



INTRODUCTION

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THE present volume provides a comprehensive overview of theological thought within Islam, from the earliest manifestations that have come down to us up until the present.¹ Given the numerous desiderata in the study of Islamic theology, the overall picture that evolves is inevitably incomplete, and in many ways the volume is intended to serve as an encouragement and a guide for scholars who wish to engage with this field of study. The approach in the preparation of this volume has been an inclusive one—rather than defining ‘theology’ in a narrow way or preferring one interpretation of what ‘orthodox’ belief consists of over another, an attempt has been made to cover the doctrinal thought of all the various intellectual strands of Islam that were engaged with theological concerns—including groups such as the philosophers and Ismā‘īlis, whom theologians of different shades condemned as heretics. Moreover, this volume also acknowledges the significance of inter-communal exchanges between Muslim and Christian as well as Jewish thinkers over the course of the centuries. The theological thought of Jews and Christians not only mirrored at times that of Muslims, Christian methodologies of speculative reasoning and, at times, doctrinal notions contributed to its shaping. While the Jewish reception of *kalām* methods and the doctrines of the Mu‘tazilite school in particular are touched upon in Chapter 9, the interplay between Muslim and Christian doctrinal thought at various points in time is discussed in detail in Chapters 1, 5, and 31.

The overall arrangement of the chapters is primarily diachronic. The unevenness of the three parts reflects, on the one hand, the robust scholarship that has developed in the study of Islamic intellectual history from early Islam to the classical period, contrasted with, on the other hand, the deplorable paucity of scholarship on the post-classical period. Part I, by far the most detailed, comprises chapters discussing forms of Islamic theology during the formative and the early middle period; Part III focuses on the later middle and early modern periods; and Part V addresses Islamic theological thought from the end of the early modern period to the modern period. Wedged between the

¹ I thank my colleagues C. Adang, H. Ansari, S. Stroumsa, and J. Thiele for valuable comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this introduction.

three diachronic blocs are two parts that address thematic issues. Part II comprises four case studies that explore intellectual interactions of Islamic theology(ies), while Part IV, also comprising four case studies, focuses on the impact of political and social history on Islamic theology.

I THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISLAMIC THEOLOGY

The thematic range of theology is, to a large extent, in the eye of the beholder. Over the centuries, Muslim theologians were preoccupied in their deliberations with two principal concerns: first, God, His existence, and nature, and, secondly, God's actions vis-à-vis His creation, specifically humankind. Both thematic concerns touch upon numerous related issues, such as anthropomorphism and the conceptualization of the divine attributes and their ontological foundation; and the thorny related questions of theodicy and human freedom versus determination. In their attempts to systematize doctrinal thinking, the various theological schools in Islam have provided an abundance of often contradictory answers to those questions. Moreover, in terms of methodology, Muslim theologians championed two different, contradictory approaches—while rationally minded theologians employed the methods and techniques of speculative theology, '*kalām*' or '*ilm al-kalām*', as it is typically called, traditionists categorically rejected the use of reason and instead restricted themselves to collecting the relevant doctrinal statements they found in the Qur'ān and the prophetic tradition (*sunna*). These statements are in their view the 'principles of religion' (*uṣūl al-dīn*), the second term used among Muslims for theology, alongside the above-mentioned term '*kalām*', which came to mean 'theology' for the rational theologians. Those who engaged in *kalām*, the *mutakallimūn*, went beyond the two basic doctrinal concerns, namely God's nature and His actions, by adding to the thematic spectrum of theology other concerns such as natural philosophy—encompassing the created universe, which comprises everything other than God.

The factors that have contributed to how Islamic theology has been shaped and developed in its variegated forms over the course of history are multiple and various. Although the Qur'ān, the founding text of Islam, is not a theological disquisition, it is still the most hallowed authoritative source for Muslims engaged with doctrinal concerns. It lays down some of the fundamental doctrinal conceptions that characterize Islamic theological thought and have been shared in one way or another by most if not all Muslim thinkers throughout the centuries. Beyond the revelatory text, there is the larger historical, religious, and theological context in which doctrinal thought in Islam evolved and developed over time. This doctrinal development is apparent in the treatment of issues on which the Qur'ān either remains silent or mentions, but with largely ambiguous statements, issues which Muslim theologians considered—and continue to consider—controversial. These include topics such as man's freedom to act versus determinism, which was hotly debated during the first and second centuries of Islam,

as well as complex topics such as anthropology, ontology, epistemology, and cosmology, discussion of which was largely inspired by the wider intellectual-cultural environment of early Islam. These influences include religious notions that were prevalent in pre-Islamic Arabia, concepts originating in other local traditions, and the religio-philosophical heritage of late antiquity, pre-Islamic Iran, and, to some extent, India. Moreover, the political schisms in the early Islamic community following the death of the Prophet Muḥammad made questions such as the validity of the imamate, the nature of faith (*īmān*), and the conditions for salvation relevant for consideration among theologians.

The central tenet in the Qur'ānic revelation is the belief in God, and it is the notion of God as the creator and sovereign ruler of the world that is the dominant motif throughout the revealed text. He is described as 'the master of the worlds' (*rabb al-‘ālamīn*), as being 'mighty and glorious' (*dhū l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām*) (Qur'ān 55: 78), 'the sovereign Lord' (*al-malik al-quddūs*) (Qur'ān 59: 23), and 'owner of sovereignty' (*mālik al-mulk*) (Qur'ān 3: 26). He is said to be 'the high and the great' (*al-‘alīy al-kabīr*) (Qur'ān 22: 62), and that 'in His hand is the dominion over all things' (*alladhī bi-yadihi malakūt kull shay'*) (Qur'ān 36: 83). God is 'the creator and the one who shapes' (*al-khāliq al-bāri' al-muṣawwir*) (Qur'ān 59: 24) and 'He who created the heavens and the earth' (*alladhī khalaqa l-samawāt wa-l-arḍ*) (Qur'ān 36: 81). In accordance with the idea of God as a sovereign ruler, readers of the Qur'ān are constantly reminded of God's oneness and admonished to refrain from any kind of polytheism (*shirk*)—'God, there is no God but He' (*Allāhu lā ilāha illā huwa*) (Qur'ān 2: 255 etc.). The *locus classicus* is *sūra* 112 (entitled 'Sincere Religion', *al-ikhhlās*), which, in the translation of A. Arberry, reads 'Say: 'He is God, One. God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one.' While initially intended apparently as a refutation of pre-Islamic polytheism in Arabia, the text was later interpreted as primarily directed against the Christians. The (post-Qur'ānic) Arabic term for monotheism is *tawḥīd*. The frequent use of the root *w-ḥ-d* in the self-appellation of numerous Islamic groups throughout history up until the modern period indicates the central position the concept occupies in the self-perception of Muslim believers. Monotheism is thus one of the central doctrines of Islam, although the interpretations and conceptualizations of *tawḥīd* are manifold.

God's sovereignty sharply contrasts with the way humans—who are invariably described as His servants—are depicted in the Qur'ān. As to the question of whether man's actions and destiny are ordained by God's decree, deterministic and non-deterministic sayings stand side by side in the Qur'ān. The Qur'ānic concept of the last judgement, when God will demand individual reckoning from each human being, presupposes that human beings exercise individual liberty with respect to what they do in this world and thus are responsible for their destiny in the hereafter. Free choice is also expressly stated in those passages where God is said not to lead the human being astray, unless he or she chooses to disobey. Other passages of the Qur'ān emphasize God's omnipotence and omniscience, to an extent that human responsibility appears completely eclipsed. Here, human destiny is said to depend on the will of God. He is the originator of belief and unbelief and He guides or leads astray as He pleases. 'Whomsoever

God desires to guide, He opens his heart to Islam; whomsoever He desires to lead astray, he hardens his heart, narrow, tight, as if forced to climb to heaven unaided. So God lays abomination upon those who believe not' (Qur'an 6: 125).

The Qur'an contains numerous descriptions of God, which later gave rise to the conceptualization, in a variety of ways, of the divine attributes, their ontological foundation, and how they compare with the attributes of human beings. He is described as being 'alive' (*ḥayy*), 'eternal' (*qayyūm*) (Qur'an 2: 255), 'self-sufficient' (*ghani*) (Qur'an 2: 263), 'all-embracing' (*wāsi*), 'knowing' (*alīm*) (Qur'an 2: 247), and 'wise' (*ḥakīm*) (Qur'an 2: 32), as the one who 'hears and sees' (*al-samī' al-baṣīr*) (Qur'an 17: 1), is 'able to do all things' (*alā kull shay' qadīr*) (Qur'an 2: 20), and He is 'the strong and the mighty' (*al-qawī al-azīz*) (Qur'an 11: 66). At the same time, God is said to have 'knowledge' (*al-ilm inda Llāh*) (Qur'an 67: 26) and to possess 'might' (*al-qūwa*) (Qur'an 51: 58). Moreover, the Qur'an contains passages that stress God's transcendence (Qur'an 19: 65; 42: 11) as against those which emphasize His immanence (Qur'an 50: 16), two contrasting notions that are also expressed in Qur'an 57: 3, 'He is the Outward and the Inward' (*huwa l-zāhir wa-l-bāṭin*). Also disputed were references in the Qur'an that suggest that God has a human form. God's 'countenance' (*wajh*) is mentioned (Qur'an 2: 115 and *passim*), as are His 'eyes' (*a'yān*) (Qur'an 11: 37; 23: 27; 52: 48; 54: 14), His 'hand/hands' (Qur'an 3: 72f.; 5: 64; 38: 75f.; 48: 10; 57: 29), and His 'leg' (*sāq*) (Qur'an 68: 42), and He is said to be seated on a 'throne' (*arsh*) (Qur'an 7: 54 and *passim*). Descriptions which may suggest deficiencies in God also gave rise to speculative thinking, such as God being 'the best of schemers' (*wa-Llāh khayr al-mākirīn*) (Qur'an 3: 54), that He mocks (*yastahzi*) (Qur'an 2: 15), derides (*sakhira*) (Qur'an 9: 79), or forgets (Qur'an 9: 67). Moreover, the attributes and qualifications ascribed to God that have equivalents in humans prompted speculation about the ontological foundations of God's attributes as against those of human beings, for the Qur'an also states that 'like Him there is naught' (*laysa ka-mithlihi shay'*) (Qur'an 42: 11).

The amalgam of the Qur'anic data, doctrinal concepts, and concerns originating in the wider cultural environment of early Islam, as well as the political controversies and schisms of the early Islamic community, gave rise to a highly variegated spectrum of Muslim theological thought, with respect to both doctrinal positions and methodological approaches. Religious dissension was and is considered to be a deplorable departure from the initial ideal of unity; and what would constitute the right, 'orthodox' belief, as opposed to heresy, was typically decided by the winning power, post factum. Controversy and diversity as characteristics of Islamic theology are reflected in some of the characteristic literary genres of Islamic theology, namely professions of faith (*aqīda*), the preferred genre among the traditionalists, which served to encapsulate the faith of the community and to refute 'heterodox' doctrines; heresiographies, compiled on the basis of the prophetic *ḥadīth* according to which the Muslim community will be divided into seventy-three groups, only one of which will merit paradise (*al-firqa al-nājiya*); works that display the dialectical technique of *kalām*, which was the prevalent genre among representatives of rational theology, be it in the form of refutations or, as was increasingly the case during the scholastic phase, in the form of theological



summae. The variegations in doctrine and methodology notwithstanding, the historical development of Islamic theological thought is characterized by complex interdependence among the various strands.

II THE STATE OF THE ART

Between 1842 and 1846, W. Cureton published his edition of the heresiographical *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*, by the sixth/twelfth-century Ashʿarite author Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153).² For a long time, this text was the single available source for modern scholars on the history of Islamic theology. Since then, over the course of the last century and a half, there has been a steady flow of discoveries of new textual sources. Nevertheless, contemporary scholarship on Islamic theology is still in an age of discovery, and the production of critical editions of key texts, many of which up until recently were believed to be lost, remains a major occupation for any scholar engaged in this field of research. One of the reasons for the relatively slow progress in the study of Islamic theology is that the place of reflection on doctrinal issues within the intellectual life of Muslim thinkers has for a long time been (and often continues to be) underestimated. Theology can rightly be described as one of the most neglected sub-disciplines within Islamic studies, a subdiscipline which up to today attracts far fewer scholars than, for example, Islamic law, *ḥadīth*, or Qurʾānic studies. A telling indication that the discipline is still in an early stage is the numerous recent discoveries and first-time publications of works that were long believed to be lost. Surprisingly many among them date from the very first centuries of Islam, thus contradicting the commonly held assumption that the earliest literary sources of Islam are by now all well known and taken into account in scholarship. Many of these discoveries are bound to bring about revisions of long-held views about the history of Islamic theology. By way of example, mention should be made of several doctrinal texts by second/eighth and third/ninth-century Ibādī authors—the Ibādīyya being one of the earliest opposition movements under the Umayyads, with a distinct *kalām* tradition and with close interaction with the Muʿtazila, the other early religio-political opposition movement during that time. The new finds comprise six *kalām* treatises, or fragments thereof, by the second/eighth-century Kufan scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī, discovered in two twelfth/eighteenth-century manuscripts in Mzāb, in Algeria.³ If we can assume their authenticity, Fazārī is thus the earliest *kalām* theologian whose doctrines can be studied on the basis of his own extant works. His sophisticated treatment of the divine attributes suggests that this was an issue discussed among Muslim theologians much earlier than has so far been

² Cureton's *editio princeps* was followed by a translation into German by Th. Haarbrücker, published in 1850–1.

³ *Early Ibādī Theology: Six kalām texts by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī*. Ed. W. Madelung and A. al-Salimi, Leiden: Brill, 2014.

assumed (Madelung in press; Chapter 14). Several doctrinal texts by the ‘Umāni Ibādī scholar Abū l-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (d. c.290/908) were recently found in some of the private libraries in Oman and are now available in critical edition.⁴ Other important discoveries in recent years include the *Kitāb al-Taḥrīsh* of Ḍirār b. ‘Amr, who had started out as a Mu‘tazilī (Ansari 2004–5; Ansari 2007: 23–4; van Ess 2011: i. 132–40; see also Chapter 3),⁵ and a substantial fragment of the *Kitāb al-Maqālāt* by Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā‘ī (d. 303/915), the earliest representative of the Basran school of the Mu‘tazila during the scholastic era (Ansari 2007; van Ess 2011, i. 156–61).⁶ Mention should also be made of the ever-growing number of quotations from the important early doxographical work *Kitāb al-Ārā’ wa-l-diyānāt*, by the Twelver Shī‘ī author al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, who flourished at the turn of the fourth/tenth century (van Ess 2011: 219–60, esp. 224–30; Madelung 2013).⁷

Focusing on research done since the beginning of the twenty-first century, significant progress has been made in the scholarly exploration of virtually all strands of Islamic theology. These achievements go hand in hand with an ever-growing awareness of the enormous amount of unexplored sources and glaring lacunae.

The study of Mu‘tazilism—arguably the most influential early theological movement in Islam—has particularly thrived over the past fifteen years. As a result of the adoption of Mu‘tazilite notions by Shī‘ī Muslims (both Zaydīs and Twelver Shī‘īs) as well as by Jewish thinkers, large corpora of Mu‘tazilite sources are preserved among the manuscript holdings of the numerous private and public libraries of Yemen and in the various Genizah collections around the world, most importantly the Abraham Firkovitch collections in the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg. Accessibility of these materials has improved considerably over the past two decades, thanks to the enhanced technical possibilities of digitization, joint efforts of Yemeni and international scholars (in the case of the manuscript holdings in Yemen), and the fortunes of international politics (in the case of the Abraham Firkovitch collections, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which has resulted in easier access to materials for international scholars). Recent efforts to catalogue some of the collections of manuscripts of Yemeni provenance in European and North American libraries (Sobieroj 2007; Löfgren and Traini 1975–2011), as well as their partial digitization and open-access availability,⁸ have also prompted a growing

⁴ *Early Ibādī Literature. Abū l-Mundhir Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb: Kitāb al-Rasfī l-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Muḥāraba and Sīra*. Ed. W. Madelung and A. al-Salimi, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011.

⁵ The recently published edition by Ḥusayn Khasānshū [H. Hansu] and Muḥammad Kaskīn [M. Keskin] (Istanbul: Sharikat Dār al-Irshād, 2014) is unsatisfactory and it is hoped that H. Ansari will bring his announced edition of the text to completion (Ansari 2007: 23–4).

⁶ H. Ansari and W. Madelung are currently preparing a critical edition of the *Maqālāt*.

⁷ See also *Al-Ḥasan ibn Musa al-Nawbakhtī, Commentary on Aristotle ‘De generatione et corruptione’*, Edition, Translation and Commentary, by M. Rashed, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.

⁸ For manuscripts of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, see <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/ausgaben/gesamt_ausgabe.html?projekt=1237542282&recherche=ja&ordnung=sig&l=de&l=de>. For manuscripts of the State Library of Berlin, see <<http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/suche/?DC=au%C3%9Fereurop%C3%A4ische.handschriften>>. For digitized manuscripts of Yemeni provenance at the Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton NJ, see <http://publ.princeton.edu/results.php?fi=kw&v1=Yemen&collection_f=Yemeni%20Manuscript%20Digitization%20Initiative>.

awareness among scholars of the numerous Mu‘tazilite (Zaydī and non-Zaydī) works in Western libraries. Over the course of the past fifteen years, a considerable number of works by Mu‘tazilite authors of the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries have been made available, among them many works that were previously believed to be lost. One of the earliest preserved theological summae by a Mu‘tazilite author is the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* of Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Baṣrī, the distinguished disciple of the Mu‘tazilite theologian and founder of the Bahshamiyya, Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā‘ī (d. 321/933), which is preserved embedded in several later supercommentaries on the work, which have partly been made available in edition⁹ (cf. also Ansari and Schmidtke 2010b). D. Gimaret published an edition of the *Kitāb al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-jawāhir wa-l-a‘rāḍ* by the fifth/eleventh-century representative of the Basran Mu‘tazila, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Ibn Mattawayh, by far the most detailed extant exposition of natural philosophy¹⁰ (cf. also Zysow 2014). In 2006 a facsimile publication of a paraphrastic commentary on the work, possibly by Ibn Mattawayh’s student Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī [b.] Mazdak, a Zaydī scholar of the late fifth/eleventh century who was active in Rayy, was published¹¹ (cf. also Gimaret 2008b; Schmidtke 2008). Numerous fragments of writings by ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 415/1025), Ibn Mattawayh’s teacher and the head of the Basran Mu‘tazila during his time, were found in some of the Genizah collections—apparently none of them had ever reached Yemen. Apart from some additional volumes of his theological summa, *Kitāb al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-‘adl*,¹² these comprise his *Kitāb al-Man‘ wa-l-tamānu‘* (Schmidtke 2006: 444f. nos 26, 27) as well as his *al-Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* which is otherwise known only on the basis of Ibn Mattawayh’s paraphrastic commentary, *Kitāb al-Majmū‘ fī l-muḥīṭ bi-l-taklīf*.¹³ The *Tathbīt dalā‘il al-nubuwwa*, which is attributed in the single extant manuscript to ‘Abd al-Jabbār, has attracted scholars’ attention over the past years. G. S. Reynolds devoted a monograph to the work (Reynolds 2004), followed by a new edition and translation, which he produced in collaboration with S. Kh. Samir.¹⁴ H. Ansari has recently questioned the authenticity of the

⁹ *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 Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buḥḥānī (d. 424/1033)*. Ed. C. Adang, W. Madelung, and S. Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill, 2011. *The Zaydī Reception of Bahshamite Mu‘tazilism: Facsimile edition of Abū Ṭāhir b. ‘Alī al-Ṣaffār’s (fl. 5th/11th century) ta‘līq on Ibn Khallād’s Kitāb al-Uṣūl, MS Library of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Shiraz (‘Allāma Ṭabāṭabā‘ī Library)*. Ed. H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke, Tehran: Mīrāth-i maktūb [in press].

¹⁰ *Al-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-ḡawāhir wa-l-a‘rāḍ par Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad ibn Mattawayh, 5e/XIe siècle*. Ed. D. Gimaret, 2 vols, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2009.

¹¹ *An Anonymous Commentary on Kitāb al-Tadhkira by Ibn Mattawayh. Facsimile Edition of Mahdavi Codex 514 (6th/12th Century)*. Ed. S. Schmidtke, Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2006.

¹² See e.g. *Nukat al-Kitāb al-Mughnī*. A Recension of ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī’s (d. 415/1025) *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-‘adl*: *Al-Kalām fī l-tawḥīd*. *Al-Kalām fī l-istiṭā‘a*. *Al-Kalām fī l-taklīf*. *Al-Kalām fī l-naẓar wa-l-ma‘ārif*. The extant parts introduced and edited by O. Hamdan and S. Schmidtke, Beirut: Deutsches Orient Institut [in Kommission bei ‘Klaus Schwarz Verlag’, Berlin], 1433/2012.

¹³ A critical edition of the *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ* is currently being prepared by O. Hamdan and G. Schwarz. Volume iv of Ibn Mattawayh’s *Kitāb al-Majmū‘* is currently being prepared by Margaretha T. Heemskerk.

¹⁴ *Critique of Christian Origins*. A parallel English–Arabic text, edited, translated, and annotated by G. S. Reynolds and S. Kh. Samir, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2010.

work as a text by ‘Abd al-Jabbār (Ansari 2014a, 2014b). On the basis of Jewish copies, extensive fragments of a comprehensive work on natural philosophy by the Būyid vizier al-Şāhib b. ‘Abbād (d. 385/995) could be restored, together with a commentary by ‘Abd al-Jabbār, as well as large portions of what seems to be his otherwise lost theological summa, *Nahj al-sabil fi l-uşul*.¹⁵ The holdings of the Firkovitch collections also allow for a partial reconstruction of a work on natural philosophy by the *qāḍī* ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘īd al-Labbād, another student of ‘Abd al-Jabbār.¹⁶ In the library of the Great Mosque of Şan‘ā’, a copy of the *Kitāb Masā’il al-khilāf fi l-uşul* by ‘Abd al-Jabbār’s foremost pupil, Abū Rashīd al-Nīsābūrī, has been identified (Ansari and Schmidtke 2010a), and D. Gimaret has laid the foundation for a new critical edition of Abū Rashīd’s second major work on *kalām*, the *Kitāb Masā’il al-khilāf bayn al-Başriyyīn wa-l-Baghdādiyyīn*, which is preserved in a unique manuscript in Berlin (Gimaret 2011). Kh. M. Nabhā has collected the extant fragments of exegetical works by Mu‘tazilite authors that have been published since 2007, in the series *Mawsū‘at tafāsīr al-Mu‘tazila*.¹⁷

Fragments of the magnum opus in theology of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Başrī (d. 436/1045), a former student of ‘Abd al-Jabbār and the founder of what seems to have been the last innovative school within the Mu‘tazila, were discovered among the manuscripts of the Firkovitch collections.¹⁸ These are complemented by several texts by Jewish authors that testify to the impact Abū l-Ḥusayn’s thought had on Jewish thinkers of his time (Madelung and Schmidtke 2006). Moreover, the doctrinal writings of his later follower Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141) were retrieved from various private and public libraries in Yemen, India, and Iran, and are now also available in reliable editions.¹⁹ The renewed engagement with Mu‘tazilism in modern times (often labelled ‘Neo-Mu‘tazilism’) has been the focus of several studies over the past years (Hildebrandt 2007; Schwarb 2012).

Among the numerous lacunae that remain for future research are critical editions of the doctrinal works by Abū Sa‘d al-Bayhaqī ‘al-Ḥākim al-Jishumī’ (d. 493/1101), particularly his encyclopedic *‘Uyūn al-masā’il* with his autocommentary, *Sharḥ ‘Uyūn al-masā’il*, as well as editions of the various above-mentioned doctrinal works by ‘Abd

¹⁵ *Al-Şāhib Ibn ‘Abbād Promoter of Rational Theology: Two Mu‘tazilī kalām texts from the Cairo Geniza*. Edited and introduced by W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke, Leiden: Brill, forthcoming.

¹⁶ A critical edition is currently being prepared by O. Hamdan and S. Schmidtke.

¹⁷ The series, published by Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya in Beirut, comprises the following titles: *Tafsīr Abī Bakr al-Aşamm ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Kaysān* (2007); *Tafsīr Abī ‘Alī al-Jubbā’ī* (2007); *Tafsīr Abī l-Qāsim al-Ka‘bī al-Balkhī* (2007); *Tafsīr Abī l-Ḥasan al-Rummānī wa-huwa l-tafsīr al-musammā al-Jāmi‘ li-‘ilm al-Qur‘ān* (2009); *Tafsīr al-qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Mu‘tazilī wa-huwa al-tafsīr al-musammā al-Tafsīr al-kabīr, aw, ‘al-Muḥīṭ; wa-yalīhi Farā‘id al-Qur‘ān wa-adillatuh* (2009).

¹⁸ *Taşaffuḥ al-adilla*. The extant parts introduced and edited by W. Madelung and S. Schmidtke, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

¹⁹ *K. al-Fā’iq fi uşul al-dīn*. Ed. W. Madelung and M. McDermott, Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2007; ed. Fayşal Badīr ‘Awn, Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-kutub wa-l-wathā’iq al-qawmiyya, 1431/2010; *K. al-Mu‘tamad fi uşul al-dīn*, revised and enlarged edition by W. Madelung, Tehran: Mirāth-i maktūb, 2013; *Tuḥfat al-Mutakallimīn fi l-Radd ‘alā l-Falāsifa*. Ed. H. Ansari and W. Madelung, Tehran: Iranian Institute of Philosophy, 2008.

al-Jabbār as preserved in the Firkovitch collections. Moreover, although scholarly investigation of Mu‘tazilism has significantly advanced over the past decades and a fairly accurate picture of its development can by now be given (editors’ introduction to Adang, Schmidtke, and Sklare 2007; Schwarb 2006a, 2011; see also Chapters 7–11 in this volume), it should be kept in mind that the extant literary sources represent only a select number of Mu‘tazilite schools. For other strands within the movement, such as the School of Baghdad, whose last prominent representative was Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka‘bī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931) (el-Omari 2006), or the Ikhshīdiyya, named after the prominent theologian, jurist, and transmitter of *ḥadīth* Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Ikhshīd (d. 326/938) (Mourad 2006; Kulinich 2012), to name only two examples, we have to rely on the scant and often biased accounts provided by their opponents, with next to no possibility of controlling this information by checking it against primary sources and next to no possibility of reconstructing their respective doctrinal systems in their entirety.²⁰

The intensive scholarship that has been devoted to Mu‘tazilism over the past fifteen years, which is significantly indebted to the Zaydī reception of the school’s doctrine, its transmission, and the eventual preservation of its literary legacy in the libraries of Yemen, has gone hand in hand with an increase in the scholarly investigation of theology among the Zaydī communities of Iran and Yemen. Numerous doctrinal works by Zaydī authors have been made available in critical or semi-critical editions by Yemeni and other international scholars, and a number of substantial analyses on the history of theology among the Zaydī communities of Iran and Yemen have been published over the past years (with Madelung 1965 still serving as the main point of departure for contemporary scholarship), in addition to a considerable increase in Zaydī (and Yemeni) studies in general (see the editors’ introductions to Schmidtke 2012b; and Hollenberg, Rauch, and Schmidtke 2015; Ansari and Schmidtke 2016). Among the rather unexpected recent findings is a fragment of a theological tract by the fifth/eleventh-century Jewish Karaite theologian Yūsuf al-Baṣīr. The fragment was transferred from Iran to Yemen, together with a large corpus of other literary texts, in the aftermath of the political unification of the two Zaydī communities of Northern Iran and Yemen, beginning in the sixth/twelfth century. Given its fragmentary state, the tract’s Yemeni readers were clearly unaware of its author being a Jew (Ansari, Madelung, and Schmidtke 2015). Again, despite much progress, many lacunae remain, especially with respect to the history of Zaydī theology since the seventh/thirteenth century and the doctrinal teachings of marginal strands within Zaydism, which disintegrated at some point. An example of such a strand is the Muṭarrifiyya, against whose followers Imam al-Manṣūr bi-Llāh

²⁰ Two works by Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka‘bī are extant, neither of them immediately relevant for the study of his doctrine: *K. Qabūl al-akhbār wa-ma‘rifat al-rijāl*, on *ḥadīth* transmitters (ed. Abū ‘Umar and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Umar b. Abd al-Raḥīm, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 1420/2000); and *Kitāb Maqālāt firaq ahl al-qibla*, which still needs to be edited in its entirety; see van Ess 2011, i. 328–75—Hüseyn Hansu mentions on his website (<<http://ilahiyat.istanbul.edu.tr/?p=6342>>) his critical edition (2014) of al-Ka‘bī’s *al-Masā’il wa-l-jawābāt*. The edition is, as it seems, still forthcoming.

‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217) led a merciless war, which eventually resulted in the extinction of the sect (see Chapter 27).

Over the past fifteen years there has been a steady flow of new publications on Twelver Shī‘ī theology (see also Chapters 11 and 26). Moreover, Twelver Shī‘ī studies in general have profited immensely over the past years from the increased accessibility of manuscript collections in Iraq. Mention should be made, by way of example, of the recent edition of the *Risāla al-Mūḍiḥa*—a theological work concerned with the notion of the imamate—by the fourth/tenth-century author al-Muẓaffar b. Ja‘far al-Ḥusaynī, which is based on a manuscript from the Āl Kāshif al-Ghiṭā collection.²¹ With respect to theology during the time of the Imams, until recently scholarship had evaluated the Imami turn towards Mu‘tazilism, dating from the beginning of the twelfth Imam’s occultation, as a rupture with the earlier doctrinal tradition of the Imams. But W. Madelung’s recent groundbreaking study of Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī’s (d. 329/941) *Kitāb al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī* (Madelung 2014b) significantly revises this view, showing that it was already the Imams who ‘progressively came to endorse Mu‘tazilite perspectives’ (Madelung 2014b: 468), thus preparing the groundwork for the later reception of Mu‘tazilite thought during the occultation period and thereafter. For the early stages of Shī‘ī theology, H. Ansari’s in-depth analysis of the notion of the imamate and the evolution of the doctrine deserves to be mentioned (Ansari in press). In view of the intimate connection between *ḥadīth* and doctrinal thought, a feature characteristic of Shī‘ism, especially during its early period (cf. Kohlberg 2014), the recent edition of the *Kitāb al-Qirā‘āt* by the third/ninth-century author Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī, an important text for the study of early Shī‘ī theology, also merits mention.²² The renewed significance of *ḥadīth* for Twelver Shī‘ī doctrine during the Safavid and, more importantly, during the Qajar period still needs to be investigated in detail (Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2015: 255ff.). Progress has also been made in the scholarly exploration of the doctrinal thought of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044). In 2001, M. R. Anṣārī Qummī published an edition of the single extant (partial) manuscript of al-Murtaḍā’s most comprehensive theological summa, *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūl al-dīn*,²³ and in 2003 Anṣārī Qummī published an edition of his *Kitāb al-Ṣarfa*.²⁴ A recent doctoral dissertation was devoted to al-Murtaḍā’s life and thought (Abdulsater 2013; cf. also Abdulsater 2014). The next generation of Shī‘ī thinkers was the subject of a detailed study of al-Murtaḍā’s prominent student, the *Shaykh al-ṭā‘ifa* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), which was published together with a facsimile edition of a commentary by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 582/

²¹ Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā al-Mar‘ashī al-Najafī al-kubrā, al-Khizāna al-‘ālamīyya li-l-makḥṭūṭāt al-islāmīyya, 2011.

²² *Revelation and Falsification: The Kitāb al-qirā‘āt of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sayyārī*. Ed. E. Kohlberg and M. A. Amir-Moezzi, Leiden: Brill, 2009.

²³ Tehran: Markaz-i nashr-i dānishgāhī, 1381[2002].

²⁴ *Al-Mūḍiḥ ‘an jihat i’jāz al-Qur‘ān (al-Ṣarfa)*. Ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī, Mashhad 1424/1382[2003].

1186) on the former's *Muqaddima*, which is preserved in a unique manuscript²⁵ (cf. also Ansari and Schmidtke 2014). Increasing evidence has surfaced that shows the extent to which the writings of Imami thinkers, especially al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and some of his students, were received by Jewish readers (Schwarb 2006b; Schwarb 2014a; Schmidtke 2012c; Schmidtke 2014; Madelung 2014a). A major lacuna in the study of Imami theology concerns the period between the generation of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's students and the time of Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), the author of *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd*, i.e. mid-fifth/eleventh to the end of the sixth/twelfth century. During this period, Twelver Shī'ī theologians were engrossed with the controversial rival doctrinal systems of the Bahshamiyya and of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. While al-Murtaḍā and most of his students by and large endorsed the doctrines of the Bahshamiyya, al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī preferred the views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī whenever the latter disagreed with the Bahshamites. The evolution of this process, which may already have started with al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, still needs to be reconstructed (Ansari and Schmidtke 2014; Ansari and Schmidtke forthcoming a). Scholarly interest over the past years in the doctrinal developments among the Twelver Shī'īs up to the time of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) has been limited, but the latter's literary output, thought, and reception, as well as the later development of Imami thought, attracts considerable attention in international scholarship (e.g. Ṣadrāyī Khūyī 2003; Pourjavady 2011). Mention should be made, by way of example, of the numerous publications over the past years on Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. after 906/1501). A first monograph, in German, devoted to his life and thought, published in 2000 (Schmidtke 2000), resulted in discoveries of some of his texts that were believed to be lost, and critical editions of most of his writings have been published in recent years, as well as a detailed inventory of his writings (al-Ghufrānī 2013, with further references).

In the study of Ash'arism, scholars have also brought to light important new sources over the past fifteen years. For the thought of the movement's eponymous founder and its early history, the numerous studies of scholars such as R. M. Frank (collected in Frank 2007; Frank 2008) and D. Gimaret still remain authoritative, with Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Fūrak's (406/1115) *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Shaykh Abī l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī* being the single most important secondary source on the doctrinal thought of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 324/946).²⁶ The work also served as a basis for a still unsurpassed study on his doctrinal thought by D. Gimaret (Gimaret 1990). More recently, Gimaret published a new edition of Ibn Fūrak's *Kitāb Mushkil al-ḥadīth*, another text of central importance for the study of the history of Ash'arite *kalām*,²⁷ and

²⁵ *The Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's Theological Writings in 6th/12th Century Syria. Facsimile Edition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's Commentary on al-Ṭūsī's Muqaddama* (MS Atīf Efendi 1338/1). Ed. H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke, Tehran: Mīrāth-i maktūb, 2013.

²⁶ *Mujarrad Maqālāt al-Shaykh Abī l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī. Min imlā' Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Fūrak*. Ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1987.

²⁷ *Kitāb Mushkil al-ḥadīth aw Ta'wil al-akhbār al-mutashābiha li-Abī Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Fūrak al-Iṣbahānī al-Ash'arī*. Ed. D. Gimaret, Damascus: al-Ma'had al-Faransī li-l-dirāsāt al-'arabiyya bi-Dimashq, 2003.

in 2008 his *Sharḥ al-‘Ālim wa-l-muta‘allim* appeared in print.²⁸ Substantial portions of Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī’s (d. 403/1013) magnum opus, the *Hidāyat al-mustarshidīn*, have been discovered and partly edited (Gimaret 2008a; Schmidtke 2011), and a number of works by other representatives of the Ash‘ariyya during its classical period have recently been published, among them *al-Bayān ‘an uṣūl al-īmān* by Abū Ja‘far al-Simnānī (d. 444/1052), a student of al-Bāqillānī,²⁹ as well as the section devoted to metaphysics from the *Kitāb al-Ghunya* by al-Juwaynī’s student Abū l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī (d. 521/1118).³⁰ The recently discovered *Nihāyat al-marām fī dirāyat al-kalām* by Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Makkī (d. 559/1163–4), the father of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, which is now available in facsimile publication, is a paraphrase of al-Anṣārī’s *Ghunya*.³¹ Over the past decade, North African scholars have been active in retrieving relevant primary sources in the libraries of the Maghrib (e.g. Zahrī and Būkārī 2011) and in studying the development of Ash‘arism in the Islamic West (e.g. al-Bakhtī 2005).³² The retrieval of these works is an ever-growing concern, shared by scholars based in Spain and the United States (Schmidtke 2012a; Spevack 2014; Casadas Canals and Serrano Ruano forthcoming; Thiele forthcoming; El-Rouayheb forthcoming; see also Chapters 13 and 29). Recently published critical editions include works by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Ṣiqillī (d. 466/1073–4),³³ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī (d. 489/1096),³⁴ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sābiq al-Ṣiqillī (d. 493/1099–1100),³⁵ Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭalḥa al-Yāburī (d. 523/1124–5),³⁶ ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad ‘Ibn Barrajan’ al-Lakhmī al-Ishbilī (d.

²⁸ Ed. A. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Sāyiq, Cairo: Maktabat al-thaqāfa al-diniyya, 2008 (2nd edn 1434/2013).

²⁹ *Al-Bayān ‘an uṣūl al-īmān wa-l-kashf ‘an tamwihāt ahl al-tughyān*. Ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. R. al-Ayyūb, Kuwait: Dār al-Ḍiyā’ li-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī‘, 2014.

³⁰ *Al-Ghunya fī l-kalām. Qism al-ilāhiyyāt*. Ed. M. Ḥ. ‘Abd al-Hādī, 2 vols, Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 1431/2010.

³¹ Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Makkī, *Nihāyat al-marām fī dirāyat al-kalām*, MS Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Library, *Kalām* 13; published as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s Father, Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Makkī, *Nihāyat al-marām fī dirāyat al-kalām: Facsimile of the Autograph Manuscript of Vol. II*, introd. A. Shihadeh, Persian preface by H. Ansari. Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 2013. J. Thiele has systematically compared the two works, *Nihāyat al-marām* and *Ghunya*.

³² Special mention should be made of the Markaz Abi l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūth al-‘aqadiyya, based in Tetouan, Morocco; see <<http://www.achaari.ma>>. Noteworthy among their recent publications is a proceedings volume entitled *Juhūd al-Maghāriba fī khidmat al-madhhab al-Ash‘arī: Buḥūth al-nadwa al-‘ilmiyya allatī nazzamahā Markaz Abi l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūth al-‘aqadiyya bi-l-Rābiṭa al-Muḥammadiyya li-l-‘ulamā’ bi-Kulliyat uṣūl al-dīn bi-Tiṭwān, yawm al-Arba’a 21 Jumādā II 1432 H al-muwāfiq li-25 Māy 2011 M*. Tetouan: Markaz Abi al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūth al-‘aqadiyya; al-Mamlaka al-Maghribiyya: al-Rābiṭa al-Muḥammadiyya li-l-‘ulamā’, 2012.

³³ *Ajwibat Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī ‘an as’īlat al-Imām ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ṣiqillī*. Ed. J. ‘A. al-Jihānī and S. Fawda, Amman: Dār al-Rāzī, 1428/2007.

³⁴ *‘Aqidat Abi Bakr al-Murādī al-Ḥaḍramī*. Ed. J. ‘A. al-Bakhtī, Tetouan: Markaz Abi l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī, 2012.

³⁵ *Kitāb al-Hudūd al-kalāmiyya wa-l-fiqhiyya ‘alā ra’y ahl al-Sunna al-Ash‘ariyya; wa-ma’ahu Mas’alat al-shāri‘ fī l-Qur’ān*. Ed. M. al-Ṭabarānī, Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2008.

³⁶ *Ibn Ṭalḥa al-Yāburī (t. 523H) wa-mukhtaṣarahu fī uṣūl al-dīn*. Ed. M. al-Ṭabarānī, Tetouan: al-Rābiṭa al-muḥammadiyya li-l-‘ulamā’.

536/1141),³⁷ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-‘Abdarī al-Qurṭubī (d. 567/1171),³⁸ Abū ‘Umar ‘Uthmān al-Salālujī (d. 594/1198), Muẓaffar b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muqtaraḥ (d. 612/1215–6),³⁹ ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Khumayr al-Umawī al-Sibtī (d. 614/1217),⁴⁰ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Arafa (d. 803/1401),⁴¹ Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Uqbānī (d. 811/1408–9),⁴² and ‘Īsā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saktānī (d. 1062/1652).⁴³

Despite this progress, the textual basis for the study of classical Ash‘arism remains deplorably limited, and numerous important works by representatives of the movement remain unpublished, such as the *Kitāb Ta’wīl al-aḥādīth al-mushkilāt al-wārida fī l-ṣifāt* by al-Ash‘arī’s student ‘Alī b. Muhammad b. Mahdī al-Ṭabarī (d. c.375/985–6), one of the principal sources for Ibn Fūrak’s *Mushkil al-ḥadīth* (cf. the editor’s introduction to *Mushkil al-ḥadīth*, ed. D. Gimaret, Damascus, 2003, 23–5),⁴⁴ the *Kitāb al-Niẓāmī* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Fūrak (d. 478/1085), and the *Tafsīr al-asmā’ wa-l-ṣifāt* by ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), who was a student of the prominent Ash‘arite theologian Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā’īnī (d. 411/1020), most of whose writings are lost. The majority of extant commentaries, paraphrases, and summaries of al-Juwaynī’s *Kitāb al-Irshād* (Ḥibshī 2006, 1/166–8) also still lack critical edition, let alone scientific analysis. Among the exceptions are Ibn al-Amīr al-Ḥājī’s (d. 735/1335) *al-Kāmil fī ikhtiṣār al-Shāmil*, a summary of al-Juwaynī’s magnum opus, the *Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn*,⁴⁵ the commentary on the *Irshād* by the above-mentioned Muẓaffar b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muqtaraḥ,⁴⁶ and the *Sharḥ al-Irshād* by Abū Bakr Ibn Maymūn.⁴⁷

³⁷ *Sharḥ Asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā*. Ed. Aḥmad Farid al-Mizyadī, 2 vols, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 2010. An earlier edition of this work was published in Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2000.

³⁸ *Sharḥ Kitāb al-‘ilm (A‘azz mā yuṭlab)*. Ed. M. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Mahmāh, 2 vols, Tangier: Dār Sulaykī Ikhwān li-l-nashr wa-l-ṭibā‘a, 2006–8, being a commentary on Ibn Tūmart’s (d. 544/1149) doctrinal work, *A‘azz mā yuṭlab*.

³⁹ *Al-Asrār al-‘aqliyya fī l-kalimāt al-nabawiyya*. Ed. N. Ḥammādī, Beirut: Maktabat al-ma‘ārif, 1430/2009. *Sharḥ al-‘Aqīda al-burhāniyya wa-l-fuṣūl al-īmāniyya*. Ed. N. Ḥammādī, Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-ma‘ārif, 2010. *Sharḥ al-Irshād fī uṣūl al-i‘tiqād*. Ed. Nazīha Ma‘ārij, 2 vols, Tetuan: Markaz Abī l-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī, in press.

⁴⁰ *Muqaddimāt al-marāshid ilā ‘ilm al-‘aqā’id*. Ed. J. A. al-Bakhtī, Rabat: Maṭba‘at al-Khalīj al-‘arabī, 1425/2004.

⁴¹ *Al-Mukhtaṣar al-kalāmī*. Ed. N. Ḥammādī, Tūnis: Dār al-Imām Ibn ‘Arafa, 1435/2014.

⁴² *Sharḥ al-‘Aqīda al-burhāniyya wa-l-fuṣūl al-īmāniyya*, being a commentary on the *Aqīda al-burhāniyya* of ‘Uthmān al-Salālujī (d. 594/1198). Ed. N. Ḥammādī, Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-ma‘ārif, 1429/2008; *Kitāb al-Waṣīla bi-dhāt Allāh wa-ṣifātihi*. Ed. N. Ḥammādī, Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-ma‘ārif, 1429/2008.

⁴³ *Al-Tuḥfa al-mufīda fī sharḥ al-‘Aqīda al-ḥafīda*. Ed. N. Ḥammādī, Kuwait: Dār al-Ḍiyā‘, 1433/2012.

⁴⁴ Ibn Mahdī entertained sympathies towards Shī‘ism as is suggested by his *Kitāb Nuzhat al-absār wa-maḥāsīn al-āthār*, a collection of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s sermons (ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī, Tehran: al-Majma‘ al-‘alāmī li-l-taqrīb bayna l-madhāhib al-islāmiyya, 2009).

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Amīr al-Ḥājī, *al-Kāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn li-Ibn al-Amīr fī ikhtiṣār al-Shāmil fī uṣūl al-dīn li-Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī*. 2 vols. Ed. J. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir ‘Abd al-Mun‘im, Cairo: Dār al-salām li-l-ṭibā‘a wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzī‘ wa-l-tarjama, 2010.

⁴⁶ See n. 39.

⁴⁷ Ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī Aḥmad al-Saqqa, Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjilū al-Miṣriyya, 1987.

The post-classical era of Ash‘arism has been very much at the forefront of international scholarship over the past fifteen years. Apart from publications devoted to the thought of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 555/1111) (Griffel 2009; Treiger 2012; Tamer 2015; Griffel 2015), the works and thought of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) have been the subject of numerous studies (e.g. Shihadeh 2006; Eichner 2009, *passim*; Türker and Demir 2011; Jaffer 2015; Shihadeh in press). Moreover, his comprehensive theological work, *Kitāb Nihāyat al-‘uqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*, is now available in print,⁴⁸ as is his doxography, *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa fī āra’ ahl al-‘ilm*.⁴⁹ Increased attention is also being paid to his otherwise still little-explored reception, both among the generation of his immediate students and beyond (introduction to Pourjavady and Schmidtke 2007; Shihadeh 2005; Shihadeh 2013; Schwarb 2014b; Swanson 2014; Takahashi 2014). With the *Kitāb Abkār al-afkār*, which has recently been edited twice,⁵⁰ the theological oeuvre of Sayf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī ‘Alī al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), a younger contemporary of Fakhr al-Dīn, is now also available in print. Another milestone is the recent edition of Part One of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qūshjī’s (d. 879/1474–5) commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s *Tajrīd al-‘aqā’id*, which served as the basis for numerous commentaries and glosses among later Ash‘arite and non-Ash‘arite scholars,⁵¹ among them the two prominent thinkers and antagonists of Shiraz, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 909/1504) and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī (d. 903/1498), both of whom in theology represented Ash‘arism and whose thought is very much at the forefront of contemporary scholarship (Pourjavady 2011; Bdaiwi 2014).

Following the publication in 1997 of U. Rudolph’s groundbreaking monograph on the doctrinal thought of Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), the eponymous founder of the Māturīdiyya (Rudolph 1997), there has been a rise in the number of publications on Māturīdī and his thought (e.g. Daccache 2008; Jalālī 2008; Matsuyama 2009; Matsuyama 2013; Kutlu 2012; Brodersen 2013; and the contributions to *Büyük Türk Bilgini İmâm Mâtürîdî ve Mâtürîdîlik*). For the subsequent development of the school and its reception among later Ottoman scholars, the textual sources collected by E. Badeen should be mentioned (Badeen 2008), as well as the studies by A. Brodersen on views on divine attributes held by the representatives of the school (Brodersen 2014) and on the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd* by the fifth/eleventh-century representative of the Māturīdiyya, Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī. Numerous works by later followers of the school have been published over the past decade or so, among them Abū Mu‘īn Maymūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī’s (d. 508/1114) *al-Tamhīd li-qawā’id al-tawḥīd*,⁵²

⁴⁸ Ed. M. Baktır and A. Demir, Sivas (Turkey), 2013; ed. Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Fawda, Beirut: Dār al-Dhakhā‘ir, 2015 [https://archive.org/details/ahbab_1_20150627].

⁴⁹ Ed. A. Jum‘a, Kairaouan: Kulliyat al-ādāb wa-l-‘ulūm al-insāniyya bi-l-Qayrawān wa-Markaz al-nashr al-jāmi‘ī, 2004.

⁵⁰ Ed. A. M. Mahdī, Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-kutub wa-l-wathā‘iq, 1424/2002; ed. A. F. al-Mazīdī, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 1424/2003.

⁵¹ *Sharḥ Tajrīd al-‘aqā’id al-mashhūr bi-l-Sharḥ al-jadīd. Al-Juz’ al-awwal yashṭamilu ‘alā l-maqṣad al-awwal fī l-umūr al-‘amma*. Ed. M. Ḥ. al-Zārī‘ī al-Riḍā‘ī, Qum: Intishārāt-i Rā‘id, 1393[2014].

⁵² Ed. A. F. al-Mazyadī, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘ilmiyya, 2007.

Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣābūnī's (d. 580/1184) *al-Muntaqā min 'Iṣmat al-anbiyā'*⁵³ and his *al-Kifāya fī l-hidāya*,⁵⁴ Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafī's (d. 710/1310) *al-ʿIṭimād fī l-ʿitiqād*,⁵⁵ and Ḥasan b. Abī Bakr al-Maqdisī's (d. 836/1432) commentary on Abū Muʿīn al-Nasafī's *Baḥr al-kalām*,⁵⁶ as well as Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl Zāhid al-Ṣaffār al-Bukhārī's (d. 534/1139) *Talkhīṣ al-adilla li-qawāʿid al-tawḥīd*⁵⁷—a work that was the focus of a recent doctoral dissertation (Demir 2014). What has otherwise been achieved over the past fifteen years primarily serves to consolidate research. Rudolph's monograph of 1997 has, since its initial publication in German, been translated into Russian (Almaty 1999), Uzbek (Tashkent 2001 and 2002), and English (Leiden 2012), and is thus being made available to a wide range of international scholars. Turkish scholars have been actively engaged in producing well-documented editions of Māturīdī's extant writings. In 2003, a new edition of his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* was published by Muhammad Aruçi and Bekir Topaloğlu, and the latter also supervised a collaborative critical edition of Māturīdī's exegesis, *Taʿwīlāt al-Qurʾān*, published between 2005 and 2011, in eighteen volumes. The remaining lacunae primarily concern the later development of the school, including editions of numerous works by its main representatives, which are preserved in manuscript (Rudolph 2012: 15ff.; see also Chapters 17, 32, 33, 39).

Ḥanbalite theology has likewise been in the forefront of research in recent years. Several scholars have critically examined the creeds traditionally attributed to the eponymous founder of the school, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). These, as has been shown by S. al-Sarhan, in what is so far the most comprehensive study on Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's literary oeuvre, in fact did not originate with Ibn Ḥanbal but were attributed to him only at a later stage (al-Sarhan 2011). M. Fierro has edited and analysed a version of one of the creeds attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal that circulated in al-Andalus (Fierro 2015). Studies such as these are complemented by analyses devoted to specific aspects of Ibn Ḥanbal's theological thought (Picken 2008; Williams 2002) as well as publications focusing on his biography (Melchert 2006). Several theological summae by later representatives of the Ḥanbaliyya have been edited in recent years, such as the *Kitāb al-Īdāḥ fī uṣūl al-dīn* of Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zāghūnī (d. 527/1132),⁵⁸ though none surpasses

⁵³ Ed. M. Bülüt, Beirut/Istanbul: Dār Ibn Ḥazm/Markaz al-buḥūth al-islāmiyya, 2013.

⁵⁴ Ed. M. Ārūtashī, Beirut/Istanbul: Dār Ibn Ḥazm/Markaz al-buḥūth al-islāmiyya, 2013.

⁵⁵ A. M. Ismail, *Die maturiditische Glaubenslehre des Abū l-Barakāt an-Nasafī (gest. 710/1310): Edition und Analyse seines Kitāb al-ʿIṭimād fī l-ʿitiqād*. 2 vols. Frankfurt: Ph. D. dissertation, 2003.

⁵⁶ *Kitāb Ghāyat al-marām fī sharḥ Baḥr al-kalām*. Ed. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ismāʿīl and Muḥammad al-Sayyid Aḥmad Shihāta, Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-turāth, 1432/2012.

⁵⁷ *Kompendium der Beweise für die Grundlagen des Ein-Gott-Glaubens, oder Talḥīṣ al-adilla li-qawāʿid at-tawḥīd*. Ed. A. Brodersen, Beirut/Berlin: Deutsches Orient Institut/Klaus Schwarz in Kommission, 2011.

⁵⁸ Ed. ʿI. al-Sayyid Maḥmūd, Riyadh: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal li-l-buḥūth wa-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 1424/2003. Another edition of the *Īdāḥ* was published by M. S. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (Cairo: Dār al-ḥadīth, 1431/2010), although the editor erroneously attributed the work to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabari.

in significance the *Kitāb al-Mu‘tamad fi uṣūl al-dīn* by Abū Ya‘lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Farrā (d. 458/1066) (since 1974 available in the edition by W. Z. Ḥaddād), the first Hanbalite author to adopt elements of speculative reasoning (*kalām*) in his deliberations on theology and legal theory (Vishanoff 2011: 190ff.). Another focus of recent scholarship is the doctrinal history of the school in its later phase, with special attention being paid to Najm al-Dīn Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316),⁵⁹ and the ‘Neo-Hanbalites’ Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350) (Hoover 2007; Rapoport and Ahmed 2010; Bori and Holtzman 2010; Adem 2015; Krawietz and Tamer 2013; Vasalou 2015; cf. also Chapter 35).

There is now a growing awareness of other religio-theological strands that had for a long time been completely neglected, partly as a result of their seeming marginality and at times due to a complete loss of relevant sources. Some of these have received increasing scholarly attention over the past fifteen years. Among the groups that had been considered to be of only marginal significance up until recently is the Ibāḍiyya. Its literary legacy has come to the forefront of research in recent years, partly thanks to funding by the government of Oman, resulting in numerous conference proceedings (e.g. Francesca 2015), historical studies (Wilkinson 2010), and bio- and bibliographical reference works (Nāṣir 2000–6; Custers 2006). Specifically relevant for the history of Ibāḍī theology are the above-mentioned critical text editions by A. Salimi and W. Madelung (see notes 3 and 4), as well as a recent annotated translation of two theological primers by Ibāḍī theologians of the late thirteenth/nineteenth century, namely the *‘Aqīda al-wahbiyya* by Nāṣir b. Sālim b. ‘Udayyam al-Rawahī and the *Kitāb Ma‘ālim al-dīn* by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Thamīmī (d. 1223/1808), with an introduction to the history of Ibāḍī doctrinal thought (Hoffman 2012). Given the growing interest of international scholars in Ibāḍī studies, Ibāḍī theology will certainly play a prominent role in future scholarship.

Another strand that has received increased attention over the past years, especially among Iranian scholars, is the Karrāmiyya, an influential theological and legal movement active from the fourth/tenth to the seventh/thirteenth century in the Islamic East. The Karrāmiyya’s ideas can be only partly reconstructed and this nearly exclusively on the basis of data provided by the trend’s opponents, who considered its eponymous founder, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Karrām (d. 255/869) and his followers to be unbelievers. Next to none of the Karrāmī literary output has been preserved, with the exception of a substantial number of exegetical works (cf. Gilliot 2000; Ansari 2001; Ansari 2002a; Ansari 2002b; Zysow 2011; as well as numerous studies by Muḥammad Riḍā Shafī‘ī Kadkanī, references given in Zysow 2011; cf. also Chapter 15). Some of those

⁵⁹ Mention should be made of recent critical editions of some of his works: *Dar’ al-qawl al-qabīḥ bi-l-tahsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ*, ed. A. M. Shihāda (Ayman Shihadeh), Riyadh: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal li-l-buḥūth wa-l-dirāsāt al-islāmiyya, 1426/2005; *al-Ta‘līq ‘alā l-Anājil al-arba‘a wa-l-ta‘līq ‘alā l-Tawrāh wa-‘alā ghayrihā min kutub al-anbiyā’* = *Muslim Exegesis of the Bible in Medieval Cairo: Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī’s (d. 716/1316) Commentary on the Christian Scriptures*. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation with an Introduction, by L. Demiri, Leiden: Brill, 2013.

texts have been published in recent years, among them the *Tafsīr* of Abū Bakr ‘Aṭīq b. Muḥammad Nīsābūrī ‘Sūrābādī’ (late fifth/eleventh century);⁶⁰ the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* by the fifth/eleventh-century author al-Hayṣam b. Muḥammad b. al-Hayṣam;⁶¹ and *Zayn al-fatā fi sharḥ Sūrat Hal atā* which, according to the editor of the text, was authored by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Āṣimī.⁶² H. Ansari questioned this attribution and suggested that the work was instead written by Abū Muḥammad Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad b. Biṣṭām (Ansari 2002a).

Other strands of thought that were important at some time in history have until today mostly escaped scholars’ attention, as is the case, by way of example, with the Sālimiyya, named as such after the group’s eponymous founders, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim (d. 297/909) and his son Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sālim (d. 356/967) (Ohlander 2008), or the Ṣufriyya, another off shoot of the Khārijite movement (Madelung and Lewinstein 1997).

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⁶⁰ *Tafsīr al-tafsīr*. Ed. S. Sirjānī, 5 vols, Tehran: Farhang-i nashr-i Naw, 1381/2002. On this work, see also Zadeh 2012: 504ff.

⁶¹ *Tarjuma-yi Muḥammad b. As‘ad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥanaḥī al-Tustarī*. Ed. ‘A. Muḥammadzādah, Mashhad: Dānishgāh-i Firdawsī-i Mashhad, 1384[2005].

⁶² *Al-‘Asal al-muṣaffā min tahdhīb Zayn al-fatā fi sharḥ Sūrat Hal atā*, ta’lif Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-‘Āṣimī. Ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī, 2 vols, Qum: Majma‘ iḥyā’ al-thaqāfa al-islāmiyya, 1418[1997–8].

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