

# Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba

The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker

*Edited by*

Camilla Adang  
Maribel Fierro  
Sabine Schmidtke



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON  
2013

© 2013 Koninklijke Brill NV ISBN 978-90-04-23424-6

## CONTENTS

|                                    |      |
|------------------------------------|------|
| List of Illustrations .....        | ix   |
| Preface and Acknowledgements ..... | xi   |
| <i>The Editors</i>                 |      |
| Map of al-Andalus .....            | xiii |
| List of Contributors .....         | xv   |

### PART I

#### LIFE AND TIMES OF IBN ḤAZM

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī Ibn Ḥazm: A Biographical Sketch .....   | 3  |
| <i>José Miguel Puerta Vilchez</i>   |    |
| A Portrait of the ‘ālim as a Young Man: The Formative Years of<br>Ibn Ḥazm, 404/1013–420/1029 ..... | 25 |
| <i>Bruna Soravia</i>  |    |
| Ibn Ḥazm and the Territory of Huelva: Personal and Family<br>Relationships .....                    | 51 |
| <i>Alejandro García Sanjuán</i>   |    |
| Ibn Ḥazm and al-Andalus .....   | 69 |
| <i>David J. Wasserstein</i>   |    |
| Ibn Ḥazm on History: A Few Remarks .....  | 87 |
| <i>Gabriel Martínez-Gros</i>  |    |

### PART II

#### LEGAL ASPECTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Ibn Ḥazm’s Literalism: A Critique of Islamic Legal Theory .....   | 97  |
| <i>Adam Sabra</i>   |     |
| La doctrine sur l’exercice de la justice : Un exemple du désaccord<br>entre Ibn Ḥazm et les mālikites ..... | 161 |
| <i>Alfonso Carmona González</i>   |     |

- Claim (Da‘wā) or Complaint (Shakwā)? Ibn Ḥazm’s and Qāḍī  
‘Iyāḍ’s Doctrines on Accusations of Rape ..... 179  
*Delfina Serrano*

## PART III

## ZĀHIRĪ LINGUISTICS

- Ibn Maḍā’ as a Zāhirī Grammarian ..... 207  
*Kees Versteegh*
- Which Curiosity? Ibn Ḥazm’s Suspicion of Grammarians ..... 233  
*Salvador Peña*

## PART IV

## ART AND AESTHETICS

- Art and Aesthetics in the Work of Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba ..... 253  
*José Miguel Puerta Vilchez*

## PART V

## THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS

- Ibn Ḥazm’s Sources on Ash‘arism and Mu‘tazilism ..... 375  
*Sabine Schmidtke*
- Aristotle and Ibn Ḥazm. On the Logic of the *Taqrīb* ..... 403  
*Rafael Ramón Guerrero*
- Ibn Ḥazm’s Logical Pedigree ..... 417  
*Joep Lameer*
- Ibn Ḥazm on Sins and Salvation ..... 429  
*Christian Lange*

## PART VI

## INTERRELIGIOUS POLEMICS

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| The Testimony of Reason and the Historical Reality: Ibn Ḥazm's<br>Refutation of Christianity ..... | 457 |
| <i>Martin-Samuel Behloul</i>   |     |
| Le sens de la polémique anti-biblique chez Ibn Ḥazm .....  | 485 |
| <i>Dominique Urvoy</i>   |     |
| Ibn Ḥazm and the Jewish <i>zindīq</i> .....  | 497 |
| <i>Maribel Fierro</i>  |     |

## PART VII

## RECEPTION

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Shurayḥ al-Ru'aynī and the Transmission of the Works of Ibn<br>Ḥazm .....                                | 513 |
| <i>Camilla Adang</i>   |     |
| Refutations of Ibn Ḥazm by Mālikī Authors from al-Andalus and<br>North-Africa .....                      | 539 |
| <i>Samir Kaddouri</i>  |     |
| Elements of Acceptance and Rejection in Ibn Qayyim<br>al-Jawziyya's Systematic Reading of Ibn Ḥazm ..... | 601 |
| <i>Livnat Holtzman</i>   |     |
| Ibn Ḥazm selon certains savants shī'ites .....   | 645 |
| <i>Hassan Ansari</i>   |     |
| The Reception of Ibn Ḥazm in Arabic Chronicles .....   | 663 |
| <i>Luis Molina</i>   |     |

## PART VIII

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Inventory of Ibn Ḥazm's Works .....              | 683 |
| <i>José Miguel Puerta Vilchez</i>                |     |
| Ibn Ḥazm—Bibliography of Secondary Sources ..... | 761 |
| <i>Leigh Chipman</i>                             |     |
| Index of Names .....                             | 789 |
| Index of Groups .....                            | 801 |
| Index of Places .....                            | 803 |

PART V

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS



## IBN ḤAZM'S SOURCES ON ASH'ARISM AND MU'TAZILISM\*

Sabine Schmidtke

When Ibn Ḥazm died in 456/1064, Sunnī Mu'tazilism had reached its apogee. During the early 4th/10th century, its two major scholastic trends, the School of Baghdad and the School of Baṣra, had evolved in the Islamic East. Whereas the School of Baghdad had become largely irrelevant after the death of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī al-Ka'bī (d. 319/931), the Baṣran School and, more specifically, the Bahshamiyya, named after its eponym Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (d. 321/933), had become the dominant school among the Mu'tazilīs during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. Following Abū Hāshim's death the school doctrine was continued over the next generations by Abū 'Alī b. Khallād,<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī (*"al-Shaykh al-murshid,"* d. 367/978), Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Ayyāsh, and *qādī l-quḍāt* 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025), who eventually succeeded Abū 'Abd Allāh as the head of the Baṣran school of the Mu'tazila and enjoyed the patronage of al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995), the vizier of Mu'ayyad al-Dawla in Būyid Rayy.<sup>2</sup> Other rivalling trends within Mu'tazilism during Abū Hāshim's time, such as the School of Baghdad or the Ikhshīdiyya, a movement founded by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ṣaymarī (d. 315/927) and named after the latter's companion Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 326/938),<sup>3</sup> were of mostly historical value at the turn of the 5th/11th century.

---

\* This publication was prepared within the framework of the European Research Council's FP 7 project "Rediscovering Theological Rationalism in the Medieval World of Islam." I take the opportunity to thank Camilla Adang, Hassan Ansari and Maribel Fierro for helpful remarks on an earlier draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> On him, see Camilla Adang, Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, *Baṣran Mu'tazilite Theology: Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Khallād's Kitāb al-uṣūl and its reception. A Critical Edition of the Ziyādāt Sharḥ al-uṣūl by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥānī* (d. 424/1033), Leiden 2011; cf. also Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Zaydī reception of Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*: The *ta'līq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Ṣaffār," *Journal Asiatique* 298 (2010), pp. 275–302.

<sup>2</sup> On him, see Gabriel Said Reynolds, *A Muslim theologian in the sectarian milieu: 'Abd al-Jabbār and the critique of Christian origins*, Leiden 2004.

<sup>3</sup> On him, see Daniel Gimaret, "Ebn al-Ekšīd, Abū Bakr Aḥmad," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 8, p. 15f. Among Ibn al-Ikhshīd's students was the renowned lexicographer and exegete 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 386/996). On him, see now Alena Kulinich, *Representing "a blameworthy tafsīr": Mu'tazilite exegetical tradition in al-Jāmi' fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān of 'Alī ibn*



Within Sunnism, Muʿtazilism continued to flourish for at least another two centuries. Among ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s students were Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, who became the head of the Bahshamiyya following the *qāḍī l-quḍāt*’s death in 415/1025,<sup>4</sup> his younger contemporary Abū Muḥammad Ibn Mattawayh (d. 469/1076), author of a paraphrastic commentary on ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s *al-Muḥīṭ fi l-taklīf, al-Majmūʿ fi l-muḥīṭ*, and of *al-Tadhkira fi l-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrād*,<sup>5</sup> Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Labbād (“Qāḍī Labbād”), author of a *Kitāb al-Nukat* (lost),<sup>6</sup> and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).<sup>7</sup> The latter had criticized his teacher ʿAbd al-Jabbār on a number of issues, and his doctrines later on gave rise to the last innovative school within Muʿtazilism.<sup>8</sup> Abū l-Ḥusayn’s theological thought was continued and propagated about a century after his lifetime by the Ḥanafī scholar and contemporary and associate of Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141) in Khwārazm, where Muʿtazilism survived at least until the 9th/15th century.<sup>9</sup>

---

ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994), PhD dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 2012.

<sup>4</sup> On him, see Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “Muʿtazilism after ʿAbd al-Jabbār: Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī’s *Kitāb Masāʾil al-khilāf fi l-uṣūl* (Studies on the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th c. I),” *Studia Iranica* 39 (2010), pp. 227–278.

<sup>5</sup> See Sabine Schmidtke, “Ibn Mattawayh,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three. Fasc.* 2012–1, Leiden 2012, pp. 147–149 (with further references).

<sup>6</sup> An edition of fragments of one of his comprehensive *kalām* works that are preserved in the Abraham Firkovitch collection, St. Petersburg, is currently being prepared by Omar Hamdan and Sabine Schmidtke.

<sup>7</sup> Among the less known students of ʿAbd al-Jabbār was Abū Ḥamid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Najjār (d. 433/1041–2), who in turn was one of the teachers of al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī (d. 494/1101), the foremost representative of Ḥanafī Muʿtazilism in Khurāsān who embraced the Zaydī doctrine towards the end of his life. Al-Jishumī is the author of *Uyūn al-masāʾil*, together with his autocommentary *Sharḥ ʿuyūn al-masāʾil*, one of the most significant encyclopaedia-style works of Muʿtazilite history and doctrine. On him, see Jan Thiele, “La causalité selon al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī,” *The neglected Šīʿites: Studies in the legal and intellectual history of the Zaydis*. Guest-Editor: Sabine Schmidtke = *Arabica. Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 59 iii–iv (2012), pp. 291–318.

<sup>8</sup> On him, see Wilferd Madelung, “Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three. Fasc.* 2007–1, Leiden 2007, pp. 16–19 (with further references).

<sup>9</sup> Most of his works on *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* are extant and have been published: *al-Muʿtamad fi uṣūl al-dīn*, a work that consisted originally of four volumes that are only partly extant (revised and enlarged edition by Wilferd Madelung, Tehran 1391/2012); *al-Fāʾiq fi uṣūl al-dīn*, which is summary of the *Muʿtamad* (eds. Martin McDermott and Wilferd Madelung, Tehran 2007); *Tuḥfāt al-Mutakallimīn fi l-Radd ʿalā l-Falāsīfa*. Edited with an Introduction by Hassan Ansari and Wilferd Madelung, Tehran 2008; *Legal Methodology in 6th/12th century Khwārazm: The Kitāb al-Tajrīd fi uṣūl al-fiqh by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī (d. 536/1141)*. Facsimile edition of MS Arab e 103

A close examination of the theological writings of Ibn Ḥazm<sup>10</sup> shows that he was unaware not only of contemporary Mu'tazilism but also of the developments of the school during most of the 4th/10th century. When mentioning Abū Bakr Ibn Ikhshīd, Ibn Ḥazm states that the latter was one of the three heads of the movement into which the Mu'tazila had split at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, the other two being Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī and Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī.<sup>11</sup> He does not refer to any Mu'tazilī thinker later than these three. By contrast, Ibn Ḥazm is familiar with most of the earlier representatives of the movement, most of whom belong to its pre-scholastic phase. He polemicalizes against their views throughout his theological works and devotes an entire section of his *Fiṣal* to the refutation of Mu'tazilite doctrines.<sup>12</sup> Despite his characteristically harsh polemic tone, Ibn Ḥazm clearly considered Mu'tazilism to be a historical movement at best with little relevance as a living opponent.

This is confirmed when Ibn Ḥazm's sources for Mu'tazilī doctrines are analyzed, at least, as far as this can be done on the basis of the little information he provides. In the majority of cases, Ibn Ḥazm refrains from revealing his sources on the various Mu'tazilī doctrines and thinkers he discusses. The few exceptions where he provides titles are problematic

---

(Bodleian Library, Oxford), with an introduction and indices by Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, Tehran 1390/2012.—That Mu'tazilite thought continued to exist beyond the 6th/12th century even in the central lands of Islam is attested, for example, by men of letters such as the Ḥanafī Mu'tazilī scholar Abū Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. Abī l-Ḥadīd, author of *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, who passed away in 656/1258 in Baghdad. On him, see Wilferd Madelung, "Abd al-Ḥamid b. Abu'l-Ḥadīd," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 108–110 (with further references).—For a detailed account of Mu'tazilism during the 6th/12th century and beyond, see Gregor Schwarb, "Mu'tazilism in the age of Averroes," *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the 6th/12th Century (Warburg Institute Colloquia)*, ed. Peter Adamson, London 2011, pp. 251–282.

<sup>10</sup> Namely his *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi l-milal wa-l-ahwā' wa-l-niḥal*; throughout this article, reference is given to the edition by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Naṣr and 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra (5 vols, Beirut: Dār al-Jil, 1405/1985) and to the edition by Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (3 vols, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1996, 2 1999, 3 2007). Generally on the *Fiṣal*, see Josef van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen hāresiographischen Texten* 1–2, Berlin 2011, pp. 837–856. Further his *Kitāb al-Durra fīmā yajibū i'tiqāduhu* (eds. Aḥmad b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamd and Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā al-Qazaqī, Mecca 1408/1987) and his *Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa-l-furū'* (eds. 'Āṭif al-'Irāqī and Saḥir Faḍl Allāh Abū Wāfiyya, Cairo 1425/2004).

<sup>11</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 70f. / vol. 3, p. 140: *wa-huwa min ru'asā'ihim al-thalātha alladhīn intahat riyāsatumum ilayhim wa-ftaraqat al-mu'tazila 'alā madhāhibihim wa-l-thānī minhum Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī wa-l-thālith 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Balkhī al-ma'rūf bi-l-Ka'bī*. The passage is quoted in turn by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d 787/1385) in his *Lisān al-mizān (al-Juz' al-awwal [-al-sādis] min Kitāb lisān al-mizān* 1–6, Hyderabad 1329–31/1911–13, vol. 3, p. 255f).

<sup>12</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, pp. 57–72 / vol. 3, pp. 128–141 (*dhikr shina' al-Mu'tazila*).

and given the enormous time span between his and the respective authors' lifetime, it is unlikely that he had consulted most of them directly. Ibn Ḥazm refers to the *Kitāb al-Burhān* of al-Jāhiz (d. 255/869),<sup>13</sup> the heresiographical *Kitāb Fī l-Maqālāt* of Abū l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Anbārī ("al-Nāshī" al-Akbar" d. 293/906),<sup>14</sup> Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī's (d. 345/956) *Kitāb Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar* as well as his *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf*,<sup>15</sup> "one of the books" (*ba'ḍ kutubihī*) of Abū Bakr Ibn Ikhshīd,<sup>16</sup> and "*al-Masā'il*" of Abū Ḥāshim al-Jubbā'ī.<sup>17</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm discusses Mu'tazilī doctrines in an exclusively polemical context which guides his selection of Mu'tazilī thinkers and doctrines. He often presents and refutes views of marginal figures within the movement, clearly for polemical purposes, such as the peculiar views of some disciples of al-Nazzām, e.g. on the transmigration of souls, such as Aḥmad b. Khābiṭ,<sup>18</sup> Faḍl al-Ḥadathī<sup>19</sup> and Ṣāliḥ Qubba'<sup>20</sup> who were later ostracized

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 61 / vol. 3, p. 131. Cf. also Charles Pellat, "Nouvel essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre ḡāhizienne," *Arabica* 31 (1984), pp. 117–164: 135 # 56.

<sup>14</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 61 / vol. 3, p. 131; also *al-Durra*, p. 394. The excerpts of the *Maqālāt* that are preserved in the later literature have been collected and edited by Josef van Ess in his *Frühe mu'tazilitische Häresiographie: Zwei Werke des Nāsi' al-Akbar (gest. 293 H.)*, Beirut 1971. On the work, see also his *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, pp. 197–204; idem, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, pp. 141ff, vol. 6, pp. 366ff.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 2, p. 843. For available editions and translations of both works, see Ch. Pellat, "al-Mas'ūdī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 6, pp. 784–788 (with further references).—Ibn Ḥazm may in fact have consulted al-Mas'ūdī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* directly as the work is known to have circulated in al-Andalus and had also been used by Ibn Ḥazm's contemporary Ṣā'id al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) in his *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*. Cf. van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 2, p. 846 n. 76. See also Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible. From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden 1996., p. 100f.

<sup>16</sup> None of Ibn al-Ikhshīd's writings are preserved. His most comprehensive theological work seems to have been his *Kitāb al-Ma'īna fī l-uṣūl*. He apparently also wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān and is known to have authored several *fiqh* works. Cf. Daniel Gimaret, "Ebn al-Ekšīd, Abū Bakr Aḥmad," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 8, p. 15f.

<sup>17</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 3, p. 142 / vol. 2, p. 131. The title cannot be identified as Abū Ḥāshim has numerous responsa collections to his credit (none of which has been preserved). Cf. Daniel Gimaret, "Matériaux pour une bibliographie des Ḡubbā'ī," *Journal Asiatique* 264 (1976), pp. 277–332; idem, "Matériaux pour une bibliographie des Jubba'ī: Note complémentaire," *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani*, ed. Michael E. Marmura, Albany 1984, pp. 31–38.—In addition, Ibn Ḥazm also refers explicitly to Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām b. 'Abd Allāh's (d. 224/838) *Risāla fī l-īmān*. *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 3, p. 246 / vol. 2, p. 226. See also van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 2, p. 843. The text has been edited by Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī in *Min kunūz al-sunna: Rasā'il arba'*, Damascus 1385/1965, pp. 47ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 3, p. 157 / vol. 2, p. 146; vol. 5, p. 64f. / vol. 3, p. 134f.; vol. 5, p. 95 / vol. 3, p. 164.

<sup>19</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 3, p. 157 / vol. 2, p. 146; vol. 5, p. 64 / vol. 3, p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 3, p. 34 / vol. 2, p. 55; vol. 5, p. 71 / vol. 3, p. 140.

from the movement.<sup>21</sup> He also associates with the Mu'tazila figures who according to the later school tradition did not belong to the movement, such as Ḍirār b. 'Amr (d. 200/815). This is typical for the pre-scholastic phase of the Mu'tazila, which is characterized by an enormous diversity in thought and fluid boundaries.<sup>22</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm shares this approach with Ash'arite heresiographers of the East, such as his older contemporary 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) in his *Kitāb al-Farq bayn al-fīraq*. However, although it has been shown that Ibn Ḥazm may have had heresiographical source material at his disposal that was also available to 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, as is evident from the many parallels between Ibn Ḥazm's *Fīṣal* and al-Baghdādī's *Farq bayna al-fīraq*,<sup>23</sup> Ibn Ḥazm's statements often have no clear parallel in the available Eastern heresiographical literature,<sup>24</sup> and it is unknown which works were available to him and from where he had gleaned his information.

Throughout Ibn Ḥazm's works scattered remarks can be found that suggest that Mu'tazilism was still a living tradition in al-Andalus during his lifetime. Such statements need to be taken with caution. Like other Muslim historiographers, such as Ibn Ḥazm's onetime student Ṣā'īd al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070) in his *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-umam* and his contemporary Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) in his *Kitāb al-Muqtabas*, Ibn Ḥazm accuses, for example, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jabalī, better known as Ibn Masarra (b. 269/883 in Cordoba, d. 319/931 in Mecca) and some of his later followers, such as Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ru'aynī, an older contemporary

<sup>21</sup> Cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 3, pp. 418–445 (“Das Nachleben Nazzāms”). The relevant passages are translated in *ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 215ff. # 24, 25, 29, 32.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, p. 123: “Der Fall des Aḥmad b. al-Mu'addal hat gezeigt, daß jemand der Mu'tazila zugerechnet werden konnte, ohne ganz dem Bild zu entsprechen, das man sich von ihr und das auch sie sich von sich selber machte. Im biographischen Schrifttum der Mu'taziliten wird er bezeichnenderweise übergangen. Ähnliches galt, wie wir sahen, bereits für Ḍirār b. 'Amr. Solange die Mu'tazila in der Theologie weitgehend das Feld beherrschte, blieben ihre Grenzen für den Beobachter fließend; man hatte sich daran gewöhnt, daß in ihrem Umfeld Randsiedler auftraten, die nur in bestimmten Punkten von ihr abwichen.”—Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 133 on Ibn Badad (?) al-Ghazzāl, another “Mu'tazilī” according to Ibn Ḥazm.—It is noteworthy that Ibn Ḥazm shares Ḍirār's characteristic critical assessment of the authority of prophetic traditions as a legal source, although it is unlikely that Ibn Ḥazm was familiar with Ḍirār's *Kitāb al-Tahrīsh*. On the work, see Hasan Anṣārī, “Kitābi kalāmī az Ḍirār b. 'Amr,” *Kitāb-i māh* (Dīn) 89–90 (1383–4/2005), pp. 4–13; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, pp. 132ff. A critical edition of the *Kitāb al-Tahrīsh* is currently being prepared by Hassan Ansari and Wilferd Madelung.

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 6, p. 269 # 102.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 6, p. 308 # 22.

of Ibn Ḥazm, of having agreed with the Mu‘tazila on a number of issues.<sup>25</sup> In addition, Ibn Ḥazm associated the following Andalusī scholars with Mu‘tazilism:

- Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Kulayb (“Khalīl al-Ghafla”) from Cordoba, a companion of Ibn Masarra who had studied for some time in the East the *Tafsīr* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) in the transmission of ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd (d. 143 or 144/761);<sup>26</sup>
- Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (“Ibn al-Samīna,” d. 315/927–8) from Cordoba, who had also spent some time in the East and had studied with Khalīl b. ‘Abd al-Malik, specifically al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s *Tafsīr*;<sup>27</sup>
- the chamberlain (*ḥājib*) Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Mūsā b. Ḥudayr (d. 320/932);<sup>28</sup>
- Mūsā b. Ḥudayr’s son, the vizier ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. *al-ḥājib* Mūsā;<sup>29</sup>
- Mūsā b. Ḥudayr’s brother, the vizier and *ṣāḥib al-mazālim* Abū ‘Amr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥudayr (d. 327/938).<sup>30</sup> Both Mūsā and Aḥmad had served during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (r. 300/912–350/961);<sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 138 / vol. 2, p. 390; vol. 5, p. 65f. / vol. 3, p. 135f. Cf. also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, p. 558. For a critical evaluation of Ibn Masarra being influenced by Mu‘tazilite notions, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, p. 273f.; Sarah Stroumsa, “Ibn Masarra and the beginnings of mystical thought in al-Andalus,” *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung / Mystical Approaches to God*, ed. Peter Schäfer, München 2006, pp. 97–112. Cf. also Vahid J. Brown, “Andalusī Mysticism: A Recontextualization,” *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 2 (2006), pp. 69–101; Rafael Ramón Guerrero and Pilar Garrido Clemente, “Ibn Masarra al-Qurtubī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh,” *Biblioteca de al-Andalus: De Ibn al-Labbāna a Ibn al-Ruyūlī*, ed. Jorge Lirola Delgado, Almería 2006, pp. 144–154 # 788; Sharaf al-Dīn Khurāsānī, “Ibn Masarra,” *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 4, pp. 611–613.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla fi faḍl al-Andalus*, in *Rasā’il Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, vol. 2, p. 186 § 18. On him see ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-ruwāḥ li-l-‘ilm bi-l-Andalus* 1–2, Tunis 1429/2008, vol. 1, pp. 199–200 # 417; Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, pp. 91ff; cf., van Ess’ more cautious comment in *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, pp. 272 n. 5, 299. Van Ess suggests the reading ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd for ‘Amr b. Fā‘id.—For ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd’s transmission of al-Ḥasan’s *tafsīr*, see also *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 165f.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla fi faḍl al-Andalus*, vol. 2, p. 186 § 18. On him see Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 2, p. 234f. # 1578. Cf. also Sa‘ūd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sarḥān, *Arbāb al-kalām: Ibn Ḥazm yujādilu l-Mu‘tazila*, Beirut 1431/2010, p. 93; Sālim Yafūt, *Ibn Ḥazm wa-l-fikr al-falsafī bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus*, Casablanca 1986, p. 256.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla fi faḍl al-Andalus*, vol. 2, p. 186 § 18; *idem*, *Naḡt al-‘arūs*, in *Rasā’il Ibn Ḥazm*, vol. 2, p. 115.

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Naḡt al-‘arūs*, vol. 2, p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Risāla fi faḍl al-Andalus*, vol. 2, p. 186 § 18; *idem*, *Naḡt al-‘arūs*, vol. 2, p. 115.

<sup>31</sup> On the two brothers, see Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, p. 112; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, p. 274.

- Aḥmad b. Ḥudayr's son, Sa'īd b. *al-wazīr* Aḥmad;<sup>32</sup>
- Aḥmad and Mūsā b. Ḥudayr's paternal cousin, Aḥmad b. Mūsā;<sup>33</sup>
- Abū l-Ḥakam Mundhir b. Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ballūṭī (b. 273/886–7, d. 355/966), a Zāhirī scholar from Cordoba whom Ibn Ḥazm associates with Mu'tazilism;<sup>34</sup>
- Abū l-'Āṣī Ḥakam b. Mundhir b. Sa'īd ("*ra's al-Mu'tazila bi-l-Andalus wa-kabīruhum wa-ustādhuhum wa-mutakallimuhum wa-nāsikuhum*"), a son of Abū l-Ḥakam Mundhir al-Ballūṭī who died in 420/1029 in Medinaceli;<sup>35</sup>
- Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. Mundhir (b. 328/939–40, d. 368/978–9), another son of Abū l-Ḥakam Mundhir al-Ballūṭī.<sup>36</sup>

With the exception of Ibn Masarra and Mundhir b. Sa'īd al-Ballūṭī, both of whom were definitely not Mu'tazilites, we do not possess any of the writings of any of them<sup>37</sup> and it is impossible to verify their doctrinal affiliations on the basis of the scattered remarks given by Ibn Ḥazm and

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqt al-'arūs*, vol. 2, p. 115.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Naqt al-'arūs*, vol. 2, p. 115.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, in *Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm*, vol. 1, p. 157; idem, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 138 / vol. 2, p. 390. On Mundhir b. Sa'īd al-Ballūṭī, see Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Tārīkh al-'ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 181f. # 1452; Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, pp. 140ff; Helena de Felipe, *Identidad y onomástica de los Beréberes de al-Andalus*, Madrid 1997, pp. 200ff; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, p. 275; idem, *Der Eine und das Andere*, p. 844 n. 67 (with further references); cf. also Tawfiq al-Ghalbzūrī, *al-Madrasa al-zāhirīyya bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus: Nash'atuhā, a'lāmuḥā wa-atharuhā*, PhD dissertation, Jāmi'at al-Qarawiyyīn, Tetouan, 2000 [publ. Riyad 2006], pp. 154–173.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, vol. 1, p. 157; idem, *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 138 / vol. 2, p. 390. Ibn Ḥazm remarks that Ḥakam was still alive while he was writing *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*. On Ḥakam, see Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, p. 155f.; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, p. 275.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, vol. 1, p. 157. On 'Abd al-Malik, see Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, p. 166f.; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, p. 275.—On the two brothers, see also Dominique Urvoy, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du v/xi<sup>e</sup> au vii/xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Etude sociologique*, Geneva 1978, p. 105.

<sup>37</sup> For Ibn Masarra and his writings, see the references given above in n. 25. Editions of some of his works are included in Muḥammad Kamāl Ja'far, *Min qaḍāyā al-fikr al-islāmī: Dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ*, Cairo 1978; cf. also Emilio Tornero, "Noticia sobre la publicación de obras inéditas de Ibn Masarra," *Al-Qanṭara* 14 (1993), pp. 47–64; Joseph Kenny, "Ibn Masarra: His *Risālat al-i'tibār*," *Orita: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies* 34 (2002), pp. 1–26; Pilar Garrido, "Edición crítica de la *Risālat al-i'tibār* de Ibn Masarra de Córdoba," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 56 (2007), pp. 81–104; eadem, "Traducción anotada de la *Risālat al-i'tibār* de Ibn Masarra de Córdoba," *Estudios humanísticos: Filología* 30 (2008), pp. 139–163.—Editions of two of al-Ballūṭī's epistles are included in 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Hibāwī al-Sijilmāsī, *Qāḍī al-Andalus al-mulham wa-khaṭībuhā al-mufawwa: al-Imām Mundhir b. Sa'īd al-Ballūṭī al-mutawaffā sanat 355 H, ma'a taḥqīq risālatayn makḥṭūṭatayn min turāthihi*, Beirut 1423/2002. On this publication, see the review by Mari-bel Fierro in *al-Qanṭara* 25 (2004), p. 288f.

in the biographical literature. In more general terms, it remains unclear what Mu'tazilism stands for at all in the Andalūsī context.<sup>38</sup> Contrary to what has been suggested,<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ḥazm's references to "Mu'tazilites" in al-Andalus during and prior to his lifetime should therefore be treated with great caution.<sup>40</sup>

Other than was the case with Mu'tazilism, Ibn Ḥazm experienced Ash'arism as a vibrant living movement. He had a number of primary Ash'arite sources at his disposal which he often names explicitly. In addition to this, Ibn Ḥazm refers to information on Ash'arite doctrinal views that he had learned of through various interlocutors and opponents in

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the critical assessments by Fierro, *Heterodoxia*, pp. 111–113, 140–142, 155f., 166–168; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 4, pp. 272–276.

<sup>39</sup> See, e.g. al-Sarḥān, *Arbāb al-kalām*, pp. 92ff.; al-Ghalbzūrī, *al-Madrasa al-zāhirīyya*, pp. 156ff; cf. also Yafūt, *Ibn Ḥazm wa-l-fikr al-falsafī*, pp. 255–257 who is slightly more cautious in his conclusions.

<sup>40</sup> That *kalām* in general played a rather insignificant role in the intellectual life of al-Andalus during the time of Ibn Ḥazm has been shown by Urvoy in his *Le monde des ulémas andalous du v/xi<sup>e</sup> au vii/xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle, passim*. Note in this context also the virtual absence of Hanafism in al-Andalus during Ibn Ḥazm's lifetime whereas in the Islamic East Mu'tazilism and Hanafism were closely connected during this period. See the editors' introduction to *Legal Methodology in 6th/12th century Khwārazm*; Wilferd Madelung, "The Westwards Migration of Hanafī Scholars From Central Asia in the 11th to 13th Centuries," *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43 ii (2002), p. 42f.—In contrast to Ibn Ḥazm, his contemporary and compatriot Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148) who had spent several years (485–493 AH) in the Islamic East, had a much more up-to-date knowledge of Mu'tazilism than Ibn Ḥazm. In his *al-'Awāšim min al-qawāšim fi taḥqīq mawāqif al-ṣaḥāba ba'da wafāt al-nabī* Ibn al-'Arabī mentions, among others, 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī whose *Tafsīr* ("al-Muḥīṭ") he says he studied (ed. 'Ammār Ṭālibī, Cairo 1417/1997, p. 72). This is also mentioned by him in his *Mukhtaṣar tartīb al-riḥla li-l-targhīb fi l-milla*, an edition of which is included in A'rāb, *Ma'a l-Qāḍī Abī Bakr*, the relevant statement being found on p. 226. 'Abd al-Jabbār's *Tafsīr* (known under the titles *al-Muḥīṭ*, *al-Tafsīr al-Muḥīṭ*, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, *al-Muḥīṭ fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān*) is only preserved in quotations of later authors. These have been assembled in *Tafsīr al-qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Mu'tazilī wa-huwa l-tafsīr al-musammā al-Tafsīr al-kabīr aw al-Muḥīṭ, wa-yalihi Farā'id al-Qur'ān wa-adillatuh*, ed. Khidr Muḥammad Nabḥā, Beirut 2009. Cf. Gregor Schwarb, *Handbook of Mu'tazilite Authors and Works* [forthcoming].—Moreover, when in Jerusalem (in 485/1092), Ibn al-'Arabī met and discussed doctrinal issues with a representative of the renowned Jewish Tustarī family (p. 207f.), who were deeply immersed in Mu'tazilism, possibly Abū l-Faḍl Sahl (Yashar) al-Tustarī (fl. ca. 1050 CE) or, perhaps less likely as he is known to have converted to Islam in 1064, his son Ḥasan (Japheth). See also Joseph Drory, *Ibn el-Arabi of Seville. Journey to Eretz Israel (1092–1095)* [Hebrew], Ramat Gan 1993, pp. 59, 96, 140. On the family, see Marina Rustow, "Tustarī Family," *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* [[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/tustari-family-SIM\\_0018910](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/tustari-family-SIM_0018910)]. Specifically on Abū l-Faḍl Sahl al-Tustarī, see Marzena Zawadowska, "Sahl ibn Faḍl al-Tustarī," *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* [[http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/sahl-ibn-fadl-al-tustari-SIM\\_0021740](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/sahl-ibn-fadl-al-tustari-SIM_0021740)]. For Sahl al-Tustarī's Mu'tazilism, see also Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, *Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication. Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Mu'tazilī Theology among the Karaites in the Fāṭimid Age*, Leiden 2006.

disputations.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the numerous Ash'arite counter-attacks against Ibn Ḥazm's critique of Ash'arism both during his lifetime and in subsequent centuries confirm the strong Ash'arite presence in al-Andalus and North Africa during these periods. Among these, mention should be made of Abū l-Walīd Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī (b. 403/1012, d. 474/1081), with whom Ibn Ḥazm had held numerous disputations mostly on issues of legal methodology but also on doctrinal questions,<sup>42</sup> Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭalḥa al-Jāburī (d. 523/1124–5) in his *al-Radd 'alā Ibn Ḥazm* (lost),<sup>43</sup> the Andalusian Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148) (who in contrast to Ibn Ḥazm had spent several years (485/1092–493/1101) in the Islamic East) in his *al-'Awāšim min al-qawāšim fī taḥqīq mawāqif al-ṣahāba ba'da wafāt al-nabī*,<sup>44</sup> and in his lost refutation of Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-Durra fīmā yajib i'tiqāduhu, al-Ghurra fī naqḍ al-Durra*,<sup>45</sup> Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Lablī (d. 691/1292) in his *Fihrist* and in his lost *Risāla Fī l-radd 'alā Ibn Ḥazm*<sup>46</sup> or Ṭāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 769/1368) in his *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'yya*.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Most of the passages in the *Fiṣal* in which Ibn Ḥazm discusses Ash'arite notions are quoted in 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqīyya, *Mawqif Ibn Ḥazm min al-madhhab al-Ash'arī ka-mā fī kitābihi al-Faṣl fī l-mīlāl wa-l-niḥāl, wa-ma'ahu muqaddima 'ilmīyya ḥawla mawqif 'ulamā' ākharīn min al-madhhab al-Ash'arī: Abū Naṣr al-Sijzī, Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī...*, Riyadh 1997, as a rule without further comment or annotation. Doctrinal issues were doubtlessly a frequent topic in the course of the numerous disputations Ibn Ḥazm held with his Mālikī opponents many of whom must have been Ash'arites in theology.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Luciano Rubio, "II. Los Aš'aries, teólogos especulativos, Mutakállimes, del Islan [sic], considerados generalmente como los teólogos ortodoxos. Su doctrina de la causalidad," *La Ciudad de Dios* (1977), p. 540. See also Abdel Magid Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāḡī sur les principes de la loi musulmane: Essai sur le littéralisme zahirite et la finalité malikite*, Algiers 1973; Maribel Fierro, "Al-Bāḡī, Abū l-Walīd," *Enciclopedia de al-Andalus [Diccionario de Autores y obras Andaluses]*, eds. J. Lirola Delgado and J.M. Puerta Vélchez, Granada n.d., vol. 1, pp. 118–123. Cf. also below, n. 69.

<sup>43</sup> For this treatise and other works of this Ash'arite author, see Samir Kaddouri, "Ibn Ṭalḥa al-Yāburī," *Biblioteca de al-Andalus: De Ibn Sa'āda a Ibn Wuhayb*, ed. Jorge Lirola Delgado, Almería 2007, pp. 475–476 # 1245.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-'Arabī, *al-Naṣṣ al-kāmil li-Kitāb al-'Awāšim min al-qawāšim*, pp. 248ff.

<sup>45</sup> Mentioned in his *al-'Awāšim min al-qawāšim*, p. 250. On this lost refutation, see also José Miguel Puerta Vélchez, "Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad," *Biblioteca de al-Andalus: De Ibn al-Dabbāg a Ibn Kurz*, eds. Jorge Lirola Delgado and José Miguel Puerta Vélchez, Almería 2004, p. 409 # 24.—On Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrinal views, see also 'Ammār Ṭālibī, *Arā' Abī Bakr ibn al-'Arabī al-kalāmīyya*, Algiers [1974]; Sa'd A'rāb, *Ma'a l-Qāḍī Abī Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī*, Beirut 1987.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Fihrist al-Lablī*, eds. Yāsīn Yūsuf 'Ayyāsh and 'Awwād 'Abd Rabbih Abū Zayna, Beirut 1988, pp. 82ff. Generally on al-Lablī and his writings, see A. García Sanjuán, "al-Lablī, Aḥmad," *Biblioteca de al-Andalus: De Ibn al-Yabbāb a Nubḍat al-'aṣr*, ed. Jorge Lirola Delgado, Almería 2009, pp. 40–63 # 1501.—Al-Lablī's *nisba* indicates that he hailed from Ibn Ḥazm's ancestral region of Niebla.

<sup>47</sup> Ṭāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'yya al-kubrā* 1–5, eds. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, Aleppo 1385/1966, vol. 1, p. 90f.; vol. 4, pp. 131–133.—By contrast, no Mu'tazilī reaction to Ibn Ḥazm's polemics is known to have been written



Among the Ash'arite books that were at Ibn Ḥazm's disposal, the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*" stands out as his most significant source, as is indicated by the numerous quotations from and references to this work throughout the *Fiṣal*.<sup>48</sup> Ibn Ḥazm gleaned from this book most of his information on the doctrinal positions of the school and specifically on those of two major Ash'arite thinkers, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), with whom al-Simnānī had studied, and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Fūrak al-Iṣfahānī (d. 406/1020). The identity of the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*" cannot be determined at present. The only extant work by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Simnānī (b. 361/971–2 in Simnān, d. 444/1052 in Mawṣil) is a theological *summa* preserved in an apparently unique manuscript owned by the Madrasa 'Uthmāniyya in Aleppo that is entitled *Kitāb al-Bayān 'an uṣūl al-īmān wa-l-kashf 'an tamwihāt ahl al-ṭughyān*.<sup>49</sup> Daniel Gimaret, who studied the manuscript, states that none of Ibn Ḥazm's quotations from the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*" match this work.<sup>50</sup> The "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*" was evidently a comprehensive work. At one occasion Ibn Ḥazm describes it as "*kitābuhu al-kabūr*," assuming that he had only one work by al-Simnānī at his disposal. Here, Ibn Ḥazm also refers to a *Kitāb al-Imāma* by al-Simnānī and his wording indicates that a section within al-Simnānī's book is intended rather than an independent work.<sup>51</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm also consulted directly some of the writings of al-Bāqillānī, which need not surprise us as it is well known that al-Bāqillānī's works circulated widely in North Africa and al-Andalus where he, being a Mālikī, was popular.<sup>52</sup> On numerous occasions Ibn Ḥazm refers to and/or quotes

---

and it is unlikely that the Mu'tazilīs of his time (and beyond) had any knowledge of his criticism of their forefathers. He is not mentioned, for example, in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's (d. 656/1258) *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*.

<sup>48</sup> See below, Appendix: Ibn Ḥazm quoting from the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*."

<sup>49</sup> MS al-Maktaba al-'uthmāniyya 557, ff. 3b–145a. The manuscript is nowadays part of the Asad National Library in Damascus; cf. Geoffrey Roper (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* 1–4, London 1992–94, vol. 3, p. 192.

<sup>50</sup> Daniel Gimaret, "al-Simnānī, Abū Dja'far Muḥammad," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edition, vol. 9, p. 614.—A microfilm of the Aleppo manuscript is part of the Fonds Gimaret [CNRS, Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Section arabe, Paris] under the shelfmark Roo729.

<sup>51</sup> See below, Appendix: Ibn Ḥazm quoting from the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*," Quote XIV.

<sup>52</sup> One volume of al-Bāqillānī's *opus magnum*, *Hidāyat al-mustarshidin*, is preserved today in Fez as MS Qarawiyyīn 692. On the manuscript, see Muḥammad al-'Ābid al-Fāsī, *Fihris makhtūṭāt Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn* 1–4, Casablanca 1979–89, vol. 2, p. 284f.; cf. also Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967–, vol. 1, p. 609 # 7; Daniel Gimaret, "Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d'Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī: Le *Kitāb at-tawallud*,

from al-Bāqillānī's *Kitāb al-Intiṣār fi l-Qur'ān*, and at times he even names the exact location in the book from which he is quoting.<sup>53</sup> To the extent that the corresponding parts of the *Intiṣār* are preserved, Ibn Ḥazm's quotations are found to agree with the original work and there is no reason to doubt that Ibn Ḥazm had gleaned them directly from al-Bāqillānī's *Intiṣār*.<sup>54</sup> In addition, Ibn Ḥazm refers on one occasion to al-Bāqillānī's

---

réfutation de la thèse mu'tazilite de la génération des actes," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 58 (2009), pp. 259–313.—A copy of al-Bāqillānī's *Ijāz al-Qur'ān* is preserved in the Khizāna al-Ḥusayniyya in Rabāt; cf. Khālid Zahrī and 'Abd al-Majīd Būkārī, *Fihris al-kutub al-makhṣūsa fi l-'aqida al-ash'ariyya* 1–2, Rabat 1432/2011, vol. 1, p. 80f # 3900.—A copy of al-Bāqillānī's *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* is known to have been transcribed (in Sha'bān 472/1080) for the library of the *ṭā'ifa* king al-Mutawakkil 'alā Llāh Ibn al-Aftas of Bada'oj (r. 461/1068–9–487/1094 or 488/1095). The manuscript belongs nowadays to the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (MS Arabe 6090). For a description of the manuscript, see Richard McCarthy's introduction (Arabic) to his edition of al-Bāqillānī's *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, Beirut 1957, p. 26f.—The *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* is mentioned among the Ash'arite works 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn 'Aṭīyya (b. 481/1088, d. 541/1147) was familiar with; see *Fahras Ibn 'Aṭīyya*, li-l-Imām al-Qāḍī Abī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. 'Aṭīyya al-Muḥārībī al-Andalusī, eds. Muḥammad Abū l-Ajfan and Muḥammad al-Zāhī, Beirut 21983, pp. 62, 76, 95. Al-Rāḍī b. al-Mu'tamid, the son of the last 'Abbādid caliph al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād (d. 488/1095), is also reported to have studied the works of al-Bāqillānī; cf. Camilla Adang, "The Spread of Zāhirism in post-caliphal al-Andalus: The Evidence from the Biographical Dictionaries," *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal. Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, ed. Sebastian Günther, Leiden 2005, p. 312. This is also the case with Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ṣadafī ("Ibn Sukarra," d. 514/1120); see Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Quḍā'ī Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu'jam fi aṣḥāb al-Qāḍī al-Imām Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī*, Cairo 1967, p. 24. Generally on the reception of al-Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd* in al-Andalus, see José María Fórneas Besteiro, "al-Tamhīd de al-Bāqillānī y su transmisión en al-Andalus," *Miscelánea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos* 26–28 (1977–79), pp. 433–440.—For a copy of al-Bāqillānī's *al-Intiṣār li-l-Qur'ān* in Maghribī hand, see below n. 54.

<sup>53</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, pp. 87: 14–18 / vol. 3, p. 156 (*wa-qāla al-Bāqillānī fi ākhir al-sifr al-rābi' min kitābihi al-ma'rūf bi-l-Intiṣār fi l-Qur'ān... hādha naṣṣ kalāmihi*), vol. 5, p. 90: 9–12 / vol. 3, p. 159 (*wa-qāla al-Bāqillānī fi kitābihi al-ma'rūf bi-l-Intiṣār fi l-Qur'ān...*), vol. 5, p. 91: 17–19 / vol. 3, p. 160 (*wa-min shuna'ihim qawl hādha l-Bāqillānī fi kitābihi al-ma'rūf bi-l-Intiṣār fi l-Qur'ān...*), vol. 5, pp. 92: 17–93: 16 / vol. 3, p. 161f. (*wa-qāla al-Bāqillānī fi kitābihi al-ma'rūf bi-l-Intiṣār fi l-Qur'ān fi bāb mutarjam bāb al-dalāla 'alā anna l-Qur'ān mu'jiza li-l-nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi a-sallam wa-dhakara... fa-qāla al-Bāqillānī... qāla al-Bāqillānī... wa-min a'ẓam al-barāhīn 'alā kufr al-Bāqillānī wa-kaydihi li-l-dīn qawluhu fi faṣl ākhar min al-bāb al-madhkūr fi l-kitāb al-madhkūr innahu...*).

<sup>54</sup> A facsimile of Ms. Karamustafa 6 (Süleymaniye library, Istanbul), which was long believed to be the only extant copy of the text and contains Volume One only, has been published as *al-Intiṣār li-l-Qur'ān*, [ed. Fuat Sezgin], Frankfurt/Main, 1986–. All available editions are based on this manuscript; viz. ed. Muḥammad 'Isām al-Quḍāh, 2 vols., Ammān/Beirut 2001 (originally presented as the author's doctoral thesis to the Kulliyat al-Dīrāsāt al-'Ulyā wa-l-Baḥṡ al-'Ilmī, Jāmi'at al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa-l-'Ulūm al-Islāmiyya, Umm Durmān, al-Sūdān); ed. 'Umar Hasan al-Qayyām, 2 vols., Beirut 2004.—An undated, more complete copy of the text (though incomplete in the end) in Maghribī hand is preserved in the Khizāna al-Ḥusayniyya (Bibliothèque al-Hassania) in Rabāt; cf. Zahrī / Būkārī, *Fihris al-kutub al-makhṣūsa fi l-'aqida al-ash'ariyya*, vol. 1, p. 119f # 11206. The manuscript can be

lost refutation of the Qarāmiṭa, *Madhāhib al-Qarāmiṭa*, quoting from a chapter towards the end of the work entitled *dhikr jumal maqālāt al-dahriyya wa-l-falāsifa wa-l-thanawiyya*, as he specifically states. The work is possibly identical with al-Bāqillānī's (lost) *Kashf al-asrār fī l-radd 'alā l-Bāṭiniyya*.<sup>55</sup> On one occasion Ibn Ḥazm refers to al-Bāqillānī's "*al-Risāla al-ma'rūfa bi-l-Ḥurra*."<sup>56</sup> The treatise, better known under the title *Kitāb al-Inṣāf fīmā yajibu i'tiqāduhu wa-lā yajūzu al-jahl bihi*, is a popular brief theological tract which has been printed repeatedly.<sup>57</sup> Since the reference is immediately followed by another one to al-Simnānī, it is uncertain whether Ibn Ḥazm had consulted the *Risāla al-Ḥurra* directly or whether he had used the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*" as an intermediary source.<sup>58</sup> Ibn Ḥazm also refers once or twice to a *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* by Ibn Fūrak, a title that is not attested elsewhere. The wording suggests that he is referring to it through a secondary source, most like again the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*."<sup>59</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm occasionally refers to some works by the school's founder, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/936), yet it is unlikely that he had any of

---

downloaded at <http://wadod.org/vb/showthread.php?t=4299> [accessed 24/06/2012].—Ibn Ḥazm's use of al-Bāqillānī's *al-Intiṣār* had first been noticed by Tor Andrae (*Die person Muhammads in lehre und glauben seiner gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, pp. 98ff); see also van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 2, p. 844.

<sup>55</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 92: 2–10 / vol. 3, p. 160f. (*qawl al-Bāqillānī fī kitābihi fī l-madhāhib al-Qarāmiṭa*...). On this work and the different opinions among scholars as to whether the two titles refer to the same work or not, see Bassām 'Abd al-Ḥamid, "Muḥāwala bibluḡhrāfiyya fī āthār al-Bāqillānī," *al-Mashriq* 67 (1993), p. 485f. # 30.

<sup>56</sup> See below, Appendix: Ibn Ḥazm quoting from the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*," Quote X.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. 'Abd al-Ḥamid, "Muḥāwala bibluḡhrāfiyya," p. 475f. # 6 (with further references).

<sup>58</sup> The treatise is also mentioned in Ibn Khayr's (d. 575/1180) *Fahrāsa*; see Juan Manuel Vizcaino Plaza, *La Fahrāsa de Ibn Jayr* (m. 575/n80), Madrid 2002, p. 132.

<sup>59</sup> See below, Appendix: Ibn Ḥazm quoting from the "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*," Quotes I and VII. The text differs in Quote I in the two editions of the *Fiṣal* and according to the reading offered in the edition of Naṣr and 'Umayra, Ibn Ḥazm is not referring to a specific book title.—The identity of Ibn Fūrak's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* is unclear. It might perhaps refer to his dogmatic work that is known as *Kitāb Awā'il al-adilla fī uṣūl al-kalām* that is preserved in a private library in Morocco. Cf. the editor's introduction to his *al-Ḥudūd fī l-uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad Sulaymānī, Beirut 1999, p. 24f. # 5. Among his other known works are *Mushkil al-ḥadīth wa-bayānuhu* (that circulated also under the titles of *Mushkil al-ḥadīth aw Ta'wīl al-akhbār al-mutashābiḥa*; *Ta'wīl al-aḥādīth allatī tufīdu al-tashbīḥ*) that has been published repeatedly (Hyderabad 1362/1943; ed. Daniel Gimaret, Damascus 2003; extracts with German translation in Raimund Köbert, *Analecta Orientalia* 22 (Rome 1941); cf. also Roger Arnaldez, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Hazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956, pp. 30f.); *Risāla fī l-tawḥīd* (cf. the editor's introduction to *al-Ḥudūd fī l-uṣūl*, p. 23 # 4); *Kitāb Sharḥ al-'ālim wa-l-muta'allim li-Abi Ḥanīfa* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 27f. # 7); *al-Ibāna 'an turuq al-qāsidīn wa-l-kashf 'an manāḥij al-sālikīn wa-l-tawaffur ilā 'ibādat rabb al-'ālamīn* (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 28–30 # 8); *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (cf. *ibid.* pp. 25–27 # 6); the *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Shaykh Abi l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ismā'il al-Ash'arī* (ed. Daniel Gimaret, Beirut 1987); and *al-Ḥudūd fī l-uṣūl* (see above).

them at his disposal: the *Kitāb al-Mūjiz*<sup>60</sup> and *kitābuhu al-ma'rūf bi-l-Majālis*.<sup>61</sup> While the first is known to have been one of the major works by al-Ash'arī,<sup>62</sup> the second reference is less clear. No other source confirms this title and Daniel Gimaret in his *Réexamen* of al-Ash'arī's bibliography cautiously suggests that the *Majālis* may be identical with al-Ash'arī's *al-Masā'il al-manthūra* containing his reports of discussion circles (*majālis*) that he had held in Baghdad with some Mu'tazilī scholars.<sup>63</sup> Neither of the two works is extant so that Ibn Ḥazm's references cannot be verified. Among al-Ash'arī's students Ibn Ḥazm only refers to Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mujāhid (d. 370/980–1), the teacher of both al-Bāqillānī and Ibn Fūrak, without specifying his source.<sup>64</sup>

Although Ibn Ḥazm had clearly read Ash'arite primary literature, in contrast to his apparently exclusively heresiographical knowledge about Mu'tazilism, his textual basis was nonetheless narrow. The "*Kitāb al-Simnānī*" may very well have been the only Ash'arite theological *summa* at his disposal. Ibn Ḥazm was evidently unfamiliar with the comprehensive theological works of both Ibn Fūrak<sup>65</sup> and al-Bāqillānī, such as the latter's *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* or his *opus magnum Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*, although at least the *Tamhīd* was available in al-Andalus during the time of his writing.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, Ibn Ḥazm was clearly unaware of the writings of other Eastern Ash'arite luminaries such as Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 411/1020) or the latter's student Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī.<sup>67</sup> It should also be noted that Ibn Ḥazm did not know his younger contemporary Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī ("Imām al-Ḥaramayn," b. 419/1028, d. 478/1085) whose writings seem to have reached al-Andalus

<sup>60</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 2, p. 322 / vol. 1, p. 408 (*wa-ra'aytu li-l-Ash'arī fi kitābihi al-ma'rūf bi-l-Mūjiz...*).

<sup>61</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 76 / vol. 3, p. 145 (*wa-qad ṣaraha al-Ash'arī fi kitābihi al-ma'rūf bi-l-Majālis...*).

<sup>62</sup> Gimaret, "Bibliographie d'Aš'arī: un réexamen," *Journal Asiatique* 273 (1985), pp. 229–231 # 2.

<sup>63</sup> Gimaret, "Réexamen," p. 277 # 102 referring to p. 251 # 40.

<sup>64</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 4, p. 6 / vol. 2, p. 285; vol. 5, p. 94 / vol. 3, p. 163.

<sup>65</sup> For his theological works see above n. 59. There is no positive evidence that any of those works ever reached al-Andalus.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Fórneas Besteiro, "al-Tamhīd de al-Bāqillānī."

<sup>67</sup> Again, there is so far no positive evidence that any of their works ever reached al-Andalus.—For Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'īnī, see Richard M. Frank, "Al-Ustādh Abū Ishāq: An *ʿaqīda* Together with Selected Fragments," *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales du Caire* 19 (1989), pp. 129–202.

too late for Ibn Ḥazm to have read them—the *Kitāb al-Fiṣal* was composed between 418/1027 and 440/1048 and revised up until 450/1058.<sup>68</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm repeatedly refers to interlocutors through whom he had gained additional knowledge about Ash'arite doctrines. Among them Abū l-Walid al-Bājī with whom Ibn Ḥazm had held several disputations stands out as his main informant about Ash'arite doctrine.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, it was

<sup>68</sup> For the dating of the composition of the *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, see Abdelilah Ljamai, *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Leiden 2003, pp. 45ff—Al-Juwaynī's *Kitāb al-Irshād* and *al-Talkhīṣ fi uṣūl al-fiqh* are mentioned among the Ash'arite works 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn 'Aṭīyya (b. 481/1088, d. 541/1147) was familiar with; see *Fahras Ibn 'Aṭīyya*, p. 77; cf. also José María Fórneas Besteiro, *Elencos biobibliográficos arábigo andaluces. Estudio especial de la Fahrasa de Ibn 'Aṭīyya al-Garnāṭī (481–541/1088–1147)*. Tesis doctoral. Madrid 1971, p. 48; idem, "De la transmisión de algunas obras de tendencia aṣ'arī en al-Andalus," *Awrāq. Revista editada por el Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura* 1 (1978), pp. 4–11. The *Irshād* is also included in the *Fahrasa* of Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1180) (see Vizcaíno Plaza, *La Fahrasa de Ibn Jayr*, p. 132), in Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Qīsī al-Mintawrī's (d. 834/1430) *Fahrasa* (ed. Muḥammad Binsharīfa [Mohammed Bencherifa], Rabat 1342/2011, p. 168f. # 176; on this work, cf. al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt*, vol. 2, p. 564f. # 322), and in Aḥmad al-Manjūr's (d. 994/1586–7) *Fihris*; see *Fihris Aḥmad al-Manjūr*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī, Rabat 1976, p. 37. Both Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ṣadafī ("Ibn Sukarra," d. 514/1120) and al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ (d. 544/1149) were familiar with Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Muslim b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī al-Ṣiqillī's commentary on al-Juwaynī's *Irshād*, *al-Mihād fi sharḥ al-Irshād*; see Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Mu'jam fi aṣḥāb al-Qāḍī al-Imām Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī*, p. 142; *al-Ghunya: Fihrist shuyūkh al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ*, 476–544/1083–1149, ed. Māhir Zuhayr Jarrār, Beirut 1982, p. 88. Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Rabī' al-Ash'arī ("Ibn Ubayy," b. 563/1167–8, d. 640/1242–3) is said to have been an expert of 'ilm al-kalām and to have debated specifically with al-Juwaynī's *Irshād* and his *Shāmil*; see al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Mustamlah min Kitāb al-Takmilā*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Tūnis 2008, p. 41f # 871. Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Khālid of Malaga (d. ca. 660/1262) is reported to have taught the *Kitāb al-Irshād*; cf. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ghubrīnī, *Unwān al-dirāya fiman 'urifa min al-'ulamā' fi l-mi'a al-sābi'a bi-Bijāya*, ed. 'Adil Nuwayhid, Beirut 1969, p. 73 # 11; al-Ghubrīnī also names Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Sharīf (fl. 7th/13th century) as an expert of this book (ibid., p. 195).—For the reception of al-Juwaynī's *Irshād* and his *Shāmil* in al-Andalus, cf. also Urvoy, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du v/xi<sup>e</sup> au viii/xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 188. A further indication for the popularity of the *Kitāb al-Irshād* in the Maghrib is Ms. British Library OR 9645 (126ff), containing a copy in Maghribī hand of an anonymous commentary on the work that begins with prophecy and is missing in the end; cf. Peter Stocks, *Subject-guide to the Arabic manuscripts in the British Library*, ed. Colin F. Baker, London 2001, p. 97.—For the transmission of Ash'arite works in North Africa, cf. also Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Fāsī, *al-Minaḥ al-bādiya fi l-asānīd al-'ālīya wa-l-musalsalāt al-zāhiya wa-l-turuq al-hādiya al-kāfiya* 1–2, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣiqillī al-Ḥusaynī, Morocco 2005, vol. 1, p. 271f.; vol. 2, p. 102.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 1, p. 161: 6–8 / vol. 1, p. 106 (*akhbaranī Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī wa-huwa min muqaddamīhim al-yawm anna Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Fūrak al-Iṣbahānī 'alā hādhihi l-mas'ala...*); vol. 5, p. 74: 17–19 / vol. 3, p. 143 (*wa-dhakara lī Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī wa-huwa min ru'ūs al-Ash'ariyya anna minhum man yaqūl...*); vol. 5, p. 77: 18–22 / vol. 3, p. 145 (*wa-la-qad ḥāwaranī Sulaymān b. Khalaf al-Bājī kabiruhum fi hādhihi l-mas'ala fi majlis ḥāfil fa-qultu lahu...*).

al-Bājī who had brought to al-Andalus some of the writings of al-Simmānī, with whom he had studied during his prolonged stay in the Islamic East.<sup>70</sup> In addition, Ibn Ḥazm provides other names as informants, viz. the little known 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Marāwī al-Ṣiqillī al-Ṣūfī (d. after 440/1048–9)<sup>71</sup> and a certain Abū l-Murajjā b. Nadmā al-Miṣrī who informed him in writing about Ash'arite practices in Egypt.<sup>72</sup> At times he does not specify his oral sources.<sup>73</sup> On one occasion, Ibn Ḥazm states that Ash'arism had spread in Qayrawān and al-Andalus adding, perhaps polemically, that it had become rather weak by his time.

Twice in his *Fiṣal* Ibn Ḥazm refers to a comprehensive work (*kitāb kabūr*) of his in which he refuted the views of a certain 'Aṭāf b. Dūtās [Dūnās], an Ash'arite scholar from Qayrawān, entitled *Kitāb al-Yaqīn fī l-naqd 'alā l-mulḥidīn al-muḥtajjīn 'an Iblīs al-la'īn wa-sā'ir al-kāfirīn*, which unfortunately is lost.<sup>74</sup>

#### REFERENCES

- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Bassām, "Muḥāwala biblūghrāfiyya fī āthār al-Bāqillānī," *al-Mashriq* 67 (1993), pp. 461–490; 68 (1994), pp. 153–174.  
 al-'Ābid al-Fāsī, Muḥammad, *Fihris makhtūṭāt Khizānat al-Qarawīyīn* 1–4, Casablanca 1979–89.  
 Adang, Camilla, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible. From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Hazm*, Leiden 1996.

<sup>70</sup> This is stated by Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī in his *Mukhtaṣar tartīb al-riḥla li-l-targhib fi l-milla*, an edition of which is included in A'rāb, *Ma'a l-Qāḍī Abī Bakr*, the relevant statement being found on p. 192.—I thank Maribel Fierro for this reference.

<sup>71</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 81 / vol. 3, p. 150 (*wa-la-qad akhbaranī 'Alī b. Ḥamza al-Murādī [sic] al-Ṣiqillī al-Ṣūfī annahu rā'a ba'da l-Ash'ariyya...*). On al-Ṣiqillī, cf. María Luisa Ávila and Manuela Marín, "Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus (430–520/1138/1126)," *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus* VII, eds. Manuela Marín and Helena de Filipe, Madrid 1995, p. 132 # 1173.

<sup>72</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 81f. / vol. 3, p. 150 (*wa-kataba ilayya Abū l-Murajjā b. Nadmā al-Miṣrī annā ba'da thiqāt ahl Miṣr akhbarahu min ṭulāb al-sunan anna rajulan min rajulan min al-Ash'ariyya qāla lahu...*).

<sup>73</sup> See, e.g., *al-Fiṣal*, vol. 5, p. 86 / vol. 3, p. 154 (*wa-la-qad akhbaranī thiqa min aṣḥābī innahu samī'a ba'da muqaddamihim yaqūlu...*); vol. 5, p. 88 / vol. 3, p. 157 (*wa-samī'tu ba'da muqaddamihim yaqūlu...*); vol. 5, p. 91 / vol. 3, p. 159 (*wa-la-qad akhbaranī ba'da man kāna yudākhiluhum wa-kāna lahu fihī sabab qawī...*).

<sup>74</sup> *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. 3, p. 246 / vol. 2, p. 226; vol. 5, p. 76 / vol. 3, p. 144. See also José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, "Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad," *Biblioteca de al-Andalus. De Ibn al-Dabbāg a Ibn Kurz*, eds. Jorge Lirola Delgado and José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, Almería 2004, p. 441 # 138.

- , “The Spread of Zāhirism in post-caliphal al-Andalus: The Evidence from the Biographical Dictionaries,” *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal. Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, ed. Sebastian Günther, Leiden 2005, pp. 297–346.
- Adang, Camilla, Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke, *Başran Mu'tazilite Theology: Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Khallād's Kitāb al-uṣūl and its reception. A Critical Edition of the Ziyādāt Sharḥ al-uṣūl by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥānī (d. 424/1033)*, Leiden 2011.
- al-Albānī, Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Min kunūz al-sunna: Rasā'ul arba'*, Damascus 1385/1965.
- Andrae, Tor, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918.
- Anṣārī, Ḥasan, “Kitābī kalāmī az Dīrār b. 'Amr,” *Kitāb-i māh* (Dīn) 89–90 (1383–4/2005), pp. 4–13.
- Ansari, Hassan and Sabine Schmidtke, “Mu'tazilism after 'Abd al-Jabbār: Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī's *Kitāb Masā'il al-khilāf fi l-uṣūl* (Studies on the transmission of knowledge from Iran to Yemen in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th c. I),” *Studia Iranica* 39 (2010), pp. 227–278.
- , “The Zaydī reception of Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*: The *ta'liq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Ṣaffār,” *Journal Asiatique* 298 (2010), pp. 275–302.
- A'rāb, Sa'd, *Ma'a l-Qāḍī Abī Bakr ibn al-'Arabī*, Beirut 1987.
- Arnaldez, Roger, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956.
- Ávila, María Luisa and Manuela Marín, “Nómina de sabios de al-Andalus (430–520/1138/1126),” *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus VII*, eds. Manuela Marín and Helena de Felipe, Madrid 1995, pp. 55–189.
- al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr, *al-Intiṣār li-l-Qur'ān*, [Facsimile edition of MS 6 Kara Mustafa Paşa Collection, Beyazit Library, Istanbul, ed. Fuat Sezgin], Frankfurt/Main, 1986–.
- , *al-Intiṣār li-l-Qur'ān* 1–2, ed. Muḥammad 'Isām al-Qudāh, Ammān/Beirut 2001.
- , *al-Intiṣār li-l-Qur'ān* 1–2, ed. 'Umar Ḥasan al-Qayyām, Beirut 2004.
- , *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, ed. Richard McCarthy, Beirut 1957.
- Brown, Wahid J., “Andalusi Mysticism: A Recontextualization,” *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 2 (2006), pp. 69–101.
- al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Mustamlah min Kitāb al-Takmila*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Tūnis 2008.
- Dimashqīyya, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Mawqif Ibn Ḥazm min al-madhhab al-Ash'arī ka-mā fi kitābihi al-Faṣl fi l-mūlal wa-l-niḥal, wa-ma'ahu muqaddima 'ilmīyya ḥawla mawqif 'ulamā' ākharīn min al-madhhab al-Ash'arī: Abū Naṣr al-Sijzī, Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī...*, Riyadh 1997.
- Drory, Joseph, *Ibn el-Arabi of Seville. Journey to Eretz Israel (1092–1095)* [Hebrew], Ramat Gan 1993.
- van Ess, Josef, *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten* 1–2, Berlin 2011.
- , *Frühe mu'tazilitische Häresiographie: Zwei Werke des Nāṣī' al-Akbar (gest. 293 H.)*, Beirut 1971.
- , *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* 1–6, Berlin 1991–97.
- Estudios onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus VII*, eds. Manuela Marín and Helena de Felipe, Madrid 1995.
- Fahras Ibn 'Aṭīyya*, li-l-Imām al-Qāḍī Abī Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. 'Aṭīyya al-Muḥāribī al-Andalusī, eds. Muḥammad Abū l-Ajfan and Muḥammad al-Zāhī, Beirut 2018.
- al-Fāsī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, *al-Minah al-bādiya fi l-asānid al-'āliya wa-l-musalsalat al-zāhiya wa-l-turuq al-hādiya al-kāfiya* 1–2, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣiqillī al-Ḥusaynī, Morocco 2005.
- de Felipe, Helena, *Identidad y onomástica de los Beréberes de al-Andalus*, Madrid 1997.
- Fierro, Maribel, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus durante el periodo omeya*, Madrid 1987.

- Fihris Aḥmad al-Manjūr*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥajjī, Rabat 1976.
- Fihrist al-Lablī*, eds. Yāsīn Yūsuf 'Ayyāsh and 'Awwād 'Abd Rabbih Abū Zayna, Beirut 1988.
- Fórneas [Besteiro], José María, "De la transmisión de algunas obras de tendencia aš'arī en al-Andalus," *Awrāq. Revista editada por el Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura* 1 (1978), pp. 4–11.
- , *Elencos biobibliográficos arábigo andaluces. Estudio especial de la Fährasa de Ibn 'Atīyya al-Garnāṭī (481–541/1088–1147)*. Tesis doctoral. Madrid 1971.
- , "al-Tamhīd de al-Bāqillānī y su transmisión en al-Andalus," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 26–28 (1977–79), pp. 433–440.
- Frank, Richard M., "Al-Ustādh Abū Ishāq: An 'aqīda Together with Selected Fragments," *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales du Caire* 19 (1989), pp. 129–202.
- Garrido, Pilar, "Edición crítica de la *Risālat al-I'tibār* de Ibn Masarra de Córdoba," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 56 (2007), pp. 81–104.
- , "Traducción anotada de la *Risālat al-i'tibār* de Ibn Masarra de Córdoba," *Estudios humanísticos: Filología* 30 (2008), pp. 139–163.
- al-Ghalbzūrī, Tawfīq, *al-Madrasa al-zāhirīyya bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus: Nash'atuhā, a'lāmuhā wa-atharuhā*, PhD dissertation, Jāmi'at al-Qarawīyyīn, Tetouan, 2000 [publ. Riyad 2006].
- al-Ghubrīnī, Ahmad b. Aḥmad, *Unwān al-dirāya fīman 'urifa min al-'ulamā' fī l-mī'a al-sābi'a bi-Bijāya*, ed. 'Ādil Nuwayhīq, Beirut 1969.
- Gimaret, Daniel, "Un extrait de la *Hidāya* d'Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī: Le *Kitāb at-tawallud*, réfutation de la thèse mu'tazilite de la génération des actes," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 58 (2009), pp. 259–313.
- , "Bibliographie d'As'arī: un réexamen," *Journal Asiatique* 273 (1985), pp. 223–292.
- , "Matériaux pour une bibliographie des Ġubbā'ī," *Journal Asiatique* 264 (1976), pp. 277–332.
- , "Matériaux pour une bibliographie des Jubba'i: Note complémentaire," *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani*, ed. Michael E. Marmura, Albany 1984, pp. 31–38.
- al-Ghunya: Fihrist shuyūkh al-Qāḍī 'Iyāq, 476–544/1083–1149*, ed. Māhir Zuhayr Jarrār, Beirut 1982.
- Ibn al-Abbār, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Quḍā'ī, *al-Mu'jam fī aṣḥāb al-Qāḍī al-Imām Abī 'Alī al-Ṣadafī*, Cairo 1967.
- Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, *al-Naṣṣ al-kāmil li-Kitāb al-'Awāṣim min al-qawāṣim*, ed. 'Ammār Ṭālibī, Cairo 1417/1997.
- Ibn al-Faraḍī, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, *Tārikh al-'ulamā' wa-l-ruwāh li-l-'ilm bi-l-Andalus* 1–2, Tunis 1429/2008.
- Ibn Fūrak al-İsfahānī, al-Ustādh Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd fī l-uṣūl (al-Ḥudūd wa-l-muwāḍa'āt)*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sulaymānī, Beirut 1999.
- Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Juz' al-awwal [-al-sādis] min Kitāb lisān al-mizān* 1–6, Hyderabad 1329–31/1911–13.
- Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Durra fīmā yajibuh i'tiqaduhu*, eds. Aḥmad b. Naṣīr b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamd and Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā al-Qazaqī, Mecca 1408/1987.
- , *al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-aḥwā' wa-l-niḥal* 1–3, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn, Beirut 1996 [1999, 32007].
- , *al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-aḥwā' wa-l-niḥal* 1–5, eds. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Naṣr and 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayra, Beirut 1405/1985.
- , *Naqṭ al-'arūs*, in *Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī* 1–4, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1401/1980, vol. 2, pp. 41–116.
- , *Risāla fī faḍl al-Andalus*, in *Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī* 1–4, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1401/1980, vol. 2, pp. 171–188.
- , *Tawq al-ḥamāma*, in *Rasā'il Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī* 1–4, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1401/1980, vol. 1, pp. 17–319.



- , *Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, eds. ʿĀṭif al-ʿIrāqī and Saḥīr Faḍl Allāh Abū Wāfiyya, Cairo 1425/2004.
- Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī, Rukn al-Dīn, *al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, eds. Martin McDermott and Wilferd Madelung, Tehran 2007.
- , *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, revised and enlarged edition by Wilferd Madelung, Tehran 1391/2012.
- , *Tuḥfat al-Mutakallimīn fī l-Radd ʿalā l-Falāsifa*, eds. Hassan Ansari and Wilferd Madelung, Tehran 2008.
- Kamāl Jaʿfar, Muḥammad, *Min qaḍāyā al-fikr al-islāmī: Dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ*, Cairo 1978.
- al-Kattānī, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. ʿAbd al-Kabīr, *Faḥras al-faḥāris wa-l-athbāt wa-muʿjam al-maʿājim wa-l-mashyakhāt wa-l-musalsalāt* 1–3, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1402/1982.
- Kenny, Joseph “Ibn Masarra: His *Risālat al-iʿtibār*,” *Orita: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies* 34 (2002), pp. 1–26.
- Kulinich, Alena, *Representing “a blameworthy tafsīr”: Muʿtazilite exegetical tradition in al-Jāmiʿ fī tafsīr al-Qurʿān of ʿAlī ibn ʿIsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994)*, PhD dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 2012.
- Ljamai, Abdelilah, *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l’histoire de l’Islam*, Leiden 2003.
- Legal Methodology in 6th/12th century Khwārazm: The Kitāb al-Tajrīd fī uṣūl al-fiqh by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī (d. 536/1141)*. Facsimile edition of MS Arab e 103 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), with an introduction and indices by Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, Tehran 1390/2012.
- Madelung, Wilferd, “The Westwards Migration of Hanafī Scholars From Central Asia in the 11th to 13th Centuries,” *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 43 ii (2002), pp. 41–55.
- Madelung, Wilferd and Sabine Schmidtke, *Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication. Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s Muʿtazilī Theology among the Karaites in the Fāṭimid Age*, Leiden 2006.
- al-Mintawrī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Qīsī, *Faḥrasat al-Mintawrī*, ed. Muḥammad Binsharīfa [Mohammed Bencherifa], Rabat 1342/2011.
- Pellat, Charles, “Nouvel essai d’inventaire de l’œuvre ḡāḥizienne,” *Arabica* 31 (1984), pp. 117–164.
- Reynolds, Gabriel Said, *A Muslim theologian in the sectarian milieu: ʿAbd al-Jabbār and the critique of Christian origins*, Leiden 2004.
- Roper, Geoffrey (ed.), *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* 1–4, London 1992–94.
- Rubio, Luciano, “II. Los Aśʿaries, teólogos especulativos, Mutakallimes, del Islan [sic], considerados generalmente como los teólogos ortodoxos. Su doctrina de la causalidad,” *La Ciudad de Dios* 190 (1977), pp. 535–605; 192 iii (1979), pp. 355–391; 193 i (1980), pp. 47–83; 193 iii (1980), pp. 535–577; 194 i (1981), pp. 55–100; 195 i (1982), pp. 81–113; 195 ii (1982), pp. 270–290; 195 iii (1982), pp. 395–449.
- al-Sarḥān, Saʿūd b. Ṣāliḥ, *Arbāb al-kalām: Ibn Ḥazm yujādilu l-Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1431/2010.
- Schmidtke, Sabine, “Early Aśʿarite Theology: Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) and his *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*,” *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 60 (2011), pp. 39–72.
- Schwarz, Gregor, *Handbook of Muʿtazilite Authors and Works* [forthcoming].
- , “Muʿtazilism in the age of Averroes,” *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the 6th/12th Century (Warburg Institute Colloquia)*, ed. Peter Adamson, London 2011, pp. 251–82.
- al-Sijilmāsī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Hībāwī, *Qaḍī al-Andalus al-mulham wa-khaṭībuhā al-mufawwa: al-Imām Mundhir b. Saʿīd al-Ballūṭī al-mutawaffā sanat 355 H, maʿa taḥqīq risālatayn makḥṭūṭatayn min turāthihi*, Beirut 1423/2002.
- Stroumsa, Sarah, “Ibn Masarra and the beginnings of mystical thought in al-Andalus,” *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung / Mystical Approaches to God*, ed. Peter Schäfer, München 2006, pp. 97–112.
- Sezgin, Fuat, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967–, vol. 1–.

- Stocks, Peter, *Subject-guide to the Arabic manuscripts in the British Library*, ed. Colin F. Baker, London 2001.
- al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iyya al-kubrā* 1–5, eds. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī, Aleppo 1385/1966.
- Tafsīr al-qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Mu'tazilī wa-huwa l-tafsīr al-musammā al-Tafsīr al-kabīr aw al-Muḥīṭ, wa-yalīhi Farā'id al-Qur'ān wa-adillatuh*, ed. Khidr Muḥammad Nabhā, Beirut 2009.
- Ṭālibī, 'Ammār, *Ārā' Abī Bakr ibn al-'Arabī al-kalāmīyya*, Algiers [1974].
- Thiele, Jan, "La causalité selon al-Ḥakim al-Ġišūmī," *The neglected Sītes: Studies in the legal and intellectual history of the Zaydīs*. Guest-Editor: Sabine Schmidtke = *Arabica. Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 59 iii–iv (2012), pp. 291–318.
- Tornero, Emilio, "Noticia sobre la publicación de obras inéditas de Ibn Masarra," *Al-Qanṭara* 14 (1993), pp. 47–64.
- Turki, Abdel Magid, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāġī sur les principes de la loi musulmane: Essai sur le littéralisme zahirite et la finalité malikite*, Algiers 1973.
- Urvoy, Dominique, *Le monde des ulémas andalous du v/xie au vii/xiiiè siècle. Etude sociologique*, Geneva 1978.
- Vizcaino Plaza, Juan Manuel, *La Farsa de Ibn Jayr (m. 575/1180)*, Madrid 2002.
- Yafūt, Sālim, *Ibn Ḥazm wa-l-fikr al-falsafī bi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus*, Casablanca 1986.
- Zahrī, Khālid and 'Abd al-Majīd Būkārī, *Fihris al-kutub al-makhṣūsa fi l-'aqida al-ash'ariyya* 1–2, Rabat 1432/2011.

APPENDIX: IBN ḤAZM QUOTING FROM THE "KITĀB AL-SIMNĀNĪ"<sup>75</sup>

I vol. 2, pp. 302: 20–304: 2 / vol. 1, pp. 393–394 [*al-kalām fi l-ʿilm*]

فإذ قد بطل بعون الله تعالى وتأييده قول من قال: إن علم الله تعالى هو غير الله تعالى وهو مخلوق، فلنتكلم بعون الله تعالى وتأييده على قول من قال: إن علم الله تعالى هو غير الله تعالى وخلافه وأنه لم يزل مع الله عز وجل. قال أبو محمد: هذا قول لا يحتاج في رده إلى أكثر من أنه شرك مجرّد وإبطال للتوحيد، لأنه إذا كان مع الله تعالى شيئاً غيره لم يزل معه فقد بطل أن يكون الله تعالى كان وحده بل قد صار له شريك في أنه لم يزل، وهذا كفر مجرّد ونصرانية محضة مع أنها دعوى ساقطة بلا دليل أصلاً. وما قال بهذا قط أحد من أهل الإسلام قبل هذه الفرقة المحدثّة بعد الثلاثمائة سنة فهو خروج عن الإسلام وترك للإجماع المتيقن، وقد قلت لبعضهم: إذا قلت: إنه لم يزل مع الله تعالى شيء آخر هو غير الله تعالى وخلافه لم يزل معه فلماذا أنكرتم على النصارى في قولها: إن الله ثالث ثلاثة؟ فقال لي مصرحاً: ما أنكرنا على النصارى إلا اقتصارهم على الثلاثة فقط، ولم يجعلوا معه تعالى أكثر من ذلك. فأمسكت عنه إذ صرح بأن قولهم أدخل في الشرك من قول النصارى. وقولهم هذا ردّ لقول الله عز وجل ﴿قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ﴾ [الإخلاص: 1]. فلو كان مع الله غير الله لم يكن الله أحد.

قال أبو محمد: وما تكأ نصّدق أن من ينتمى إلى الإسلام يأتي بهذا الكفر لولا أنا شاهدناهم وناظرناهم، ورأينا ذلك صراحاً في كتبهم ككتاب السمناني قاضي الموصل في عصرنا هذا، وهو

<sup>75</sup> Reference is given to the edition by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Naṣr and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Umayra (Beirut 1405/1985) and to the edition by Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut 1996). The respective section in which each quotation appears is indicated as well. Alternative readings and additions to the text that are found in the Naṣr/‘Umayra edition are given in square brackets.—I am aware that none of these two editions is a critical one and neither takes into consideration Ibn Ḥazm’s apparently significant revisions of the *Fiṣal*. His later revisions do tend, as it seems, to include more explicit references, as has been shown by Ljamai (*Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne*, pp. 45ff.) on the basis of Ms. Flügel 975 (Vienna). It is hoped that Samir Kaddouri’s current PhD project in the course of which he is investigating all extant manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm’s *Fiṣal* will provide a clearer picture of the various recensions of the text, with possibly new insights into his use of al-Simnānī’s text and other sources.

من أكابريهم، وفي كتاب المجالس للأشعري وفي كتب لهم آخر. قال أبو محمد: والعجب من هذا كله تصريح الباقلاني وابن فورك [في كتابهما] في الأصول وغيرها أن علم الله تعالى واقع مع علمنا تحت حدّ واحد، وهذه حماقة مزوجة بكفر إذ جعلوا ما لم يزل محدوداً بمنزلة المحدثات، وكل ما أدخلناه على المنانية والنصارى، ومن يبطل التوحيد فهو داخل على هذه الفرقة حرفاً حرفاً فأغنانا أن نحيل على ذلك عن تكراره، ونعوذ بالله من الخذلان.

II vol. 2, p. 351: 4–12 / vol. 2, p. 6 [*al-kalām fī ṣifāt Allāh*]

وقد رأيت لابن فورك وغيره من الأشعرية في الكلام في هذا الحديث أنهم قالوا في معنى قوله عليه السلام: «إن الله خلق آدم على صورته» إنما هو على صفة الرحمن من الحياة والعلم والاقترار واجتماع صفات الكمال فيه وأسجد له ملائكة كما أسجدهم لنفسه وجعل له الأمر والنهي على ذريته كما كان لله ذلك. قال أبو محمد: هذا نصّ كلام أبي جعفر السمناني قاضي الموصل الضرير عن شيوخه حرفاً حرفاً، وهذا كفر مجرد لا مرية فيه لأنه سوى بين الله عزّ وجلّ وبين آدم في الحياة والعلم والاقترار واجتماع صفات الكمال فيهما والله يقول ﴿لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ﴾ [الشورى: II]. ثم لم يقنعوا بهذا حتى جعلوا سجود الملائكة لآدم كسجودهم لله تعالى، ولا خلاف بين أحد من أهل الإسلام في أن سجودهم لله تعالى سجود عبادة ولآدم سجود تحية وإكرام.

III vol. 4, pp. 5–6: 3 / vol. 2, pp. 284–285 [*hal ta'sī al-anbiyā' 'alayhim al-ṣalāt wa-l-salām*]

قال أبو محمد: اختلف الناس في هل تعصى الأنبياء عليهم السلام أم لا؟ فذهبت طائفة إلى أن رسل الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يعصون الله عزّ وجلّ في جميع الكبائر والصغائر عمداً حاشا الكذب في التبليغ فقط، وهذا قول الكرامية من المرجئة وقول ابن الطيب الباقلاني من الأشعرية ومن اتبعه، وهو قول اليهود والنصارى. وسمعت من يحكى عن بعض الكرامية أنهم يجوزون على الرسل عليهم السلام الكذب في التبليغ أيضاً. وأما هذا الباقلاني فإنا رأينا في كتاب صاحبه أبي جعفر السمناني قاضي الموصل أنه كان يقول: إن كل ذنب دقّ أو جل، فإنه جائز على الرسل حاشا الكذب في التبليغ فقط، قال: وجائز عليهم أن يكفروا، قال: وإذا نهى النبي عليه السلام عن شيء ثم فعله فليس ذلك دليلاً على أن ذلك النهي قد

نسخ، لأنه قد يفعله عاصياً له [له: لله] عزّ وجلّ، قال: وليس لأصحابه أن ينكروا ذلك عليه، وجوّز أن يكون في أمة محمد عليه السلام من هو أفضل من محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام مذبعته الله إلى أن مات. قال أبو محمد: وهذا كله كفر مجرّد وشرك محض وردة عن الإسلام قاطعة للولاية مبيحة دم من دان بها وماله موجبة للبراءة منه في الدنيا ويوم يقوم الأشهداء. وذهبت طائفةٌ إلى أن الرسل عليهم الصلاة والسلام لا يجوز عليهم كبيرة من الكبائر أصلاً وجوّزوا عليهم الصغائر بالعمد وهو قول ابن فورك الأشعري [وذهب] جميع أهل الإسلام من أهل السنة والمعتزلة والنجارية والخوارج والشيعة إلى أنه لا يجوز البتة أن يقع من نبي أصلاً معصيةً بعمدٍ، لا صغيرة ولا كبيرة، وهو قول ابن مجاهد الأشعري شيخ ابن فورك والباقلاني المذكورين.

IV vol. 4, pp. 52: 17–53: 6 / vol. 2, p. 316 [*al-kalām fi Muḥammad ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam*]

ويرد أيضاً قوله: إن قال بهذا قول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: «ما من أحد إلا وقد أمّ أو كاد إلا يحيى بن زكريا»، أو يقول: إن في الناس من لم يجترح سيئة قط وإن من اجترح السيئات لا يساويهم كما قال عزّ وجلّ، فإن قال ذلك فإن الأنبياء عليهم السلام عنده يجترحون السيئات وفي سائر الناس من لا يجترحها، فوجب أن يكون في الناس من هو أفضل من الأنبياء عليهم السلام وهذا كفر مجرّد، وما قدرنا أن أحداً ممن ينتمى إلى الإسلام ولا إلى أهل الكتاب ينطق لسانه بهذا حتى رأينا للمعروف بابن الباقلاني فيما ذكر عنه صاحبه أبو جعفر السمناني قاضي الموصل أنه قد يكون في الناس بعد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من هو أفضل من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من حين يبعث إلى حين يموت فاستعظمنا ذلك، وهذا شرك مجرّد وقدح في النبوة لا خفاء به، وقد كما نسمع عن قوم من الصوفية أنهم يقولون: إن الولي أفضل من النبي، وكما لا نحقق هذا على أحد يدين بدين الإسلام إلى أن وجدنا هذا الكلام كما أوردنا فنعوذ بالله من الارتداد بعد الإيمان.

V vol. 4, p. 67: 3–8 / vol. 2, p. 327 [*hal yakūnu mu’minan man i’taqada al-islām dūn istidlāl am lā yakūnu mu’minan illā man istadalla...*]

قال أبو محمد: ذهب محمد بن جرير الطبري والأشعرية كلها حاشا السمناني إلى أنه لا يكون مسلماً إلا من استدل، وإلا فليس مسلماً. وقال الطبري: من بلغ الاحتلام أو الإشعار من

الرجال والنساء، أو بلغ المحيض من النساء، ولم يعرف الله عزّ وجلّ بجميع أسمائه وصفاته من طريق الاستدلال فهو كافر، حلال الدم والمال، وقال: إنه إذا بلغ الغلام أو الجارية سبع سنين وجب تعليمهما وتدريبهما على الاستدلال على كل ذلك. وقالت الأشعرية: لا يلزمهما الاستدلال على ذلك إلا بعد البلوغ.

VI vol. 5, p. 6: 8–11 / vol. 3, pp. 89–90 [*al-kalām fi imāmat al-mafḍūl*]

قال أبو محمد: والعجب كله كيف يجتمع قول الباقلاني أنه لا تجوز الإمامة لمن غيره من الناس أفضل منه، وهو قد جوّز النبوة والرسالة لمن غيره من الناس أفضل منه، فإنه صرح فيما ذكره عنه صاحبه أبو جعفر السمناني الأعمى قاضي الموصل بأنه جائز أن يكون في الأمة من هو أفضل من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من حين بعث إلى أن مات.

VII vol. 5, pp. 77: 22–80: 3 / vol. 3, pp. 146–148 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

وقالواكلهم: إن الله حامل لصفاته في ذاته، وهذا نص قول أبي جعفر السمناني المكفوف وقاضي الموصل وهو أكبر أصحاب الباقلاني مقدم الأشعرية في وقتنا هذا، وقال هذا السمناني: إن من سمى الله تعالى جسماً من أجل أنه حامل لصفاته في ذاته فقد أصاب المعنى وأخطأ في التسمية فقط، وقال هذا السمناني: إن الله تعالى مشارك العالم في الوجود وفي قيامه بنفسه كقيام الجواهر والأجسام وفي أنه ذو صفات قائمة به موجودة بذاته، كما ثبت ذلك فيما هو موصوف بهذه الصفات من جملة أجسام العالم وجواهره. وهذا نص كلام السمناني حرفاً حرفاً. قال أبو محمد: ما أعلم أحداً من غلاة المشبهة أقدم على أن يطلق ما أطلق هذا المبتدع الجاهل الملحد المتهور من أن الله تعالى مشارك للعالم حاشى لله من ذلك. وقال السمناني عن شيوخته من الأشعرية: إن معنى قول النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إن الله خلق آدم على صورته إنما هو على صفة الرحمن من الحياة والعلم والاقترار واجتماع صفات الكمال فيه، وأسجد له ملائكته، كما أسجدهم لنفسه، وجعل له الأمر والنهي على ذريته، كما كان لله تعالى كل ذلك. قال أبو محمد: هذا نص كلامه حرفاً حرفاً. وهذا كفر صريح وشرك بواح، إذ صرح بأن آدم على صفة الرحمن من اجتماع صفات الكمال فيهما، فالله تعالى وآدم عنده مثلان متشابهان في اجتماع صفات الكمال فيهما، ثم لم يقع بهذه السوءة حتى صرح بأن سجود الملائكة لآدم كسجودهم لله عزّ وجلّ، وحاشى لله من هذا، لأن سجود الملائكة لله

تعالى سجد عبادة وديانة لخالقهم، وسجدهم لآدم سجد سلام وتحية وتشريف منهم لآدم وإكرام له بذلك كسجد يعقوب لابنه يوسف عليهما السلام فقط. ثم زاد اللعين كفرة على كفر بنصه أن الله تعالى جعل له الأمر والنهي على ذريته، كما كان لله تعالى [كل] ذلك، وهذا شرك لا خفاء به كشرك النصارى في المسيح ولا فرق. ونسأل الله العافية. وقال هذا السمنياني: إن مذهب شيوخي أنهم لا يقولون إن الأمر بالشيء دال على كونه مراداً للأمر قديماً كان أو محدثاً، ولا يدل النهي على كونه مكروهاً، هذا نص كلامه، وهذا خلاف للإسلام وللإجماع والمعقول وتصريح بأن الله تعالى إذ أمرنا بالصلاة والزكاة والحج والصيام والجهاد وشهادة الإسلام، فليس في ذلك دليل على أنه يريد شيئاً من ذلك وإذ نهى عن الكفر والزنا والبغاء والسرقه وقتل النفس ظلماً، فليس ذلك دليلاً على أنه يكره شيئاً من ذلك. وما في الأقوال أثن من هذا القول.

وقال هذا السمنياني: إنه لا يصح القول بأن علم الله تعالى مخالف للعلوم كلها ولا أن قدرته مخالفة للقدرة كلها، لأنها كلها داخلة تحت قولنا ووصفنا للقدرة والعلوم. هذا نص كلامه وهذا بيان بأن دينهم أن علم الله تعالى وقدرته من نوع علمنا وقدرتنا وإذ الأمر كذلك عنده، فعلمنا وقدرتنا عرضان فينا مخلوقان فوجب ضرورة أن علم الله تعالى وقدرته عرضان في الله مخلوقان. ونص هذا السمنياني ومحمد بن فورك في صدر كلامه في كتاب أظنه «الأصول»: أن الحدود لا تختلف في قديم ولا محدث، قالوا ذلك في كلامهم في علم الله تعالى في تحديدهم لمعنى العلم بصفة يقع تحتها علم الله تعالى وعلوم الناس، وهذا نص منهم على أن الله تعالى محدود واقع معنا تحت الحدود هو وعلمه وقدرته، وهو شر من قول جهم شيخهم في الحقيقة وأبين من قول كل مشبه في الأرض. ونص هذا السمنياني على أن العالم والقادر والمريد من الله تعالى وخلقه، إنما كان محتاجاً إلى هذه الصفات لكونه موصوفاً بها لا لجوازاها عليه، هذا نص كلامه، وهذا تصريح منهم بلا تكلف ولا تأويل بأن الله تعالى عن كفر هذا الأرعن محتاج إلى الصفات، وهذا كفر ما ندرى أن أحداً بلغه. ونص هذا السمنياني أيضاً على أن الله تعالى لما كان حياً عالماً كان موصوفاً بالحياة والعلم والقدرة والإرادة حتى لا يختلف الحال في ذلك في الشاهد والغائب، هذا نص كلامه وهذا تصريح منه على أن الله تعالى حالاً لا يخالفه فيها خلقه، بل هو وهم فيها سواء. ونص هذا السمنياني على أنه إذا كانت الصفات الواجبة لله تعالى في كونه عالماً قادراً لا يغني وجوبها له عن ما هو مصحح لها من الحياة فيه، كما لا يوجب غناه عما يوجب كونه عالماً قادراً عن القدرة والعلم.

قال أبو محمد: هذا نص جليّ على أن الله تعالى غير غني عن شيء هو غيره. لأن الصفات عندهم هي غيره تعالى، والله تعالى عندهم غير غنيّ عنها، تعالى الله، وإذا لم يكن غنيّاً عنها فهو فقير إليها هكذا قالت اليهود إن الله فقير، تعالى الله عن هذا، بل هو الغني جملة عن ما سواه وكل من دونه فقير إليه تعالى.

وقال السمناني: إن قال قائل لم أنكرتم أن يكون الله مريداً لنفسه حسب ما قاله النجار والجاحظ؟ قيل له: أنكرنا ذلك لما قدمنا ذكره، من أن الواحد من الخلق مريد بإرادة، ولا يخلو أن يكون حقيقة المريد من له الإرادة أو كونه مريداً وجود الإرادة له، وأي الأمرين كان وجبت مساواة الغائب الشاهد في هذا الباب.

قال أبو محمد: وهذا نص جليّ على مساواة الله تعالى لخلقه عند هذا الجاهل. وهذا أعظم في الكفر من قول كل مجسم لأن جميع المجسمين لم يقدم أحد منهم قط على القول بأن الله تعالى مساوٍ لخلقه قبل هذه الفرقة المعلونة، ثم العجب قطعهم بأن الله [تعالى] عزّ وجلّ غائب غير شاهد وحاشى لله عن هذا، بل هو معنا وأقرب إلينا من حبل الوريد، كما قال عزّ وجلّ إنه حاضر في العقول غير غائب. وقال الباقلاني: ما وجد في الله تعالى من التسميات فإنه لا يجوز إطلاقها عليه، وإن لم يسمّ بذلك نفسه ما لم يرد شرع يمنع من ذلك.

VIII vol. 5, p. 81: 1-7 / vol. 3, p. 149 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: «إني أحب أن أسمعه من غيري» يعني القرآن. وقال عليه السلام: «الذي يقرأ القرآن مع السفارة الكرام البررة». ونهيه صلى الله عليه وسلم أن يسافر بالقرآن إلى أرض العدو إلى إجماع عامة المسلمين وخاصتهم وجاهلهم وعالمهم على القول: حفظ فلان القرآن وقرأ فلان القرآن وكتب فلان القرآن في المصحف وسمعنا القرآن من فلان، وهذا كلام الله تعالى في المصحف من أول أم القرآن إلى آخر ﴿قل أعوذ برب الناس﴾ [الناس: 1]. وقال السمناني نصّاً: إن الباقلاني وشيوخه قالوا: إن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إنما أطلق القول بأن ما أنزل الله عليه هو القرآن، وهو كلام الله تعالى إنما هو على معنى أنه عبارة عن كلام الله تعالى، وأنه يفهم منه أمره ونهيه فقط.

IX vol. 5, p. 82: 7-15 / vol. 3, p. 150 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

قال أبو محمد: وقالت الأشعرية كلها إن الله تعالى لم يزل قائلاً لكل ما خلق أو يخلق من المستأنف كُنْ، إلا أن الأشياء لم تكن إلا حين كونها. وهذا تكذيب منهم مكشوف لله عزّ



وجلّ إذ يقول ﴿إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئًا أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ﴾ [يس: 82] فبين الله تعالى أنه لا يقول للشيء كُنْ إلا إذا أراد تكوينه، وأنه إذا قال له كُنْ كان الشيء في الوقت بلا مهلة، لأن هذا هو مقتضى الفاء في لغة العرب التي بها نزل القرآن فجمعوا إلى تكذيب الله عزّ وجلّ في خيره [خبريه] جميعاً إيجاب أزلية العالم، لأن الله تعالى إذا كان لم يزل قائلاً لما يكون كُنْ فإن التكوين لم يزل وهذه دهرية محضة، ثم قال السمناني بعد أسطر: لأنه لو وجب وجود ما وجد في الوقت الذي وجد فيه لأجل قول الله تعالى: كُنْ، لوجب أن يوجد لأجل قول غيره له كُنْ لأن صفة الاقضاء لا تختلف في ذلك بين القديم والمحدث.

X vol. 5, pp. 85: 20–86: 4 / vol. 3, p. 154 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

قال أبو محمد: ثم نخلوا من هذه العظيمة وتبرأ منهم إبليس الذي أورطهم فيها، فشكوا فقالوا في كتبهم: فإن لم يكن هذا فإن الروح تنتقل عند خروجه من الجسم إلى جسم آخر. هكذا نص الباقلاني في أحد كتبه وأظنه الرسالة المعروفة «بالحرّة» وهذا مذهب التناسخ بلا كلفة. وقال السمناني في كتابه: إن الباقلاني وأصحابه قالوا: إن كل ما جاء في الخبر من نقل أرواح الشهداء إلى حواصل طير خضر وأن روح الميت ترد إليه في قبره، وما جرى مجرى ذلك من وصف الروح بالقرب والبعد والحركة والانتقال والسكون والعذاب، فكل ذلك محمول على أقل جزء من أجزاء الميت أو الشهيد أو الكافر، وإعادة الحياة في ذلك الجزء.

XI vol. 5, p. 88: 8–12 / vol. 3, p. 157 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

قال أبو محمد: وسمعتُ بعض مقدميهم يقول: إن من كان على معاصي خمسة من زنى وسرقة وترك صلاة وتضييع زكاة وغير ذلك ثم تاب عن بعضها دون بعض فإن توبته تلك لا تقبل، وقد نص السمناني على أن هذا قول الباقلاني وهو قول أبي هاشم الجبائي، ثم قال السمناني: هذا قول [فوق] خارق للإجماع جملة، وخلاف لدين الأمة. هذا نص قول السمناني في شيخه وشهدوا على أنفسهم وأقبل بعضهم على بعض يتلأومون.

XII vol. 5, p. 88: 15–22 / vol. 3, p. 157 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

وقال تعالى ﴿وَضَعُ الْمَوَازِينَ الْقِسْطَ لِيَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ فَلَا تُظْلَمُ نَفْسٌ شَيْئًا﴾ [الأنبياء: 47] الآية وقال تعالى ﴿أَنِّي لَا أَضِيعُ عَمَلٌ عَامِلٍ مِنْكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ أَوْ نَسِيٍّ﴾ [آل عمران: 195]. وبالضرورة يدري كل ذي مسكة من عقل أن التوبة من الزنا خير كبير، فهذا الجاهل يقول

أنه لا يراه صاحبه، وأنه عمل ضائع عند الله عزّ وجلّ من مسلم مؤمن، ومعاذ الله من هذا. وسر هذا القول الملعون وحقيقته التي لا بد لقابله منه أنه لا معنى لمن أصرّ على الزنا أو شرب الخمر في أن يصلى ولا في أن يزكى، فقد صار يأمر بترك الصلوات الخمس والزكاة وصوم رمضان والحج، فعلى هذا القول وقائله لعائن الله تترى ما دار الليل والنهار. ونصّ السماني عن الباقلاني شيخه أنه كان يقول: إن الله لا يغير الصغائر باجتناب الكبائر.

XIII vol. 5, p. 94: 10–16 / vol. 3, p. 163 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

ومن كراتهم [كراتهم] الصلح قول السماني إذ نصّ على أن الباقلاني كان يقول: إن جميع المعاصي كلها لا نجد شيئاً منها مما يجب أن يستغفر الله منه جائز وقوعها من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حاشى الكذب في البلاغ فقط. وقال الباقلاني: إذا نهي النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عن شيء ثم فعله فليس ذلك دليلاً على أنه منسوخ، إذ قد يفعله عاصياً لله عزّ وجلّ. قال الباقلاني: وليس على أصحابه فرضاً أن ينكروا ذلك عليه. قال السماني في كتاب الإمامة: لولا دلالة العقل على وجوب كون النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم معصوماً في البلاغ عن الله عزّ وجلّ لما وجب كونه معصوماً في البلاغ، كما لا يجب فيها سواه من أفعاله وأقواله. وقال أيضاً في مكان آخر منه: وكذلك يجوز أن يكفر النبي بعد أداء الرسالة.

XIV vol. 5, p. 95: 6–13 / vol. 3, p. 164 [*shina' al-Murji'a*]

ومن طوائفهم ما حكاه السماني عن الباقلاني أنه قال: واختلفوا في وجوب كون النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أفضل أهل وقته في حال الرسالة وما بعدها إلى حيز [حين] موته، فأوجب ذلك قائلون وأسقطه آخرون. قال الباقلاني: وهذا هو الصحيح وبه نقول. قال أبو محمد: هذا والله الكفر الذي لا خفاء به إذ جوز أن يكون أحد من في عصر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فما بعده أفضل من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وما أنكرنا على أحمد بن خابط إلا دون هذا، إذ قال: إن أبا ذرّ كان أزهّد من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم. هذا مع قول هذا المستخف الباقلاني الذي ذكره عنه السماني في كتابه الكبير في كتاب الإمامة منه أن من شرط الإمام أن يكون الإمام أفضل أهل زمانه.