CHAPTER 9

THE MUʿTAZILITE MOVEMENT (III)

The Scholastic Phase

SABINE SCHMIDTKE

THE early phase of the Muʿtazila was characterized by individual thinkers some of whom were primarily concerned with a select number of theological issues rather than attempting to formulate a comprehensive doctrinal system. Around the turn of the fourth/tenth century the movement entered a new 'scholastic' phase. Two principal school traditions evolved at this stage, the so-called 'School of Basra' and the 'School of Baghdad'. The beginnings of this phase coincide with the lives of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/915–16) as the leader of the School of Basra and Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931) as the head of the School of Baghdad. The scholastic phase was characterized by coherent doctrinal systems addressing the whole range of the Muʿtazilite tenets, viz. divine unicity (*tawḥīd*) and justice (*ʿadl*), which include discussions about God's nature, His essence, and His attributes, God's relation to the created world, the ontological status of ethical values (objectivism versus subjectivism) and related epistemological questions, the nature of created beings, man's autonomy to act and his accountability for his actions, and the question of the origin of evil; eschatological issues such as promise and threat (*al-waʿd wa-l-waʿīd*) and the intermediate position of the grave sinner (*al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn*); themes such as prophecy and the imamate; and the notion of commanding good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*) which by now had lost much of its earlier prominence among the Muʿtazilite tenets (Cook 2000). At the same time, ontology, cosmology, natural philosophy, and biology constituted important parts of the various doctrinal systems. Issues belonging to these fields were typically discussed under the rubric of 'subtleties of *kalām*' (*laṭāʾif al-kalām*) (Dhanani 1994). Apart from purely doctrinal issues, the majority of Muʿtazilites of this period were also engaged in

exegesis (*tafsīr*) and legal theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and, at times, *ḥadīth* transmission, and their works in these domains had often a far longer-lasting impact than was the case with their writings in *kalām*.[1]

I The Early Generation

Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbāʾī hailed from Jubbāʾ in Khūzistān (for a detailed biography, see Gwynne 1982). As a youth he came to Basra where he studied with Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaḥḥām who is singled out as his most significant teacher. Al-Shaḥḥām is stated to have been 'the youngest and most perfect' of the students of Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (van Ess 1991–7: iii. 291, iv. 45–54). Abū ʿAlī left Basra sometime between 257/871 and 259/873 for Baghdad where he spent the next two decades. Sometime before 277/890, or possibly before 279/892, Abū ʿAlī left Baghdad and took up residence in ʿAskar Mukram in Khūzistān, where he remained until his death in 303/915–16. Since none of Abū ʿAlī's numerous writings is extant (Gimaret 1976; 1984a; 1984b)[2] his doctrine can only be reconstructed through the scattered references in later works, particularly those by Muʿtazilite authors as well as the *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn* of Abū ʿAlī's former student Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935–6), the eponymous founder of the Ashʿariyya who around the year 300/912–13 repented from Muʿtazilite doctrines. Abū ʿAlī saw himself in the tradition of the thought of Abū l-Hudhayl whose doctrines he set out to revive and to refine, thereby formulating a comprehensive theological system (Frank 1978, 1982; Gimaret 1980: 3ff., 39ff.; Perler and Rudolph 2000: 41ff.), yet not without disagreeing with Abū l-Hudhayl's view regarding a number of issues; he is known to have composed a treatise entitled *Masāʾil al-khilāf ʿalā Abī l-Hudhayl* in which he presumably treated the issues with regard to which he disagreed with Abū l-Hudhayl (on Abū l-Hudhayl's thought, see Frank 1966; 1969; van Ess 1991–7: iii. 209–96).

Among Abū ʿAlī's students was his son, Abū Hāshim ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbāʾī (b. 247/861 or, more likely, 277/890; d. 321/933). He disagreed with his father on a number of doctrinal issues and when, following the death of his father and despite his young age,[3] Abū Hāshim claimed succession of the latter

---

[1] The extant fragments of exegetical works by Muʿtazilite authors have been collected and edited by Khiḍr Muḥammad Nabhā in the series *Mawsūʿat tafāsīr al-Muʿtazila* (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2007–). For legal theory, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) lists four books that he considers to be 'the basic works and pillars of this discipline'—among them two by Muʿtazilite authors, viz. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī's (d. 415/1025) *K. al-ʿUmad* and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's (d. 436/1044) *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima,* 3/28f.). For examples of *ḥadīth* transmission among Muʿtazilites, see Ansari 2012.

[2] With the exception, however, of his *Kitāb al-Maqālāt*. See Ansari 2007. H. Ansari and W. Madelung are currently preparing a critical edition of the text.

[3] ʿAbd al-Jabbār apologizes for mentioning Abū Hashim as the first of the generation of Abū ʿAlī's disciples. Considering his age, ʿAbd al-Jabbār admits, he should be dealt with later as he was younger than many of the persons mentioned in this generation (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl*, 304).

as the leader of the Basran Muʿtazila, he was opposed by fellow-students of his father. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ṣaymarī (d. 315/927) apparently led the group of adversaries of Abū Hāshim, a group which became later known as the Ikhshīdiyya, being named so after al-Ṣaymarī's student, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Maʿjūr al-Ikhshīd (or: al-Ikhshād) (d. 320/932 or 326/937).[4] This would explain Ibn al-Nadīm's statement that 'after the death of Abū ʿAlī, the leadership culminated with him [al-Ṣaymarī]' (Dodge 1970: i. 427). Yet despite significant differences of opinion between Abū Hāshim and his father Abū ʿAlī which were systematically described by later authors, such as ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (on him, see Section III) in his lost work *al-Khilāf bayn al-shaykhayn* (ʿUthmān 1968: 62;[5] Heemskerk 2000: 22 n. 32), both shaykhs were of utmost significance to the later followers of the Basran Muʿtazila and are constantly referred to—much more frequently than is the case with other later representatives of the School.

Abū Hāshim seems to have spent most of his life in ʿAskar Mukram and in Basra. In 314/926–7 or 317/928–9, he took up residence in Baghdad where he died in 321/933. He is known to have authored numerous works, none of which have survived. As is the case with his father, the most detailed information about his writings is provided by the numerous scattered references in later Muʿtazilite works. These also testify to a significant development of his thought throughout his lifetime, especially concerning issues belonging to the subtleties of *kalām*. Among his independent works, the principal ones were *al-Abwāb* (or: *Naqḍ al-abwāb*), *al-Jāmiʿ* (or: *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*), and *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*. He further authored numerous tracts that were concerned with specific doctrinal issues, and he composed responsa as well as refutations that were partly directed against opponents in theology as well as against philosophers, such as *al-Naqḍ ʿalā Arisṭūṭālīs fī l-kawn wa-l-fasād* (Gimaret 1976; 1984a).

Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī hailed from Balkh in Khurāsān in the northeast of Iran (on him, see van Ess 1985; el Omari 2006). His teacher in *kalām* was Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Khayyāṭ (d. *c.*300/913), author of the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, with whom he studied in Baghdad and whose doctrinal views he continued to develop following his return to Khurāsān. Although he was highly regarded in his homeland as the leading theologian, there is no indication that al-Kaʿbī's school played any significant role after his lifetime. The most renowned Muʿtazilī theologian to have been raised in the tradition of al-Kaʿbī's doctrines was Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, who moved at some stage of his life to Rayy, where he became the most prominent student and follower of ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Abū Rashīd's work on the differences between the views of the Basrans and the Baghdadians, *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fī l-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādiyyīn* (see Section III), constituted a major source for the reconstruction of al-Kaʿbī's thought. Beyond (Sunnī) Muʿtazilism, al-Kaʿbī's views had a major impact on Transoxanian

---

[4] Next to nothing is known about the doctrinal views of al-Ṣaymarī and Ibn al-Ikhshīd; see Mourad 2007; Thomas 2010. Another follower of Ibn al-Ikhshīd was ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) who composed a Qurʾān commentary as well as several tracts on the miraculous character of the Qurʾān (all extant); cf. Kulinich 2012.

[5] ʿUthmān's identification of Ms. Vatican ar. 1100 as containing a manuscript of the text is erroneous.

Ḥanafism and specifically on Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944) who considered al-Kaʿbī's Muʿtazilite teachings as an important challenge and at the same time a source of inspiration (Rudolph 2015; see also Chapter 17). Moreover, al-Kaʿbī's doctrines also significantly influenced Imami and Zaydi theologians, such as al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911) (see Chapters 11 and 27). Their writings constitute another important source for the reconstruction of al-Kaʿbī's doctrines, whose works, with the exception of his *Kitāb al-Maqālāt* (van Ess 2011: i. 328–75), have not come down to us.

II THE TEACHINGS OF THE BAHSHAMIYYA

Abū Hāshim is primarily known for his notion of 'states' (*aḥwāl*) which he developed in an attempt to formulate a conceptual framework for analysing the ontology of God and created beings within the established Muʿtazilite view of divine attributes (Gimaret 1970; Frank 1971a, 1971b, 1978, 1980; Alami 2001; Thiele 2013). For the Muʿtazilites, God's attributes cannot be entities distinct from Him without violating the idea of His oneness. On the other hand, they considered that God can neither be identical with His attributes without undermining His absolute transcendence. For this purpose, Abū Hāshim adapted the concept of 'state' (*ḥāl*, pl. *aḥwāl*) employed by the grammarians for a complement in the case of the accusative occurring in a sentence which consists of a subject and a form of *kāna* (to be) as a complete verb. In this case, the accusative cannot simply be taken as a predicate to *kāna* as it would be if *kāna* were incomplete and transitive; it must rather be understood as a *ḥāl*. On this foundation, Abū Hāshim elaborated a system of five different categories of 'states'. These categories are distinguished by the respective ontological basis which brings forth their actuality. According to Abū Hāshim, a 'state' is not an entity or a thing (*dhāt, shayʾ*) and can thus neither be said to be 'existent' (*mawjūd*) nor 'non-existent' (*maʿdūm*). Not being entities themselves, the 'states' can likewise not be known in isolation. Rather, things are known by virtue of their being qualified by a state. Thus, Abū Hāshim speaks of the 'actuality' (*ḥuṣūl*) of the 'states' and their 'initiation' (*tajaddud*) while he refrains from asserting for them a 'coming to be' (*ḥudūth*) which would imply their coming into existence. The first category is the attribute of essence (*ṣifa dhātiyya/ ṣifat al-dhāt/ ṣifat al-nafs*) through which things (*dhawāt*) differ from each other. The atom (*jawhar*), for instance, is described as an atom by virtue of its very being; predicating that an atom is an atom consequently defines it as it is in itself. The same applies to God, who is described by His attribute of essence as what He really is, and who differs from other entities that are not described as such. The second category of 'states' are the essential attributes (*ṣifāt muqtaḍāt ʿan ṣifat al-dhāt*) which are by necessity entailed by the attribute of essence as soon as things become existent. The attribute of essence of being an atom, which is attached to an essence, entails the occupying of space (*taḥayyuz*) of the atom whenever it exists. Thus, occupying a space is an essential attribute of an atom. With regard to God, the specific

divine attribute of essence entails His essential attributes. These are His being powerful, knowing, living, and existing. Thus, God must necessarily and eternally be described by these attributes which cannot cease as long as His eternal attribute of essence lasts. Man's attributes of being powerful, knowing, and living differ in their quality from the corresponding attributes in God. They belong to the third category of 'states' which gain actuality by virtue of an 'entitative determinant' (*maʿnā*) or 'cause' (*ʿilla*) in the subject. Since man's 'states' are caused by entitative determinants, which are by definition created, he cannot be described as permanently or necessarily powerful, knowing, etc. Moreover, since these determinants inhere in parts of man's body, he needs his limbs as tools for his actions and his heart in order to know. The determinant itself is therefore not sufficient to actualize man's being capable and knowing. Further conditions like the health of heart and limbs have to be fulfilled for them to serve as tools in carrying out actions or to acquire knowledge. Thus, the realms of man's capability and knowledge are limited by the natural deficiencies of his body. God, by contrast, is unconditionally powerful and knowing since His attributes of being powerful and knowing are essential attributes which do not inhere in any locus and, thus, do not require any limbs. Yet, Abū Hāshim applied this category to God when he reportedly asserted that God is willing or disapproving by virtue of a determinant which is His will or His disapproval. Since it is impossible that a determinant may inhere in God, he maintained that God's will and aversion do not inhere in a substrate (*lā fī maḥall*). The fourth category of 'states' are those which are actualized by the action of an agent (*bi-l-fāʿil*), in particular the existence of a temporal thing which is founded in its producer's capability. This category is inadmissible in God. While the existence of all created beings is considered as belonging to this category, God's existence is counted as an essential attribute entailed by His attribute of essence. The fifth category are 'states' which gain actuality neither by virtue of the essence nor by an entitative determinant (*lā li-l-dhāt wa-lā li-maʿnā*). To this category belongs the attribute of 'being perceiving' (*kawnuhu mudrikan*) which is entailed by the perceiver's being living. In regard to God, it gains actuality when the condition (*sharṭ*) of the presence of the perceptible is fulfilled. Man, in order to perceive, must possess healthy senses in addition to the existence of the perceptible. This is not required for God, whose being alive is an essential attribute. Thus, He perceives without senses.

Abū Hāshim reportedly further differed from Abū ʿAlī on the issue of how God knows things in their state of non-existence and existence. Abū ʿAlī taught that things are not things prior to their being existent since 'existence' (*kawn*) means 'being found' (*wujūd*). However, a thing may be called a thing and may be known prior to its existence insofar as it is possible to make a statement about it (Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 161f.). Owing to his notion of 'states', Abū Hāshim was not confronted with the issue of whether a thing may be known prior to its existence. The attribute of essence through which it is what it is is always attached to it, regardless of whether the thing exists or not.

Abū Hāshim is further reported to have disagreed with his father who had maintained that God may inflict pain upon man for the sake of mere compensation. For Abū Hāshim and his followers, the pain itself must result in a facilitating favour (*luṭf*) either

for the sufferer himself or for a morally obliged person (*mukallaf*), in addition to compensation (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī*, 13/390).

In regard to whether God may inflict illnesses or other calamities upon men because they are deserved, Abū ʿAlī held that illnesses inflicted upon infidels and sinners may serve either as a punishment or a trial. This punishment could, in his view, be appropriate insofar as God would render to man there and then some of the punishment he deserves in the hereafter. Abū Hāshim, by contrast, maintained that every illness inflicted by God on men, regardless of whether they are morally obliged or not, can only have the purpose of a trial and never of a deserved punishment. He supported this view by pointing to the principal difference between undeserved pains and deserved punishment: men must be content with their illnesses and bear them patiently and they are not allowed to be distressed about them just as in regard to favours which God bestows on them. This is, however, not necessary in regard to pains which are a deserved punishment. Owing to these different characteristics, man would therefore be unable to recognize whether a specific illness or calamity is inflicted upon him as a trial or as a deserved punishment. Thus, Abū Hāshim concluded, illnesses can be inflicted by God only for the purpose of trial (*Mughnī*, 13/431ff.).

Abū ʿAlī is further reported to have maintained that God may inflict pain upon man for the sake of mere compensation. In arguing against his father's position, Abū Hāshim had reportedly admitted that pain ceases to be unjust when it is compensated. Even with compensation, however, it would by itself still be futile (*ʿabath*) and thus evil and inadmissible for God. Pain inflicted by God thus must result in some kind of benefit (*maṣlaḥa*) in addition to compensation (*Mughnī*, 13/390–2; Mānkdīm, *Taʿlīq*, 493).

On the issue of the nature of passing away and restoration (*fanāʾ wa-iʿāda*) Abū Hāshim had to assert the possibility of passing away without infringing two other vital notions of his teachings. One of these was that all atoms (*jawāhir*) and most accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) endure by themselves. The second notion which he had to take into consideration was that an agent may effect only production (*ījād*) but not annihilation (*iʿdām*). This also applies to God. Thus, He can undo something only through the creation of its opposite. The solution of Abū Hāshim, therefore, was that God causes the passing away of the atoms through the creation of a single accident of passing away (*fanāʾ*). This accident is the opposite of all atoms and, thus, is capable of annihilating any atom. It must itself be existent (*mawjūd*), but it cannot inhere in a substrate (*lā fī maḥall*). Furthermore it does not endure. Most of the points of this concept had been introduced already by Abū ʿAlī. However, Abū Hāshim disagreed with his father on a number of details. In his earlier works, Abī ʿAlī is reported to have maintained that there are different types of passing away, each of which causes the annihilation of only the corresponding type of atoms. In a later version of his *Naqḍ al-tāj*, he is reported to have revised his position, stating that only one passing away is required for all atoms. Abū ʿAlī further maintained that it is reason which indicates that the atoms will in fact pass away. Abū Hāshim and his followers disagreed. If it were not for scriptural evidence, there would be no indication that the passing away will actually occur. Abū ʿAlī further rejected on principle that anything which does not subsist in a substrate may be defined as an accident. Thus

he refrained from classifying passing away as an accident. Abū Hāshim and his school admitted a category of accidents which do not inhere in a substrate (Ibn Mattawayh, *Tadhkira*, 212ff.; ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī*, 11/441ff.).

On the issue of mutual cancellation (*taḥābut*) of man's acts of obedience and disobedience upon which a person's fate in the hereafter is founded, Abū Hāshim disagreed with Abū ʿAlī about how this cancellation works. While the latter maintained that the smaller amount of reward or punishment will simply be cancelled by the larger amount, Abū Hāshim adhered to the principle of *muwāzana* which means that the smaller amount will be deducted from the larger (Mānkdīm, *Taʿlīq*, 627ff.).

Abū Hāshim furthermore disagreed with his father whether, and on what grounds, repentance is incumbent upon man for all his sins. Abū ʿAlī reportedly held that a sinner is always, by virtue of reason and scriptural evidence, obliged to repent for major and minor sins (Mānkdīm, *Taʿlīq*, 789; ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī*, 14/393). Abū Hāshim, on the other hand, considered repentance as obligatory only for the grave sinner (*ṣāḥib al-kabīra*). In respect to minor sins, he denied that repentance is rationally obligatory and held that scriptural authority also does not definitely indicate this obligation (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Mughnī*, 14/394). He compared repentance for a minor sin with a supererogatory act (*nāfila*) which is not obligatory in itself. It is, however, good to perform it since it helps man to perform his duties or, in this case, to repent for his major sins.

Abū Hāshim is further reported to have held that it is impossible to repent of some sins while still carrying on with others when the penitent is aware of the evil nature of the acts he is persisting in. He reportedly argued that man repents because of the evil nature of the major sin in question. Since the characteristic of evil is shared by all major sins it would be inadmissible that one repents only of some major sins because of their evil while carrying on with others which are of the same gravity. With this position, Abū Hāshim disagreed with Abū ʿAlī, who admitted the possibility of repenting of some sins while carrying on with others. The only condition Abū ʿAlī made was that the sin repented and that which was continued must not be of the same kind (*jins*). It would, therefore, be impossible to repent of drinking wine from one pot while continuing to drink from another, whereas it would be possible to repent of drinking wine while at the same time carrying on with adultery (Mānkdīm, *Taʿlīq*, 794f.).

On the issue of *al-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, Abū Hāshim disagreed with his father regarding the sources of the obligation. While Abū ʿAlī maintained it to be both reason and revelation, Abū Hāshim held it to be revelation only, the only exception being that the mental anguish (*maḍaḍ wa-ḥarad*) of the spectator provides a reason for him to act in his own interest (Cook 2000: 199–201).

III THE LATER BAHSHAMIYYA

The most renowned students of Abū Hāshim were Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Khallād (d. 350/961?), Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980) (Anvari 2008; Schwarb 2011b),

and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAyyāsh al-Baṣrī. While the latter two did not apparently compose any substantial works, Ibn Khallād wrote a *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, to which he added a commentary, *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl*. The *Kitāb al-Uṣūl/Sharḥ al-Uṣūl* have reached us embedded in two works by later Muʿtazilī authors, viz. the *Kitāb Ziyādāt Sharḥ al-uṣūl* by the Zaydī Imam al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Buṭhānī (d. 424/1033) in the recension of Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Ḥasanī, which is completely preserved (Adang, Madelung, and Schmidtke 2011), and a second supercommentary or *taʿlīq* on Ibn Khallād's work by the Zaydī author ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Siyāh [Shāh] Sarījān [Sarbījān] which is only partially extant (Ansari and Schmidtke 2010b). Both commentaries convey an impression of the original structure of Ibn Khallād's work, the earliest systematic Muʿtazilite *summa* that has come down to us albeit indirectly.

It is not entirely clear who succeeded Abū Hāshim as leader of the Basran school. ʿAbd al-Jabbār states that a group of well-advanced disciples (*mutaqaddimūn*) trans-mitted Muʿtazilite knowledge received from Abū Hāshim, mentioning only two per-sons by name, namely Ibn Khallād and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *Faḍl*, 164). Others, such as Abū Saʿd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Karrāma (or: Kirāma) al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī ('al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī', d. 494/1101) (Ms. Leiden OR 2584A, fols 119bf.) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farrazādhī (cf. Mānkdīm, *Taʿlīq*, 24 n. 1; ʿImāra 1988: i. 87) mention Ibn Khallād as his successor. Be that as it may, Abū ʿAbd Allāh eventually became the leader of the Bahshamiyya and he was succeeded by ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025), the author of the comprehensive theological summa *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl* which is for the most part preserved, as well as other comprehensive doctrinal works (ʿUthmān 1968; Peters 1976). Originally an Ashʿarite theologian (he remained a Shāfiʿī throughout his life while the majority of his fellow Muʿtazilites of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries were Ḥanafīs), ʿAbd al-Jabbār had joined the Muʿtazila as a young man and eventually become a pupil of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī in Baghdad. After the latter's death in 369/980, ʿAbd al-Jabbār soon came to be recognized as the new head of the Bahshamiyya. It was dur-ing his lifetime that the Muʿtazilite movement blossomed in an unprecedented manner. The Būyid vizier Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād ('al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād', b. 326/938, d. 385/995), a former student of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī and an important representative of the Muʿtazila in his own right,[6] was instrumental in promoting the teachings of the Muʿtazila throughout Būyid territories and beyond, with Rayy as its intellectual cen-tre. Especially since Muḥarram 367/August–September 977 when Ibn ʿAbbād appointed ʿAbd al-Jabbār chief judge in Būyid territories, the latter attracted a large number of stu-dents and followers, Muʿtazilites as well as Zaydīs, to Rayy, turning it into the leading intellectual centre of the movement (Reynolds 2004, 2005; Pomerantz 2010: 74ff.).[7]

---

[6] For an edition of the extant fragments of his comprehensive summa *Kitāb Nahj al-sabīl fī l-uṣūl*, see Madelung and Schmidtke forthcoming.

[7] Apart from works on theology, ʿAbd al-Jabbār also wrote on legal matters (e.g. his *Risāla fī dhanb al-ghība*) (see Ansari 2012: 268 n. 3) and he transmitted *ḥadīth*. His *Amālī* is preserved in manuscript; cf. Ansari 2012: 270.

ʿAbd al-Jabbār's successor as head of the Bahshamiyya was Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, who in turn was followed by Ibn Mattawayh, one of the younger students of ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Originally a follower of the doctrines of the School of Baghdad, Abū Rashīd turned towards the doctrines of the Bahshamiyya under ʿAbd al-Jabbār's influence. Among his extant works, mention should be made of his *Kitāb al-Masāʾil fī l-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādiyyīn*, a systematic comparison between the doctrines of the Basrans and the Baghdadis (Gimaret 2011), as well as his *Kitāb Masāʾil al-khilāf fī l-uṣūl*, a systematic theological summa which is heavily based on ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb al-Mughnī* (Ansari and Schmidtke 2010a).[8] Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh (Matūya) joined ʿAbd al-Jabbār as a student when the latter was already advanced in age and his discipleship with the *qāḍī l-quḍāt* may have been short. This seems to be corroborated by chains of transmission in which Ibn Mattawayh is depicted as a student of Abū Rashīd, with whom Ibn Mattawayh apparently continued his studies after ʿAbd al-Jabbār's death. Ibn Mattawayh's most influential independent work is a book on natural philosophy, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*, the most comprehensive of its kind among the preserved Muʿtazilite literature. The book contains a detailed chapter on atoms (*jawāhir*), followed by sections devoted to physics (*al-juzʾ wa-furūʿihi*) and detailed discussions of the various accidents. A paraphrastic commentary on the *Tadhkira* was apparently written by Ibn Mattawayh's student Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [b.] Mazdak (Gimaret 2008; Schmidtke 2008). Ibn Mattawayh also wrote an explicative, independent, and at times critical commentary on ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, titled *al-Majmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*. The exact relation between ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *al-Muḥīṭ* and Ibn Mattawayh's *al-Majmūʿ* which was disputed (cf. Gimaret's introduction to vol. 2 of *al-Majmūʿ*) can be established on the basis of the numerous fragments of the *Muḥīṭ* that are preserved in the various Genizah collections which need to be critically edited (Ben-Shammai 1974).[9] Ibn Mattawayh also composed paraphrastic commentaries (*taʿlīq*) on ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *al-Jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd* and his *al-ʿUmad fī uṣūl al-fiqh* which are lost (Schmidtke 2012; Thiele 2014).

One of the last prominent representatives of the Bahshamite school was Abū Saʿd al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Karrāma al-Bayhaqī al-Barawqanī ('al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī', b. 413/1022, d. 494/1101), a Ḥanafī in law and Muʿtazilī in theology who embraced Zaydism towards the end of his life (van Ess 2011: ii. 761–75; Thiele 2012), a student of Abū Ḥāmid al-Najjār al-Nīsābūrī (d. 433/1042) who in turn had studied with ʿAbd al-Jabbār (al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 367). Among his numerous voluminous writings, his *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, an autocommentary on his *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, is of particular significance.[10] Arranged in ten parts (*aqsām*, sing. *qism*), the work is an encyclopedia of

---

[8] A critical edition of Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī's *Kitāb Masāʾil al-khilāf fī l-uṣūl* is currently being prepared by H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke.

[9] A critical edition of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *al-Muḥīṭ* is currently being prepared by O. Hamdan and G. Schwarb.

[10] A critical edition of *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* and *Sharḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* is currently being prepared by H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke.

Muʿtazilite theology replete with information on and quotations from earlier Muʿtazilite writings, many of which are otherwise lost, and it contains extensive parts devoted to the history of the various theological schools, especially the Muʿtazila, as well as a part dealing with legal theory.[11]

The doctrines of the Bahshamiyya proved very influential among a number of groups outside Sunnite Islam, namely the Zaydiyya, the Imāmiyya, and the Karaites. Numerous Zaydī scholars were students of representatives of the Bahshamiyya, such as the Buṭḥānī brothers al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh (d. 411/1020) and al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq (d. *c*.424/1033), who studied with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī and, in the case of al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, also with ʿAbd al-Jabbār, as well as Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Abū Hāshim Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī, known as Mānkdīm Shashdīw (d. *c*.425/1034), who was a student of al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, and possibly also of ʿAbd al-Jabbār (see also Chapter 10). During the sixth/twelfth century, the literary heritage of the Caspian Zaydis, including numerous Muʿtazilite works by ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his students, reached the Zaydis in Yemen. In addition to the many private libraries of Yemen, particular mention should be made of the library of the Great Mosque in Ṣanʿāʾ which originated with Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), who founded a library in Ẓafār for which he had numerous Zaydī and non-Zaydī works from Northern Iran copied, including many Muʿtazilite works. It was from this library that the Egyptian scientific expedition, headed by Khalīl Yaḥyā Nāmī, in 1951 procured microfilms of numerous theological texts of adherents of the Bahshamiyya such as fourteen out of twenty volumes of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Mughnī*, Mānkdīm's critical paraphrase (*taʿlīq*) of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*, several works by Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, Ibn Mattawayh's critical paraphrase of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *al-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf, al-Majmūʿ fī l-Muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*, and his *Kitāb al-Tadhkira*, many of which were published in Egypt during the 1960s, thus initiating an upsurge in scholarship on the Muʿtazila (Sayyid 1974: 417–77).

Specifically Muʿtazilite Islamic ideas, such as theodicy and human free will, as well as the stress on God's oneness (*tawḥīd*) also resonated among Jewish thinkers, many of whom eventually adopted the entire doctrinal system of the Muʿtazila. The earliest attested Jewish compendium of Muʿtazilite thought is the *Kitāb al-Niʿma, The Book of Blessing*, of the Karaite Levi ben Yefet, in Arabic Abū Saʿīd Lāwī b. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (late fourth/tenth to early fifth/eleventh century), the son of the prominent Karaite Bible exegete and legal scholar Yefet ben Eli ha-Levi (whose Arabic name was Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Lāwī al-Baṣrī) (d. after 396/1006). Levi wrote the book at the request of his father as a vindication of Judaism on the basis of Muʿtazilite rational theology, but unlike his father, who disapproved of *Islamic* Muʿtazilite theology, Levi adopted the doctrines of the Muʿtazila and implicitly recognized Muḥammad as a friend of God endowed with

---

[11] The structure of the work is as follows: Part 1: *fī dhikr al-firaq al-khārija ʿan al-islām*; Part 2: *fī firaq ahl al-qibla wa-kayfa hādhā l-khilāf fīhā*; Part 3: *al-kalām fī dhikr al-Muʿtazila wa-rijālihim*; Part 4: *al-kalām fī l-tawḥīd*; Part 5: *al-kalām fī l-ʿadl*; Part 6: *al-kalām fī l-nubuwwāt*; Part 7: *al-kalām fī adillat al-sharʿ*; Part 8: *al-kalām fī l-waʿīd wa-l-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn wa-l-asmāʾ wa-l-aḥkām*; Part 9: *al-kalām fī l-imāma*; Part 10: *al-kalām fī l-laṭīf*.

prophethood, though ranking below Moses (Sklare 2007; Madelung 2014a). Further evidence as to when (and why) Jewish thinkers began to adopt Muʿtazilite thinking can be gleaned from the extant Jewish copies of Muʿtazilite works of Muslim representatives of the movement, as preserved in the various Genizah collections, most specifically the Abraham Firkovitch Collection of literary texts of Near Eastern Jewish communities in the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg, a collection of manuscripts of Jewish provenance most of which originally belonged to the library of the Karaite Rav Simḥa Synagogue in Cairo. Although a full inventory of the relevant collections and its Muʿtazilite materials is still a major desideratum, it seems that the writings of the Būyid vizier and patron of the Muʿtazila, al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād, constitute the earliest Muslim Muʿtazilite works, copies of which can be traced in the various Jewish collections. This suggests that the major turn towards Muʿtazilism occurred during the later decades of the tenth century (Madelung and Schmidtke forthcoming). Levi ben Yefet's *summa* was soon eclipsed by the theological writings of the Rabbanite Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon (d. 1013 CE) (Sklare 1996) and his Karaite opponent and younger contemporary Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. between 1037 and 1039 CE), whose *kalām* works gained an almost canonical status among the Karaites (Vajda 1985; Sklare 1995; Schwarb 2010a, 2010b, 2011a). Literary evidence suggests that Muʿtazilite ideas constituted the central doctrinal foundation of the Rabbanite community until the middle of the twelfth century. For the Karaites Muʿtazilism continued to provide a significant doctrinal framework at least through the seventeenth century, an observation that also applies to the Byzantine Karaite milieu where many of the works originally composed in Arabic were transmitted in Hebrew translation.

IV   Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his School

A major revision of some of the central Bahshamite notions was initiated by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), one of the disciples of ʿAbd al-Jabbār who is reported to have challenged some of the views of his teacher during his lectures and eventually founded his own school (on him, Madelung 2007; Ansari and Schmidtke forthcoming).

Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī was born around the year 370/980 and raised as a Ḥanafī in law and a Muʿtazilī in doctrine. As is suggested by his *nisba*, he hailed from Basra. To pursue an education in medicine, Abū l-Ḥusayn had moved at some point to Baghdad, and it was in the course of his formation as a physician that he also embarked on the study of philosophy: he is known to have studied medicine and physics with Abū ʿAlī b. al-Samḥ (d. 418/1027) and Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043), the leading representatives of the Baghdad School of Aristotelian philosophers.

In addition to his formation in medicine and philosophy, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī embarked at some point on studying dialectic theology (*kalām*) with ʿAbd al-Jabbār
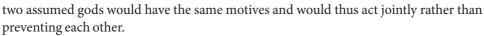
al-Hamadānī. Although there is no indication that Abū l-Ḥusayn had ever spent a considerable length of time outside Baghdad, he may temporarily have moved to Rayy for this purpose where ʿAbd al-Jabbār was based since 367/977. Following his return to Baghdad Abū l-Ḥusayn had revised central positions of Bahshamite *kalām* that were problematic in his view. He set these forth in his theological writings, none of which survived in Muslim circles: his *opus magnum* in this discipline is the *K. Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, a comprehensive work of two volumes in its final stage which he had evidently repeatedly revised over his lifetime and which had never reached completion—Abū l-Ḥusayn did not go beyond the chapter on beatific vision. The *Taṣaffuḥ* was apparently the first theological work Abū l-Ḥusayn had started to compose, critically reviewing the proofs and arguments employed in *kalām* theology. Parts of his book were published before its completion and aroused charges of heresy and even unbelief (*kufr*) as Abū l-Ḥusayn's views seemed to undermine the standard Muʿtazilite proof for the existence of God. Rather than completing the *Taṣaffuḥ*, the author now wrote a book on what he considered as the best proofs, *Ghurar al-adilla*, as evidence that he upheld the basic tenets of the Muʿtazilite creed. The work, a complete theological *summa*, eventually became his most popular work in this discipline, as is indicated by lengthy quotations from the work in a large variety of later sources (Adang 2007; Schmidtke 2013; Ansari and Schmidtke forthcoming). Abū l-Ḥusayn also composed a commentary on the *Uṣūl al-khamsa* (or *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*) of his teacher ʿAbd al-Jabbār. In contrast to the *Ghurar* and the *Taṣaffuḥ*, which are regularly cited by later authors, the *Sharḥ* is rarely mentioned and no later author is known to have quoted from the work. This may suggest that the *Sharḥ*, possibly a rather succinct book, was primarily intended as a teaching manual. An extract from the work containing the section on the imamate has been preserved in a manuscript of Yemeni provenance. His most popular book was a work on legal theory, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Ansari and Schmidtke 2013).

Abū l-Ḥusayn denied the Bahshamite doctrine that accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) were entitative beings (*maʿānī* or *dhawāt*) inhering in the bodies and producing their qualities. For him, accidents constitute mere descriptive attributes (*ṣifāt*), characteristics (*aḥkām*), or 'states' (*aḥwāl*) of the body, a position that was clearly influenced by his earlier study of Aristotelian philosophy. This led him to negate the well-known Bahshamite notion of 'states', a conceptual framework to rationalize the ontological foundations of the attributes of the Divine and of created beings, as well as the related doctrine that essences (*dhawāt*, sing. *dhāt*) are 'real' or 'actual' (*thābit*) in the state of non-existence, that the 'non-existent' (*maʿdūm*) therefore is a 'thing' (*shayʾ*). In his view, the existence of a thing is rather identical with its essence, both with respect to God and created beings. Abū l-Ḥusayn also rejected the Bahshamites' position that accidents may exist without a substrate, as is the case, for example, with the divine act of will, an accident according to Bahshamite doctrine that does not inhere in God. For Abū l-Ḥusayn God's being willing is rather to be reduced to His motive (*dāʿī*) that is based on His knowledge. He also negated the Bahshamite proof for the oneness of God that is based on the argument of an assumed mutual prevention (*tamānuʿ*) of two gods. Abū l-Ḥusayn maintained that

two assumed gods would have the same motives and would thus act jointly rather than preventing each other.

The notion of the reality of accidents was central for the Bahshamites' proof for the existence of God: they reasoned that knowledge of the temporality of bodies—which implied an eternal Creator—was based on the temporality of accidents. Abū l-Ḥusayn's denial of the reality of accidents led him to reject the traditional Muʿtazilite proof for the existence of God and to formulate a revised proof for the temporality of the world. It was evidently Abū l-Ḥusayn's rejection of the traditional *kalām* proof for the existence of God that scandalized his Bahshamite fellow-students of ʿAbd al-Jabbār and evoked their sharp rejection of his theological thought, rather than any of the other points of conflict between Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and the Bahshamites (Madelung 2006; Madelung and Schmidtke 2006, 2007; Ansari, Madelung, and Schmidtke 2015).

Abū l-Ḥusayn disagreed with the Bahshamiyya on other doctrinal questions as well. He maintained that the knowledge of man being the author of his actions is compulsory (*ḍarūrī*) rather than acquired (*muktasab*). For men know compulsorily that it is good to blame and to praise others for their actions. This, however, has as premiss the knowledge that they are the producers of their actions which is therefore likewise known compulsorily. The Bahshamites had argued that it is known compulsorily that man acts in accordance with his intention and motives. As a result of this it is known through derived knowledge that if an action were not to occur on the part of the agent whose intention the act reflects, it would have no connection with him.

This difference of opinion was rooted in Abū l-Ḥusayn's divergence from the Bahshamite notion of actions. According to his understanding, an action cannot occur but for a motive (*dāʿī*) conjoined by power. Abū l-Ḥusayn and his followers distinguish therefore between two meanings of efficacy (*ṣiḥḥa*) for capacity. Power without a motive attached to it is potentially efficacious either to produce or not to produce an act. As such, it is defined as the mere denial of the impossibility either to produce or not to produce. The actuality of the efficacy to produce a specific act requires the motive attached to it as a further condition (*sharṭ*). The function of the motive is described as that of a preponderator (*murajjiḥ*)—because of this motive a certain act preponderates over another. Abū l-Ḥusayn regarded this principle as valid with regard to both man and God. The Bahshamiyya maintained with respect to man's actions that power is the efficacy to act and that it is sufficient as such to produce an act even without a motive. Examples for this are the category of unconscious acts, such as the movement of the sleeper or the action of an inattentive agent (*sāhī*) who acts without apparent motive. Abū l-Ḥusayn is reported to have argued that even in such cases there is a motive even if the agent fails to realize it. Although they asserted that motives have an effect upon man's actions, the Bahshamites denied any causal relation between motive and the occurrence of actions. Having a motive for an action rather means that man has a better reason to perform it rather than its opposite. There is no need for a motive in their view, and contrary to what was maintained by Abū l-Ḥusayn, to turn power from potential into actual efficacy to produce a specific action (Madelung 1991).

Although Abū l-Ḥusayn was virtually ostracized by his Muslim fellow-students and later Bahshamite Muʿtazilīs because of his criticism of ʿAbd al-Jabbār, his thought left a major impact on the later development of Muslim *kalām*, well beyond the confines of the Muʿtazila.[12] Despite the increasing repression of Muʿtazilite thought during the late Būyid period and even more so under the Saljuqs, Abū l-Ḥusayn had actively engaged in teaching *kalām* during his lifetime. Ibn ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1679) reports in his *Shadharāt al-dhahab* that Abū l-Ḥusayn regularly taught Muʿtazilite doctrine in Baghdad and that he had a large circle of regular students (Ibn ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, 5: 172). The biographical sources mention numerous scholars to have studied with Abū l-Ḥusayn, including the following (for further details, see Ansari and Schmidtke forthcoming):
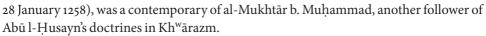
- Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Karkhī *al-mutakallim* al-Muʿtazilī ('Ibn al-Walīd', b. 396/1005–6, d. 478/1086) (Makdisi 1963: 4, 18, 19, 20, 50, 407–9). He was Abū l-Ḥusayn's foremost pupil in *kalām* who later taught the prolific Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian Abū l-Wafāʾ ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl (d. 477/1119). Following his teacher's death, Ibn al-Walīd became the leading figure of the Muʿtazilite movement in Baghdad. His home was located in Karkh which he hardly left over the last five decades of his life and where he is reported to have secretly taught Muʿtazilite doctrine, logic, and philosophy. Only twice, in 456/1063 and 460/1067, is he reported to have publicly taught Muʿtazilite doctrines, and on both occasions he was persecuted (Makdisi 1963: 332ff., 337ff., 408).
- Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Tabbān al-Muʿtazilī (*fl.* 461/1068), possibly the son of Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Tabbān al-Mutakallim (d. 419/1028) (Makdisi 1963: 409).
- Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAlī b. Barhān al-ʿUkbarī al-Asadī ('Ibn Barhān', d. 456/1064), a literate and renowned grammarian who came to Baghdad, where he studied theology with Abū l-Ḥusayn (Makdisi 1963: 331, 392–4). Following Abū l-Ḥusayn's death he is reported to have continued studying *kalām* with his younger contemporary Ibn al-Walīd. Ibn Barhān is said to have been inclined towards the '*Murjiʾat al-Muʿtazila*' as he maintained, against the majority view among the Muʿtazila, that the grave sinners are not exposed to eternal punishment.
- al-Qāḍī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaymarī (d. 436/1045), a Ḥanafī scholar of Baghdad, who led the prayer for Abū l-Ḥusayn when the latter had died and who had also studied with him (Makdisi 1963: 170–1).

Abū l-Ḥusayn's influence continued in Baghdad into the seventh/thirteenth century, when the man of letters Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (b. 586/1190, d. 656/1258) mentioned both the *Ghurar* and the *Taṣaffuḥ* in his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha*, and he composed a commentary on the *Ghurar* that is lost. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, who died either immediately before or immediately after the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols (20 Muḥarram 656/

---

[12] The reception of his doctrinal thought among the Zaydis and Imamis is discussed in detail in Chapters 11, 26, and 27.

28 January 1258), was a contemporary of al-Mukhtār b. Muḥammad, another follower of Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrines in Khʷārazm.

It was apparently the grammarian, physician, and man of letters Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Jarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 508/1115) who had introduced the doctrine of Abū l-Ḥusayn to Khʷārazm, where it was accepted and spread by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Khʷārazmī (d. 536/1141), a Ḥanafī and leading Muʿtazilī scholar of his time. Abū Muḍar may well have been Ibn al-Malāḥimī's teacher in *kalām*— other than that, the names of the latter's teachers are not attested in the available sources. The principal source for the spread of Muʿtazilism in Khʷārazm during the sixth/twelfth century can be gleaned from an incompletely preserved and still unedited biographical dictionary by the Khʷārazmī author Abū l-Karam ʿAbd al-Salām al-Andarasbānī (d. second half of the sixth/twelfth century), himself a follower of the Muʿtazila, that the author began to compile after 569/1173 (Khalidov 1974; Prozorov 1999; Prozorov 2007).

Ibn al-Malāḥimī had summarized Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* in his voluminous *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*. In the introduction Ibn al-Malāḥimī states that he intends to complete his own work in the spirit of Abū l-Ḥusayn, but his *Muʿtamad* is only partly preserved. Following the request of his students and friends, Ibn al-Malāḥimī composed an abridgement of the *Muʿtamad*, entitled *al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* (completed in 532/1137), which is completely preserved. He further wrote a refutation of philosophical doctrines, entitled *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*, completed between 532/1137 and 536/1141, which contains numerous references to Abū l-Ḥusayn and his *Taṣaffuḥ* (Madelung 2007b; Madelung 2012). In the field of legal theory, Ibn al-Malāḥimī wrote the *K. Tajrīd al-Muʿtamad*, a work that can aptly be described as a summary of Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, with occasional critical remarks (Ansari and Schmidtke 2013). There is no doubt that the popularity of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's theological works made Abū l-Ḥusayn's writings in this domain appear to be redundant, this certainly being the main reason why they were no longer transmitted in the Islamic world.

Ibn al-Malāḥimī in turn taught *kalām* to his colleague Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) (Madelung 1986; Lane 2006, 2012; Ullah 2013; Zamakhsharī, *Minhāj*), as well as most probably to a certain Abū l-Maʿālī Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-Uṣūlī, author of a *K. al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn* in which the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn are systematically compared with those of the Bahshamiyya.[13] Ṣāʿid hailed most likely from Khurāsān where one of the two extant manuscripts of his *K. al-Kāmil* had originated. During the fourth/tenth to sixth/twelfth centuries, the famous Āl Ṣāʿid, a Ḥanafī family, resided in Nīshābūr, and it is possible that Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad originated within this family, many of whose members were called Ṣāʿid. Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad's *K. al-Kāmil* circulated among later Imami

---

[13]   The work has been partly edited on the basis of Ms. Leiden OR 487, by E. Elshahed (al-Shahīd) (Elshahed 1983). Cf. the critical review by W. Madelung (Madelung 1985). Al-Shahīd has meanwhile published a full edition of the text ('Najrānī', *Kāmil*), again on the basis of the Leiden manuscript only. As is the case with Elshahed 1983, his introduction and edition is marred by glaring errors and misidentifications, including the author's *nisba* 'al-Najrānī'.

theologians and it was later on extensively quoted in the *K. al-Mujtabā fī uṣūl al-dīn* of the Ḥanafī scholar Najm al-Dīn Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī al-Ghazmīnī (d. 658/ 1260), a later follower and supporter of the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn in Khʷārazm (Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Muʿtamad*, editor's introduction; Madelung 1985). Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd had studied Muʿtazilite *kalām* with Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229), who is otherwise mostly renowned for his *K. Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, a work covering all linguistic disciplines.

Abū l-Ḥusayn's thought also left a major impact on Ashʿarite theologians. It was due to his influence that Imam al-Ḥaramayn Abū l-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī (d. 479/1085) formulated a proof for the existence of God that relied on the philosophical notion of contingency (Madelung 2006). By the turn of the seventh/thirteenth century, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) states that in his time the school of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and the Bahshamiyya are the last active of the Muʿtazilite schools—Fakhr al-Dīn had visited Khʷārazm, *c.*560/1164–570/1174, where he had debated with some of the local Muʿtazilī scholars. These were most probably followers of the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Moreover, it is in view of the theological thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn that Fakhr al-Dīn thoroughly revised the Ashʿarite doctrines (Schmidtke 1991: *passim*). In doing so, he served as a model for later Ashʿarite theologians. Another telling indication of Abū l-Ḥusayn's lasting influence on Sunnī thinkers is Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). In several of his writings, most importantly his *Darʾ taʿāruḍ al-ʿaql wa-l-naql*, Ibn Taymiyya repeatedly refers to Abū l-Ḥusayn and his writings and he quotes extensively from the latter's *Ghurar al-adilla* (cf. Michot 2003: 162 and *passim*). Among later neo-Ḥanbalite theologians references to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his notions are likewise common.

It was still during his lifetime that Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's doctrines also came to the attention of Karaite Jews, among whom they soon found many followers. The earliest indication for this is the refutation of Abū l-Ḥusayn's innovative proof for the existence of the Creator by the leading Karaite theologian of his time, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. In this text, Yūsuf al-Baṣīr shows himself to be a staunch supporter of the Bahshamite school of ʿAbd al-Jabbār and his circle. Yūsuf al-Baṣīr also related critically to the doctrine of Abū l-Ḥusayn in another work of his that is incompletely preserved and may perhaps be identified with his *Aḥwāl al-fāʿil* (Madelung and Schmidtke 2006, 2007; Ansari, Madelung, and Schmidtke 2015).

Moreover, during the latter third of the fifth/eleventh century the authoritative Karaite theologian in Egypt, Sahl b. al-Faḍl (Yāshār b. Ḥesed) al-Tustarī, fully endorsed Abū l-Ḥusayn's criticism of the principles of the school of ʿAbd al-Jabbār and encouraged the study of his theology in the Karaite community of Egypt. Three large fragments of Abū l-Ḥusayn's most extensive work on rational theology, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, are preserved in the Firkovitch collection, presumably coming from the *genizah* of the library of the Karaite Dār Ibn Sumayḥ synagogue in Cairo. One of the fragments contains a dedication to a pious endowment to Yāshār, the son of the nobleman Ḥesed (al-Faḍl) al-Tustarī (on him, cf. Madelung and Schmidtke 2006; Schwarb 2006) and to his

descendants. It is likely that the manuscript was copied during Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's lifetime. The copyist of another *Taṣaffuḥ* manuscript among the three is to be identified as the renowned Karaite theologian of the fifth/eleventh century, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Muqaddasī, who hailed from Jerusalem. Later on he became closely associated with Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī, whom he adopted as his teacher (Madelung and Schmidtke 2006).

Although Yūsuf al-Baṣīr refers on one occasion to Abū l-Ḥusayn's other major book on theology, *K. Ghurar al-adilla*, no fragment of this work has so far surfaced in any of the Jewish *genizah* repositories. The work is known to have contained a detailed polemical section directed against the Jews on the question of the abrogation of the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Bible (Schmidtke 2008), which may explain why it was less popular among Jewish readers than his *Taṣaffuḥ*.

References

ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (*Mughnī*). *Al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*. General editor Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. Vols. 4–9, 11–17, 20. Cairo: Wizārat al-thaqāfa wa-l-irshād al-qawmī, al-Idāra al-ʿāmma li-l-thaqāfa, n.d.

ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (*Faḍl*). *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*. Ed. Fuʾād Sayyid. Tunis: al-Dār al-tūnisiyya li-l-nashr, 1393/1974.

Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (*Muʿtamad*). *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. Ed. M. Hamidullah. Damascus: al-Maʿhad al-ʿilmī al-faransī li-l-dirāsāt al-ʿarabiyya bi-Dimashq, 1965.

Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (*Taṣaffuḥ*). *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*. The extant parts introduced and edited by W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

Adang, C. (2007). 'A Rare Case of Biblical "Testimonies" to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilī Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla in Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Ghurar al-adilla, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī'. In C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare (eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg: Ergon, 297–330.

Adang, C., W. Madelung, and S. Schmidtke (eds.) (2011). *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology: Abū ʿAlī 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-Buṭḥānī*. Leiden: Brill.

Alami, A. (2001). *L'Ontologie modale: étude de la théorie des modes d'Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī*. Paris: J. Vrin.

Ansari, H. (2007). 'Abū Alī al-Jubbāʾī et son livre al-Maqālāt'. In C. Adang, D. Sklare, and S. Schmidtke (eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg: Ergon, 21–35.

Ansari, H. (2012). 'Un muḥaddiṯ muʿtazilite zaydite: Abū Saʿd al-Sammān al-Rāzī et ses *Amālī*'. *Arabica* 59: 267–90.

Ansari, H., and S. Schmidtke (2010a). 'Muʿtazilism after ʿAbd al-Jabbār: Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī's *Kitāb Masāʾil al-khilāf fī l-uṣūl*'. *Studia Iranica* 39: 227–78.

Ansari, H., and S. Schmidtke (2010b). 'The Zaydī Reception of Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl:* The *taʿlīq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār'. *Journal asiatique* 298: 275–302.

Ansari, H., and S. Schmidtke (2013). 'The Muʿtazilī and Zaydī Reception of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*: A Bibliographical Note'. *Islamic Law and Society* 20: 90–109.

Ansari, H., and S. Schmidtke (forthcoming). *The Transmission of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's (d. 436/1044) Thought and Writings*.

Ansari, H., W. Madelung, and S. Schmidtke (2015). 'Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Refutation (*Naqḍ*) of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Theology in a Yemeni Zaydi Manuscript of the 7th/13th Century'. In D. Hollenberg, Ch. Rauch, and S. Schmidtke (eds.), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, 28–65.

Anvari, M. J. (2008). 'Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī'. *Encyclopaedia Islamica*. Leiden: Brill, i. 417–23.

al-Ashʿarī, Abū l-Ḥasan (*Maqālāt*). *Kitāb maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn (Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam)*. Ed. H. Ritter. Beirut: Steiner, 2005.

Ben-Shammai, H. (1974). 'A Note on Some Karaite Copies of Muʿtazilite Writings'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37: 295–304.

Cook, M. (2000). *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dhanani, A. (1994). *The Physical Theory of Kalām: Atoms, Space, and Void in Basrian Muʿtazilī Cosmology*. Leiden: Brill.

Dodge, B. (ed. and trans.) (1970). *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*. New York/London: Columbia University Press.

El Omari, R. (2006). 'The Theology of Abu l-Qāsim al-Balḫī/al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931): A Study of Its Sources and Reception'. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University.

Elshahed, E. (1983). *Das Problem der transzendenten sinnlichen Wahrnehmung in der spätmuʿtazilitischen Erkenntnistheorie nach der Darstellung des Taqiaddin an-Naǧrānī*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz.

van Ess, J. (1985). 'Abu'l-Qāsem al-Kaʿbī'. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Vol. i. 359–62.

van Ess, J. (1991–7). *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam*. 6 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter.

van Ess, J. (2011). *Der Eine und das Andere: Beobachtungen an islamischen häresiographischen Texten*. 2 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Frank, R. M. (1966). *The Metaphysics of Created Being According to Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf: A Philosphical Study of the Earliest Kalām*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.

Frank, R. M. (1969). 'The Divine Attributes According to the Teaching of Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf'. *Le Muséon* 82: 451–506.

Frank, R. M. (1971a). 'Abū Hāshim's Theory of "States": Its Structure and Function'. In *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islâmicos. Coimbra-Lisboa 1 a 8 septembro de 1968*. Leiden: Brill, 85–100.

Frank, R. M. (1971b). 'Several Fundamental Assumptions of the Baṣra School of the Muʿtazila'. *Studia Islamica* 33: 5–18.

Frank, R. M. (1978). *Beings and their Attributes: The Teaching of the Baṣrian School of the Muʿtazila in the Classical Period*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Frank, R. M. (1980). '*Al-maʿdūm wa-l-mawjūd*. The Non-Existent, the Existent, and the Possible in the Teaching of Abū Hāshim and his Followers'. *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales du Caire* 14: 185–210.

Frank, R. M. (1982). 'Attribute, Attribution, and Being: Three Islamic Views'. In P. Morewedge (ed.), *Philosophies of Existence Ancient and Medieval*. New York: Fordham University Press, 258–78.

Gimaret, D. (1970). 'La Théorie des *aḥwāl* d'Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbā'ī d'après des sources ašʿarites'. *Journal asiatique* 258: 47–86.

Gimaret, D. (1976). 'Matériaux pour une bibliographie des Jubbā'īs'. *Journal asiatique* 264: 277–332.

Gimaret, D. (1980). *Théories de l'acte humain en théologie musulmane*. Paris: Vrin.

Gimaret, D. (1984a). 'Matériaux pour une bibliographie des Jubbā'ī: Note complémentaire'. In M. E. Marmura (ed.), *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 31–8.

Gimaret, D. (1984b). *Une lecture Muʿtazilite du Coran: le Tafsīr d'Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbā'ī (m. 303/915) partiellement reconstitué à partir de ses citateurs*. Louvain/Paris.

Gimaret, D. (2008). 'Le Commentaire récemment publié de la *Taḏkira* d'Ibn Mattawayh'. *Journal asiatique* 296: 203–28.

Gimaret, D. (2011). 'Pour servir à la lecture des *Masā'il* d'Abou Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī'. *Bulletin d'études orientale* 60: 11–38.

Gwynne, R. W. (1982). 'The *Tafsīr* of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbā'ī. First Steps Toward a Reconstruction with Texts, Translation, Biographical Introduction and Analytical Essay'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.

al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī (*Ṭabaqāt*). 'al-Ṭabaqāt al-ḥādiya ʿashara wa-l-thāniya ʿashara min Kitāb Sharḥ al-ʿuyūn'. In Fu'ād Sayyid (ed.), *ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī, Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*. Tunis: al-Dār al-tūnisiyya li-l-nashr, 1393/1974, 365–393.

Heemskerk, M. T. (2000). *Suffering in Muʿtazilite Theology: ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's Teaching on Pain and Divine Justice*. Leiden: Brill.

Ibn ʿImād, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Aḥmad (*Shadharāt*). *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār min dhahab*. 11 vols. Ed. Maḥmūd Arnaʿūṭ. Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1986–95.

Ibn Khaldūn (*Muqaddima*). *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal. 3 vols. New York: Pantheon Books, 1958.

Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Khʷārazmī, Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd (*Fā'iq*). *K. al-Fā'iq fī uṣūl al-dīn*. Ed. W. Madelung and M. McDermott. Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2007.

Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Khʷārazmī, Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd (*Muʿtamad*). *K. al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*. Revised and enlarged edition by W. Madelung. Tehran: Mīrāth-i maktūb, 2013.

Ibn al-Malāḥimī al-Khʷārazmī, Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd (*Tuḥfa*). *Tuḥfat al-Mutakallimīn fī l-Radd ʿalā l-Falāsifa*. Ed. H. Ansari and W. Madelung. Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2008.

Ibn Mattawayh (*Tadhkira*). *al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-aʿrāḍ*. 2 vols. Ed. D. Gimaret. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2009.

Ibn Mattawayh (*Majmūʿ*). *al-Majmūʿ fī l-muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*. Vol. 1. Ed. J. J. Houben. Beirut, 1965. Vol. 2. Ed. J. J. Houben and D. Gimaret. Beirut, 1981. Vol. 3. Ed. J. R. T. M. Peters. Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlīkiyya, 1999.

Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*). *al-Fihrist*. 2 vols. in 4. Ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid. London: Furqān Foundation, 2009.

ʿImāra, M. (ed.) (1988). *Rasā'il al-adl wa-l-tawḥīd*. Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl.

Khalidov, A. B. (1974). 'Биографический словарь ал-Андарасбани *[The Biographical Dictionary of al-Andarasbani],*' Письменные памятники Востока. Историко-филологические исследования *[The Written Monuments of the Orient. Historical and Philological Researches]*. Ed. L. N. Menshikov, S. B. Pevzner, A. S. Tveritinova, and A. B. Khalidov. Annual issue 1971. Moscow, 143–61.

Kulinich, A. (2012). 'Representing "a Blameworthy *Tafsīr*": Muʿtazilite Exegetical Tradition in *al-Jāmiʿ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān of* ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994)'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of London.

Lane, A. J. (2006). *A Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary: The* Kashshāf *of Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144)*. Leiden: Brill.

Lane, A. J. (2012). 'You Can't Tell a Book by its Author: A Study of Muʿtazilite Theology in al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *Kashshāf*'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75: 47–86.

Madelung, W. (1985). '[Review of] Elsayed Elshahed: *Das Problem der transzendenten sinnlichen Wahrnehmung in der spätmuʿtazilitischen Erkenntnistheorie nach der Darstellung des Taqīaddīn an-Naġrānī. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983*'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48: 128–9.

Madelung, W. (1986). 'The Theology of al-Zamakhsharī'. In *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I. (Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants) (Malaga, 1984)*. Madrid: [s.n.], 485–95.

Madelung, W. (1991). 'The Late Muʿtazila and Determinism: The Philosophers' Trap'. In B. Scarcia Amoretti and L. Rostagno (eds.), *Yād-nāma in memoria di Alessandro Bausani*. Vol. i: *Islamistica*. Rome: Bardi, 245–57.

Madelung, W. (2006). 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's proof for the existence of God'. In J. E. Montgomery (ed.), *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One. Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*. Leuven: Peeters, 273–80.

Madelung, W. (2007a). 'Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī'. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three*. Leiden: Brill, fasc. 2007-1, 16–19.

Madelung, W. (2007b). 'Ibn al-Malāḥimī's Refutation of the Philosophers'. In C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare (eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg: Ergon, 331–6.

Madelung, W. (2012). 'Ibn al-Malāḥimī on the Human Soul'. *Muslim World* 102: 426–32.

Madelung, W. (2014). 'Muʿtazilī Theology in Levi ben Yefet's *Kitāb al-Niʿma*'. *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2: 9–17.

Madelung, W., and S. Schmidtke (2006). *Rational Theology in Interfaith Communication: Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Muʿtazilī Theology among the Karaites in the Fāṭimid Age*. Leiden: Brill.

Madelung, W., and S. Schmidtke (2007). 'Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's First Refutation (*Naqḍ*) of Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Theology'. In C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare (eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg: Ergon, 229–96.

Madelung, W., and S. Schmidtke (eds.) (forthcoming). *al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād Promoter of Rational Theology: Two Muʿtazilī* Kalām *Texts from the Cairo Genizah*. Leiden: Brill.

Makdisi, G. (1963). *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au xiᵉ siècle (vᵉ siècle de l'Hégire)*. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas.

Mānkdīm Shashdīw, Aḥmad b. Abū Hāshim Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī (*Taʿlīq*). *[Taʿlīq] Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān [as a work by ʿAbd al-Jabbār]. Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1384/1965.

Michot, Y. J. (2003). 'A Mamlūk Theologian's Commentary on Avicenna's Risāla Aḍḥawiyya, Being a Translation of a Part of the Darʾ al-taʿāruḍ of Ibn Taymiyya, with Introduction, Annotation, and Appendices'. *Journal of Islamic Studies* 14: 149–203, 309–63.

Mourad, S. A. (2007). 'Ibn al-Khallāl al-Baṣrī (d. after 377/988) and his Œuvre on the Problematic Verses of the Qurʾān Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā l-jabriyya al-qadariyya (Refutation of Predestinarian Compulsionists)'. In C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare (eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg: Ergon: 81–99.

'al-Najrānī, Taqī al-Dīn' (*Kāmil*). *Al-Kāmil fī l-istiqṣāʾ fīmā balaghanā min kalām al-qudamāʾ*. Ed. al-Sayyid al-Shahīd. Cairo: Wizārat al-awqāf, 1999.

Perler, D., and U. Rudolph (2000). *Occasionalismus: Theorien der Kausalität im arabisch-islamischen und im europäischen Denken*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Peters, J. R. T. M. (1976). *God's Created Speech: A Study in the Speculative Theology of the Muʿtazilī Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamaḏānī*. Leiden: Brill.

Pomerantz, M. A. (2010). 'Licit Magic and Divine Grace: The Life and Letters of al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995)'. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

Prozorov, S. M. (1999). 'A Unique Manuscript of a Biographical Dictionary by a Khorezmian Author'. *Manuscripta Orientalia* 5: 9–17.

Prozorov, S. M. (2007). 'Intellectual Elite of Mawarannahr and Khurasan on the Eve of the Mongolian Invasion (Based on the al-Andarasbani's Biographical Dictionary)'. International Conference on Islamic Civilization in Central Asia, 4–7 September 2007, Astana, Kazakhstan, 2007. <[http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/index.php?option=com_publications&Itemid=75&pub=1210]>.

Reynolds, G. S. (2004). *A Muslim Theologian in the Sectarian Milieu: ʿAbd al-Jabbār and the* CRITIQUE OF CHRISTIAN ORIGINS. Leiden: Brill.

Reynolds, G. S. (2005). 'The Rise and Fall of Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār'. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37: 3–18.

Rudolph, U. (2015). *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*. Leiden: Brill.

Sayyid, A. F. (1974). *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane = Maṣādir tārīkh al-Yaman fī l-ʿaṣr al-islāmī*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Schmidtke, S. (1991). *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)*. Berlin: Schwarz.

Schmidtke, S. (2008). 'MS Mahdawi 514. An Anonymous Commentary on Ibn Mattawayh's *Kitāb al-Tadhkira*'. In A. Akasoy and W. Raven (eds.), *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages. Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation in Honour of Hans Daiber*. Leiden: Brill, 2008, 139–162.

Schmidtke, S. (2012). 'Ibn Mattawayh'. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three*. Leiden: Brill. Fascicle 1: 147–9.

Schmidtke, S. (2013). 'Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Yemen (6th/12th and 7th/13th Centuries)'. *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 293: 221–40.

Schwarb, G. (2006). 'Sahl b. Faḍl al-Tustarī's Kitāb al-Īmāʾ'. *Ginzei Qedem* 2: 61*–105*.

Schwarb, G. (2010a). 'Kalām'. *Encyclopaedia of the Jews of the Islamic World*. Leiden: Brill, iii. 91–8.

Schwarb, G. (2010b). 'Yūsuf al-Baṣīr'. *Encyclopaedia of the Jews of the Islamic World*. Leiden: Brill, iv. 651–5.

Schwarb, G. (2011a). 'Muʿtazilism in the Age of Averroes'. In P. Adamson (ed.), *In the Age of Averroes: Arabic Philosophy in the Sixth/Twelfth Century*. London: The Warburg Institute, 251–82.

Schwarb, G. (2011b). 'Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī'. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Three*. Leiden: Brill, fasc. 2011-3: 3–5.

Sklare, D. (1995). 'Yūsuf al-Baṣīr: Theological Aspects of His Halakhic Works'. In D. Frank (ed.), *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*. Leiden: Brill, 249–70.

Sklare, D. (1996). *Samuel Ben Ḥofni and his Cultural World: Texts and Studies*. Leiden: Brill.

Sklare. D. (2007). 'Levi ben Yefet and his Kitāb al-Niʿma: Selected Texts'. In C. Adang, S. Schmidtke, and D. Sklare (eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg: Ergon, 156–216.

Thiele, J. (2012). 'La Causalité selon al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī'. *Arabica* 59: 291–318.

Thiele, J. (2013). *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya: Die naturphilosophischen Überlegungen des al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣāṣ*. Leiden: Brill.

Thiele, J. (2014). 'The Jewish and Muslim Reception of ʿAbd al-Jabbār's *Kitāb al-Jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd*: A Survey of Relevant Sources'. *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 2: 101–21.

Thomas, D. (2010). 'Ibn al-Ikhshīd'. In D. Thomas and A. Mallett (eds.), *Christian–Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. Vol. ii (900–1050). Leiden: Brill, 221–3.

Ullah, K. (2013). 'Al-Kashshāf: Al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) Muʿtazilite Exegesis of the Qurʾān'. Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

ʿUthmān, ʿAbd al-Karīm (1968). *Qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī*. Beirut: Dār al-ʿArabiyya.

Vajda, G. (ed. and trans.) (1985). *Al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*. Texte, Traduction et Commentaire. Ed. D. R. Blumenthal. Leiden: Brill.

al-Zamakhsharī, Jār Allāh (*Minhāj*). *Kitāb al-Minhāj fī uṣūl al-dīn*. Ed. S. Schmidtke. Beirut: Arab Scientific Publishers, 1428/2007.