hishām al-Ḥakam:

Abū Shākir ‘Abdallāh b. Shākir al-Dayṣānī.

The Qāḍī claims to know that both persons were arrested under al-Mahdī; Abū Shākir was then crucified.⁵ This is not impossible; the Sunnī references to Hishām’s relationship with him as a disciple⁶ would then contain special malice. But this is not attested anywhere else. At any rate, what is transmitted

1 v, 18, last l. ff./transl. Monnot, *Penseurs* 170.

2 Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥaḍrī; on him see below Chpt. C 4.2.3.

3 *fī ṣiḥḥat al-qiyās wa-ibtālihā*. *Qiyās* can mean any kind of rational argumentation (cf. *Erkenntnislehre des Īcī* 393; also Text xxv 34, with commentary).

4 *Awsaṭ* 73, ll. 14 ff. §§ 5–7.

5 See above p. 416 f.

6 Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 37, ll. 6 f.; Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* v, 20, last l.

about him is for the most part not very concrete. Here the statements in the *Mughnī* are already an exception; they go back to the work of Mismaī:⁷

He advocated the doctrine of Bardesanes. He assumed that there is movement and maintained that it is an attribute of what is moved and is neither identical with the latter nor different from it. He would neither concede that it is something nor that it is nothing. (By way of explanation) he said: Mutual difference (*taghāyur*) and being designated as “something” are only valid for bodies; movement, however, is not a body (*Mughnī* v, 20, ll. 16 ff.; transl. Monnot, *Penseurs* 173 f.).

These are, without exception, ideas that Hishām b. al-Ḥakam expressed; in this field, that of natural philosophy and, if one so wishes, that of ontology, there were no difficulties of communication with the Dayṣānites. It is interesting that Mismaī does not speak of a dualism in the case of Abū Shākīr; the latter was in fact a convert. As such, he may well have been executed; as a native Dayṣānite, he might perhaps have been spared.

What one otherwise recounted about him was just a topos and malicious speculation. He is supposed to have lived like an ascetic and to have planted the doctrine of the *khalq al-Qurʾān* in the head of the Baṣrans;⁸ and he was said to have practiced criticism of the Prophet and thus to have been the mentor of Ibn al-Rēwandī and others.⁹ He was everywhere regarded as a *zindīq*.¹⁰ Only the Shīʿites had reason to differentiate – at least as long as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam still counted for something. At the time one emphasized that he had refuted the aggressive heretic;¹¹ later, by contrast, when one turned away from Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s theology under the influence of the Muʿtazila, Abū Shākīr was only still an empty husk from whose person the arguments gradually became completely detached.¹² Occasionally one did portray him as a dualist – when he refers to surah 43/84, for instance: “He is the one who is (a) God in heaven and (a) God on earth”¹³ or when Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq refutes him with the commonplace anti-dualist deduction that presents a dilemma.¹⁴ But elsewhere he

7 On this below Chpt. C 4.2.4.3.

8 ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālīmī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān bi-sīrat ahl ʿUmān* (Cairo 1350) I, 128.

9 Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Tathbūt* II, 371, ll. 7 ff.

10 Cf. for example *Intiṣār*, 103, last l. f. (*mulḥid*); *Fihrist* 401, l. 17; *Mughnī* v, 9, l. 15.

11 See above p. 417.

12 Cf. for instance Kashshī 278, no. 497, typically following ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

13 Kulīnī, *Kāfī* I, 128, no. 10 = *Bihār* III, 323, no. 21.

14 *Kāfī* I, 80, ll. 3 ff. from bot.

appears simply as a *dahrī* who doubts the temporal createdness of the world.¹⁵ The most popular of questions that one placed in his mouth was whether God could fit the whole world in an egg without enlarging the egg or making the world smaller.¹⁶ This was a sophism which also appears in Sunnī sources¹⁷ and likewise in the *Shkand gumānīk vichār*.¹⁸ In the background, perhaps no longer consciously, stands the idea of the world-egg as we find it for example among the Orphics or in Empedocles.¹⁹ Abū Shākir is here no more than a malicious sceptic. Then he also soon confers directly with the Imam; Hishām is only still a transmitter. This simplifies the situation. That at the same time one had transplanted Abū Shākir from Kūfa to Medina was no longer noticed.

Cf. with these traditions also Ivanow, *Alleged Founder* 91 ff./*Ibn al-Qaddāh* 80 ff. He rightly points out that among them the name oscillates between ‘Abdallāh al-Dayṣānī and Abū Shākir al-Dayṣānī; the identity of the two is nowhere clearly expressed but probably does have something to be said for it. On the other hand, it will not do to equate Abū Shākir with Maymūn al-Qaddāh, in whom the anti-Ismā‘īlī tradition saw the founder of the Ismā‘īliyya and whom it likewise presented as a Dayṣānite (ibid. 79 f./70 f.). – One will equally not wish to assume that in our Abū Shākir we have before us the poetically gifted brother of Abān al-Lāḥiqī who was also called Abū Shākir ‘Abdallāh; he lived in Baṣra (on him cf. GAS 2/516).

Along with Abū Shākir in some passages also appears his nephew (*ibn akh*; Ibn al-Nadīm 401, l. 17, and Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* v, 9, l. 2 from bot.; on this Monnot, *Penseurs* 152). However, he remains a specter; what Nawbakhtī had to say about him is simply left out by ‘Abd al-Jabbār (*Mughnī* v, 19, l. 4). But Abū Dāwūd, the author of the *Sunan*, recounts that Hārūn had ordered the execution of a certain Shākir, “the chief of the heretics”. This could be Abū Shākir – if we once assume that the name Shākir was endemic in the family and we ignore the fact that the context

15 Mufid, *Irshād* 281, ll. 14 ff.; shortened in *Bihār* x, 211, no. 21.

16 *Kāfi* I, 79, ll. 3 ff.; Ibn Bābōya, *Tawḥīd* 77, 14 ff.; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Masā’il* (Ms. Princeton ELS 2751), folio 243 b, ll. 14 ff.; *Bihār* III, 31 f., nos. 5–6, and 39, no. 13; ‘Alī al-‘Āmilī, *al-Durr al-manthūr* I, 19 ff. On this Daiber, *Mu‘ammar* 124, where however the identity of “Abū ‘Abdallāh” and Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq is not recognized.

17 Cf. the evidence in: MUSJ 49/1975–76/676 f.; there the question is simply considered as *muḥāl* “unthinkable”, whereas in the Shī‘ite tradition Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq answers it.

18 Transl. de Menasce 67.

19 Cf. evidence in Daiber in: *Mu‘ammar* 125. But the idea still circulates in the *Turba philosophorum* under the name of Empedocles (Plessner, *Vorsokratische Philosophie* 53 f.). The Mandaeans also knew of it (Petermann, *Reisen* II, 452).

is quite legendary. Abū Dāwūd wants to make the point that “the heretics” showed special preference for two Islamic heresies: for the Shī‘a and for the Qadarites, and he has Shākir explain this in a truly cynical manner (TB IV, 308, ll. 7 ff.). There being so little connection with reality, it would not be impossible that here Shākir has simply been confused with Abū Shākir.

In addition, there is a second favourite of Shī‘ite legend, namely

‘Abd al-Karīm b. Abī’l-‘Awjā’ Nuwayra al-Dhuhlī.

He as well is supposed to have conducted debates with Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq which went on for days.²⁰ As in the case of Abū Shākir, one had to assume that he had travelled to the Ḥijāz.²¹ An older layer of tradition does not yet expect this of him; it was in fact too much to ask of a *zindīq* that he ought to have undertaken the pilgrimage. In Kūfa one could naturally only have him meet a Shī‘ite theologian like Shayṭān al-Ṭāq; the latter while on the *hajj* for his part then learns from the Imam what mischief the heretic is up to. Ibn Abī’l-‘Awjā’ wants to refute his opponent with an experiment which one also attributed in similar form to Ja‘d b. Dirham: in two sheep he causes worms to hatch and then maintains he himself has created them since he caused them to exist.²² In fact, he had probably been a Shī‘ite. Baghdādī maintains that he advocated the transmigration of souls and “the Rāfiḍite” doctrine of the imamate;²³ this would mean that he explained the charisma of the Shī‘ite leaders by means of the immanent divine light.²⁴ Later one believed that with an apocryphal saying of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq he convinced the Kūfan Shī‘ites to calculate the start of Ramaḍān astronomically instead of judging by appearances,²⁵ perhaps simply an attempt to get rid of a practice – which more than almost anything else deepened the schism among them – in a way that satisfied all parties.

20 Kulīnī, *Kāfi* I, 75 ff. and 126, ll. 3 ff.; adopted in Ibn Bābōya, *Tawḥīd* 239, ll. 8 ff. from bot. (partly translated in Monnot, *Penseurs* 312 ff.) and Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 74, ll. 8 ff. from bot. (on this Vajda in: RSO 17/1938/223); also Majlisī, *Bihār* III, 31, no. 4, and X, 201 f., no. 5. On this above p. 417, fn. 45, and below p. 529. In general on Ibn Abī’l-‘Awjā’ Vajda in: RSO 193 ff. and in EI² III, 682 f.; Fück, *Arab. Kultur* 260 f.; GIE II, 688 ff.

21 Ṭabrisī, *ibid.*

22 Kashshī 189 f., no. 332; on this below Chpt. B 2.4.1.2.

23 *Farq* 255, ll. 5 ff. from bot./273, ll. 2 ff. from bot.

24 According to a single report in Maqdisī (*Bad’* III, 8, ll. 8 f.) one had even revered him as a prophet; in that case he would have belonged to an extreme Shī‘ite group.

25 *Ibid.* 225, last l. ff./274, ll. 2 ff.; on this in detail now Chokr, *Zandaqa* 206 ff.

His blatant manner of bringing *ḥadīths* into the world must also have served to justify his execution. When faced with his death, he is supposed to have confessed – or threatened – that 4,000 sayings of the Prophet by him were in circulation in which he had “made the permissible forbidden and the forbidden permissible”.²⁶ For on the whole he was not a person one would unhesitatingly dare to come out against. He was not an unimportant foreigner like Abū Shākīr al-Dayṣānī but an authentic Arab, the member of a clan which had provided several martyrs on behalf of ‘Alī at the Battle of the Camel.²⁷ His nephew on his mother’s side, Ma’n b. Zā’ida, had performed great services for Manṣūr during the crisis with the Rāwandiyya.²⁸ The governor of Kūfa, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, who had him beheaded and had his corpse crucified in the Kunāsa – there where one had also placed Zayd b. ‘Alī on display – is meant to have incurred the caliph’s displeasure and was nearly dismissed from office.²⁹ Indeed, the last point is probably speculation; later one could no longer imagine that the caliph in such a clear case where his subordinate had freed the world of a heretic should not have given his assent. Moreover, one knew that the governor shortly thereafter was obliged to give up his post, although he was a distant cousin of Manṣūr; Ṭabarī who reports the execution under the year 155/772, also names a new governor for this year.³⁰

Ibn Abī’l-‘Awjā’ grew up in Baṣra. The Shī’ites claimed to know that he had been a disciple of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and had separated from him because Ḥasan did not acknowledge free will clearly enough.³¹ For Baghdādī as well, he was a Qadarite.³² But then ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd allegedly drove him out of the city because “he corrupted the youth”.³³ One thought that he had written books “supporting

26 Ṭabarī III, 376, ll. 5 ff. > *Lisān al-Mizān* IV, 51, ll. 5 f. from bot.; with reference to the calculation of Ramaḍān, Bīrūnī, *Āthār* 67, ll. 18 ff./transl. 80 and previously.

27 I.e. the clan ‘Āmir b. Dhuhl; cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 316, ll. 8 ff. If one adds to this Nashwān, *Ḥūr* 193, ll. 11 ff., it turns out the father of our heretic was called Nuwayra.

28 For Ibn Abī’l-‘Awjā’ as uncle of Ma’n cf. Ṭabarī III, 375, l. 17, and probably following the latter, *Mizān* no. 5167. On the Rāwandiyya see below Chpt. C 1.2.1. On Ma’n cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 326, l. 11, and EI² VI, 345; his family had produced several distinguished generals. One of Ma’n’s sons named Zā’ida was also once arrested as a *zindīq* under al-Mahdī.

29 Ṭabarī III, 375, ll. 16 ff.

30 Perhaps for the execution we must go back to the year 154. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was appointed in the year 146 and held his office for eight years (Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh* 653, ll. 3 f. and 676, l. 6).

31 Ṭabrisī, *ibid.*; *Bihār* III, 33, ll. 1 f.

32 *Farq*, *ibid.*

33 See below Chpt. B 2.2.1. That he was also executed in Baṣra, as it says in Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamhara*, 316, l. 9) and in Dhahabī (*Mizān*, *op. cit.*), is certainly wrong. The *Akhbār al-‘Abbās* reports

Manicheanism, the Dayṣāniyya and Marcionism”.³⁴ Maqdisī directly equates his doctrine with that of Mani: the world came into being through the mixture of light and darkness; both principles have been alive from eternity and are endowed with sense perception.³⁵ Misma‘ī adds: “Each of the two principles is divided into five senses. At the same time, the sense which perceives colour is different from the one which perceives tastes and that one again is different from the one which perceives odours”.³⁶ As he rightly says, this was a further development; it was based on a Manichean axiom but reacted to the doctrine of the Dayṣānites. For the Manicheans the five senses were only a form of expression of the five elements, realizations (“members”, “classes”) of light and darkness;³⁷ the Dayṣānites, by contrast, considered these sense perceptions to be basically identical and, moreover, wanted to assign them only to the light.³⁸ This theory was further expanded by a certain

Ishāq b. Ṭālūt

in the following way: “In each of these two principles is contained another sixth sense which does not belong to the five senses and distinguishes between the sense objects or separates them from one another. Its substance (*jawhar*) is different from the two principles; it is a question of a physical entity (*kiyān*) which is subtle and invisible, and can only be deduced from its well-planned effect (*tadbīr*). If this were not the case, then no one would distinguish between a colour and a taste. But since (this) power to distinguish does exist, it points to (the existence) of a sixth sense”.³⁹ This is inspired by Aristotle: if the five senses are distinct from one another in man, then there must also be a *sensus communis*. And yet, the latter is not connected with any particular element but is a kind of pneuma which penetrates everything and cannot be isolated on its

about another Baṣran who under the pseudonym ‘Abd al-Karīm Abū’l-‘Awjā’ joined the Abbasids in Khorāsān and then became governor of Dārā in the Jazīra; he was executed already under Saffāh allegedly for treason (389, ll. 5 ff. from bot.).

34 Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj* VIII, 293, ll. 4 ff./V, 212, ll. 4 f.

35 *Bad’* I, 90, ll. 6 ff. from bot., with further details.

36 Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī* V, 20, ll. 2 ff./transl. Monnot 172.

37 *Ibid.* II, ll. 8 f./Monnot 172; Jāhīz, *Hayawān* IV, 441, ll. 4 ff. = Text XXII 140; Ibn al-Nadīm 395, ll. 5 ff. from bot.; Shahrastānī 189, ll. 14 ff./622, ll. 2 ff., transl. Monnot, *Livre des Religions* 656 f. and Böhlig, *Gnosis* III, 144 ff.

38 *Ibid.* 16, ll. 14 ff./Monnot 165 f., and above p. 502. But the Manicheans, at least in the case of human beings, had assumed a difference between the senses (*Hayawān* IV, 441, ll. 2 ff. from bot.); this was probably only natural.

39 *Ibid.* 21, ll. 3 ff./Monnot 174.

own. The Manicheans – wholly consistent with their approach – had directly equated man with his five senses.⁴⁰ Only when they became aware that then he actually had no soul (*nafs*), did they apparently adopt a compromise; but even then it seems that one did not think of a *sensus communis*.⁴¹

Ibn Ṭālūt is an interesting case. In fact, many sources only give his name.⁴² But then it is suddenly mentioned that he discussed with Mu‘ammar (d. 215/830) in Baṣra.⁴³ Thus he was considerably younger than Ibn Abī'l-‘Awjā’, and he had survived the persecution of heretics under al-Mahdī; one even assumed that he could freely speak his mind. Nazzām could have adopted his own idea of the *sensus communis* from him.⁴⁴ The name Ṭālūt, the Koranic form of Saul,⁴⁵ was quite rare; it is apparently above all found in Iran.

Ibn Ṭālūt, who according to Mas‘ūdī (*Murūj* VII, 385, ll. 1 ff./v, 83 ff., no. 3082–89) introduced the poet Mānī al-Muwaswis as a companion to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, has nothing to do with our man. He was called Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṭālūt (cf. *Agh.* XXIII, 183, l. 15), and he lived at a considerably later time. Mānī al-Muwaswis died 245/859 (*GAS* 2/558 f.). – Wholly improbable is a connection to the legendary Jew Ṭālūt who as a *zindīq* in the Umayyad period is supposed to have contrived the idea of the *khalq al-Qur’ān*. Monnot who considers this (*Penseurs* 67) does not mention that in the source that he cites (Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-‘uyūn* 293, ll. 4 ff. from bot.) Ṭālūt is introduced as someone who bewitched the Prophet; thus in that case it cannot be a question of the Umayyad period. In fact, it turns out that Ibn Nubāta has erroneously copied from his source (cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar TD* VI, 51, ll. 5 f.); but it here becomes that much more clear that we are only dealing with fictitious heresiography.

The idea of a subtle substance which Ibn Ṭālūt applies to the *sensus communis* is used by another dualist, a certain

Ghassān al-Ruhāwī,

40 Ash‘arī, *Maq.* 332, ll. 9 f.

41 Ibid. 336, ll. 8 ff.

42 Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 104, l. 1; Ibn Nadīm 401, l. 17; Jāḥiz, *Ḥujaj al-nubuwwa* in: *Rasā’il* III, 277, last l. f.; *Mughnī* v, 9, l. 16, and 19, ll. 4 f.

43 Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl al-‘itizāl* 267, 9 ff.

44 See below Chpt. C 3.2.2.2.2.1.

45 Cf. EI¹ s. v. Ṭālūt.

in order to explain motion. Once again we can follow Mismāʿī: “Ghassān al-Ruhāwī adhered to the Manichean doctrine and maintained that acts of motion were subtle bodies which detach themselves from the moving object. They possessed a permanent substance and did not fade away”.⁴⁶ This was a problem which occupied everyone and had eluded a satisfactory solution. The two primordial principles were not by their essential nature in motion; but mixture was inconceivable without motion. Motion was therefore added to them, and what actually was it then? Abū Shākir, as we saw, understood it as a kind of hypostasis. A third person, a dualist by the name of

Nuʿmān

“stood out because he rejected acts of motion in the sense of the (usual) dualistic doctrine. He maintained the finite divisibility of bodies; the atom was a three-dimensional body consisting either of the substance of light or the substance of darkness”.⁴⁷ For him atomism seems to have made motion as a separate entity superfluous. Mixture comes about because atoms of light and atoms of darkness bind themselves together; motion is presumably added to them as an accident.⁴⁸

In the case of both thinkers, moreover, we do not know whether we should still localize them in Kūfa. As for Ghassān al-Ruhāwī, this is not at all likely. He is only mentioned in Qādī ʿAbd al-Jabbār;⁴⁹ the silence of all the other sources could mean that he scarcely ever left Edessa. To assume the presence of dualists presents no problems;⁵⁰ there may even have been Mazdakites there.⁵¹ Or could it be that Ghassān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd is meant who was the secretary of the Abbasid Sulaymān b. ʿAlī⁵² and also served the latter’s son Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān when he held the office of governor in Medina from 146/763 to 149/766?⁵³ He was old enough to have experienced the Umayyads⁵⁴ and – probably being a son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā – had presumably also resided at the court of

46 *Mughnī*, v 21, ll. 1 f./Monnot 174.

47 *Ibid.* 20, ll. 9 ff./Monnot 173.

48 Cf. on this below Chpts. C 3.2.1.3.1.1 and D 1.3.2.1.1.

49 Also *Mughnī* v, 9, l. 17.

50 See above p. 489, fn. 4.

51 Cf., though somewhat unclear, Jarry in: BIFAO 63/1965/96 ff. and 111 ff.

52 Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ* 110, ll. 17 ff.

53 Ibn al-Nadīm 139, ll. 7 f. from bot., and 140, ll. 7 f. from bot.; on the chronology cf. Khalifa, *Taʾrīkh* 672, ll. 13 ff. Letters from him are published in Şafwat, *Jamharat rasāʾil al-ʿArab* 111, 113 ff. and 149 ff.

54 Ṭabarī 11, 1732, ll. 17 ff.

Marwān II in Ḥarrān, i.e. very near to Edessa. But one should then expect that he would not have been ignored as a *zindīq* by people like Ibn al-Nadīm.

In Jāhiz, Nu‘mān is called Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir.⁵⁵ This evokes Ḥīra and to that extent would be very close to Kūfa; but perhaps it is simply a case of confusion with the Lakhmid ruler.⁵⁶ He appears as Nu‘mān the Manichean (Nu‘mān al-Manānī) in the conversation with Abū'l-Hudhayl, but probably in Baṣra; he requests from Abū'l-Hudhayl a proof of God that does not have recourse to the kinetic argument – as one could expect from him if he did not accord any intrinsic value to motion.⁵⁷ Al-Mahdī had him executed.⁵⁸

In Ibn al-Nadīm there also appears among these “crypto-Manichean” *mutakallimūn* a certain Ibn al-A‘mā al-Ḥarīzī. Flügel read his name as Ibn al-A‘dā; but the Shī‘ite tradition as well has A‘mā instead (*Biḥār* x, 209, l. 12). He has left no other traces behind.

2.1.5.8.2 *Polite Society*

With that we come to the end of any concrete information. What we can otherwise reconstruct is a milieu of sympathizers in which one did not necessarily write books but carried on cultivated conversation and wished to be abreast of intellectual developments. Above all, we are provided with the names of poets who flirted with *zandaqa* and, when the first signs of stormy weather flashed on the horizon and the danger still aroused a pleasant thrill, set about mutually accusing one another. We here have to do with a salon culture where one exchanged clever gossip, happily bad-mouthed one another and detested nothing as much as normality and prudery. Frequently we cannot any longer make out what these intellectuals did in their everyday life. Probably many simply had themselves supported by wealthy burghers. Others, however, were professionals in the government administration, bureaucrats, who often pursued their careers without any impediment; sometimes they came from families that had had experience in this craft for generations. Many of them in the long run would also turn up in Baghdād. At the court one or another might experience some form of trouble; but in any case Baghdād was a dangerous place. They escaped persecution under al-Mahdī by once more hiding away in

55 *Ḥujaj al-nabuwwa* in: *Rasā'il* III, 278, l. 1.

56 Otherwise always without this addition: Khayyāt, *Intiṣār* 104, l. 1; Ibn al-Nadīm 401, l. 17 (where Ibn Abī 'Awjā' should be separated); *Mughnī* v, 9, l. 15; 19, l. 4; 70, l. 4.

57 Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 181, ll. 3 ff. from bot.; Ibn Abī 'Awn, *al-Ajwiba al-muskita* 149, no. 892.

58 *Mughnī* v, 20, l. 9.

Kūfa. Among them no one was executed.¹ The limits of tolerance were never transgressed; one moved about within the realm of fiction. How they saw themselves as Muslims we generally do not hear; holding serious convictions would come across as petty bourgeois. The Iranian element was strong but by no means exclusively predominant; within the higher classes one gradually ceased to think in these categories, and poetry was a *lingua franca* in which all that counted was wit.

The milieu is portrayed by Yūsuf Khulayf.² For us it is only interesting as background; we do not need to focus our attention in detail on persons. Nor would this be very simple; the materials, for the most part available in the *K. al-Aghānī*, have not yet been critically examined. For a first overview it is sufficient to rely on the lists of the *zanādiqa* which already early on turn up in the sources. The oldest are found in Jāḥiẓ;³ Ṣūlī adopted them a hundred years later.⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm as well separates the poets from “the heretics” who wrote books and battled with the *mutakallimūn*.⁵ Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā join the names in a narrative context; they give the impression that the poets in question constantly met one another at symposia. For this information once again they refer to Jāḥiẓ; but they evidently have in mind a different passage from the one in the *K. al-Ḥayawān*. That in so doing they have Baṣrans and Kūfans celebrating together did not trouble them – or perhaps not even Jāḥiẓ himself.⁶ Then Ibn Ḥajar ordered the names alphabetically in his *Lisān al-Mizān*. Here we only pick out those persons who lived in Kūfa or at least grew up there. In so doing, we will also not go beyond a provisional enumeration and only attempt a rough chronological ordering; in any case, most of these persons were contemporaries.

Ḥammād 'Ajrād, *kātib*, d. 161/778 (?). Accused of dualism⁷ by Bashshār b. Burd and 'Umāra b. Ḥarbiyya,⁸ while Musāwir al-Warrāq⁹ came to

1 Bashshār b. Burd and Ibn al-Muqaffa' whom one could consider as counter-examples belong to Baṣra. On them see below Chpts. B 2.2.1.1 and 2.2.1.4.

2 *Ḥayāt al-shi'r fi Kūfa* 206 ff., 224 ff., 618 f.; cf. also Taheri-Iraqi, *Zandaqa* 144 ff. and Chokr, *Zandaqa* 397 ff. Briefly Bencheikh in EI² IV, 1003 s. v. *Khamriyya*; he speaks of “a counter-culture”.

3 *Ḥayawān* IV, 447, ll. 4 ff.

4 *Awraq* 10, ll. 13 ff. Dunne. Cf. still also 'Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī, *Naqd* 152, ll. 1 ff.

5 *Fihrist* 401, l. 19.

6 *Agh.* XVIII, 101, ll. 10 ff.; Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 131, 3 ff.

7 *Agh.* XIV, 325, ll. 4 ff., and *Ḥayawān* IV, 443, ll. 5 ff. from bot.

8 On him see further below.

9 On him GAS 2/469.

his defense against this.¹⁰ Abū Nuwās claimed to have found out in “the prison for heretics” that Ḥammād was really a Manichean; he had composed *muzdawij*-verses which his Manichean brethren in the faith recited in their prayers.¹¹ Mas‘ūdī mentions him among those who wrote books in support of dualistic doctrines; but presumably this is pure name-dropping. On him see Vajda in: RSO 17/1937/203 ff.; Wagner, *Abū Nuwās* 113 f.; Monnot 65 f.; Taheri-Iraqi, *Zandaqa* 237 ff.; EI² III, 135 f.; GAS 2/469 f.

Ḥammād al-Rāwiya (d. 155/772 or 156/773). Cf. Fück, *Arab. Kultur* 263, and in EI² III, 156. It is astonishing that the highly orthodox Abū ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Alā’ held him in esteem.¹²

Ḥammād b. Zibriqān, a grammarian, perhaps belongs rather to Baṣra; in any case he was classified in the Baṣran school.¹³ That the three Ḥammāds were made into inseparable drinking companions¹⁴ is perhaps simply due to the similarity of their names. In a defamatory poem in which as usual there is talk of disregarding the prayers, one subsequently no longer knew whether he or Ḥammād al-Rāwiya was meant.¹⁵ On him cf. Fück, *Arab. Kultur* 263.

‘Ammār Dhū Kubār al-Hamdāni belonged to the same circle. Cf. *Agh.* XXIV, 220 ff.; GAS 2/341.

Ḥafṣ b. Abī Wadda (?). Found together with Ḥammād ‘Ajrad in *Agh.* XIV, 351, l. 10, and XVIII, 150, l. 2. The reading *Wadda* is not entirely certain. It occurs in Marzubāni, *Muwashshah* 24, ll. 4 f. from bot., and 25, l. 1, as well as in Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 131, l. 4. What was possibly Murtaḍā’s model, namely *Agh.* XVIII, 101, l. 11, has *Warda*. Elsewhere in the edition of the *K. al-Aghānī* Wazza (XIV, 351, l. 10) and Burda (XVIII, 150, l. 2). *Burda* also in *Lisān al-Mizān* II, 321, l. 9.

Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ, *kātib* under Manṣūr. Thrown in jail as a *zindīq* by Maḥdī, from where he escaped and kept himself hidden; under Hārūn pardoned within the framework of a general amnesty.¹⁶

10 Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 133, ll. 7 ff., and 134, ll. 14 ff.

11 Sic! *Agh.* XIV, 324, ll. 7 ff.; on this Grunebaum in JNES 3/1944/10.

12 *Agh.* VI, 73, ll. 11 ff.; on Ibn al-‘Alā’ see below Chpt. B 2.2.7.1.5.

13 Qiftī, *Inbāh* I, 330 ff.

14 *Agh.* XIV, 322, ll. 12 ff.

15 Cf. Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 132, last l. ff., with 132, ll. 1 ff.

16 Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā’* 156, ll. 10 ff.; Ṭabarī III, 520, ll. 1 f., and 604, ll. 9 f. Is he identical with Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ who in the year 129 marched against the rebellious Ibāḍites with Marwān II’s governor in Ṣan‘ā’? (*Agh.* XXIII, 225, ll. 14 ff.; on this below Chpt. B 4.1.1.2.1).

Muṭīʿ b. Iyās al-Kinānī, d. 169/785; already in his youth was supposed to have been sent to Walīd 11¹⁷ and a few years later to have resided in the environment of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwīya.¹⁸ Mentioned with other *zanādiqa* in a satire about Abān al-Lāḥiqī by Abū Nuwās.¹⁹ His daughter, when she was given “the heretics’ book” to read in the presence of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is meant to have admitted that she had received instruction in this religion from her father.²⁰ In an elegant linking of two intentions, one circulated the story that when al-Manṣūr had allegiance sworn to his son al-Mahdī and the poets made an occasion for appropriate propaganda out of the celebration, Muṭīʿ adapted the well-known Mahdī-*ḥadīth* so that it exactly fit the circumstances. This not only confirmed that the *zanādiqa* unscrupulously forged *ḥadīths* but a point was also scored against the Abbasids; the transmitter comes from Kūfa.²¹ On him Vajda 210 ff.; Fück 263 and 265; Schoeler, *Naturdichtung* 58 f.; GAS 2/467.

Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, an Arab aristocrat,²² who was an especially close friend of Muṭīʿ b. Iyās;²³ the latter wrote a *marthiya* on his behalf.²⁴ He had already been governor of Baḥrayn under Hishām;²⁵ but his father, a maternal uncle of Saffāḥ, in Kūfa secretly worked together with the Abbasids.²⁶ Then after the revolution the latter was also appointed governor of the Ḥijāz, which post he held twice for several years.²⁷ The son was at times a public official in Ahwāz and died during the caliphate of Mahdī. At the end, he is said to have become pious and to have “consigned Ḥammād ʿAjrad and his kind to the devil”.²⁸ On him Vajda 214; Fück 263; GAS 2/467 f.

ʿUmāra b. Ḥarbiyya (thus *Ḥayawān* IV, 448, l. 1 > Šūlī; also 444, l. 4), a somewhat enigmatic figure, perhaps identical with:

17 See below p. 534.

18 *Agh.* XII, 231, ll. 11 f.; (on this below Chpt. B 4.1.1.2.1).

19 Jāḥiz, *Ḥayawān* IV, 450, l. 6.

20 *Agh.* XIII, 295, ll. 8 f.

21 *Agh.* XIII, 287, ll. 1 ff.; on this Jawād ʿAlī in: *Der Islam* 25/1939/211 and Dūrī in: *Festschrift ʿAbbās* 129 (Arabic).

22 On his ancestry cf. Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 142, last l. ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 417, l. 2; TB XIV, 106, last l. ff.

23 Cf. *Aghānī*, Index s. n.

24 Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 143, ll. 11 ff.; TB XIV, 107, ll. 15 ff.

25 Khalifa, *Taʾrīkh* 539, l. 2.

26 *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* 238, ll. 8 ff.; Murtaḍā I, 143, l. 1.

27 Zambaur, *Manuel* 20 and 24.

28 *Agh.* XIV 333, last l. f.

‘Umāra b. Ḥamza who is mentioned in the other lists. He was an influential and well-off man of the administration, a client of the Abbasids, on whom Saffāḥ had bestowed the landed estates of the Marwānids.²⁹ Allegedly ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya already made him his secretary,³⁰ but he occupied the same post for al-Manṣūr and was also very well liked under al-Mahdī.³¹ Under al-Manṣūr he was evidently sent as an envoy to the Byzantine court.³² A *risāla* by him was regarded as a stylistic masterpiece.³³ But further investigation is needed to clarify whether several persons are here confused with one another. According to Jahshiyārī, he was called ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza b. Maymūn,³⁴ but according to the *Ta’rikh Baghdād*, by contrast, ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza b. Mālik.³⁵ And besides that we hear of a cousin of Ḥammād ‘Ajrād by the name of ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza b. Kulayb.³⁶

Wālība b. al-Ḥubāb, an Arab and mentor of Abū Nuwās. He was introduced to al-Mahdī as an evening companion by ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza, but was not able to hold out.³⁷ Abū Nuwās felt no qualms about dismissing him as a *zindīq*.³⁸ On him Vajda 206; Wagner, *Abū Nuwās* 24 ff.; GAS 2/468. – Two additional heretics are mentioned along with him by Abū Nuwās:

‘Ubād, probably the ‘Ubāda from *Ḥayawān* IV, 447, l. 2 from bot., and Qāsim who appears in Murtaḍā as Qāsim b. Zunquṭa. Both cannot be further identified. Also:

Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn, in one passage mentioned together with Yaḥyā b. Ziyād,³⁹ is not attested anywhere else.

29 Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā’* 90, ll. 15 ff.

30 *Agh.* XII, 231, l. 11; cf. also XIII, 279, ll. 13 ff.

31 Ibn al-Nadīm 131, ll. 4 ff. from bot.; cf. also 129, l. 14. On this Jahshiyārī, Index s. n.

32 Cf. the somewhat fabulous report in Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān* 137, ll. 9 ff./transl. Massé 164 ff.; on this now Strohmaier in: ZGAIW 5/1989/167 ff.

33 *Fihrist* 140, l. 11. If the ensuing word *al-Māhānīyya* were the title of this *risāla*, it could indicate a connection with the offshoot of the Marcionites that bears the same name (see above p. 508 f.). But other explanations of the name are possible, and here Ibn al-Nadīm is probably already enumerating another work. For other letters of ‘Umāra cf. Ṣafwat, *Jamharat rasā’il al-‘Arab* III, 127 ff.

34 90, l. 15; so also Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 131, l. 6.

35 TB XII, 280 ff., no. 6721.

36 *Agh.* XIV, 321, ll. 6 f.

37 Jahshiyārī 149, ll. 12 ff.

38 *Ḥayawān* IV, 450, l. 5: as *al-Wālībī*.

39 TB VIII, 149, ll. 11 f.

Yūnus b. Hārūn, only mentioned in the *K. al-Ḥayawān* (> Ṣūlī), perhaps identical with:

Yūnus b. Abī Farwa, if the latter's name was really like this and not simply Yūnus b. Farwa.⁴⁰ He was the secretary of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, a nephew of Maṣṣūr.⁴¹ During the persecution of heretics under al-Mahdī, he had to keep himself hidden; under Hārūn he was pardoned just like Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ.⁴² Apparently, he wrote a book about the bad sides of the Arabs and the weaknesses of Islam which he passed on to the Byzantines.⁴³ With the name form Yūnus b. Abī Farwa he ought then to be connected with Abū Farwa Kaysān, a client of ʿUthmān, whose son ʿAbdallāh became the secretary of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr.⁴⁴ The family lived in the Ḥijāz where Yūnus also grew up as the grandchild of this ʿAbdallāh.⁴⁵ Whether, as is often maintained, he was the father of Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, who under Maṣṣūr rose to wield great influence and whose son Faḍl became vizier under Hārūn, is questionable;⁴⁶ on the basis of the chronology, it is not very likely. On him Vajda 213 f.; Fück 262, ftn. 44, and 265, ftn. 72.

With him is also mentioned in *Agh.* XIV, 353, l. 16, a certain Abū'l-Zubayr Qubays b. al-Zubayr as a *zindīq* in the surroundings of Ḥammād ʿAjrād; but concerning him nothing else can be determined.

Ādam b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was a grandson of ʿUmar II and under al-Mahdī he was punished for *zandaqa* by a whipping.⁴⁷ He died during the sixth decade of the 2nd century. On him GAS 2/572.

Jamīl b. Maḥfūz al-Muhallabī can scarcely be documented. Abū'l-Shamaqmaq (d. circa 190/806?) vilified him as a *zindīq*.⁴⁸ In Ibn Ḥajar the name is deformed to Ḥumayd.⁴⁹

40 Thus Ṭabarī (cf. Index s. n.); TB IX, 160, ll. 10 f.; above all in a poem by Ḥammād ʿAjrād (*Ḥayawān* IV, 446, l. 6). With *Abī* in Jāḥiz, *Dhamm akhlāq al-kuttāb* in: *Rasāʿil* II, 202, last l.; *Agh.* XVIII, 101, l. 11.

41 *Agh.* XIV, 353, ll. 16 f.; Ṭabarī III, 329, l. 12.

42 Ṭabarī III, 604, ll. 9 f.

43 Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 132, ll. 1 f.; in *Ḥayawān* IV, 448, ll. 4 f., however, connected to Yūnus b. Hārūn. That such an action was enough to brand a person as a *zindīq* is clear from the assessment of Ghaylān al-Shuʿūbī who wrote something similar at the court of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn (*Agh.* XX, 77, ll. 8 ff.). Cf. now also Pellat in EI² VI, 829 a s. v. *Mathālib*.

44 Jahshiyārī 45, l. 3, and 44, l. 4.

45 Ibid. 125, ll. 5 f.; Ibn Rusta, *Aʿlāq* 207, ll. 15 f./transl. Wiet 242.

46 Jahshiyārī 125, ll. 5 ff.; *Agh.* XIX, 219, ll. 2 ff. On this Sourdrel, *Vizirat* I, 88, and Chokr, *Zandaqa* 446 f.

47 *Agh.* XV, 287, ll. 2 f.

48 *Ḥayawān* IV, 454, ll. 5 ff.; on Abū'l-Shamaqmaq cf. GAS 2/512.

49 *Lisān al-Mizān* II, 353, l. 4, and 366, last l.

Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Khalīl, a client of Ma'n b. Zā'idā. He was allegedly arrested along with Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs (who lived in Baṣra!), but was pardoned because of a long panegyric poem on Hārūn.⁵⁰ According to another version, he was able to hide himself – without Ṣāliḥ! – and then managed to visit Hārūn in Raqqā.⁵¹ On him Vajda 206 f.; Fück 263; GAS 2/537.

Ibrāhīm b. Sayāba, d. circa 193/809, a client of the Abbasids. A secretary under al-Mahdī but then dismissed. Later he had good connections with Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Barmakī and Faḍl b. al-Rabi'. On him EI² III, 989, and GAS 2/527.

'Alī b. Thābit, d. before 210/825, befriended with Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb. On him Vajda 181; GAS 2/539.

Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Zuhri, only mentioned in 'Abd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī, *Naqḍ* 152, l. 2. No further documentation.

What a dualistic world view of a poet in the Islamic environment might be like, we only learn somewhat more accurately and without arbitrary distortion in a single case: in Abū'l-'Atāhiya (130/748–circa 210/825). Because of his *zuhdiyyāt* one looked on him with rather more lenient eyes. Ṣūlī has preserved the report of an informant who was probably a Mu'tazilite: "Abū'l-'Atāhiya believed that God is one and He has created two opposed substances from nothingness. From them He then constructed the world as it is. The world as an entity and as a work is something caused (*ḥadīth al-'ayn wa'l-ṣan'a*) which no one but God has caused to exist. He maintained that God will once again reduce everything to these two opposed substances before the existing things (*al-a'yān*) pass away completely. He advocated the view that insights come about in a natural way due to contemplation, demonstration and searching. He defended the idea of eternal punishment in Hell⁵² and considered gainful employment to be forbidden (*taḥrīm al-makāsib*). He was a Shī'ite after the manner of the innovation-seeking (i.e. unorthodox) Butrite Zaydīs, while he did not disparage anyone⁵³ and at the same time he was not in favour of rebellious behaviour against the authorities. He was a determinist".⁵⁴

I am not quite sure whether one should assume with Madelung that here we have before us "a left-over of Manichean ideas to which Abū'l-'Atāhiya for

50 *Agh.* XIV, 174, ll. 2 ff. and 175, ll. 1 ff.

51 Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 146, ll. 8 ff.

52 Literally: "the (divine) threat".

53 Abū Bakr and 'Umar are meant.

54 *Agh.* IV, 5, ll. 14 ff.

a time had committed himself even more strongly".⁵⁵ Abū'l-'Atāhiya had perhaps not at all strongly changed, as one later maintained under the influence of his poetry; the only thing certain is that he changed his poetical genre. It may be that he only talked about asceticism.⁵⁶ But that he turned away from Manicheanism under the influence of his "conversion" is not what the Arabic sources maintain. Rather, it seems to me, that we are here confronted with an individual shaping of the dualism that Muslim intellectuals at the time believed they were able to advocate. This was still sufficient to cause one's denunciation; Maṣṣūr b. 'Ammār, extremely successful as a popular preacher in Baghdād⁵⁷ in the time of Hārūn, opened the eyes of his public to the fact that the poet never spoke of Paradise and Hell but always only of death, as one would expect from a freethinker,⁵⁸ and for this reason Abū Sahl Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Nawbakhtī (237/851–311/923) still wrote against him.⁵⁹

Vajda attempted to find concrete evidence in Abū'l-'Atāhiya's poetry for this theoretical report.⁶⁰ He did not get all that far in doing so. In the long-winded *urjūza* in which the poet does not let pass an opportunity to set forth aphorisms, it says in verse 43:⁶¹ "Every human being has two natures, a good one and a bad, and they are opposed (to one another)", and before that in verses 41–42: "Who can offer you what is pure (*al-mahḍ*), since everything is actually mixed and in the breast seductive suggestions struggle with one another? Who can offer you what is pure when actually nothing that exists is pure? (Everything is) partly bad, partly good". In the *zuhdiyyāt* he speaks of the light of God's face and explains his sin by the fact that darkness placed itself between himself and the light.⁶² Those with an orthodox disposition at this point might have sat up and taken notice; but basically nothing more was proven than that he did not recoil before these concepts. There is not talk of cosmology and when one time it is said that the light "illuminates the colour of darkness", all it seems to imply is that colour does not come about through mixture;⁶³ this corresponds to the

55 *Qāsim* 67 f.

56 Such is the hypothesis of El Kafrawy and Latham in: *Isl. Quart.* 17/1973/160 ff.

57 See below Chpt. C 1.4.2.

58 *Agh.* IV, 34, ll. 12 f.

59 Najāshī 23, ll. 5 f.; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam* II, 279; Massignon, *Passion* 21, 361/1, 315.

60 In: RSO 17/1938/219 and 225 ff. A similar attempt in J. D. Martin in: *Transactions Glasgow Oriental Society* 23/1969–70/11 ff.; cf. also same author, *ibid.* 21/1967/56 ff.

61 Following the edition by Shukrī Fayṣal (Damascus 1384/1965), where the text is considerably more detailed than anywhere else; there p. 449.

62 Vajda 225.

63 *Ibid.* 225 and 227 with ftm. 1.

Aristotelian idea.⁶⁴ Indeed, Abū'l-'Atāhiya was actually not even an extreme Shī'ite; one could not be more moderate than the Butriyya.⁶⁵ Moreover, he was only a determinist if one looked at him with Mu'tazilite eyes; rather, he advocated the doctrine of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.⁶⁶

But in one point he differed fundamentally from his previously mentioned colleagues: in his rejection of earning a living. One may of course suspect that this is an inference from his *zuhdiyyāt*; but his son was also an ascetic,⁶⁷ and for people like Muṭīf b. Iyās or Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā' such a tendency is not even attested on a literary level. Abū'l-'Atāhiya was the offspring of ordinary people; the *zanādiqa*, on the other hand, were well known for their overly refined lifestyle (*ẓarf*). A *zindīq*, as Šūlī said, imposes no constraints upon himself.⁶⁸ This is also what the people of the middle class, the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* for example, so disliked. The *zanādiqa*, for their part, being members of the upper class, made no effort to react against this image. Certainly, they wanted nothing to do with *Ḥadīth*; as still happens today, they were given to making jokes about it.⁶⁹ The traditionists, however, found nothing funny about this; they took the parodies seriously and the longer they observed "the heretics", the more they saw them as malicious forgers. Above all, they put the blame on them for anthropomorphic *ḥadīths* that they themselves wished to be rid of.⁷⁰ Later, things went so far that the tables were turned, and one then designated the anthropomorphists as *zanādiqa*.⁷¹

64 See above p. 429 for Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

65 See above p. 290; on this Madelung, *Qāsim* 66 ff.

66 Cf. *Dīwān*, ed. Fayṣal, no. 12, v. 17/transl. in Wagner, *Grundzüge* II 123. On him in general GAS 2/534 f.

67 And poet; cf. Ibn al-Nadīm 183, ll. 14 f.

68 Murtaḍā, *Amālī* I, 143, ll. 2 ff.; on this Fück, *Arab. Kultur* 265, fn. 71. The type of *ẓurafā'* hung on in Baghdād as well; for example, Ibn al-Washshā' depicts one there in his *K. al-Muwashshā*. On this cf. M. F. Ghazi in SI 11/1959/39 ff. and now Enderwitz in: *Arabica* 36/1989/125 ff.

69 On this Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* II 134.

70 See above pp. 515 f. on Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā'. The oldest instance of this is Jāḥiz, *Hujaj al-nubuwwa*, in: *Rasā'il* III, 277, last l. ff. / transl. Rescher, *Excerpte* 146; cf. further Ibn Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* 91, ll. 1 ff. = 76, ll. 1 ff./transl. Lecomte 85 § 100 and 355, 8 ff. = 279, 6 ff./transl. 310 § a; on this Fück in: *Festschrift Kahle* 95 ff. = *Arab. Kultur* 267 ff. For more information see below Chpt. C 2.4.1.

71 Thus for instance Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn* I, 165, ll. 5 ff. from bot. > *Mizān* no. 1089, but in all fairness with a *ka-annahū* "as if he were a *zindīq*"; *Mizān* no. 634. Ḥammād b. Salama, via whom many of these traditions are transmitted (see below Chpt. B 2.2.7.2), one made into a stepson (!) of Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā' (Fück 260).

2.1.5.8.3 *Arguing with the zanādiqa According to Imāmite Sources*

It is certainly no coincidence that the Shī'ite tradition never adopted the above topos.¹ Forging *ḥadīths* was a Sunnī nightmare; even if at one point it is said that Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā', by means of an apocryphal saying of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, helped the astronomical calculation of the start of Ramaḍān to win out,² this is a Sunnī idea. For the Shī'ites the *zanādiqa* remained systematizers, only that one blocked out all the concrete teachings, above all the cosmology, and stylized them as scoffing enlighteners. One was obliged, as we saw, to grant them a journey to the Ḥijāz in order to have them meet with the Imam; but one emphasized that they did not undertake the journey with a pious intention; they allegedly could not refrain from mocking the pilgrims and making fun of the veneration of the Ka'ba. The *ḥajj* was regarded by them as absurd; an intellectual well trained in rationalism would not stoop to this.³

Naturally, this was an attitude that a believing Muslim, whether a Shī'ite or not, and whether from Kūfa or elsewhere, would in fact be obliged to argue against. But the framework of these stories is fictitious; and yet, the arguments that are exchanged in them have considerable value for us. Not that we find theology is here being practiced in an original manner; that is not the purpose of these stories. What here breaks through is critical popular philosophy – or better yet: the idea one entertained of what that was. The pilgrimage was only one of many points concerning which one allowed oneself to be questioned about a rational justification of the law,⁴ and the Shī'ites provided a quite detailed answer indeed with their *'ilal al-sharā'i'*-literature.⁵ When one then raised the subject of the Prophet's mission, the question was posed as to why God Himself did not enter the world instead of merely sending a messenger.⁶ At any rate, the order that was created through the law is not ideal: why are rich people rich and the poor poor? Why must children suffer pain? Why are there

1 At least with regard to the Imāmites; the case of the Ismā'īlī Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī was different (*A'lām al-nubuwwa* 47), ll. 8 ff.

2 See above p. 515.

3 Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā', Abū Shākir al-Daysānī, Ibn al-Muqaffa' and a certain 'Abd al-Malik al-Baṣrī in Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 142, ll. 2 ff.; or Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā', Ibn Ṭālūt, Ibn al-'A'mā and Ibn al-Muqaffa' in Mufīd, *Irshād* 280, ll. 10 ff./transl. 242 ff. > Majlisī, *Bihār* X, 209 f., no. 11, and 219, ll. 5 ff.

4 Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 92, ll. 14 ff.

5 Cf. for instance the well-known work of Ibn Bābōya (*GAS* 1/547).

6 Kulīnī, *Kāfī* I, 75, 12 ff. (Ibn Abī'l-'Awjā'); the question is already posed in the Koran by the pagans (surah 25/7) and has perhaps been transferred from there to the *zanādiqa*.

vermin and snakes? Here with the problem of theodicy we are still very close to the dualistic approach.⁷

Dualists were, so one thought, Dahrites; they believe in the eternity of the world.⁸ That the world once had a beginning they refute with the question of the hen and the egg.⁹ Put bluntly: If God created the world, then who created God?¹⁰ The step to assuming that they also denied the existence of God was not far-off.¹¹ That there could be a kind of secondary dualism on which one superimposed the idea of creation, was not acknowledged, although this was probably the model actually preferred by “the heretics”; Abū’l-‘Atāhiya had advocated it and furthermore it was also prescribed in Zurvanism.¹² One only gave oneself away by the fact that elsewhere one took it for granted that the *zanādiqa* did believe in God; only they had a false image of God. Since they only adhere to what can be grasped by the senses,¹³ they are anthropomorphists; if it were not possible to grasp God with the senses, then He would then not be “something” (*shay*).¹⁴ And if God is meant to be everywhere, if He is in the sky, how can He be on earth as well.¹⁵ Thus here they argue like Hishām b. al-Ḥakam; Shī’ite theology had in the meantime turned towards the Mu’tazila.

Finally, there is also the heretic as critic of the Koran. The four who showed their bad manners at the Ka’ba adopted the plan that each of them would “destroy” a quarter of the Koran. Ibn Abī’l-‘Awjā’ finds examples of how the prophets are unfavourably portrayed in Scripture. Joseph lied when he accused his brothers of theft;¹⁶ Abraham pulled the wool over the eyes of those in his surroundings when he maintained it was not he himself who smashed the

7 Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* II, 84, ll. 15 ff.; *Bihār* x, 164 ff., no. 2 and 194 ff., no. 3 (transmitted by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam!). Cf. also below Chpts. B 2.2.1.4 and C 8.2.2.5.

8 *Kāfi* I, 75 ff. (Ibn Abī’l-‘Awjā’); on this Monnot, *Penseurs* 312 ff., following the *K. al-Tawḥīd* of Ibn Bābōya, and now S. and G. G. Stroumsa in: *Harvard Theological Review* 81/1988/43 ff.

9 On this now Bernand in: *Festschrift Hourani* 58 f. and Davidson, *Proofs for Eternity* 15.

10 Thus taken for granted in Abū Nuwās’ satire against Abān al-Lāḥiqī (Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān* IV, 450, l. 2). Jāḥiẓ draws attention to the fact that only a layman would ask such a question; the specialists on the subject do not report something like this from anyone (451, ll. 2 f.).

11 *Kāfi* I, 72, ll. 7 ff.

12 An exception is *Bihār* LVII, 78, ll. 2 ff. (following Hishām b. al-Ḥakam). On Zurvanism cf. Zaehner, *Zurvan* 5 and 420 ff.

13 On this cf. the collection of passages in Vajda in: RSO 17/1938/200, ftn. 6, and in Stroumsa in: HTR 81/1988/46, ftn. 45.

14 *Kāfi* I, 78, l. 7 from bot.

15 *Kāfi* I, 126, ll. 3 ff.

16 Surah 12/70.

idols of his father,¹⁷ or when he pretended to be sick so as to be left alone and be able to smash them.¹⁸ Nor is the God of the Koran just: He says that for those who are roasting in Hell-fire He will continually provide a new skin so that they feel the punishment properly; but then what did the new skin do to deserve this suffering?¹⁹ One ascribed to the Manicheans that they completely denied the punishments in Hell. For these make no sense: God neither cools off His wrath in this way – He is exalted above any such thing – nor does He wish to improve those whom He punishes.²⁰

The Imam, on the other hand, practices in presenting proof for the existence of God, in particular a teleological proof; apocrypha such as the *K. al-Ihlilaja* or the *K. al-Tawhīd*, both of which circulated under the name of Mufaḍḍal b. ‘Umar, are completely focused on this.²¹ But just as popular was the argument that bypassed rational debate and simply emphasized the advantage of faith: if the believer proves to be right and there is a Last Judgement, the heretic will be condemned; if not, then nothing has been lost on the part of the believer. In this way, proof of the truth is postponed until the hereafter; the existence of God is only a commandment of practical reason. This is familiar to us as “the wager of Pascal”.²² In Islam this idea is not only found within the Shī‘a, there both in the mouth of Ja‘far al-Šādiq²³ as well as of ‘Alī al-Riḍā,²⁴ but likewise

17 Surah 21/62 f.

18 Surah 37/89.

19 Surah 4/56; noted in Bāqillānī, *Intiṣār* 509, ll. 10 ff. On all this cf. Vajda in RSO 17/1938/223 f.

20 Qirqisānī, *Anwār* 251, ll. 13 ff.; for more on this argument cf. Chpt. C 8.2.1 (following Text xxxv 1, c–d).

21 Majlisī has taken both texts into his *Biḥār al-anwār* (111, 57 ff. and 152 ff.; on this Halm in: *Der Islam* 55/1978/222). For more information on the *K. Ihlilaja* see below Chpt. B 2.4.3.2. The *K. al-Tawhīd* together with a detailed theological commentary has been edited by Muḥammad al-Khalilī, *Min amālī al-imām al-Šādiq*, vols. 1–5; parts of it have been translated by Monnot, *Penseurs* 290 ff. For further information see below Chpt. C 6.2 (end). On this complex cf. also Kulīnī, *Kāfi* 1, 78, ll. 3 ff. from bot. The argument already familiar from the Koran then soon follows (80 f, no. 5), namely that two equally authorized opposing powers annul one another.

22 *Pensées*, ed. L. Brunschvicg, no. 233.

23 *Kāfi* 1, 75, 6 ff. and 78, ll. 3 f.; Ṭabrisī, *Ihtijāj* 11, 75, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; also in the *K. al-Ihlilaja* (cf. *Biḥār* 111, 154, ll. 3 ff.); Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *A‘lām al-nubuwwa* 167, last l. ff.; on this Nallino in RSO 14/1933/132 f.

24 *Kāfi* 1, 78, 6 ff.; *Musnad al-Imām al-Riḍā* 1, 10, ll. 6 ff. from bot. (following Kulīnī); Ibn Bābōya, *‘Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* 1, 108, no. 28; *Biḥār* 111, 36, ll. 12 ff.

within Sunnī literature, in an early form as a dictum of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,²⁵ then in Ma‘arrī and finally in Ghazzālī.²⁶ Jewish theology in the Islamic territory adopted it, first by Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Raqqī, called al-Muqammiṣ,²⁷ and then by Qirqisānī.²⁸ How the idea found its way to Pascal is unclear; research on Pascal, as far as I can see, has not concerned itself with the question up to now.²⁹

2.1.5.8.4 *The Role of the zanādiqa in the Later Umayyad Period*

Many of these arguments only first penetrated the consciousness of the Sunnīs more deeply through Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq and Ibn al-Rēwandī.¹ For the Shī‘a the shock came earlier on; in any case, they had experienced the phenomenon from close proximity. But this is not sufficient as an explanation; the Sunnīs also knew who the *zanādiqa* were. Evidently the Shī‘a were more strongly involved in the movement; in the beginning, not infrequently they succumbed to the fascination. Shī‘ites were social climbers; the cultural heritage of Mesopotamia conferred on them a certain profile. That this occasionally appeared in non-Arab or anti-Arab garb did not trouble them; since they had little to do with the aristocracy in Kūfa and with the government authorities. Only gradually did the theologians notice what sort of danger they had exposed themselves to; by means of the stories they recounted about the Imams, the rank and file were meant to learn how to confront it.

In this regard Hishām b. al-Ḥakam already represents a late phase; he both adopts and refutes ideas. Among the gnostics it was a different matter; their mythology, at least structurally, aligned itself very closely with the Dayṣānites or the Manicheans. When God, according to the view of Mughīra b. Sa‘īd, creates the world from two seas, one of sweet and the other of salt water, which

25 But here as a political argument to justify the latter's neutrality in the Civil War (Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, ShNB 111, 113, ll. 2 f. from bot.). We do not know how old this formulation is.

26 Cf. Asín-Palacios, "Los precedentes musulmanes del 'pari' de Pascal in: *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo* (Santander) 2/1920/171 ff. = *Huellas del Islam* 161 ff.; Vernet, *Cultura hispanoárabe* 338; Wensinck, *La pensée de Ghazzali* 73 ff.; van den Bergh, *Umrīḥ der muhammedanischen Wissenschaften nach Ibn Ḥaldūn* 59; Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, transl. Gramlich 134. Newly discovered by 'A. Badawī in: SI 45/1977/15 ff. (on this ibid. 47/1978/4).

27 Vajda in: *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions offerts à H. Chr. Puech* 569 ff.

28 *Anwār* I, 78, ll. 12; on this Vajda in: REJ 107/1947/65 f. and in: *Elaboration de l'Islam* 88 f.

29 Cf. Badawī, op. cit., 20 ff.

1 See below Chpts. C 8.2.1 and 8.2.2.3.4.

flowed together from His sweat,² this is a good example of the secondary dualism also cultivated by the *zanādiqa*. When in addition he seeks help from the letters of God's Supreme Name,³ this coincides with what Shahrastānī ascribes to the Mazdakites,⁴ and when he describes God as "man consisting of light",⁵ in so doing he likewise comes close to Iranian thought – though not that alone. The Mazdakites believed, according to Shahrastānī, that God sits on His Throne in heaven just as Khosraw does on earth;⁶ in this manner, i.e. like a human being, Abū Manṣūr al-ʿIjlī also beheld Him during his heavenly ascension.⁷ The Manicheans think in pentads;⁸ later Islamic gnosis knows of a sect of "the Quintuplers" (*mukhammisa*).⁹ ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥarb speculates about the shadows (*aẓilla*) that as a punishment for their disobedience descend from the light, and he connects this with the idea of the transmigration of souls through which the good are clearly separated from the bad;¹⁰ he is supposed to have been the son of a *zindīq* from Madā'in.¹¹

Halm has explained how these ideas in a more or less adapted form lived on for a long time among extremist Shīʿites: in the *Umm al-kitāb*, among the Nuṣayrīs, and in Shalmaghānī's doctrine of syzygies.¹² But in fact, as we saw, they in part also survived within the "orthodox" Shīʿa. The Prophet and the Imams are also light-beings, luminous specters (*ashbāḥ nūr*) who stood around the Throne and there praised God "15,000 years before the creation of Adam".¹³ The light of Muḥammad, light from the light of God, entered Adam's loins and in an unbroken genetic transmission proved to be of benefit for the world.¹⁴ "The Quintuplers" refer to the veneration of the *aṣḥāb al-kisāʾ*, the five members of the Holy Family who took part in the *mubāhala* when Muḥammad

2 See above p. 368. He does not create the world from His shadow, as Halm explains in a rather shortened version in: *Der Islam* 58/1981/25.

3 See above p. 473.

4 *Mīlal* 193, ll. 4 f. from bot./636, 6 ff.; transl. Monnot, *Livre des Religions* 665.

5 See above p. 367.

6 *Mīlal* 193, ll. 10 f./663, 6 ff.; transl. Monnot.

7 See above p. 367 f.

8 Cf. Böhlig, *Die Gnosis* III, Index 395 s. v. *fünf*; on this Halm, *Kosmologie und Heilslehre* 73 f. with further bibliography.

9 Halm, *Gnosis* 218 ff.

10 *Ibid.* 69 ff.

11 Nawbakhtī 31, 5 f.; on this below Chpt. C 1.1.

12 In: *Der Islam* 55/1978/219 ff. and 58/1981/15 ff. On Shalmaghānī cf. Massignon, *Passion* 21, 528 f./1, 481 f. and Meier in: *Artibus Asiae* 16/1953/148 ff.

13 Majlisī, *Bihār* xv, 6, no. 5; also 8 f., no. 8. On this above p. 341 f.

14 *Ibid.* no. 6.

sheltered under his cloak his daughter Fāṭima with her husband and their two children. Moreover, they as well were created before Adam from a mixture of light and spirit (*rūḥ*).¹⁵

This spiritual affinity may explain why the *zanādiqa* for a while flourished in Kūfa in particular. Some of the above-mentioned intellectuals are already located by the tradition in the circle of ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya who turned up in Kūfa towards the end of the Umayyad period and whose scattered gnostic followers later gathered around ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥarb.¹⁶ He is supposed to have made ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza his secretary; Muṭī‘ b. Iyās was his evening companion, as was a certain Baqlī who bore this name because he taught that man was like green plants (*baqlī*): once he is dead, he never comes back again.¹⁷ One also made him into a *zindīq* because “he maintained that he had been granted revelation”.¹⁸

But now we also observe how the ground slips from under our feet. ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya came from the Ḥijāz; probably the gnostic ideas originated rather from his followers in Iraq and in Fārs. ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza and Muṭī‘ b. Iyās may have spent time in his milieu but they were in fact not only *zanādiqa* but *kuttāb* as well.¹⁹ “The green plants man” is a topos; the standpoint he represented has likewise been connected with Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Quddūs.²⁰ Moreover, the idea is not at all dualistic; it goes back to Psalm 103.15. Only a Sunnī scandal monger could believe that a Shī‘ite gnostic like Ibn Mu‘āwiya – if indeed he even was such – would get involved with a Dahrite who implicitly denied the *raj‘a* itself.²¹ One created the connection with the Ḥijāz by recounting his friendship with Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh, an unsuccessful great-grandson of ‘Abbās; he was likewise meant to have been a *zindīq*.²² But this is probably no more than literature;

15 *Bihār* xv, no. 11; further examples in Halm in *Der Islam* 55/1978/233 f.

16 On him see below Chpt. B 3.2.2.

17 *Agh.* xii, 231, ll. 11 ff.; probably following this Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara* 28, ll. 7 f. from bot., where *Yahyā b. Muṭī‘* instead of *Muṭī‘ b. Iyās*.

18 *Agh.* xii, 232, l. 6.

19 That ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza is the same person as the Kaysānite Ḥamza b. ‘Umāra al-Barbarī, as Madelung in *EI*² iv, 837 a assumes, is probably a mistaken identification.

20 Cf. *ZDMG* 135/1985/24.

21 The catchword *dahrī* is in fact used in this context (231, l. 15). Goldziher supposed that behind al-Baqlī was a vegetarian (*Akten IX. Int. Kongreß* 106 = *Ges. Schriften* III 3). – Also critical of these traditions is Cahen in: *Revue Historique* 230/1963/317, and ‘Abd al-Jabbār Muṭṭalibī, *al-Adīb al-mughāmīr* 192 ff.; both see Abbasid propaganda at work here.

22 *Agh.* 233, ll. 9 f. and 13 ff.

according to other sources, this Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdallāh was an innocuous man who wrote verses but also transmitted some *Ḥadīth*.²³

Projections are legion concerning this subject. We saw in another connection²⁴ how one made a *zindīq* out of Walid II. The party of Yazīd III emphasized his dissipated lifestyle in order to justify their putsch; since one above all documented this with his verses, he conformed precisely to the image of a libertine that one also used to portray people like Muṭṭī b. Iyās. The latter is in fact supposed to have been brought from Kūfa to Syria along with other young people in order to while away the time of the caliph;²⁵ like is attracted to like. Others suspected Walīd’s tutor ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā;²⁶ the depravity must have originated from somewhere. And the above-mentioned case of Ja‘d b. Dirham is probably to be explained in a similar way; he was regarded as the tutor of Marwān II, and the latter was likewise not in the good books of the Abbasid propagandists.²⁷ History cannot be made on the basis of these examples. That the question of whether Walīd was a *zindīq* became relevant particularly at the time of Mahdī can still be perceived in the sources.²⁸ *Zandaqa* in the sense of alignment with Iranian models of thought was certainly not alien to the Umayyad period; but the tendency to link this with particular persons only first came about under the Abbasids. Consequently, it is only from this time that *zanādiqa* can be demonstrated with certainty among Islamic intellectuals, although it is clear that they already existed previously.

23 Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* 33, ll. 17 ff.; a *ḥadīth* in praise of Ibn ‘Abbās in *Akhbār al-‘Abbās* 27, ll. 1 ff. In the *rijāl*-literature criticism occasionally occurs; but there as well one has not brought to light anything “heretical” (Bukhārī I₂, 388, no. 2872; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūhīn* I, 242, ll. 1 ff.; ‘Uqaylī, *Ḍu‘afā’* I, 245 f., no. 293; *Mīzān* no. 2012; TT II, 341 f., no. 606.

24 Above p. 95.

25 Balādhurī in Derenk, *Walid* 39, 4 ff.; cf. also *Agh.* XXIV, 221, 9 ff. On this Blachère in: *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* 110 and 114.

26 *Agh.* II, 239, ll. 8 f.; also ‘Abd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī, *Naqd* 152, l. 2, and 156, ll. 9 f.

27 See below Chpt. B 2.4.1.2.

28 *Agh.* VII, 83, ll. 1 ff.

Supplementary Remarks

p. 6: The discussion about the Methodius Apocalypse still continues; cf. Reinink in: *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam*, ed. P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (Damascus 1992), pp. 75 ff. and in: *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* (ed. Cameron and L. Conrad) 1, 149 ff., as well as Drijvers in the latter volume, pp. 189 ff. Reinink looks for connections with 'Abd al-Malik and the construction of the Dome of the Rock (in: Cameron/Conrad 181 ff.), while as an additional text Drijvers has recourse to the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* which was probably translated from Greek into Syriac by Jacob of Edessa.

p. 9, fn. 8: Madelung contests Serjeant's interpretation of the word *hijra* in: *Festschrift Beeston* 25 ff. Cf. now P. Crone in: *Arabica* 41/1994/352 ff.

p. 76, fn. 11: The work of Gil is now available in English translation: *A History of Palestine*, 634–1099, transl. E. Broido. Cambridge 1992.

p. 80: On this subject cf. also Crone, *Slaves on Horses* 204, fn. 30.

p. 82, fn. 4: Unfortunately, in his biography of Abū Jamīl, Ibn 'Asākir says nothing more than what M. Abyaḍ takes over from him.

p. 90: A short text by 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī on the chronology of the surahs is found in 'Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Jamāl al-qurrā'* 1, 7 ff. – Ftn. 58: More material now on the *mutaḥābbūna fī'l-lāh* in Fierro in: *RSO* 66/1992/30 f.; also my *Der Fehltritt des Gelehrten* (Heidelberg 2001), p. 199 ff., 213 ff. and 223 ff.

p. 123, fn. 16: On Rawḥ b. Zinbā' now I. Hasson in: *SI* 77/1993/95 ff., and Hawting in: *EI*² VIII, 466.

p. 135 f.: Syria during the Abbasid period is now treated in I. 'Abbās, *Ta'rikh bilād al-Shām fī'l-'aṣr al-'abbāsī*. Amman 1992.

pp. 163 f.: On Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī cf. now Gramlich in: *Oriens* 33/1992/22ff.; regarding p. 164, above all pp. 60 f. there.

p. 166, fn. 42: (Late) sources on Rābi'a bt. Ismā'īl in Gramlich, *ibid.* 61, fn. 271.

p. 166, fn. 44: But it was at least disputed whether one could not have two sisters as concubines at the same time, i.e. whether one might have sexual relations with two female slaves who are sisters (Motzki, *Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz* 171).

p. 175, fn. 12: The text is also found in the biography of ‘Uthmān in Ibn ‘Asākir (TD, vol. 46, ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī, Damascus 1404/1984, p. 503, ll. 7 ff.).

p. 187, fn. 26: On this as well as Vol. II, Chpt. B 2.4.2.1, cf. the presentation in Sakūnī, *‘Uyūn al-munāẓarāt* 199 f. § 273.

p. 199 ll. 2 ff.: On this cf. Cook in: BO 50/1993/271.

p. 207: On *fa’fa’* cf. also Meier in: *Festschrift Singer* 95.

p. 212: Was ‘Alqama b. Marthad perhaps a brother of the South-Arabian ascetic Yazīd b. Marthad al-Madhḥijī who is mentioned on p. 93 and primarily lived in Syria?

p. 215 ll. 13 ff. from bot.: On Abū Ḥanīfa and the origins of the Karaites now also D. J. Lasker in: *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, ed. Brinner/Ricks, II, 23 ff., as well as Cook in: JSAI 9/1987/161 ff.

p. 237: The commentary on the *Fiqh absaṭ* has now been published in a critical edition by H. Daiber, *The Islamic Concept of Belief in the 4th/10th Century* (Tokyo). The relationship to the “Fiqh akbar” is also treated anew.

p. 245, fn. 15: Naturally, he can only be identified as Ibn Yazīd Bayyā‘ al-sābirī if one there (p. 349) reads *‘Amr b. Yazīd* instead of *‘Umar b. Yazīd*.

pp. 251 f.: On Yūnus b. Bukayr and his recension of the *Sīra* cf. now Muranyi in: JSAI 14/1991/214 ff.

p. 253: Ghassān had discussions with Bishr al-Marīsī. The report originated with him that Abū Ḥanīfa assumed God possessed a *māhīyya* (above p. 242); on this see Abū’l-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī, *Tabṣirat al-adilla* 164, ll. 6 ff. His belonging to the circle of Ibn Abī Duwād during the *miḥna* (p. 253) is also attested in ‘Abd al-Ghānī b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Jammā‘ī, *K. al-Miḥna* 90, ll. 2 f. from bot., and 103, l. 1).

p. 254: The Ismā‘īlī heresiographer whom P. Walker has made known in: JAOS 114/1994/343 ff. (probably the *dā‘ī* Abū Tammām with his *K. al-Shajara*) comments

on Jaḥḍar b. Muḥammad al-Taymī; he uses the same source as Khwārizmī but offers somewhat more text. There instead of Taymī one finds Tamīmī. Jaḥḍar was a Murji'ite because he extended the principle of *kullu mujtahid muṣīb* to theological matters and then did not consider deviations in the faith as a sin. [Cf. now Madelung/Walker, *An Ismaili Heresiography*, (Leiden 1998), Arabic text 89, ll. 5 ff./transl. 86; in general my *Der Eine und das Andere* (1–2, Berlin 2011), vol. 1 515 ff.]

p. 255: Later one transmitted an exchange of letters between Sufyān al-Thawrī and Hārūn al-Rashīd (printed in: *Rasā'ul Muniriyya* IV, no. 6 [pp. 57–59]; cf. also GAS 1/519). But the letters remain in a purely paraenetic mode and with some certainty are inauthentic; Hārūn only came to govern in the year 170, i.e. nine years after Sufyān's death.

p. 266: The Kūfan Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Abdī is evidently to be kept separate from the Baṣran Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Abd. 'Uqaylī only knows the latter as Khālid al-'Abd; Dhahabī thinks that he knows the father's name (*Mizān* no. 2438), admits, however, that normally one was only familiar with the short form (no. 2481).

p. 274: Regarding A'mash and his "book" on *manāqib amīr al-mu'minīn* cf. now the materials collected in: *Turāthunā* 6/1411, No. 3/77 ff. In general on his classification also Juynboll in: *Der Islam* 71/1994/366 f.

p. 274, fn. 4: On Faḍl b. Dukayn see now also the Ismā'īlī heresiography referred to here in connection with p. 254 which offers a parallel to Khwārizmī but is also lengthier. [Cf. Madelung/Walker, *An Ismaili Heresiography*, Arabic text 94 f./transl. 90 f.] There the information in Shahrastānī is confirmed. Moreover, Faḍl is classified as being close to the Mu'tazila; this fits with the fact that he acted together with Sahl b. Salāma who likewise seems to have been connected with the Mu'tazila (cf. Vol. II, Chpt. B 2.2.8.2 and III, Chpt. C 2.4). Here along with him appears the leader of the same group, the Kūfan Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥakam al-Fazārī who transmitted the *Tafsīr* of the younger Suddī (see above pp. 348 f.) and otherwise also wrote some books esteemed by the Shī'ites (cf. Najāshī II, ll. 2 ff. from bot.; Ardabīlī, *Jāmi' al-ruwāt* I, 20 b; *Mizān* no. 73).

p. 277: That one also made use of pounded charred date pits as a remedy for diarrhea is clear from a letter of the Moroccan saint Aḥmad b. Idrīs; the practice goes back to ancient times (*The Letters of Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, ed. E. Thomassen and B. Radtke, London 1993, p. 19). – On this subject cf. now also Elran VII, 122 a s. v. *Date Palm*.

pp. 306 f.: The *Tafsīr gharīb al-Qurān*, which one traced back to Zayd b. 'Alī, has now been edited by Ḥasan Muḥammad Taqī al-Ḥakīm on the basis of three manuscripts

(Beirut 1412/1992). The same editor has also published an edition of the *K. al-Ṣafwa* (likewise Beirut 1412/1992; Cook has drawn attention to an earlier edition in: BO 50/1993/271). On the classification of this text cf. Madelung, *Qāsim* 54.

p. 309: The Ismā'īlī heresiographer referred to here in connection with p. 254 provides an extensive report about one of the followers of Khalaf b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad. There it is maintained that Khalaf was the grandson of Zayd b. 'Alī through his son 'Abd al-Ṣamad who until now was unknown and perhaps was only a *mawlā* of Zayd; Khalaf is supposed to have fled to the Turks, i.e. to Central Asia. There his descendants still held the group together. They advocated a remarkable doctrine about the angels according to which Michael, as the first created being, is in charge of regulating the world. [Cf. Madelung/Walker, *An Ismaili Heresiography*, Arabic text 95 ff./transl. 91 ff.] – For the Jārūdiyya one may mention Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd Ibn 'Uqda from the beginning of the 4th century (d. 333/944); he owned a large library (cf. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work* 154 and 73; GAS 1/182). At the beginning of the 5th century lived Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Harawī al-Jārūdī (d. circa 420/1029; cf. Kohlberg 213).

p. 317, ftn. 11, and p. 464, ftn. 7: Speculations about Ismā'īl b. Ja'far are found now in F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs* 97 ff.; on Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb also Ḥ. Anṣārī in GIE V, 432 ff.

pp. 322 ff.: On this chapter cf. now the book of M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin dans le Shī'isme originel* (Paris 1992).

pp. 324 f.: On secret writings now Kohlberg, *Authoritative Scriptures in early Imāmī Shī'ism*; in Patlagean/Le Bolluec, *Les retours aux écritures* 295 ff.

p. 326: On Shī'ite criticism concerning incompleteness or forgery in the Koran cf. now Lawson in: JSS 36/1991/279 ff., Modarresi in: SI 77/1993/5 ff. and M. M. Bar-Asher in: IOS 13/1993/39 ff.

p. 329, ftn. 72: “Ḥamza b. 'Ammāra” here and “Ḥamza b. 'Umāra” p. 534 should be harmonized with one another. 'Umāra is the more frequent form (Ibn Durayd, *Mushtabih* 470, l. 2 from bot.).

p. 335: The Ismā'īlī heresiographical work mentioned above in connection with p. 254 draws as well on the same source but is somewhat more detailed about the Ṣurkhābiyya. Consequently, there is no longer any doubt that it is a question of Zaydīs; the group lived in Khorāsān. [Cf. Madelung/Walker, *An Ismaili Heresiography*, Arabic text 95, ll. 8 ff./transl. 91.]

p. 343: With regard to riding on a reed cane, i.e. a hobbyhorse, as a sign of madness cf. Moreh, *Live Theater and dramatic literature in the medieval Arab world* (Edinburgh 1992), p. 91; also 27 ff. s. v. *kurraj*.

p. 348: For excerpts from Kalbī's *K. al-Mathālib* cf. also Kohlberg, *Medieval Scholar* 264 f.

p. 350: On Ibn al-Mubārak's *Tafsīr* cf. now Rippin in: *JSAI* 18/1994/47 ff., who identifies the author in the usual way, however, and does not take account of the problems I have dealt with in *Ungenützte Texte* 50 ff. – On a grandson of Thumālī (through one of his daughters) cf. Najāshī 40, ll. 7 ff. and Ardabīlī 1, 237 f.

p. 351, l. 3 from bot.: It is a question of Ibn Abī Zaynab, author of the *K. al-Ghayba*.

p. 352, l. 1 f.: The text as edited by Nwyia has now been translated and analyzed by R. Gramlich (*Abu l-Abbās b. Aṭā'. Sufi und Koranausleger*; AKM 51, 2; Stuttgart 1995).

pp. 362 ff.: On *taqīyya* now Amir-Moezzi, *Guide divin* 310 ff., with bibliography (p. 312, fn. 685).

pp. 372: In the Ismā'īlī heresiographical work referred to in connection with p. 254 the Ya'fūriyya appears much more extreme: they are supposed to have looked upon Ma'mar b. al-Aḥmar (cf. Vol. III, towards end of Chpt. C 1.3.2) as their "master" and to have venerated him day and night. [Cf. Madelung/Walker, *An Ismaili Heresiography*, Arabic text 113 f./transl. 104 f.] – Mu'allā b. Khunays had a partner in Kūfa named Rawḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Najashī 120, ll. 5 ff. from bot.).

pp. 373 ff.: A *Musnad* of Zurāra b. A'yan with a total of 1920 traditions has been compiled by Bashīr al-Muḥammadi al-Māzandarānī (Qum 1413/1993). Numerous exegetical materials (whose authenticity remains to be investigated) are found in the *Tafsīr* of 'Ayyāshī. On doctrine the above-referred to Ismā'īlī heresiographical work should now also be consulted. For the family cf. also GIE I, 572 ff. s. v. *Āl-i A'yan*. Is Zurāra's sister meant (mentioned above on p. 374, last l. f.), when in the original source of 'Abd al-Jalīl-i Qazwīnī's *K. al-Naqd* it says (p. 16, l. 14) that the doctrine of the Rāfiḍites goes back to a woman?

p. 375: For excerpts from "the book" of 'Abdallāh b. Bukayr cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Scholar* 219.

p. 383, ftn. 58: I had overlooked that while in ShNB the meter and rhymes of the consonants were in fact identical, the rhyming vowel was *i* and not *u*; so for this reason one cannot ascribe the fragments to the same *qaṣīda*.

p. 384, ll. 2 f. from bot.: The Taym were generally regarded as anti-Shī'ite; Abū Bakr originated from them. Al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī reproached the Taym and the 'Adī (to whom 'Umar had belonged) for having robbed the Hāshimids of their power (*Agh.* VII, 244, ll. 1 ff.). But the reading is also supported through Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb* I, 238, l. 5 from bot./transl. Gramlich II, 194.

p. 389: On "the book" of Ḥafṣ b. al-Bakhtarī cf. Kohlberg, op. cit., 223.

p. 394: A son of Nūḥ b. Darrāj named Ayyūb was the *wakīl* of the 10th and the 11th Imam (Najāshī 74, ll. 6 ff. from bot.; Ardabīlī I, 112 ff.).

p. 396, ll. 14 f. from bot.: The other Shayṭān al-Ṭāq died 342/953–4. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfi* XIX, 398 f., no. 384, he was called 'Ubaydallāh, not 'Abdallāh.

p. 398: A book by Shayṭān al-Ṭāq is alluded to in the *K. al-Naqd* of 'Abd al-Jalīl-i Qazwīnī (p. 304, ll. 3 ff. from bot.). In it he is supposed to have advocated the omniscience of the Imams and the triumphant return of Ḥusayn before the Last Judgement. Perhaps his *K. al-Imāma* is meant.

p. 406, ftn. 110: In the added passage from the *K. al-Ghayba* of Ibn Abī Zaynab it says that the *qā'im* will appear in the form of a *shābb muwaffaq* who will be 32 years old (cf. also Vol. III, Chpt. C 1.2.1, ftn. 34).

p. 409, ftn. 122: How Abū Mālik went about differentiating the standpoint of Shayṭān al-Ṭāq in this problem area reveals itself in the text that I have translated in the commentary to Text IV 1 (Vol. v, p. 67). The probably apocryphal definition of love mentioned on p. 409 is completely different in Mas'ūdī than in Daylamī, *Atf* 79, ll. 15 ff./transl. Vadet 130. – Abū Mālik had a nephew named al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī who likewise "wrote books" (Najāshī 36, ll. 2 ff. from bot., and 307, ll. 7 ff. from bot.; Ardabīlī I, 225).

pp. 410 ff.: On Hishām b. al-Ḥakam compare also the dissertation by M. A. M. de Angelis: *The Collected Fragments of Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, Imamate "Mutakallim" of the 2nd Century of the Hegira, Together with a Discussion of the Sources for and an Introduction to His Teaching* (New York University 1974). Unfortunately the work

was never pursued further. Hishām is also dealt with at length, though rather conventionally and apologetically, by Muḥammad Riżā al-Ja‘farī in: *Turāthunā* 8/1413, No. 1–2/171 ff. Ibn Abī ‘Awn sketches a positive portrait of him in his *al-Ajwiba al-muskita*; there he appears as a quick-witted *mutakallim* (cf. for instance p. 145, no. 871, or pp. 153 f., no. 911). But Ibn Abī ‘Awn was a follower of Shalmaghānī.

pp. 426 f.: On the problem of whether one can reach beyond the universe or still see anything there, cf. now also Gimaret, *Ash‘arī* 112.

p. 434: On Hishām b. al-Ḥakam’s theory of action cf. now also the Ismā‘īlī heresiographical work referred to here in connection with p. 254. [Cf. Madelung/Walker, *An Ismaili Heresiography*, Arabic text 57 f./transl. 60 f.]

p. 437, ftn. 14: The *K. al-Yāqūt* has been dated too early (cf. Vol. III, Chpt. C 1.3.1.4).

pp. 448 f.: With ‘Alī b. Ri‘āb al-Ṭaḥḥān should probably be connected the report about a certain ‘Alī al-Ṭāḥin which Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī presents in his *K. al-Zīna* (in ‘Abdallāh Sallūm Sāmarrā‘ī, *al-Ghulūw wa’l-firaq al-ghālīya fī’l-ḥaraka al-islāmīyya*, Baghdād 1972, p. 291, ll. 13 ff.).

Pp. 450 f.: On “the book” of Bazanṭī cf. also Kohlberg, *Medieval Scholar* 222.

p. 456, ftn. 30: On “questions” which ‘Alī b. Yaḳīn had addressed to Mūsā al-Kāzīm cf. Kohlberg, op. cit., 258.

pp. 456 f.: On the origin of the name Mamṭūra now also Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation* 60, ftn. 30.

p. 458 f.: On *al-Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḡhīr* of Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān cf. Kohlberg, op. cit., 204. The anonymous Sunnī author against whom ‘Abd al-Jalīl-i Qazwīnī polemicalizes in his *K. al-Naqd* (270, ll. 9 ff.) refers to a *K. Ta’yīd al-nubuwwa wa-tashdīd al-imāma*, which is probably identical with the *K. al-Imāma* mentioned in Najāshī; in it Yūnus comments on the *ḥadīths* in which Companions of the Prophet, whom the Shī‘a find disagreeable, appear in a favourable light.

pp. 465 f.: On “the murdered Messiah” in Judaism, “the son of Joseph”, who precedes the Messiah from the House of David, cf. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* 18 and *Sabbatai Zvi*, Index s. v. – The predicate *al-Nafs al-zakiyya* in early times had also been associated with Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (Kashshī 117, l. 1).

p. 469: The *Shī'ūr Qōmā* is cited, with manifest horror, by Ibn Ḥazm (*Fīṣal* 1, 221, ll. 2 ff. and *Radd 'alā Ibn al-Naḡhrilla* 75 § 54, 'Abbās; in both passages incorrectly written or misread as *shī'r Tūmā*). It was therefore evidently read by Spanish Jews. Metatron as well (p. 472) was known there (*Fīṣal* 1, 223, ll. 11 ff. = *Radd* 75, ll. 7 ff.

p. 471, ftn. 29: I ought to have cited the work in German instead of English: B. Rehm (ed.), *Die Pseudoklementinen*. Above all the passage in the 17th Homily is typical 17.7 f. = p. 232, ll. 16 ff.

p. 472: Cook wishes to see in *Ibn Yāsīn* simply an incorrect form of writing Ibn Yamīn = Benjamin (see BO 50/1993/272). But since *Yāsīn* is written plene in the cited Ash'arī passage, one must assume either that the alif represents the Hebrew long vowel of *yāmīn* or that in Ash'arī's original source it was not yet there. The latter case is unlikely because the form *yamīn* would be so unambiguous that it could hardly be misunderstood as *yā* (written defectively) and *sīn* (written plene). That the mistake was introduced later is virtually excluded by the state of the manuscripts (cf. the apparatus criticus). – On what follows cf. now also St. M. Wasserstrom, "*The Šī'īs are the Jews of our Community*", in: IOS 14/1994/297 ff.

p. 493, l. 7 from bot. and ftn. 16: The basis for this is Shahrastānī 192, ll. 13 ff./630, ll. 6 ff., where the author of the tract, however, is called Abū Sa'īd. Abū 'Alī Sa'īd lived according to *Fihrist* 398, l. 10, and 401, l. 26, in the time of Ma'mūn (cf. Monnot in: *Livre des Religions* 662, ftn. 44).

p. 494: On the Manicheans in the Arabian Peninsula who allegedly came from Ḥīra cf. now Tardieu, "L'arrivée des Manichéens à al-Ḥīra" in: *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam* (Damascus 1992), pp. 25 ff.

p. 503: The texts that form the basis for the translations are found in the edition of Madelung and McDermott, pp. 584–589. Beforehand Malāḡhimī also presents a detailed argument against the Manicheans (pp. 567 ff.).

pp. 510 f.: Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq claims to have learned that the Mazdakites in his time had gone over to the doctrine of the Manicheans (Malāḡhimī, *Mu'tamad* 583, last l. ff.). On the subject in general and especially on the thesis of Gaube cf. now P. Crone in: *Iran* 29/1991/ 21 ff.

p. 513 f.: A brief remark about the doctrine of the nephew of Abū Shākir now in *Malāḥimī* 590, ll. 12 f. The other reports given there about the doctrines of the *zanādiqa* (Nu‘mān, Ghassān al-Ruhāwī, Ibn Ṭālūt) agree with those in the *Mughnī*.

pp. 515 f.: Ibn Abī'l-‘Awjā’, together with Ibn al-Muqaffa’, is now briefly treated by M. Browder in: *Studia Manichaica* II, ed. G. Wiessner and H. J. Klimkeit (Wiesbaden 1992), pp. 328 ff. But the work is unoriginal and not free of errors.

p. 531, ll. 2 f. from bot.: P. Krafft some time ago again pleaded on behalf of an affinity between the “*pari de Pascal*” and an idea found in the early-fourth-century North-African rhetor Arnobius (*Beiträge zur Wirkungsgeschichte des älteren Arnobius* 252 ff.).